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Public and Private Life*

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Relational Prison Audits

Methodology and Results of a Pilot Audit

Greenock Prison

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Cambridge
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THE RELATIONSHIPS FOUNDATION
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**Report for the Scottish Prison Service
Relational Audits Project**

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Preface

In April 1994, the Scottish Prison Service commissioned the Relationships Foundation (a research and social policy group in Cambridge) to develop a methodology for 'Relational Prison Audits'. This was for use as a management tool by S.P.S. to assess Scottish prisons' progress in developing a good 'relational' ethos between prisoners and staff in the context of the annual strategic planning exercise. The project began on June 1 1994, and this report represents the conclusions reached at the end of the project.

In addition to developing the methodology for relational audits, the Relationships Foundation also undertook to trial the audit. Before it was possible to trial the audit in a Scottish prison, it was necessary to carry out a pre-trial in an English prison. H.M.P. Littlehey, Cambridgeshire, was willing to be used for this trial. In November, members of the Relationships Foundation and Sima UK (a management consultancy specialising in individual assessment), carried out a relational audit on Darroch Hall in Greenock Prison. This report details both the developed methodology, and the results of this trial.

The team are grateful for the advice and comments given by various sources. In particular, they would like to thank Professor Hans Toch, Professor Leslie Wilkins, John Pearce, and the governors and staff of Littlehey and Greenock prisons. Dr Brendan Burchell of the Social and Political Sciences Department of Cambridge University, provided a highly efficient and invaluable service to us in his processing of the raw data, and explanation of the process in this report. We would especially like to record our thanks to Dan Gunn and his staff, whose co-operation and help made the trial of the audit such an interesting process.

Catherine Brett
Michael Schluter
Margaret Wright

Cambridge 1995

Chapter 1 - Development and Scope of Prison Audits

1) S.P.S. and relational audits

Relational Justice prison audits arose from a three year project by the Jubilee Policy Group (JPG) into the concept of 'Relational Justice', funded by the Relationships Foundation. At the heart of relational justice is the premise that crime destroys the nexus of relationships which holds a local community together. Thus crime should not be regarded as simply a case of breaking a law set down by the faceless and remote 'society', but rather seen in terms of person *a* hurting person *b*. Justice, therefore, requires not simply punishment for offences committed, but an attempt to restore the damaged relationships. Ultimately, this approach will widen the concerns of the criminal justice system to include the victim and their family, the offender's family and the local community, as well as the state and the offender. The wider implications of the relational justice concept are discussed in a recent book *Relational Justice - Repairing the Breach*, published by Waterside Press.¹

Relational audits are a practical application of relational justice. They aim to examine whether or not the current prison practices are tending to operate in a way which encourages the development of healthy relationships, or not. Consensus among experienced practitioners is that good relationships are central to attaining security and control, to treating prisoners with humanity and to enabling them to become more fulfilled and responsible human beings. By focusing on the quality of relationships in prison, relational audits have the dual advantage of offering a means of identifying and quantifying existing examples of good practice, as well as providing a plumb-line against which the impact of particular reform initiatives within a prison can be measured. As part of relational justice, the audits aim to achieve a balance in the prison service between the need to satisfy the demands of justice with regards to fairness, objectivity

¹ J. Burnside and N. Baker, eds., *Relational Justice : Repairing the Breach* (Winchester, 1994).

and security and the human requirements of seeking the rehabilitation and restoration of the offender.

On the basis of papers produced on the theme of relational justice, the Scottish Prisons Service commissioned the Relationships Foundation to carry out further research into prison audits. This was with the aim of developing the methodology for Relational Justice prison audits in a way which could be applied to assist strategic planning in S.P.S.

ii) **Functions of non-financial audits**

Recent years have seen what has been termed an 'audit explosion' with the proliferation of different types of audit, with quite diverse uses. Audits which gather hard data, such as the achievement of quality targets, usually look specifically at end results. Other audits, such as corporate culture audits, gather soft data and serve to isolate the values, attitudes or feelings within an institution. Neither, though, fulfil the purpose of a relational audit. Results oriented audits dependent on hard data are unable to assess relationships which are important in achieving those results. Culture audits give an impression of the attitudes and experience of, for example, a firm, but do not focus specifically on relationships and do not provide a measurement of the factors which create the preconditions for good relationships.

Relational audits seek to draw on both types of data (see Chapter 2, ii), and by focusing on the relationships provide a more holistic picture of an institution.

Non-financial audits, such as relational audits, can be usefully grouped according to three distinct functions:

a) management tools: this includes customer care audits, communication audits, corporate culture audits, quality audits and many others. They have become an important aspect of modern management.

b) external validation: here audits are used to demonstrate publicly particular achievements or levels of performance. Examples include environmental audits, social audits, and some quality standards.

c) regulation and control: examples of this include the use of audits by central government to control the delivery of public services e.g. in the NHS and universities.

Relational justice prison audits are designed as management tools and are intended for use within an individual prison to enable the design and delivery of more relational regimes.

iii) The objectives of relational justice audits

- to measure the quality of relationships within a particular regime, by means of both quantitative and qualitative data;
- to provide a bench mark from which to determine, in future years, whether particular policies are tending to impact upon the quality of relationships in a positive or a negative way;
- to identify those aspects of a prison regime which are most influential improving the quality of relationships;
- to identify gaps in current working practice in regard to developing relationships which can be addressed by separate initiatives;

- to assist management in their task of explaining the process of change to prisoners and prison staff.

iv) The relevance of relational justice audits to S.P.S. mission and strategy

Central to the S.P.S. reforms are the concepts of the 'responsible prisoner' and the sentence planning exercise. Relational justice audits provide a measure of the success of these in two ways:

- at the individual level, by assessing the extent to which the prison is fostering the kinds of relationships that assist the learning of responsible behaviour by prisoners.
- at the level of hall, or prison, by measuring the extent to which an institutional environment is assisting the progression of prisoners towards more responsible regimes.
- at a wider level, by contributing to the strategic planning process by identifying relational objectives in the prison to pursue in the next planning period.

a) The Responsible Prisoner

When trying to understand the notion of the 'responsible prisoner', it would seem that relational considerations are critical. It is not sufficient to say to a prisoner: 'Be responsible'. Responsibility must be learned in a context and that context is relationships. This is because relationships themselves mediate between choice (my freedom to do as I want) and obligation (my duties towards others). Indeed, it is usually in the context of relationships (normally close family relationships) that a person learns how to balance his or her self-interest against those of

the group. Responsibility cannot be understood apart from relationships, and this is as true inside a prison as outside it. As Dietrich Bonhoeffer observed from his prison cell, "other people constitute both the origins and limits of my responsibility". But there are two basic kinds of responsibility, **retrospective** and **prospective** responsibility. It is the failure to distinguish between these two that may lie at the root of the complaint that prisoners are anything but 'responsible' people. A person is said to possess retrospective responsibility if he or she bears at least some degree of responsibility for a state of affairs which has already occurred. By contrast, prospective responsibility is when a person bears at least some degree of responsibility to bring about a certain state of affairs which has not yet occurred. The problem with the criminal justice system as a whole is that it tends to emphasise retrospective responsibility to the detriment of prospective responsibility. By focusing on relationships, as a necessary part of the development of prospective responsibility, relational audits support the concept of the responsible prisoner.

b) Sentence Planning

Relational audits provide an institution with some measure of its place within the sentence planning scheme, and therefore its suitability for an individual prisoner. The sentence planning exercise aims to be a means by which prisoners can take on increasing responsibility during their time in the prison system, primarily by making decisions about how they will spend their time. The purpose is for prisoners to address offending behaviour and use the facilities of the prisons they are in for their personal development. Its objective is to help restore the prisoner's sense of being a whole person and to make him or her able to contribute to his/her family and community upon release. If sentence planning aims to assist a prisoner through the system by encouraging them to meet the targets set in their personal development files, the aim of relational audits is to ensure that at each stage of the process, the regime is able to help the prisoners to move in a direction of responsibility and self awareness. Auditing the quality of relationships within an institution would contribute to the assessment of its ability to do so.

c) Strategic Planning

Effective strategic planning relies on recognising the true situation within the prison service, and being able to identify current needs and problems. Relational audits will contribute to this by enabling S.P.S. to:

- make decisions about the state of relationships within a specific institution based on quantifiable data
- identify the relational impact of a variety of policies on an institution
- recognise the relational aspects of the system in need of review or overhaul, and identify the specific weaknesses i.e. a general lack of multiplexity².

v) The use and scope of relational audits

Having set out the purpose of the relational audits, it is necessary to state the limitations of this particular project.

a) The relationships targeted

The intention of the audit project was to include a wide range of relationships in the audit, such as prisoner/prisoner, prisoner/officer, officer/management and prisoner/family etc. However, the limitations of time and cost meant that it was not possible to adequately cover all of these. Therefore, the prisoner/officer relationship was targeted as the most useful to focus on, since it took up such a considerable part of the prisoner's time, would be relatively easily influenced and since with the long term prisoners in Darroch Hall, this is the central relationship. While this is accepted as a necessary limitation, the Relationships Foundation would still anticipate that future

² See p. 9

audits should seek to include the other relationships, to obtain the most accurate picture possible.

b) Bench-marking

The purpose of the audit is primarily to establish a bench-mark of the quality of relationships for an establishment. It follows then, that its maximum use will be in comparison to a further benchmark, say 6 months or 1 year later. It must be stressed that the audit does not intend to offer definitive solutions to trouble spots in a prison system. The audit may identify problem areas or roles, and 'relational' thinking may suggest possible methods of addressing these problems. However, these would be speculative rather than authoritative. The primary purpose of auditing remains as a way by which an individual establishment can take stock of its relationships and assess change over time.

c) Comparisons between prisons

The audit tool is **not** designed to help create a league table of relational practice in prisons, or even for inter-prison comparisons. The variations between establishments in terms of factors such as size, type of prisoner, physical facilities, nature of the regime and period during which most prisoners have been within the system, mean that comparisons between prisons tell you virtually nothing about the relational sensitivity of the management. The audit will be adapted for the individual prisons it is used in, and therefore comparisons between prison 1 at point *a* and *b*, will be much more significant, than between prisons 1 and 2 at point *a*.

Chapter 2 - Methodology

i) Measuring relationships

Relationships are notoriously difficult to measure. If we are claiming to be able to quantify them, we must first be careful to state exactly what it is we are measuring.

Relationships, as set out in Schluter and Lee's *The R-Factor*,³ consist of two aspects. The first, is relational proximity, or the structure of the relationship. This is set out in detail in *The R-Factor* pp. 68-91. There are five dimensions to relational proximity:

- Directness - the amount of face to face contact you have with someone.
- Continuity - the length of time you've known them, and the regularity of contact .
- Multiplexity - the different contexts that contribute to your knowledge of a person. Do you see him or her simply at work, or at the pub, on the sports field, at church or with their family too?
- Parity - the level of mutual respect (although not necessarily status/intelligence/wealth) between people.
- Commonality - the existence of a common purpose.

The second aspect, is the quality of the relationship, or how well two people could be said to 'get on'. This is a far less tangible element and dependent on many highly subjective factors. To put it another way, in measuring relational proximity a relational audit is measuring empathy, not intimacy.

³ M. Schluter and D. Lee, *The R-Factor* (London, 1993).

The prison audits are intended to measure the first aspect - relational proximity. In some senses, an audit's value is restricted in that while a high level of relational proximity may exist, the actual relationship can be unsuccessful or even hostile. But relational proximity remains a necessary foundation for a good relationship. One cannot be said to have a deep relationship with someone one hardly sees, has known for only a short time, and has nothing in common with. Therefore, relational proximity is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for the development of good relationships.

If our aim is to create and develop good relationships within prisons, which encourage a prisoner to learn responsible behaviour and attitudes, we must be sure that the relational structures exist which make such relationships possible. It is necessary, therefore, to test for the existence of relational proximity in a prison.

ii) The relational audit⁴

The *R Factor* had provided the necessary theory behind the relational audit, in the definition of the five dimensions of one person knowing another. In order to determine to what extent these were met in a prison, various measurements are necessary. On the first level, there needed to be some factual evidence, pointing to obvious structural hindrances, or aids, to the development of healthy relationships. On the second level, prisoners themselves needed to be asked to set out the structures of the relationships they had with their officers, and *vice versa*. This would highlight both structural problems such as officers being so buried under paper work as to make time spent with prisoners difficult; and attitudinal ones. So there were five parts to the audit.

⁴ See appendix A for the questionnaire used in the relational audit.

a) Factual Data Sheets

Part one of the audit is completed by a member of the audit team, and the data required is taken from existing prison records. Its purpose is to provide a brief, factual overview of the prison in 'relational' terms. Many of the indices will not give information directly on the state of relationships, but will provide an indication of the likely state of relationships. Thus, a prison where there is only a small percentage of prisoners who are compelled to double up in cells which do not have night sanitation, or which has several joint prisoner-prison officer committees dealing with aspects of prison life, could be seen to possess positive relational attributes.

b) Relational Background Survey (RBS) given to Prisoners and Prison Officers.

The relational background questionnaire is the second part of the audit, and is given to both prisoners and prison officers to complete. As the title suggests, it serves as a background to part 3, by seeking to identify factual aspects to the respondent's relational framework. For example, the prisoner questionnaire asks the respondent to assess various activities such as how often he sees a certain officer, where he talks to the most people, and the extent to which he is involved with joint prisoner/prison officer activities. This kind of information is useful in itself - to identify the places, roles and activities that are crucial to prisoners' and prison officers' relationships. It is also useful in conjunction with part 3, by highlighting obvious inconsistencies in the responses, and adding positive detail to the statements in part 3.

c) Relational Proximity Assessment (RPA) given both to Prisoner and Prison Officers.

Part three makes up the core of the audit and is in the form of a questionnaire, given both to prisoner and prison officer. Based on the five stated dimensions of relational proximity, it presents the respondent with a series of statements which he or she is required to affirm or deny, to varying degrees. The statements are designed to test the five dimensions, by breaking them down into the practical aspects of prison life, and considering specific relationships (gallery officer/party officer/personal officer to prison). The object of the RPA is to identify the areas of prison life and relationships, which present either problems for, or encouragement to, relational proximity.

d) Participant Observation

Part four of the audit is carried out by a trained observer, who spent a period of time in the prison, for example a week. The observer will pay specific attention to the 'relational' aspects of the prison, looking at where people tend to congregate and talk, observing the interactions between staff and inmates, and considering more practical problems facing relational proximity (i.e. lack of a room in which to have a personal officer interview in private). This highlights both the problems and potential of seeking to increase communications between prisoners and prison officers, and complement the information gathered in parts two and three.

e) Personal Interview Evaluation

For this part of the audit a random selection of a small number of prisoners and staff is taken as the sample to be tested. The duration of the interview was an estimated 40-50 minutes. The objectivity of the exercise is assisted by involving a trained interviewer who is not part of the prison establishment. There are four specific purposes to this part of the audit. First, is to engage staff and prisoners personally in the process, so that they can achieve a sense of ownership of the audit, rather than considering it to be simply another questionnaire. The second purpose is to ensure that the nuance and intensity of response in part 3 is reflected accurately in the analysis. Thirdly, interviews allow a more detailed exploration of selected issues from all parts of the audit, particularly where surprising or contradictory answers have been given. Lastly, the interview process enables prisoners and staff to explain why they and their colleagues have responded in the way they have.

iii) Testing and statistics - construction of relational proximity scales

One of the important methodological challenges was to construct five continuous measurement scales relating to each of the facets of relational proximity, namely: Directness, Continuity, Multiplexity, Parity and Commonality. It was assumed that no one question could adequately measure each of these complex, abstract continua, but if a number of questions tapping the underlying scale are averaged, this will form a valid and reliable measure of each dimension.

The procedure used is commonly applied in the construction of attitudinal scales. A number of questions, usually between 15 and 20, were constructed for each of the scales. These items were all of the format that required a response on a 5-point scale from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". They were formulated so that they covered domains of the four sub-scales assumed to make up each of the five dimensions, and also related to personal officers, gallery officers, party officers as well as general questions applying to all prison officers. They were then piloted on a sample of 44 prisoners from Littlehey prison. Individually, each of the items was correlated with a scale formed by summing all of the other items on the same scale.⁵

Items with correlations which were negative or close to zero were then re-worded or excluded before the second pilot version administered at Darroch Hall, where the whole process was finally repeated to hone down each scale.

Some statements were also re-worked before the second pilot following a categorisation task by seven "rater-judges", who were students at Cambridge University. The nature of the five scales were explained to them, and they were given cards with one statement on each card and asked to sort them into the five piles corresponding to the five scales. Statements which were not consistently put in the appropriate pile were also reworked or excluded.⁶

⁵ Items which were worded in a "negative" direction had their responses reversed for this process.

⁶ For the full results see Appendix C

A measure of the internal reliability of scales is termed the Alpha coefficient. This gives an indication of how highly the scales produced by this procedure would correlate with a scale constructed in the same way but using a different set of items (but from the same domain).

The table below gives the number of items in each of the scales, their alpha coefficient, mean and standard deviation.⁷

Table 1. Scales of the dimensions of relational proximity.

Scale	No. of Items	Alpha Coefficient	Mean	Standard Deviation
Directness	12	0.78	2.9	0.7
Continuity	12	0.71	3.2	0.7
Multiplexity	15	0.74	3.0	0.6
Parity	13	0.86	3.2	0.8
Commonality	12	0.84	3.1	0.8

In all of the computations up to the point, missing values (i.e. where a prisoner did not respond to a particular item) have been excluded. However, in the use of these scales, once constructed, missing data is replaced by the value "3" corresponding to the midpoint of the scale. Thus a prisoner is not excluded from any part of the analysis just because they missed out one or a small number of questions.

⁷ To make the numbers more meaningful, the summaries of these scales are based on averages, so that they can be related to the 5 point response scale. As can be seen in Table 1, the average of each one of the five scales is close to the midpoint of the scale, indicating an approximate balance between those who feel strongly on each statement.

a) *Correlations between the 5 Scales.*

Table 2 shows the Pearson's Product-Moment Correlation between the five scales. The correlations are all positive and all moderate to high. The highest correlation is between Directness and Parity, (0.81) and the lowest between Continuity and Commonality and Continuity and Multiplexity (0.65).

Table 2. Correlation coefficients between the five scales.

Correlations:	PARITY	CONTIN	COMMON	DIRECT	MULTI
PARITY	1.0000	.7674**	.7826**	.8109**	.6846**
CONTIN	.7674**	1.0000	.6463**	.7067**	.6464**
COMMON	.7826**	.6463**	1.0000	.7349**	.7338**
DIRECT	.8109**	.7067**	.7349**	1.0000	.7792**
MULTI	.6846**	.6464**	.7338**	.7792**	1.0000

N of cases: 51 1-tailed Signif: * - .01 ** - .001

These high correlations are somewhat problematic. On the one hand they could suggest that prisoners may not be differentiating between these different facets of their relationships with staff: if a prisoner is satisfied with the relationships he is likely to rate the relationship highly on all scales and vice-versa. However, this may not be the case in every prison, and the results to the hypotheses tested (see Appendix E), give very specific results. The meaning of these high correlations may become clearer in later audits.

Chapter 3 - The Audit at Greenock Prison

The trial of the relational audit took place at Greenock prison over the period from 9 November to 16 December 1994.

i) Schedule

<i>9-16 November</i>	<i>Part 4 - Participant Observation</i>	<i>Desmond Stockley</i>
<i>16-17 November</i>	<i>Part 1 - Factual Data Analysis</i>	<i>Catherine Brett and Margaret Wright</i>
<i>28-29 November</i>	<i>Parts 2&3 - Relational Background Survey and Relational Proximity Index</i>	<i>Michael Schluter, Catherine Brett and Margaret Wright</i>
<i>14-16 December</i>	<i>Part 5 - In-depth Interviewing</i>	<i>Margaret Wright</i>

ii) Greenock Prison

Greenock Prison is made up of two parts - A Hall which holds male adults and young offenders on remand, and Darroch Hall which houses long-term male prisoners. The audit was carried out in Darroch Hall which, during the time of the audit, held between 68 and 74 prisoners.

Darroch Hall is a "top end" wing, holding lifers and long-term prisoners categorised C and D, that is, who are not seen as liable to escape. Darroch is unusual in the prison system in that it houses sex offenders and other long-term prisoners in the same hall. So far, this has not

resulted in serious problems, other than the predictable ostracism of the sex offenders by most of the rest of the hall.

The limitation of an audit in Greenock to Darroch Hall was deliberate. It was thought that the differences between A-Hall and Darroch Hall were such that it would give a confused picture of Greenock were the results to be mixed - each should be done separately.

iii) **Carrying out the audit**

Part 1 - Factual Data Analysis

The factual data was collected on the visit 16-17 November. Data was provided from prison records (see Part 2 chapter 4) and records such as the punishment book were used to gather the necessary information.

Part 2 - Relational Background Survey & Part 3 - Relational Proximity Assessment

These two parts were joined as one questionnaire and distributed together. The prisoners and staff were sent letters explaining the work and objectives of the team in the week before the 28-29 November. On reaching the prison, the team saw twenty men in the chapel area where the project was explained to them before they were asked to fill in the questionnaire. The questionnaires were completed after lunch, when a few more prisoners joined the group. The rest of the questionnaires were distributed individually, which was not as had been anticipated, but appeared to be successful. In all, fifty-two prisoner questionnaires were completed from sixty-eight inmates. The prison officer questionnaires were distributed in a similar manner. First, the group on duty were spoken to about the project and then questionnaires were left for the officers off duty, and were sent on to the team once completed. Seventeen officer questionnaires were completed.

The 'buying in' of the prisoners was crucial in getting them to spend 20-30 minutes on average on filling in the questionnaires. Consequently there was virtually no spoilage, which was a significant contrast to the amount from the pre-test at Littlehey. The reason for the commitment by the prisoners was attributable to several factors

- a) the generally positive attitude to the regime
- b) the popularity of Desmond Stockley who had carried out the participant observation
- c) the team's commitment to spending time in obtaining questionnaires that were properly filled in.

All these factors led to a very high response rate. The team believes that in an exercise studying relationships, there must be an effort to model those values in the way the questionnaire is conducted, although the team acknowledges that they were far from perfect in this area.

Part 4 - Participant Observation

The participant observation was carried out by Desmond Stockley, working for the Relationships Foundation. He spent a total of six days at Darroch Hall and was given free access around the prison. His conclusions are recorded in Part 2 chapter 6.

Part 5 - In-depth interviews

The in-depth interviews were conducted over three days by Margaret Wright from Sima UK. Over all, fourteen prisoners and six staff were interviewed. The names of both prisoners and staff were randomly selected from a list. The interviews were recorded, and were designed to probe the areas of interest that the preliminary results of parts 2 & 3 had thrown up. The full results are recorded in Appendix D.

Chapter 4 - Relational Audit Results

The Factual Data Analysis (Part 2) was conducted in order to provide factual data, with which to set the context of the later, more subjective, elements.

i) Factual Data

The number of prisoners in Darroch Hall at the time of part 1 of the audit was 74. Owing to transfers or releases, this number changed over the duration of the completion of the audit. It only affected part 1 in one area, which is discussed below:

Table 1: Numbers of Staff and Prisoners at Darroch Hall

Number of prisoners	74
Lifers 30	
Discretionary Lifers 1	
Lifer Recalls 2	
Double Lifers 2	
Other Prisoners 39	
Number of gallery officers	17 ⁸
Number of party officers	6 ⁹
Number of counsellors	
Drug Counsellor	1 full-time
Alcohol Counsellor	1 full-time
Social Workers	2 full-time
Psychologist	1 full-time
Chaplains	3 part-time

Prison officers who were involved with anger management or counselling in an internal sphere were not included in this instance.

Number doubled up in cells	48 (65%)
Number of hours locked up in a 24 hour period	9.5

⁸ This is the regular quota, but does not include staff at weekends who may be used from A Hall

⁹ Six officers are on duty at any one time, although there are more officers altogether.

Number of educational courses on offer per week	16
Number of prisoners in educational/vocational courses	40

Number of work areas	10
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joiners, vocational joiners, textiles,
industrial cleaning, gym, gardens,
education, cleaners, kitchen, stores.

Breakdown of prisoners' work/education commitments:

Joiners	11
Vocational Joiners	7
Textiles	9
Industrial Cleaners	6
Cooks	1
Gardeners	6
Passmen	9
Full-time Education	8
Placements	16
Groundsman	1

Number of prisoners with activities in the community

Exercise/Sport (walking, swimming etc.)	24
Fellowship/Church	7
Placements	16

Number of places where a personal officer call talk to a prisoner privately and without undue interruptions:

2 interview rooms and one office on the Hall Senior Officer's office

This section of the audit will be most significant in a comparison with a later audit of Darroch Hall, and in comparison with other prisons.

ii) Summary of results

These results represent conclusions drawn from all five parts of the audit. The 'areas for review' represent the areas of note from the results of the questionnaires, observation and interviews, which appear to require attention. They are not intended to be exhaustive.

a) Directness

Prisoners: In terms of direct contact, Part 3 showed a generally positive response from the prisoners. 78% gave a positive relational response to their ability to see a prison officer if they needed to. This was reinforced by the results of Part 2, where 49% of prisoners said they spent time talking to personal officers, and 47% registered the same for party officers. Topics discussed included prison life (69%), prisoners' families (49%), sports (45%) and the future (43%). 46% of prisoners said they saw the officer with whom they spent time at least once a week. 62% felt that their personal officers took time to talk to them, although formal contact appeared to be less prevalent. 46% said they saw their personal officer in a formal interview less than once a month, with 14% asserting that they had never seen them in this capacity. Generally speaking, the responses to amounts of 'directness' in Darroch Hall were positive rather than negative. One important exception to this is that 52% felt that they had to keep their emotions bottled up. The interviews revealed that this was because some felt that to show emotion would give the impression of not coping, and so restrict progression. Also, doubling up in cells meant that there was nowhere private to calm down, thus leading to people bottling up their emotions.

Disagree
with
negative
#31

Prison Officers: Officers viewed most aspects of their relationships more positively than prisoners, and directness was no exception. One hundred percent stated that they enjoyed talking to prisoners, and 82% agreed that officers were sensitive to a prisoner's depression, indicating that officers are very confident about the strength and quality of their relationships with prisoners. 53% said they had seven or more prisoners with whom they regularly had conversations that went beyond the superficial. Most conversations centred around the prisoners' lives. Topics indicated most by the officers were prisoners' families

(94%), prisoners' problems (94%) and prisoners' futures (88%). 88% disagreed with the statement that they were too busy to see prisoners assigned to them on a regular basis. When asked to identify obstacles to 'quality conversations', officers felt that prisoners' attitudes (53%), low staff ratios (65%) and the ethos of the prison (41%) were prime problems. It is worth noting that 82% said they would avoid meeting an ex-prisoner from Darroch Hall on the street in the future.

Areas for discussion and review:

- 1) It is significant that so many prisoners felt their emotions have to be bottled up. What are considered the most effective strategies for dealing with this? How extensive are opportunities for anger management etc.?
- 2) Another related problem, again highlighted in the interviews, is that some prisoners really have very limited verbal communication skills, making any expression of concerns or emotions problematic. Are there ways of addressing this?
- 3) Only 47% felt that they could see someone about a problem quickly. What is the procedure by which prisoners can see officers personally about problems with regard to time, procedure and staff priorities, and might a review be necessary?
- 4) Staff attitudes with regard to initiating conversations and interest in prisoners. The interviews indicated the extent to which variability of treatment by different prison officers is observed by the prisoners, in terms of time and effort put into relationships with the prisoners. The new pay structure which rewards officers who have more contact with prisoners may go some way to addressing this.

b) Continuity

Prisoners: Continuity scored less positively. 62% of prisoners felt that they did not see their personal officer very regularly, and 54% felt that staff movement meant they didn't get to know them well. More positively, however, 54% felt that their own movement in the prison system followed a planned route. Some continuity existed between prisoners and

prison officers since 56% of prisoners had kept the same personal officers during their time at Darroch Hall. Moreover, 53% felt that they had known their personal officer for long enough to see them more as a person.

Prison Officers: 88% of officers felt that the conversations with prisoners were most frequent on the gallery, although 53% judged that it was the personal officer interview that enabled them to get the best understanding of prisoners. 89% of officers felt that continuity of relationship with prisoners was made more difficult by the prisoner transfers, although 88% also felt that there were at least some prisoners who they saw enough to know well. Indeed, 100% of officers felt they had good relationships with most of the prisoners they saw regularly. 56% of officers felt that they were briefed sufficiently about prisoners they were due to deal with.

Areas for discussion and review:

- 1) Structure for personal officer interviews- is there a formal structure requiring so many interviews per quarter, and if so, what procedures exist to ensure it is kept to?
- 2) Is there a procedure to ensure proper transfers of information when personal officers change?

c) *Multiplexity*

Prisoners: Responses here highlighted some significant areas. One of the strongest responses was that 70% disagreed with the statement that personal officers spent time with their visitors, as well as with the individual prisoner. 60% didn't feel that prison officers had a good all-round picture of them, and 70% felt that their personal officer's view of them was limited by the lack of opportunities to see them in activities they're good at. 48% felt that they did not have much opportunity to see the Governor grades. Multiplexity highlighted the importance of activity, though, as party officers consistently scored highly. 62% felt work enabled staff to gain a better picture of them, 79% said that party officers allow

Would they want them to?

prisoners to take on a variety of tasks and 64% were confident that party officers would pass on information about their performances (good or bad) in the work place to other officers. When asked which activities provided the best opportunities for conversations with officers, the strongest responses were work (35%) and escorted leave (35%).

Prison Officers: Officers felt strongly that they saw prisoners' families and friends, with 100% disagreement to Q. 28¹⁰. 94% felt that they saw prisoners in different activities around the prison, and 77% felt that they had a good all-round picture of the prisoners they dealt with, contrasting with the prisoners perception (see above). However, 65% agreed that prison officers were restricted to seeing prisoners in one part of the prison, and 59% felt that prisoners didn't have the opportunity to learn new skills there.

Areas for discussion and review:

- 1) Disparity between officers' and prisoners' accounts of visitor contact should be looked at. What opportunities exist for meetings of the personal officers and prisoners' visitors in prison? ¹¹
- 2) One of the biggest problems highlighted by the interviews was the lack of activities provided at weekends for prisoners- they have the freedom, but nothing to do with it- is this being addressed, and are staff required/actively encouraged etc. to contribute to activities?
- 3) Access to governor grades is perceived as lacking. Opportunities exist in the dining room, but would a more formal opportunity for prisoners to present their concerns and needs be feasible? ¹²
- 4) The canteen as place of communication is obviously a success in many ways, but ways should be explored of extending the time prisoners are allowed to stay (i.e. more than half an hour), or changing conditions in the dining room to make it more conducive to staying longer.

10 "We never get to see prisoners' family or friends"
11 Q. 25, 33
12 Q.45

5) Are there opportunities for gallery officers to see prisoners outside of the gallery, or are there regular activities both groups can be involved with? (Q.53)

d) Parity

How much parity can one expect in a prison?

Prisoners: The responses under 'parity' highlight some of the clearest perceived difficulties, namely relating to prison officers' attitudes and treatment towards prisoners, confidentiality and consultation. While 58% of prisoners thought that most prison officers made an effort to treat them with respect, 70% went on to say that prison officers did not generally know what they were interested in. Only 17.6% of prisoners felt at risk from physical assault from other prisoners, and 10% said they felt at risk from officers. However, 30% of prisoners felt they had a significant number of problems with the staff, and 53% said the place they felt most relaxed in was their cell. 68% of prisoners felt that there were double standards in the application of rules to prisoners and prison officers. The categorisation of prisoners came up particularly in connection with this, especially that of limited D. A few prisoners made a link between those belonging to the 'god squad', and those who progress fastest. 59% felt grievances were not dealt with fairly, and 58% believed that prison officers lorded it over them at any opportunity.

There appears to be a serious problem with respect to lack of trust, since 60% did not trust their personal officers to keep information confidential. The whole issue of confidentiality, perhaps better described as discretion, was prominent in the questionnaire responses as well as the participant observation and in-depth interviews. Obviously the nature of a prison prohibits confidentiality that might threaten security, but nonetheless indiscreet use of information by an officer, from whichever department or group, will inevitably undermine attempts to create trust. In terms of the levels of consultation, 59% felt that important changes were made to the regime without much consultation of prisoners. More positively, the work parties were not simply places to be ordered around (71% did not agree that they were ordered around there) and 63% felt that their personal officers treated them as if their views were important.

Prison Officers: As with directness, prison officers' perceptions of parity were significantly more positive than those of prisoners. 100% agreed that they treated prisoners with respect, 94% said that officers encourage prisoners to take on more responsibility, and 88% stated that they consulted prisoners about changes, as far as they were able. However the officer interviews revealed frustration felt by the problems of management failing to support officers' decisions, and so undermining their authority. 59% of officers felt that prisoners' rights had to be overlooked sometimes to maintain discipline. One concerning result was that 53% of prison officers felt they were sometimes intimidated by prisoners.

Areas for discussion and review:

- 1) How clear are the guidelines for determining who should take responsibility for different kinds of decisions, and could they be made less ambiguous?
- 2) Ways of underlining the impartiality of decisions should be explored, especially concerning categorisation and parole.
- 3) There seems to be a divergence of opinion between prisoners and officers concerning the extent to which prisoners are included in the decision making about matters affecting hall life- is there a formal consultation process, or prisoner/officer committees to address this aspect of parity?¹³
- 4) Is the issue of discretion with regard to a prisoners personal details and situation a current concern?¹⁴ How clearly are the rules governing confidentiality laid out in operating procedures, and how well are they understood and applied by prison officers.

¹³ Q. 12
¹⁴ Q. 46

e) *Commonality*

Prisoners: Commonality was generally recognised to be necessary (81% agreed that it was in everyone's interests to see that prison regimes ran smoothly), but thought to be lacking. 58% said that they had nothing in common with most gallery officers. 58% denied the statement that prisoners and officers work together to improve hall facilities, and 70% felt that they were not interested in the same sorts of things as their officers. The personal officers seem to attract particular criticism in the accounts for lack of commonality (Q. 43, 58, 64). In some ways this was tempered by the prisoners' clear desire for the success of the personal officer function, as shown in the observation and interviews. More positively, prisoners felt that they shared a desire with their party officers to do a good job. The importance of tasks or shared activities is also reflected in the popularity of the PTI officers. In the gym and workshops, it was observed that prisoners freely approached and spoke to the prison officers in charge, and the apparently closer relationships of these groups were reflected in the interviews. Overall, 54% of prisoners said they were sympathetic to what Darroch Hall was trying to achieve.

Prison Officers: 77% of prison officers felt that prisoners had no idea about the problems they face, but stated that they did share common interests with prisoners. However, 88% agreed that prisoners and prison officers shared a common aim in trying to make the best of imprisonment, and 77% said that officers and prisoners try and help each other when the opportunities arrive.

Areas for discussion and review:

1) There seems to be a lack of opportunity for prisoners and officers to work together on anything, thus providing the possibility for commonality.¹⁵ This is a particularly important area to consider given the consistently positive results given by prisoners for the party officers. Areas to consider could include:

- joint organisation of events for prisoners' families

¹⁵ Q. 46

- establishment of prisoner/prison officer committees
- other opportunities to develop common goals, such as initiatives to improve physical facilities.

2) Within the current reorganisation of the staff structure, members of staff could be given specific responsibility for recreational activities for a limited period, e.g. six months, in the same way as an officer might be given responsibility for sentence planning.

vi) General

Overall, the most popular officer was the party officer (44% of prisoners said their best relationship was with a party officer). 48% said staff/prisoner relationships were okay, good or very good, 42% of prisoners judged that they were sometimes difficult, and 10% stated that they were tense. In all, officers felt that relationships between prisoners and staff in Darroch Hall were successful, with 77% stating that relationships were 'good' or 'very good'. However, officers were less happy with Darroch Hall as a regime. 77% felt that management did not take their views seriously, while it is concerning that 69% said that the regime at Darroch Hall was too liberal. These results will be of special importance and significance when a further audit report is available in a year's time to put these results in perspective.

Chapter 5 - Participant Observation

The participant observation was carried out by Mr Desmond Stockley on behalf of the Relationships Foundation. Mr Stockley was given free access around Greenock Prison for 6 days. The purpose of the observation was to pay specific attention to 'relational' aspects of the prison, and to uncover particular problems that face Greenock in building healthy relationships - obstacles that the questionnaire may not have anticipated, and therefore would fail to pick up on. The observer covered a wider range of the relationships within the prison than the other parts of the audit, so as to provide a broader context for his observations.

i) Method and practice of participant observation

Participant observation requires that the researcher attempts to alter the social dynamics of the prison as little as possible and yet at the same time take an active role. The extent to which this was achieved can be gathered from a number of incidents:

a) both prisoners and staff who approached the researcher for the first time even on the last day, asked why he was there showing that no preparation had been made except for a brief announcement in the staff notices.

b) on six occasions during the research period, seven people (one staff and six prisoners) thought that the researcher was a prisoner. This might have been helped on one day when the researcher was wearing a shirt identical to the prison pattern, although, so he was told, of far better quality.

c) one prisoner who had seen the researcher several times from the first day, thought he was a prisoner right up to the last afternoon. He regretted that he had not recognised who the researcher was because he would have liked to speak to him.

d) the new deputy governor had to be told who Mr Stockley was and indicated that he would have seen him as another prisoner had he not been told.

The researcher unobtrusively took notes wherever and whenever it was possible during the time spent in the prison. Since taking notes can sometimes bring about tension by appearing threatening and affecting the behaviour of the subjects, a small note book was used which was kept concealed at all times, and whenever possible short notes, key phrases or names were written down as soon as possible after the conversation or events. After returning to the hotel, fuller notes were written up using those already recorded at an earlier period. These jogged the memory of the researcher regarding something else which had been said earlier by another person.

It is considered that no data of importance has been lost although understandably some details may have been lost and the wordings of statements are not exact. But the great advantage of participant observation is that a broad picture of the situation can be obtained and that the dynamics of prison life can be better observed than through questionnaires or interviews. The picture provided may seem untidy but so is most social life.

While most of the time was spent in Darroch Hall, almost every department within the prison was visited. Most interviews were either arranged informally or the researcher simply arrived without prior notice. Only one was arranged formally, and that was with the social work department. He was also invited into a total of 7 cells for private discussion with prisoners.

The researcher was careful not to attempt any deception, where a prisoner or PO asked, a full and accurate answer was given. Despite the positive advantages of not being recognised, there

was one disadvantage. Prisoners - on the whole it did not apply to POs - who did not recognise the researcher as a researcher would be far less likely to speak to him, so inevitably some viewpoints were lost. Yet, there seemed to be no hesitation in speaking to him by those who recognised him.

The majority of the time, both prisoners and POs approached the researcher and their opening question generally was on the lines of "What are you doing?" After the explanation by the researcher, where the R Foundation was introduced with the main thrust of the research there were generally two possible sequences. Those who had approached would talk to the researcher or a rough time would be arranged when conversation could take place. Both POs and prisoners were on the whole very friendly although there were one or two exceptions on both sides. There was also great interest in the outcome of the research, *Will we get a copy of the report?* came from both staff and prisoners.

Not all the strands of the participant observation report were relevant to the narrow focus of this report, since some other observations were incorporated. Comments with relational implications have been summarised below:

a) Confidentiality. The observer did not pick up any adverse comments about lack of confidentiality about the personal officers. However the observer felt that this may be due to the prisoners seeing personal officers as prison officers, and therefore refraining from telling them certain things.

b) Body Searches. One officer speculated that body searches were the greatest threat to good relations, although they were sometimes unavoidable.

c) Sex Offenders. If prisoners are seen as the 'lowlife' in society, then within the prison itself sex offenders are generally perceived as the 'lowest of the low'. The observer felt that this rationalisation was to enable other prisoners to retain some self respect. Views were

mixed, although tending towards the negative. There was resentment against them at being in the same wing as those who had committed 'good crimes'. There was also a degree of identification with the offenders' victims. In certain circumstances the tension might spill over into trouble, although one prisoner judged that most inmates recognised the consequences of following that cultural norm and said "*most leave them alone because we've got too much to loose*".

d) Number and variety of prisoners. A common view amongst officers and prisoners, was that there were too many prisoners in Darroch Hall, and that the mix of prisoner was not right. While the situation was manageable, the observer concluded that the difference could be described as that between containment, and slight progress, and good progress.

e) Waiting to appoint personal officers. The observer noted a few complaints about not being able to change personal officers. Prisoners felt that requesting a change resulted in the prison officers perceiving it as a challenge to their authority. The observer suggested a possible solution to mismatches, by waiting a month to appoint the personal officer and make the decision a joint one between the prisoner and the prison staff. The initial role of personal officer could be carried out by the induction officer.

f) Home leave. One observation that was most strongly made, was the dilemma facing prisoners returning to their families for a few days, only to find their role taken over by their partner. One prisoner commented ..

"When I go home I've no authority over my kids, they see me as a visitor. She (the mother) has been father and mother and doesn't like me interfering too much. Don't get me wrong Prof, they're really pleased to see me back but I just don't know what my place is."

Could formal preparation for home leave be developed to help cope with the changed circumstances at home?

g) Boundaries. Confidentiality came up as an issue of major importance in counselling roles, with apparently little clarity as to what constituted a limit, and how it could be conveyed. The observer noted that the drug worker appeared to have established boundaries, which she explained to the prisoners before carrying out work with them. If she felt a conversation was becoming dangerous, she reminded the prisoners of the boundaries. For personal officers facing the dilemma of a close or open relationship balanced against security, a relationship which encourages openness within boundaries recognised by both sides will be important.

Chapter 6 - In-depth Interviewing¹⁶

i) Purpose of In-depth Interviews

Several factors contributed to the purpose of the in-depth interviews. Some of these were:

- a)* to clarify the reasons behind certain results to the questionnaire which appeared on the surface to be surprising;
- b)* to identify the intensity and nuance behind selected responses on the questionnaire;
- c)* to test the reliability of responses to the questionnaire;
- d)* to give opportunity (where possible) for the interviewee to suggest solutions to certain responses;
- e)* to engage staff and prisoners more closely in the process.

ii) Structure of the Interviews

A random selection of 20 of the 74 inmates of Darroch Hall was made for the purposes of the in-depth interviews. Of these, one was unavailable, 18 made themselves available by staying back from the worksheds or education block. One was hospitalised throughout the duration of the interviews and so unable to participate. Out of the 18 available the interviewer had time to interview 14. Out of the 11 staff available 6 were randomly selected for interview. One or two substitutions were made, owing to non-availability, for example, sickness. Of the six selected two were Senior Officers. The interviewer took notes throughout the interviews and where the interviewee agreed (and in almost all instances this was the case) the interview was taped. The average length of interview was 50 minutes. The majority of the interviews took place in the interview room of Darroch Hall.

¹⁶ the full report can be found in Appendix D

The intention of the interviewer was to select for each interview certain prepared questions. Some of these arose out of responses to the questionnaire; some were more open-ended questions and others followed lines of enquiry which developed out of the answers to these questions where an individual response was needed which the questionnaire could not provide. An example of a question demanding a more subjective response was to ask the interviewee how he perceived relationships in Darroch Hall to have changed since his arrival. This produced an interesting comparison which is noted later in the report,¹⁷ Interviewees were asked what factors they saw contributing to relationships in the Hall.

iii) Comment from the interviews recorded in the relational dimensions

This section will draw comment from the interviews to illustrate aspects of the five relational dimensions as defined in Chapter 2 'Methodology and Pre-trial' of the Report since the existence and development of these elements is a necessary basis for good relationships. All paragraph references refer to the full report, found in Appendix D.

a) Directness - the amount of face to face contact

Physical obstacles to directness in Darroch Hall did not appear to be a problem. The prisoners move around freely and staff have easy access to them. However, there are other barriers to directness, such as prisoners rebuffing the approach of a member of staff because of lack of trust, or fear of misinterpretation from fellow prisoners. Other examples of barriers included the approach of prisoner to staff being denied because, for example, staff are too busy or apparently unsympathetic or simply afraid of getting 'too close' to the prisoner.

- Several of the staff referred to conversations of over an hour with a distressed or needy prisoner.

¹⁷ Appendix D, part III

- Many prisoners reported ease of access to staff for conversations
- The canteen was a place where prisoners could communicate with staff easily
- but • Prisoners who talk to staff are sometimes thought to be 'grassing' ¹⁸
- One prisoner commented that he was informed of his failure to get his 'D' category by an officer shouting across the Hall. ¹⁹
- Another prisoner commented that he felt prisoners were in a 'lose, lose' situation; if they kept a low profile then they were antisocial, if they talked too much they were causing trouble. ²⁰

b) Continuity - regularity of contact and the length of time associated with someone

This was the most difficult category to identify. Although continuity of relationship between staff and prisoner was broken by the one in three weeks' leave and night shifts²¹ and officers moving onto other responsibilities, generally there seemed to be good conditions present for continuity to occur.

- Some prisoners knew each other from other institutions.
- Staff actually took part in the selection of prisoners from other institutions for Darroch Hall. Ideally this should mean that the staff can then continue to work with someone they have selected. ²²
- Management stated that it should be possible for an individual programme to be developed and followed through by staff for a prisoner.
- but • It takes time to build trust with a new draft of prisoners. ²³

18 para. III.18.
 19 para. III.09
 20 para. III.09
 21 para V.04
 22 para. III.29
 23 para. III.30

c) Multiplexity - the different contexts and situations in which meetings take place

Although the potential for multiplexity to occur in Darroch Hall was good it was not generally taken up. Officers were able to attend visits and therefore meet a prisoner's family, although it is not altogether clear how often this happened.

70 What happened
to Prison
Fellowship?

- An officer might see a prisoner at an evening activity, on the Hall and there was even one example of an officer taking a prisoner to his own home for a meal ²⁴
- Prisoners go swimming with an officer, accompany him on an SEL, and see him on the Hall
- Officers might see a prisoner at anger management, in the orderly room, on the Hall
- Prisoners might see each other on the Hall, in the worksheds, at the Gym
- but • Some staff would prefer not to go on an SEL with a prisoner, or go to family visits

d) Parity - equality of worth (not status) and the existence of mutual respect

Predictably, this was the area which held the most problems, and it was amongst the prisoners themselves as well as between prisoner and officer. However, there were solid examples of relationships based on mutual respect as well as those felt to be abusive.

- Officers are said to be friendly when they take a prisoner on SELs
- Officers who give reasons for their decisions to prisoners are seen as promoting healthy relationships on the Hall.²⁵
- but • Amongst the prisoners themselves there is a hierarchy of crimes.²⁶
- Officers sometimes belittle prisoners' problems.²⁷

24 para. III.11
25 para. III.08
26 para. III.04
27 para. III.09

- A prisoner said that 'where you have the reputation of being a hard man, the officers don't punish you'. ²⁸
- A prisoner talked about the presence of gangs in the Hall who made people afraid. ²⁹
- There was an apparent disparity in the system of awarding a 'D' category to a prisoner. ³⁰
- Staff felt undermined by not being allowed to be responsible for taking decisions. ³¹

e) Commonality - the existence of common purpose

There were examples of officers and prisoners working together to achieve a common goal, as there were counter examples of people working to upset initiatives.

- A sense of common purpose existed at the outset of the Hall as prisoners and staff worked together on cleaning, decorating and setting the Hall up. ³²
 - Joint prisoner/officer efforts included the Open Days, or the Christmas party
 - Two prisoners were able to work together on upholstery.
 - Members of staff worked with a prisoner to help him to gain parole, assisted him through anger management, on self-awareness, and advised him on the best way of progressing. ³³
- but
- Football had to be abandoned because of a match between prisoners and staff where prisoners were too aggressive.
 - Prisoners put pressure on other prisoners about drugs, money etc. causing divisions, and unrest

28 para. III.10
 29 para. III.02
 30 para. III.05
 31 para. III.22
 32 para. III.01
 33 para. III.16



- Prisoners find it hard to adjust to a regime where they can talk to staff, or play pool with them. ³⁴

In general, the interviewer observed that there were many positive aspects of the Hall which would serve to provide good conditions for relational proximity to occur. She felt that there would always be less accountability to the community of the Hall, as numbers increased and as more violent prisoners were included. There were many instances of insight on the part of the prisoners and staff. In one case, a prisoner asked his mother (who was finding it hard to cope with his sentence) if she would like to organise which members of the family came to his visits, so she felt involved. Members of staff repeatedly went the second mile for prisoners, walking into tense situations to pursue solutions, and putting themselves at risk in the process. Some questions with which the interviewer emerged were as follows:

- Could a prisoner pursue his sentence planning with the involvement of his spouse (an example of commonality)? What administrative difficulties would be present?
- Is there a way of increasing the potential for continuity between staff and prisoners through adjusting the shift system?
- Have the Prison Service really addressed the added dimension of doubling up in this Hall? Friction is certainly increased by this.
- What more can be done at the weekend to help the community of staff and prisoners to get through this long time? Prisoners used to being locked up in other institutions over the weekend find it hard. While one should be conscious of giving people a rest from work on Sunday, more activity needs to be organised.

34 para. III.29

- How can staff be helped to cope with the constant change of prisoner and the time it takes to build up trust with a prisoner and to help him in the adjustment to this new regime?

iv) Comparison of some elements of the interviews

During the interviews some things were expressed which either made a contrast between staff and prisoners, or registered a surprising similarity. Some of these are recorded below.

Comments derived from in-depth interviews

Prisoner Comment	Staff Comment
Think that more activities particularly at the weekends would be a good thing, wish that more things were laid on.	Staff think that more activities would be a good thing - want the initiative to come from the prisoners
Wish that they were given more responsibility and trust by the staff	Wish that the management would give them more scope to take their own decisions
Fear of being thought to be 'grassing' prevents them from speaking to staff sometimes.	Peer pressure makes some staff reluctant to form relationships with prisoners
Frustrated by the time taken for requests to be heard	Frustrated by the amount of paperwork involved in the grievance procedure
Angry about the seeming disparity in decisions about the progression through the categories	Unsure about the level at which decisions should be taken, leading to frustration amongst officers
Frustrated by staff not having the time to deal with their problems	Frustrated by prisoners 'cutting off' from them after a negative decision even though they may have been building a relationship with them for some time

Fear the staff will not keep their personal information confidential

Had their expectations raised by being moved to Darroch Hall with regard to parole etc.

Wish that they did not have to be doubled up

Most prisoners enjoy the opportunities for SEL's and escorted leave

Wish there was more on offer for Scotvec modules etc.

Prisoners feel that they are 'targeted' by staff at times

Handle stress in a variety of ways, often by holding it inside

Prisoners feel that staff have to take the brunt of communicating negative management decisions

Prisoners feel that the staff do not enable them to forget their violent past

Prisoners know which staff to approach to cope with their questions

Fear that they might be compromised by getting too close to prisoners

Had their expectations lowered by concerns over the security of jobs and how change will affect their families

Think that the Hall would be better if it had single cells

Staff take the opportunities to take prisoners out

Staff feel that more certification possibilities should be available for prisoners

Staff feel that prisoners 'target' them if they have had to intervene in, e.g. searches for drugs

Handle stress mostly by holding it inside.

Staff feel that they are too often left to take the flack for communicating negative management decisions to prisoners

Staff try to rehabilitate prisoners by helping them to 'address offending behaviour'

Some staff work at the small problems they are faced with, in order to avoid them escalating more serious problems

Prisoners want to know what more they need to do apart from becoming a model prisoner which will enable them to be given a placement

Think the Hall is overcrowded and that the 'wrong type' of prisoner is coming

Staff are faced with making the difficult decision as to when a prisoner is ready for a placement, and how to communicate a negative decision to them.

Staff think that in order for the philosophy of the Hall to work, numbers need to be reduced and that two or three ringleaders need to be sent back

Chapter 7 - Conclusions and Recommendations

i) Observations on the process

- a) In focusing on the prisoner-prison officer relationship the team recognises that other important factors were inevitably skimmed over. Future audits should aim to extend their coverage to the relationship between the officers and management of the prison, and prisoners and their families to gain a complete picture. Nonetheless, it is also recognised that different relationships are of more or less importance in different institutions. In a long-term situation, such as Darroch Hall, the prison officer to prisoner, was agreed to be the most crucial relationship to work on. However, in a short-term or remand prison, it may well be more useful to look at the prisoner/family relationship, since the needs, and indeed time scales, are so different.
- b) One striking feature of conversations with many prisoners was the relative context in which their criticisms and grievances were made. The Darroch Hall regime was often roundly criticised, but if the prisoner or a team member mentioned other prison regimes, Greenock was almost always the best prison a prisoner knew of. In this report the focus has been on Darroch Hall and it has not been contrasted with practice elsewhere. The team recognises specific criticisms and recommendations should not be interpreted outside the wider context of the generally favourable view which prisoners have of Darroch Hall.
- c) As the trial of a newly developed methodology, the audit at Darroch Hall taught the team an enormous amount. The learning process associated with such a project continues, and with

hindsight there are areas the team feels were less than perfect about the audit process. There are three specific areas that the next audit could improve on

- i) The collection of background data.
- ii) The 'continuity' and 'commonality' aspects of the audit did not exhaust the possibilities.
- iii) The participant observer was set to work before the team had carried out the questionnaire, because his observations were needed in the preparation for the questionnaire. With the information now available from the questionnaires, it would be possible to design the work of the participant observer more closely in the future. Consequently, they feel they could provide a more defined, questionnaire based brief in future.

ii) Summary from Audit of Areas for Review

- 1) The apparently inconsistent nature of Limited D categorisation
- 2) Establishing clear boundaries for prison officer decision making
- 3) Procedures and frequency of personal officer interviews
- 4) Personal officer contact with a prisoner's visitors
- 5) Activities at weekends
- 6) Issues of defining limits of confidentiality and discretion
- 7) Opportunities for prisoner/prison officer pursue common goals
- 8) Considerations of type and number of prisoners within the Hall
- 9) Strategies to prevent prisoners bottling up emotions

iii) Next step in process

Throughout this report, the purpose of the audit has been identified as a benchmark, a mark off point which will be most useful when in context with a similar benchmark further down the line. It follows, then, that the most obvious 'next-step' will be a future audit on Darroch

Hall, preferably 9-12 months after the first one. It is hoped that through tackling the areas highlighted in this report, and through other initiatives to build relationships such as between prisoners and prison officers, that the next audit will reveal the continued development of healthy relationships in Darroch Hall.

Appendix A

Questions to Prison Officers

Age: 21-30 31-40 41-50 over 50

Length of time in Prison Service: 0-4 years 5-10 years over 10 years

1) Where do you most get to talk to prisoners? (please tick one box only)

- cell
 - gallery
 - recreation area
 - work place
 - cafeteria
 - gym
 - corridor
 - other (please say where)
-

2) In which area of the prison do you get to talk to fellow prison officers the most?
(please tick one box only)

- landing
 - recreation area
 - work place
 - gym
 - corridor
 - hall offices
 - muster room
 - other (please say where)
-

Appendix A

3) What activities do you do with prisoners? (please tick more than one where necessary)

- work
- recreation
- P.E./sport
- escorted leave
- work/community service
- town visits
- home visits
- chapel/religious activities
- prisoner/prison officer committees
- personal officer interviews
- other

4) Would you say you have good relationships with **most** of the prisoners you see regularly?

- yes
- no

5) How many prisoners do you regularly have conversations with that go beyond the superficial?

- 0
- 1-2
- 3-5
- 5-7
- 7 or above.

6) Would you agree that **most** officers know what prisoners are really interested in?

- yes
- no

7) Do you think you know what prisoners are really interested in?

- yes
- no

Appendix A

8) Which of the following subjects do you talk to prisoners about?

(tick more than one box if necessary)

- my family
 - prisoner's family
 - sport/football
 - my problems
 - prisoner's problems
 - TV or films
 - prison life
 - the prisoners' future
 - the weather (or other superficial conversation)
 - other (please say what)
-

9) In prison, which activity do you think gives prisoners the opportunity to take on most responsibility?

(please tick one box only)

- work (in workshop)
 - recreation activities
 - educational opportunities
 - community service
 - prisoner committee
 - exercise/sport
 - visits
 - unescorted leave
 - other (please say which one)
-

none

10) Are you happy for **most** prisoners to call you by your first name?

- yes
- no

11) Would you agree that **most** prison officers make an effort to treat prisoners with respect here?

- yes
- no

Appendix A

12) In which activity do you get to talk to other prison officers the most? (please tick one box only)

- work
 - recreation
 - exercise/sport
 - educational activities
 - meal times
 - chapel/religious activities
 - union meetings
 - social /off duty
 - community activities
 - visits
 - other (please say which one)
-

13) Which activity helps you to get the best understanding of prisoners? (please tick one box only)

- work
 - recreation
 - P.E./sport
 - educational activities
 - chapel/religious activities
 - Town visits
 - escorted leave
 - personal officer interviews
 - visits
 - other (please say which one)
-

14) Have you ever been assaulted in Darroch Hall by a prisoner?

- yes
- no

15) Do you ever feel at risk or intimidated?

- yes
- no

Appendix A

16) If yes, where?

- gallery
 - cell
 - dining hall
 - recreation area
 - gym/sports areas
 - corridors
 - cafeteria
 - interview rooms
 - orderly room
 - t.v. rooms
 - chapel
 - work areas
 - other (please say where)
-

17) Where in the prison do you feel most relaxed? (please tick one box only)

- landing
 - cell
 - washing facilities
 - dining hall
 - recreation area
 - gym/sports areas
 - corridors
 - t.v. rooms
 - chapel
 - muster room
 - work areas
 - other (please say where)
-

Appendix A

18) How would you describe **most** staff-prisoner relationships here?

- very good
- good
- okay
- sometimes difficult
- tense

19) Do you have major problems with any of the prisoners?

- yes
- no

20) If yes, what kinds of problems?

21) How long have you worked in Greenock?

- 0 to 3 months
- 3 months to 1 year
- 1 to 3 years
- more than 3 years

22) Have you ever worked in other prisons?

- yes
- no

23) If yes, which type? (max security/open etc)

24) How often have you been moved from one group to another?

- never
- once
- 2 times
- 3 times
- 4 or more times

Appendix A

25) In your opinion, is the regime at Darroch Hall too liberal?

yes

no

26) Do you feel that the management take your views seriously when making important changes?

yes

no

27) What makes quality conversation with prisoners difficult? (tick more than one if necessary)

too much paper work

lack of training

inexperience

prisoners' attitudes

low staff ratio

no trust

ethos of prison

Prison Officers

	Strongly Agree	Slightly Agree	Slightly Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree
1. Even if we stop to talk to prisoners, they don't often reply.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Getting to know prisoners is difficult because they're constantly transferred.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. It is usually dangerous to develop close relationships with prisoners.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Officers know how prisoners feel here because we all share the same environment.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Prisoners don't have much opportunity to learn new skills here.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Prisoners have no idea about the problems I face.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. I am worried that I might be attacked by prisoners here.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. I am sometimes intimidated by prisoners here.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Prison officers tend to be restricted to only seeing prisoners in one part of the prison.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Prisoners and prison officers never get to work together as a team.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. There's no time in the daily routine to have a proper conversation with a prisoner.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. I would avoid meeting an ex-prisoner from this prison on the street in years to come.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix A

13. Prisoners will rarely tell you what they are really thinking.
14. Prison officers and prisoners have very few common interests.
15. I'm not briefed much about the prisoners I'll be looking after when I change jobs in the prison.
16. I feel that I see certain prisoners regularly enough to know them well.
17. Officers know what changes prisoners would like to see in this regime.
18. The system moves you around frequently so you can never get to know anyone very well.
19. I never have a prisoner in my work party long enough to teach them anything useful.
20. The prisoners grievance procedure works satisfactorily.
21. I have a good all-round picture of the prisoners I deal with.
22. I have nothing in common with most prisoners.
23. We usually treat prisoners with respect.
24. I enjoy the time I spend talking to prisoners.
25. Prisoners' rights have to be overlooked sometimes to maintain discipline.

Appendix A

26. I've been on this wing long enough to see prisoners go through good times and bad.
27. We never get to see prisoners' families or friends.
28. Officers are sensitive to prisoners when they are depressed .
29. There is nowhere to have a confidential conversation with a prisoner about his personal problems.
30. The common aim of prisoners and prison officers is to make the best of imprisonment.
31. Prison officers and prisoners try and help each other when the opportunities arrive.
32. There is a real clash of interests between custody and compassion.
33. I see prisoners in various different activities around the prison
34. We would know prisoners better if we saw them in less formal situations.
35. You can't be too nice to prisoners or they'll take advantage of you.
36. You have to be tough with prisoners to survive.
37. Officers are usually willing to accept criticism from the prisoners.
38. As far as we are able, we consult prisoners when making changes.

Appendix A

- | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 39. Officers encourage prisoners to make decisions for themselves. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 40. Officers encourage prisoners to take on more responsibility. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 41. Officers seldom order prisoners around. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 42. We don't have any difficulty making prisoners obey the rules here. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 43. Prison officers are too busy to see the prisoners assigned to them on a regular basis. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 44. Prison officers always give help to prisoners when asked. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Questions to Prisoners

1) Age: 21-35 36-50 50+

2) Total Length of Sentence: 4-10 years 10-20 years lifers

3) In which area of the prison do you get to talk to prison officers the most?
(please tick one box only)

- cell
- gallery
- recreation area
- cafeteria
- corridors
- work place
- gym
- other (please say where)

 don't talk to prison officers

4) In which area of the prison do you get to talk to fellow prisoners the most?
(please tick one box only)

- cell
- gallery
- recreation area
- cafeteria
- corridors
- work place
- gym/sporting facilities
- other (please say where)

Appendix A

5) What activities do you do jointly with staff? (please tick more than one if necessary)

- work
- recreation
- P.E.
- escorted leave
- eating
- shopping
- outside activities
(hillwalking, jogging, swimming etc.)
- chapel/religious activities
- other

6) How often do you have a formal interview with your personal officer?

- every day
- at least once a week
- at least once a month
- less than once a month
- never

7) How often do you see your personal officer at other times?

- every day
- at least once a week
- at least once a month
- less than once a month
- never

Appendix A

8) How many formal small group meetings of between 3-12 people (such as anger management, drug counselling, lifers group etc.) have you been involved with in the last month?

- none
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- more than 4

9) Which officer do you spend **most** time in conversation with?

(please tick one box only)

- my personal officer
- other gallery officer
- party officer
- educational staff
- other officer
- don't have conversations with officers

10) Which of the following subjects do you talk to him/her about?

(tick more than one box if necessary)

- my family
- officer's family
- sport
- my problems
- officer's problems
- TV, films or videos
- prison life
- weather (superficial conversation)
- the future
- other (please say what)

 none

11) How often do you meet that officer?

- every day
- at least once a week
- at least once a month
- less than once a month

Appendix A

12) In prison, which activity do you think gives you the opportunity to take on most responsibility?
(please tick one box only)

- work
- recreation activities
- educational opportunities
- placement
- prisoner committies
- visits
- unescorted leave
- other (please say which one)

- none

13) Do **most** prisoners call officers by their first names?

- yes
- no

14) Do you think that **most** prison officers make an effort to treat prisoners with respect here?

- yes
- no

15) Do you think that **most** of the prison officers know what prisoners are interested in ?

- yes
- no

Appendix A

16) In which activity do you get to talk to prison officers the most?(please tick one box only)

- work
- recreation
- exercise
- educational activities
- meal times
- chapel/religious activities
- visits
- town visits
- escorted leave
- other (please say which one)

 don't talk to prison officers

17) In which activity do you get to talk to other prisoners the most?

(please tick one box only)

- work
- recreation
- exercise
- educational activities
- meal times
- chapel/religious activities
- visits
- other (please say which one)

 don't talk to other prisoners

18) Are you involved in any educational activities? yes

no

19) Which kind of officer would you say you have the best relationship with?

(please tick one box only)

- my personal officer
- other gallery officer (not personal officer)
- party officer
- educational staff
- other officer

Appendix A

20) How long have you known that officer?

- less than three months
- three months to a year
- more than a year

21) Do you ever feel at risk from physical assault from other prisoners?

- yes
- no

22) If yes, where? (please tick more than one box if necessary)

- landing
 - cell
 - archways
 - t.v. rooms
 - cafeteria
 - recreation area
 - gym
 - punishment area
 - seperate cells
 - orderly room
 - work sheds
 - chapel
 - other (please say where)
-

23) Do you ever feel at risk from physical assault from prison officers?

- yes
- no

Appendix A

24) If yes, where? (please tick more than one box if necessary)

- landing
 - cell
 - archways
 - t.v. rooms
 - cafeteria
 - recreation area
 - gym
 - punishment area
 - seperate cells
 - orderly room
 - work sheds
 - chapel
 - other (please say where)
-

25) Where in the prison do you feel most relaxed? (please tick only one box)

- landing
 - cell
 - archways
 - t.v. rooms
 - cafeteria
 - recreation area
 - gym
 - work sheds
 - punishment area
 - seperate cells
 - orderly room
 - chapel
 - other (please say where)
-

Appendix A

26) How would you describe staff-prisoner relationships here?

- very good
- good
- okay
- sometimes difficult
- tense

27) Do you have a significant number of problems with any of the staff?

- yes
- no

28) If yes, which kinds of officers...? (please tick more than one box if necessary)

- your personal officer
- party officer
- educational staff
- other gallery officer
- other officer

Appendix A

29) If yes, what kinds of problems? (please do not include anyone's name in this)

30) How long have you been in Darroch Hall during **this** sentence?

- less than 1 month
- 1 to 3 months
- 3 months to 1 year
- 1 to 3 years
- more than 3 years

31) How often have you changed personal officer during this sentence?

- have kept same personal officer
- have had two
- have had three
- have had four
- have had more than four

Appendix A

Prisoners

	Agree Strongly	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree Strongly	Neither agree or disagree
1. I rarely get informed directly about things that matter to me in here.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. The prison rules apply equally to prisoners and prison officers.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. We're just ordered around in the work parties.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. I don't get to see my personal officer very regularly.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Sometimes gallery officers make you feel very small.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Gallery officers always uphold my rights.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. My personal officer treats me as if my views are important.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. I have nothing in common with most gallery officers.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. I'm never treated as a person, just a prisoner.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Prison officers see prisoners so much that they know them well.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. I only ever see my gallery officer on the gallery.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Gallery officers take what we think into account when they carry through important changes to the prison regime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix A

13. I feel that my movement in the prison system follows a planned route.
14. I can see a prison officer when I need to.
15. You don't know what prison officers are doing here from one week to the next.
16. If I have a problem at work, the system makes it hard for me to approach my party officer directly.
17. Most prisoners are sympathetic to what this prison is trying to achieve.
18. Personal officers can understand what I've been through, even though they are on the other side.
19. I want the same things for this prison as my gallery officer.
20. My party officers have known me since I arrived here.
21. Work is good, because it helps staff to see you as more than a prisoner.
22. When I raise a grievance, I usually get a fair and reasoned reply.
23. There is never a prison officer to talk to you.
24. If I want to see my personal officer, I have to approach him/her through another member of staff.
25. My personal officer often spends some time with my visitors as well as with me on my own.
26. Most prison officers I deal with have got good all-round information about me.

Appendix A

27. Even when they don't have to, gallery officers take time to talk to me.
28. You are often stuck with the same officer.
29. My personal officer is always given enough time to discuss my problems with me if I need him/her to.
30. Prisoners and prison staff here work together to make the facilities in the hall better.
31. I don't have to keep my emotions bottled up here.
32. If you only see an officer in prison, you get a fairly limited view of him.
33. My personal officer would recognize my closest family members.
34. The common aim of prisoners and prison staff is to make the best of imprisonment.
35. Talking to a prison officer is like talking to a brick wall.
36. My personal officer supports me in my goals for my future.
37. Personal officers don't treat us as adults.
38. I can get to see somebody about something that's worrying me quickly.
39. My party officer isn't really given an opportunity to help me to develop new skills.

Appendix A

40. The gallery officers have been here long enough for them to know me well.

41. My personal officer would hear from other officers if I had done well in some other part of prison life.

42. It is in our interests to see that everything runs smoothly.

43. I'm interested in the same sorts of things as the prison officers.

44. There's no time in the daily routine to have a proper conversation with my gallery officer.

45. You don't see much of the Governor grades here at Greenock.

46. I don't feel that I can trust my personal officer to keep my personal information confidential.

47. The system moves staff about frequently, so you you can never get to know them very well.

48. When a personal officer moves on, it leads to a lot of change here.

49. I feel that I have known my personal officer for a long time.

50. Doing different things together has helped me to get to know staff better.

51. I feel I'm always being pushed around here by the officers.

52. Party officers and prisoners both want to do

Appendix A

- | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a good job. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 53. I often see my gallery officer outside the gallery. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 54. When a new gallery officer arrives, he/she never seems to know what's what for the first few weeks. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 55. You only see personal officers in a formal setting. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 56. Personal officers make the effort to be interested in me. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 57. I've known my prison officer for long enough to see him more as a person. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 58. My personal officer has the same goals for the future as I do. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 59. Prison staff love to throw the rule book at you. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 60. There are few opportunities to work together on things with my personal officer. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 61. I don't have the chance to take part in the full range of educational and recreational activities in this prison. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 62. I expect to have at least one new personal officer every year while I'm in this prison. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 63. When told to jump there's no choice ; it's either jump or you're for the high jump. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 64. My personal officer doesn't look at life the same way I do. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 65 My personal officer takes time to talk to me. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Appendix A

66. My party officer allows me to take on a variety of tasks.

67. My party officer would tell my gallery officer if I had done well or badly in my work.

68. My personal officer doesn't have the opportunity to see the different things I'm good at.

69. Prison officers lord it over us whenever they can.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP!

Appendix B

Questions to Prison Officers

Age:	<input type="checkbox"/> 21-30	<input type="checkbox"/> 31-40	<input type="checkbox"/> 41-50	<input type="checkbox"/> over 50
Length of time in Prison Service:	<input type="checkbox"/> 0-4 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 5-10 years	<input type="checkbox"/> over 10 years	

11.8% 70.6% 11.8% 5.9%

26.7% 60.0% 13.3%

1) Where do you most get to talk to prisoners? (please tick one box only)

- cell 0
 - gallery 87.5%
 - recreation area 0
 - work place 0
 - cafeteria 0
 - gym 0
 - corridor 0
 - other (please say where) 12.5%
-

2) In which area of the prison do you get to talk to fellow prison officers the most?
(please tick one box only)

- landing 6.3%
 - recreation area 0
 - work place 25.0%
 - gym 12.5%
 - corridor 0
 - hall offices 43.8%
 - muster room 12.5%
 - other (please say where) 0
-

Appendix B

3) What activities do you do with prisoners? (please tick more than one where necessary)

<input type="checkbox"/> work	11.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> recreation	52.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> P.E./sport	11.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> escorted leave	58.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> work/community service	5.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> town visits	76.5%
<input type="checkbox"/> home visits	41.2%
<input type="checkbox"/> chapel/religious activities	11.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> prisoner/prison officer committees	23.5%
<input type="checkbox"/> personal officer interviews	88.2%
<input type="checkbox"/> other	5.9%

4) Would you say you have good relationships with **most** of the prisoners you see regularly?

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	100%
<input type="checkbox"/> no	0

5) How many prisoners do you regularly have conversations with that go beyond the superficial?

<input type="checkbox"/> 0	0
<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2	0
<input type="checkbox"/> 3-5	17.6%
<input type="checkbox"/> 5-7	29.4%
<input type="checkbox"/> 7 or above.	52.9%

6) Would you agree that **most** officers know what prisoners are really interested in?

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	76.5%
<input type="checkbox"/> no	23.5%

7) Do you think **you** know what prisoners are really interested in?

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	88.2%
<input type="checkbox"/> no	11.8%

Appendix B

8) Which of the following subjects do you talk to prisoners about?

(tick more than one box if necessary)

- | | |
|--|-------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my family | 17.6% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> prisoner's family | 94.1% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sport/football | 52.9% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my problems | 5.9% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> prisoner's problems | 94.1% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> TV or films | 23.5% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> prison life | 76.5% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> the prisoners' future | 88.2% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> the weather (or other superficial conversation) | 23.5% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other (please say what) | o |
-

9) In prison, which activity do you think gives prisoners the opportunity to take on most responsibility?

(please tick one box only)

- | | |
|---|-------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> work (in workshop) | o |
| <input type="checkbox"/> recreation activities | o |
| <input type="checkbox"/> educational opportunities | 13.3% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> community service | 33.3% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> prisoner committee | 6.7% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> exercise/sport | 13.3% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> visits | o |
| <input type="checkbox"/> unescorted leave | 26.7% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other (please say which one) | 6.7% |
-

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> none | o |
|-------------------------------|---|

10) Are you happy for **most** prisoners to call you by your first name?

- | | |
|------------------------------|------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 100% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> no | o |

11) Would you agree that **most** prison officers make an effort to treat prisoners with respect here?

- | | |
|------------------------------|------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 100% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> no | o |

Appendix B

12) In which activity do you get to talk to other prison officers the most? (please tick one box only)

<input type="checkbox"/> work	64.7%
<input type="checkbox"/> recreation	o
<input type="checkbox"/> exercise/sport	5.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> educational activities	o
<input type="checkbox"/> meal times	11.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> chapel/religious activities	o
<input type="checkbox"/> union meetings	o
<input type="checkbox"/> social /off duty	11.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> community activities	o
<input type="checkbox"/> visits	o
<input type="checkbox"/> other (please say which one)	5.9%

13) Which activity helps you to get the best understanding of prisoners? (please tick one box only)

<input type="checkbox"/> work	o
<input type="checkbox"/> recreation	5.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> P.E./sport	o
<input type="checkbox"/> educational activities	o
<input type="checkbox"/> chapel/religious activities	o
<input type="checkbox"/> town visits	11.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> escorted leave	23.5%
<input type="checkbox"/> personal officer interviews	52.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> visits	o
<input type="checkbox"/> other (please say which one)	5.9%

14) Have you ever been assaulted in Darroch Hall by a prisoner?

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	5.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> no	94.1%

15) Do you ever feel at risk or intimidated?

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	47.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> no	52.9%

Appendix B

16) If yes, where?

<input type="checkbox"/> gallery	23.5%
<input type="checkbox"/> cell	5.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> dining hall	47.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> recreation area	47.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> gym/sports areas	47.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> corridors	47.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> cafeteria	47.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> interview rooms	5.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> orderly room	11.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> t.v. rooms	5.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> chapel	47.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> work areas	47.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> other (please say where)	47.1%

17) Where in the prison do you feel most relaxed? (please tick one box only)

<input type="checkbox"/> landing	17.6%
<input type="checkbox"/> cell	0
<input type="checkbox"/> washing facilities	0
<input type="checkbox"/> dining hall	5.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> recreation area	5.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> gym/sports areas	23.5%
<input type="checkbox"/> corridors	0
<input type="checkbox"/> t.v. rooms	0
<input type="checkbox"/> chapel	0
<input type="checkbox"/> muster room	35.3%
<input type="checkbox"/> work areas	0
<input type="checkbox"/> other (please say where)	11.8%

18) How would you describe **most** staff-prisoner relationships here?

<input type="checkbox"/> very good	11.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> good	64.7%
<input type="checkbox"/> okay	17.6%
<input type="checkbox"/> sometimes difficult	5.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> tense	0

Appendix B

19) Do you have major problems with any of the prisoners?

- yes **18.8%**
- no **81.3%**

20) If yes, what kinds of problems?

21) How long have you worked in Greenock?

- 0 to 3 months
- 3 months to 1 year
- 1 to 3 years
- more than 3 years

22) Have you ever worked in other prisons?

- yes **41.2%**
- no **58.8%**

23) If yes, which type? (max security/open etc)

24) How often have you been moved from one group to another?

- never **12.5%**
- once **25%**
- 2 times **25%**
- 3 times **18.8%**
- 4 or more times **18.8%**

25) In your opinion, is the regime at Darroch Hall too liberal?

- yes **68.8%**
- no **31.3%**

26) Do you feel that the management take your views seriously when making important changes?

- yes **29.4%**
- no **70.6%**

Appendix B

27) What makes quality conversation with prisoners difficult? (tick more than one if necessary)

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> too much paper work | 52.9% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> lack of training | 5.9% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> inexperience | 5.9% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> prisoners' attitudes | 52.9% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> low staff ratio | 64.7% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> no trust | 11.8% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ethos of prison | 41.2% |

Appendix B

Results

	Strongly Agree	Slightly Agree	Slightly Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree
1. Even if we stop to talk to prisoners, they don't often reply.	0	5.9	29.4	64.7	0
2. Getting to know prisoners is difficult because they're constantly transferred.	0	11.8	17.6	70.6	0
3. It is usually dangerous to develop close relationships with prisoners.	17.6	17.6	29.4	35.3	0
4. Officers know how prisoners feel here because we all share the same environment.	5.9	29.4	41.2	23.5	0
5. Prisoners don't have much opportunity to learn new skills here.	23.5	17.6	11.8	47.1	0
6. Prisoners have no idea about the problems I face.	35.3	35.3	23.5	5.9	0
7. I am worried that I might be attacked by prisoners here.	0	23.5	0	58.8	17.6
8. I am sometimes intimidated by prisoners here.	0	35.3	5.9	47.1	11.8
9. Prison officers tend to be restricted to only seeing prisoners in one part of the prison.	23.5	11.8	29.4	35.3	0
10. Prisoners and prison officers never get to work together as a team.	5.9	17.6	23.5	47.1	5.9
11. There's no time in the daily routine to have a proper conversation with a prisoner.	23.5	17.6	29.4	29.4	0
12. I would avoid meeting an ex-prisoner from this prison on the street in years to come.	0	11.8	17.6	64.7	5.9

Appendix B

13. Prisoners will rarely tell you what they are really thinking.	17.6	52.9	17.6	5.9	5.9
14. Prison officers and prisoners have very few common interests.	5.9	17.6	52.9	23.5	0
15. I'm not briefed much about the prisoners I'll be looking after when I change jobs in the prison.	37.5	18.8	31.3	6.3	0
16. I feel that I see certain prisoners regularly enough to know them well.	35.3	52.9	11.8	0	0
17. Officers know what changes prisoners would like to see in this regime.	47.1	35.3	11.8	5.9	0
18. The system moves you around frequently so you can never get to know anyone very well.	5.9	0	58.8	35.3	0
19. I never have a prisoner in my work party long enough to teach them anything useful.	0	6.3	18.8	31.3	43.8
20. The prisoners grievance procedure works satisfactorily.	17.6	41.2	29.4	5.9	5.9
21. I have a good all-round picture of the prisoners I deal with.	29.4	47.1	17.6	5.9	0
22. I have nothing in common with most prisoners.	0	17.6	41.2	35.3	5.9
23. We usually treat prisoners with respect.	64.7	35.3	0	0	0
24. I enjoy the time I spend talking to prisoners.	58.8	41.2	0	0	0
25. Prisoners' rights have to be overlooked sometimes to maintain discipline.	11.8	29.4	17.6	41.2	0
26. I've been on this wing long enough to see prisoners go through good times and bad.	47.1	41.2	11.8	0	0

Appendix B

27. We never get to see prisoners' families or friends.	o	o	23.5	76.5	o
28. Officers are sensitive to prisoners when they are depressed .	35.3	47.1	17.6	o	o
29. There is nowhere to have a confidential conversation with a prisoner about his personal problems.	11.8	17.6	23.5	47.1	o
30. The common aim of prisoners and prison officers is to make the best of imprisonment.	64.7	23.5	5.9	o	5.9
31. Prison officers and prisoners try and help each other when the opportunities arrive.	11.8	64.7	11.8	11.8	o
32. There is a real clash of interests between custody and compassion.	17.6	41.2	29.4	11.8	o
33. I see prisoners in various different activities around the prison	52.9	41.2	5.9	o	o
34. We would know prisoners better if we saw them in less formal situations.	29.4	29.4	17.6	23.5	o
35. You can't be too nice to prisoners or they'll take advantage of you.	23.5	47.1	23.5	5.9	o
36. You have to be tough with prisoners to survive.	11.8	11.8	17.6	41.2	17.6
37. Officers are usually willing to accept criticism from the prisoners.	11.8	41.2	41.2	5.9	o
38. As far as we are able, we consult prisoners when making changes.	41.2	47.1	11.8	o	o
39. Officers encourage prisoners to make decisions for themselves.	64.7	23.5	5.9	5.9	o
40. Officers encourage prisoners to take on more responsibility.	70.6	23.5	5.9	o	o

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41. Officers seldom order prisoners around.	29.4	52.9	17.6	o	o
42. We don't have any difficulty making prisoners obey the rules here.	17.6	35.3	41.2	5.9	o
43. Prison officers are too busy to see the prisoners assigned to them on a regular basis.	5.9	64.7	5.9	23.5	o
44. Prison officers always give help to prisoners when asked.	52.9	35.3	11.8	o	o

Appendix B

Questions to Prisoners

	54%	40%	6%
1) Age:	<input type="checkbox"/> 21-35	<input type="checkbox"/> 36-50	<input type="checkbox"/> 50+
	41.7%	10.4%	47.9%
2) Total Length of Sentence:	<input type="checkbox"/> 4-10 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 10-20 years	<input type="checkbox"/> lifers

3) In which area of the prison do you get to talk to prison officers the most?

(please tick one box only)

<input type="checkbox"/> cell	0
<input type="checkbox"/> gallery	33.3%
<input type="checkbox"/> recreation area	17.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> cafeteria	2.2%
<input type="checkbox"/> corridors	2.2%
<input type="checkbox"/> work place	31.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> gym	2.2%
<input type="checkbox"/> other (please say where)	8.9%

 don't talk to prison officers **2.2%**

4) In which area of the prison do you get to talk to fellow prisoners the most?

(please tick one box only)

<input type="checkbox"/> cell	12.5%
<input type="checkbox"/> gallery	17.5%
<input type="checkbox"/> recreation area	57.5%
<input type="checkbox"/> cafeteria	2.5%
<input type="checkbox"/> corridors	0
<input type="checkbox"/> work place	2.5%
<input type="checkbox"/> gym/sporting facilities	0
<input type="checkbox"/> other (please say where)	7.5%

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5) What activities do you do jointly with staff? (please tick more than one if necessary)

- | | |
|--|-------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> work | 54.9% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> recreation | 25.5% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> P.E. | 37.3% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> escorted leave | 54.9% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> eating | 25.5% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> shopping | 41.2% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> outside activities
(hillwalking, jogging, swimming etc.) | 58.8% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> chapel/religious activities | 13.7% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other | 0 |

6) How often do you have a formal interview with your personal officer?

- | | |
|---|-----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> every day | 2% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> at least once a week | 2% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> at least once a month | 50% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> less than once a month | 32% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | 14% |

7) How often do you see your personal officer at other times?

- | | |
|---|-----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> every day | 22% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> at least once a week | 46% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> at least once a month | 10% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> less than once a month | 10% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | 12% |

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8) How many formal small group meetings of between 3-12 people (such as anger management, drug counselling, lifers group etc.) have you been involved with in the last month?

<input type="checkbox"/> none	62%
<input type="checkbox"/> 1	20%
<input type="checkbox"/> 2	4%
<input type="checkbox"/> 3	10%
<input type="checkbox"/> 4	4%
<input type="checkbox"/> more than 4	0

9) Which officer do you spend most time in conversation with?

(please tick one box only)

<input type="checkbox"/> my personal officer	49%
<input type="checkbox"/> other gallery officer	41%
<input type="checkbox"/> party officer	47%
<input type="checkbox"/> educational staff	37%
<input type="checkbox"/> other officer	17%
<input type="checkbox"/> don't have conversations with officers	9%

10) Which of the following subjects do you talk to him/her about?

(tick more than one box if necessary)

<input type="checkbox"/> my family	49%
<input type="checkbox"/> officer's family	9.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> sport	45.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> my problems	31.4%
<input type="checkbox"/> officer's problems	5.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> TV, films or videos	15.7%
<input type="checkbox"/> prison life	68.6%
<input type="checkbox"/> weather (superficial conversation)	17.6%
<input type="checkbox"/> the future	43.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> other (please say what)	7.8%

 none 7.8%

11) How often do you meet that officer?

<input type="checkbox"/> every day	35.6%
<input type="checkbox"/> at least once a week	46.7%
<input type="checkbox"/> at least once a month	11.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> less than once a month	6.7%

Appendix B

12) In prison, which activity do you think gives you the opportunity to take on most responsibility?
(please tick one box only)

<input type="checkbox"/> work	20.5%
<input type="checkbox"/> recreation activities	2.3%
<input type="checkbox"/> educational opportunities	9.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> placement	22.7%
<input type="checkbox"/> prisoner committies	6.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> visits	4.5%
<input type="checkbox"/> unescorted leave	22.7%
<input type="checkbox"/> other (please say which one)	

<input type="checkbox"/> none	6.8%

13) Do **most** prisoners call officers by their first names?

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	80.4%
<input type="checkbox"/> no	19.6%

14) Do you think that **most** prison officers make an effort to treat prisoners with respect here?

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	58.3%
<input type="checkbox"/> no	41.7%

15) Do you think that **most** of the prison officers know what prisoners are interested in ?

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	30%
<input type="checkbox"/> no	70%

Appendix B

16) In which activity do you get to talk to prison officers the most?(please tick one box only)

- | | |
|---|-------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> work | 34.8% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> recreation | 21.7% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> exercise | 0 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> educational activities | 2.2% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> meal times | 0 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> chapel/religious activities | 0 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> visits | 0 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> town visits | 4.3% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> escorted leave | 32.6% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other (please say which one) | 2.2% |

 don't talk to prison officers 2.2%

17) In which activity do you get to talk to other prisoners the most?

(please tick one box only)

- | | |
|---|-------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> work | 9.5% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> recreation | 78.6% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> exercise | 2.4% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> educational activities | 0 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> meal times | 2.4% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> chapel/religious activities | 0 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> visits | 2.4% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other (please say which one) | 2.4% |

 don't talk to other prisoners

18) Are you involved in any educational activities?

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 56% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> no | 44% |

19) Which kind of officer would you say you have the best relationship with?

(please tick one box only)

- | | |
|--|-------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my personal officer | 24.4% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other gallery officer (not p o) | 11.1% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> party officer | 44.4% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> educational staff | 13.3% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other officer | 6.7% |

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20) How long have you known that officer?

<input type="checkbox"/> less than three months	18.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> three months to a year	52.1%
<input type="checkbox"/> more than a year	29.2%

21) Do you ever feel at risk from physical assault from other prisoners?

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	17.6%
<input type="checkbox"/> no	82.4%

22) If yes, where? (please tick more than one box if necessary)

<input type="checkbox"/> landing	9.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> cell	11.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> archways	7.8%
<input type="checkbox"/> t.v. rooms	5.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> cafeteria	2.0%
<input type="checkbox"/> recreation area	3.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> gym	2.0%
<input type="checkbox"/> punishment area	2.0%
<input type="checkbox"/> seperate cells	2.0%
<input type="checkbox"/> orderly room	2.0%
<input type="checkbox"/> work sheds	3.9%
<input type="checkbox"/> chapel	2.0%
<input type="checkbox"/> other (please say where)	2.0%

23) Do you ever feel at risk from physical assault from prison officers?

<input type="checkbox"/> yes	10%
<input type="checkbox"/> no	90%

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24) If yes, where? (please tick more than one box if necessary)

- | | |
|---|-----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> landing | 10% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> cell | 6% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> archways | 10% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> t.v. rooms | 10% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> cafeteria | 10% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> recreation area | 10% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> gym | 4% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> punishment area | 6% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> seperate cells | 6% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> orderly room | 2% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> work sheds | 10% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> chapel | 10% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other (please say where) | 2% |
-

25) Where in the prison do you feel most relaxed? (please tick only one box)

- | | |
|---|-------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> landing | 53.2% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> cell | 0 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> archways | 0 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> t.v. rooms | 4.3% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> cafeteria | 0 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> recreation area | 4.3% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> gym | 4.3% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> work sheds | 6.4% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> punishment area | 0 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> seperate cells | 4.3% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> orderly room | 2.1% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> chapel | 6.4% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other (please say where) | 14.9% |
-

Appendix B

26) How would you describe staff-prisoner relationships here?

- | | |
|--|-----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> very good | 4% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> good | 22% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> okay | 22% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes difficult | 42% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> tense | 10% |

27) Do you have a significant number of problems with any of the staff?

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 30% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> no | 70% |

28) If yes, which kinds of officers...? (please tick more than one box if necessary)

- | | |
|--|-----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> your personal officer | 8% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> party officer | 2% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> educational staff | 2% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other gallery officer | 18% |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other officer | 22% |

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29) If yes, what kinds of problems? (please do not include anyone's name in this)

30) How long have you been in Darroch Hall during **this** sentence?

- less than 1 month **0**
- 1 to 3 months **15.7%**
- 3 months to 1 year **62.7%**
- 1 to 3 years **21.6%**
- more than 3 years **0**

31) How often have you changed personal officer during this sentence?

- have kept same personal officer **56%**
- have had two **18%**
- have had three **18%**
- have had four **2%**
- have had more than four **6%**

Appendix B

Results

	Agree Strongly	Agree Slightly	Disagree Slightly	Disagree Strongly	Neither agree or disagree
1. I rarely get informed about things that matter to me in here.	32.6	32.6	13.0	10.9	10.9
2. The prison rules apply equally to prisoners and prison officers.	16.7	8.3	12.5	56.3	6.3
3. We're just ordered around in the work parties.	2.3	9.1	22.7	47.7	18.2
4. I don't get to see my personal officer very regularly.	46.8	14.9	10.6	23.4	4.3
5. Sometimes Gallery officers make you feel very small.	27.7	14.9	10.6	23.4	23.4
6. Gallery officers always uphold my rights.	6.7	11.1	24.4	48.9	8.9
7. My personal officer treats me as if my views are important.	34.8	28.3	13.0	13.0	10.9
8. I have nothing in common with most gallery officers.	39.6	18.8	18.8	16.7	6.3
9. I'm never treated as a person, just as a prisoner.	33.3	22.9	27.1	14.6	10.4
10. Prison officers see prisoners so much, that they know them well.	22.9	22.9	14.6	29.2	10.4
11. I only ever see my gallery officer on the gallery.	14.9	25.5	29.8	14.9	14.9
12. Gallery officers take what we think into account when they carry through important changes to the prison regime	6.5	21.7	17.4	41.3	13.0
13. I feel that my movement in the prison system follows a planned route.	37.0	17.4	13.0	23.9	8.7

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14. I can see a prison officer when I need to.	42.9	34.7	12.2	8.2	2.0
15. You don't know what prison officers are doing here from one week to the next.	63.3	14.3	8.2	4.1	10.2
16. If I have a problem at work, the system makes it hard for me to approach my party officer directly.	10.9	10.9	21.7	41.3	15.2
17. Most prisoners are sympathetic to what this prison is trying to achieve.	26.1	28.3	19.6	15.2	10.9
18. Personal officers can understand what I've been through, even though they're on the other side	17.0	17.0	14.9	38.3	12.8
19. I want the same things for this prison as my prison officer.	17.0	17.0	19.1	29.8	17.0
20. My party officers have known me since I arrived here.	52.1	25.0	10.4	6.3	6.3
21. Work is good, because it helps staff to see you as more than a prisoner.	39.6	22.9	8.3	20.8	8.3
22. When I raise a grievance, I usually get a fair and reasoned response.	8.7	17.4	19.6	39.1	15.2
23. There is never a prison officer to talk to you.	6.5	19.6	26.1	19.6	28.3
24. If I want to see my personal officer, I have to approach him/her through another member of staff.	8.7	15.2	19.6	30.4	26.1
25. My personal officer often spends time with my visitors as well as with me on my own.	6.4	14.9	6.4	63.8	8.5
26. Most prison officers I deal with have good all-round information about me.	20.8	10.4	27.1	33.3	8.3

Appendix B

27. Even when they don't have to, gallery officers take time to talk to me.	26.1	26.1	19.6	19.6	8.7
28. You are often stuck with the same officer.	14.9	29.8	25.5	8.5	21.3
29. My personal officer is always given enough time to discuss my problems with me if I need him/her to.	27.7	21.3	17.0	29.8	4.3
30. Prisoners and prison staff here work together to make the facilities in the hall better	17.4	15.2	28.3	30.4	8.7
31. I don't have to keep my emotions bottled up here.	17.0	10.6	19.1	40.4	12.8
32. If you only see an officer in prison, you get a fairly limited view of him.	44.7	29.8	12.8	4.3	8.5
33. My personal officer would recognise my closest family members.	29.2	14.6	12.5	39.6	4.2
34. The common aim of prisoners and staff is to make the best of imprisonment.	29.8	25.5	19.1	17.0	8.5
35. Talking to a prison officer is like talking to a brick wall.	19.1	23.4	27.7	19.1	10.6
36. My personal officer supports me in my goals for the future.	29.8	25.5	12.8	21.3	10.6
37. Personal officers don't treat us as adults.	19.6	17.4	21.7	28.3	13.0
38. I can get to see somebody about something that's worrying me quickly.	23.4	23.4	19.1	27.7	6.4
39. My party officer isn't really given an opportunity to help me develop new skills	19.1	17.0	19.1	34.0	10.6
40. The gallery officers have been here long enough to know me well.	25.5	36.2	23.4	8.5	6.4

Appendix B

41. My personal officer would here from other officers if I had done well in some other part of prison life.	35.4	20.8	16.7	4.2	22.9
42. It is in our common interests to see that everything runs smoothly.	52.1	29.2	8.3	2.1	8.3
43. I'm interested in the same sorts of things as prison officers.	2.3	9.1	22.7	47.7	18.2
44. There's no time in the daily routine to have a proper conversation with my gallery officer.	14.9	25.5	34.0	10.6	14.9
45. You don't see much of the Governor grades here at Greenock.	31.3	16.7	39.6	8.3	4.2
46. I don't feel that I can trust my personal officer to keep my personal information confidential.	40.4	19.1	17.0	17.0	6.4
47. The system moves staff around so frequently, so you can never get to know them very well.	21.7	32.6	21.7	8.7	15.2
48. When a personal officer moves on, it leads to a lot of change here.	25.5	19.1	19.1	12.8	23.4
49. I feel I've known my personal officer for a long time.	21.3	17.0	17.0	31.9	12.8
50. Doing different things together has helped me to know staff better.	13.0	41.3	17.4	15.2	13.0
51. I feel I'm always being pushed around here by the officers.	8.7	21.7	15.2	43.5	10.9
52. Party officers and prisoners both want to do a good job.	33.3	35.4	18.8	4.2	8.3
53. I often see my gallery officer outside the gallery.	13.0	32.6	26.1	19.6	8.7

Appendix B

54. When a new gallery officer arrives, he/she never seems to know what's what for the first few weeks.	41.7	22.9	14.6	4.2	16.7
55. You only see personal officers in a formal setting.	17.4	30.4	34.8	10.9	6.5
56. Personal officers make the effort to be interested in me.	21.3	27.7	19.1	25.5	6.4
57. I've known my personal officer for long enough to see him/her more as a person.	29.8	23.4	14.9	19.1	12.8
58. My personal officer has the same goals for the future as I do.	15.2	15.2	8.7	47.8	13.0
59. Prison staff love to throw the rule book at you.	32.6	26.1	15.2	15.2	10.9
60. There are few opportunities to work together on things with my personal officer	36.2	31.9	17.0	6.4	8.5
61. I don't have the chance to take part in the full range of educational and recreational activities in this prison.	14.9	10.6	17.0	46.8	10.6
62. I expect to have at least one new personal officer every year while I'm in prison.	15.2	23.9	15.2	10.9	34.8
63. When told to jump there's no choice; it's either jump or you're for the high jump.	29.2	22.9	18.8	18.8	10.4
64. My personal officer doesn't look at life the same way I do.	26.1	32.6	15.2	13.0	13.0
65. My personal officer takes time to talk to me.	25.5	36.2	12.8	21.3	4.3
66. My party officer allows me to take on a variety of tasks.	53.2	25.5	6.4	10.6	4.3
67. My party officer would tell my gallery officer					

Appendix B

if I had done well or badly in my work.	34.0	29.8	8.5	10.6	17.0
68. My personal officer doesn't have the opportunity to see the different things I'm good at	42.6	27.7	14.9	4.3	10.6
69. Prison officers lord it over us whenever they can.	29.8	27.7	10.6	19.1	12.8

Appendix C

Results of Card Testing

Directness

a 1. Work instructors usually say hello to me.	D	D	D	D	D	D	M
s 2. My work instructor is so busy that he usually does not have time for a proper chat.	D	D	D	D	D	D	C
a 3. I talk to my work instructor about my problems.	M	D	D	D	D	D	D
s 4. If I have a problem at work, the system makes it hard for me to approach my work instructor directly.	D	D	P	D	D	M	D
a 5. Prison officers and prisoners meet enough for prison officers to know what goes on in prisoners lives.	D	Ct	Ct	DK	C	C	C
a 6. Even when they don't have to landing officers take time to talk to me.	D	D	D	D	D	D	C
s 7. If I want to see my personal officer, I have to approach him/her through another member of staff.	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
a 8. Requests to seek advice from medical or counselling services are sensitively followed up.	D	D	D	D	D	D	P
s 9. My personal officer is given enough time to discuss my problems with me if I need him/her to.	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
a 10. My personal officer makes time to talk to me.	D	D	D	D	D	D	D
a 11. Personal officers make the effort to be							

Appendix C

interested in me. D D D D D D D

s 12. I rarely get informed personally about things that matter to me in here. D D D D D P P

X s 13. I can get to see someone about something that's worrying me quickly. D D D D D D D

s 14. There's no time in the daily routine to have a proper conversation with my landing officer. D D D D D C D

X s 15. There is never a prison officer to talk to you. D D D D D D D

X s 16. I can see a prison officer when I need to. D D D D D D D

s 17. I never get to meet the people who make the decisions here at Littlehey. D D C P P P P

85. Talking to a prison officer is like talking to a brick wall. D D D D D D C

1. *Even if we stop to talk to prisoners they don't show any interest* D D D D D P C

2. *There's no time in the daily routine to have a proper conversation with a prisoner* D D D D D D C

3. *We don't often get to tell prisoners directly about changes in the routine.* D D D D Ct P P

X 4. *Prison officers always give help to prisoners when asked* D D D D D D D

25. *I enjoy the time I spend talking to prisoners.* D D D D D M C

X 36. *Prisoners will never tell you what they are really thinking.* D D D D D D D

Appendix C

Continuity

s 18. The system moves the staff about frequently, so you can never get to know anyone very well.	C	Ct	Ct	Ct	D	Ct	Ct
s 19. I expect to have at least one new personal officer every year while I'm in this prison.	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct
s 20. You don't know what officers will be doing here from one week to the next.	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct ✕
s 21. The landing officers have been here long enough for them to know me well.	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	D	Ct	Ct
s 22. I have been here in Littlehey longer than some of the landing officers.	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct
s 28. When a new landing officer arrives, he/she never seems to know what's what for the first few weeks.	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct
s 24. When the work instructor changes, I have to explain my background and skills all over again.	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct
s 25. I feel that I have known my personal officer for a long time.	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct
s 26. The contact I have with my personal officer is only occasional.	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	D	D	D
s 27. I expect my work instructor to be around for at least the next year.	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct
s 28. There is never a proper handover when my personal officer changes.	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct
s 29. My party officers have known me since I arrived here.	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct	Ct

Appendix C

s 30. It's worth getting to know my landing officer because he's likely to be around for the rest of my time here.

Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct

s 31. If I can't get on with my personal officer, I can request a change.

Ct D D D D P C

a 32. When a personal officer moves on it leads to a lot of change here.

Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct

a 33. There are some prison officers who will always be here.

Ct D M Ct C Ct D

s 34. You are often stuck with the same officer.

Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct M

s. 35. I feel that my movement in the prison system follows a planned route.

Ct Ct Ct Ct M P P

X 86. I've known my prison officer for long enough to see him more as a person.

Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct

X 5. The system moves you around frequently so you can never get to know anyone very well

Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct

6. I feel that I see certain prisoners regularly enough to know them well

Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct D

7. The regime makes it difficult for prison officers to meet regularly with the prisoners assigned to them.

Ct Ct Ct Ct D D C

8. I never have a prisoner in my work party long enough to teach them anything useful.

Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct

9. I've been on this wing long enough to see prisoners go through good times and bad.

Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct C

X 48. I'm not briefed much about the prisoners I'll be looking after when I change jobs in the prison.

Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct

Appendix C

49. Getting to know prisoners is difficult because they're constantly on the move.

Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct Ct X

Multiplexity

a 36. As far as personal officers go, you never have a chance to meet them informally.

M M M D C C DR

s 37. My personal officer would hear from other officers if I had done well in some other part of life.

M M M M M M M

s 38. My work instructor allows me to take on a variety of tasks.

M M M M M M M X

s 39. Other prison staff communicate with my personal officer about me.

M M M M M M M

s 40. I don't have the chance to take part in the full range of educational and recreational activities in this prison.

M M M M M M M

s 41. My work instructor would tell my gallery officer if I had done well or badly in my work.

M M M M M M D

s 42. I often see my landing officer in recreation time.

M M M M M C C

s 43. Most prison officers I deal with have got good all-round information about me.

M M M M M D D

a 44. I don't have to keep my emotions bottled up here.

D D D D D D D

45. My personal officer has no idea of all the different things I'm good at.

M M M M M D D

s 46. I only see my landing officer on the landing.

M M M M M M D

Appendix C

a 47. My landing officer has a narrow view of what I'm capable of.

M M M M D D D

s 48. My personal officer has got to know me better because he often sees me with my visitors.

M M M M Ct D C

s 49. My instructional officer has given me no opportunity to develop new skills to help me get a job when I leave.

M M M M M M M

a 50. You only ever see one side of a party officer.

M M M M C C C

s 51. Most staff don't get the chance to see the range of abilities I have.

M M M M M M C

87. In some activities you can forget that you're a prisoner.

M M M M D P P

88. Work is good, because it helps staff to see you as more than a prisoner.

M M M M M M C

89. Doing different things together has helped me to get to know staff better.

M M M M M M C

90. I never get to see the man behind the uniform.

Ct D D D C C C

10 I see prisoners in various different activities around the prison

M M M M M M M

11. Prison officers tend to be restricted to only seeing prisoners in one part of the prison

M M M M M M Ct

12. We never get to see prisoners' families or friends.

M M M M D C C

13. I never get to see prisoners in the work place

M M M M M M D

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14. There is nowhere to have a confidential conversation with prisoner about his personal problems.

D D D D D D D

26. I would like to have more time to spend talking with prisoners in an informal setting.

M M M D D C C

30. I have good all-round information about most of the prisoners I work with.

M M M M M D C

34. There is seldom a chance to play a game or sport with a prisoner.

M M M M C C C

50. Prisoners don't have much opportunity to learn new skills here.

M M M M M M M

Parity

a 52. I don't feel that my personal officer keeps my personal information confidential.

P P P M M M D

s 53. Prison officers and prisoners both have to abide by the rules here.

P P P P C C C

a 54. I'm never treated as a person, just a prisoner.

P P P P P P D

s 55. The openings exist for prisoners to share in decisions about prison life if they want to.

P P P P P M C

a 56. It's obvious that prison officers think they're better than us.

P P P P P P D

a 57. Instructional officers include us in decisions about matters affecting our work here.

P P P P P P C

a 58. The landing officers don't treat me with respect.

P P P P P P D

Appendix C

s 59. I have an significant say in my own sentence planning.

P P P P P P C

a 60. When I raise a grievance, I usually get a fair and reasoned reply.

P P P P P P P

a 61. We're just ordered around in the work areas.

P P P P P D P

a 62. Landing officers take our opinions into consideration when they carry through important changes to the prison regime.

P P P P P P P

a 63. My personal officer treats me as if my views matter.

P P P P P D D

a 64. We are sometimes treated like children in the work areas/educational facilities.

P P P P P P C

a 65. Landing officers always uphold my rights.

P P P P P D D

a 66. My personal officer will generally give me the benefit of the doubt when applying the rules.

P P P P D D C

a 67. Personal officers don't treat us as adults.

P P P P P P C

a 68. Sometimes landing officers make you feel very small.

P P P P P P D

91. When told to jump there's no choice; it's either jump or you're for the high jump.

P P P P P P D

92. Prison officer lord it over us whenever they can.

P P P P P P D

93. Prison staff love to throw the rule book at you.

P P P P P D C

94. Staff and prisoners talk as one adult to another adult.

P P P M D D C

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95. I feel I'm always being pushed around here by the officers.	P	P	P	P	P	P	D	
15. You can't be too nice to prisoners or they'll take advantage of you.	P	P	P	P	P	C	C	
16. It doesn't matter how fair you are, prisoners will insult you anyway.	P	P	P	P	P	C	C	
17. Prisoners' rights have to be overlooked sometimes to maintain discipline	P	P	P	D	P	P	P	
18. As far as we are able, we consult prisoners when making changes.	P	P	P	P	P	P	C	X
19. Our attempts to keep order are constantly disrupted by prisoners trying to undermine the system.	P	P	P	C	C	C	C	
28. I am worried that I might be attacked by prisoners here.	P	P	P	D	D	P	DK	
31. It is hard to be fair when you administer prison rules.	P	P	P	P	P	P	D	
43. Officers are usually willing to accept criticism from the prisoners.	P	P	P	D	D	D	D	
44. We don't have any difficulty making prisoners obey the rules here.	P	P	P	P	P	D	D	
45. Officers encourage prisoners to take decisions for themselves.	P	P	P	P	P	P	C	X
46. Officers seldom order prisoners around.	P	P	P	P	P	P	D	
47. We always treat prisoners with respect.	P	P	P	P	P	P	D	X

Appendix C

Commonality

a 69. Personal officers can understand what I've been through, even though they are on the other side.	C	C	C	C	C	D	D
a 70. My personal officer doesn't look at life the same way I do.	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
a 71. I want the same things for this prison as my landing officer .	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
a 72. I seldom find myself co-operating with my party officer to achieve goals in my work.	C	C	C	C	C	C	P
X a 73. When somebody is going through a hard time we all feel it, including the prison staff.	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
s 74. Most people spend their time here trying to undermine the system.	C	C	D	P	P	C	P
s 75. There are few opportunities to work together on things with my personal officer.	C	C	C	C	C	M	D
a 76. Prisoners and prison staff work together to make the facilities on the wing better.	C	C	C	C	C	D	P
a 77. I have nothing in common with most landing officers.	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
a 78. Party officers and prisoners both want to do a good job.	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
s 79. Prisoners and prison officers rarely get to work together as a team in committees.	C	C	C	C	Ct	D	P
a 80. The common aim of prisoners and prison staff at Littlehey is to make the best of imprisonment.	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

Appendix C

a 81. When it comes to work opportunities, prisoners and staff often disagree.	C	C	C	M	M	D	P	
s 82. Prisoners and staff aim to solve problems together in the work areas.	C	C	C	C	P	P	P	
a 83. Prisoners and landing officers do very little together.	C	C	M	M	C	C	C	
a 84. My personal officer supports me in my goals for my future.	C	C	C	C	C	C	D	
96. Prisoners and prison officers both want to improve the regime.	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	X
97. When things are running smoothly, everyone benefits.	C	C	C	C	C	D	P	
98. My personal officer has the same goals for the future as I do.	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	
99. Prisoners and staff have as much in common as chalk and cheese.	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	
100. I'm interested in the same sorts of things as the prison officers.	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	
101. Even prisoners and prison officers never get to work together as a team.	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	
102. Oil and water don't mix, so why bother to get prisoners and prison officers together.	C	C	C	C	C	M	P	
20. Prisoners and prison officers never get to work together as a team.	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	
21. I have nothing in common with most prisoners	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	X

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22. Prison officers and prisoners try and help each other when the opportunities arrive.

C C C C C C D

23. You have to be tough to be a prison officer.

P P M D D DK DK

32. Prisoners haven't got a clue about the problems I face.

C C C D P C C

33. There is seldom a chance for prisoners and officers to work together towards a common goal.

C C C C C C C

35. Prison officers and prisoners have very few common interests.

C C C C C C C

38. Officers know how prisoners feel here because we all share the same environment.

C C C C C D C

51. The common aim of prisoners and prison officers is to make the best of imprisonment.

C C C C C C C

24. It is usually dangerous to develop close relationships with prisoners.

C C D D D P DK

27. I find my work with prisoners is mostly satisfying and rewarding.

C D D D D DK DK

37. I would hate to meet an ex-prisoner from this prison on the street in years to come.

DK D D D D M P

39. Officers know what changes prisoners would like to see in this regime.

D D P P C C ---

40. Officers are sensitive to when prisoners are depressed.

P D D D D D C

41. Officers encourage prisoners to take on more responsibility

M M P P P P DK

42. The system allows prisoners grievances to be relayed to officers.

D D D D D D DK

DRAFT

**Report
of In-depth Interviews
Part V
Relational Audit
of
Greenock Prison**

Maggie Wright

*This report was written for the Relationships Foundation's
Relational Audit of Greenock Prison, December 1994.
It was written under the auspices of SIMA (UK) Ltd, a
management consultancy specialising in individual
assessment and organisation development based in Oxford.*

The logo for SIMA UK LTD features the text "SIMA UK" in a bold, sans-serif font, with "LTD" in a smaller font directly below it. A thick, black, dashed arrow curves upwards and to the right, starting from the left side of the text and pointing towards the top right corner of the logo area.

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Appendices

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The interviewer owes a debt of gratitude to those who agreed to take part in this interview stage of the research. The interviews varied in content and style according to the depths of feeling expressed by the interviewee, or ability to communicate. Most of those interviewed were thoughtful, some exceptionally reflective. For some it was an opportunity to air grievances felt to be unheard elsewhere. The interviewer had an unspoken contract with those interviewed that, whilst there was a structure and purpose to the interview in the context of the Audit itself, there would be opportunity for those who needed it to have time with a listener who might be seen to be 'neutral' (probably never entirely possible in the prison otherwise), and thus a means for the interviewee to 'let off steam'. This did occur in one or two cases. After 48 hours on the Hall the interviewer found the work the staff are able to do in such difficult circumstances quite remarkable and was impressed by the levels of dignity which many of the prisoners are able to retain.

PART I

OVERVIEW, PURPOSE AND STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

Overview of Report

- I.01 The report begins with a statement of purpose for the in-depth interviews held as the final phase of the Relational Audit held in Darroch Hall, Greenock Prison, in 1994. The structure of the interviews is then briefly outlined. The main part of the report lies in: a comment on the nature of Relational proximity with its concomitant five dimensions; directness, continuity, parity, multiplexity, commonality and an examination of the content of the interviews in the form of comment by one party on another party or on themselves. The conclusion attempts to highlight some of the observations.

Purpose of In-depth Interviews

- I.02 There were several factors contributing to the purpose of the in-depth interviews. Some of these were: a) to clarify the reasons behind certain results to the questionnaire which appeared on the surface to be surprising; b) to measure the intensity and identify the nuances behind selected responses on the questionnaire; c) to test the reliability of responses to the questionnaire; d) to give opportunity (where possible) for the interviewee to suggest solutions to certain responses; and e) to engage staff and prisoners more closely in the process.

Structure of the Interviews

- I.03 A random selection of 20 of the 74 inmates of Darroch Hall was made for the purposes of the indepth interviews. Of these, one was unavailable, 18 made themselves available by staying back from the worksheds or education block. One was hospitalised throughout the duration of the interviews and so unable to participate. Out of the 18 available the interviewer had time to interview 14. Out of the 11 staff available 6 were randomly selected for interview. Owing to non-availability, for example owing to sickness, two substitutions were made. Of the six selected two were Senior Officers. The interviewer took notes throughout the interviews and where the interviewee agreed (and in almost all instances this was the case) the interview was taped. The average length of interview was 50 minutes. The majority of the interviews took place in the interview room of Darroch Hall.

- I.04 The intention of the interviewer was to select for each interview certain prepared questions. Some of these arose out of responses to the questionnaire; some were more open-ended questions and others followed lines of enquiry which developed out of the answers to these questions where an individual response was needed which the questionnaire could not provide. An example of a question demanding a more subjective response was to ask the interviewee how he perceived relationships in Darroch Hall to have changed since his arrival. This produced an interesting comparison which is noted later in the report (*para III.01). Interviewees were asked what factors they saw contributing to relationships in the Hall.

Sentence Planning

- I.05 The structure for sentence planning in Darroch Hall was as follows: Personal officer and prisoner meet once a month formally followed by a quarterly review. It was stated that sentence planning was running at all in Darroch Hall because of the activity of two officers. There was a complete divide amongst prisoners as to whether this activity was working or not. One prisoner wished that his wife could be involved in his sentence planning, though the practicalities for administering this were thought to be difficult. Some officers took particular interest in the prisoners allotted to them and once the work with them was established saw them regularly, but left them to work out their smaller problems themselves. Some staff found the whole activity difficult to administer inspite of support being given them (see para. III.12). A few prisoners felt that because the file was open to both staff and prisoner the staff only reported in the file what they thought the prisoner wanted to see and made other comments in other files.
- I.06 In November a prisoner absconded. When a member of staff went to his sentence planning folder to see if there was something there to indicate that this might happen, the file was totally empty. Several prisoners thought that little activity with the sentence planning folders was happening at all. A hidden reason for this could be that there are a few officers who are so good at dealing with prisoner requests that the prisoner does not need to see his Personal Officer? One officer felt that there would always be problems with the Personal Officer scheme. The success of the activity seemed to depend on the competence of the officer and the persistence of the prisoner. It was assisted by having an officer responsible for coordinating the activity. It was probably not an activity where the prisoner could discuss much in a personal way because the officer was also a custodian. There were some staff, however, who were known to be skilled at listening and dealing with prisoner problems.

PART II

COMMENT FROM THE INTERVIEWS RECORDED IN THE RELATIONAL DIMENSIONS

In this section I will draw comment from the interview to illustrate aspects of the five relational dimensions as defined in Chapter 2 Part 1 (Measuring Relationships) of the Report (where the statements occur later in this report on the in-depth interviews a paragraph reference is given). Relational proximity is more likely to occur where these elements are present. Enforced relational proximity as in the doubling up in cells did not necessarily help to promote good relationships, particularly where a clash of differing living patterns occurred.

Directness - the amount of face to face contact present

II.01 Physical obstacles to directness in Darroch Hall were not a problem. The prisoners move around freely and staff have easy access to them. However, there are other barriers to directness, for example, the approach of staff to prisoner being denied by the prisoner because of lack of trust or fear of misinterpretation from fellow prisoners; approach of prisoner to staff being denied because, for example, staff are too busy, apparently unsympathetic, or afraid of getting 'too close' to the prisoner.

- Several of the staff referred to conversations of over an hour with a distressed or needy prisoner.
- Many prisoners reported ease of access to staff for conversations
- The canteen was a place where prisoners could communicate with staff easily
- but* • Prisoners who talk to staff are sometimes thought to be 'grassing' (para. III.18).
- One prisoner commented that he was informed of his failure to get his 'D' category by an officer shouting across the Hall (para. III.09).
- Another prisoner commented that he felt prisoners were in a 'lose, lose' situation; if they kept a low profile then they were antisocial, if they talked too much they were causing trouble (para. III.09).

Continuity - regularity of contact and the length of time associated with someone

II.02 This was the most difficult category to identify. Although continuity of relationship between staff and prisoner was broken by the one in three weeks' leave and night shifts (see para. V.04) and officers moving onto other responsibilities, on the whole there were good conditions present for continuity to occur.

- Some prisoners knew each other from other institutions.
- Staff actually took part in the selection of prisoners from other institutions for Darroch Hall. Ideally this should mean that the staff can then continue to work with someone they have selected (para. III.29).
- Management stated that it should be possible for an individual programme to be developed and followed through by a member of staff for a prisoner.
- but* • It takes time to build trust with a new draft of prisoners (para. III.30).

Multiplexity - the different contexts in which you see a prisoner

II.03 Potential for multiplexity to occur in Greenock prison was good, it was not the case that an officer could not go to a visit to meet a prisoner's family for example. However, opportunities for multiplexity were not always taken up.

- An officer might see a prisoner at an evening activity, on the Hall and take him to his own home for a meal (para. III.11)
 - Prisoners go with an officer swimming, on an SEL and see him on the Hall
 - Officers might see a prisoner at anger management, in the orderly room, on the Hall
 - Prisoners might see each other on the Hall, in the worksheds, at the Gym.
- but*
- Some staff would prefer not to go on an SEL with a prisoner, or to go to family visits

Parity - hierarchical status and mutual respect one for another

II.04 Predictably the area which being absent held the most problems. Notably, amongst the prisoners themselves as well as prisoner and officer. There were solid examples of mutual respect, as well as those felt to be abusive.

- Officers are said to be friendly when they take a prisoner on SELs (para. III.08)
 - Officers who give reasons for their decisions to prisoners are seen as promoting healthy relationships on the Hall (para. III.08)
- but*
- Amongst the prisoners themselves there is a hierarchy of crimes leading to an absence of parity among prisoners (para. III.04)
 - Officers sometimes belittle prisoners' problems (para. III.09)
 - A prisoner said that 'where you have the reputation of being a hard man, the officers don't punish you' (para. III.10)
 - A prisoner talked about the presence of gangs in the Hall who made people afraid (para. III.02)
 - The lack of fairness or parity used as the basis for awarding a 'D' category to a prisoner (para.III.05)
 - Staff feel undermined by not being allowed to be responsible for taking decisions (para. III.22)

Commonality - present where there is common purpose

II.05 There were examples of officers and prisoners working together to achieve a common goal, as there were counter examples of people working to upset initiatives.

- Sense of common purpose at the outset of the Hall as prisoners and staff worked together on cleaning, decorating and setting the Hall up (para III.01)
 - Joint efforts involved in Open Days, or the Christmas party
 - Two prisoners working together on a project eg upholstery.
 - Staff working with a prisoner to help him to gain parole, assisting him through anger management, on self-awareness, advising him on the best way of progressing (para. III.16)
- but*
- Football had to be abandoned because of a match between prisoners and staff where prisoners were too aggressive
 - Prisoners pressure other prisoners about drugs, money etc causing divisions, unrest
 - Prisoners find it hard to learn to talk to staff, play pool with them (para. III.29)

PART III
REPORT OF THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS
OF THE RELATIONAL AUDIT
HELD AT GREENOCK PRISON
12 -14 DECEMBER 1994

Content of the Interviews

Comment of prisoners on fellow prisoners

- III.01 There was repeated comment that the Hall had gone downhill because of the type of prisoner it was now taking, although one prisoner commented rightly that human nature will make trouble wherever it is. It was observed both by staff and by prisoners that Darroch Hall began with a feeling of community and shared activity both prisoner with prisoner and staff with prisoner. There was an atmosphere of camaraderie as all worked together on setting up the Hall, decorating, cleaning, participating in the common activity. It was an opportunity for staff and prisoners to work alongside one another and to know each other better. It was felt that this spirit had almost entirely gone now for some of the reasons stated below, but also because there were twice the number of prisoners than at the beginning.
- III.02 Although many prisoners stated that they would turn first for help to a fellow prisoner rather than to staff, several prisoners registered concern about particular individuals who had come now to the Hall. One prisoner stated that there are 'gangs in the Hall, they start ruling the Hall, make people afraid' and that if you went back to the original criteria of the Hall you would have to take two-thirds of the prisoners out. He also explained that he felt there were too many devious characters in the jail for relationships to be improved. Another prisoner said 'there are such fly men in there who want to live off the backs of the vulnerable'. Yet another prisoner expressed the same thing as 'there are volatile characters here' and that when people 'get down' it changes the atmosphere. Some staff and prisoners expressed the feeling that some prisoners were in Darroch Hall for 'political' reasons or because another prison had wanted to get rid of them. In the course of the Audit one prisoner who had been moved to Darroch Hall decided he was not ready for the regime and agreed to be moved back in the system.
- III.03 One prisoner remarked on the attitude of some prisoners to another prisoner's work. For example the pass men may have washed the Hall floor and another prisoner going by will spit where it has just been cleaned. Also one prisoner felt that there should be a drug free jail. The knock-on effects for some prisoners of other prisoners being on drugs e.g. their being short of money and therefore pestering fellow prisoners for basics and also for

money and more pressures besides that were too much. Another prisoner said that discipline needed to be tightened up; there were too many prisoners 'getting away with murder' (sic.).

- III.04 There was a proportion of prisoners who spoke about the mix of prisoner, ie the presence of sex offenders in the Hall and the unwillingness of ordinary prisoners to mix or have anything to do with them. They felt that the fact that sex offenders were out on placements was breaking a promise which had been made with the community surrounding the prison. On the other hand, certain sex offenders pointed out quite rightly that their crimes were far less serious than some of the so-called 'OK' prisoners and yet they are isolated and discriminated against. One said, 'they don't give you a chance they just ignore you'. At least one prisoner commented during the Audit that he had been sexually abused as a child. If it was shown that there was a history of sexual abuse amongst prisoners this could be one of the factors contributing to the strength of feeling about sex offenders on the Hall. Various prisoners were adamant that they would not be in touch with prisoners when they had left jail, it would remind them too much of the bad times.
- III.05 There were a number of causes of tension in the Hall. By far the most important centred in those prisoners who had not got their Category 'D'. Those prisoners interviewed who already possessed a 'D' category were sometimes the ones who were the most calm and focussed. Other prisoners felt hard done by particularly if lawyers had been drawn into the situation. There was a feeling that it was hard for those prisoners whose progress had been refused to watch other prisoners getting ready to go out and then to leave. Also a few prisoners thought it was the 'godsquad' which was able to progress more quickly than others. Another cause of friction was thought to be the doubling up situation, this subconsciously made for more tension than was realised. Examples of this would be a prisoner wanting to play his radio when his cellmate was writing letters, or a prisoner training into the night when his cellmate wanted to sleep (there were examples of the staff taking notice of this kind of tension in single cell allocation).
- III.06 More than one prisoner made the comment that fellow prisoners need to be 'educated' to be able to communicate and that they don't get response because of their attitude to other people including staff. It was commented that a lot of the prisoners had never had to take orders because they had never worked outside the jail. This contributed to their inability to work with the system, as did the 'baggage' carried by those prisoners who had been in prison a long time. Most prisoners were angry about 'corporate punishment' (punishment of all for the offence of a few) when only a few had broken rules and the majority suffered. This resulted in the element of 'policing their own' which the staff talked about. In one instance when a distressed prisoner seemed to be about to take out his frustrations with the system on a member of staff he was restrained by other prisoners.

III.07 There were a variety of responses to the question about emotions being bottled up. Many said they just went away and did nothing. For some, the response varied dependent upon whether it was a member of staff or another prisoner who was involved. Of those who managed to express their emotions, some said they would go and have a 'bloody good greet', others would shout and scream or punch the walls of their cells, others might take it out on other prisoners. Various prisoners talked about trying to calm situations; for example, when other prisoners came to talk to them about problems, or when they tried to smooth down prisoners who were 'exploding'. While some had found a good friend in the Hall and some were still with prisoners they knew from other institutions, several commented on how uncomfortable it was to be keeping the company they were keeping.

Comment of prisoners on staff

III.08 'I would respond to him responding to me'. Several prisoners felt that where an officer was reasonable and went out of his way to be thoughtful they would be reasonable with them in return; there would be a relationship of give and take. They would have everything to gain from responding positively to that. 'It's give and take within reason. Don't mind a negative answer if I am given a reason'. Prisoners 'like to be treated as they are'; - this tends to happen more in the worksheds, where there is no overtone of having to lock the prisoner up. Generally on SELs the officer is thought to be friendly and kind to the family. Prisoners seem to be aware of the officers to avoid (those who would not look on routine requests favourably). Sometimes it depends which shift of officers is on duty.

III.09 There was a variability of response in the interviews to officer/prisoner relationships. Some of the prisoners felt that officers distrust most prisoner requests; others found them most helpful and willing really to try to sort out a problem. One prisoner said that they can't win; if they keep a low profile then they are antisocial or not cooperating, or if they talk too much they are thought to be causing trouble. One or two prisoners felt very strongly that, at the extreme, a minority of officers should not be in the job and needed medical help (they felt that there was still a subculture of staff who only saw their job as being to lock people up)! One prisoner felt that there was no relationship between prisoners and staff, and that, if there were any staff who wanted to behave in accordance with the ideals set up at the outset of Darroch Hall, they were frowned on by their peers and soon gave up. They would be approachable to a point and then back off (contrary examples were given to counter this point). More than one prisoner talked about the lack of compassion and understanding on the part of the staff. They cited a particular instance of an officer dealing sarcastically with a man in a desperate situation with his family. Another talked of the way he was told about not getting his 'D' category; although one officer had wanted to tell him in private, another just shouted the news across the Hall to him. On the other hand a prisoner spoke positively about the officers' competence at defusing tense situations.

- III.10 It was commented by a prisoner that discipline needed to be tightened up stopped behaving like idiots, relationships with the staff would be improved have to trust the officer who says he will keep things confidential. On a repeated comment was 'if you have the reputation of being a hard man punish you'. It was thought that the prisoners the staff were most appreciated seemed to be allowed the most privileges. Counter-examples of the staff and prisoners were also given. There was a small minority of prisoners interviewed that, from their point of view, there was little communication between prisoners. They obviously had very little trust for officers and would not give them the benefit of the doubt. Some talked about the inability of staff to respond to simple requests, and held them up the line in case they did something wrong.
- III.11 Several generous and big-hearted accounts were told of officers being supported by a prisoner and encouraging him to progress. For instance, an officer gave a prisoner scissors to help him in his work; others take prisoners out hill-walking or running took them into his own home. Also a striking example of an officer showing understanding asking a prisoner where he had handled something badly, and, on being given the opportunity went and put things right. They felt they were encouraged to take part in the management in a way in which they had not been supported in other jails. So the staff are unfairly caught in the middle between prisoner requests and management decisions. A lot of prisoners hold a grudge against the staff because of the consequences of their offence, but, as one prisoner stated, the prisoner should take the blame for what he has done. The staff are just ordinary people doing a job to get a wage.
- III.12 There were differing views of the sentence planning exercise. Some prisoners with problems, saw their officers regularly, and felt that they had been helped by the relationship with the officer and with the exercise itself. Others stated that they hadn't seen their personal officer, even though they had chased him for a while. There was general agreement that the basic idea of sentence planning is good but that the practice left a lot to be desired. They felt that staff were ill-prepared to perform the task, and that for some staff it would be so far from their expectations of the job that they would not be in a position to carry it out (see separate note on sentence planning). To give sentence planning the necessary edge, Personal Officers need to be better equipped to contribute, and better able to discuss the way forward. Some prisoners felt that there was no perceived enthusiasm from staff over it. To some prisoners there seemed to be too few staff thinking into their situation and fitting steps into the present which would impact on their future.
- III.13 There were also a few incidents where an officer was over the top in his adverse reaction to prisoners... even, in one case, where an officer was felt to be making an example of a prisoner, and was also unwise in his choice of violent language to upbraid the prisoner

(who might have been seen to be confrontative). This was dealt with by a senior officer. Situations where officers are seen to be picking on a prisoner upset the atmosphere in the Hall and make things tense for a while. One prisoner talked about rewards being given in return for passing on information as in the old system.

III.14 On the whole, prisoners felt that relationships with staff (with one or two exceptions) were considerably better in Darroch Hall than in other prisons. They were not shouted at and hassled as they had been before. The relaxed atmosphere of the Darroch Hall regime is a shock at first for prisoners coming from more closed conditions. It takes a while to adjust to no handcuffs, first name terms with officers, no lockup over the weekends, etc. There were positive comments from some prisoners about the Governor. But there was a feeling that a general malaise had set in in the Hall, that the regime was going backwards, they felt that it would not be long before there were lockdowns and other examples of a less progressive regime. A lot of this had to do with the wrong mix of prisoner as well as staff attitudes. An instance of this is where prisoners felt that if they were not allowed to stay up and watch a football match in a 'responsible regime' it had serious implications for the future (the undertone here being that in other establishments privileges were granted because staff were afraid of a stabbing or a riot). Prisoners felt that staff should be properly trained to come into Darroch Hall and handle the regime as it was intended. The general feeling was that this was the best the Scottish Prison Service has to offer, but they still felt depressed about it.

III.15 Perhaps it is the case that while many of the restrictions on the prisoner have been taken away, there is only a limited amount of activity for the more freely moving prisoner. Much more needs to be done in this area in terms of activity encouraged particularly at the weekend. There are ideas around for activity to be engaged in and some things such as model-making are in place, but more ideas may need to be drawn out. As ever there is the danger of the minority of prisoners abusing the privilege and it being taken away (eg football?). There was an instance of three teams coming to Greenock and only 3 Darroch Hall prisoners selected to play. Everyone knew about it afterwards. There were complaints from both staff and prisoners about the lack of provision for prisoners to learn a trade in Greenock or to be able to follow up skills begun in other jails eg bricklaying. As a top-end jail more certification, or work towards a trade, would be advisable.

III.16 Some staff were perceived to be particularly helpful. One prisoner however, felt that a lot of staff don't like this regime, they resent the freedom and prefer the old style. He felt that they might try to break it in some way. For example one officer was thought to have upset a whole visit by looking over the screen 4 times in 40 minutes. It was not said whether this was before or after the incident of abuse of the family visit. On the other hand another prisoner commented that the regime had helped him to get parole, to see his family and to

get home for the weekend, that one of his hobbies had been encouraged by staff and that he had had support and encouragement by workparty staff. Another talked warmly about the help he was receiving from staff with his mannerisms and aggression.

- III.17 Consternation is raised by a perceived lack of help from management. A prisoner may feel that he is meant to be progressing, meant to be out on placement before parole, but that he is constantly kept back. His reports are immaculate but still there seems to be no way forward. The levels of frustration around the progression through categories, and jealousies as one prisoner observes another one getting special merit or privilege, are extremely significant. More than one prisoner felt that tensions were high enough to spark violence against officers. This area urgently needs attention and clarification; a well-oiled system needs to underlie the decisions of management so that they are not perceived by prisoners to be arbitrary or biased in application.
- III.18 One prisoner saw a clearcut difference in the way staff and prisoners see life. The prisoners see the great divide in that the staff have the power to lock them up: that has to make it an 'us and them' situation, and staff can only trust prisoners to a point. Another prisoner saw them as no different, some officers not even liking to lock prisoners up. One prisoner commented that officers ought to take an interest in prisoners' families. One prisoner's plea was to 'civilise prison governors, humanise prison officers and christianise prison chaplains'. Comments we received were as follows: 'they remember my violent past and won't let me get on with my sentence'; 'there is a failure of officers to communicate with honesty and sincerity'; 'there are personality clashes with officers who abuse their authority'. Prisoners who talk to staff are often looked on with suspicion by other prisoners who feel they may be 'grassing'.
- III.19 Prisoners in general felt that the idea of Darroch Hall is good, the community outlook is good, but that the staff were not sufficient and some of them not competent enough to handle the situation. The prisoners thought that there were, however, some exceptionally good ones among them. It was thought that change had happened too quickly, and ideas had run before they had been thought through. There was a feeling that everything is being taken away before it has time to run properly. Prisoners felt that there should have been a lot more staff training and suitability screening, before coming to Darroch Hall, although there was sympathy for staff whose job description had totally changed and the associated difficulties for the ones who are uncomfortable with the new role. However, some of the examples given by prisoners of generosity of staff and 'going the second mile' were outstanding.
- III.20 Credit needs to be given here for the willingness of prisoners to be open and responsive in their style of answering the questions during the interviews.

Comment of Staff on Staff, Management and their work in Darroch Hall

- III.21 Staff felt that their acts of courage and service beyond the call of duty often went unacknowledged. While the element of the so-called 'dinosaur' attitude to their work (lock 'em up, lock 'em up, roll about the floor with them') was still prevalent at times, most of them struggled honestly with the demands of the new regime, although, as one of them commented, he felt they were 'shooting themselves in the foot' in the process. Some tended to hide and not face the challenges presented to them in the Hall, others consistently went out and pursued contact with prisoners, relentlessly going after solutions to problems, leaving no stone unturned in the process.
- III.22 Staff frequently remarked on the lack of management backup for what they were doing. They were left too often to face controversy and conflict at the frontline of a very difficult job. They felt that they were caught between volatile prisoner situations and management decisions. They thought it is sometimes the case that governors like to tell the good news and not the bad and that occasionally the officers' decisions were over-ruled, which undermined their authority in the eyes of the prisoner.
- III.23 However, the interviewer was able to 'witness' a telling example of problem-solving by management in the process of supporting a female member of staff. Her report on a prisoner was to be the deciding one on his status. Because of the nature of his offence and the situation which might develop with the officer, staff made sure that the critical interview between the female member of staff and the prisoner took place where they would be close at hand if needed and management put into place another 'test' for him when it would be a male member of staff's word which would decide the outcome. The interviewer was impressed to see that the care that some officers had for prisoner problems was also given to their colleagues.
- III.24 The problem of communication was referred to again and again. The request and complaints procedure was described as lengthy and laborious. Submission to the department had to be made for life prisoners if a change of category was warranted. Their load of paperwork was increasing more and more. Officers talked about the old system of grievances being more appropriate in that you could answer someone quickly instead of keeping them waiting for long periods of time. A prisoner might be needing help, but a parole report had to take priority. Staff were supposed to refer requests back up the line for answers, involving time-consuming searches for senior management before this could be done. It was also said to be difficult to get the space to talk privately to prisoners, although counter arguments were made to this. They felt that they very often start the ball rolling and then are the last people to hear what has happened.

- III.25 Staff felt that their role was a combination of being disciplinarian and caring, a complex one to juggle, and that some staff get too close and are then compromised. One group of staff had worked together for a number of years and felt that they had an excellent working relationship. Staff and prisoners felt that when other staff came into the Hall from outside that made things difficult because they didn't understand the regime and diminished the effect of other staff. Most staff wanted to be given a lot more responsibility for decision-making and not have to refer things back up the line in case they got them wrong.
- III.26 They almost all felt that change had happened too quickly in Darroch Hall, that almost overnight the regime went from locked up to a new open regime. Few of the staff had worked with longterm prisoners before and everything was done too quickly. Literally one day the untried were moving out as the longtermers moved up from reception. Although the initial prisoners got involved with the work of setting up the Hall, it was much harder now to involve prisoners in an already established regime. They felt that things were still changing by the minute which was undermining the work which was going on.
- III.27 Staff felt that the limited 'D' category was causing too much confusion and inconsistency and consuming large amounts of their time. Some were worried that it was a system of appeasement which was in operation inspite of the severity of some of the men's crimes. Some commented that developments happened at an alarming rate and that they felt the potential for danger was greater in Darroch Hall than elsewhere. Several spoke warmly of those who managed the Hall, they were careful at least not to say otherwise to the interviewer!
- III.28 This was a critical time for officers with regard to their jobs. Staff were particularly sensitive about their positions, as they had to reapply for them. They were uneasy about the future, one stated that this was the 'worst time of my life'! They felt that their jobs had never been in question before unless there had been some breach of contract and now everything seemed to be up in the air. One member of staff had been encouraged to seek promotion but was reluctant to try, perhaps because the culture of a prison demands adopting certain stereotypical roles and because of factors surrounding the role. Staff had performance reviews where they are allowed to say what they would like to do in their career and the senior officer is given the task of trying to make that happen. Staff are expected to say where they think they have been unsupported and where they think improvements could be made.

Comment of Staff on Prisoners

III.29 A lot of staff felt that relationships on the Hall had deteriorated and that this was at least in part due to the type of prisoner who was now coming into the Hall. A lot of the early prisoners had left or been put on parole and it was now difficult to find prisoners of the right sort so some were coming who would be disruptive. Staff felt that some of the new prisoners were not ready for the regime and couldn't cope initially with its liberality. Although staff had a hand in the selection of prisoners for Darroch Hall there were some who still slipped through the selection process who should not be there. The staff talked about the prisoner's difficulties with adjustment to the new regime. They were coming from conditions where they were used to being shouted at and locked up to now having to learn to make conversation with an officer, play pool with them etc. It was hard for a prisoner to keep up the 'macho' front when they were called by their first names and called staff by their first names.

III.30 Staff were frustrated at the fragility of the relationship with a prisoner where having had some time of good rapport with him would then find that they were only 'as good as their last decision' and if that was negative then the relationship was at an end for at least a while. Decisions by management which the prisoner didn't agree with often resulted in them taking it out on the officers even though they knew it wasn't their fault. The process of trying to make things 'fairer and firmer' was at times not appreciated by the prisoners. Staff commented that certain prisoners would take advantage of the regime and prevent other prisoners from having things they were entitled to (eg family visits) if they were not confronted. It was said that it took time to build trust with a new draft of prisoners, especially those who had been in prison for a long time. One member of staff in particular commented that it would be better to start with a good core again and gradually build in new ones who had to buy into the new relational regime.

III.31 The issue of communication in a prison is a complex one (see paragraph III.24). It was expected that prisoners in Darroch Hall would speak to staff as a sign that they were ready to move on in the system. Relationships are founded on trust and confidentiality and if there is a breach of trust both parties will retreat from engagement. Issues around 'grassing' of prisoner to staff or staff disrespecting a prisoner's personal confidences made it difficult for relationships to advance beyond a certain level. There is no easy solution to this problem. It was hard for a prisoner to talk to an officer without attracting undue attention to himself, although one officer commented that the canteen was a place where communication could take place with a prisoner which might be looked on with suspicion by other prisoners if it took place in the Hall. Staff's access to information about activity on the Hall was dependent on good relationships, but misuse of this information could be seen as a breach of trust by the prisoner.

- III.32 Staff found it hard that their position involved them in being impartial to the prisoner even though they knew the severity of the crime they had committed. They didn't like to accord them privileges in the more relaxed regime when those unemployed outside were struggling. It was said that "staff feel that they are there to help and guide prisoners and discuss problems, prisoners feel that staff are there to do and to 'get me'". Staff consistently reported on the selfishness of the prisoner. Very often the officer found themselves in sympathy with the family of the prisoner who, it was felt, had the worst deal. They would be making sacrifices to bring the prisoner clothes etc which he wanted. A proportion of them felt that when a prisoner was given too much responsibility he let himself down and had to be sent back in the system. One officer commented that he thought some of the prisoners should be shot!
- III.33 At times the prisoners would try to impose 'no-go' areas on the staff, in order to intimidate them or to make a safe haven for passing drugs. They would also create 'group arguments' to intimidate staff. In spite of staff working at knowing what was going on in the Hall there were situations when they could be distracted by prisoners while some violent or illegal activity was going on. Some staff felt that they had to show a calm and controlled front in the face of conflict on the Hall and that there was nowhere to release the tension resulting from a clash with a prisoner. Also they could not be seen to be losing face if a prisoner had been abusive. They accepted that they would not get on with every prisoner.
- III.34 It seemed to the observer that the staff had to find 'coping strategies' to deal with the depths of problems there were on the Hall as well as to deal with the amount of work the prisoners gave them surrounding the system. They were criticised by the prisoners for making light of the prisoners' problems, perhaps this was in part due to a kind of 'coping strategy' resulting from compassion fatigue. Staff said that they would have a lot of time for some of the prisoners but that there were some who live differently and that made things difficult.
- III.35 There was a feeling that special units had not been the answer and that the type of regime in Darroch Hall had much more chance of success if certain factors such as numbers and type of prisoner were carefully observed. Staff felt that there was a good rapport on the Hall, but that tension was rising because of some violent prisoners and that security and good order came first. A member of staff said, 'they must change themselves, and we will help them to rehabilitate'. Others said that staff needed more training to handle prisoners and that some of their problems were 'way over our heads'. The situations they were faced with in a more freely moving environment demanded a high degree of expertise in the job, particularly in the wisdom of handling relationships with the prisoners well. Those staff interviewed displayed differing, but impressive, amounts of this 'wisdom'.

PART IV

COMPARISON OF SOME ELEMENTS OF THE INTERVIEWS

During the interviews some things were expressed which either made a contrast between staff and prisoners, or registered a surprising similarity. Some of these are recorded below.

PRISONER COMMENT

Think that more activities particularly at the weekends would be a good thing, wish that more things were laid on

Wish that they were given more responsibility and trust by the staff

Fear of being thought to be 'grassing' prevents them from speaking to staff sometimes

Frustrated by the time taken for requests to be heard

Angry about the seeming disparity in decisions about the progression through the categories

Frustrated by staff not having the time to deal with their problems

Fear the staff will not keep their personal information confidential

Had their expectations raised by being moved to Darroch Hall with regard to parole etc

Wish that they did not have to be doubled up

Most prisoners enjoy the opportunities for SELs and escorted visits to the town

Wish there was more on offer for Scotvec modules etc

Prisoners feel that they are 'targetted' by staff at times

Handle stress in a variety of ways.. often by holding it inside

STAFF COMMENT

Staff think that more activities would be a good thing - want the initiative to come from the prisoners

Wish that management would give them more scope to take their own decisions

Peer pressure makes some staff reluctant to form relationships with prisoners

Frustrated by the amount of paperwork involved in the grievance procedure

Unsure about the level at which decisions should be taken leading to frustration amongst officers

Frustrated by prisoners 'cutting off' from them after a negative decision even though they may have been building a relationship with them for some time

Fear that they might be compromised by getting too close to prisoners

Had their expectations lowered by concerns over the security of their jobs and how change will affect their families

Think that the Hall would be better if it had single cells

Staff take the opportunities to take prisoners out

Staff feel that more certification possibilities should be available for prisoners

Staff feel that prisoners 'target' them if they have had to intervene in, eg, searches for drugs

Handle stress mostly by holding it inside...

COMPARISON OF SOME ELEMENTS OF THE INTERVIEWS continued

Prisoners feel that staff have to take the brunt of communicating negative management decisions

Prisoners feel that the staff do not enable them to forget their 'violent past'

Some prisoners are able to see both sides of the coin

Prisoners know which staff to approach to cope with their questions

Prisoners want to know what more they need to do apart from becoming a model prisoner which will enable them to be given a placement?

Prisoners think the Hall is overcrowded and that the wrong type of prisoner is coming.

Staff feel that they are too often left to take the flack for communicating negative management decisions to prisoners

Staff try to rehabilitate prisoners by helping them to 'address their offending behaviour'

Some staff are able to see things from the prisoner's point of view

Some staff work at the small problems prisoners face them with in order to avoid them escalating problems

Staff are faced with making the difficult decision as to when a prisoner is ready for a placement and how to communicate a negative decision to them

Staff think that in order for the philosophy of the Hall to work numbers need to be reduced and that two or three ringleaders need to be sent back

PART V

CONCLUSION

- V. 01 Staff and prisoners have surprising areas of confluence of thought about Darroch Hall. Amongst these they sounded warning notes about the state of the Hall at the moment. They agree that the wrong type of prisoner, not ready for the regime, and staff with the wrong approach, were now coming to the Hall, so that the prospect of a relational regime was more likely to be thwarted. Both staff and prisoner felt that tension was rising and that the likelihood was that instead of moving on, the regime would move backwards. Both staff and prisoner found the systems frustrating and unreliable in application at times and felt that the staff were weakened by the systems, for instance in the conflict surrounding decisions over category change. They were equally concerned about the lack of activities available to prisoners, the emptiness of the weekends, and inconsistencies in vocational training. They both felt that numbers were too high for a community to have viability and that doubling up caused problems. The majority of those interviewed agreed that there was sufficient time to work at relationships but that attitudes on both sides sometimes pre-empted this. Both were concerned that security and good order should be paramount as well as building good relationships founded on trust and cooperation.
- V.02 The areas of disagreement centred around the prisoners' feeling that there was a lack of understanding and compassion for them from the staff. Undercurrents of information-gleaning and lack of confidentiality undermined trust, discipline and safety in the Hall. Prisoners were adjusting to a new kind of life where they had moved from more closed conditions (where they were told when to eat, when to get up, when to go to bed and were locked up) to the next stage of progression in Darroch Hall, where, having seen the options which were available, found themselves in the position of having to demand favours and not enjoying the experience of sometimes being told 'no'! They had to be seen to be responding well to taking responsibility for their lives and to becoming more aware of the situations of others. We could look at the situation quickly in terms of five styles of conflict management (Source: *Images of Organisations* Gareth Morgan, diagram adapted from Thomas (1976; 900), *Academy of Management Review*). The five styles are depicted on a graph as *Avoiding* - e.g. use of secrecy to avoid confrontation; *Compromise* - e.g. looking for deals and trade-offs; *Competition* - e.g. use of power-plays to get one's ends; *Accommodation* - e.g. giving way; and *Collaboration* - e.g. confronting differences and sharing ideas and information (see Appendix A). The graph has axes of *Attempting to satisfy one's own concerns* and, *Attempting to satisfy others' concerns*.

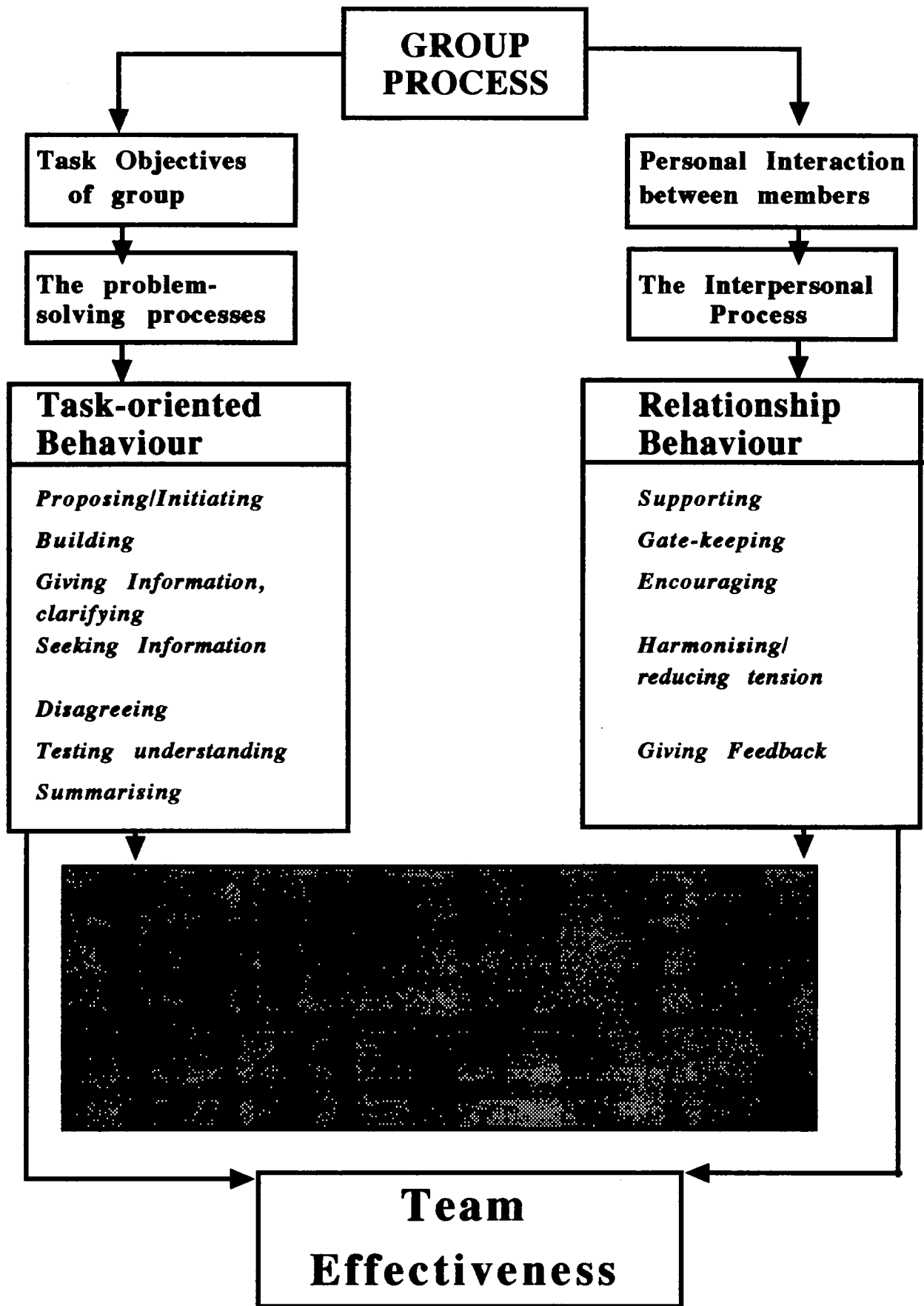
- V.03 The difficulties facing the staff could be summed up in this way. Staff expected to be 'guardians' as part of their role as a prison officer. They did not expect to have to be 'angels', but some were angels by nature. Some officers needed support to be angels but managed it; some needed to be taught how to be angels and learned how; some didn't want to be an angel and did their own thing; some thought being an angel was sissy and tried to stop other people being angels! Whether staff can be seen to be 'credible message sources' in the context of a prison is a matter for reflection (see Appendix B, taken from the *Annual Review of Social Psychology, 1978*). It would be interesting for both staff and prisoner on Darroch Hall to explore their status in a group process model of team behaviours including; task behaviours, relational behaviours and non-functional behaviours (see Appendix C). A group discussion would provide the vehicle for such an exploration - of the sort that the audit team hope to carry out in the near future in Greenock Prison.
- V.04 In terms of the five dimensions of relational proximity (see Part II of this report), the basic conditions for them occurring in Darroch Hall were reasonably good, but there were underlying reasons for them not being exploited. Directness was not considered to be a problem by either prisoner or staff except in the willingness of either party to engage in it. Continuity had some problems in that the prisoner was very often at the point of being given parole, or in the ideal moved on to more open conditions (though this might take him further from his family). The staff had one in three weeks' leave and then were often on night shift, and so this made for some frustration in the ability of staff to follow through on prisoner requests. Whilst this system caused problems with continuity, it did nonetheless assist staff to cope with the stress of being at the frontline of what is not an easy situation. It was hoped by the interviewer that if the system was changed other methods of helping staff accommodate to the stress of the job would be found. Barriers to multiplexity were thought to be few; it simply needed the willingness of Prison Officers to see prisoners in different lights. The importance of this as a means of improving relationships was not always obvious to Prison Officers. Parity was obviously a problem in a place where one has the power to lock up the other, although not probably as much here as elsewhere in the Scottish Prison Service. Parity amongst prisoners also caused problems primarily because of the non-acceptance of the sex offenders by other prisoners and also because some prisoners were afraid of gangs forming and ruling the Hall. Commonality, or the presence of common purpose was not evident here in the way that it would be for example in a boarding school, or as it was at the outset of Darroch Hall, but it did occur where staff worked with the prisoner to help him to advance in the system and where there was common purpose of staff and prisoner working together on Open Days. The interview itself served as an example of some of the dimensions; it provided a context for directness, parity and commonality to occur. The interviewer had tried to provide continuity in her own relationship with prisoners throughout the audit by being present at as many of the visits by the team as was possible.

V.05 Finally, the interviewer felt that in order to give this concept a fair and realistic trial, everything, from selection of staff and prisoner to systems, needs to be driven by the original concept of Darroch Hall, indeed of the early stages of the re-opening of the prison itself in 1986 (cf. *The Prisons We Deserve*, pp76 ff, Andrew Coyle 1994). The creation of Darroch Hall was a good attempt to get back to the original intentions for Greenock. Many of the pieces (such as wise managers and able staff) are in place, but could be wrested from them because of the flaws which are beginning to manifest themselves as a consequence of, for example, overcrowding, doubling up and the fraught 'limited D' category. Staff and prisoners have expectations about Darroch Hall, which, in terms of numbers and type of prisoners and support for staff i.e. enabling them to practice training they have been given, fall short of the ideals which made up these expectations. The interviewer was left wondering whether discrete pieces of the operation such as anger management and cognitive training formed part of a linked and sequenced effort (begun in the idea of sentence planning, but needing development) where every aspect moved towards the concerted whole, or whether the honest efforts and giftedness of those involved were wasted because of the disparate nature of activities. The overall impression, however, is of one where there is much potential for the fulfilment of the principles on which the Hall was based as a topend Hall for longterm prisoners; much cheerful goodwill on both sides to achieve that fulfilment (inspite of obstacles); and a remarkable amount of success by management, staff and prisoner in the delivery and practice of those principles.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX C



Adapted from: *Working in Organisations* Andrew Kakabadse et al

Appendix E

Hypotheses Testing

Five preliminary hypotheses were tested, relating the scores on the scales to the other parts of the questionnaire administered at Darroch Hall.

Hypothesis One. Where prisoners say there is a high level of relational proximity, they will usually also describe prisoner/prison officer relationships as 'very good' or 'good'.

Table 3 gives the responses to Question 26, "how would you describe staff-prisoner relationships here?"

Table 3. Frequencies from Q26, "how would you describe staff-prisoner relationships here?"

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very good	1	2	3.9	4.0	4.0
Good	2	11	21.6	22.0	26.0
Okay	3	11	21.6	22.0	48.0
Sometimes difficult	4	21	41.2	42.0	90.0
Tense	5	5	9.8	10.0	100.0
	9	1	2.0	Missing	
	Total	51	100.0	100.0	

As the numbers using the two extreme categories were small, they were combined with the adjacent categories, and the resulting 3 categories were used in six separate analyses of variables, one for each of the scales and one for a combined scale, created by standardising and summing the five proximity scales.

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In all six analyses there was a strong and highly significant linear relationship between the responses to Question 26 and the relational proximity variables. So, when prisoners had high levels of Directness, Continuity, Multiplexity, Parity and Commonality, it did appear to lead them to describe their relationships as 'good' or 'very good'. Thus among these prisoners it appears that a high level of relational proximity creates good relationships.

Hypothesis Two. A high level of relational proximity would be reflected in the low numbers of prisoners indicating that they felt at risk from assault by a prison officer.

This hypothesis was difficult to test because so few prisoners responded that they did feel at risk from physical assault from the officers – only five of the fifty prisoners who answered this question. However, for all six relational proximity measures (including the total) the relational proximity scores were more negative for the prisoners who felt at risk from assault by officers. None of the differences was statistically significant at the 0.05 level using a T-Test, but the closest were Directness ($p=0.07$) and Parity ($p=0.1$). The smallest difference was recorded on the continuity scale.

Hypothesis Three. Men coming to Darroch Hall will find the regime difficult to deal with, and therefore those who have been at Darroch Hall longer will have greater relational proximity scales.

Table 4. Frequencies from Q30, "how long have you been in Darroch Hall during this sentence?"

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
1-3 mth	2	8	15.7	15.7	15.7
3 mth - 1 yr	3	32	62.7	62.7	78.4
1-3 yrs	4	11	21.6	21.6	100.0
	Total	51	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	51	Missing cases	0		

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As Table 4 shows, none of the respondents had been in Darroch Hall for less than one month or longer than 3 years. Six separate analyses of variance were carried out, one for each of the proximity scales, using these three categories. None of them were even close to statistical significance, the closest being Directness ($P=0.16$). In the case of five of the six scales the shortest-stay prisoners had the lowest (i.e. most positive) relational proximity scales; the exception was Continuity. This hypothesis was, therefore, not well supported at all.

Hypothesis Four. The different scores for each officer will directly correlate with an individual's response to Q19, "Which kind of officer would you say you have the best relationship with?"

For this hypothesis the agree-disagree items were pooled for each of the three types of officer: Personal, Other Gallery and Party.

Table 5. Frequencies from Q19, "Which kind of officer would you say you have the best relationship with?"

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Personal	1	11	21.6	24.4	24.4
Gallery	2	5	9.8	11.1	35.6
Party	3	20	39.2	44.4	80.0
Educational	4	6	11.8	13.3	93.3
Other	5	3	5.9	6.7	100.0
	9	6	11.8	Missing	
	Total	51	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	45	Missing cases	6		

Three one-way analyses of variables were conducted, one for each of the prison-officer related scales, broken down by the first three response categories to Q19. The hypothesis was confirmed for the Personal officers ($p<0.05$) but not significant for either of the other two. This is hardly surprising in the case of the Other Gallery officers, where there were only 5 prisoners

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rating them as having the best relationships. The effect for Party officers was in the predicted direction but very weak.

Hypothesis Five. A high level of relational proximity would correlate with an individual's response to Question 15, "Do you think that most of the prison officers know what prisoners are interested in?"

Fifteen of the prisoners (30%) answered "yes" to this question. On all of the proximity scales the prisoners answered yes had much more positive mean levels of relational proximity (all $p < 0.001$).