

**The effects of integrating the populations: The experiences of young adult  
male offenders incarcerated in an adult prison**

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## ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the background, theory and effects of imprisoning young, male adult offenders (aged 18-21) with adult male offenders (over 21 years). The **Introduction** forms Chapter 1. The initial ‘needs analysis’ is described here; how Young Adult Offenders are currently being incarcerated with adults, from a little established research base evaluating the practice. The **Systematic review** is described in Chapter 2 and scopes the literature from journals held in selected databases of published research relating to the topic of integrating young offenders with adults in adult prisons. Searches yielded reports of the target population imprisoned with adults and these informed on the effects of mixing the different-aged populations. This included a qualitative study examining the young people’s views, and quantitative research reporting how they conducted themselves and coped in prison. Seven papers were included in the final review and each was critically appraised based on type of study and methodology followed. The **Empirical research study** is set out in Chapter 3 and follows qualitative methodology, specifically Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). From analysis of the participants’ views, it details over-arching themes concerning locus of control, coping styles and issues relating to the development of identity. The results highlighted five main themes: *1. Elements of vulnerability; how the self and others are perceived and protected and how weaknesses are exploited, 2. The complexities of adjusting to prison, 3. Being concerned about safety in prison, 4. How activities are perceived and utilised and 5. How help is identified and accessed.* These are discussed in terms of the literature and theory. Limitations are discussed. A **Psychometric assessment**: the *Emotional Problems Scales (EPS: Prout & Strohmer, 1991)* is critiqued in Chapter 4, selected for its utility with the target age group. The **Discussion** of the whole thesis is presented in Chapter 5, with practical implications for future practice and effective management of young people held in adult prisons.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction to thesis**

### **BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE TO RESEARCH**

A recent prison population review in Wales has led to the reorganisation of accommodation and provision for remand and convicted Young Adult Offenders. This is in line with a similar practice in some prisons in England and Scotland, where decisions were taken to mix those from age 18 years upwards with the rest of the adult population of male offenders. There are no custodial facilities for female offenders in Wales, so those remanded or convicted by the courts are sent to prisons across the border in England. Juveniles (those aged under 18 years) continue to be housed separately, in line with current legislation and duty of care responsibilities of the State for this age group.

This study was prompted by the relatively recent decision to house the Young Adult offenders (YAs) convicted by the courts to imprisonment within previously designated adult prisons. Prior to this, those aged 18-21 years receiving penalties involving a period in custody went immediately from court to a Young Offender Institute (YOI) – a specialist facility designed just for this age group. The practice of full integration of these young people into the main accommodation and regime with adult offenders does not appear to have been evaluated in any formal way. As one way to start to address this area, a research study was conducted which collected qualitative data and analysed it using the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis approach. The intention is to present this for academic peer review. A summary of the study has already been presented to the Deputy Director of Custody Wales and senior prison Governors and received with interest and discussion. Key action points were noted by the policy makers in the region based on some of the recommendations made in the study and plans have been made for joint working to implement some change in approach in line with the guiding psychological theory.



## **Review of the literature**

Much of the literature published in the area of the treatment and incarceration of young people suggests that the decision to integrate them with adult offenders places them at increased risk of harm (e.g., Austin et al., 2000; Rutter and Giller, 1983), of victimisation (Maitland and Sluder, 1998), of physical violence from other prisoners and from staff (Ziedenberg and Schiraldi, 1998). Younger prisoners are also more likely to be involved in institutional violence and other rule infractions during imprisonment (Camp, Gaes, & Saylor, 2003; Cooke, 1998; Cunningham & Sorensen, 2006a, b). Psychological theories of development, including attachment (e.g., Bowlby, 1973), identity (Erikson, 1982; Kroger, 2007), biological processes (Rutter, Giller & Hagell, 1998) and moral development (Kohlberg, 1984) contribute to our understanding of this, with much evidence from the fields of neuropsychology in terms of the importance of the development of the brain, especially during the period of adolescence (Cauffman, Steinberg, & Piquero, 2005). Tittle (2000) assesses theoretical developments in explanations of the causes of criminal behaviour in young people and considers Moffitt's 2-path theory. This identifies neurological deficits as preventing the assertion of behavioural controls, and more adolescent-specific behaviour which suggests that others go through limited periods in which they exhibit high levels of offending, delinquent behaviour but that this occurs primarily in the teen years, and is essentially limited to that period (Moffitt, 1993).

Other research considers the behaviour of young people in prisons; how they adjust, how they develop accommodative resources and how they cope in a prison environment (e.g., Ireland et al., 2005; Liebling, 1995).

Theories of social learning also suggest that the practice of exposing young people (who are still at formative stages of cognitive, emotional and behavioural development), to

older offenders who are often well-established in patterns and models of offending behaviour, is likely to be detrimental to the creation of healthy, pro-social models (Agnew, 2005).

Social learning theory highlights how interactive processes in primary groups – for adolescents this becomes the peer group – are most important and not just in the sense of peer influence but also in the appraisal of peer behaviour, imitation and identification, social reinforcement by peers, and assimilation of the attitudes expressed by them (Akers, 2009).

Ever since social bonding theory (Hirschi, 1969) was first suggested as an explanation for the development and maintenance of adolescent delinquent behaviour, studies have continued to explore and reaffirm the principles. Social bonding theory describes how the tie which links the young person to conventional society is weakened by other influences, effectively freeing them from the usual constraints and limits to behaviour and thus allowing deviance from those conventions to occur. Typically, the bonds that are weakened are those linking the young person to family and parenting influences; bonds that are strengthened are those of the peer group and friendship networks (Farrington, 1986). International studies across cultures have investigated this theory and it continues to hold weight. This includes investigations into behaviour of high school adolescents outside westernised countries, such as in Ankara, Turkey (Ozbay & Ozcan, 2006).

### **Young offenders in prison: disadvantages of imprisonment**

Much of this research leads towards a strand of argument that suggests that imprisoning young people for anti-social/ criminal behaviour is not helpful in promoting positive change and in fact may be more likely to foster and reinforce it through enhancing the shifting bonds with anti-social peers; now wider and more diverse in a custodial setting (Bishop, 2000). Evidence shows that prosecuting young people has no beneficial effect in preventing offending (Kemp et al., 2002). A court appearance is as likely to confirm and extend a young person's deviant behaviour as it is to curb a criminal career (Whyte, 2009).

## **Disadvantages of mixing young offenders with adults**

There is a consistent theme from research which indicates that mixing younger men with adults increases the risk of suicide and places them at increased risk of both physical and sexual assault than those located in specialist age-appropriate facilities

(<http://law.jrank.org/pages/1532/Juveniles-in-Adult-System-Youthfulness-proportional-punishment-death-penalty.html>). Incarcerating young people has been seen as inhumane and likely to impede normal transition into adulthood. This was evidenced by high suicide rates in some establishments (Rutherford, 1992). Young people are at greater risk of sexual victimisation (Forst, Fagan & Vivona, 1989). Rose (2002) describes the need for positive role models for young people, claiming that those who reach prisons are often chaotic, hostile, destructive and antisocial. They may be prone to self-harm, may be aggressive and are extremely delinquent. They have generally under-achieved in education, have low self-esteem and have probably experienced other institutional regimes (such as care homes). Rose claims that if the basic disorder of these young people is to be addressed, it is “essential that their experience of adults whilst they are in a secure unit should be significantly different from before” (p10, 2002). This is aimed at staff, however it is difficult to see how positive role modelling can be offered by older, convicted criminal men (the other group to which young people will be exposed if integrated into adult regimes within prison). Much of the literature indicates that the criminogenic and rehabilitative needs of young offenders are different; they develop and mature at a different rate at this age and require different interventions and management approaches (Caulum, 2007). Until recently this has led to strong recommendations that young offenders should be housed separately to accommodate and address these different needs (Fossi, 2006).

## **Reducing reoffending**

Much has been written about ‘What Works’ to reduce risk of reoffending and risk of harm in prisons (e.g., Harper & Chitty, 2006; Kurtz, 2002). The literature suggests that psychological (i.e., cognitive-behavioural) treatment approaches help individuals become more aware of their thinking processes and promote a range of choices from which to make balanced decisions. Skills to develop these processes, together with interpersonal skills training, give offenders opportunities to learn and practice pro-social approaches which they are then encouraged to generalise to their everyday lives. Under a prison population review in Wales in 2009, proposals were made to organise profile by length of sentence and it is unlikely that offending behaviour programmes will continue to be available to young adult offenders with short (i.e., under two years) sentences. This may have an impact on their rehabilitation and could reframe perceptions of individuals’ imprisonment as punishment alone rather than as serving the purpose of punishment and rehabilitation. This, together with the additional exposure to a less-tailored regime in prison to meet the age group’s specific needs, and the ‘modelling’ afforded by older convicted men, lends the practice to further study and evaluation of how the policy is perceived by the young people themselves.

## **Aims of thesis**

The thesis aims to gain an understanding of the theory, background and rationale to the policies relating to the imprisonment of young offenders with adults. It considers literature, research and opinion about the effects of integrating the populations in prisons in all matters of regime and daily activities, from papers published on practice from around the world. Some of the possible pitfalls and some of the benefits are reviewed and put in the context of practice in UK prisons. The thesis addresses many aspects of the needs of the 18-21 year old age group, including areas of vulnerability, and attempts to present strategies and

approaches to inform the practice in light of the review of international data, psychological theories, current research and psychometric assessment.

## **Summary of the thesis**

Chapter 2 contains the extensive systematic review undertaken to establish as complete as possible appraisal of the existing research conducted in the specific area relating to the incarceration of young offenders with their adult counterparts. No previous systematic review was found, and a small number of relevant papers were reviewed and summarised in the overall review. These papers were reviewed critically using the Critical Appraisal Skills Programmes (CASP; 2006) and subsequently ‘quality checked’ by random selection by peer reviewers, in line with recommended academic good practice. The systematic review, although first searched across selected electronic databases in January 2012, was searched again in early May 2012 to ensure the most up-to-date publications were considered, and included if appropriate and relevant.

The research study undertaken forms Chapter 3. It sought to increase current insight into the recent practice of integrating 18 to 21 year old male offenders in prisons with adult male offenders from the perspective of a sample of the young people themselves. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with five young offenders at a prison in Wales over a two-month period in 2011. The data was analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA; Smith et al., 2009), an approach increasingly used in psychological study of the experiences and insights of those engaging in this type of investigation. The research sought to gather the views and first-account experiences of the young people themselves, as articulated by them in response to the general prompt of guiding, largely open questions which were designed to elicit thoughts and feelings about their experiences of prison. In order to minimise the effect of any preconceptions the

researcher may have (although there is considerable facility within the IPA methodology to account for researcher effects, explained by *reflexivity*; the acknowledgement of the inevitable emotional response of the researcher as a result of his/ her immersion in the data and the rigorous supervision process that is inherent in the IPA process), specific and detailed review of the literature took place after the data had been collected. In this way, the research was able to respond to the data rather than fitting the data to the underlying models presented by other research in the field.

The study identifies the main themes that emerged through the in-depth analysis of the data and makes recommendations about how the issues raised in these themes might manifest, and how they might be approached or remediated. One of the themes highlighted the vulnerability of young people in prison and a particular element of this relates to young people with intellectual disability (ID). Although the intellectual ability of the young people in this study was not assessed, consideration of this potential additional source of stress and distress was given in the selection of a psychometric test which could evaluate and give a measure of the emotional problems an individual with ID may experience.

Chapter 4 contains a critique of the psychometric test identified as of use with those vulnerable young offenders with ID. The assessment tool is the EPS Emotional Problems Scales (Prout & Strohmer, 1991) and is designed for use with the population in the main study (young adult offenders) with established intellectual disability (ID), or 'borderline' to 'low-average' functioning. One of the findings in the main study concerned the vulnerability of the 18-21 year old age group and the identification of intellectual disability makes the individual even more at risk. A measure of emotional problems experienced by those with this range of cognitive and social functioning could be used to target any help and support required in the most effective way. The outcome of the assessment could also be used by specialist services (such as psychological services) to inform and skill prison staff working

with the young person on a daily basis to enhance overall well-being and to minimise distress caused by possible lack of understanding and misconstrued interpretations of the young person's behaviour on the basis of their disability.

Chapter 5 presents a general discussion of the whole thesis and the results of the research, bringing it all together and making links between each component part. The recommendations and limitations of the research are summarised and proposals for further work made in the context of the overview given. A full list of references is given at the end of the whole thesis and appendices as indicated.

## **Chapter 2: Systematic Literature Review**

### **THE EFFECTS OF IMPRISONING YOUNG ADULT OFFENDERS WITH ADULT OFFENDERS**

#### **ABSTRACT**

**Background** This review summarises seven studies from around the world which have investigated the effects on, and views of Young Adult Offenders (YAOs) who have been incarcerated in adult prisons. It has generally been held that young adults (18-21 years of age) and juvenile (under 18 years) offenders' needs are best met in separate accommodation with regimes and facilities suited to the specific needs of the developmental stage of these young people, amongst other things. Very little has been published in the UK about the outcomes of this practice, yet young offenders are currently being integrated in adult prisons. A review of research from the last two decades was made to help formulate an understanding of existing practice in other countries that may inform policy and practice in this country.

**Method** Literature searches were made of databases holding psychological journals and other disciplines that were likely to contribute to the debate about the punishment, treatment and rehabilitation of young offenders. The databases were ASSIA, IESBS, PsychINFO (Ovid) and Web of Science. Only ASSIA and Web of Science yielded papers included in this review when first run in January 2012. In May 2012, the searches were re-run, just prior to submission of the doctoral thesis and one additional paper was found, from the IESBS database. Date of publication was March 2012 and was the most current version available. Inclusion and exclusion criteria were applied to each paper and a quality rating assigned based on Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP) principles which were chosen because of their wide use in helping to establish systematic evaluation of scientific evidence and the adaptability of CASP checklists to different types of studies. Quality rating was determined



by the number of 'Yes' responses to checklist questions where each was weighted according to the importance and bearing it had to the type of study reviewed. Studies were rated as '1' (good) if they had seven or more 'Yes' responses to questions, as '2' (medium) if there were six or less 'Yes' responses, and as '3' (low) if less than five 'Yes' responses to checklist questions. **Results** Of the seven studies reviewed, four (57.1%) were given a quality rating of '1' (good), one (14.3%) was rated '2/1' (medium-good), one (14.3%) was rated '2' (medium) and one (14.3%) was rated as '3' (low) quality. Studies varied in approach, utilising broadly qualitative methodology with semi- or unstructured interview schedules yielding data that was analysed in different ways, a more controlled experimental approach, or a combination of both. Some studies coded the responses then applied statistical tests to yield results; others used a phenomenological methodology to draw themes from the data. Cohort, or case control studies, used psychometrics to collect data and statistical tests to analyse results. Studies focused on a range of factors thought to be important to the research aim. **Conclusions** A range of general themes emerged from the review with implications for the better management of young offenders. The weight of evidence supports the idea that unstructured, unmanaged integration of young adults (18-21 year olds) with the over-21 year age group is not good practice: issues of safety remain and implications for poor mental health (depression) and increasing acts of violent misconduct with the younger age groups as perpetrators. There is some positive evidence, however, of the deterrent effect of exposing young adults to the adult criminal justice system which results in a positive impact on recidivism. Some recommendations emerge for improving services to young people, limitations to the studies are acknowledged and the review adds to the wider understanding of the effects of imprisoning young offenders with adults, from an international perspective. As no papers were based on a UK study the results can therefore only be generalised to UK populations and practice with caution.

## Background

Various pieces of legislation have been passed, over time, to establish how best to implement the removal of liberty from an offender such that elements of punishment, retribution and protection of the public are embodied in sentencing disposals. A more recent development is the rehabilitation of the offender as an added dimension. The age of criminal responsibility varies from countries and cultures and the lower limit on those receiving a custodial sentence in a penal institution depends on the particular legislature of a particular country. In Denmark for example, the age of criminal responsibility is 15 years and, over the age of 18, young offenders are dealt with directly through the adult justice system; however, young age is generally seen as a mitigating factor in determining type and length of sentence (Kyvsgaard, 2004). In England and Wales on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2011, 7848 young adult male offenders were in custody, representing 9.5% of the total prison population (Prison Population Statistics, House of Commons library, 2012). This review looks at the effects of committing young people to a period in prison custody, sentencing and incarcerating them with adults.

The purpose of this systematic review was to look at research that considered the effects of imprisoning young offenders with their adult counterparts. As a policy and approach this has gone through much review, debate and change (McClintock, 1995). The arguments are international and, by definition, tend to be bound in social policy (which either influences - or is driven by - public opinion and therefore politics), criminology and criminal justice. The psychological impacts of the effects of these policies present an important consideration, although there appears to be relatively little published in the way of psychologically driven data and analysis on the actual effects and outcomes of locking up young (and in some cases very young) people with adults in the UK. For the purposes of this

review, ‘adults’ are defined as over 21 years of age; ‘young adults’ are aged 18 to 21 and ‘juveniles’ are under 18. In some countries, juveniles can be as young as 10 (for example the UK, England and Wales and in some states of the USA). Finding those in prison of this young age is a relative rarity and the debate about the treatment of most juvenile offenders under the age of 14 or 15 years extends also to the criminal processes of arrest, police interviews, court appearances, prosecution (whether young and juvenile offenders should be tried in youth or adult courts is also the focus of much debate) and the subsequent disposal implemented. This may be one of diversion (through the welfare system) or a period in a custodial setting. The path through youth or adult courts is often made upon classification of the nature and severity of the crime committed (Bishop, 2000) and the subsequent debate then centres on the two strands of argument: two views of the purpose and function of criminal justice – punishment and correction or welfare and treatment.

Youth and adolescence is a time through which much development and change is occurring (e.g., Arnett, 2000; Roisman, Aguilar & Egeland, 2004). Adolescents are immature, their reasoning, decision-making and other cognitive processes are not as well developed as adults and there is a shift during the adolescent years away from parents and primary care-givers towards peers and other influences which may be anti-social in nature but which bind the developing youngster to them in changing needs to belong and be accepted by a group, whether that group be law-abiding or not. McClintock (1995) concluded that admitting juvenile offenders to secure institutions actually increased the probability of reoffending and the development of ‘secure training orders’ carried out in military-style correctional facilities (so-called ‘boot camps’) were more likely to confirm the young people as criminals as they learned further attitudes and ‘tools of the trade’ from more sophisticated inmates. Psychologically, this is an area of interest: forensic psychology is concerned about

the anti-social outcome of these allegiances and has much to add to the subsequent treatment of young people who enter the criminal justice system.

In recent years in England and Wales, policy and practice has been determined by many of the factors briefly mentioned above. In 2000, the Criminal Justice and Court Services Act removed the stipulation previously made that young people – specifically between the ages of 18 and 21 years - should be accommodated separately in Young Offender Institutions (YOI). Although the effect of this was slower to be implemented, in a short thematic report published by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP) on young adult male prisoners, recommendations were made to Government that where young adult males are required to be held in adult prisons, they should be housed separately in 'dedicated self-contained accommodation' with staff who were specifically trained and supported to work with them (Fossi, 2006). Furthermore, vulnerable young adults with intellectual disability (ID) or mental health issues should not share accommodation with adults at all.

The decision to mix the 18 to 21 year old age group with offenders over 21 in prisons has been taken relatively recently. In Wales the practice began in 2009 although pilot trials had started slightly earlier in prisons in England. The practice has been implemented initially with prisoners on remand and has now been extended to those who have been convicted but not sentenced. Prisons are now more widely integrating sentenced young people with adults, across the male and female estates. So far, practice seems to be that young people can only share cells with other like-aged offenders but the rest of the prison regime is an entirely shared experience. This review seeks to draw together some of the work published on the effects of these practices and some of the philosophies behind the changes in opinion and policy from across the globe. The overall conclusion from the studies reviewed suggests the

experiences of young male offenders in the Criminal Justice System in England and Wales and in other countries across the world, is mixed; there are both positives and negatives.

## **Method**

### **Sources of literature**

An initial and preliminary scoping search in the main three electronic systematic review databases: The Campbell Library, The Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews (CDSR) and the Database of Abstracts of Reviews of Effects (DARE) revealed no recent reviews had been conducted on the effects of actual imprisonment; although reviews on various treatment programmes and approaches had been conducted. One of these was a review of the 'Scared Straight' and other similar programmes which involve visits to prison organised for juvenile delinquents or young people at risk of committing crimes and designed to deter participants from future offending through first-hand observation of prison life. Interaction with adult inmates was one area considered. This was a review, however of an intervention, not of prison itself as a result of a custodial sentence. Nevertheless, this review concluded that the exposing young people to prisons in this way was 'more harmful than doing nothing' and actually likely to increase delinquency (Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino, & Buehler, 2002) which partially then 'sets the scene' for other psychological views on the topic. The search was repeated in May 2012 and no new reviews had been published in the interim period (four months).

### **Search strategy**

The search for literature on the topic of the effects of incarcerating young offenders was widened to other database libraries that it was anticipated would hold academic papers on the psychological effects of incarcerating young people in adult prisons. The databases

used were selected on the basis of the brief description of the types of journals published, subject areas covered and then narrowed where applicable to the decades 1990s to the present. The databases used were: The International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences, PsychINFO (Ovid) 1987- present, the Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA), and Web of Science. These databases gave an international aspect and included the facility for accessing disciplines that were likely to include commentary on the subject area from the points of view of social psychology, social policy, criminology and health.

Searches between 2.1.12 and 6.1.12 of the electronic databases listed above were conducted using 'Search' and 'Advanced Search' facilities with the key search words and terms "young offend\*" 'youth', '18-21 years'; wildcard denotations were employed and alternative spellings were included as much of the literature seems to come from the United States (for example the search term 'behaviour' became 'behavi\*' for the purposes of American spellings and plural word endings). Boolean logic terms were also used to include themes such as: AND 'prison\*', 'imprison\*', 'incarcerat\*' AND 'effect\*', 'consequence\*', 'impact' AND 'behavio\*', 'conduct', 'experience\*'. Some of the databases did not allow the full range of terms; in those cases "young offend\*" AND 'prison' were used. Initial searches on some databases using internal 'explode' functions or links, yielded too many hits; for example, when searching PsychINFO (Ovid), the terms "young\* offend\*" prison\* when exploded were linked with 'prisoners', 'prisons', 'experiences', 'criminals' and others. These searches returned over 61,000 hits and an initial glance indicated the search had been over-inclusive, listing articles that bore no relevance at all to the review question. So search terms were modified to narrow down the trawl; the internal thesaurus for Psych INFO revealed that the term 'prisoner', for example, included 'prisoners of war' which clearly was not helpful in this study; this and other terms were then not 'exploded'.

## **Inclusion and exclusion criteria**

The criteria for inclusion were as follows:

- Population – included juvenile and young adult offenders (male; under age 21 years)
- Intervention – needed to involve experience of imprisonment with adults
- Comparator – other groups of offenders (i.e., juveniles or adults)
- Outcome – commentary on YAOs in adult prisons
- Study type – qualitative and quantitative studies were included as indicators of the young people's experiences as well as measured outcomes
- Language – papers only in English were included
- Only papers from 1990 were included. This was to focus the attention on the last twenty years; the literature published before the 1990s tended to reflect the cyclical nature of opinion and policy regarding the wider subject of social justice and the young offender; from diversion and social justice, through more punitive punishment and imprisonment practices.
- Only articles appearing in peer-reviewed journals were included.

On PsychINFO, the terms as stated above were used and 163 hits were returned, five of which were selected for further consideration and two were duplicates – apparently 'shared' articles with other databases. Of these five selected, further consideration of the abstract revealed that they were either not suitable in terms of the subject matter and inclusion criteria, or, if worth a closer inspection, were not available through 'conventional' library procedures.

The search initiated in the database Web of Science using terms already stated, yielded 49 hits. Of these, four papers were then reviewed for this paper. Of those that were rejected, most did not meet the inclusion criteria for age of subjects and the rest did not involve prison or the experience of incarceration with adults. Only articles appearing in peer

reviewed journals were included and hits were checked for articles appearing more than once across the various searches.

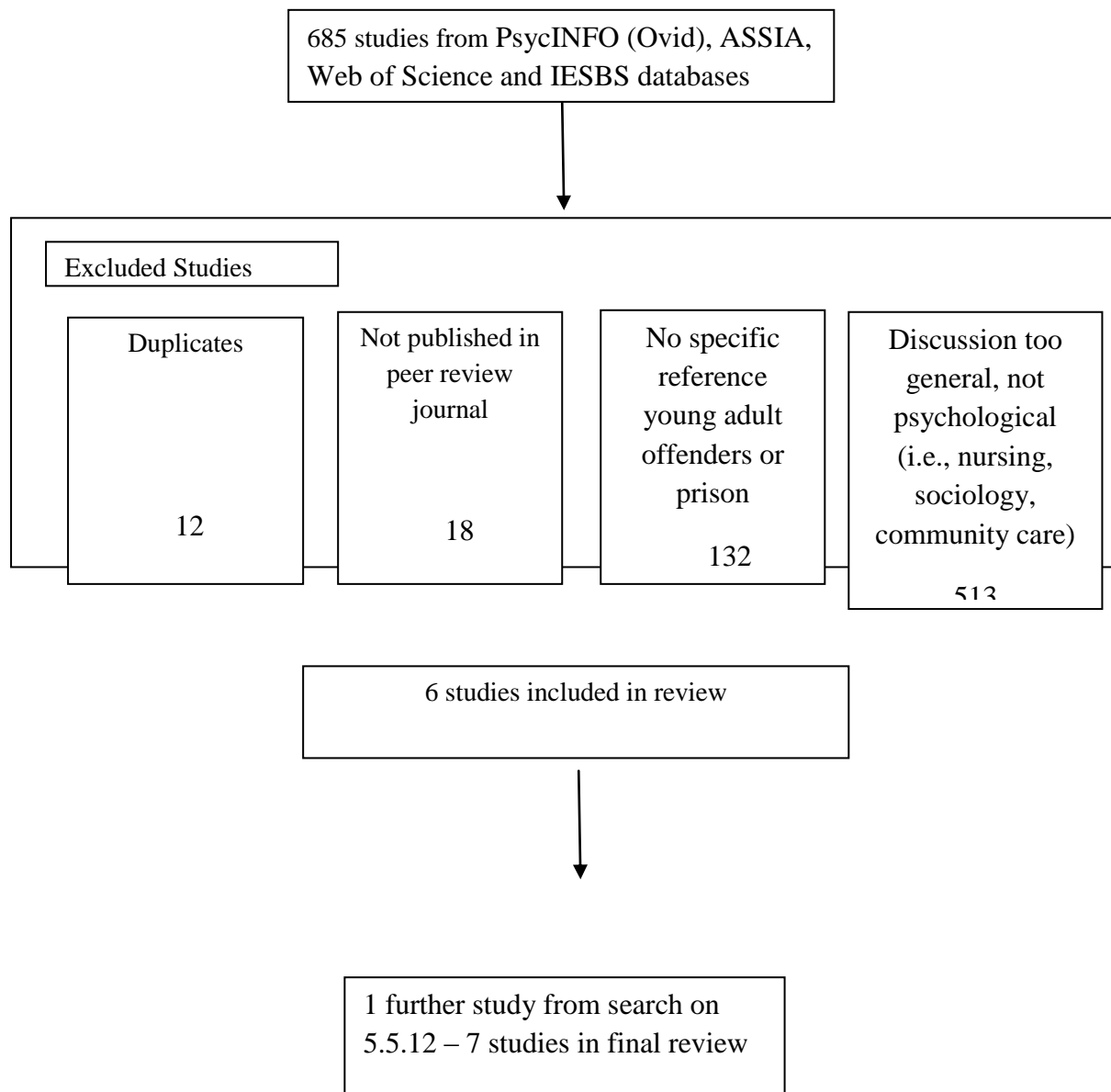
From the search executed on the Applied Social Science Index and Abstracts database, 123 hits were returned with three duplicates. Two are included in this review. Finally, the search of the database International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences yielded 350 hits, three of which were duplicates. The up-to-date search conducted on 5.5.12 revealed one new paper that met the inclusion criteria; this paper has been included in the review. See Figure 1.

The papers selected for inclusion in this review represent some variety in research design and approach. For example, one paper looked at the incarceration of juveniles in adult prisons as a factor in depression, using a case controlled design. Another paper, using a similar design, considered rates of disciplinary misconduct amongst the young population imprisoned with adults. A paper using a qualitative design is included which examined the parole and revocation experience of young adult offenders in a state in the USA. A cohort study design examining the correctional experiences of youth in adult and juvenile facilities is included in this review and a further qualitative study on the ‘voices of incarcerated youths’ considering adult versus juvenile sanctions. Another study examines coping strategies in young incarcerated offenders in Spain. Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP: Public Health Resource Unit, 2006) questions were applied to each study included specific to its type, or adapted to guide the critical assessment. One further paper was found in the search conducted on 5.5.12. Therefore seven papers were included in this review to consider the effects of incarceration in adult prisons, or other conditions, on young and juvenile offenders. No studies were included that had been conducted in the UK despite the mixing of the different aged populations becoming more widely practiced in England and



Wales. The results will be used to form a background to a further study to look at young male offenders aged 18-21 years who are currently accommodated in an adult prison.

The figure below presents an illustration of the search process conducted.



*Figure 1.* Flow diagram of literature search and study exclusion.

## **Quality assessment**

As previously mentioned, CASP questions were adapted and applied to the studies included in the review with the options for coding being **Yes** **Cannot tell** or **Not sure** and **No**. Each paper was then assessed for the research question, the specific populations studied, key findings and was given an overall quality rating. The quality rating was determined by the number of positive responses to the questions in the appraisal tool and the relative importance/ implications of a 'can't tell' or 'not sure' response, or a 'no' on the overall outcome of the study. Each was then labelled **1, 2 or 3** with 1 considered as good quality. This guidance form is included as an Appendix (see Appendix 1) and each quality rating is summarised in a Table (see Table 3, page 32).

## **Data extraction**

Data was extracted in a systematic way according to the form at Appendix 2. The format followed that of the appraisal questions to identify: type of study; research question; methodology and procedure; results and an appraisal of the outcome and implications for the mixing of young adult offenders in the adult system. Additional information summarising study title, authors and year published was included.

## **Results**

A summary of the studies reviewed is presented in Table 1.

<b>Study: Author(s), Date &amp; Country</b>	<b>Research aim and methodology</b>	<b>Population studied and measures used</b>	<b>Results</b>	<b>Quality<sup>1</sup></b>
Kupchik (2007). <i>The Correctional Experiences of Youth in Adult and Juvenile Prisons</i> - USA	Quantitative – cohort - study to examine possible differences in prison experiences between juvenile and adult facilities. -Survey (structured interviews used).	Young adult males (N=95) aged under 21 years at time of interview (mean age 19.2 years)	Participants in adult prisons reported better institutional services. Participants in juvenile prisons reported better staff-inmate interactions Significant differences in participant experiences were reported across the two prison-types suggesting the type of prison to which a young person is sent, matters.	1 - good
Kuanliang, Sorensen & Cunningham (2008). <i>Juvenile Inmates in an Adult Prison System</i> - USA	Quantitative – case control – study to examine the extent and severity of violent prison misconduct committed by juveniles and YAOs & to compare these with rates for adults when all tried and incarcerated in the adult prison system. To see if any observed differences can be explained by other factors (education level, type of offence, sentence length, age at entry, gang affiliation).	N=703 juvenile inmates U18 yrs old (mean age 17.1 years) Comparison groups: N=3,640 YAOs aged 18-20 yrs (mean age 19.7 years) and N=33,114 Over 21yrs (mean 32.9)	Violent conduct was categorised: threats, weapon possession, riot, fighting, assault (no weapon), assault (with weapon) & robbery. Most common rule violation was fighting, followed by assaults with no weapon or threats against staff. For each type of misconduct both the prevalence and frequency was highest amongst the juvenile population. Total violent rule violations per 1000 inmates showed that for all 3 groups rate decreased as severity of misconduct increased and the more serious the misconduct the greater the overrepresentation of juveniles in comparison with adults. Predictor variables were consistently related to outcome variables, with the exception of violent index offence. Age at entry to prison was strongest predictor category of variables. Odds ratios indicated those in 21-25 age group were more than half as likely to be involved in violent rule violations than those in the 18-20 age group.	1 - good

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<sup>1</sup> 'Quality' was determined by counting number of 'Yes' answers to CASP questions and weighting importance of each.

Mohino, Kirchner & Forns (2004). <i>Coping Strategies in Young Male Prisoners</i> - Spain	Quantitative study from Spain, following survey methodology using single cohort. 4 aims: 1. To examine type and use of coping strategies by young male offenders; 2. To relate use of coping strategy with 3 prison variables (time spent in prison, previous convictions and status (remand or convicted)); 3. To examine if problem appraisal linked to strategy used; 4. To assess if coping strategies linked to intellectual level.	N=107 YA male offenders aged 18-25 years incarcerated together. Coping Response Inventory-Adult form (CRI-A; Moos, 1993) and G2A version of g test (Cattell & Cattell, 1977-1990) used to collect data.	1. <i>Approach</i> strategies were used more than <i>avoidance</i> by the young prisoners and <i>cognitive</i> more than <i>behavioural</i> ones. <i>Acceptance-resignation</i> was the avoidance strategy most used. 2. Time spent in prison influenced coping strategies; in early stage of sentence prisoners use <i>emotional discharge</i> approach, which lessened over time; <i>positive reappraisal</i> was used less in early stage. Authors conclude time of exposure to stressor affects strategy used. Sentence status (i.e. remand or convicted) did not affect type of strategy used. 3. There was a link between problem appraisal and strategy used (e.g. if respondent thought problem was caused by someone else <i>avoidant</i> strategy was used more; if problem seen as a challenge <i>logical analysis</i> used more). 4. Mean cognitive level of study sample similar to non-offenders and consistent with normative data (Spanish population norms). No relationships were found between cognitive level and strategies identified in the CRI-A indicating the 2 variables are not related.	1 - good
Entorf (2012) <sup>2</sup> <i>Expected recidivism among young offenders: Comparing specific deterrence under juvenile</i>	Quantitative study - case control survey - from Germany examining young offenders' views of expected recidivism based on type of justice system experienced: i.e., whether tried as an adult or as a juvenile.	'Unique Inmate Survey' - 123 item, self-report questionnaire (Entorf, 2009) carried out in 31 German prisons: N=159 young offenders aged 15-22 years. 'Expected	The results suggested that prisoners in the adolescent age group (18-21 years) convicted under adult criminal law had a lower propensity for future offences. Alcohol or drug addiction, low social capital, criminal family background and bad labour market perspectives were among the most important factors driving expected recidivism. The results were in line with the hypothesis that treatment	1 - good

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<sup>2</sup> Study added as result of up-to-date search, conducted on 5.5.12

<i>and adult criminal law - Germany</i>		recidivism' was critical variable, determined by response given to 5-point scale to question about likelihood of reoffending.	under the stricter adult criminal law has some specific deterrent effect. The results were also consistent with an alternative explanation, that prisoner rehabilitation and corrective measures prescribed for adolescents are less effective under juvenile law. This interpretation, however, suggests that social integration measures are inefficient, because the cost per juvenile prisoner was more than 40% higher than for adult offenders (mainly due to staffing costs – the higher ratio of staff to offender – in the juvenile system).	
Ng, Shen, Sim, Sarri, Stoffegren & Shook (2011). <i>Incarcerating juveniles in adult prisons as a factor in depression - USA</i>	Quantitative case control study using survey data from Michigan, USA. Examines possible relationship between incarceration of young offenders in adult prison and development of depression. Comparisons made across group types (see next column) and with other factors associated with depression controlled for: offence-type, family poverty, parental prison history and certain demographics	Young offenders (aged U18 at conviction) from 4 study groups: incarcerated in adult prisons for serious offences (N=47), incarcerated in juvenile prisons for serious offences (N=45), incarcerated for less serious offences (N=69) and non-incarcerated non-offending youth (N=676). <b>Measures used:</b> Centre for Epidemiologic Studies - Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977) and Kessler-6 (Kessler et al., 2002).	More than half (51.6%) young people in adult prison reported depression. This was highest rate but not significantly higher than youth in juvenile prisons. Depression rates among less serious offenders was lower (16%) and those in the community lowest (4.9%). Youths in adult prisons had higher likelihood of being depressed when other factors predicating depression were controlled for. The odds of being depressed for adult incarcerated group was 64 times more likely than those in community group. History of parental incarceration increased chance of depression among incarcerated groups. Study concludes depression in young offenders incarcerated in adult prisons is a serious concern as can negatively affect rehabilitation attempts and increase chance of developing other health-related problems.	2/1 – medium

<p>Lane, Lanza-Kaduce, Frazier &amp; Bishop (2002). <i>Adult versus Juvenile Sanctions: Voices of Incarcerated Youths</i> - USA</p>	<p>Quantitative case control study from USA reporting young offenders' assessments of the impact of their correctional experiences –half from juvenile system, half from adult system - relevant to subsequent reoffending. Some qualitative analysis of the data is presented also, although no particular methodology is credited, the authors state patterns in responses were noted and “excerpts from the interviews used to illustrate the patterns” p. 435.</p>	<p>Young adult male offenders(N=144) aged 17-20 years. ‘Unstructured interview schedules’ with open-ended questions were used including: Demographic info., living arrangements, school experiences, important people in the young person’s life, offence history and experiences of each stage of the CJS. Interview then focused on: the young person’s perceptions about how his experiences influenced his attitudes and behaviours.</p>	<p>Responses to interview questions were coded by the researchers.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ‘Low-end’ sanctions (cautions, community supervision and access to some programmes were reported as having little impact on attitudes or behaviour.</li> <li>- Perceptions of ‘deep-end’ sanctions were more positive: 58% reported beneficial impact on attitudes and behaviour.</li> <li>- Respondents recognised that more intensive programmes provided life skills and counselling and saw these things as making a difference to their thoughts and behaviour.</li> <li>- Juvenile sanctions were seen as unhelpful in changing behaviour, programmes seen as ‘too short’ or staff were unhelpful (‘mean’)</li> <li>- Adult sanctions were given mixed reviews; some reported this was not due to the services available, more the negative experience overall which encouraged them to change the most (so reported effect as positive). ‘Pain’, ‘denigration’, ‘time’ and ‘fear of future sentences’ were main reasons but these were the same factors others rated as what made the experience negative overall.</li> </ul> <p>Summary of findings:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When juvenile system seen as effective, it offered support and services and opportunities to learn skills.</li> <li>- When the adult system was seen to be effective it was because of what the young people perceived they <i>lost</i> as a result (such as hope, safety, amenities, family, help and support).</li> <li>- Young offenders believed they experienced the greatest attitudinal change through intensive treatment programmes within the juvenile system.</li> </ul>	<p>3- low</p>
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Table 1. Quantitative studies reviewed and key findings

<p>Hanrahan, Gibbs &amp; Zimmerman (2005). <i>Parole and Revocation: Perspectives of Young Adult Offenders</i> - USA</p>	<p>Qualitative study – specific methodology not stated, only that the authors had used a similar approach in an earlier study. Study conducted to examine young parole-revokees views about their return to adult prison.</p>	<p>Young adult offenders (N=7) in age range 18 years-‘early 20s’ returned to adult prison. Semi-structured interviews (SSIs) used geared to collecting responses about release, experiences of parole and revocation. 5 participants were re-interviewed to collect data for a further project (‘Vera’ project; Nelson, et al., 1999).</p>	<p>Main themes were extracted from the data:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Pre-release expectations for success on parole were ‘mixed’ at best</li> <li>-Transition from prison to parole was welcomed but difficult; described as ‘exhilarating’ yet ‘frightening’ and often filled with unrealistic expectations. Fears concerned being on their own, fitting in (or not) and about failure.</li> <li>-Family ties were critical.</li> <li>-Assistance on parole came mostly from other parolees or family members, not necessarily parole officer or staff at hostels/ half-way houses.</li> <li>-Reports of experiences of and relationships with parole officers were mixed; positives included help with college or employment, the knowledge of ‘being watched’ helped monitor behaviour. Negatives included finding parole officers ‘useless’ and offering no tangible assistance, failure to engage and/ or ‘care’ about the young person.</li> <li>-Respondents perceived their revocation differently</li> <li>-All reported the return to prison as expected with a high emotional toll</li> </ul> <p>Respondents offered views for improving the system; some recognised they were the ones who needed to do more, others said getting a job would be most helpful.</p> <p>Some mention of limitations to the study: a comparison group not matched except for fact had committed offence and participants were volunteers (selection bias).</p>	<p>2- medium</p>
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Table 2. Qualitative studies reviewed

A summary of the study, the population used, the key findings and the quality assessment shown is in Tables 1 and 2, above. A summary of the quality assessments for each study is shown below, in Table 3.

<b>Quality assessment (after Critical Appraisal Skills Programme; CASP questions to help make sense of research studies)</b>							
	<b>Study (authors)</b>						
<b>Questions</b>	Kupchik	Kuanliang et al.	Mohino et al.	Entorf	Ng et al.	Hanrahan et al.	Lane et al.
1. Did the study address a clearly focused issue with stated aims?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2. Is the methodology appropriate to the research question?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
3. Were the participants recruited appropriately?	Y	Y	Y	Y	CT	Y	CT
4. Were controls (if applicable) appropriately selected?	Y	Y	CT	Y	Y	NA	CT
5. Were ethical issues considered and implemented?	Y	Y/NA	Y	CT	CT	N	N
6. Were researcher/ participant dynamics considered and accounted for (for potential bias, inter-rater reliability where applicable etc)?	Y	NA	NA	N	Y	N	CT
7. Were all confounding variables identified/ accounted for?	CT	Y	CT	Y	CT	CT	CT
8. Was the data analysis explained and appropriate?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	CT
9. Were the results clearly stated, relevant and rigorous?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
10. Can the results be generalised? Were limitations discussed? Were areas for future research presented?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
<b>Quality rating</b>	1	1	1	1	2/1	2	3

*Table 3. Quality assessment summary*



The studies were evaluated in terms of the validity of the study and the measures used, i.e., the proper recruitment and ethical treatment of young offenders, the appropriateness of the research design, the analysis and presentation of the results, the overall conclusions, whether the authors had considered their study's limitations, how far the results were relevant and to what extent the findings could be generalised to the UK. There was much commentary generally about the principle, policy and practice of young people being processed in the adult criminal justice system, however mostly this interest applied to juveniles (i.e., those under the age of 18 years). These studies may include the juvenile population within their scope, however they are only included in the review if data is presented on the 18 to 21 age group as well in an adult setting, or had something to add to the effective treatment and /or management of this population within the prison system. Many studies were excluded because they only cited young adult offender data in Young Offender Institutions, that is, where the oldest inmate is aged 21. This was not the purpose or the focus of this review.

### **Studies assessed as *high quality***

#### **Kupchik (2007). *The correctional experiences of youth in adult and juvenile prisons.***

This study took data from interviews with young offenders across five prisons in a 'large, north eastern state of America' (unnamed). Some of the participants had been sentenced to adult facilities and some to juvenile facilities. The research question was to compare the correctional experiences of these young people in the different environments to address policy questions evaluating the impact of: institutionally redefining the young people, considering how the state balances the concept of the (relative) innocence of youth with the increasing practice of prosecuting and imprisoning them as adults, and evaluating the participants' perceptions of the services available to them. The expected outcome was that

the inmates of the juvenile facilities would report a relatively more supportive environment with staff interactions with prisoners as less punitive, with opportunities more generally available for education and other interventions. This was not found to be the case.

The study recruited participants (n=95) from three adult and two juvenile facilities and all inmates under the age of 21 were eligible for inclusion. The researcher did not conduct the interviews and although there is mention of potential biases in the interviewing process, there is no mention of inter-rater reliability or even if this was considered, so it is possible that this could have created bias and affected the results. There is no mention of ethical considerations, consent or the right to withdraw in the paper which is a weakness either in the procedure followed, or in the reporting.

Bivariate comparisons of indexes measuring participants' responses to questions about their experiences in prison were made, representing average rankings of, for example, access to institutional services and programmes. An appendix lists the items in each of the areas measured, which were: The *institutional service availability index*, the *staff mentoring index* and the *fairness index*. The scales were created using a principal-component factor analysis which ensured some reliability and validity. Cronbach's  $\alpha$  ratings were given for each, with .87, .86 and .72 reported respectively, which suggest robust measures. Multiple Analysis of Covariance (MANCOVA) was performed to determine whether there were differences overall and this was an appropriate test to apply. The results are presented in a Table format and *p values* given at  $p < .05$ ;  $p < .01$  and  $p < .001$  suggest that the two facility types do differ from one another 'but in complex ways'. Contrary to the first hypothesis that juvenile facilities offer better access to treatment and services than adult facilities, the results indicated that the adult-facility respondents rated the availability of services more highly, but juvenile-facility respondents rated staff-inmate interactions more highly (as measured by staff mentoring and fairness indexes). The results also indicated that the experiences of the young

adult respondents were significantly different across the two facility-types which suggests that the type of institution to which a young person is sent is important.

Suggestions for future research are made in light of the findings and some of the limitations of the present study are noted, for instance the relatively small sample size and the failure to account for possible gender – and race - differences.

A quality rating of ‘1’ was assigned to this study as although there were shortcomings in the procedure concerning recruitment of participants and ethical considerations, this did not seem to affect the results and may have been accounted for but not made explicit. A clear statement of aim was made, backed by the literature and the hypotheses fitted with this. The measures appeared psychometrically robust and the results were relevant to the theory and philosophy underpinning the study.

**Kuanliang, Sorensen and Cunningham (2008). *Juvenile inmates in an adult prison system***

This study considers the bulk of background literature that suggests the incarceration of juvenile offenders (i.e., those under 18 years of age) with adults carries considerable potential harm; that the young men are vulnerable to becoming ‘career criminals’ through the exposure to older offenders, that they are at greater risk of physical harm, acts of self-harm and/or suicide, victimisation by older inmates (including sexual) and of being assaulted by staff. The focus of the study was the potential for juvenile offenders in the adult system to be the perpetrators of violence. The research question was to determine the extent and severity of violent misconduct in prison by juvenile offenders, how these findings compare with the rate of misconduct among young adult and adult prisoners and whether any observed differences could be explained by other factors which typically affect rates of misconduct.

The study claims to be the first to examine the comparative risk that juvenile offenders present when confined in adult prisons so was interesting for this fact.

Data were used for male prisoners who were over 18 years of age but under 21 (N=3,460) and this sample, taken from all adult offenders in prison at the time, formed the comparison group. Four continuous variables were used in the study: a Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE), sentence length, time already served and time left until parole eligibility. Logistic regression models were used to identify the most significant risk factors related to prison misconduct outcomes and these were presented in a Table format together with Area Under the Curve (AUC) measures which ranged from .68 to .73, suggesting the models were 'moderately and consistently successful at predicting disciplinary outcomes'. *p values* were given at  $p < .05$ ,  $p < .01$  and  $p < .001$ .

The results showed that fighting was the most common type of violent misconduct followed by either assaults without a weapon or threats against staff. For each type of misconduct, both the prevalence and the frequency were higher among the juvenile prisoners than the young adults (18-21 year olds) and those in the 21-25 age group were on average more than half as likely to be involved in acts of disciplinary misconduct than those in the 18-20 year old age group. Violent misconduct occurred most during inmates' second year of incarceration which the authors believe tends to resemble the more general age-crime curve found 'in the free-world'. Logistic regression models found that low educational achievement (inversely related), gang-affiliation (directly related) and sentence length (directly related) had predictive validity in this study and the authors comment that even when controlling for the influence of those variables, the relationship between young age and prison misconduct still held. It was not clear whether the violent behaviour of the young people in prison was due to institutional vulnerability (fear of victimisation) or retaliation in response to actual or threatened victimisation from others. Implications are cited for correctional facilities in the

management of the findings from this study, especially for the targeting and accessibility of educational programmes for young people. Some of the limitations of the study are discussed, along with suggestions for future research.

A quality rating of '1' was given to this study also as it had clear research aims that were located in the literature and investigated through the appropriate form of data collection and analysis, which was robust and clearly presented.

**Mohino, Kirchner and Forns (2004). *Coping strategies in young male prisoners.***

This study was conducted in Spain although was reported in English and appeared in an English journal – the Journal of Youth and Adolescence. The research aim was clearly stated: to analyse the presence and efficacy of coping strategies amongst young male prisoners (N=107) aged 18 – 25 years (mean age 19.89; SD=1.46) in a facility in Spain, to relate these strategies to variables associated with the prison environment, to relate to the specific problem described by the participants in their use of coping strategies and to assess whether intellectual level was related to coping style, furthering research which suggests that there is a link between an individual's cognitive resources and their ability to face adversity (e.g., Jessor, et al., 1995).

Participants were selected 'nonprobabilistically' from an element of the prison population at the time of the study who were on remand or convicted and who show 'adequate relationship skills' and a 'certain degree of self control'. The authors state that the appropriate approvals were obtained from the necessary departments governing research in prisons and with young people and it is stated that all participants were volunteers in the study; however no specific mention is made of consent or of right to withdraw or of limits to confidentiality.

The measure used to collect data on coping strategies was the Coping Responses Inventory Adult Form (CRI-Adult; Moos, 1993) and the authors give a rationale for their choice. Alpha coefficients are given for internal consistency (for males, the range is 0.61 and .74); psychometrically the tool gives ‘adequate reliability’. Some discussion is made about obtaining a translation through consultation and cooperation with the authors of the tool. The G2A version of the *g* test (Cattell & Cattell, 1977-1990) was used to assess intellectual level of participants; the authors support this choice from the need for a non-verbal test given the cultural characteristics of the sample population. Reliability coefficients in Spanish studies are given as between .69 and .73. Data were analysed using the software package *Statistical Package for Social Sciences* (SPSS) version 11.0 for Windows.

The results are presented in a Table depicting means and standard deviations each of the eight scales of the CRI-A against the age of the participants using One-Way ANOVA.  $t=3.122$  and  $p=.002$ . Results are then presented for the relationship between use of coping strategies and prison-related variables; relationship between problem appraisal and strategy use and finally between cognitive/ intellectual level and coping strategy use.

The conclusions were discussed in terms of the research questions: *approach* strategies were used more than *avoidance* strategies and *cognitive* strategies were used more often than *behavioural* strategies. Time in prison seemed to influence the strategies used and the authors state that the findings were consistent in this with previous studies. Limitations to the study were addressed during the discussion and the authors concluded that the study increased understanding of stress among young male prisoners as well as the methods they employed to deal with it and as such, may be of use in developing and targeting coping strategy training programmes and for trans-cultural studies. This study was assigned a quality rating of ‘1’; many of the key questions relating to this type of research were assessed as good and its overall aim and findings relevant and have utility.

**Entorf, (2012). *Expected recidivism among young offenders: Comparing specific deterrence under juvenile and adult criminal law.***

This study was conducted in Germany and considers the selection of young offenders into adult and juvenile law systems, comparing expected recidivism in those convicted under adult criminal law and those treated as juveniles. Unlike other countries, such as the UK, there is no ‘cut-off’ age where young offenders become adults and are tried in the adult system. The author describes a discretionary process where the courts decide, based on assessments of moral and cognitive personal development of the adolescent at the time of the offence, in which system the young person is to be tried and subsequently processed. An ‘econometric’ approach is applied: recursive Two-Equation Models (Bivariate Probit and Treatment Regressions) distinguishing between the equation for selecting individuals for the juvenile law systems and the treatment equation. The treatment equation reflects the effect of adult treatment on expected recidivism. The results reported in this paper suggest that exposure to the more severe adult criminal law decreases expected recidivism among young offenders aged 18-21 years. This is contrary to most other research – mainly from the US – which indicates recidivism rates of adolescents transferred to adult courts are either the same or higher than for those exposed to a juvenile system.

This study attempts to control for pre-existing conditions that may affect the outcomes, such as general criminogenic factors; age, gender, education, family background, marital status, religion and employment prospects. The author gives consideration to the fact that *expected* recidivism is not the same as *actual* recidivism, which is not known until after the individual has left prison, however selected questions are used which indicate negative or positive perceptions of specific deterrence, which are more believable if young offenders are actually put off by the possibility of future imprisonment. Expected recidivism is higher for those with criminal family background, drug or alcohol addiction and for those with low

social capital. There is a strong and highly significant effect throughout all specifications for the young offender data which suggests that lack of social capital is a particular area of risk for juveniles and slightly older adolescents.

Insignificant variables for expected recidivism were ‘no religion’, ‘age at offence’ and ‘length of sentence’. Gender was also found to be not significant which the author found surprising, as other data extracted from the full German Inmate Survey (Entorf, 2009) had indicated that for females, a future with no reoffending was notably more optimistic.

This paper is relevant because its basis in the German legal system has some generalisability to other European countries. The econometric methodology yields rigorous statistical analysis which, although seeming complex, gives the scope of the study authenticity. Examination of the court decisions in favour of applying adult criminal law to young adult offenders indicate that some offence-types, such as robbery, are more likely to lead to process in the juvenile system; individual factors such as intellectual and moral development are represented by age and educational background. The results support the hypothesis that treatment under the harsher adult criminal procedures has some specific deterrent effect. This is interestingly at odds with other research that suggests exposure to the adult system has the opposite effect, both fostering and embedding anti-social attitudes and offending behaviour. The study concludes with recommendations for further research and more open data access on actual reoffending rates. This study was assigned a quality rating of ‘1’ (good) as it rates well on the CASP quality assessment criteria.

#### **Studies assessed as *medium-good* quality**

**Ng, Shen, Sim, Sarri, Stoffegren and Shook, (2011). *Incarcerating juveniles in adult prisons as a factor in depression.***



This study looked at whether incarceration in an adult prison was a factor in the development of depression among young offenders by making a records-based comparison with non-incarcerated youths. The study controlled for other predictors of depression such as offence-type, family poverty, parental history of incarceration and demographic profile. Four groups of young offenders were studied: those incarcerated for serious offences in adult prisons, those incarcerated for serious offences in juvenile facilities, those incarcerated for less serious offences and non-incarcerated, non-offending youths.

The sample was selected from Department of Corrections (DOC) data on young prisoners held in the facilities described and permission was sought from that department. It is stated that each individual participated voluntarily and could withdraw from the study at any point which implies that some issues of consent were discussed, however this is not made explicit. Interviews were carried out in closed private rooms or ‘corners’ with no staff present and consideration was given towards staff protection in the event of subpoena and the appropriate safeguards for interviewing incarcerated young people; again no mention is made of ethical treatment and protection of the young participants. The authors state that the ‘procedures and instruments for the study were all approved by the relevant institutional board in the state’ and the measures used were the Centre for Epidemiologic Studies-Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977) and the Kessler-6 (Kessler et al, 2002), a short-screening scale to monitor population prevalence and trends in non-specific psychological distress. The scoring for the tools were described briefly and some demographic controls were created for gender and ethnicity.

The young offenders who were incarcerated in prisons for serious offences were more likely to be depressed than the young offenders who committed less serious or no offences. Regarding the type of prison effect, there was also an indication that incarceration of young people in adult prisons elevated the risk of depression further. Multivariate analysis of the

data indicated that depression in the young adult incarcerated group was 20 times higher than any other group after controlling for the other variables likely to cause depression (the background factors mentioned: person or weapon offence, poverty and parental incarceration). Logistic odds ratios were given of being depressed on incarceration type. Standard error rates were given, and *p values* at  $p < .05$  and  $p < .001$ .

The study challenges the practice of incarcerating youths in adult prisons from the point of view of the impact on their mental health (specifically depression) both at the time of imprisonment and from a life-course perspective. Implications for the rehabilitation and reintegration to society of young offenders were discussed also. Limitations to the study were discussed in terms mainly of difficulties obtaining matching samples and ‘truly capturing the concepts being measured’ stating that while the measures were tested and used widely, they were only survey instruments and not diagnostic tools. It is not clear why the researchers did not use other, well-known measures of depression. Suggestions were made for future research, as the study purports to be the first of its kind.

A quality rating of ‘2 – 1’ (medium to good) was assigned to this study as there were some key questions raised that could have compromised the results, including the actual age of the young offenders which is stated as under 18 years at time of conviction but listed in results tables as in the range 16-25. Nevertheless, it indicated some interesting results and the focus group age-range was included although not specified. The authors appeared mindful of the study’s limitations.

### **Studies rated as *medium* quality**

**Hanrahan, Gibbs and Zimmerman (2005). *Parole and revocation: Perspectives of young adult offenders*.**

This is a qualitative study from the United States, the aim of which was to examine young offenders' views and experiences of parole and parole failure, having been released from serving terms of imprisonment in separate accommodation for Young Adult Offenders (YAOs) but returned to adult prison facilities at point of parole revocation. The authors state the study was commissioned and funded by the Department of Corrections (DOC), which although could be perceived as a potential source of bias (for example if the DOC were invested in a certain outcome which had implications for policy and practice), there is no particular evidence that this influences the results and recommendations.

Potential participants in the study were identified through DOC records of YAO sentence, release and revocation. Of the 12 young men returned to prison in 1999 the authors state that 8 were available and invited to participate, however what constituted that 'availability' is not specified, so exclusion/ inclusion criteria are not made explicit. Data were collected via 'largely unstructured interviews' and the overall goal of qualitative research ('to enter the world of the research participant and to see and understand that world as the participant does') was stated, however no other information was given on the type of qualitative approach used, or the analysis. This appears to be a weakness in the study's text as specific methodology is important in evaluating the quality of the results, and in facilitating replication should this be desired. The authors may have considered this information however its omission in explicit terms does call into some question the validity of the methodology (and therefore to some extent the results). No details were given about the interviewers used, or therefore any impact potential interviewer factors could have on the results. One point was raised to show any consideration was given to ethical considerations, however this is obscure, denoted as a footnote (at the top of page 8) but accessed right at the end of the paper, some 11 pages later. It was an important point, however and one well made (about the protection of participants' possible identification).

The authors presented a summary of the findings of a previous study which asked YAOs what they expected to experience on release *prior* to release, much of which was ‘patently unrealistic’. The authors used this to compare the reports of those actually released and subsequently returned to prison in the present study. This gave the present study additional context and focus. As with much qualitative research, the findings were presented in terms of major themes extracted from the data. Possible limitations were presented, although the necessary restrictions on the generalisability of qualitative methods were not made explicit (small sample size is mentioned, but this is an artefact of the qualitative approach in itself). Recommendations were made in light of the current policy and practice with regards to the parole process as it is perceived by Young Adult Offenders incarcerated in adult prison facilities. As such the study had relevance and topicality.

A quality rating of ‘2’ – medium – was assigned to this study because although several of the key properties of good research were observed, others were significant in omission. With these reservations, the paper still afforded an interesting insight into other aspects of the effects and implications of the practice of incarcerating young adult offenders within facilities designed for adults.

### **Studies assessed as *low* quality**

**Lane, Lanza-Kaduce, Frazier and Bishop (2002). *Adult versus juvenile sanctions: Voices of incarcerated youths.***

This quantitative study appeared to use a qualitative approach to obtain reported findings from interviews with young offenders aged between 17 and 20 years (N=144), approximately half of whom had been transferred to adult prisons and half of whom had remained within the juvenile system. There was a clear statement of aim, which examined

the perceptions among these young adult offenders of the impacts of juvenile versus adult dispositions on their subsequent attitudes and behaviour.

The participants were recruited from those in prisons in Florida in 1998 and 1999 from the institutions' population records of offenders meeting the age criterion and chosen on the basis of the stage each was at in his sentence at the time: i.e., beginning, mid- or end, nearing release. Not much detail about the process of recruitment was given and no mention made of ethical considerations, protection of participants, right to refuse or withdraw or of consent.

The process of data collection was described, however no particular approach was selected to place the research in established qualitative methodology. The researchers state that an unstructured interview schedule was developed and cited the types of questions included, however there was no description of inter-rater reliability or consideration of the possible biases different interviewers using unstructured interviews could cause or how this could impact on the results. Treatment (processing) of the data appeared complex from the description given; ratings were assigned to the participants' responses by the interviewers based on the overall description of the facility by the participant and the authors state that some responses were 'too incomplete' to rate. Global ratings allowed the authors to 'look for patterns' across the responses and excerpts from the interviews were used to illustrate these patterns.

The results were presented in terms of category of sanction experienced and then compared across facility/ sanction type. These were described at length in narrative form, but the percentages were presented in a Table format which provided a much-appreciated summary.

Some applied psychological theory was used in the discussion of findings in terms of some of the young people's perceptions that longer, harder sanctions were rated most favourably, because, it was suggested, of the anticipated rewards and punishments that the young people attached to anti-social (criminal) behaviours.

The study concluded with the observation that while the state continued to move towards harsher sanctions for young offenders (that is; more prosecutions in adult courts and incarceration in adult prisons), the present study indicated that the young people themselves expressed the belief that they experience the biggest attitudinal change towards reoffending from access to treatment programmes from within the juvenile system. In terms of the study's limitations, the authors acknowledged that the sample was not systematically recruited, therefore possible confounding variables such as certain demographic information, previous offending and seriousness of current offence made it difficult to draw firm conclusions from the data collected. They recommended that further research should be conducted into trying to establish what 'punishment' works best for whom – or whether punishment is an answer at all.

This study was assigned a rating of '3' – low quality as it had quite serious omissions in descriptions of participant recruitment, procedure and ethical study. The methodology was not rooted in theory of qualitative methodology and the data analysis was complex and confusing. Other research papers do cite the findings of this study, although this may reflect the relative lack of rigorous research in the area of assessment and evaluation of mixing young offenders with their adult counterparts in prison settings.

## **Summary**

Overall, the review reflects mixed findings, with difficulties at times making comparisons from the study outcomes because of the differing focus, age of participants and

the systems involved. There are implications for the likelihood of reoffending – especially from the young people’s self-report – with a deterrent effect being noted by the young men exposed to adult conditions, although more positive responses are noted concerning the treatment and opportunities offered in juvenile facilities. There are negative implications for the development /management of issues related to poor mental health, however the studies included also highlight the importance of access to support and fostering of relationships identified as providing a positive influence. These findings link as shown, in part, with some of the wider literature and add to the debate about the imprisonment of young male offenders. The review also suggests there is scope for further investigation, targeted at the effects of the actual practice of mixing the populations rather than being guided mainly by theoretical frameworks.

## **Discussion**

Seven papers were included in this review, involving both quantitative and qualitative approaches, to add to a general understanding of some of the effects of mixing adult, young adult and juvenile offenders in the same prison environments. The studies focused on various factors that impact on the young persons’ experiences, as reported by the young people themselves, and on aspects of their management and rehabilitation from the point of view of practice, policy and the development of programmes and interventions. Most of the studies were from the United States, although one was from Spain, and one was conducted in Germany. All have been published since 2002 and so present reflections on the current practices and policy operating the correctional approach to the processing and treatment of young people in the criminal justice systems.

The studies present results which generally support the central debate that imprisoning young offenders with adults should only be defensible if implemented with harm

minimisation mediators in place, such as access to interventions, regimes and treatment specifically designed with the young people's needs in mind, implemented and supported by staff who are selected and trained in working with the younger age groups. One study – the most recent, from Germany – actually presents conflicting data on this. Results of 18-21 year olds' views on expected recidivism indicate that when exposed to the harsher sanctions operated in the adult criminal law system, rates of anticipated continuing offending behaviour were *lower*. The study from Germany perhaps has more relevance to UK policy and practice as the criminal justice approaches are more similar than those operated in the US, and the practice of incarcerating the 18-21 year old age group with adults is already underway in prisons in Scotland, England and Wales. Evidence to suggest the practice is not as harmful as previously thought and may even have positive outcomes is clearly important data to be considered in overall evaluation of the practice.

Age seemed to be a minor element in the decision to process and treat children and young people under the age of 21 years as adults in the criminal justice systems across the world. Severity of the crime, history of offending, public opinion and demands for harsh penalties are all key factors. The studies featured in this review tackled different factors identified as important in the practice. Not all commented on the effects of the integration, some focused on psychological resilience and assessed young people's coping strategies, researching what the strategies were, how they were deployed by the young people, what factors were directly related to this and influenced effective coping (such as sentence length, point in sentence and cognitive levels). This was then considered in terms of how the positive elements of the findings should inform the appropriate direction of resources to develop programmes and interventions to enhance young people's abilities to cope with general stressors, and those specific to their prison experiences. Where specific measures were used, the psychometric properties were cited in all the papers using quantitative



methods, however the methodology was not so robustly presented and described in the studies that followed a qualitative approach. Mostly the weaknesses in these cases were concerning the obtaining of consents, statements of confidentiality and procedures establishing interviewer reliability to minimise potential biases.

The review was conducted as part of a wider research aim by the author to establish how the extensive literature on the psychology, theory and practice of punishing and rehabilitation of young offenders is applied to practice in the United Kingdom. In this respect, it is significant that all the studies were from data collected in other countries. The international perspective was relevant and important and the commentary useful. Some of the conclusions will have application to the Criminal Justice System in England and Wales, however there is always the consideration that the ability to generalise the results will be compromised by the major cultural, legal and philosophical differences. The review has therefore served to provide a summary of the work being done in these countries and could be used to highlight some of the possible psychological issues faced by young adult offenders in the UK. Difficulties, however, have been created by the diverse 'ownership' of the issues by different disciplines identified as stakeholders in the multi-faceted theory and practice of law and the treatment of those who transgress it.

The studies selected for inclusion in the review have focused on the psychological issues. Many papers were excluded because of their strong sociological or legal perspectives, or were simply narrative presentations of policy and practice from across the globe; more 'essays' than research articles. Although these provided interesting insight and some background, there was little to evaluate from these papers in terms of outcomes to inform a UK study except the philosophies they contained and a discussion of the roots of practice.

From the scope of this review, no papers presented views from a perspective of economics although the most recent study, published in March 2012, appeared in a journal of politics and economy. It is suggested in the UK that economics, amongst other things, drives policy and has to some extent driven recent decisions to integrate young offenders with adults, together with a rapidly increasing population across all age ranges, including the 18-21 year old group. The papers reviewed have highlighted important areas for consideration if this practice is continue; one even suggests there are redeeming features and the practice is not as bad as has been more generally thought. Further study will be informed by the results and discussions of this international research.

One of the difficulties encountered in selecting papers for inclusion in the review was that the type and content of study was not always evident from the title or the journal in which it appeared. Many of the articles that seemed at first glance from the search yield to be possible on closer scrutiny were not, although it is likely that this is an issue faced by all conducting such searches on a number and range of topics. There has been much written on the area of young offenders but less specifically about their incarceration with adults. There was not much available anywhere that commented on young female offenders. The age range studied was the major exclusion criteria; if a study did not include data on the 18-21 year old age group then it was not used in the review. This *excluded* an interesting paper that did present data on young female offenders, however only those aged 13-17 years and this is a different demographic to the population of interest to the author of this review. Many papers published on research done in the UK on Young Adult Offenders, however the studies were based in Young Offender Institutions and again, the over-arching scope of the review sought data and opinions on these young people in adult settings rendering the papers of no use in this respect. One of the concerns related to this is that the search was not exhaustive and that some relevant papers might have been missed at the 'short-list' stage.

Systematic reviews have been conducted on subject areas of interest and relevance to the treatment of and provision for young people who have entered the criminal justice system. For example, a review of the ‘Scared Straight’ and similar programmes aimed at deterring adolescents on the periphery of crime from taking further steps into the system by exposing them to a snapshot of custody. These programmes were found to be unsuccessful. Other reviews have been conducted on ‘what works’ in treatment approaches for offending in general however no single review seems to have been conducted on the effects of incarcerating young people with adults in terms of interventions or other elements of practice. A further review looks at whether the processing of juvenile offenders reduces delinquency (Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino, & Guckenberg, 2010), but this looks only at those under the age of 18 years.

This current review does not ask specific questions of the research, but has found reports on factors that are important to the practice from a psychological standpoint and which considers social policy, public opinion and health disciplines, but is not driven by them. It is how these are seen as relevant from a psychological view that has been important in the selection and presentation of the studies included. For example, depression is a clinical medical condition, however the implications of results indicating prevalence of depression among young offenders incarcerated with adults have psychological application.

The studies in the review present findings on work on research in depression, coping, rates of misconduct, perception of and access to programmes, services to prevent reoffending, relative readiness to change, experiences of parole and parole revocation resulting in re-incarceration to an adult prison following release from a juvenile facility and self assessments by young offenders of expected recidivism as influenced by exposure to either juvenile or adult systems. Although this is a far from exhaustive list of issues identified as being important in the imprisonment of young offenders, such as bullying (e.g. Connell &

Farrington, 1996), anxiety and fear (Lyon, Dennison, & Wilson, 2000) and substance misuse (Cope, 2000), these areas all have clear implications for policy and practice in housing and management of young adult offenders in the UK.

### Chapter 3: Empirical research study

#### INTEGRATING THE POPULATIONS: THE PERCEPTIONS OF YOUNG ADULT MALE OFFENDERS (AGED 18-21 YEARS) INCARCERATED IN AN ADULT (OVER 21 YEARS) PRISON

##### ABSTRACT

**Background** Very little research seems to have been published on the effects of incarcerating young offenders (18-21 years) with adult offenders in prison in the UK. The practice is occurring in prisons in England, Scotland and Wales and this study seeks to collect and present data on the subject. **Method** A qualitative methodology was used - Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) - to draw inferences and conclusions from in-depth, semi-structured interviews with participants about their individual experiences of being incarcerated in a prison with adult offenders. **Participants** The participants (N=5) were young adult men aged between 18 and 21 years (mean age 19.25 years; range 18.5 years to 20.1 years), had all been convicted of an offence, but unsentenced at the point of interview. **Results** The results identified five main themes. These were: 1. *elements of vulnerability; how the self was perceived and protected and how weaknesses were exploited*, 2. *the complexities of adjusting to prison*, 3. *being concerned about safety in prison*, 4. *how activities in prison were perceived and utilised* and 5. *how help was identified and accessed*. Further, over-arching themes emerged as threads running through the other themes. One related to 'locus of control', another related to coping strategies and a third to 'identity'. All the themes emerged from the data generated in the interviews, however many of the issues raised map to areas identified in the literature and research into the imprisonment of young male offenders. **Conclusions** The implications of these links with the known research and how this may add to policy and practice, especially locally, are discussed. Suggestions for future research in the area are made.

## **Introduction**

### **Background and rationale to study**

This study was prompted by awareness being drawn to the fact that young adult offenders (aged 18-21 years) are increasingly being incarcerated with adult offenders in prisons in England, Scotland and Wales. Previous policy and practice – largely guided by research, psychological theory and data on assaults and safety in prisons – had led to conclusions that young offenders should be housed separately to accommodate and address the very specific and different needs that they presented to the Criminal Justice System (CJS), (e.g., Fossi, 2006).

Cultural, social and political views of crime have influenced policies regarding the treatment and disposal of offenders. The age of criminal responsibility and how justice systems respond to youth offending has been subject to a cyclical chronology through history. It still varies across the globe, embedded in different ways in the legislature of individual countries as well as in more overarching human rights and rights of the child statutes, each internationally bound (Arthur, 2010).

Much of the literature to date has focused on the potentially harmful effects of exposing young offenders to their adult counterparts on the grounds that young people are more likely to be victimised, assaulted, involved in institutional violence, led further astray by older and often more established offenders and turned into ‘career criminals’ (see Chapter 1 for a review of theory and research). This qualitative study sought to examine the thoughts and feelings of a sample of young, male offenders who were incarcerated with adult offenders in a large, Category ‘B’ inner city, local prison in an attempt to provide an account of the service-users’ own views of their experiences in an integrated regime. Context is

provided by consideration of some of the existing theory and research into issues of imprisonment and rehabilitation.

### **The effects of age on developing criminal behaviour**

Anti-social and law-breaking behaviour by young people is often seen as a product of impulsiveness and poor reasoning /consequential thinking. For example, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) claim that self-control is the key personal quality that drives criminal behaviour. Others have found that neuropsychological and physiological factors are important (Cauffman, Steinberg, & Piquero, 2005). Moffitt (1993) proposes that much criminal behaviour is *adolescent-limited*, suggesting that young people ‘grow out of’ delinquency. Young Offender Institutes – establishments developed to house only the 18-21 year old age group – operate on the premise that facilities, regime and staff are geared to meet the needs of this particular group based on the recognised developmental and behavioural presentation of young, impulsive offenders. This, historically and philosophically has been the guiding theory underpinning provision for this age group.

However, neurological research into the developing brain suggests that structurally, the social milestone of ‘adulthood’ at age 18 is arbitrary and that the brain continues to develop at least until age 25 years, especially in judgement, reasoning and impulse control (Caulum, 2007). This suggests that age cut-offs for determining regime and rehabilitative approaches are not helpful as some young people, beyond the cut-off age of 21 years with the same presenting needs will not have continuing access to the systems and approaches available to those who have yet to reach their 21<sup>st</sup> birthday. The system of sentencing young adults, particularly for nonviolent, first-time offences should rely, Caulum suggests, more on individual, developmental, and maturation information rather than simply on traditional adult strategies of punishment through incarceration. Imprisonment with no specifically tailored

regime, nor staff to implement best strategies to deal with the presenting needs of young offenders, is unlikely to be effective at even containment, let alone achieving any meaningful behaviour change.

Theories examining the formation and growth of identity through adolescence and into young adulthood add to the understanding of criminal behaviour (Kroger, 2007). It is stated that to be an adult and to survive requires an individual identity as well as an identity rooted in the dynamics of a group (Erikson, 1982). A fully functioning adult is seen as someone who is moral and ethical, living by rules and allowing others to develop through building strengths without control or judgement of others. This is an ongoing process, however, and where interrupted, can result in anti-social, *immoral* and *unethical*, possibly criminal, behaviour. It does not mean that the identity consolidated at the end of adolescence is the final identity of the individual, however; rather that it provides a structure and direction for transition into adulthood and remains open to change from external experiences as well as internal awareness /development, over time (Erikson, 1963). Possibility for intervention in that process – especially where the individual is aligning with a group that breaks moral and ethical codes and the individual needs and seeks the approval of that group – could provide a focus for the approach towards, and treatment of, young adult offenders by helping them to establish pro-social, healthy identities pitched to different personal markers of association and attachment.

Romer (2010) argues that although one form of impulsivity - sensation-seeking - rises considerably during adolescence placing increased risk to healthy development, the evidence that limitations in brain development during adolescence restricts ability to control impulsive behaviour is scant. What is important it is proposed, is that a lack of experience with novel adult behaviour poses a much greater risk to adolescents than structural deficits in brain maturation. Therefore there is a strong case for intervention which can reduce the severity of



impulsivity traits by increasing the individual's self-control and increasing persistence towards pro-social goals. This recent research casts useful insight into - and possibly more effective approaches towards - the management and rehabilitation of young offenders.

Other research indicates that young offenders evaluate the consequences and benefits of anti-social behaviour differently, in a 'risk-reward' ratio which suggests that decisions to offend are not due to any lack of knowledge about the possible outcomes but rather that the young person attaches a different value to the anticipated rewards that the risky behaviour provides (Scott & Steinberg, 2008). An 'integrated theory' of what is seen as an adolescent peak in offending combines the effects of lessening social control, strain theory, social learning theory, routine activities and individual trait theory to explain adolescent offending behaviour (Agnew, 2003). Some consistent areas were found in much of the literature on youth offending and are summarised below. How these areas link with the findings of the current study will be explored further.

## **Vulnerability of Young Offenders**

### ***Suicide and self-harm***

Young offenders in custody are notably at risk for suicidal behaviour. Kiriakidis (2008) found that in a sample of young offenders in a Scottish prison, rates of reported suicide attempts were significantly higher in the population of young offenders than reported rates from general population samples. Being in residential care, the presence of a social worker for the family, family history of alcohol abuse, family history of suicide attempts, the experience of being bullied in custody, contact with a psychologist in the community, and being a violent offender were significantly related to increased risk of suicide attempts in custody. Compared with those who were not bullied, offenders who were bullied in custody were 9.22 times more likely to attempt suicide. Young people most vulnerable to suicide

attempts have been characterised by dependence upon activity, structure, contact with family and/ or staff and were found to be especially prone to boredom and bullying (Cesaroni & Peterson-Badali, 2010). This has implications for the location and housing of young offenders in custody in relation to structuring and accessing support networks and continuing contact with – and support from – their families.

### ***Bullying***

In prisons, inequalities in balance of power – between staff and prisoners and among prisoners – relatively low levels of surveillance and supervision together with numerous opportunities for unobserved interactions, bullying seems to thrive. A study in a Young Offender Institute (YOI) in England found that over 60% of prisoners were involved in bullying, either as a victim or as a perpetrator (Grennan & Woodhams, 2007) and due to the perceived stigma attached to being a victim, much of this behaviour is underreported. Bullying could not be reported to staff for the fairly universal fear of being labelled a ‘grass’ and there was a general belief amongst the inmates that they must be seen to cope well, even if they were struggling to adapt to the environment and/or regime. This study supports findings of earlier research (e.g., Liebling & Price, 1998) which highlights the value of female prison staff who are seen to temper to some extent the ‘macho’, male-dominated culture within the prison setting. Bullying has been shown to cause significant psychological distress and poor emotional health and well-being which in turn can lead to maladaptive coping and the development of somatic complaints and social dysfunction (Leddy & O’Connell, 2002). It is clearly important to consider the effects of any form of bullying in prisons for the physical and psychological well-being of young people at risk, and equally important to plan strategies for the management of it, for perpetrators and victims.

### ***Mental health***

Poor mental health is an increasing problem facing the safe incarceration of prison populations. This is especially so with young offenders who are identified as a particularly vulnerable group to pathological and reactive issues related to deteriorations in mental health, which can negatively affect experiences of prison (Sailas et al., 2005). Dual diagnosis (a co-existence of mental illness and/ or substance misuse) is a common problem facing this population and referrals to Mental Health In Reach teams are increasing. Woodall (2007) examined some of the barriers to positive mental health in a qualitative study with 18 to 21 year olds in a Young Offender Institute (YOI) and found that, among other things, the culture of ‘masculine ethos’ that defined life on the residential wings prevented the young people from expressing appropriately or sharing their feelings. As such they reported they could not use prisoner peer schemes for support (such as ‘Listeners’<sup>3</sup>) as this would signal weakness and vulnerability to other prisoners. Although some mental health issues are related to the experience of prison itself, for example, in the case of ‘reactive depression’ where an individual develops low mood and symptoms associated with a depressive state as a result of the circumstances of being in prison, episodes of poor mental health are seldom seen in isolation and mental health provision should be able to be responsive to the needs of young people. How the young people perceive their own needs and the services they can access may inform and add clarity to mental health provision and its delivery.

### **Aggression and perceptions of safety**

Violence and safety are issues facing those running prisons. A consistently established correlate of interpersonal violence in prison is age. Compared with adults, younger inmates are involved in more disciplinary infractions, assaults on other prisoners,

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<sup>3</sup> ‘Listeners’ are prisoners trained by the Samaritans to operate peer-support schemes inside prisons to alleviate distress

assaults on staff and in general experience, in more conflict with others (Kury & Smartt, 2002). Violence includes sexual assault. Studies have found that young inmates were more likely to be victimised at adult correctional facilities and the rate of sexual assaults on young prisoners was five times higher in adult prisons than at young offender 'training schools' (e.g., Forst et al., 1989). Johnson (2002) proposes that age affects perceptions of safety and that young offenders see custody as more violent and less safe than older offenders. Linked with areas of impulsiveness (explored above), so-called 'macho' culture and the need to gain or maintain the respect of peers that governs much of the behaviour of young people, attention should be given to the management of young people such that violence is contained and diverted where possible to promote safety and improve self-management. It would be interesting also to consider the perceptions of the young people themselves about issues related to their safety and how they see this in prison.

### **Adjustment and coping**

*Importation* and *deprivation* theories (e.g., Parisi, 1982) have been used to explain young offender adjustment to periods spent in custody and as a prison sentence should make attempts to rehabilitate offenders as well as punish them, it is important and relevant to assess how offenders adapt to the institutional environment.

Deprivation theory places focus on the process of imprisonment taking access away from the individual to basic needs, the loss of which can result in tension and in 'particular' (often maladaptive) efforts to adjust (Parisi, 1982). The removal of normal mechanisms of autonomy, social acceptance, personal possessions and personal security result, it is argued, in the individual experiencing stress, anxiety, sometimes anger and developing anti-staff/anti-social attitudes. In contrast, importation theory looks more at the particular personal characteristics individuals bring to their prison experience from the life they have led, their

history and upbringing, family, genetic and personality factors. These largely *internal* factors then influence the way individuals adapt to the prison environment. Together, importation and deprivation theories offer explanations for how offenders adapt to their institutional experience, usually measured in terms of behaviours shown (i.e., aggressive acts, rule violations etc.,) and in terms of attitudes and views they express and how they deal with stress (Gover, MacKenzie, & Armstrong, 2000).

It is quite widely held that custody affects young offenders adversely and is harsher for young people than adults (Cesaroni & Peterson-Bedali, 2010). The period of adolescence itself presents challenges of physical, intellectual, social and emotional development; these are exacerbated by the experience of custody. The hope of creating a stable, integrated identity is a pro-social goal of adolescent development and it is easy to see how this could be disrupted by exposure to possibly negative, anti-social influences of a prison environment. How this is assimilated by the young person is dependent on many factors as explored; by the range of *internal* and *external* characteristics of the individual, his experience and surroundings. Adaptive coping can be developed by appropriate, targeted intervention and skills' training; there is a danger that maladaptive coping strategies may be reinforced by no identification or inappropriate intervention.

## **Summary**

The areas above highlight the needs of young people in prison, from elements of their neuro-psychological and social development as drawn from the existing literature.

Exploration and consideration of these form the rationale for the current study, which considers how the views of the young people themselves of their experience of prison links with psychological theory and contributes to our understanding of their incarceration – and towards their rehabilitation. This is less well-covered in the literature; the choice of a

qualitative approach is further validated by the potential value of the data that can be added through this methodology.

### **Current study**

This study will seek to elicit the views of young men between the ages of 18 and 21 years serving time in a predominantly adult male prison. Main themes will emerge from the semi-structured interviews carried out with the young people and issues will be identified that appear to be of importance to the young people themselves. Analysis of the interview data will follow the structure and procedure of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA; Smith et al., 2009), an approach to qualitative research which allows and develops psychological insight into individuals' experiences.

### **Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)**

IPA was considered the most appropriate approach for analysis of the data yielded in this study. Inherent in the research question was what the young people themselves had to say about their experiences in a predominantly adult male prison. Within the IPA approach is an understanding that the researcher has engagement with and personal value attached to the data gathered and that this *reflexivity* is both acknowledged and accounted for in the methodology. Personal response to and involvement with the data is expected and accepted; a degree of objectivity is achieved through the supervision process. Each stage of the interpretative analysis carried out in this study was checked and validated with an experienced academic supervisor, and that procedure documented in evidence. IPA attempts to capture what matters to participants (Larkin & Thompson, 2012) and as such was the most appropriate methodology for this study which sought to hear from young 'service users' themselves what their particular personal and individual views were about what it is like to be

a prisoner aged between 18 and 21 years in a prison where approximately 800 of the other ‘residents’ are aged over 21.

## **Method**

### **Sample**

The participants (N=5) were young adult men aged between 18 and 21 years (mean age 19.25 years; range 18.5 years to 20.1 years), recruited from the general population aged between 18 and 21 years in HM Prison – an adult, male local establishment housing offenders on remand, those sentenced to less than two years in custody and one residential wing of prisoners with a life-sentence – over a two month period in 2011. Participants were identified by an ‘age filter’ applied to the main prison reporting system PNOMIS and from details of their sentence status. Only those convicted and awaiting sentence were approached to take part in the study as those on remand constitute a slightly different demographic, and those already sentenced were being transferred to other establishments fairly quickly after the sentencing court decision and could potentially have been moved before the interview could take place. Also, once sentenced, there was an expectation they would be transferred and as such this may have affected their subjective experiences and perceptions and perhaps unduly influenced the data and results. The participants were given pseudonyms in the text to ensure their anonymity. A brief introduction to each participant, his age, offence and whether or not it was his first time in prison is given below and summarised in Table 4.

‘Steve’ was 20 years 1 month old and had been convicted of wounding with intent and possession of a blade. This was his second prison sentence; he had previously served six months of a 12 month sentence in a YOI. Before coming to prison he had been living in his mother’s house in the local area.

‘Paul’ was 19 years 3 months old and had been convicted of two counts of assault and theft. This was his first time in prison although he had initially been remanded to another prison in the area for a few weeks before being moved. He had been living with his partner prior to coming to prison and was in touch with his mother, father and older brother. He had two children by a previous partner but no current contact.

‘Rich’ was 18 years 9 months old and this was his first time in prison. He had been convicted of theft and criminal damage. He was on the prison Mental Health In Reach team caseload, however was stable on medication and deemed well enough to give informed consent to take part in the study. He had been through the prison’s detoxification programme for the street drugs he had been taking prior to his detention. He had been living with his mother although she did not visit him in prison.

‘Gaz’ was 18 years 5 months old. He was convicted of an offence of wounding with intent to cause Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH) and this was his first time in prison. He had been in care since the age of ten years, however prior to coming to prison he had been living at his mother’s house in a different area to where he had been placed in care.

‘David’ was 20 years 2 months old. He had been convicted of two counts of burglary, attempted burglary and common assault. He had served two previous prison sentences, in YOIs. Prior to coming to prison this time he had been living with his father, step-mother and grandmother and they remained supportive.

A summary of details showing age, offence, time in prison, previous institutional experience and ethnicity for each participant is presented in a Table, below.



Participant details	Participant pseudonym				
	Steve	Paul	Rich	Gaz	David
Age (Yr:M)	20:1	19:3	18:9	18:5	20:2
Offence	Wounding with intent & possession of a blade	Assault x2 & theft	Theft & criminal damage	Wounding with intent to cause GBH	Burglary x2, attempted burglary & common assault
Time in prison	2 <sup>nd</sup> time	1 <sup>st</sup> time	1 <sup>st</sup> time	1 <sup>st</sup> time	3 <sup>rd</sup> time
Previous experience of institution	No	Previously in care	Previously in care	Previously in care	No
Ethnicity	White (Welsh)	White (Welsh)	White (Welsh)	White (Welsh)	White (Welsh)

*Table 4. Summary of participant details*

The sample size was determined by consideration of a generally held consensus guiding IPA research (Larkin & Thompson, 2012) and through agreement reached as a result of the supervision process. With IPA, supervision and peer support are important elements and the sample size in this study was taken advisedly through discussion and decision making in this forum. As the primary concern of IPA is to achieve a detailed account of individual experience, the issue is one of quality and depth of analysis rather than quantity of data (Smith et al., 2009).

### **Ethical considerations**

The procedure followed was especially attentive to ethical issues as this young age group could be seen as vulnerable to perceived pressure or influence to participate or to comply against their wishes. Full permissions were sought – and granted – from the Regional psychologist (by local arrangement for conducting research in prisons: see Appendix 3) and from the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Birmingham. In the event

three potential participants approached declined to take part at the initial contact stage and two did not turn up to the interview, telling the staff who were escorting them they did not wish to attend. Other than going to see them to ensure they were all right and not distressed, the researcher made no further contact with them and no negative consequences ensued as a result.

The security and storage of the data was described and where the researcher thought there might be sensitive information to be used in the study, it was stated the participant would be approached to ask his permission to use the specific data.

### **Recruitment procedure**

Lists were obtained of the population from PNOMIS indicating who was registered in the prison on a given day. Only those aged under 21 years were considered and sentence status as indicated above; convicted but unsentenced. Preliminary checks were made with the Mental Health In Reach team and the wing staff to ensure a young offender was not approached if he had active, unmanaged psychotic symptoms. Each potential participant was then approached by the researcher on an individual basis. The research was explained in terms of the topical interest in their experiences in the adult prison and each was asked if he would be willing to take part in an interview with the researcher in a different part of the prison that afforded some privacy. Limits of confidentiality were explained carefully in terms of the interviewer's obligation to pass on certain information to the relevant authorities if in the event, any disclosures were made which compromised the security of the prison; if there were threats to the participant's safety – or that of any other prisoner or staff member – or if details of any criminal offence were given that were not otherwise known to the police. Each potential participant was informed that the interviews would be recorded on a small

audio recording device and later transcribed by the interviewer and all terms used were clearly explained.

The right to withdraw was explained and the opportunity for follow-up and access to the study's conclusions once completed was offered. This information was given verbally in the first instance. If an individual then indicated an interest in taking part further, he was given a copy of the Information sheet for participants (see Appendix 4) and another appointment was made at which time his signed consent was obtained before the interviews took place. Levels of literacy/ reading ability were checked, sensitively, by the researcher asking each young person approached if he was comfortable with his reading and writing ability such that he could understand the information before it was given to him in writing. The researcher went through the consent form with each participant before signing to ensure he understood and was happy with the agreement (see Consent form: Appendix 5).

### **Data collection procedure**

The data was collected through a semi-structured format, in line with the 'qualitative research interview' which is neither 'free conversation' nor pre-determined, highly structured questionnaire (Kvale, 1983). The interview is the means by which the interviewer learns about the interviewee's 'life-world'; it is to provide a guide to elicit responses about experiences rather than a rigid schedule of exact questions, repeated with each participant/ interviewee. Interviews may therefore change when necessary, depending on the interviewer/ interviewee interaction. Guide questions for the semi-structured interview are attached in Appendix 6 and were selected through discussion in supervision to suit the open-ended nature of the format and to provide prompts to elicit the participants' views about their experience of integration into the full regime of an adult male prison for the first time. No pilot trials of the questions were conducted prior to the study, however the dynamic nature of the approach and

format ensured that questioning was flexible and responsive. The questions covered key areas of interest; however each interview took a different shape/ format due to the presentation/ dynamics of the different interview situations and the individuals concerned.

Any events /issues which may have been relevant to the interview, or affected it in some way were noted by the interviewer and in this way taken into account in the later analysis. The researcher is a psychologist who has worked specifically with this age group both in an Education setting and in her work more generally with offenders. The interviews for this study were conducted in the resettlement department of the prison by prior arrangement and individual appointment. Each participant was escorted by resettlement officers on the day of his interview and the researcher met them on arrival. The interviews were recorded on a digital audio device; use of which had been previously cleared by the Security department of the prison. At the end of each interview a debrief took place and the opportunity for questions, follow-up or further action/ support was discussed (as per the interview schedule). Issues of self-harm were not raised specifically in addition to procedures already in place, however the researcher did implement a referral to the Mental Health In Reach service as a result of one participant's off-record disclosures after the interview had ended.

### **Reflections as researcher**

Due to the subjective nature of the IPA approach, in order to engage with other people's experience, researchers need to be able to identify and reflect upon their own experiences and assumptions and that reflection should occur throughout the process (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). It is recommended that researchers should acknowledge their own perceptions, conceptions and reflections in a systematic fashion, often through the use of a reflexive journal, kept contemporaneously with the data collection and the subsequent

analysis and interpretation (Smith & Osborn, 2008). During this study, any issues of particular resonance with the researcher were recorded at the time of each interview in a diary of thoughts, feelings and reflections and again at the initial reading / response stage of the data analysis. This process allows the researcher to be more systematic and consistent by acknowledging the presence – and the possible influence – of emotions and preconceptions. In this case, personal issues were noted and potential biases therefore revealed in order to minimise their impact. This dynamic process also formed a key part of supervision sessions which promoted the aimed-for transparency in the whole of the interpretative analysis.

### **Data analysis procedure**

Once recorded and transcribed *verbatim* and a diary entry made of initial researcher feelings, observations and reflections, each transcript was read and re-read. What is important in IPA is gaining an understanding of the experiences of individuals and the meanings they give to these experiences. The *iterative* and *inductive* ‘cycling and recycling’ through the data in a pattern of established strategy enables an interpretative synthesis of the analytic work (Larkin & Thompson, 2012). This approach to analysis is underpinned by the principles which are already published and practiced widely in the area of qualitative research. Notes identifying major events, relationships, people and concepts were recorded directly on each document by the researcher and then close, line-by-line *coding* of the experiential claims, concerns and understandings of each participant on a case by case basis took place (see Appendix 7; *Line-by-line coding tables*). This information was then consolidated in a spreadsheet of ‘emerging themes’ (see Appendix 8; Emerging themes spreadsheet). From the many themes that had been identified from the detailed line-by-line analysis and emerging themes, cumulative patterns across the cases were summarised see Appendix 9 and Appendix 10 for the synthesis and summary. The themes and areas of interest that emerged are detailed in the results section below. Each stage of the iterative and

interpretive process has been rigorously analysed and discussed with a supervisor most experienced in the IPA approach to qualitative research. The process has been documented at each stage to ensure transparent academic and procedural standards were met. Regular and documented supervision ensured appropriate discussion of all elements of interpretative analysis was carried out. This was to try to ensure the process was thorough and not subject to particular analytical bias over and above that of the intense and subjective interaction and immersion the researcher experiences with his/her data. The results are described below.

## **Results**

From the reading and re-reading of each transcript, identification of key people and events, detailed line-by-line coding, collation of emerging themes for each participant on an individual case basis, then filtered, main themes from all the cases, five main themes were highlighted. These are:

1. Elements of vulnerability; how the self is perceived and protected and how weaknesses are identified and exploited
2. The complexities of adjusting to prison
3. Being concerned about safety in prison
4. How activities in prison are perceived and utilised
5. How help is identified and accessed

Further, summary themes were identified exemplifying consistent phenomena which seemed to run through all the narratives. One of these was interpreted as a way the participants seemed to relate to their prison experience and was labelled by the polarity ‘internalised/ externalised’ as a reflection of how some seemed to believe events were within their own control (internalised), and where others took a view that things happened to them and as such they were passive recipients of their own experiences (externalised). Other

overarching themes were also identified which linked with locus of control, as described above, but related more to the coping strategies and approaches used by the young men, which seemed to be ‘emotion focused’, or ‘problem focused’ (e.g., Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) and the participants’ sense of identity, which became was apparent throughout the interviews and the interpretation of the young men’s cognitive attributions, and their behaviour.

Each theme will be taken in turn, described further and excerpts cited from the interviews as evidence and examples. Fictional names have been used to protect the participants from identification. The results are summarised in a Table, below.

Over-arching themes	Locus of control				
	Coping strategies				
	Identity				
Main theme	Vulnerability	Adjustment	Safety	Activities	Help
• Sub-theme	• Bullying	• Uncertainties	• The mixed population	• Boredom	• Detox
	• Mental health	• Routine	• Anti-social behaviour	• Money/canteen	• Cell-sharing
	• Coping	• Positives and negatives	• Respect	• Phone calls	• Relationships
	• Self-harm	• Food	• Fighting		
		• Family	• The ‘block’		
		• Stressors			
		• Belonging			

*Table 5. Over-arching themes, main themes and sub-themes*

**1. Elements of vulnerability; how the self is perceived and protected, and how weaknesses are exploited.**

This theme highlighted the view that in prison people need to stand up for themselves or they will be ‘walked over’, ‘picked on’ and/or exploited by others. It included bullying, which was understood by the participants to mean mainly having their possessions, medication, drugs taken off them either directly or through taxing on borrowing by other prisoners. Some denied it took place whilst others were victims/ perpetrators. The first participant, Steve, describes how vulnerability is seen by others:

Well, they might see someone and think ‘he hasn’t done jail before’, do you know what I mean? They can tell, of course they can tell by the look in your eye if you’re scared. If it’s your first time in jail they know, they’re not stupid (Steve).

Steve refers to his cell-mate’s specific vulnerability:

I used to tell him, ‘man up. You got to man up in jail’. He got a long sentence as well, he had like six-and-a-half years. He don’t want to be going to jail like that, scared. He just needs to loosen up a bit or people are going to walk all over him his whole sentence and just treat him like shit. He never even used to go out of the cell.

Steve states he used to ‘wind’ his cell-mate up and pick on him to ‘toughen him up’. But Steve did not seem to see his cell-mate’s vulnerability as his responsibility, rather that the cell-mate’s abject fear made him a not agreeable cell-mate. Others were more understanding. Paul summarises an attitude about possible consequences of being vulnerable and exploited which does not appear to have occurred to Steve. If someone is being bullied, Paul says:

I wouldn’t go and tell a prison officer and get those boys in trouble, I’d give them my opinion first. Yeah, I wouldn’t just stand there and watch some boy....And things like that as well, could make that kid that’s getting bullied think about other things like



harming himself, something like that and that's not very nice, really, whether it caused me to have a fight sort of thing (Paul).

Helping behaviour only went so far though, as indicated in the last quote. Mostly, the participants were out for themselves and each looked after himself primarily. Mental health, poor coping and self-harm were sub-themes of the elements of vulnerability and these seemed to contribute to the young people's self-perception of personal strength or weakness.

Rich highlights his own vulnerability due to poor mental health. Rich has been 'hearing voices' since he started taking street drugs and offers the following view:

It's just negative, sat there thinking about things. Thinking 'oh, I can't wait to get out', I dunno. If you ain't got a radio, we've got a radio now like, but if you ain't got a radio or nothing, you get down, start thinking all the things, panicking about stupid things like. It's like the other day, that's why I cut up, like. Just laid there thinking stupid things; voices telling, going through my head.....Next thing you know, I end up in Healthcare, like.

Rich was just 18 years old. He had problems with mental health that had already been identified and he was receiving treatment in prison and support from the In Reach team, however his vulnerability was evident. He did not have effective coping skills and he seemed to view his act of self-harm that led to him being hospitalised, as beyond his control. It does not seem that his vulnerability made him a target by others however; he was more at risk from himself and his poor coping skills and lack of alternatives. Another participant was singled out and exploited by stronger others:

When I first come in here, they was all on me for baccy and all that, do you know what I mean? Trying to intimidate me a little cos I was only small when I come in.

So first of all I did give them a bit of baccy cos obviously I was scared, I've never been to prison before, it wasn't like....I didn't know what to expect (Gaz).

But the pressure is subtle and may be one reason why it is not overtly recognised as bullying by the young people. Gaz again, says:

They don't get physical and all that, it's not like they swear at you.... it's always on you all the time, do you know what I mean, especially when you just come in. All the time they're on you for 'burn' (tobacco), shower gel. After a while you get used to it and end up saying no, do you know what I mean? At the end of the day, you just got to stand up for yourself, that's all I can say.

This seems to be a more internalised view. Gaz recognised he was being used and taken advantage of, however also acknowledged that it was up to him to do something about it and ties in with Steve's views earlier about each person needing to stand up for himself. David describes bullying as more overt in his experience. He says:

I have seen it - people being bullied. Yeah, people getting robbed and that, for their tobacco and all sorts of things really. Drugs - seen people robbed for their drugs, their medication from the [*treatment*] hatch, all sorts.

David acknowledges that for some, prison is made additionally hard because of problems they have on the outside that they bring in with them, and then worry about them. David also had self-harmed. He says:

It doesn't matter if you're vulnerable or not, if you're going through problems, it's hard like. Basically, you're sitting in your cell pulling out your hair. I've been in that situation, that's when I cut my arms.....and I didn't even ring the bell, I just got back into bed after I done it.

Self-harm seems to be related to poor coping and impulsivity in the cases cited, exemplified by the above, where David says he did not report the incident nor actively sought help. Rich attributes his self-harm in part to his mental health ('the voices...') and David acknowledges it did not help him.

[*Self-harm*] don't help. You don't want to be going round when you're older like, with scars on your arms so I stopped. I come off an open ACCT<sup>4</sup>....Obviously I'm off my ACCT, so I'm just getting on with it now.

Vulnerability was perceived in others and explained in terms of needing to toughen up and be seen to stand up for yourself, including saying 'no' to pressure to give up tobacco and toiletries, like Gaz. Gaz says he started resisting this 'nagging' from others, but only after being in prison some time and 'getting used to it', which led him to feel more sure of himself and brave. When speaking of their own vulnerabilities, the young men were open to varying degrees about these, however they did not seem to have many personal resources or effective coping strategies. Rich mentioned having a radio helped as a distraction, but in general it seemed the young men were not adept at keeping themselves busy, occupied and focused (on a pro-social, positive activity) or distracted from troublesome thoughts and feelings. This led on to the next theme:

## **2. The complexities of adjusting to prison.**

This theme highlighted differences between what the young people thought prison would be like, and their experiences once they had arrived and settled. It included sub-categories such as uncertainties, routine, the importance of family, what the young people

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<sup>4</sup> Assessment Care in Custody & Teamwork (ACCT): Prison service-wide system for the identification and care of those thought to be vulnerable to suicide and/ or self-harm.

experienced as stressors and a sub-theme about 'belonging' - being one of the boys, which featured to some extent in all the participants' accounts.

Steve expresses strong views about this. He says:

But it's all right because I always gets padded up with boys from my ends, do you know what I mean? I told the Govs I can't be padded up with a taffy [*someone from the Valleys*] or someone like that because that would just drive me nuts. I want to share with someone from my area, who I've got something in common with, do you know what I mean? I've been padded up with four X boys, apart from one of them was from Birmingham although I said I don't mind that.

It was interesting that even from within Wales, others were categorised as belonging to the group, or not. Steve preferred to share a cell with someone from England rather than someone from an 'out-group' from within Wales. Rich says:

I was happy when they said I was coming to X first. I know a couple of the boys in here like. I'm two-ed up with a boy I know from my area. There's two of them on there now, three. One of them from G, which is about ten minutes up the road, one's from T, P, one's from M so they're all close to me like.

Most of the participants reported that they were happy enough with their cell-mates, although the turn-over was high. Gaz said he had had 'eleven different cell-mates' in the five-and-a-half months he had been in the prison and each one had taken some getting used-to. All the participants said they would rather be in a cell with someone than on their own which provided an interesting reflection, given the imagined pressures of such close-proximity living for many hours of the day and night. Specific observations about this concerned 'having someone to talk to', which seemed important. In general though on the

wings, a conciliatory attitude was adopted by the young men interviewed with efforts being made to keep out of others' way for the most part.

I try to get on with everyone; I don't say boo to no-one, or try to piss anyone off or anything like that (Paul).

Rich acknowledges his anxieties about being around lots of people:

Yeah, cos I don't mix very well, I keep myself to myself sort of thing.

But despite his specific social anxieties, Rich spoke for most of the other participants who expressed a wish to keep their heads down and do their own 'time'. In terms of general uncertainties, they nearly all had fears about what prison would be like:

Yeah, obviously I was scared because there were adults but it ain't as bad as you think it's going to be. I was kind of scared because I'm only 18 and I was a really small person when I come in (Gaz).

I was scared how it would be like, the routines..... it's an adult jail like. Um, how the officers would be, who'd be my next pad-mate. Sat behind the door, just looking at the door.... Mad, like. Stressful (David).

Some of those uncertainties could only be answered by familiarisation with the rules and regimes; that is, over time. There is an induction process for all prisoners as they arrive but the effectiveness is questioned by the young men:

They talked me through it all like, but it's a totally different world, innit? They tell you what's going to happen and then you actually get in here and do it and it's a totally different thing like (Rich).

As already highlighted by Gaz's case, adjusting seems to be a process of 'getting used to things', which seemed to be the primary way to settle and to develop accommodative processes which facilitated the necessary familiarisation and adjustment. Some young people took longer than others to 'acclimatise' and arguably, during this time they are still vulnerable and 'reactive'.

It were just panicky like, wondering what to expect and that. It's hard but I got used to it now, I been here a while. When I first come in here it was hard to get used to like, getting the routine, getting dinner and all (Rich).

It's the routine that's the hardest to get used to; the food times, the kit change and you're up early in the morning like – ten to eight, so it's really early to get up, do you know what I mean? You don't get much of a lay in (Gaz).

It is easy to see how the very ordered routine could take some getting used to, the imposed structure and expectations, especially on the otherwise chaotic, unstructured and disordered lives the young people experienced outside prison. In terms of fears about what prison would be like, Paul says:

What did really bother me when I first come in here - before I come in, on my way here - was just about what the people was going to be like being locked up, did it turn them different sort of thing (Paul).

Paul had been told a little about what to expect by an older brother who had been to prison before him. Families generally were important to all the participants, although what constituted a 'family' was different for each. Missing family was mentioned by some of the young people as 'the worst thing' about being in prison and for Paul, visits were an important time for him to be able to show his family he was all right and coping well.

Yeah, we do get good things to talk about. They tell me what's going on, that I'm not missing much really, so that like makes me feel a little bit better I suppose. But it's still horrible being in here. It's nice seeing them when they get there and you're seeing them and it's worse when they've got to go, thinking 'oh no, I've got to go back in here now' sort of thing. But yeah it is nice to see them. When they go it's not very nice but they've come in and visit me they get on all right, like I'm coping in here and things like that, I'm not having any troubles so their minds are sort of settled (Paul).

This excerpt highlights an interesting aspect to the way visits were viewed; almost as 'bitter-sweet'. All described liking to see family but being let down was painful if that happened. If an expected visitor did not turn up, or a visit went badly, this caused distress and negative feelings. Nevertheless, family contact and the support gained from this were important to all the young people, even if their view of 'family' varied. Gaz has a different perspective on who his family are:

Like, obviously I see some of the carers that worked with me in Bristol, cos obviously most of them live in Bristol. It's not like they're family, they can't be there for me 24/7, they've got lives of their own to live, do you know what I mean? So, um, it's good to see them sometimes, cos obviously I lived with them, they worked with me for a long time and it wasn't like a normal children's home, it was you know, a family house, we were all really close, like. But yeah, they come and see me more of the time, that's who my family are, kind of thing (Gaz).

But my Mum don't come and visit me, I don't want her to. She wants to but I don't want her to, do you know what I mean? I'd find it harder with her coming to visit me.

I love my Mum to bits. I'd do anything for my Mum but I don't want her to come into prison and see me here (Gaz).

For Gaz, his support comes from a surrogate family. He was taken into care when he was ten years old and has only lived with his mother sporadically since and he is clearly ambivalent about that relationship and what it means in terms of support and his mother's availability. For David, contact with his grandmother and his girlfriend was highly significant. Talking with his family was a major coping strategy for him, and therefore one of the hardest things for him to deal with in the prison environment was learning he could not just pick up the telephone when he wanted.

Like, gets you thinking, 'is your girl going to wait, is she going to be faithful, what's she doing?' You know when you look out the window and you see the nice weather, you think 'rah, what's she doing now?' Gets you paranoid because you know you can't do nothing about it. I just knock on the door, and ask the boss for a phone call, say like on your own account like, I mean what's wrong with just giving someone a phone call? You ask to use the phone and they're like, 'no, no, no, you're not having a phone call' and I'm like, why not? Why can't you let me have a phone call? Because they don't want to let you out (David).

This will be explored in more detail at a later stage, however David displays a certain rigidity with an established system; one which he was actually quite willing to 'take on', although this was to his detriment ultimately. Adjusting to prison was made more complex because of the individual characteristics each brought to the experience, what they expected; their fears and abilities to cope. Each dealt with the stressors they faced differently, but all identified and clearly valued external support, whether this was their direct family or someone else who took an interest in them. How the young men adjusted to their prison



experience related to how they related to feelings of safety. How they defined safety also had links with their lives outside prison; how they 'imported' these thoughts and feelings. The next theme is described below.

### **3. Being concerned about safety in prison.**

This theme related to a number of sub-categories, including feelings about the mixed population, general anti-social behaviour, the young men's definition of 'respect'; how this was important to them and how it was gained and maintained. The participants all had interesting reflections about the older population in the prison: Steve expresses a widely held view:

It's much calmer with adults and YOs mixed together I find. YOs kick off more often, they're young, more energy, all young and full of energy, still young at heart so they just have a laugh and misbehave. And obviously the adults are more grown up, they just want to get their heads down; do their time.

In this jail, yeah, I feel safe. There's not as many YOs in this jail, do you know what I mean? Obviously all the friction boils up between young people. In here you've got a group of adults only from this area, mainly with kids and they're more mature, they ain't kids, do you know what I mean? Kids nowadays, if you go to like housing estates, they're out of control, running around, fighting, especially London, Cardiff, cities, do you know what I mean? They're bad there. So if you can imagine all them kids running around nicking cars, giving it all large, mugging people, all in one prison and all on one wing then it's going to be hectic, do you know what I mean? Yeah, I think it's much easier with adults to be honest (Gaz).

The young men were all clear that they thought the atmosphere was considerably more 'hectic' with just 18-21 year olds together. Gaz summarises life in a YOI:

Everyone's scatty..... it's like one nutty village, man, I'm telling you!

This view was unexpected. Most of the published research from the US and the UK reports findings which indicate increased risk of harm to the young people if housed with adults, mainly from assaults (violent and sexual) and 'corruption', where the older population represent a negative influence on the younger - and generally thought to be still developing – prisoners. They are also thought to provide poor role models and little incentive or hope for any change in criminal behaviour. All the young people in this study commented on the difference in atmosphere between Young Offender Institutions (YOIs) and the adult prison. Regular and frequent fighting was noted by them and related to their reported feelings of safety. David says he cannot back down from a fight and attributes this to 'the way I was brought up'.

If you get hit you hit them back like. Like when someone's trying to do it to you the first thing that's going through your head is you want to fight them straightaway, don't back down; you gotta do what you gotta do basically.

What seems to underlie this also is a strong need not to be seen as weak in front of peers. David describes a fight he had over another prisoner challenging him about taking too long on the telephone. David says:

I hung up and he comes up to me like: 'speak to me like that again and I'll rip your head off' and things like that, trying to 'boy me off' sort of thing, trying to bully me. Then a couple of my boys are standing by the pool table and they're just looking at me, thinking 'are you going to take that, like that? Are you going to let him 'boy you

off" and that? So I just stuck the head on the guy, headbutted him, punched him with a left and a right and I had a nicking. I go down the block, the segregation unit and then I went to the outside adjudicator and I had 28 days extra.

In this account, David seems to present the view that even though he knew what the negative consequences to him would be, the possibility of backing down in front of peers was worse. This implies that he is actually evaluating his options and *chooses* the one in which he feels he keeps his credibility and maintains the respect of his peers, despite experiencing some discomfort, isolation and loss of the scant privileges he had prior to the assault. Not all the participants responded in this way, however others did make reference to 'my boys' and expressed some comfort in knowing others have 'got your back' in the prison environment.

Other views about safety were expressed as relative to challenges the young people faced in their lives outside prison. In prison, Steve said he felt '100% safe. Probably safer in here than you feel on the outside'. This also was a view expressed by the other participants. Gaz describes fear of others in his community which led to him drinking alcohol for 'dutch courage' and to him carrying a knife routinely for protection. His offence was for stabbing another young person after an altercation. The disorder and fear in his life outside directly related to his perceptions of his safety once 'contained'. But of the mixed population within the prison, it was the life-sentenced prisoners who gave rise to comment and concern. Gaz seems in awe of these prisoners.

I met a murderer kind of thing. But it's the way they act about it to be honest that gets me the most. They just don't care, none of them to be honest, do you know what I mean? They're happy and chatty just walking around. Yeah, if you killed someone...personally I couldn't live with myself if I killed someone, not the way they walk around anyway.

The young people seemed to view themselves and their offences differently, despite three of them being in for violent offences and routinely carrying knives. None of them wanted to see themselves as ‘old’ and in prison, although Steve listed reasons why it would be hard to change, hard to be given another chance in society and hard because he now had a conviction for a violent offence. Safety seems to have been defined by the young people in terms of the generally volatile environment of a YOI against the experience in adult prison; how far an individual was prepared to go to ‘prove’ himself as worthy of respect in front of his peers, and levels of chaos, disorder and lack of containment in their lives outside prison, which gave value to expectations of safety in custody. The next theme drew from the young men’s accounts of how they spent their time in prison and what there was to do.

#### **4. How activities in prison are perceived and utilised.**

The young people’s perceptions of how and/ or whether they could change and whether or not they would come back to prison seemed to relate also to their perceptions of what was available to them in the way of activities. Paul says:

I didn’t think you’d be able to get an education and learn things and do things, I didn’t think you’d be able to do none of that, literally I thought you’d just be in your cell and get fed and that would be it really, sort of thing.

Nevertheless, of all the participants, Gaz was the only one who availed himself of the opportunities, choosing to go to Education classes, despite the others stating that money and budgeting was a problem for them (prisoners are paid to attend Education and it is recognised as ‘purposeful activity’). Gaz made the choice between ‘sitting in the cell all day, or going to Education to learn something’. Rich was not convinced, however:

That's not bad is it? [*getting paid to go to Education*]. I got chucked out of school year ten, when I was about fourteen I finished school. I went for OCN<sup>5</sup>s like but then got chucked out. I hated school, ain't never going back there. I'd rather get a job tea-packing, breakfast-packing, something like that.

None of the others worked, all saying this was because they did not think they were going to be in the prison for long enough. David had the view however that the reason he did not have a job was because the prison staff saw him as too hot-headed; he was always in fights so they would select older, calmer candidates for the jobs.

Because when you're in this jail, when you're only a YA, a YO like, basically you're not an adult, like they think oh, he's not old enough to have a job, he's not mature enough to have a job, he's going to be like, want to fight people, and things like that, that's why you don't get jobs in here, they just give the older ones, like the adults, jobs. You don't see one YO on the wing with a job. It doesn't matter if you on remand or JR'd<sup>6</sup>, you can still have a job, no matter what. But it's just the way they look at it, he's only a YO, there's more mature people on the wing. Adults that's what it is, adults, and they give someone else the job.

This could be true in many respects. David had already acknowledged he made things hard for himself by his behaviour in prison, and stated he was trying to keep his 'head down'. But the others seemed to choose 'a quiet life' and it may be a reflection of the Labour Boards in prison, that workshop instructors/ employers are really looking for a longer-term, more mature workforce with a better developed work ethic. Steve's view seems to underline this. He says what he expected from prison was:

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<sup>5</sup> Open College Network

<sup>6</sup> Judge's Remand (convicted but unsentenced)

Exactly what I got. Jail, just shitty jail. Nothing to do, just boredom.

This an externalised view; Steve almost expects things to be done for, and brought to him.

Paul, on the other hand, is content to make his own activities:

But it's all right if you've got the cards out, try and make a few games up on pen and paper, things like that. Draw the chess board out, get bits of counters and things like that and write them on there. Yeah, we do try our best to keep ourselves occupied.

These two views represent the 'internal/ external' locus of control differences in approach: one fills his time, the other sits, bored in his cell. No-one is compelled to work, or to keep occupied particularly, however these 'purposeful activities' are central to perceptions of how time passes and to related feelings of positive self-esteem and self-efficacy. The four participants not working all struggled for money and depended on friends and family outside prison to send money in for them. David worries about not having enough money on his pinphone credit to be able to phone his family. He says:

Phone call's most important to me. I've quit smoking, like when I was down the block, I was on loss [*of privileges*] as well. I could go without tobacco but I cannot go without phone credit. People go mad like, crave cigarettes, but I crave my phone calls so I can speak to my nan and my girlfriend. Do you know what I mean? Most important to me like. Tobacco I can do without. I'd rather speak to my family than smoke. Speaking to them makes me feel much better.

Again, David seems to understand he has to make sacrifices and choices to achieve the things he wants, and that his behaviour had prevented him from getting a job. Staff, however, had noted concerns about David bullying others for their tobacco and medication, so rather than change his behaviour, he got what he wanted by taking from others. Help more

generally with budgeting and greater opportunities for gainful employment might assist these young people to settle and at least begin to experience how the real world works, even if it is only a micro-example of it, in a protected environment. The others, as far as is known, did not take this approach, but also did not make the best use of the facilities that were available to them citing previous bad experiences at school as a reason not to take education classes; not being in the prison for long enough to apply for a job and that others (adults) always got the jobs first: excuses and/or justifications for not making the effort, perhaps.

The final theme linked to this, and similar views were expressed about the help that was available.

## **5. How help is identified and accessed.**

This related to the young men's views on the help they thought they should be given against the almost taboo act in some respects, of being seen to ask for help, particularly from the officers. It included some reflections on the detoxification process on admission, support for mental health issues and their thoughts about how this should be provided.

Although he expressed views about wanting to change his life in a broad sense, Steve stated how difficult he thought this would be for him because of his criminal record. This almost became a reason for him not to do anything further for himself and he describes the path he will take with a certain inevitability:

It's hard for anyone to get a job anyway but I mean when you got a record it's even harder. So then you won't have a job, and then you don't have any money so it's just nothing better to do so then you just cause trouble. You just get bored, drink, smoke weed, just cause shit.

This was again quite an externalised position; because things were going to be difficult, Steve seemed to take the view there was no use trying. Steve had attempted to make a self-referral to the Mental Health In Reach team, however he reported negative experiences about the outcome.

Well, I've asked to speak to a CPN<sup>7</sup> in here, do you know what I mean? But, er, 3 months I been asking and still nothing. That just goes to show how much they want to help you in this jail. They just don't really care.

He goes further:

If it wasn't me and it was someone else, a depressed poor soul could string himself up because the jail's not helping him. He really needed to see someone that badly he was so depressed and hurting on the inside and they just don't bother, he could string himself up.

It is not clear if Steve is actually talking about himself in this extract, however he seems to want the help now, on his terms, and externalises the responsibility for accessing it. When asked if he had had contact with these Services prior to coming to prison, Steve said he had meant to, but had always been 'too busy on the out' to go and see the doctor.

Some of the others spoke of the help they had received since they had been in prison.

Rich describes coming off drink and drugs:

It's hard work like, detoxing. You're 'clucking' for your next meds, like. It's not very nice like. I started smoking weed and all. I stopped smoking weed and I dunno,

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drinking as well, getting cold turkey and all off it. Bad, man. Thank god I finished that all though.

Rich takes a more realistic view of the help he can get, acknowledging that it is up to him to make any changes:

That's why they're trying to get me on a drug rehab, cos....fucking....at the end of the day they only can, they can't do any more than advise.

All the participants shared the view that if you needed help for certain things in the prison, such as being bullied, you did not go to the officers:

Well, you'd be classed as a grass. That's the same in every prison. You don't go and do that to....you don't go and tell the officers or no-one. Whatever's going to happen is going to happen. You'll go to the cell, or the showers or something (David).

This is an oblique reference to sorting out the problem by fighting, and was not a representative view of all the participants, however they were all clear that 'grassing' was not OK.

The participants expressed views that prison had, surprisingly, helped them in some way, either through the process of detoxification, through getting a few square meals – learning to eat new foods and 'growing' - through taking part in the research (two participants said this), or through opening their eyes to what the future looks like if they continued offending. The negatives outweighed the positives for them all, however, and the views they expressed about how they could change and what help there was available linked to the overall theme that formed a thread throughout, relating to what degree the young people believed that events and circumstances were within their control, or whether they happened 'to them'. This pervading attitude/ disposition affected the way they adjusted, how

they coped and how they attributed responsibility and their general views about prison, as shown through their narratives. The implications of these findings will be explored in the final section below and linked to recent searches in the literature.

## **Discussion**

### **Aims of the current study**

Young adult male offenders, aged 18 to 21 years are currently being imprisoned with the adult male (over 21) offender population. At present it seems this practice is on a relatively small scale; whilst the young men are on remand and then when convicted and awaiting sentence. Once sentenced, they are then transferred to a Young Offender Institution (YOI) to serve the duration of their remaining time in prison. The current practice dictates that they may only share a cell with another young person under the age of 21; however for all other aspects of the regime, they are fully integrated with the adults. This study sought to conduct semi-structured interviews with some of the young men in order to gain an insight into and greater understanding of their subjective experiences of their time in prison. The qualitative approach used was Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) which allowed for rich and meaningful exploration of the views, opinions and experiences they shared.

### **Summary of results**

Five major themes emerged from the interviews and analysis. These were: 1) elements of vulnerability, how the young people saw themselves and others including how vulnerable people are exploited in prison. In this theme there were sub-categories of bullying, matters relating to mental health, how the young people coped and how they perceived others coped, and included issues of self-harm. 2) The second theme concerned the

complexities of adjusting to prison and this included sub-categories of the young men's uncertainties before they arrived, how they found the routines, how family were seen, what stressors they experienced and how a sense of belonging seemed important to them amongst their own like-aged peers. 3) The third theme related to how the young people were concerned about safety in prison. Factors contributing to this related to the mixed population, including life-sentenced prisoners. Also, how a sense of identity was established and maintained for some of the participants and crucially, how fighting was important as a means of creating respect, being seen to not back down in front of peers and thought of by others as weak. 4) The next theme that emerged was how activities in prison were perceived and utilised, and this linked with 5) the fifth theme which was how the young men identified the help that was available and how they accessed this. Running through each of the main themes were further overarching themes. These were identified as relating to 'locus of control' (e.g. Craig et al., 1984): how much the young people believed they had a say and influence over events and what happened to them, the strategies they used to help them cope and the way they defined themselves in terms of the identity they built and defended. This could be seen in how they adjusted to prison, how they responded to others and how they took responsibility for how things had been and how they turned out.

### **Implications of the findings of the current study within the literature**

The themes that emerged from this research were from the young men themselves; what was important to them and how they made sense of events and the experiences they had. However these are also embedded in the literature. For the first theme: *vulnerability*, other studies have identified and focused on specific points in the criminal justice system when young offenders are particularly vulnerable. For example the first few days in custody, when the risk of self-harm and suicide are high (e.g., Harvey, 2005). The young men in the current study seemed most vulnerable when they first arrived in the prison. Harvey identifies a

‘liminal’ period – a transitional stage – where the newly-imprisoned offender is preoccupied with issues of personal safety and experiences uncertainty. Harvey claims this can lead to psychological distress, although found that the young men who had an internal locus of control were less psychologically distressed, whereas those who believed it was difficult to adapt reported higher levels of distress. Concerns about safety also bore some relation to distress. These were themes that were identified in the current study.

In terms of coping with *vulnerability*, studies on *adjusting to prison* have found that the occurrence of depression is linked with *locus of control* in that individuals with high levels of internalised thinking and behaviour were the least depressed. Those with high externalised control showed a significant increase in reported depression after a period of adjustment to prison and were also identified as having reactive depression (Reitzel & Harju, 2000). This clearly has implications for management of the critical period immediately post admission, especially for young offenders possibly facing their first time in custody.

Vulnerability in prison is also linked with an individual having an Intellectual Disability (ID) (Talbot & Riley, 2007). A study with offenders with ID found that results on the locus of control scale suggested that like the general offender population, convicted offenders with intellectual disabilities are likely to have a higher external locus of control than their non-offending peers. None of the participants in the current study had identified ID, however learning and self-management are both areas clearly linked with vulnerability, coping and adjustment to circumstances and surroundings. In other studies, prisoners on remand who have yet to receive convictions had similar locus of control orientations to non-offenders. This may indicate that it is partly the consequences of receiving a conviction that increases the likelihood of an external locus of control. The remand group had not experienced the very real external controls imposed by the criminal justice system (Goodman et al., 2007). This again has implications for the safe treatment whilst in custody of those

vulnerable and with these difficulties. An additional point to consider is that intellectual ability is not routinely screened for in prisons and data suggests it is regularly missed. Raising awareness amongst staff of all possible causes of vulnerability should be an aim if the system is to respond effectively to known groups of prisoners who are at risk of distress and harm upon reception to prison. This has led to the view that fundamental changes in the young offender culture still need to take place if we are to mitigate the psychological effects of detention to develop more positive approaches (Nieland et al., 2001), and especially if we are to encourage the young people to *ask for help*.

In a study looking at the adjustment of female offenders to prison life, Van Tongeren and Klebe (2010) maintain a multi-dimensional approach is helpful, which considers cognitive and behavioural patterns within a custodial setting as well as concentrating on raising awareness of consequences and rehabilitation choices once released. The findings from this research can be generalised to offending populations more generally. But still, individual characteristics influence the efficacy of more globally implemented strategies and levels of self-esteem have also been found to mediate adjustment and coping. The damaging effect of imprisonment on self-esteem is generally found to be stronger the younger the offender is at the point of admission to custody. This is thought to be due to the individual's sense of self still being formed at the earlier stages of development, and that change in levels of reported self-esteem will vary between individuals and is dependent to some extent upon the individuals' 'accommodative resources' (Greve & Enzmann, 2003). This study additionally found that self-esteem increased over time, although it is not clear whether the increase was just due to the passage of time (which happened to be spent in prison) or as a result of the effects of actually being in prison (the sentence and or the 'prison experience' as a whole). An approach aimed at increasing young offenders' self-esteem could be beneficial.

When considering the fourth main theme *activities in prison*, other studies have looked at how young male offenders perceived and managed the passage of time. Results showed that many young people used cannabis to help them ‘control and manipulate’ the passing of their sentence (Cope, 2003). Maladaptive coping more generally was found in the current study, although the time spent in prison differed considerably. The point remains, however, that assisting the development of more adaptive coping could be usefully implemented in prisons with young offenders, perhaps through the targeted provision of meaningful education and employment opportunities. Discussions have already started to take place at a local level about the timing, content and delivery of Learning and skills workshops that will encourage the young people to take part.

The findings of this study suggest that there is more work to be done to create environments that identify and take into consideration the very specific needs of young people. Despite the distinctive thread relating to the recognition and development of identity in the young people interviewed, how they defined themselves in terms of their standing in the ‘community’ of prison and how important that seemed to be to them, was apparently at odds with the acknowledgement of vulnerability and perhaps fear, anxiety and the development of the ‘whole’ self against markers of pro-social targets, attitudes and behaviour. In relation to issues concerning the fifth main theme *asking for, and accessing help*, the culture of not being seen to ask for help in some areas – of not needing help – again seems to go against the sense of entitlement that was evident when support for management of mental health was requested but not made available. Prisons need to promote self-efficacy but not at the expense of the development of other, pro-social approaches, for example, getting what you want by taking it from some, weaker other. The results of this study suggest that prisons need to create an environment of openness, with appropriate rewards systems in place to acknowledge positive change, rather than simply operating negative consequences

for transgression. These approaches should be implemented by informed staff who have skills in responding to young people with these goals in mind.

Some of the themes identified in this study are age-specific. For example, although going to prison for the first time is likely to provoke anxiety in most people regardless of how old they are, young age adds to the level of vulnerability and therefore the need for sensitivity and awareness of age-related issues at the point of reception into prison. Themes relating to family links and effective communication are also important across the prison populations, however need for this in the young people was very evident and linked clearly with developmental features of the age group studied. Issues related to identity, the need to belong and to appear robust in front of peers seem strongly related to young age also. Similarly the behaviours noted as helping to achieve this, such as the posturing and demonstrations of physical status – fighting – and the frequency of this, with the reasons stated suggest that the sense of self might be fostered in a different way. Possibly the ‘macho’ prison culture just makes this worse. Interpersonal skills training following improvements in self-esteem through pro-social means would additionally be a useful for this age group from the results of the current study.

Some countries adopt a closely developmental approach to the treatment of young people within their criminal justice systems; for example, in Scandinavia the age of criminal responsibility is fifteen years. Under that age young people – children – are handled by social and welfare authorities, however over that age there are no separate courts or judicial processes to those that deal with adults. 18 to 21 year olds are therefore treated as adults in law (Kyvsgaard, 2004). However, while the number, frequency and severity of crimes committed by young offenders is perceived by the public – and therefore politicians – to be increasing, policy moves more towards the ‘firm action’ called for as a means to control (and punish) young people (Benekos & Merlo, 2008). Rehabilitation has almost taken a secondary

status of concern. This leads to harsher sentencing and lower tolerance of all anti-social behaviour, not just the most serious offences, coupled with increasing fear about what young people *might* do if left to their own devices.

### **Limitations of the current study**

The aims of this study - to gain insight into and understanding of the views of young male offenders incarcerated with adults in one prison in Wales – led towards a qualitative methodology for analysis of the data generated. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is an approach which allows psychological investigation into narrative and the identification of themes from the close and detailed reading, re-reading and interpretation of what is said (Willig, 2001). Psychological interpretation of the psychological event that is admission to, and containment within prison has led to the identification of real and live issues seen as important to the young prisoners themselves. Whilst the results were generated solely from the researcher's immersion in the data, the themes that emerged linked clearly with existing literature and studies into the development and the specific characteristics of young, mainly male offenders. The results cannot, in isolation, be generalised to any conclusive statement regarding policy, practice or even the development, thoughts and feelings of young offenders; however the *post-hoc* positioning of the findings of this study within the existing knowledge-base gives it a validity from which wider consideration may add weight to developing approaches concerning the imprisonment of the increasing number of young people sentenced by the courts to periods in custody. For example, we cannot change internal attributions and orientation in the short-term, however it could be possible to target these for development in the poorly-adjusted and vulnerable young offender in the future. The link with reoffending in this population is not clear, however improved self-efficacy, less psychological distress, heightened self-esteem and more effective problem-focused coping from a young person taking responsibility for his behaviour in the developing



belief he can influence his own future positively, should be a purposeful objective. At the present time, these young adult male offenders are being housed in adult male prisons for relatively short periods. They are being tried in local courts for offences committed locally; they are near their families and arguably benefitting from this proximity for visits, contact and support. Once moved, they may go to establishments far from their homes and this in itself can lead to isolation, distress and alienation from local communities even further.

### **Implications for policy and practice**

The young people in this study unexpectedly maybe, reported very positively that life in a prison populated mainly by adults was quieter, calmer and with far fewer incidents of violence than any establishment housing just 18 to 21 year olds. It may be, then, that there are benefits to using an environment where pressures to constantly assert the self to prove dominance and status are taken away, and to capitalise on opportunities to engage the young people to reinforce alignment to a more positive focus. Mentoring has been shown in some studies to help develop young people's resilience to crises and traumatic events (Rutter, 1995) and to provide a basis for dealing with difficulties in relationships, managing on limited resources and accepting a developing sexual identity; in other words, enhancing coping in everyday life skills (Philip & Hendry, 2000). Mentoring encapsulates some of the possible psychological opportunities to provide a positive role model. Nevertheless, it may be argued that incidents of coercion, pressure to conform (to prison cultural norms) and intimidation are still occurring in this environment, only in more subtle, less overt ways.

What is apparent is that the young people struggle in prison and some are slightly more resilient and better able to cope with this than others. If they must be housed together for ease of access to courts and to maximise local provision, one suggestion would be to gather and use what is known about the needs of young people and implement this into a

strategy of management that is more likely to reach them, be understood by them and responded to positively by the relatively few young people that are sentenced to custody with adults. Clear and effectively managed behaviour modification systems built on psychological principles and informed by theory and research based on working with this age group, that reward positive goals reached by the young people could be implemented. These approaches, if administered in a fair and visible manner in a timely way, could go a long way to shape desirable behaviour and help to minimise negative outcomes. Even more care should be taken to reduce the ‘closet’ rewards inherent in bullying, coercion and manipulation for young people, fostered as things are by a culture that allows this behaviour to be hidden and which impedes any open disclosure under a no-tell, macho veneer that harbours fear and distress, as has been shown. This must start at the grass-roots level, and become an holistic approach within the prison.

Such change in culture and belief systems are not easy to achieve, but if we are to effectively introduce alternative planning and management of young people, then it is essential change that must take place. Suitable and targeted training of staff willing to work with young people should be undertaken, with support and supervision regularly offered to ensure effective delivery of the approaches mentioned and to minimise staff burn-out and ‘splitting’ by these highly-energised, impulsive, often difficult – but highly rewarding – youth. We should acknowledge the differences in the needs of young male offenders in this environment and target these in a positive, appropriately-informed way to not only keep to a minimum possible levels of distress, but also to enhance the more positive elements that are present in the system, and acknowledged at least in some part, by the young people themselves.

Cognitive-behavioural approaches have been shown to be effective with this age group. The best interventions are those which address offenders’ ways of thinking and the moral content of their thinking (e.g. cognitive behavioural therapy [CBT] interventions).

Multi-modal programmes, which combine a CBT approach with interventions influencing the criminogenic features of an offender's immediate environment (multi-systemic therapy: MST interventions) are also found to be effective (Per-Olof Wikström and Treiber, 2008).

Implementing these approaches in the short time-frame the young people are in the adult prisons may be problematic, however there is value in giving consideration to how this approach may be adopted across other areas of interaction within the prison system, to engage the young person at the earliest stage.

There is increasing knowledge and research in the areas of diet and exercise and how these affect young people; introducing a better diet with supplementary vitamins and minerals was found to positively effect anti-social behaviour in young offenders in prison – with implications for improvements in diet improving anti-social behaviour in the community as well (e.g., Gesch et al., 2002) - and might have positive implications for education and raising awareness in young offenders and their families, if not to changes in the diets offered actually in prison. Meeting the mental health needs of young people in prison is increasingly cause for concern (e.g., Farrant, 2001). As well as providing mental health services for identification and support in prisons housing young people, relatively simple self-help approaches to enhance well-being could usefully be followed by staff, such as encouraging regular and varied exercise, interaction, positive activity and healthy sleep patterns (i.e., not taking 'naps' during the day which then stops restful sleep at night and increases fearfulness, worry and a decline in coping and mental health).

Future research in the area could focus on gaining data on the remand population, also to look at the opinions and experiences of staff working in these establishments with these young people. Staff did not receive specific training in the management of the young people now in their care; this might be a good place to introduce research-based theory into

strategies and approaches for them, to reduce some of the vulnerabilities highlighted as prevalent and important, as mentioned above.

## **Conclusion**

This study highlighted that young adult offenders are vulnerable within a prison setting, exacerbated possibly by their individual characteristics and lack of ability to internalise attributions and actions. This can be mediated by positive factors of proximity to family, a less-distracting (through a less violent, less volatile pervading atmosphere) environment and numbers (at present) to allow more individualised sentence/ custody pathways. The suggestions outlined above may highlight these areas for informed, carefully-managed change.

## **Chapter 4: Critique of a psychological assessment**

### **THE EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS SCALES (EPS)**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The Emotional Problems Scales (EPS; Prout & Strohmer, 1991) was constructed for use with individuals 14 years old or older who have Intelligence Quotient (IQ) scores in the ‘extremely low’ to ‘borderline’/ ‘low average’ range as measured by standardised intelligence assessment tests. The EPS was selected for critical review because of its potential utility with young offenders, and as young adult male prisoners were the participant group in the research undertaken and presented in chapter 3, the EPS was relevant. Results from use of the tool could add to the provision of tailored services to the young prisoner group, which was the focus of much of the discussion in the previous chapter. The authors state that the EPS normative data indicate the Scales are not biased with respect to age, gender or race. The Scales evolved from recognition amongst clinicians and service-providers of a growing need to work effectively with, and understand more comprehensively, some of the problematic behaviours shown by people with intellectual disabilities (ID) and low-average functioning. This was an attempt to refine the long-standing approach to the management of such individuals, which previously was driven by the premise that difficult behaviours were merely characteristics of intellectual disability itself rather than due to any separate and distinct psychopathology.

A review of the research revealed that individuals with measured ID were just as likely to experience the full-range of emotional and psychological problems as those with no measured cognitive and intellectual difficulties. They were more at risk of developing emotional problems; were likely to experience emotional problems more often, and were more likely to have been ‘mishandled’ in a setting where problems actually relating to

impeded social-emotional functioning were dealt with simply in line with a presentation typical of someone with a low IQ. The authors also state that the EPS was developed as a result of a prevailing lack of assessment measures specifically for use with the learning disabled as most instruments used with the general population did not provide norms for those with learning disability (LD) or were not suitable for use because the vocabulary and structure of the tools rendered them inappropriate and impossible to access. In short, the EPS was designed to identify maladaptive behaviours and emotional problems among adolescents and adults with 'borderline' intellectual abilities.

The EPS consists of two instruments: the Behaviour Rating Scales (BRS) and the Self-Report Inventory (SRI), both of which were specifically designed around the ability level and behavioural range of individuals with measured intellectual disability. The scales are intended to be used together as part of a "comprehensive clinical evaluation" (Prout & Strohmer, 1991. Professional Manual for the Behaviour Rating Scales and the Self-Report Inventory, p2).

### **The Behaviour Rating Scales (BRS)**

The BRS is completed by professional or other support personnel with knowledge of the individual client/ patient/ offender. The BRS comprises 135 items on which assessors indicate how often the individual rated demonstrates a range and variety of problem behaviours. The combined scores of the items are reflected in 12 clinical scales: Thought/behaviour disorder, verbal aggression, physical aggression, sexual maladjustment, noncompliance, distractibility, hyperactivity, somatic concerns, anxiety, depression, withdrawal, and low self-esteem.

These scales are then split to represent Externalising Behaviour Problems and Internalising Behaviour Problems. Ratings are standardised from the population of

adolescents and adults in the IQ range stated above, and the assessment is designed for administration by those with diverse training and in such positions as: work supervisors, teachers, counsellors and psychologists. The BRS takes approximately 15 minutes to complete.

### **The Self-Report Inventory (SRI)**

The SRI is a pencil-and-paper assessment which is made up of 147 items, each written using US ‘fourth grade or lower’ (age nine years or younger) vocabulary. Each item is read to the respondent, who reads along as much as possible with items presented in the printed test booklet and registers his/ her response to each item on the sheet. The authors cite research which indicates that adults with borderline or low-average IQ levels can validly complete self-report pencil-and-paper tests designed for use with individuals with average IQ levels when the information is presented orally (Prout & Schaeffer, 1985). Normative studies for the SRI show that approximately 95% of adolescents and adults with borderline and low-average IQ levels can complete the SRI with valid results. The psychometric properties – validity, reliability – will be covered in greater depth later in this chapter as part of the review of the tool.

The SRI yields scores for one validity scale: Positive Impression, and five clinical scales which form the Total Pathology Scale. These are: Thought/ behaviour disorder, impulse control, anxiety, depression and low self-esteem.

The SRI takes approximately 30 minutes to complete and can be administered on an individual basis or in a small group. The authors report that even those with attention problems can complete the SRI when it is administered individually.

## **Context of the development of the EPS in the literature of the time and in relation to the current study**

The EPS was published in 1991, at a time when little existed for the specific assessment of cognitive and social-emotional functioning in individuals with intellectual disabilities, yet, due to the increased interest in this population such assessments were needed to gauge the presence and/ or severity of problems in functioning. The concept of *diagnostic overshadowing* which describes how professionals working with the intellectually disabled often attribute presenting difficulties/ behaviours to the intellectual disability rather than looking elsewhere for possible causes or explanations, was particularly present in the literature in the 1980s, (e.g., Reiss, Levitan, & Syszko, 1983), and is still a concept for discussion and caution in the treatment of those with ID across social, educational, economic and health domains, including anti-social behaviour and offending. Those who have an intellectual disability and commit an offence are subject to the same legislation and same pathway through the Criminal Justice System (CJS). Understanding an individual's needs in this setting is vital and the possibility for misinterpreting behaviour where the needs are not clearly understood is great and could have far-reaching consequences for the individuals concerned, including punishments and sanctions that are not necessary and related restrictions on an individual's liberty (Hardy, Chaplin, & Woodward, 2010).

Between 20 - 30% of individuals entering the CJS and prison system are estimated to have an intellectual disability or learning difficulty that impacts on their experience and progress through their sentence (Loucks, 2006). Talbot and Riley (2007) describe the differences in definitions between intellectual disability (IQ of 70 or under) and learning difficulty, such as might be experienced by someone on the Autistic Spectrum of Disorders (ASD) where cognitive, social and affective functioning may present problems for the



individual's integration and progress through the prison system. Co-morbidity (the existence of more than one significant, identifiable and separate psychological and/ or psychiatric condition) and the approach to dealing with it provide more of an argument for the creation of an assessment tool which allows for the effective evaluation of emotional and social functioning of offenders with intellectual disability (Prout & Strohmer, 1991).

### **The study of Young Adults' (18-21 year olds) experiences in an adult (over 21) prison**

The EPS is relevant to this study more because it is a tool for use with this age group rather than its specific qualities for use with intellectual disability, however its utility has been demonstrated widely in studies of offending. As the study to which this critique links is focusing on the young adults' *experiences*, a measure of the emotional and behavioural problems they may have been facing has much relevance.

Other studies citing use of the EPS relate to a range of areas such as risk assessment in offenders with intellectual disability (Lindsay et al., 2008); data comparison across forensic services (Hogue et al., 2007); appraising risk of sexual and violent recidivism among intellectually disabled offenders (Camilleri & Quinsey, 2011); association between self-report and informant reports of emotional problems in a high secure ID sample (Lewis & Morrissey, 2010) and in the development of a programme – The Life Skills group – in forensic learning disability (Hearne, Garner, O'Mahony, Thomas, & Alexander, 2007). Ward and Bosek (2002) consider behavioural risk management of individuals with intellectual disability and Sondenaa, Rasmussen and Nottestad (2008) summarise from Norway some of the recent findings in the field of forensic issues related to intellectual disability and indicate that although much progress has been made assessing prevalence and measurement in the CJS such as service, treatment and new insights into violence and sexual offences, the authors

state the belief that differences between countries and cultures remains an area for further work.

### **Definition of terms**

In the USA, cognitive impairment and related issues in social functioning are widely referred to as *mental retardation*, mostly in line with terms as used in the key diagnostic manuals: e.g., the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (various editions). In the UK, the term *intellectual disability* (ID) is used alongside the terms *learning disability* and *learning difficulty* (LD/ LD). The British Institute of Learning Disability (BILD) defines learning disability as 'a state of arrested or incomplete development of mind': somebody with a learning disability has 'significant impairment of intellectual functioning and of adaptive/social functioning' (Northfield, p.2, 2004). It is the combination of these two elements that captures the understanding of learning disability. *Learning difficulty* is a term used with reference to a range of problems related to social integration and communication at times with associated difficulties in learning. Learning difficulties include such conditions as those on the autistic spectrum and those biosychosocial conditions such as dyspraxia (difficulties with gross motor co-ordination), dyslexia (problems with word recognition), dyscalculia (difficulties with number processing) and attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) where the individual experiences difficulty with concentration and with heightened activity levels and impulsivity. The terms are used together and separately and it is important to consider the implications of one upon the other when developing diagnoses and then treatment and services for individuals with these types of difficulties. Key to the definition and clarification of learning disability as related to intellectual functioning is the use of the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale Fourth Edition (WAIS-IV: Wechsler, 2008), however not all those with a learning difficulty will have a learning disability as measured by the WAIS.

## **Problems with psychometric assessment with learning disability**

Many psychometric tests involve questionnaires, pencil-and-paper responses, insight, attention and application, reading ability and understanding of written language. These are often the specific areas of deficit that are characteristic of intellectual disability. Assessment tests standardised on a 'normal' population cannot then be generalised to those with intellectual disability as the constructs and application and meaning are different (Finlay & Lyons, 2001). Attempts to develop effective psychological measure with this population have focused on designing and using specific professional informant-based assessments, such as the Psychiatric Assessment for Adults with Developmental Disabilities (Moss et al., 1998) and / or using modified versions of self-report measures developed for the general adult population.

There are relatively few studies specifically concerning the assessment of emotional and behavioural problems among offenders who have intellectual disabilities (Hogue *et al.*, 2007). Most focus on anger and aggression and some on anxiety and depression although these measures rely on modifications of existing instruments (for example, Lindsay & Lees, 2003) and are not designed for an ID population. Kellett et al. (2003) compared an 'assisted completion' format of the Brief Symptoms Inventory (BSI: Derogatis, 1993), a self-report measure, across samples from the community, clinical and high secure settings. The BSI was not designed for an ID population and some of the problems highlighted above were noted: items often used complex vocabulary and syntax which could limit understanding and lead to unreliable, and therefore meaningless, responses. It was concluded that while the BSI may have some application for the assessment of psychological distress in people with ID, the argument remains for the design and use of instruments that have been developed specifically for this client group. Concerning the area of risk assessment, this is problematic as, when some clinicians use their own assessments without properly establishing their predictive

validity, inconsistent identification of high risk offenders can result (Camilleri & Quinsey, 2011).

### **The professional manual for the EPS**

The Emotional Problems Scales (EPS), formerly known as the Prout-Strohmer Assessment System, comprises two instruments: the Behaviour Rating Scales (BRS) and the Self-Report Inventory (SRI). The materials that accompany the EPS consist of the 31-page professional manual, the 4-page BRS booklet, the 4-page SRI booklet, the SRI scoring templates and the EPS profile form. The first page of the BRS test booklet is where demographic information is recorded and where instructions are given for the rating of items and the rating scale values. The second, third and fourth pages provide the rating scale values, each behavioural item to be rated and spaces for recording the raw scale scores.

The first page of the SRI test booklet records demographic data and directions for the respondent for completing the scale. The rest of the booklet consists of the items to be rated. Spaces for recording raw scores are provided at the bottom of the fourth page. There are six scoring templates provided and each scale has a profile form for recording and profiling scores; the front side of the sheet contains the BRS profile and the reverse side contains the profile sheet for the SRI. Each profile area shows the raw scale scores, the associated normalised *T* scores and percentile scores.

The manual is set out into sections. The introduction describes rationale for, and the background to the tool. The test materials, the appropriate populations for which the tool is designed to be used and the professional requirements of those administering the tool are then set out in Section 2. Section 3 of the manual describes in detail the completion, scoring and interpretation of the BRS, how to plot the BRS profile, what the normative comparisons are

and how to interpret the clinical scales, including the externalising and internalising behaviour problems scales.

Section 4 of the manual describes the administration, scoring and interpretation of the SRI, which includes instructions for individual administration and in a small group with oral delivery of each item to be rated. Alternative administration procedures are also described which indicate that respondents who can read “at or above fourth grade level” (Manual, p9) may complete the SRI with no oral administration. Reading out each item to higher-functioning respondents can be distracting and therefore counter-productive so a further alternative administration procedure is described for lower functioning individuals where the respondent says his/ her response to each item aloud while the examiner records the answers in the test booklet. The authors state, however, that caution should be exercised when interpreting results gathered via any alternative administration methods as each alternative procedure deviates from the standard approach used to collect normative data. Instructions on scoring then follow, including descriptions of validity indicators, how to plot the SRI profile and interpretation of results based on normative comparisons. Each scale is then described and finally a paragraph on Total Pathology and what high scores in this scale represent.

Section 5 of the manual is concerned with normative and descriptive statistics. Normative data is explained (N=841 adult and adolescent subjects) and the criteria for inclusion, including recruitment methods and location. The manual states that those who met the measured IQ criterion but who did not require specialist services (special school or community programmes) were excluded from the sample. The sample cannot, therefore, be representative of those with low IQ not accessing special services. Of the 841 subjects in the normative sample, the manual states that 540 received both the BRS and the SRI. BRS data only was obtained from 133 subjects and SRI data only was obtained from 206 subjects. Of

the 746 subjects with SRI data, 38 were excluded from the final analysis because their responses called into question the validity of the SRI clinical scale data. The manual states that around 95% of the subjects in the SRI normative sample successfully completed the task and demographic characteristics of the 673 subjects who were administered the BRS and who comprised the BRS normative sample and the 746 subjects who were administered the SRI are presented in a Table format. The Table shows that males and females were almost equally represented in both the BRS and SRI samples. Ages ranged from 14 years to 73 years with a mean of 30.4 years ( $SD=12$  years) for the BRS sample and a mean of 29.4 years ( $SD=11.8$  years) for the SRI sample. The average IQ of the BRS sample was 68.4 and 69.1 for the SRI sample. Descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) for BRS and SRI scores were calculated from the data of the 673 subjects and the 708 subjects who formed the respective normative samples. This data is also presented in three Tables in the manual. A paragraph considering the influence of demographic variables on data collected from the normative samples to examine the possible effects of age, gender, race and IQ on BRS and SRI scores. None of the measures of association were found to be significant. A brief section describes how norms were calculated and these are presented in Appendixes B and C in the manual.

Section 6 in the manual describes in detail the development of the EPS; through a needs analysis based on clinical experience and a review of professional and research literature. Procedures in line with rational/ empirical model of test development were followed to guide the process. The authors attribute this guidance to the work of Burisch (1984) which states that approaches to scale construction should ensure validity, communicability and economy are evident. The relative importance of each will vary with the purpose for which the instrument is being constructed.

The EPS development then focuses on the selection of the scales used. The authors state that the initial literature review collected information about behavioural problems, emotional problems, psychopathology and other maladaptive behaviours and emotions shown by individuals with mental retardation. The process followed appears to be stringent and thorough; the literature review determined the most salient clinical features for assessing emotional problems in this population and a list of the most relevant areas was created.

Interviews were conducted with 15 professionals working in the area of intellectual disability which questioned what clinical variables they considered it would be useful to assess in this client group. These were added to the list from the review of the literature. The authors then reviewed other tests already in existence and a basis was formed for making decisions about the content areas of the EPS and the item formats for the BRS and the SRI.

Whether emotional problems were most effectively assessed by behaviour rating or modified self-report was considered. In addition to the final scale selections, the externalising and internalising scales and the total pathology scale, a scale to measure denial and positive impression management was included on the inventory as a validity measure.

A large pool of items was then developed for each of the scales. Vocabulary used for the SRI scale was assessed as within the parameters for below fourth grade reading level on the Harris and Jacobson (1982) vocabulary list, and items were rejected if they did not fit this criterion. This ensured the items could be understood by the respondent group within the age ranges specified (14 years and older). 12 raters then reviewed all EPS items for content accuracy, except for the Positive Impression scale of the SRI, which the authors state was rationally developed by them and not submitted for the expert rating process. The review panel members were selected on the basis of their background and training in Psychology and psychological processes and were asked to rate each item according to how well it reflected

the particular content of the clinical scale. Items were assessed on a 7-point scale where 1 indicated a low content validity and 7 indicating high content validity. Mean ratings were then calculated for each item and a cut-off score created to isolate the items to be retained.

Content validity was established by this method, however the authors do not appear to have used factor analysis to consider the items they selected and this may have provided additional psychometric weight to those items included in the final tool.

### **Reliability of the BRS and SRI**

Section 7 of the manual covers the reliability study examining the homogeneity of scale content by calculating internal consistency reliability coefficients (Cronbach, 1951) for each BRS scale. Coefficients ranged from .90 to .97 with a mean of .93, indicating high internal consistency (n=673). This seems particularly high, and may mean there are too many items in each scale. Inter-rater coefficients were also calculated (n=42) and ranged from .24 to .96 with a mean of .84. The reliability coefficient for Sexual Maladjustment was .24 and with the exception of this, the reliability coefficient for all the other scales was .79 or above. The authors state that an inspection of the Sexual Maladjustment scale revealed a limited range of scores to which the low inter-rater reliability coefficient was attributable. An additional consideration may be that sexual maladjustment in those with intellectual disability is not well understood (Thompson & Brown, 1997). The table below shows BRS Reliability Coefficients.

<b>BRS scale</b>	<b>Reliability coefficient</b>		
	Internal consistency (n=673)	Inter-rater (n=42)	Inter-rater and situational (n=26)
Thought/ behaviour disorder	.91	.80	.79
Verbal aggression	.93	.93	.88
Physical aggression	.94	.95	.93
Sexual maladjustment	.90	.24	.44



Noncompliance	.96	.90	.91
Hyperactivity	.90	.94	.83
Distractibility	.94	.91	.77
Anxiety	.91	.83	.76
Somatic concerns	.96	.79	.72
Withdrawal	.95	.85	.80
Depression	.91	.86	.76
Low self-esteem	.94	.80	.78
Externalising behaviour problems	.97	.96	.89
Internalising behaviour problems	.96	.88	.82

*Table 6. BRS Reliability Coefficients*

A similar process was undertaken to establish internal consistency reliability coefficients for each of the SRI scales for data collected from the normative sample. Coefficients ranged from .77 to .96 with a mean of .86. All these data are presented in Tables in the manual which makes for easy reference and accessibility (please see Table 7 below). Test-retest correlations ranged from .65 to .92 with a mean of .83. The authors state that all clinical scales, except Low Self-Esteem had acceptable test-retest reliability. Low Self-Esteem had a marginal test-retest reliability which was thought to be consistent with the state rather than the trait aspect of the construct, although the same could be said for Anxiety and Depression where test-retest reliability was more robust at .78 and .88 respectively. A second test-retest reliability study was conducted on a further sample of 36 subjects. Similar reliability coefficients were reported (range .66 to .90 with a mean of .82) which suggests that individuals with low cognitive and functional ability can reliably complete the SRI consistently, over time, although caveats for interpretation of the scales with correlation coefficients of only .65 and .66 should be made.

<b>SRI scale</b>	<b>Reliability coefficient</b>		
	Internal consistency (n=708)	Test-retest (initial reliability sample: n=41)	Test-retest (replication sample: n=36)
Positive impression	.96	.92	.90
Thought/ behaviour disorder	.84	.89	.85

Impulse control	.89	.88	.83
Anxiety	.86	.78	.82
Depression	.87	.88	.85
Low self-esteem	.81	.65	.66
Total Pathology	.77	.80	.80

*Table 7. SRI Reliability Coefficients*

### **Validity of the BRS and SRI**

The manual describes how the validity of the BRS was established. Firstly, a sample of 33 male and 11 female adolescents from a local Special school were rated with the BRS and another measure known as the Child Behaviour Checklist (CBCL: Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983), a scale assessing social-emotional and behavioural problems in children and adolescents. The CBCL has separate scales for males and females but with a small sample size such as  $n=11$ , only the male sample as described for this study was able to be used as a comparison with the BRS scales. It was predicted that scales measuring similar constructs (i.e. *convergent validity*) would correlate more highly than scales measuring dissimilar constructs (i.e. *discriminant validity*) and this was borne out in the results, presented in a Table format in the EPS professional manual. For example, Verbal Aggression (BRS scale) had a correlation coefficient of .83 with the Aggressive scale on the CBCL and .73 with Hyperactive (CBCL), however the coefficient was -.12 with the Schizoid scale and -.11 with Uncommunicative (CBCL). These correlations can be said to reflect essential differences and similarities from what we know about the nature of communication, aggression and a possible schizoid presentation.

A further study was carried out to look at the validity of the BRS in relation to another measure; the AAMD Adaptive Behaviour Scale (ABS; Nihira, Foster, Shellhaas & Leland,

1974), an informant-based measure with adaptive and maladaptive behaviour scales intended for use with intellectually disabled populations. 50 subjects were rated using the BRS and relevant scales only from the ABS. Correlations between the BRS and the adaptive scales of the ABS were mainly negative, as might be expected, whilst correlations were mainly positive between the BRS and the maladaptive scales of the ABS, findings which largely support the BRS as a valid measure of emotional and behavioural problems in the target population. Correlation coefficients were in a wide range (-.20 to .77), however were higher for convergent scales, for example, .66 for Rebellious behaviour (ABS maladaptive) and Noncompliance (BRS) and negative for divergent constructs e.g. -.01 for Withdrawal (ABS maladaptive) and Hyperactivity (BRS).

Separate ratings of 'global functioning' in 5 areas were collected on 113 subjects who were also rated on the BRS and these were then correlated. Results indicated that the functioning scales relating more directly to emotional and behavioural problems correlated moderately (range .12 to .50, mean .35); those relating to more general, task-oriented functioning such as the probability of future employment were quite low (-.23 to .05). The authors summarise further studies which have used the BRS and other scales normed on an ID population and report results which indicate that poorer vocational adjustment was associated with greater emotional and behavioural problems.

With the SRI, convergent and discriminant validity was examined by correlating the BRS and SRI scores from the subjects from the normative study (n=540) who received both measures. The results suggest 'small to moderate' association between self-reports and actual behaviour ratings which the authors state is consistent with other studies which have examined the relationship between self-reported and informant-based ratings of behaviour and propose that this reflects actual differences between the two perspectives rather than failings in the measurements used. They support this conclusion with another study using

two smaller samples, one comparing the convergent and discriminant validity of the SRI with an anxiety scale for use with children (the Revised Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale: RCMAS; Reynolds & Richmond, 1985) (n=22) and the other comparing the SRI with the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI: Beck, Ward, Mendelson, Mock & Erbaugh, 1961) (n=19). Rewording RCMAS items specific to children to make them apply to adolescents and adults was required. Depression on the BRS correlated highly with the BDI (.74) and Anxiety on the SRI correlated highly (.83) with the Worry/ Over-sensitivity scale of the RCMAS. The correlation coefficients are recorded for all the scales in a Table format.

The manual concludes with a summary which states that the results of reliability studies indicate that the BRS and the SRI are consistent and stable measures and the patterns of correlations found in other studies support the validity of both measures of emotional and behavioural problems in individuals with measured intellectual disabilities. My own view is that the scales are sufficiently rigorous measures and provide the means for user-friendly assessment of an important area of consideration when working with this population; emotional problems rather than simply the behavioural manifestations of these.

### **The EPS reviewed**

Hoy (1996) begins her review with a description of each of the scales of the tool, a summary of the scoring and the qualifications needed by those interpreting the results. She states that for both components of the EPS, *T* scores of greater than or equal to 70 are considered significant; *T* scores in the 60-69 range are suggestive of behavioural difficulty and scores equal to or less than 59 are considered to be within the normal range. Hoy states that the *standard error of measurement* (SEM) was not considered in the score interpretations although Prout and Strohmer offer descriptions of all the scales in both the BRS and the SRI as an aid to "generating interpretative hypotheses" (p. 304). Whilst, Hoy states, the manual

warns caution should be given to extraneous factors that may influence scores, she expresses the view that more emphasis should be placed on the EPS being used as only one element of a 'comprehensive, multi-method evaluation'. The availability of software and its hardware compatibility is mentioned as an aid to score interpretation, percentile ranks and interpretative analysis, and Hoy acknowledges the caution contained in the software manual against sole use of the computer-generated report (against clinical interpretation and case-specific presentation of the results and interpretation).

In her evaluation of the test development and technical characteristics of the EPS, Hoy is generally critical of the absence of studies which support the authors' 'generalisations' about the susceptibility of people with 'mental retardation'. She is also critical of the authors referring to the target populations as "mentally retarded persons", expressing the preferred term 'persons with intellectual disabilities or mental retardation' to reflect a description more in line with federal legislation (Americans with Disabilities Act, 1991) and what she states to be good practice, which places emphasis on the person rather than the disabling condition. She expresses concern that the reader is unclear how the percentages reported for 'numerous characteristics' in the standardisation sample compare with specific prevalence data across a wider population, and that the 'largest percentage of the sample used for norming' came from the north east of the USA to the exclusion other areas such as the west and south west, and ethnically was 'predominantly White (83% and 85%) with Blacks (13% and 11% and other races (4%) even less well represented' in the norming sample. Hoy points out that it is not possible to tell if this sample is representative of the general ('mentally retarded') population, because no comparison data is supplied. She describes concerns about some of the reliability and validity data, however states that this might be addressed with additional studies being conducted.

Hoy concludes that “significant conceptual and technical problems interfere with the actual usefulness of the EPS” (p. 306) and suggests ‘more thorough reporting of demographic, factor analytic and variance data’. She expresses particular reservations about the age range of the target population (14 to 75 years) being regarded as one group and states that this is not in line with theories of personality development and emotional problems. Furthermore she considers that viewing those with mental retardation as ‘large children’ – which she considers is the assumption made by drawing comparisons with the Child Behaviour Checklist – is “uncomfortably at odds with the literature on adult development” (p. 307). Hoy suggests that the EPS is not the best tool to measure issues relating to specific populations with dual diagnoses, and notes the importance of continuing to find better ways to do this. Subsequent studies have acknowledged the ‘rigorous psychometric methods’ used by Prout & Strohmer to develop the EPS (e.g., Hogue et al., 2007) and my own view sits in balance of both, with the conclusion that the attempts to create a tool that appears to structure an understanding of emotional and behavioural problems in clients – and specifically offenders – is a welcome addition to existing clinical assessments used with the intellectually disabled population. I echo the view that use should form part of the wider, multi-faceted approach to the assessment and treatment of offenders but find this tool accessible and satisfactorily, psychometrically sound.

## **Conclusion**

The EPS is a psychometric assessment offering two scales – behaviour rating by a key worker and a self-report scale – for the identification of emotional and behavioural problems specifically, in a population of those with measured disabilities in intellectual (and associated socially-impaired) functioning. It has a professional manual with well-reported psychometric properties which represent the authors’ view that they have created a psychometrically-robust tool to assist in the identification and management of those with intellectual disabilities and

emotional and behavioural issues. It has been criticised, however, that there does not appear to have been any major adjustments to the tool in light of the above criticisms and since its original publication in 1989 it has only been revised once, two years later. In a number of other spheres the tool receives positive acclamation and appears to have wide utility in forensic settings, being cited in studies of risk assessment (Lindsay et al., 2008), risk of sexual and violent recidivism (Camilleri & Quinsey, 2011), in a study of comparison across different forensic services (Hogue et al., 2007) and in the development of intervention programmes (Hearne et al., 2007) with the target population. The tool appears to be best used as one element of a multi-disciplinary, clinically-advised and formulated treatment and management approach, which, if used in this way, addresses one of its key criticisms. In my view, its applicability for use in prison settings makes it a positive addition to the battery of psychological assessment tools available.

One difficulty with its use in a prison setting, however, is that not all prisoners have a key worker allocated, and although the ‘personal officer scheme’ operates in many prisons, this can be in name only and therefore no single person may know the client well enough to be able to complete the behaviour checklist with the knowledge and insight required. Nevertheless, in a climate of developing services for those with an intellectual disability in prison, the flag of identified ID could lead to the prioritisation of a key worker/ advocate/ personal officer and in my opinion, the creation of such a protocol would represent a positive step forward in the approach to those with ID.

Throughout, the terms ID and LD have been used interchangeably; this leads to a critical observation of the terminology in the manual – and one upon which Cheri Hoy comments – which is the use of the term ‘mentally retarded’ to describe the target population, although her objections are on different grounds (as explored above). Not all tools and

associated literature cross cultures and language and this is a point to consider in application and use.

The EPS has utility as one tool among a wider service provision for those with identified learning disability. It is for use with offenders and for those in the age range 18-21, which is the target group for the study of young adults offenders' experiences in an adult prison, as presented in Chapter 3. Further research should consider how we assess those with learning disability beyond the identification and assessment of their disability; when looking at young people's experiences a measure of emotion and behaviour has relevance and utility.



## **Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion**

### **Aim of thesis**

The preceding chapters in the submission of this thesis have described the background and rationale to a study of topical interest to psychologists working with offenders in prisons. The aim was to identify the need for research, thoroughly review the existing literature related to it, to conduct a topical and relevant study and to present this in entirety, together with a critical evaluation of a psychometric assessment that could have utility with, and add value to knowledge and information about the young people on whom the study is based. The thesis finally seeks to consider recommendations to make for practice and improved service for the young people in Wales who are being housed and integrated with adults.

Forensic psychology is concerned with all matters relating to law and judicial processes (Gudjonsson & Haward, 1998). Multi-dimensional elements to this thesis draw together theories from many of the applied fields of psychology, as well as social, legal and developmental influences on the judicial processes that deal with offenders at various ages. The information gathered in the course of this thesis has extended knowledge and awareness of law and treatment of offenders across the world. This has been both revealing and relevant as the research has allowed psychological analysis of evidence from an historical and international perspective. The thesis considers much information on the policy and practice of incarcerating young, male offenders and has allowed exploration of how the recent practice of integrating young offenders (aged between 18 and 21 years) with adult offenders (over 21 years of age) has affected the young people themselves, and more widely from further consideration of the issues raised, facilitated commentary and thought amongst service providers. A presentation of the study and its key recommendations has already been made to policy makers and leading figures involved in the senior management of prisons in

Wales. What is hoped is that the discussion and engagement that resulted from that forum (Custody meeting, Wales), can be taken forward in a constructive and timely way as noted at the time. A brief summary of each of the chapters, how they link together to frame the research question and how they contribute to the academic whole, follows below.

### **Summary of content of thesis**

The chapters have followed a chronological route. Chapter 1 presents the background and rationale for the research topic. When considering a valid research question for investigation at this level; what field to be covered, subject question and purpose to which the results will be applied, a key ‘needs analysis’ must be undertaken. This was established locally in the service in Wales, and presented in the first chapter of the thesis. In this case, it is set in the context of the recent practice of imprisoning young offenders in adult prisons for periods of remand and whilst awaiting sentence. Formerly these young people would have been housed separately, either in separate accommodation within a main prison location, or within an entirely separate facility, such as a Young Offender Institute (YOI) in line with the prevailing policy and opinion of the time (for example, as specified in a Home Office report on the imprisonment of young offenders; Fossi, 2006).

Much of the literature reviewed as a background to the study suggested that integrating young adult male offenders with older male offenders has negative outcomes and chapter one describes this as a review of much of this previous work. Not much of the research had come from studies conducted in the UK, however, and in presenting the case for this study, consideration of the need for topical, rigorous investigation of the possible effects of the practice of mixing the age groups in prisons in England and Wales indicated the gap in evidence-based evaluation. Thus the rationale was established.

Chapter 2 sets out a detailed, systematic review of the literature available to facilitate and authenticate academic investigation. This is underpinned by a clearly defined procedure of rigorous searching through academic publications and archived documentation relating to the field of study of interest. For this study, searches of databases likely to hold papers of relevance to the field of psychology, forensic practice and specifically the incarceration of young adult offenders with those over the age of 21 years were undertaken; this is detailed throughout the chapter. As the background was established in Chapter 1, initial searches indicated there was quite a lot published in the way of research conducted with young offenders, about young offenders' presentation and criminogenic needs; about the aetiology of their criminal behaviour and about the offences committed by young people. Literature on the specific issue of incarcerating young adult offenders with their adult counterparts was less obvious: surprising, given how the practice appears to be on the increase in England and Wales, and most of the existing research seems to warn against it.

What was more readily available was commentary on the perils of prosecuting and imprisoning *juvenile* offenders with adults. Juveniles, for the purpose of definition, are under 18 years of age. In legal terms in many countries, laws governing the treatment and processes relating to juveniles are completely different. The Juvenile Offenders Act, 1847 was the first statute in the UK that distinguished between adult and juvenile offenders (Arthur, 2010). With this distinction came the separate identification of welfare measures against legal processes regarding the treatment of very young offenders. Those under the age of 16 are often subject to child protection legislation, embedded in the Human Rights laws of many western cultures. Even where these safeguards are waived, in cases where, for instance in the US, the crime committed is considered to be so serious, the young person can only be tried in an adult court and subjected to the outcomes normally reserved for adults, there is fairly universal objection to the practice of treating juveniles as adults. What is less clear is

how these legal, moral and social restrictions on exposing juveniles to adult courts and custodial dispositions become blurred when an offender reaches the age of 18 years, especially as in some countries there is no cut-off age in law (Storgaard, 2005).

This made searching for the relevant published work for the systematic review more focused, but also less fruitful. By deciding to concentrate only on papers that cited data gathered from 18-21 year olds in the adult judicial system, the resulting papers which met the inclusion criteria on this basis alone were quite few in number. And all were from countries outside the UK. This made the results less generalisable to a UK population, for all the reasons of culture, law and social governance. Once a young person reaches the age of adulthood in law; that is, at the age of 18 years, the cut-off for legal processing becomes clearer, however the developmental, social and wider criminogenic factors pertaining to this age group are less distinct. The systematic review presented in this chapter explores many of these issues and considered seven academic papers from a variety of theoretical and cultural viewpoints. The papers included are assessed for quality in terms of approach, content and appropriate formulation: the differences in quality were surprising given the rigour of peer review and the requirements of the academic journals in which they appeared setting certain standards of quality in order for them to reach publication in the first place. The timing of the systematic review was such that the searches were undertaken after the data for the actual study had been collected. This was to keep to a minimum any bias that the papers may have brought to bear on the researcher and on the interpretation of the data collected. The systematic review provides the literature backdrop to the research study conducted, which formed Chapter 3 and is described below.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the research project undertaken for this study. It describes the qualitative approach and the rationale for it, and clearly presents the research question in light of this. For the previous 18 months, only 40 to 50 young adult offenders

have been housed in the adult prison, and only for periods whilst on remand and convicted but awaiting sentence. The length of stay was therefore uncertain. Investigating what the young people themselves thought about being in the main prison with adults lent itself to qualitative methodology; specifically Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA; Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009) and formed the basis and structure of the study.

The in-depth analysis of the results revealed interesting themes which both reiterated many of the theories about the factors underpinning the behaviour of young people, and allowed meaningful changes to the regime and approach offered to them to be considered. The findings did not suggest that the practice of imprisoning young offenders with adults was entirely bad; the young people themselves highlighted important aspects such as the more relaxed atmosphere, less fighting, fewer volatile incidents and proximity to home and family for visits and support which were surprising, given the generally negative flavour of previous studies. The themes that emerged from the detailed interpretation of what the young people were saying in this study suggest that their needs are not being best met by being integrated with the adult population alone; additional facilities, alternative approaches and adapted resources would help more effectively address the issues raised by their age and presentation, much of which is to be expected from their developmental, familial and social factors. Developing approaches and strategies to address these elements will be more likely to target their sentence plans and make their time in prison more purposeful.

Points raised in the discussion section of the study in Chapter 3 highlighted certain aspects of vulnerability in the young people; an area where offenders can be said to have additional and specific needs is where there is a learning or intellectual disability (ID). One problem in prison is that often ID is not detected, therefore no targeted measures can be deployed to help the individual concerned. The development and introduction of screening tools for ID are more widely being discussed in prisons and Service provider forums

nationally, following the publication of the 'No-One Knows' report (Talbot & Riley, 2007); however at this time, no identification is made of these particular needs. Nevertheless, offenders with ID are vulnerable in a variety of ways in prisons and with young offenders the problems can be exacerbated by their age.

This point, raised in the discussion section of Chapter 3, leads to the critique of a psychometric tool for the assessment of emotional problems in offenders with ID, the specifications of which make it suitable for use with young offenders in the age range in the study: 18 to 21 years. This is discussed in Chapter 4.

The psychometric tool evaluated is the Emotional Problems Scales (EPS: Prout & Strohmer, 1991) and, as stated above, has standardisation norms for offenders 14 years of age and above. This makes it entirely suitable for use with the participant group of interest in the current study. There is much in the literature surrounding work in the area of intellectual disability which suggests the need for a means of assessment of behavioural problems in this group. Often, it is claimed (e.g., Herrington, 2009) that negative behaviours shown by individuals with ID are artefacts of the disability/ learning profile and therefore as somehow an integral part of the individual's 'condition', behaviour or psychopathology. An assessment which discriminates between emotionally-driven cognitions and behaviours has potential utility for care pathways and individual care/ learning plans. With offenders this information additionally can easily be applied to sentence planning, and the identification of key personnel such as personal officers means that developing awareness and skills in dealing with some of the issues presented by offenders with ID, these issues can be targeted and at least partially ameliorated.

The EPS was not used to collect data in the current study, however its utility and relevance are discussed and it is established as a valid assessment tool for helping to develop

and improve services in the future. It would be of particular benefit and a credit to multi-disciplinary working if improvement in assessment and services for offenders with learning/intellectual disabilities as a result of recommendations made in the No-One Knows report were to be effectively applied to the management and containment of young adults with ID. The links and potential benefits are highlighted as a result of the current study.

### **Theoretical implications**

The theoretical implications of this study relate primarily to how the knowledge base of the psychological, developmental and criminogenic needs of young adult offenders established in the literature links with the findings from the study; what the young people themselves said about their experiences in a prison with adults, and what sense the interpretative analysis was able to make of this in light of the current practice. The findings support neurological and developmental theories that adolescents are different; they mature in different ways and at different times. Milestones, it seems are somewhat arbitrary, and age ‘cut-offs’ defining adulthood are not always helpful; neither do they encapsulate the vulnerability, moral maturity, perseverance or many other skills, characteristics and attributes that should be encouraged. The theories of adolescence, development and the criminal behaviour of young people – especially young males – indicate approaches to behaviour modification, attitudinal change and rehabilitation require strategies informed and designed with these issues in mind. The theories should inform the practice, however this is only effective if those working with the young people are appropriately ‘informed’; staff need to know that their daily interactions with young offenders will be more positive and ultimately more rewarding, if their approach and practices are based around the theory of the young person’s cognitive, developmental, emotional behavioural needs. Recommendations based on theory can and have been made, and it is hoped that principles and practice can be developed to enhance working with this group both in the prison in the current study, and

then extended to other prisons charged with delivering services to these sometimes difficult, but often rewarding, group.

## **Practical implications**

The practical implications relate to day-to-day policies and procedures that occur in prisons in approaches to and interactions with young offenders. Senior managers were interested and open to suggestions for improved practice based on the research. Some of these will be relatively straightforward to implement, some may take longer and will involve planning, interdisciplinary working and cooperation and possibly training and raising of awareness to skill and inform those who are in frontline contact with these young people. It is an exciting challenge and one which we have already begun to implement.

At the moment, the young adult offenders in the prison where the study was carried out, are all randomly located across all prison locations – except the lifer wing. This makes targeting staff for awareness raising and skills training more difficult as so many staff work on the different wings/ landings and the turn-over is high. One of the recommendations from the study was that the work/ leisure regime should be adapted for young people to meet the needs they have as indicated in the literature and in the findings of the study. This could lead to specialist provision being developed in designated areas of the prison to deliver education, perhaps parenting and other occupational courses/ programmes that are designed and delivered in a way that has this group in mind. This is about modifying the approach already followed without changing outright the policy of housing the two populations together – which has the undisputed benefit of reducing the number of fights between young people, and targets services to their needs in a way that will be most easily accessed by them.

Other policies can be developed along similar lines, and have been proposed. One area - Learning and Skills – is key to this group of young people. One suggestion is that the



subjects provided must be of interest to the young people – most of whom have been exposed to little but failure and disaffection in all previous experiences of school, classrooms, teachers and learning. The lesson for providers is that education in prison needs to be taken to the young people in such a way that they will choose to learn, and learning will be adapted to suit them, in ways it never has before. Parenting information, sexual health, diet, relationships, art, leisure, recognition of strengths, realistic careers advice, vocational guidance could all be made accessible to young people through tailored approaches by motivated, well-informed instructors in small groups, through a variety of media known to facilitate engagement and learning.

Employability should be a target; not reinforcement of the perceptions the young people already have of themselves, that their criminal record and prison sentence makes them useless, unchangeable and unwanted. This needs to be modelled positively by prison Labour Boards giving young people jobs, having given them the skills by which to be viable and competitive. In this way, we may be able to develop the young person's perseverance to stick at something they have worked for and value. The prison regime should be aiming to help the young person increase his self control; learn to evaluate the decisions he makes to improve the quality of them. The regime and approach should be aiming to help the young men to develop 'internality'; to take responsibility for themselves and their progress whilst encouraging each to emerge as his own person, with his own identity, rather than reinforcing the uniformity of the in-group which erodes individuality and allows the individual to be defined by the negative influences of the mob.

### **Limitations of thesis**

The thesis has limitations: as far as can be ascertained, it is the first investigation into the effects of incarcerating 40-50 young men aged 18 to 21 years amongst 800 adult male

offenders in England and Wales. There are no comparators, and no statistics upon which to test theory and probability. Inherent in the qualitative methodology is the great depth and richness of insight and data it yields, but from a sample size so small it allows no generalisation across the population. There is no expectation from qualitative data that the findings can be said to speak more widely; however from the five participants interviewed, another five would yield their own insights and be a completely new study. Much of the previous work into young offenders focuses on behaviour that can be measured; assaults, fights, violent indisciplines, rule violations, self-harm, drug use and more, but the methodologies used yield numerical data; *number* of assaults over a certain period, *number* of incidents of hostage-taking where a young person is the perpetrator and so on. No such data was collected for this study and this could be said to be a limitation, if we want to measure differences, measure change and test theories.

### **Future research**

There are many other aspects to the incarceration of young people with adult offenders that are not examined in this study. For example, management might think that the practice is sound because of economies of scale (it must cost less to keep a young offender on remand locally and near the court where he will be tried and sentenced), however the views of management were not solicited, nor were the costs compared. The views of prison officers were not gathered, either on the practice of mixing the age groups, or on the number of assaults they have witnessed, or whether these are less as a result, in their opinion, of the integration. These views are important and would enhance any investigation such as this.

Future study could be made where the focus is on groups other than just convicted/unsentenced young men. The remand population would be another interesting group from which to sample views/ data; also the adult offenders would be likely to provide further interesting insights. Finally, data from other prisons where the practice is taking place would

provide useful data for comparison and review. It is hoped that the thesis could interest and generate further study to extend the limited pool of research data that is available to date on the topic of imprisoning young male offenders with adult male offenders.

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# APPENDICES



## Appendix 1

### **Quality assessment (after Critical Appraisal Skills Programme; CASP questions to help make sense of research studies)**

1. Did the study address a clearly focused issue with stated aims?
2. Is the methodology clear and appropriate to the research question?
3. Were the participants recruited appropriately?
4. Were controls (if applicable) appropriately selected?
5. Were ethical issues considered and implemented?
6. Were researcher/ participant dynamics considered and accounted for (for potential bias, inter-rater reliability where applicable etc)?
7. Were all confounding variables identified/ accounted for?
8. Was the data analysis explained and appropriate?
9. Were the results clearly stated, relevant and rigorous?
10. Can the results be generalised? Were limitations discussed? Were areas for future research presented?

## Appendix 2

### **Data extraction form**

Title of study, year, authors.

Research aim

Participants – who were the participants? What was the sample size? What age were the participants?

Results

Quality rating assigned

Contribution to understanding of experiences and consequences for young adult offenders in adult criminal justice system

Conclusion

### Appendix 3 – Ethics Approval form

[Not available in the digital version of this thesis]

## Young Adults' Experiences in Prison: A Study

### Information for Participants

- This study is looking at Young Adults' experiences in prison – mainly HM Prison. It is being run by a forensic psychologist and will be submitted as part of a Doctoral thesis in Forensic Psychology.
- The study will involve a semi-structured interview (SSI) – where the interviewer asks a schedule of questions to prompt participants' thoughts about their experiences in prison.
- The interviewer will write notes during the session and the interview will be recorded on a small audio recording device so that all the information is retained. After all the interviews have taken place, the recordings will be *transcribed* (written down word for word) and then all the information will be *analysed* by the researcher in a way directed by a method of *qualitative research*. The researcher will explain this to you.
- The information each participant gives will be *confidential*; that is to say no names will be used in the study, however for Security and ethical reasons, once a participant has agreed to take part in the study, they and the information they give will be assigned a code, only identifiable by the researcher.
- The researcher has a duty to pass on any concerns arising from the interview that may relate to an individual's safety, distress, or anything which may affect the security of the prison.
- All information will be stored safely and securely in a locked cabinet. Only the researcher and a small number of other suitably qualified people will have access to the information.
- You will be asked to sign your name to agree to take part in this study. The consent form will summarise the information contained in this sheet.
- It is requested that once an individual has agreed to take part in the study they do not withdraw once the interview stage has concluded.
- You will be informed of the outcome of the study, should you wish and consulted about any information you may feel is sensitive.
- It is hoped that this study will eventually be published. It is one of the first of its kind in this country and the results may be of wide interest. The consent form will establish you are aware of this and knowingly agree.

P Thody C.Psychol. Lead researcher, NOMS Wales. October 2010.

## **Young Adults' Experiences in Prison: A Study**

### **Consent Form**

I confirm that I have seen the 'Information for Participants' sheet relating to this research, have had it explained to me and that I understand the information it contains.

#### **I consent to the following:**

- To be interviewed by a qualified forensic psychologist and to speak about my experiences in prison
- The information being recorded both in written form by the interviewer and on audio recording equipment
- The researcher passing on information I give which may relate to my, or others' safety to the relevant agencies.

#### **I understand and agree to the following:**

- My name and prison number will be coded by the researcher so that I cannot be identified by non-interested third parties
- I can withdraw my participation at any time until the interview process is complete. After then I understand the information I gave will be used in the study
- All the information relating to this study will be stored *ethically* (according to psychologists' Code of Conduct for research), safely and securely in a locked cabinet. The only people who will have access to this information are the researcher and other appropriately qualified personnel.
- I will be consulted about any person-sensitive information before the research findings are presented locally
- The *data* (research information from the interviews) will be destroyed by the researcher after a period of time directed by the Data Protection legislation in respect of academic research
- The information will be written up and submitted as part of a doctoral thesis in forensic psychology
- The study may be published in selected professional Journals after completion
- That this study may be the first of its kind in this country and the results may be important and may influence prison policy and practice.

## Appendix 6 – Semi-Structured Interview schedule (SSI)

1. Please describe to me what your experience of prison has been like? (*Narrative-type question*). Prompts: What were you expecting? How does it compare with what you were expecting?
2. Tell me what you have found that has been positive and what has been negative? (*Contrast question*). Prompts: How has that made you feel? How have you coped?
3. What has your experience of other prisoners been like? (*Descriptive*). Prompts: How have you got on with them?
4. Tell me what you thought about coming into prison with an older population (*Narrative*). Prompt: What were you expecting it to be like?
5. What do you think the other prisoners think of you? (*Circular question*). Prompts: What is it like with the mixed age groups?
6. Tell me how safe you feel in prison (*Narrative*). Prompts: What is the atmosphere like? How do you manage/ cope?

That is the end of the interview. Thank you for taking part. Are there any questions you would like to ask about the study or about what happens next?

Debrief: What are you going to do this morning/ afternoon when you go back to the wings?

How are you feeling?

Appendix 7 – Line-by-line coding tables

Line-by line coding; generating interpretations: Steve	Transcript excerpt	Checking against core content
<p>Prison is <i>boring</i>:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stuck in cell for long periods of time</li> <li>• Even though you're let out, you get 'banged up' again</li> <li>• Can apply for work (to get out of cell) but no point because out in 2 weeks</li> </ul> <p><b>(Making excuses)</b> – easier to blame others or the system?</p> <p>Staff (especially education staff) <i>treat me badly</i>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I tried hard but they 'treated me like shit'</li> <li>• Staff have a bad attitude</li> <li>• I am not being treated like a person but as a prisoner</li> <li>• An officer kicks the cell doors in the morning to wake people up.</li> </ul> <p><b>(I'd like to be treated with respect)</b></p> <p>Staff don't help you.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I asked for help (once?)</li> <li>• Was told I should know how to do it</li> </ul> <p><b>(I needed help)</b> – but it was hard to ask?</p> <p>█████ prison is <i>not as good</i>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Different from █████ (private prison) because an adult prison</li> <li>• Adults and YOs but housed separately (in █████)</li> <li>• The YO block was more</li> </ul>	<p>It's boring because you're stuck in your cell 23 hours a day. (Out for certain activities) but then you're still banged up all day. (Can apply for work) but I'm going to be out in 2 weeks that's all. I'll be going to a different jail; I'll apply for something there.</p> <p>Well, I tried doing education but I just couldn't get on with the staff; they just treat me like shit, just their attitude towards you. They just treat us like cons – which we are – but still, they just don't treat us like people in this jail. Some staff are all right but most of them just wind you up over there. When a guy's kicking your door at half 7 in the morning just to wake you up, to take the piss, then walking off. Just winding you up.</p> <p>Their attitude's just disgusting. They try starting an argument and treating you like shit. When you ask them for help, they're not willing to help you and tell you you should know how to do it.</p> <p>When I was in █████ on the education it was all good. It's different here because this is an adult prison, isn't it. I mean don't get me wrong, I was mixed with adults in █████ but obviously when I'm on my way back to the wing you'd be separated, the YOs. It was</p>	<p><i>Object of concern:</i> I spend a lot of time in my cell (23 hours a day).</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Prison is 'boring'. Although I can do something about it I choose not to.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> The staff in prison treat me badly.</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I tried education and failed. It was not my fault.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Help should be available.</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I asked for help and was told I should know how to do it myself. I feel aggrieved.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> YOs mixed with adult prison population</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Different, not necessarily better, YOs</p>

<p>hyperactive. <b>(Prefers the YOs separate from the adults?).</b></p> <p>Prison induction varies.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>You're 'supposed' to go to an induction wing</li> <li>I went onto F wing</li> </ul> <p><b>(Things are done differently)</b> – I was treated unfairly?</p> <p>On being told going to [REDACTED] prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Knows other prisoners</li> </ul> <p><b>(- 'I got other boys')</b> –importance of knowing other prisoners and of fitting in?</p> <p>Prison is <i>shitty</i>:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There's nothing to do</li> <li>Boredom</li> </ul> <p><b>(There is nothing good about prison)</b> – I'll make sure of this?</p> <p>Of the facilities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Doesn't use the library</li> <li>Would rather borrow from someone he knows</li> <li>Likes reading but 'wastes a day' if reads(?)</li> </ul> <p><b>(There are things to do in prison)</b> – but he chooses not to do them?</p> <p>What a typical day is like:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I don't do much</li> </ul>	<p>just all the younger generation weren't it, stuck on one block. I wouldn't say it was better, more hyperactive.</p> <p>You're supposed to go on for induction there on C wing but I didn't do it, do you know what I mean? They just put me straight up onto F wing (the remand wing). Obviously unless I done my induction I can't move to the gym or nothing like that.</p> <p>Told I'm going to [REDACTED] because I'm on remand that's why, all the YOs, they don't allow them at Parc no more. I'll get sentenced then go there. I didn't think it mattered really. It's just another jail. I got other boys in this jail.</p> <p>I was expecting exactly what I got: jail. Just shitty jail. Nothing to do, boredom.</p> <p>Well, I read books but I can't say I've taken any out of the library. I plan on borrowing from this boy up my road, he brought loads of books in, I just started reading his books. I don't take books from the library because I wouldn't take them back. I don't like giving things away, even though they're not mine. I don't like reading books I gets too into them, then realise I've wasted the best part of a day on a book. Normally I'd just sleep.</p> <p>Not very active in the day (so more difficult to sleep). On the daytime TV there's not much. Nothing to</p>	<p>together 'more hyperactive'.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> The induction process</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I had to wait longer to be able to go to the gym. Feel slightly aggrieved again – treated unfairly?</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Being told going to the adult prison</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I don't care where I go, jail is jail. Better if I know other people there (<b>'my boys'</b>).</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> What prison is like</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Prison is a bad experience, there's nothing to do, I'll get bored.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Some of the facilities available in prison</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I like to read but can make this a negative thing.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> (Lack of) things to do</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> prison is</p>
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<p>• There's not much on the TV <b>(It's boring)</b> – I've got things to do but they don't seem to occupy me much?</p> <p>Exercise:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The whole wing goes out on the exercise yard <b>(There's nowhere to sit)</b> – criticism?</li> <li>Knows lots of people <b>(Seems important to know people? =&gt; 'my boys')</b>.</li> </ul> <p>Positive things about prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Have stopped drinking alcohol</li> </ul> <p>On getting help in prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>No help on induction wing - <b>(didn't spend long enough there?)</b></li> </ul> <p>About sharing cells:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Has had quite a few different cell-mates in a short time</li> <li>Generally gets on OK with them, except one he didn't like</li> <li>Doesn't have much say over who shares with – <b>(but</b></li> </ul>	<p>do really except 'chill'. Work out in your cell, write a letter or something, just wait to go off (to sleep).</p> <p>Go out on exercise in the morning. It's all right – they should give you benches though. The whole wing goes out. It's OK – it works fine. I know loads of people. A lot of the people I know in jail I know from jail. You can't just talk to anyone on exercise, do you know what I mean?</p> <p>I mean obviously I've stopped drinking – not that I was drinking a lot on the out but I'm not drinking anymore. I can't say I'm never going to have another drink for the rest of my life. It's hard to say but I'll try.</p> <p>Well they didn't do nothing on C wing at all (induction wing), like nothing for us. I was only on there 2 days then they kicked us straight over F wing (remand wing). I didn't know nothing. But I preferred going to F wing, it's bigger and there's less bang up. On induction you're only let out for about half an hour.</p> <p>I was padded up with the same boy I was with on C wing. I've had 7 pad-mates. I'm on my 7<sup>th</sup> one now but I'll be out before he gets moved. A couple of them have got out; a couple were shipped to [REDACTED] I've got on OK with most of them; one I didn't like but he moved – I just went out of the cell one day, came back and he was gone. I</p>	<p>boring again. I've got things to do but they are dull.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Exercise and the amenities.</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I'm OK on the exercise yard because I know people. It's important to be part of the group (<i>in-group?</i>)</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> alcohol</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Pleased? to have stopped drinking in prison, less sure about ability to maintain this.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> getting help</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> slightly aggrieved – but didn't want to spend more time on induction wing anyway?</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> number of different cell-mates</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I prefer to share with someone from my area (- need to belong to group quite strong).</p>
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<p><b>states has to be from ‘my area’</b> – group membership?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Can’t share with a ‘taffy’ (someone from Welsh Valleys or Swansea)</li> <li>• From Birmingham is OK – even though English – rather than from ‘out-groups’ in Wales?</li> </ul> <p>More about cell-sharing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It’s about the person....but about where they’re from (which is more important?)</li> <li>• The way people speak (their local accents) defines where they are from</li> </ul> <p>Rapid turnover in cell-mates is unsettling:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It takes the piss, seeing so many people coming and going – (‘while I’m still here’).</li> </ul> <p>Being on remand is not good:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There’s <i>no point</i> trying to apply for work on remand (<b>Loss of hope</b>) – <i>way of coping with disappointment? Or an excuse?</i></li> </ul>	<p>think he went to B block. But it’s all right because I always get padded up with boys from my ends, do you know what I mean? I told the Govs, I can’t be padded up with a ‘taffy’ or someone like that because that would just drive me nuts. I want to share with someone from my area, who I’ve got things in common with. I’ve been padded up with 4 [REDACTED] boys apart from one of them was from Birmingham although I said I don’t mind that.</p> <p>It’s all about the person, do you know what I mean? But it’s also, like, I can’t stand the taffy accent, that’s all it is. If they put me in a cell with someone speaking like that it would just drive me crazy. I couldn’t deal with that. At the moment I’m in with someone from Birmingham. I got boys from Birmingham anyway so we got our shit to talk about and he’s been living in [REDACTED] for 3 years anyway</p> <p>It takes the piss (having 7 different cell-mates) a bit. It does my head in when my pad mates are getting out and I’m sat there thinking ‘that’s taking the piss and all’. I’ve seen so many people come in and out and I’m still here and it’s only been 3m. 3m is not a long time at all; it’s a very short time to be in jail.</p> <p>(It’s not good) on remand. You’re just waiting to get sentenced and when you know you’re going to the next jail, what’s the point in trying to bloody get work and that when you know you’re only going to be there 3 days and then you get shipped out. You might as well</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> sharing a cell with the ‘right’ person</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> It would ‘drive me crazy’ to share with someone not from ‘my area’.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Having such a quick turn-around of cell-mates</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I feel unsettled when others are being released and I’m still in prison.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> difficult to get help when on remand</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Prison is all hopeless.</p>
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<p>Negative things about prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Everything</u> is negative</li> <li>• Blankets are disgusting</li> </ul> <p><b>(Negative view)</b> – <i>blankets should be a source of comfort?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• You can't go out, you can't just go see your family</li> </ul> <p><b>(Freedom taken away)</b> – <i>this is what is so bad?</i></p> <p>Some people get picked on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They get grief, get beaten up, get moved, get beaten up again</li> </ul> <p><b>(These things happen)</b> – <i>if you don't know anyone.</i></p> <p>A prison sentence just needs to be 'done':</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I just do my time and get out</li> <li>• I don't care what other people think</li> </ul> <p><b>(Focus on release)</b> – <i>but not as easy as suggests? Repetition 'it doesn't matter' – suggests it does matter?</i></p> <p>You mind your own business in prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I got to deal with my own problems</li> <li>• I don't want to deal with others' problems either</li> </ul> <p><b>(Independence/ isolation)</b> - <i>Keep a</i></p>	<p>wait until you get your release date and then just sort it out. It's just jail, it's all jail whether you're on remand or sentenced.</p> <p>What's negative about jail? Everything, Everything. The blankets they give you in here are disgusting. They're just shit. It's horrible. Crap. Obvious things as well, like you can't go out, you can't just go and see you family and shit. I don't know, I haven't really got....obviously some people have got it hard in here but I'm not one of those people.</p> <p>Some people come in, they don't know no-one, they get grief from people on the wing. They get punched up then they go on a different wing and they get punched up over there; the boys on here first sort of thing. It won't happen to me, I'm from [REDACTED] in a [REDACTED] jail.</p> <p>It doesn't matter. It doesn't matter, I know loads of people in here; I'm not one of those people. I don't care what other people think at all, in the slightest. I just want to do my time. I don't want to have fights, I want to make my sentence as easy as possible. I don't want to make it hard for myself, I just want to do my time and get out.</p> <p>It's no good going on in other people's business, do you know what I mean? Everyone's got their own problems, I got to deal with my own problems, I don't want to deal with other people's, do I? At all. <b>Researcher:</b> <i>How do you feel</i></p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Things in prison (that should be nice) are horrible</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> There are things about prison I don't like, but it's not as bad for me as it is for some others.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> The need to know people</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I'm OK because I know people from the area.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> to get through sentence with minimum of hassle</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I have to endure this and just get through it.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Dealing with problems</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i></p>
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<p><i>distance?</i></p> <p>Trying to get through sentence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To be honest with you I don't miss out there all that much (<b>Being honest</b>) – <i>maybe feels the opposite -&gt; coping strategy?</i></li> </ul> <p>Others prisoners are OK – some can be 'cheeky'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some people get 'pushed around'</li> <li>They're the people who don't stand up for themselves</li> </ul> <p><b>(Bullying)</b> – <i>don't look scared, bullies can see that.</i></p> <p>You pick on people to help them:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>They (vulnerable people)</li> </ul>	<p><i>about that?</i></p> <p>Well, I don't really feel at all. The prison can't be bothered with a fight. It's the same on the outside, it's just in prison there's nowhere to hide. Not unless you go down the block and then you're just making it harder for yourself anyway. Might as well just confront it.</p> <p>To be honest with you, I don't even miss out there that much, so for me this is nothing. I just take a day as it comes. I go to sleep thinking tomorrow's just another day. I'll just be doing the same shit but on a different day. It'll just be like that til I get out.</p> <p>I don't have no problems with anyone. You can have one or two cheeky people in here though but you just give them a slap, they'll soon shut up. That's all adults that is. YOs....when I was on the YOs they was more hyperactive. Now they're all mixed with the adults it's more calm but still the adults think just because you're a YO they can push you around, walk over you. But it don't work like that, it doesn't matter what age you are, do you know what I mean? At all. I seen that happen to a few people. Just write them off. They take it – won't stand up for themselves. If you're a complete idiot, do you know what I mean, people are going to do it to you. They can tell by the look in your eye, if you're scared; if it's your first time in jail. They know, they're not stupid.</p> <p>I was padded up with one of them. I didn't like him. I used to tell him, 'you got to man-up in jail'. He don't want to be going to jail like</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> How to cope in prison</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I distance myself, don't engage.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Vulnerable people get bullied</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Acceptance of the way things are?</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> People being visibly weak in prison</p>
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<p>got to 'man-up'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They have to be pushed until they snap</li> </ul> <p><b>(You bully people for their own good)</b> – <i>face-saving justification for own behaviour?</i></p> <p>With more adults the environment is calmer:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Less bullying</li> </ul> <p><b>(I feel safer. I'm not vulnerable)</b> – <i>I need to present to you that I am fine, that I cope well?</i></p> <p>Stress:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too much bang-up stresses me out...but I got to be honest, I don't mind the bang-up.</li> </ul> <p><b>(Contradictory)</b> – <i>actually I do mind the bang-up but I want you to think i can cope well.</i></p> <p>I don't want my friends to visit me</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My family visit me (- <i>so I don't need anybody else?</i>)</li> <li>• It's crap out there (- <i>so I don't want to hear about it?</i>)</li> </ul>	<p>that, scared. He needs to loosen up a bit or people are going to walk all over him his whole sentence and treat him like shit. He never even used to go out of the cell.</p> <p>I give him a hard time in the cell for the simple reason I wanted him to man-up. I give him a hard time every day just so he would eventually get fed up with it and stand up for himself. The day that happens he's going to be all right because people will stop taking the piss out of him.</p> <p>(Bullying) happens less with the mixed population. It's much calmer with the YOs and adults mixed together I find. I've never felt vulnerable, even from the first day I come in on my first sentence I was fine. I'm just one of those people though, not everyone's like me. I've never felt scared.</p> <p>Too much bang-up stresses me out. <b>Researcher:</b> <i>How does that make you feel?</i> I got to be honest with you, I don't mind the bang up. But you know, it gets...after you've been in here, it's the same for everyone. Everyone in jail knows it gets to the point when they think 'oh I want out of here'.</p> <p>I don't get many visits anyway. I'm not....I don't want my mates from outside to visit me in here. What's the point? My family come and see me. I see my family and the rest of my boys....It's just crap out there, like, isn't it, what are you going to do? Really close friends will come and see me but it's the same with most people in here,</p>	<p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Bully or be bullied?</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I'm fine, I cope well.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Stress and coping</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Spending lots of time in my cell causes me stress me, however I need to show you I manage well?</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> I don't get many visits</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I say it doesn't matter; it doesn't bother me. When you're in prison you only have associates, not friends?</p>
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<p>You can only share a cell with someone under 21 years of age:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It's the law</li> <li>• It's OK if you get on all right with them</li> </ul> <p><i>-But it's about the person, not necessarily their age?</i></p> <p>Issues with communal living:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Standards must be established and maintained</li> <li>• It's OK to use violence ('to punch someone') to get your point across</li> </ul> <p><b>(Personal standards)</b> – <i>this is where i live, it needs to be clean.</i></p> <p>Younger prisoners are more hyperactive and fight more:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• But even 22 and 23 year olds are like this</li> <li>• That changes when the person is ready</li> </ul> <p><i>-Age cut-off is a bit arbitrary?</i></p>	<p>most people are just associates.</p> <p>Well, they can't pad you up with an adult, it's the law that is. It would bother me in a way – I'd prefer to be with someone my own age but if you're padded up with someone like that boy I told you about then, you don't want to be padded up with them. But if you're padded up with some 50 year old dirty old man, you're not going to be impressed are you? At all.</p> <p>Q: <i>What if you get a dirty 20 year old?</i></p> <p>Yeah but it's like I said, if you got to punch them up, then punch them up. There's no other way, is there, what else you going to do? You got some dirty person coming in your cell, where you've got to live, you're not going to let them be dirty. You've got to live in there, cells are tiny and that's my home, I'm not going take someone coming in to my home and they're smelly. I live in there. I clean my cell, I keep it as clean as possible, I'm a clean person, I always wash, brush my teeth and if I got a pad-mate who don't do that and stinks, then I'm not going to have it. Because that's where i got to live. And it doesn't matter what age he is.</p> <p>A lot of my mates in the jail are 22, 21, 23, 27, even 36. The older adults they're calm but still, if you're just 22, 23, they're just as hyperactive as the others. That changes when people get sick and tired of jail, they just can't be arsed with it no more. Some people just wake up on the wrong side of the</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Sharing a cell</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I manage if I like the person I'm in a cell with?</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Living standards</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I have standards (of cleanliness) and I have some pride in that?</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Prisoners' age</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Older prisoners fight less and the atmosphere is calmer.</p>
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<p>If you challenge someone, they may call you out on it</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I'll see you on exercise</li> <li>• I'll see you in your cell</li> </ul> <p><i>-Euphemism for a fight?</i></p> <p>No trouble on the wing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have loads of people</li> <li>• Have loads of contacts</li> </ul> <p><i>-Safety in numbers; people look out for you.</i></p> <p>Being away from 'home' would not be too bad – <i>except for not getting visits from family, which would be negative.</i></p> <p>Coping:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Just punch something</li> <li>• Just take it out on someone else</li> <li>• But don't get into trouble</li> </ul>	<p>bed, angry one morning, just go out looking for a fight. Someone's going to retaliate. If you want to fight in jail then you'll fight, 100%. Won't think twice about it, just makes it harder on you. You don't tend to see old men fighting, not like they do in their 20s.</p> <p>People will just deal with (difficulties) with their mouth, they'll just say 'fuck off'. Some of them, if you say 'fuck off' to them, they'll...I'll see you out on exercise or I'll see you in your cell and it's like 'oh great, wicked, just what I wanted first thing in the morning.</p> <p>I don't know what other prisoners think of me. I haven't got no trouble on the wing; I've had loads of people in this jail, do you know what I mean? I've got loads of contacts.</p> <p>If I was in a prison in England it wouldn't bother me. I mean it would in the sense that I wouldn't be able to see my family because they live a long way away and I wouldn't be able to get visits which would suck. But, um, I can't see that it would bother me. But if you go to a really rough jail it would just make it harder for you, wouldn't it. But either way you just got to do your time, nothing else you can do.</p> <p><i>Q How do you cope, say with receiving bad news from home?</i></p> <p>I just punch something in my cell, just take it out on someone else. Just punch a wall, punch that for 10 minutes. Something you're not</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Fighting</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Sometimes if you stand up to people they'll call you out (for a fight).</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Relationships with other prisoners</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I'm OK – got contacts, got friends.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Being in a prison out of Wales</p> <p><i>Experiential concern:</i> It would be bad not to get visits from family</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> How deals with difficult issues</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Describes 'cathartic' approach to dealing</p>
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<p>for it (<b>Avoidant coping style?</b>) – <i>I just ignore them.</i></p> <p>Feels <i>angry</i> about some things.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Things have happened to family</li> <li>• Things have happened generally</li> </ul> <p>(<b>Acknowledges anger</b>) – <i>but has never dealt with it?</i></p> <p>Sees has lots of issues:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anger</li> <li>• Mental health</li> <li>• Used to cry, now says doesn't care about anything</li> </ul> <p>(<b>Doesn't get help</b>) – <i>has tried to emotionally distance himself; says does not care (but does?)</i></p> <p>Prison is a sub-culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sometimes there is a cross-over between in and out</li> <li>• But age seems to be the exception ('not people my Dad's age')</li> </ul> <p>(<b>It's important to connect with people</b>) – <i>but there are rules? Even</i></p>	<p>going to get into trouble for. I'm just one of them people that let's things go over the top of my mind. Try and talk about something else. Bad news? Something happened to my family since I been in here but I don't let it bite me like, I don't let it get to me. I just ignore them.</p> <p>I'm an angry person, a very angry person. Just angry about life in general. I've had problems with my family on the out, just general problems, just in general. I've asked to speak to the CPN (Community Psychiatric Nurse) in here but er, 3m I been asking and still nothing. That just goes to show how much they want to help you in this jail. They just don't really care.</p> <p>I need to be assessed; anger problems and things like that. Mental health issues and general things. Which is why I don't let things get to me like they used to. Years ago, you know, I used to get upset, cry for a bit then get angry and punch the wall or something... oh my mind's gone a bit now. I have stopped caring, completely. Just stopped caring, 100%. Means I can just throw off any bad news. Get over it. Yeah, there's a lot of things I don't care about any more.</p> <p>Q: <i>So the people you know in here are acquaintances rather than friends?</i></p> <p>No, when you come to jail it's different. You become close, very close. Even when it's people you wouldn't hang around with on the out you come to jail and it's</p>	<p>with bad news (for e.g.); punching walls, taking it out on others. Self-harm?</p> <p>Avoidant.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Has asked for help but not received any</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I don't think I've had the help I need.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Needing help but not getting it</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Numb – 'I've stopped caring'.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Friendships in prison and outside</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I've got friends, but conditionally (i.e. need to be around same age).</p>
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<p><i>if associating with older prisoners, won't necessarily sustain this afterwards – won't become friends?</i></p> <p>Prison personae:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Nice, or</li> <li>Not so nice</li> </ul> <p><b>(Mood swings)</b> – <i>acknowledges but doesn't seem to recognise triggers?</i></p> <p>In prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Thought it was about time to grow up</li> <li>People who were friends haven't changed</li> <li>Prison is just 'wrong', it's not how you want to be</li> </ul> <p><b>(Reflection)</b> – <i>I think it's time to change but am not sure how?</i></p> <p>Prison is safe:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Safer than outside because enemies outside and they can't get you</li> </ul> <p><i>-Prison environment is protective?</i></p> <p>The mixed prison population might have advantages:</p>	<p>different. It does bring people closer to together, prison, 100%. I've met people here in their 30s and I might count them as friends. Not people my Dad's age, but other people my age I met in jail, of course I'll stay in touch, call them and go out, have a drink on the out.</p> <p>Some people would call me a nice person, some people would call me a dickhead. Some people would call me both – I switch I do, all the time. One minute I'll be all right, the next minute I'll be off my head, bouncing round the cell, just pissed off. My pad-mates just tend to keep out of my way then. 10 minutes later I'll be fine.</p> <p>Before I come to prison I was just, raw, I thought I was a little bad gangster you know. Thought I'd go to jail for a bit, grow up. It's not the same for all people. You get out and you look back on your boys, the ones you hang around with and they're still just the same. Jail, it's just wrong, you think it's not good, it's not the way you want to be at all.</p> <p><i>Q: Tell me how safe you feel in prison</i></p> <p>Safe, 100% safe. Probably safer here than on the outside. It's just.. don't get me wrong, I feel safe on the outside and in here. Generally I feel...generally, see I just don't care, whatsoever. But you know if you think about it you're in here, all your enemies are on the outside, they can't get you, do you know what I mean? You haven't got to watch your back in jail.</p> <p>Some people aren't going to give answers like I give, they find jail hard. I don't, I find jail really easy.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Mood swings</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I can't really control myself.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Prison as vehicle for change</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I want to change; jail is 'wrong'.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Perceptions of safety in prison</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I feel safe in prison, safer probably than on the outside.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Mixed age population</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Has</p>
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The older keep the younger in line</li> <li>• I'd rather stay mixed in than change</li> </ul> <p><i>-Prison won't really help me change though.</i></p>	<p>But in a year I'm going to be classed as an adult so I'd rather be able to stay mixed in than get moved. I hate moving cells, packing all your stuff, going to a new place, unpacking then getting a new cell-mate...I imagine it's better when you're an adult to have just adults and no YOs mixed in. But then I suppose the adults keep the YOs in line in many ways. It's like they say, the older reflects on the younger generation. For some of us anyway.</p>	<p>advantages and disadvantages and on balance I feel OK with it as it is, even if I'd prefer overall being with my own age group.</p>
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Line-by line coding; generating interpretations: Paul	Transcript excerpt	Checking against core content
<p>Prison is OK but:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Being inside</li> <li>• Being in Swansea – no visits</li> <li>• Missing family</li> </ul> <p>Makes it hard – putting on a brave face?</p> <p>Not expecting to go to prison but OK when got on OK with cell-mate- cell-mate important?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cell-mate same age</li> </ul> <p>Didn't know what to expect:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Went on induction wing (Gradual introduction to prison) – better than being put straight into the main prison.</li> </ul> <p>Had built some expectations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• thought it was going to be harder</li> </ul>	<p>All right I could say. (Prison is) pretty easy going, well not easy going, the worst bit about it is being in here, missing your family and that really I suppose, really that's the worst side of it. Had to go to Swansea first for a week and a couple of days – they said Cardiff was full. Got remanded here then. Got a letter or 2 but no visits; my family all live in Cardiff.</p> <p>When they said I was going to be remanded in custody I thought like they was on about the police station sort of thing to be honest so that was a bit of a shock. When I got there, my cell-mate, who they put me in with, he was all right so it wasn't too bad. They got to be the same age because I'm still classed as a youth, I can't be put in with an adult.</p> <p>Q: What were you expecting it to be like?</p> <p>I don't know, I didn't have a picture of it or anything really. I was just going to go there, see basically. But I was on the induction wing in Swansea so I think that might have been a little bit different, well it's the same, just to get you used to being on a proper wing, but yeah, it wasn't too bad really I suppose.</p> <p>It was easier than I thought it was going to be anyway. I thought it'd be a little bit harder than that but no, it wasn't what I thought it was</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Being in prison</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Missing family.</i></p>  <p><i>Focus of concern: Not expecting to go to prison</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: A shock, but OK cell-mate made it easier. Cell-mate same age.</i></p>  <p><i>Focus of concern: Not sure what to expect</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Felt OK because went onto induction wing first – to get used to things a bit before going into the main prison.</i></p>  <p><i>Focus of concern: Prison will be hard</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i></p>

<p>-Prison is scary?</p> <p>Other people in prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Got to do your time</li> <li>• Wait to get out</li> <li>• Thought others would be 'hard', arrogant</li> </ul> <p>(Views of others) – wary of what others would be like.</p> <p>Can choose to do different activities in prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gym</li> <li>• Education</li> </ul> <p>(Chooses not to do Education: “not my sort of thing”)</p> <p>Likes using the gym “and things like that”.</p> <p>Description of routine – (routine important to Paul?)</p> <p>Exercise isn't really exercise</p>	<p>going to be really.</p> <p>It's like you just got to get on with it really – do what you got to do and that's it basically. Just wait til the day you get out. I thought all the boys in here like, I thought they'd be a bit worse but they're not they're quite all right sort of thing but they are quite nice people to talk to, though you'd think they might be a bit arrogant , a bit hard, things like that but nothing, the boys are all right.</p> <p>I didn't think you'd be able to get an Education and learn things and do things. I didn't think you'd be able to do none of that, literally I thought you'd just be in your cell and get fed and that would be it really sort of thing. (I thought) everyone would be a bit of a nasty piece of work but no, it's not like that, things are all right, you get to choose to do a couple of things. I don't do Education, it's not my sort of thing, but I go to the gym and things like that.</p> <p>We get about 20 minutes for breakfast then we go out on the yard for 45 minutes, that's nice, bit of fresh air, walking around in a circle. They don't give you nothing. I mean they could do with some tables and chairs out there or maybe give you a football. But it's nice to get a bit of fresh air I suppose. Then we get an hour for association.</p> <p>It's a bit of a small yard but it's not too crowded. Everybody walks</p>	<p><i>It wasn't as bad as I thought (and helped when went to [REDACTED]).</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: What others would be like</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Others weren't as bad as I thought they'd be.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Thought there wouldn't be much to do</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: There's more to do than I thought</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Activities</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i></p> <p><i>Exercise is nice – bit of fresh air.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: It's</i></p>
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<p>(things are different) – but it’s OK, I go to the gym.</p>	<p>round in a circle I suppose or sits on the side. But they could make that a bit more ‘thingy’ I suppose. But I do go to the gym...I suppose it is jail, it’s not luxury.</p>	<p><i>crowded on the exercise yard</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: but it is prison, so we mustn’t expect too much.</i></p>
<p>Didn’t know that many people – (has made friends in prison)</p>	<p>Q: Do you know anyone else here?</p> <p>I knew someone from the outside that I didn’t think was in here that I knew but he’s on a different landing to me; same wing, different landing so I don’t see him that much. But I get to meet a couple of boys in here I didn’t know before. They’re all right and that, so yeah.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Not knowing anyone</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I’ve met some people since I’ve been in prison – I’m not isolated.</i></p>
<p>There are things to do but not much is positive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Religion</li> </ul> <p>(Choose not to do either of these things) – not my sort of thing.</p>	<p>Q: What have you found that’s been positive?</p> <p>To be honest I wouldn’t say there was anything really. Well, you can learn a few things. That’s just like Education, like reading writing, things like that. You can do religion and things; that’s not my sort of things that I do. No, to be honest I wouldn’t say there was anything positive about it.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Not much that’s positive</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: There’s nothing good about prison.</i></p>
<p>There’s not much point doing anything or applying for a job because won’t be here for long</p>	<p>We got cleaners and that on our wing but I’m not going to be here for long enough because you got to be here for about a month to apply for a job and then other people have applied for them anyway and there’s a big waiting list so. I would like to have a job but there’s no point for me, I’m not going to be here for long hopefully.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Have no job</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: There’s not much point applying for anything as I won’t be in prison for long.</i></p>
<p>Money management:</p>	<p>You get money and stuff sent in. Like your family can send money</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Money</i></p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Money can be sent in from outside</li> <li>• You can earn your own money through work</li> </ul> <p>Canteen is the main way to buy things</p>	<p>in and that goes straight on your canteen. And if you go to Education and things like that, they put money on your canteen as well. But I manage anyway, I manage to get food to last me a week, with baccy and things like that. Get a couple of packets of biscuits and that I suppose, for later. See, it's quite hungry work being in here.</p>	<p><i>Experiential claim: I manage my canteen OK despite not working because my family send money in.</i></p>
<p>Cell-mate can be annoying:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Forced close company</li> <li>• Spending too much time with someone</li> </ul> <p>But good to have the company?</p>	<p>Sometimes your cell-mate can be a bit annoying. Depends who you're with really, it is a bit annoying – like spending too much time with someone. But we talk to each other all the time, lie around, watch TV, what else can you do really? But yeah, it can be a bit annoying having someone by your side all the time.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Having to share a cell with someone</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: sometimes it can be annoying but mainly it's nice to have the company.</i></p>
<p>Missing family is a bad thing - but getting visits is good.</p>	<p>Q: Tell me what's been negative about prison.</p> <p>Missing my family, my partner and things like that basically and my kids, that's got to be the worst thing, missing your family. That's the worst by far. I've had quite a few visits since I've been here – that's nice. My mum and dad come in every week or twice a week mostly cos I get 3 visits a week cos I'm on remand. But if I get sentenced and I stay here then I only get 1 a week. But they come in and see me twice a week.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Being away from family when in prison</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I miss my family but they visit and I like that.</i></p>
<p>Visits are good:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reassured I'm not missing much</li> <li>• Kept up to date with events outside</li> </ul>	<p>We do get good things to talk about. They tell me what's going on, that I'm not missing much really so that makes me feel a little bit better I suppose. But it's still horrible being in here. It's nice seeing them but it's worse when</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Missing family</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I miss my family and I like it when they</i></p>

<p>Have to go back in to prison on own after visit – that’s the hardest thing?</p> <p>Other ways of keeping contact with family:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Write letters</li> <li>• Phone them</li> </ul> <p>Phone credit goes quickly - I can’t phone as much as I’d like?</p> <p>Haven’t seen the children:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Oldest child’s questions would be difficult</li> </ul> <p>-Prefer it this way?</p> <p>Relationship with ex-partner</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Quite negative – don’t want anything to do with her</li> </ul> <p>-Need to work out something to see the children though.</p> <p>Have a plan of action to some degree to deal with access to the children – then tries not to think about it.</p>	<p>they’ve got to go, thinking oh no, I’ve got to go back in here now. It’s not very nice when they go.</p> <p>I write letters as well and you get your phone call but that depends on how much you get on your canteen cos on mobiles the credit goes pretty quick.</p> <p>I haven’t seen my kids, I wouldn’t like that really to be honest. My oldest boy he’s that sort of age really, he’d ask why I’m not going, why am I sitting on that side and things like that. I wouldn’t like to tell him things like that to be honest. I had the kids with my ex-partner.</p> <p>We’re going through a bad patch at the moment (ex-partner) to be honest. When I get out I don’t want anything to do with the ex-missus, I’ll just go to the court and do it that way it’s becoming a bit of a pain in the arse now. She wants certain things, she don’t like this and that because I’m with someone else.</p> <p>Q: How do you cope with those types of things?</p> <p>I try not to think about it really. But I know where I am with it now. I know what I’m going to do when I get out I’m going to go and see my solicitor, get that done so i try not to think about it basically and I know I’m going to sort it out.</p>	<p><i>visit but it’s hard when they leave.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Money goes quickly on the phone</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I keep in touch with my family.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Relationship/ contact with children</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: it would be harder to see the children and answer their questions than it would be to have my ex-partner (their mother) to bring them in.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: relationship with ex-partner</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I need to work something out with my ex-partner to see my children</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Contact with children</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I try not to think about things too much – (avoidant?)</i></p>
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<p>Get on OK with other prisoners. Most talk when out on association and seem quite friendly.</p>	<p>Q: What's your experience of the other prisoners been like?</p> <p>All right basically. Yeah it's all fine. It's just...well, don't start sort of thing you could put it like that. But no-one's had any trouble with me; I've had no trouble with no-one else, quite easy-going, quite friendly and that really. When I first got in here a couple of the boys was like; all right, when I was out on association couple of boys you knew, talk about general things, what you're in here for, Yeah, quite friendly.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Other prisoners</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Finding people friendly – feel OK.</i></p>
<p>The older prisoners (the adults) seem to 'chill the atmosphere' more than when YOs are together on their own.</p>	<p>Of the mixed population:</p> <p>I think it's all right. I got no problem with anything like that. To be honest I think if there was all youths on the wing I think there'd be a bit more trouble. It's just like they're younger and they're a bit more active like, more testosterone in their bodies type of thing. It'd be more like hassle, they'd be more hard work you could say like banging them all up and things like that. They'd all be running around, yeah I think mix them up a bit chills the atmosphere.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: the mixed adult and YO population</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I think it's generally calmer with YOs and adults mixed together.</i></p>
<p>No bullying, self-harm, no fighting, racism or anything.</p> <p>(Nothing that Paul has seen) – has chosen not to see it?</p>	<p>I haven't seen any bullying, nothing like that whatsoever. Not since I was in [REDACTED] or here. Everyone just gets on as far as I see. I haven't seen no trouble, never heard of anyone harming themselves or anything like that really. I suppose they've got special wings for that if they do get moved off but I haven't seen nothing like that; no fighting, no bullying, nothing. There're no groups or anything like that, I haven't seen no racism, there's no boys hanging out</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: bullying, fighting, racism self-harm.</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I'm OK and I've not seen anyone else in any distress because of these things.</i></p>



<p>Was bothered about the effect of prison, of being locked up and what effect that would have on people in general.</p> <p>Everything seems fine in prison to me – everybody seems very happy and gets on well. Would deal with a bully though myself if I saw it. (Would not involve a prison officer) – wouldn't want to be seen as a 'grass'?</p>	<p>there and no, everyone just does their thing basically.</p> <p>What really bothered me when I first come in here, before I come in on my way here was just about what the people was going to be like being locked up, did it turn them different sort of thing. But no, it doesn't really if you ask my opinion.</p> <p>I haven't really seen anyone struggle at all, everybody really does get on. Everybody's generally nice. I've never seen anyone have any trouble or anything like that. And if I did see someone who's a bit upset or I did see a couple of the boys picking on someone even if it wasn't anything to do with me, I wouldn't just stand there and watch it happen. I'd go over and be like; 'don't you think that's a bit out of order' sort of thing. Definitely I wouldn't stand there and watch someone get picked on whether I knew then or not. I wouldn't say anything to a prison officer, I think that's out of order to be honest.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: what does being locked up do to people?</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Don't think people are badly affected by being locked up in prison.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Bullying – there isn't any that I've seen</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I'd try and deal with any bullying I saw on my own – I would not go to a prison officer.</i></p>
<p>Being bullied could lead to the victim harming himself</p>	<p>I wouldn't go and tell a prison officer and get those boys in trouble, I'd give them my opinion first. And things like that as well, could make that kid that's getting bullied think about other things like harming himself, something like that and that's not very nice really.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Bullying possibly leading to self-harm</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I haven't seen that kind of thin but if I did I would try and deal with it myself.</i></p>
<p>It's annoying if you can't do all the things you want to do when you want to do it.</p>	<p>Staff are OK. It's a bit of a pain in the arse sometimes when you're just getting locked up and you need a rizla, something like that and they won't let you go and get one. Especially as we're being banged</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Can't just do things when you want to</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: It's a bit annoying( living by someone</i></p>

<p>Disruption to routine is annoying.</p>	<p>up all night, you can't go all night without a fag, that's....sometimes a couple of them are like that, that's a bit annoying. But I suppose they do say you go association to sort out things like that. But you got other things to sort out, like you got to mop your floor if your cell's dirty things like that. You got to try and get your haircut if you need it, a couple of things like that. And you only got an hour to do that.</p> <p>Then they cut our association by half an hour so we only had a half hour, which is not on. Another thing that annoys me being in here is that things should happen at a certain time every day. When they don't like when tea is late. Stupid little things like that wind me up. Things should be on time, spot on, all the time.</p>	<p><i>else's rules?).</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Importance of routine</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I am upset – annoyed – by changes in routine.</i></p>
<p>Prison can be boring but there are things to do to keep occupied.</p>	<p>It's quite boring in the day. You are just sitting there thinking how long have you got til this whilst waiting for things to come that does make it worse then sometimes. But it's all right if you've got cards out, try and make a few games up, on pen and paper things like that; draw the chess board out, get bits of counters, things like that and write on them. We do try our best to keep ourselves occupied.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Dealing with boredom</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: It can get boring but I try to keep busy and occupied.</i></p>
<p>Haven't really had to deal with bad news. Would ask brother to deal with stuff if it came up.</p>	<p>Q: How do you manage when things go wrong, or you get bad news or something like that?</p> <p>Well, touch wood I haven't had any bad news or anything like that, everything seems OK outside with the family and that's all right. My girlfriend's all right, things like</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Receiving and coping with bad news</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Don't have bad news; I trust my brother to deal with stuff if that was necessary.</i></p>



<p>really worked?</p> <p>Sees previous behaviour and offending as a 'stage' and definitely linked to, if not driven by, drug misuse. Current offence shouldn't have happened because he hadn't taken drugs? – Admits was drunk though – failure to take responsibility?</p> <p>The offence is actually 2 offences but referred to as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One stupid thing</li> <li>• After all the (worse) things I've done</li> <li>• 'just' pushing someone and breaking her handbag strap</li> </ul> <p>(Minimising) – thinks it's unfair getting a custodial sentence for this offence?</p> <p>Don't want to come back to prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Know I need to sort my life out</li> </ul>	<p>I've even had one of those under age kids things to stop me getting into trouble sort of thing. Just me when I was little I suppose.</p> <p>I was into drugs and things but I stopped all that. Been drug tested and I'm totally clean. It was just a stage basically. I stopped it then this one offence just happened when I was drunk and, stupid really, I shouldn't even be here, it's not like I carried on getting into trouble, it's just one offence and everything I done in the past this stupid one offence after I haven't been nicked for like 3 years, I go to jail for.</p> <p>Actually 2 offences, but they was like joint sort of thing. There was a common assault and a criminal damage but I haven't been arrested for like 3 years maybe, over. Totally clean and all that, sorted out my life and I just do that one stupid thing after I've had a few beers and I ended up being in here for it. That winds me up when I think about that, all the bad things I've done in the past, nicking cars, loads of burglaries, dwelling burglaries, loads of those things and then this stupid thing, like for pushing someone and snapping a strap on her handbag I get locked up for. That winds me up. I was literally in court every other week and I never went to prison once and this stupid thing I go to prison for, like.</p> <p>I'm never coming back here again (to prison). Makes me think how much I've missed my family and things like that. But people that ain't got a lot on the outside I</p>	<p><i>Experiential claim: Nothing so far has really worked to control me or my anti-social behaviour.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Sees behaviour as a stage, linked to drug misuse.</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I shouldn't be here, this is a mistake, I hadn't even been taking drugs – slightly aggrieved, indignant?</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Done much offending prior to this but never sent to prison</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: It's ironic – (unfair?) that I've been sent to prison for this offence.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Don't really want to be in prison</i></p>
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stop drinking (Recognises some of the things underpinning his behaviour?) – give up alcohol and settle down</li> </ul> <p>Other prisoners think I'm all right:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He's 'tidy'</li> <li>• Get on well with people</li> <li>• Don't piss people off</li> </ul> <p>(Tries to fit in) – important to be like by other people?</p>	<p>suppose it's different for them but for me, oh no, definitely not. It's made me think like before I come in here I had to sort my life out before then, it's just that, I was drinking quite a lot I suppose you could say, that didn't help. But no, I've stopped the drink definitely, settle down with the missus again; job, house, things like that, just get on with my life.</p> <p>Q: What do you think the other prisoners think of you?</p> <p>I think they think I'm all right – he's a tidy lad sort of thing. That's about it really. I don't think they think anything bad of me; they haven't got any reason to really. I get on with everyone, I don't say boo to no-one or try to piss anyone off so no, I don't think they'd say anything bad about me.</p>	<p><i>Experiential claim: I need to give up drinking and settle down</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: what others think of me</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I try to get on with people, I think they think I'm OK.</i></p>
<p>Mixed age groups makes the wings calmer</p>	<p>Of mixing the ages in the population:</p> <p>I think it's better if they mix them up a bit. Like you should share a cell with someone your own age, that's good, but they should have like a mix of age on the wing really. If they filled it up with just young people on one wing then I think it would be quite hectic, especially the younger boys. If they filled it up with older boys and that then they'd be more easy-going, they'd be chilled and that because they'd have their things and that, like lifers. On that wing I think they're chilled out and stuff because they're doing 25 years; that's a long time that is. A few weeks seems like a long time to me. I wouldn't like to be doing years, I wouldn't even like to do a year, nothing like</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Mixed age groups but also length of sentence?</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Older and younger prisoners together makes it calmer: but that has something to do with length of sentence? – I couldn't cope with a long sentence?</i></p>



<p>Recognises triggers for own change in mood:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Being hungry</li> <li>• Having no tobacco/ no cigarettes</li> <li>• Food late being served</li> </ul> <p>Seems to cope OK</p> <p>Older people and prisoners are definitely calmer:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They sleep all the time</li> <li>• They're not up to the same sorts of things</li> <li>• They might not want you to talk to them</li> <li>• Their mentality is different</li> </ul> <p>People are still immature even into their 20s so 21 seems a bit of a random cut-off point.</p>	<p>put in a complaint about it but it's not really....it's just the stupid things I notice that wind me up.</p> <p>Coping with 'down' times:</p> <p>I think I got quite a level mood, apart from if I'm hungry and things like that and they're taking their time with the food. When you're hungry and you ain't got no fags then that's the worst. That's when your mood starts changing sort of thing. Feeling fed up, starting to get a little bit angry...but then when you've had your food and you've managed to get a fag then you're all right sort of thing.</p> <p>Final thoughts on mixed age population:</p> <p>As long as you share a cell with someone your own age. That wouldn't bother me as much but I think it could make you feel a bit more comfortable: your age group, could be into things you're into, think the same way as you do, being your age and that. Like if you're in with..like you're 19 in with a 40 year old adult that's just sleeping all the time, or's no up to this, just basically lies there don't want you to talk to them or nothing like that. Like older people, their mentality is a little bit different you could say. Younger people are more talkative, more active, up for playing games or things like that, make the time pass. Older people could think a little bit different I suppose. 21 isn't a good cut-off – you're still the same as a teenager sort of thing. You're not really an adult at 21, I think it could be a couple more years – 26, 28, when you're in your twenties you're still a bit...sort of partying sort of thing.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: 'Down' times</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Copes OK except for when hungry or has no tobacco. OK otherwise and/ or when has these things.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: mixed age prison population</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Think it's OK, things seem calmer but you should still be able to share a cell with someone your own age.</i></p>
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Line-by-line coding: generating interpretations Rich	Transcript excerpt	Checking against core content
<p>First time in prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Don't know what to expect</li> <li>• Wondering what it's going to be like</li> <li>• Panic</li> </ul> <p>(Feels anxious; describes anxiety symptoms) – pre-existing condition?</p> <p>Take medication for anxiety – reduces the symptoms.</p> <p>First time in prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'Chucked' over on detox wing – has drug habit?</li> <li>• Detox OK because not many people – anxiety again?</li> <li>• Found it hard to adjust to environment</li> </ul> <p>-Anxiety affects adjustment negatively?</p> <p>Detox off drugs and alcohol:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Put on valium &amp; gradually brought down (dose)</li> </ul> <p>– feels 'contained' by the process?</p> <p>Found prison a different experience from what was told would happen</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Didn't like sharing a cell</li> </ul> <p>-Reality a different thing to what told beforehand</p> <p>Cell-sharing arrangements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Told won't share with over</li> </ul>	<p>Well, I was panicking a bit really. My first time in prison and that, innit. First time in prison I thought, I didn't know what to expect. Wondering what it was going to be like and panicking...I just get panic attacks. I was panicking, getting a bit wary of what it was going to be like and getting used to it and that. I can't breathe properly, hyperventilating sort of thing like.</p> <p>The doctors give me...they put me on citalopram for them panic attacks. They've just put it up, I'm not having the attacks so much now.</p> <p>He just said to me 'is this your first time in prison' and I said yeah and then from there (court), here like. They just chunked me over on the detox wing and it was all right because there weren't so many people but it was hard getting used to like: too many people, crowded. I don't like crowded places like.</p> <p>Detox lasted about 2 weeks then they put me on Valium for my drink and that then they gradually brought me down then like.</p> <p>I was sharing a cell all through detox. It weren't the best - didn't like it much like. They talked me through it like, but it's a totally different world innit? They tell you what's going to happen and then you actually get in here and do it and it's a totally different thing like.</p> <p>They said you can't get two-ed up with an adult because you're still a YO and they were just explaining</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Not knowing what prison was going to be like</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Feeling panic, anxiety.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Medication for anxiety/ panic attacks</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Feel better on medication</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Detox, and adjusting to prison</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Feel worried about crowded places – hard to get used to prison environment</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Detox</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Feels safe and contained by the process</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Adjusting to prison</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Reality is different to what told to expect</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Cell-sharing</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Accepted</i></p>



<p>21 year old</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thought person same age would be OK</li> <li>• But says wouldn't have minded if person had been over 21</li> </ul> <p>(Accepting terms of cell-sharing) – got to get on with it – resigned?</p> <p>Detox is difficult:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘clucking’</li> <li>• ‘cold turkey’</li> <li>• Glad it’s finished.</li> </ul> <p>Then mentions hearing voices:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hears voices all the time</li> <li>• For the past year</li> <li>• Coincided with taking drugs</li> </ul> <p>(Mental health problems)</p> <p>-wants relief from symptoms?</p> <p>Mental health issues:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hears voices</li> <li>• Can't concentrate</li> <li>• Has professional help</li> <li>• Prescribed medication</li> </ul> <p>(Likes Valium) – wishes he was prescribed Valium?</p> <p>List of meds he takes. Appears to be informed – knows what each are for.</p> <p>Hearing voices coincided with taking plant fertilizer on the out –</p>	<p>to me that if you're not 21 you can't get two-ed up and that. I thought, someone my age, he'd be all right like. I'm 18. Guy they put me in with was 18 he was. Even if they'd told me I was going in with someone over 21 I'd've thought the same. Gotta get on with it, don't you?</p> <p>Detoxing is hard work like. You're 'clucking' for your next meds like. It's not very nice like. I started smoking weed and all. I stopped smoking weed and I dunno, drinking as well, getting 'cold turkey' and all off it. Bad, man. Thank god I finished that all though. Wish they'd give me Valium for the voices and all though. I can hear voices all the time, going back last year. I was hearing them before I come in here like, when I first started taking drugs like. I was taking drugs when it started.</p> <p>I hear the voices all the time. I can't concentrate tidy, like sometimes I wander like. I talked to the psychologist and that like and that's when they put me on the, what's it called? The olanz....well they said the olanzapine will help with the voices like. When I get Valium off my doctor it block the voices out. The Valium, when I was detoxing was blocking the voices out.</p> <p>I take olanzapine and citalopram. The olanzapine helps me sleep as well. I take it in the evening. Cancels out the voices a bit. It's for my anxiety it is, my depression.</p> <p>The voices started when I started</p>	<p><i>the arrangements – happy with 18 year old but would have been OK with over 21 because have to 'get on with things'</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Detox and mental health issues</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Experience of coming off drugs was difficult but mental health symptoms also troubling.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Getting medication to help with mental health symptoms</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I feel better with medication</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Mental health issues</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I feel better when I take the medication I'm prescribed.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Medication</i></p>
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<p>well known for messing with people's heads.</p> <p>Valium helps with the consequences (i.e. hearing voices). Isn't prescribed Valium in prison – understands that, will ask GP for it when released.</p>	<p>taking 'meow', a drug 'meow' like. A couple of people it mess their head up, hearing voices and that like. Plant fertilizer or something like that it is. When I'm getting out I need to get Valium from my doctor because that's the only thing that works but in here they won't give me them like because they say they're too addictive like in here, don't they? I'd rather be taking Valium than hearing voices to be honest.</p>	<p><i>to help with voices</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Will wait until gets released to get Valium from GP.</i></p>
<p>Getting used to prison again.</p>	<p>It weren't scary, just panicky like, wondering what to expect and that. It's hard but I got used to it now, I been here a while. When I first come in here it was hard to get used to it like, getting the routine, getting dinner and all. It doesn't always make sense til you done it, even if they explain it to you.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Adjusting to prison</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: got to get used to everything, the routine etc.</i></p>
<p>Hardest part about prison is mixing with others:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Keeps self to self</li> <li>• Doesn't mix well</li> <li>• Worried about how big the prison was; how many people, how many landings</li> </ul> <p>-social anxiety?</p>	<p>Can't remember the hardest part to be honest. Mixing I expect, I don't mix very well like, I keep myself to myself sort of thing. I weren't scared like, I was ready to come in here I just dunno what to expect mixing with everyone in here like. I don't mix very well. It was a bit different to what i was thinking. Someone said to me like there's loads of floors so I was thinking like 6 or 7 floors on each wing so i was expecting the worst – the size and how many people it is, like. When there was only 4 (landings), I feel better like. It's all right since I been on the tablets. I been feeling a bit better like.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Mixing with other people in prison</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Worried about how would manage around lots of other people due to social anxiety?</i></p> <p><i>Feels better when taking medication.</i></p>
<p>Doesn't see self as having much support – mother and aunt.</p>	<p>Q: What support have you got?</p> <p>On the out, nothing really. Got my</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Support and</i></p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mother hasn't visited as much as she could (rationalises that: 'it's what happens') –used to being let down; disappointed?</li> </ul> <p>Knowing people the same age from the local area seems important</p> <p>Being 'banged up' is the worst thing but exercise is not good:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reminds me what I'm missing on the out</li> <li>• Reminds me who I'm missing</li> <li>• Can't get out</li> <li>• Don't like all the people on the yard.</li> </ul> <p>-Don't like being locked up but don't like exercise either</p> <p>Got to put up with the cell-time. There are things to do but they're not much of a distraction (like TV, canteen)</p>	<p>mother like; my auntie, that's about it. My mother visited once like, but it's all right. She should've visited me a couple more times like but it's what happens, isn't it? She can come in but she won't like. I been asking her for 2 weeks now to book a visit like. She says 'I'll book one' like.</p> <p>I'm two-ed up with a boy I know from my area. There's 2 of them on there now. One of them from G, which is about 10 minutes up the road; one's from T, one's from P so they're all close to me like.</p> <p>Q: What's been negative about prison for you?</p> <p>Being banged up 24/7. I've tried going out on exercise but it's pointless really like. When you're out in the yard like, looking up and that, and it's a nice day you think 'oh my days' like, do you know what I mean? You can't get to grips with it like. Because them outside, them people, I know I can't get out and it winds me up because I know I can't get out. Outside and it's a nice hot day, I think, oh, I start thinking about getting out then, start stressing myself out. Just think about getting out and all like. I been out there a couple of times like, but I just...I dunno...just don't like it out there. The whole wing goes out; there's a lot of people on the yard.</p> <p>You got to ride the bang-up. Got a TV in the cell but there's hardly nothing on like. That stresses me out. Get canteen every week, like that's stressing enough.</p>	<p>visits</p> <p><i>Experiential claim: It's OK my mother hasn't visited as much as she could – 'it's what happens'.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Sharing a cell</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Sharing with someone I know and knowing others is important to me?</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Being banged up</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Feel frustrated with being locked up but exercise makes me realise what I'm missing. Also, don't like all the people out on the exercise yard.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Long hours in cell</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Know it's got to be done but have little to distract me.</i></p>
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<p>Money is a problem:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Don't have a job</li> <li>• Depend on mother sending money in (she hasn't).</li> <li>• Not worth applying for a job until know what sentence will get.</li> </ul>	<p>Money for canteen:</p> <p>Depends on whether my mother's sent me money in or not. So next week, I ain't got nothing now. She ain't sent me any money out like. I was thinking of getting a job but it depends when I get in court. I could get a DRR when I get back. If I don't I'll get back on the 18th and I'll put in for a job then.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Money</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I don't have any money and am dependent on others. May apply for a job if come back to prison after sentencing.</i></p>
<p>Being locked up makes you feel negative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Time to think too much about things</li> <li>• Not enough distraction</li> <li>• Think stupid things</li> </ul> <p>(End up self-harming) – dwell on the negative, cut arm to feel better?</p>	<p>Q: How does bang up make you feel?</p> <p>It's just negative, sat there thinking about things, thinking oh, I can't wait to get out. I dunno, if you ain't got a radio – we've got a radio now like – but if you ain't got a radio or nothing you get down, start thinking all the things, panicking about stupid things like. It's like the other day, that's why I cut up, like. Just laid there thinking stupid things. Voices telling, going through my head. Next thing you know I end up in Healthcare like.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Long time locked up with no distraction</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Feel like harming self.</i></p>
<p>Start thinking about things:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Money</li> <li>• How going to manage</li> </ul> <p>(Leads to self-harm) – cut arms to feel better?</p>	<p>Just stress man. Started thinking over things and worrying about how I'm going to get money, how I'm going to get through the days and all. It's too stressing like. And then sometimes you just get a blade and think 'fuck it' and cut myself like. I don't even feel it half the time, you know like.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Coping</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Feel like harming self when experiencing stress.</i></p>
<p>Not really sure what cutting does for me. Started it years ago. Could talk to people but not sure I want to in prison, not sure why.</p>	<p>Q: What does (cutting yourself) do for you?</p> <p>Nothing really, it just...I dunno. I first cut myself ages ago, years ago. I cut my arm with a razor blade like. Junked on drugs I was but I</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Self harm</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Not sure what it does for me. Know I can talk to people but not sure</i></p>

<p>Sees drugs and alcohol as underpinning his offending – why he’s in prison.</p> <p>(-Ambivalent about rehab – admits liking drugs but not the consequences, i.e. prison).</p> <p>Thinks of things he misses when locked up:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Living in mother’s house</li> <li>• Freedom to come and go</li> <li>• Trips to the chippy</li> </ul> <p>(Questions self – what am I doing? – need to change something about lifestyle was leading?)</p> <p>Other prisoners can be difficult to understand/ get on with</p>	<p>ended up in hospital so it’s not the best like. I can speak to the Govs if I want to but I don’t really want to talk to them. I just don’t fucking feel like sharing anything. You got Listeners as well like but I don’t really see the point to be honest. I just don’t want to talk to no-one like. I’d rather keep it bottled up til I get out.</p> <p>Drink and drugs it is, that’s all it is. That’s why they’re trying to get me on a rehab cos...fucking...at the end of the day they only can, they can’t do any more than advise it. I do and I don’t want to come off drugs; I don’t because I enjoy it and have a laugh but I can’t be joking, having a laugh any more like that, can’t be dealing with it no more like. First time in prison; this is the last.</p> <p>Don’t like being locked up, realising what I had on the out like. I was living in my ma’s house and all, just opening the front door and that in the morning like. In my cell I think ‘fucking hell, what am I doing’ like. Think loads of things, stupid things go through my head like, what am I doing? It’s nice to be able to go to the chippy when I want....</p> <p>Q: How have you found the other prisoners?</p> <p>Hard work man, hard work. Well, I mean you’ve got some dickheads up on the wing like, but they’re everywhere like. I just keep my head down, keep myself to myself like. Stay away from the dickheads – there’s no point getting a nicking for it is there? Fighting and that,</p>	<p><i>I want to in prison.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Drugs and alcohol</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Not sure want to give them up, but don’t like all the consequences.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Things you miss when locked up in prison</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: What am I doing? – Need to make changes?</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Other prisoners</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: I just keep away from the difficult people, keep myself to myself, stay out of the way.</i></p>
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<p>Happy enough in mixed population:(knew some people) – stays away from everybody else?</p> <p>Says feels safe when in cell, otherwise feels paranoid about others watching, talking about him.</p> <p>The atmosphere's dead – not very lively?</p> <p>Doesn't use the gym because says can't be bothered with induction – maybe also worried about other people using it?</p> <p>Worried about applying for a job because of the other people working there</p>	<p>end up down the block, nickings, loss of canteen, loss of assoc., all different things like. It's not worth getting involved in that stuff.</p> <p>On coming to the adult prison:</p> <p>I was happy when they said I was coming to [REDACTED] first. I know a couple of the boys in here like. It doesn't bother me that there aren't many people under 21 in here. I don't hear much about any bother to be honest with you.</p> <p>Q: How safe do you feel?</p> <p>I don't feel safe. Well I do in a way cos we're banged up all the time but I dunno....just the fact of being in here really like. Feel paranoid; like there's people watching me, talking about me and that.</p> <p>Q: what is the atmosphere like?</p> <p>Dead like. People are all just the same in here, innit? They just seem institutionalised like. Some've been here for so long they've known nothing else but here like. Just the same faces. This prison's dead. Like the [REDACTED], people have said to me the [REDACTED]'s supposed to be much better than this – more dinner, cleaner cells.</p> <p>Of things to do in the prison:</p> <p>I don't use the gym because I just can't be bothered with it to be honest. I gotta do induction and all that, just can't be bothered. Today's canteen – can't wait man! Got tobacco ordered. When I move</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern: Knowing a few people own age</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Happy with that, not bothered about the others.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Feeling safe</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Don't feel safe – bit paranoid, kind of safe in cell but only then.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: The atmosphere in the prison</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: The people seem institutionalised therefore the prison is 'dead'</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: Using the gym/ getting a job</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Can't be bothered to go to the gym; hasn't yet applied for a job but wants the money for his canteen. Worried again about</i></p>
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<p>18 years old is young to be locked up in prison.</p>	<p>wing I'm going to put in for a job, tea-packing, breakfast, something like that. Bit worried about all the other people working there though.</p> <p>Of prison:</p> <p>It's no place to be like, when you're 18, at 18 you're still young ain't you? Shouldn't be banged up like. It would be better if there was more food like.</p>	<p><i>other people.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern: 18 is young to be in prison</i></p> <p><i>Experiential claim: Would like it if there was more food...</i></p>
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Line by line coding – Generating interpretations Gaz	Transcript excerpts	Checking against core content
<p>Coming into prison (for the first time):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Was <i>worrying</i></li> <li>With adults</li> <li>Didn't know what to expect</li> <li>Thought might get <i>pushed around</i></li> <li>Wasn't as bad as thought</li> </ul> <p><b>(Apprehension)</b> – <i>fear of the unknown?</i></p> <p>Worried about who would share a cell with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Initially someone then he moved</li> <li>Then others – 11/ 12 in total</li> </ul> <p><b>(Quick 'churn' of cell-mates - have to 'get used to' – adapt – to each one.</b></p> <p>Some cell-mates take stuff off me:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>They are quite pushy about wanting stuff</li> <li>I get to know them after a while</li> <li>I've had to stand up for myself</li> </ul> <p><b>(Cell-mates can be intimidating)</b> – <i>but I'm trying to stand up for myself</i></p>	<p><i>Q: What was it like, coming in to prison?</i></p> <p>I was worried more than anything. Because obviously I'm coming in to an adult prison with adults and that sort of stuff, you know? I didn't know what to expect. I thought I might get pushed around but then it wasn't as bad as I thought it was going to be. It was pretty good, pretty nice. So I'd say it was all right.</p> <p><i>Cell-sharing:</i></p> <p>I was a bit worried because I didn't know what he (cell-mate) was going to be like. When I first come in I wanted a single cell but it were all right, it weren't too bad. On C wing (induction) it was this YO but he got transferred to another wing. Then I had someone else. I've had about 11 or 12 pad-mates. That is quite a lot, obviously you've got to get used to them, get to know each other.</p> <p>Obviously you get some who're a bit big-headed. They see kids coming in and some of them can get a bit pushy about wanting stuff off you. But it's not too bad, you get to know them. After a couple of weeks you get used to each other then. Obviously you don't want to feel like you're getting pushed around. If you're going to let them push you around then they're going to think 'oh yeah, well I can take stuff off him'. You've got to stand up for yourself. It's not the sort</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> first time in prison, not knowing what to expect</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Anxiety (was worried) fear of being 'pushed around' - (bullied?)</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Getting used to many different cell-mates</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Bit worried, bit unsettled?</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Cell-mates being pushy and taking stuff off you (me)</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I've had to learn to stand up for myself.</p> <p>*Note: Gaz often refers to himself in the third person – 'you'.</p>



<p>I have to get used to the adults in prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I think I don't want to be like them, but</li> <li>• Some are intimidating and take my tobacco off me – <i>because I am a YO?</i></li> </ul> <p>When I first came to prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I was picked on because I was small (- <i>and a target because of that?</i>)</li> <li>• I gave in to them to start with because I was scared</li> </ul> <p><b>(Adult prisoners intimidated and took my tobacco off me) – I was scared</b></p> <p>I asked for help? – Told someone other prisoners were asking me for tobacco and was told not to give it to them because they would just come back for more.</p> <p>Others exploited me because I was new to</p>	<p>of place you can cow down...</p> <p>I guess it's different here (to children's homes) because you've got adults and all that and there's not really that many YOs so you got to get used to the adults. Some of them are all right do you know what I mean? You look at them and you think 'well I don't want to be like that in 20 years'. But some of them can be quite intimidating because obviously I'm a YO so you know, they think they can have your baccy and that.</p> <p>When I first come in here they were all on me for baccy and all that, trying to intimidate me a little bit because I was only small when I come in. So first of all i did give them a bit of baccy cos obviously I was scared, I've never been to prison before. It wasn't like...I didn't know what to expect. But after a while you say 'I ain't got any baccy'.</p> <p>I spoke to someone (officer); I said they keep asking me for baccy and he said 'don't give it to them. If you give it to them then they're going to nag you for it and you have to give it out then'.</p> <p>People I shared a cell with, well</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Being in an adult prison with adults</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I feel intimidated.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Other prisoners (adults) took tobacco and other things off me</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> They did this because I was small and an easy target. <i>I was scared.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Getting bullied, not knowing how to deal with it</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Felt weak, was being bullied and felt couldn't do anything about it. Think my age had something to do with that – I was vulnerable because i was young and hadn't been to prison before.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i></p>
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<p>prison/ new to the wing.</p> <p>I found it hard to say no and was still giving my stuff away.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People's who's my age, you don't know what it's like</li> <li>• I've been here 5.5 m now so know more</li> </ul> <p><b>(I didn't know what to expect) – therefore I wasn't ready or equipped to deal with this?</b></p> <p>Father is a let-down:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Says he'll do something then doesn't do it</li> <li>• Makes excuses</li> <li>• Gets out of things</li> </ul> <p><b>(like coming to see me) – I make an effort he doesn't?</b></p> <p>Have lost touch with other family members</p>	<p>obviously you share your baccy with them. It was mainly when I first come in it was, on the wing.</p> <p>Obviously you go on the wing with someone who's been in before, who's been on there a while and they know you'll be a bit of a target. They say 'I know you smoke' and all that so then they ask for some baccy. It's hard. I felt a bit weak, do you know what I mean? Obviously I was giving baccy out and couldn't do nothing about it. But people's who's my age, you don't know what it's like. Obviously you know I won't give it out now because I've been here 5-and-a-half months now so I sort of know what to expect, know what these people are like.</p> <p><i>Of family – specifically father</i></p> <p>A bit of a letdown you know? He's let me down a lot in my life. He's like, 'I'll come down and visit you on a Friday' and I knew he weren't going to come cos he gets doubled up so he phoned up then on the phone he's like 'ah, sorry I didn't come today, my truck got broken into'. 'So will you come tomorrow?' 'Oh, I can't I haven't got a car'. He's a letdown to be honest. Like I'll speak to him now and send him letters but he just won't bother to write back or anything. It's my mum I can count on to be honest. I've always been a mother's boy.</p> <p><i>Of other family:</i></p> <p>It's kind of hard to get hold of my family because obviously I didn't have none of their numbers. And now I'm in prison it's trying to find</p>	<p>Relationship/ contact with father</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Negative – I feel like he lets me down.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> other family members</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Can't get hold of them – not too bothered?</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Feeling part of a family network/ structure</p>
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<p>The carers from the childrens' home I lived in keep in touch .</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They are not my family</li> <li>• They've got their own lives (<b>but I feel close to them</b>)</li> </ul> <p><i>They visit me, they are more like a family to me than the people to whom I am related</i></p> <p>Have 'learned my lesson' being in prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Don't want to be in prison in 30 years</li> <li>• Want different things for myself</li> </ul> <p><b>(‘Right’ sentiments about prison)</b> – <i>youthful and idealistic though?</i></p>	<p>people, get hold of them, get their numbers.</p> <p>I see some of the carers that worked with me in [REDACTED] cos obviously most of them live in [REDACTED].</p> <p>Sometimes they come and take me out for a KFC or something. It's not like they're family - they can't be there for me 24/7, they've got lives of their own to live, do you know what I mean? So, um, it's good to see them sometimes cos obviously I lived with them they worked with me for a long time and it wasn't like a normal children's home, it was, you know, a (7-bedded) family house, we were all really close like. But yeah, they come and see me more of the time, that's who my family are kind of thing.</p> <p><i>Of being in prison:</i></p> <p>I feel OK like. I've definitely learned my lesson to be honest. I been here 5-and-a-half months and just looking at other people in here has opened my eyes. Most kids my age, they don't care, do you know what i mean, they just go out and do the same thing again. I really want to get out and have a life, have a job. Obviously I'm only 18 but you know, I want a mortgage, I want a house, I want stuff. Sitting in here, when I look at some of the people in here, they're 40, 50-odd and look at the way they are, still on JobSeekers, in and out of prison and I don't want to be like that in 30 years, it's not a lifestyle I want, no way. Obviously I done my fair share of crime but I think I got to wake up and realise</p>	<p><i>Experiential claim:</i></p> <p>The people who cared for me in the children's home are more like family to me than my real relatives – <i>I feel cared for?</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i></p> <p>Being a career criminal</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I don't want this life for myself – <i>prison has put me off?</i></p>
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<p>Repeat of ‘definitely’ – got confidence back – <i>maybe refers to something else, like feeling less chaotic or vulnerable?</i></p> <p>Association is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alternate nights</li> <li>• Everyone goes out</li> <li>• Can play pool</li> <li>• There is no ‘trouble’</li> <li>• Fighting happens on other wings</li> </ul> <p><b>(Likes association)</b> – <i>doesn’t like being banged up?</i></p> <p>Doesn’t really like exercise on the yard. Doesn’t like:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The cold weather</li> <li>• The big fence enclosure</li> <li>• Lots of different types of prisoners</li> </ul> <p><b>(Exercise on the yard can be depressing)</b> – <i>but i still go out.</i></p> <p>‘I met a murderer’ – <i>sounds</i></p>	<p>this isn’t the life.</p> <p><i>Gaz describes his life outside prison which isn’t relevant, however he states he used alcohol to boost his confidence. The researcher asks about his confidence now, in prison:</i></p> <p>Definitely I got my confidence back, 100% like I been here 5 months. Seeing new people and that, definitely gets your confidence back 100%.</p> <p><i>On association:</i></p> <p>We have association every other night. Go out, play pool and all that. There’s not really any trouble on A wing because it’s a working wing. No-one really wants to get into a fight, any trouble or that kind of thing. For association it’s not the best wing because obviously it’s every other night and you’re banged up 24 hours. But...um, no-one gets in trouble. If you land up going on B wing and stuff like there’s most probably people fighting over there.</p> <p><i>On exercise:</i></p> <p>I go out on exercise but I don’t really like it. It’s cold and then there’s this big massive fence all around you....bunch of prisoners, the whole wing and some of the lifers on Saturdays....I don’t really like it out there to be honest. Although sometimes when you go out there, don’t get me wrong, get a bit of fresh air, but it can get you down, be a bit depressing.</p> <p><i>On there being life-sentenced</i></p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Self-confidence</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Feels more confident.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Going out on association</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Likes association, there doesn’t seem to be any trouble and wishes association was more often (than alternate nights) because doesn’t like bang-up.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Exercise on the yard</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Find exercise on the yard a bit depressing.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i></p>
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<p><i>a bit awed by this?</i></p> <p>Challenges the way he perceives life-sentenced prisoners act and what this says about their <i>remorse</i>? That lifers appear to be <i>happy</i> and <i>chatty</i> means they <i>don't care</i>? When Rich would care a lot?</p> <p><b>(Seems judgmental) –but not impressed?</b></p> <p>Bang up and asking officers for help and they don't is <i>negative</i>: But otherwise not much negative to say - <i>feels prison has helped him</i>.</p> <p>Thinks people go out of prison '10x worse' than when they went in, if they don't want to change or to help themselves.</p> <p><i>-Sees prison experience as</i></p>	<p>prisoners at [REDACTED]:</p> <p>It's all right. I been here 5.5m and I met some of them, you know. I met a murderer kind of thing. But it's the way they act about it to be honest that gets me the most. They just don't care, none of them to be honest. They're happy and chatty just walking around...yeah, if you killed someone, personally I couldn't live with myself if I killed someone, not the way they walk around anyway. Lifers' wing is an enhanced wing. If you been here 3m you can go on the lifers' wing and have assoc every single night. Got snooker tables and that. But to be fair I'm not going on there. But if anything's going to happen, like being bullied, it's going to happen on there because obviously they're in for life. They don't care what else happens to them. Some of them are going to be in here until they die. For a kid my age going on there it'd be hard, but I don't think you can go on there until you're 21 anyway.</p> <p><i>Q: What's been negative about your time here?</i></p> <p>Most probably bang up every other day, that's negative, bit of a downer. I guess when you ask screws to do something and they don't really do it then that's a bit of a downer but I don't really have bad things to say about the place. It's done me favours is all I can say. Which is kind of shocking because usually people go in (to prison) then get out ten times worse. Which they most probably do</p>	<p>Being in prison with life- sentenced prisoners</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> In awe a bit?</p> <p>Feels that lifers should behave differently because they've killed someone in some cases?</p> <p>Maybe a bit frightened <b>(for a kid my age)</b> – <i>But to be fair I'm not going on there</i> (lifers' wing).</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> negative features of prison</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> None – in fact it has helped me.</p>
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<p><i>a vehicle for his own change? Or thinks this is what he is supposed to say?</i></p> <p>Physical bullying would be the most frightening.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Was very worried when first went in to prison</li> <li>• Worried about cell-mate</li> <li>• Cell-mate physically large in stature – <i>but not scary</i></li> </ul> <p>Bullying is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Where others wear you down for your possessions – go on at you all the time</li> </ul> <p>Deal with it by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Getting used to it</li> <li>• Saying ‘no’</li> <li>• Standing up for yourself.</li> </ul> <p>Bullying:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Happens to everyone</li> </ul> <p>Standing up for yourself:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is the best way of dealing with it</li> <li>• Verbal resistance</li> </ul> <p>Staff will help if the bullying is really bad</p> <p><b>(Not sure why he retracts</b></p>	<p>for some people because that’s when they don’t really want to learn and don’t care, do you know what I mean? But it’s done me quite a lot of favours and I guess I’ve wanted a bit of a lesson, so it’s definitely done me a bit of a favour.</p> <p><i>About bullying:</i></p> <p>I guess if it was physical then I’d be petrified. Especially when I first come in. I <b>was</b> petrified when I first come in, I didn’t know who my pad-mate was going to be and when he come in he was 6ft my pad-mate was. He was a real big boy, but he was sound like. If they’re going to get physical to you out there then obviously I’d be petrified, scared to hell and all that I would never go out of my cell. They don’t get physical and all that, it’s not like they swear at you, it’s always on you all the time, especially when you just come in. All the time they’re on you for burn, shower gel. After a while you get used to it and end up saying ‘no’. At the end of the day you just got to stand up for yourself, do you know what I mean?</p> <p><i>Standing up for yourself:</i></p> <p>After the end you get used to it because obviously people are doing it all the time for anyone who comes in – someone’s doing it all the time. They’re gonna end up pushing them back, swearing, saying you know, get away, stop, I ain’t giving you no burn, it’s my burn, leave me alone like. If you’re actually really badly</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Getting bullied</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I was scared when I came in, frightened of physical bullying. Actual bullying was different – constant verbal pressure to give up possessions.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Standing up for yourself in the face of bullies</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I can stand up for myself – <i>or though I don’t need to because there’s no bullying??</i></p>
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<p><b>about never seeing any bullying)</b> – <i>fear of poss making allegations?</i></p> <p>Coping strategies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Try and think of positives</li> <li>• Try not to let things get to me</li> </ul> <p>Prison seems to become less frightening as you get used to it.</p> <p>There's a kind of protection <b>(the screws will break up a fight)</b> – <i>feel protected?</i></p> <p>Feeling scared and with no confidence, turned to alcohol <b>(Dutch courage)</b> – <i>again says wants to change.</i></p>	<p>getting bullied, like someone's on you all the time, or they're pushing you around then the staff will do something about it. Then they'll go down the block for that – there's zero tolerance bullying here, something will happen about it. But um....I never come across bullying to be honest, I haven't seen anyone that's being bullied or anything but you know it wouldn't be nice you know, to watch or anything.</p> <p><i>Q: How do you cope in here?</i></p> <p>I dunno. I think I'd just sit in my cell and lay down and think – try and think of the positives, like, not the negatives, do you know what I mean? Obviously some days you wake up and think 'it's going to be a good day today'; some days you wake up and think 'oh my times, I've got a long time to do in this place'. I do get down days quite a lot but I try not to let it get to me.</p> <p><i>More of life in prison:</i></p> <p>Well, obviously in here it's not the big open world, it's just one massive building if you think about it. You get used to the same people and all that. Out there you got no-one to look out for you and all that. Obviously in here you got the screws so if there's a fight or something you know it's going to be broken up. Out there it is a bit scary, do you know what i mean? I was petrified out there, I was scared to death out there, got drinking, got scared, come to</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Coping</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I try to be positive and not let things get to me.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Feeling scared/ vulnerable</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Feel safe – looked after? – in prison. Wants things to be different when released.</p>
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<p>Learning/Education became a choice when options were perceived as learn or sit in cell all day.</p>	<p>prison. I don't think I want it like that again when I get out.</p> <p><i>On choosing to do Education in prison (but not at school):</i></p> <p>When I lived with my mum I was kind of out of control, I didn't care or nothing, didn't care about no-one, just thought, you know, it's my choice, if I don't want to go to school. And it's like they say to you, you'll regret it when you're older but I do know right and wrong, do you know what I mean? I do regret it, I wish I had got qualifications and all that. But I guess in here, you can learn or sit in your cell every day, you're gonna learn, innit, so, yeah.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Engaging with Education in prison but not in the community</p>
<p>I get on with others best when I know them a bit (like my cell-mate)</p>	<p><i>Experience of other prisoners:</i></p> <p>I get on all right with my pad-mate, I been with him a couple of weeks now, yeah, I'm happy. There haven't been no negatives with any other prisoners really. Obviously you'll have the odd little argument with someone, something stupid, but I don't really argue, I keep myself to myself and that's the best way to be in here.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Getting on with others</p>
<p>I am not confrontational and avoid arguments. I survive by keeping myself to myself.</p>	<p>When you been in here a while you know what most people are like. It's not like they bawl and shout at you, they just want to use (your stuff) and obviously in here, you know what I mean, your toiletries are your luxury. I got loads of toiletries like. I build them up so it looks nicer. I use the prison shampoo, I don't use all mine, keep it all nice, do you know what I mean? They just want to use it and</p>	<p><i>Experiential claim:</i> When calm and rational and have no other pressures, I choose to learn because I know it will help me.</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I don't want to be noticed; keep myself to myself, avoid confrontation.</p>
<p>Other prisoners want to use your toiletries:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They ask all the time, wear you down</li> <li>• Say no to people you don't know</li> <li>• Cell-mate is OK – share with him</li> </ul> <p><b>(But doesn't even use it himself) – saves his own</b></p>	<p>When you been in here a while you know what most people are like. It's not like they bawl and shout at you, they just want to use (your stuff) and obviously in here, you know what I mean, your toiletries are your luxury. I got loads of toiletries like. I build them up so it looks nicer. I use the prison shampoo, I don't use all mine, keep it all nice, do you know what I mean? They just want to use it and</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Having toiletries as a luxury – to share or not to share</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I like my toiletries, in fact I collect them, but am more particular now who I let use</p>



<p><i>toiletries and uses the prison shampoo. Why?</i></p> <p>Was physically small when came into prison; has grown in the 5.5m there:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eating well and</li> <li>• Using the gym</li> </ul> <p><b>(Not as scary with adults as first thought)</b> – <i>some are OK, some not, but it wasn't as bad as anticipated.</i></p> <p>With the adult mix, the place seems quieter. Not so much 'gang'(regional) issue as in the YOIs (or HMP [REDACTED]).</p> <p>Would rather stay in [REDACTED]: <b>(talk of gangs in YOIs, especially [REDACTED])</b> – <i>worried about the conflict with possible gangs?</i></p>	<p>obviously, if it's your mate, you'll let him use it. But if it's some 'random' that comes up to your cell obviously you got to say no. When I first come in here i was scared to say no but you get used to it after a while and then you're just 'whatever' and walk off like.</p> <p><i>Of the mixed age population:</i></p> <p>I was kind of scared obviously because I'm only 18 and I was a really small person when I come in, honestly I was really skinny. I've put loads of weight on since I been in here – eating food and going to the gym and that, know what I mean? I was scared because there were adults but it ain't as bad as you think it's going to be. Obviously some of them can be idiots, but some of them are proper all right like. Some of them will look out for you on the landing. But yeah, it was kind of hard at first.</p> <p><i>Q: How safe do you feel in prison?</i></p> <p>In this jail, yeah, I feel safe. In [REDACTED] I definitely don't. There's not as many YOIs in this jail, do you know what I mean? Obviously all the friction boils up between young people. It's not like in here you've got a group of adults only from this area mainly with kids. [REDACTED]s got loads of kids from [REDACTED], [REDACTED], [REDACTED] and all that. Most of them don't get on, especially the ones in the Valleys, know what I mean? I'd prefer to stay here, I know you ain't got assoc every day but I'd still rather stay here – the time goes quick. When you</p>	<p>them.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Going into a prison with adults</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> It wasn't as bad as thought; some are OK and look out for you, some are idiots (and are to be avoided).</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Being mixed with adults as a YO</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I feel safer here and would rather stay. Adults are calmer and make us 'up our game'. No too keen on the gang scene.</p>
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	<p>first come in here the days drag like. Obviously you get used to the routine like. I get on with all the screws on my wing and everything. They're all pretty much sound like, see, I'd much rather stay here. The adults are more grown up; if you got gangs and that they just say, 'shut up man, don't want gangs what are you on about'. They don't want that sort of stuff so I think because they're more grown up you end up following them a bit sort of thing, just acting a bit more grown up, bit more mature than YOs because there are so many YOs and they're...everyone's scatty, it's like one nutty village man, I'm telling you. There's fighting all the time, bound to see a fight every day. It's more like a prison in London, you know, really bad, gang stabbings and that, do you know what I mean?</p>	
<p>Keep busy and got things to do during the week.</p>	<p><i>The regime/ routine:</i></p> <p>Time doesn't drag here for me to be honest. It's only the weekend that drags cos obviously you got bang up in your cell, you're not out working, you're not in Education so I think that bit drags. Friday to Mondays, that's the worst days for me.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i></p> <p>How time passes</p>
<p>Weekends with reduced regime is the hardest to do as most o the time is spent in cell.</p>		<p><i>Experiential claim:</i></p> <p>When I'm busy the time flies, at weekends with long periods in cell it is harder.</p>
<p>Gangs again – also YOs together make an environment very volatile.</p>	<p>Kids are like out of control on housing estates, running around, fighting, especially [REDACTED], [REDACTED], cities, they're bad there. So if you can imagine all them kids running around nicking cars, giving it all large, mugging people, all in one prison and all on one wing, then it's</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> YOs more 'hectic' when all together; calmer when adult (prisoners) are around.</p>

<p>Role models:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Are a good idea <b>(But I don't need one anymore)</b> – <i>not sure why backtracked on this?</i></li> </ul> <p>The routine – <i>the rules?</i> – are the hardest thing to get used to.</p> <p>Prison has some definite positives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sleep well</li> <li>• Eat well</li> <li>• Has expanded repertoire of foods will eat</li> <li>• The prison is clean.</li> </ul>	<p>going to be hectic, so you know what I mean? Fighting, arguing, I-was-here-first at the pool table or I-was-next. But I guess when it's adults I guess they're not into all that. I think it's much easier with the adults to be honest. Definitely.</p> <p><i>Role models:</i></p> <p>Every kid needs a role model. The thing is, if they ain't got a role model then they're looking up to the wrong people. That's why I sort of ended up the way I am, because obviously I was looking up to the wrong people on the council estate in my area. I don't think I need a role model any more to be honest, I've learned my ways, do you know what I mean? Definitely.</p> <p><i>Hard things about prison:</i></p> <p>The routine when you first come in is the hardest to get used to I think. The food times, the kit change and you're up early in the morning like, ten to 8 so it's really early to get up – you don't get much of a lie in.</p> <p><i>Good things about prison:</i></p> <p>I sleep fine in here cos obviously when i lived on my own like I found it hard to get to sleep. Can't have a spliff or anything but I find it easier to get to sleep now and I'm kipping or dreaming all the time now.</p> <p>The food's lovely. You wouldn't</p>	<p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I prefer it, it's better, it's calmer.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Role models</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Role models are good – <i>but I don't need one anymore.</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Prison life</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I'm finding prison OK and am getting on well – I sleep well and am eating much better than I did before I came in. I am probably more healthy.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Canteen</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I'm actually managing OK; would like more – <i>struggle a bit</i> –but seems to be managing</p>
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<p>Canteen is good – <i>like Christmas!</i></p> <p>Earns money each week from Education and mother sends money in</p> <p><b>(Says struggles with money)</b> – <i>not so sure, maybe how is able to get all the toiletries?</i></p> <p>Visits are stressful:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If people don't turn up and you aren't told</li> <li>• Or you are taken over to the visits hall and have to wait</li> </ul> <p>I prefer [REDACTED] coming to visit than my mother.</p>	<p>think so, but I love the food. I didn't like much food at all before i came in here, peas or stuff like that. I've been eating proper food in here, nice meals and all that.</p> <p>[REDACTED] prison's nice and clean too.</p> <p><i>Canteen:</i> My mum sends me money for canteen about once a month. I struggle with money sometimes because obviously you don't get much on Education, just £8 or £9 a week, just enough for a little baccy, some toiletries and all that. Canteen's.....I look forward to canteen I do, it's like Christmas!</p> <p><i>Q: What stresses you in prison?</i></p> <p>Most probably having a visit and no-one turns up like. That's happened a couple of times and I get a bit stressed out about that. People phone up and book now which I find easier to be honest. But when a visit don't come, it's kind of gutting, do you know what I mean? [REDACTED] (a carer from the children's home) is the person who comes and visits me but when she didn't turn up it was because she couldn't find her car key so she had to get someone to sort her car which cost her £200. Sometimes she's phoned up and cancelled but they've still taken me across. So I have to sit there for 2 hours. But my mum don't come and visit me at all – I don't want her to, I'd find it harder with her coming to visit me and it would be hard for her and all. I phone her and that and she sends me money and letters but, er, I don't really want her coming to prison – 'I'm going to see my son in prison',</p>	<p>well.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Visits</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Visits can be rewarding and disappointments; it's hard to be let down, worse if you're not told.</p>
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
	it isn't the best line, is it? So, er, I'd rather not see her.	
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Line by line coding table generating interpretations David	Transcript excerpts	Checking against core content
<p>Been in prison before.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some external things make it <b>harder</b> – (<i>nan's got cancer</i>)</li> <li>• Some external things make it <b>easier</b> (<i>got a girlfriend, want to settle down</i>)</li> <li>• Some internal things make it <b>harder</b> (<i>people try and bully you</i>)</li> </ul> <p>But you got to get on with it – <i>positive attitude helps?</i></p> <p>I get in trouble for fighting. This is because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People answer back</li> <li>• Others are 'cheeky'</li> <li>• People take things the wrong way</li> </ul> <p><b>(Threats are issued)</b> – <i>this is all part of prison life for me.</i></p> <p>If you back down from a fight:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• You'll get walked over</li> <li>• You'll get bullied</li> <li>• People will think you're</li> </ul>	<p>I been in prison before, in [REDACTED] and in [REDACTED] up in [REDACTED] (a YOI). It's difficult at the time like, because my nan, she's got cancer but er, I've got a girlfriend as well, I really love her and I want to settle down with her. Some things get on top of you sometimes, like people, they try and bully you, things like that. But you just got to get on with it. In every jail really like, people want to fight you, things like that. But you just got to get your head down, get on with it.</p> <p>I was shipped to [REDACTED] from [REDACTED] because I was getting into trouble and everything, for fighting and that. In [REDACTED], that's when I got my head down, got myself a job there and had it easy. Fighting for all sorts of things, like. Just a little 'chops' or something like that, people being cheeky, anything. If anyone thinks you're taking something the wrong way they say like, 'oh watch out tonight, we'll see what happens' and you got to see it coming then, do you know what I mean? Just go in your cell or whatever. That's how it works. It's the way you got to be like – if you're not fast, you're last. You'll either get hit, something like that and you got to do what you got to do. Just use your fist, don't use weapons like.</p> <p>Say someone's fighting in their cell or something and you say something, 'con, we'll have him' or something like that..basically you can't back</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Prison and things that make it harder</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I just have to get on with it. Tolerate it?</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Fighting</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Fighting is part of prison life for me, that's just the way it is. I accept that and live by that</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Respect</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Fighting is the way I</p>

<p>a nobody</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People will think you can't fight</li> </ul> <p><b>(Loss of face)</b> – <i>I don't want people who know me to think i can't fight: importance of image</i></p> <p>There are consequences for fighting:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Basic regime</li> <li>• No TV</li> <li>• Limited phone credit</li> </ul> <p><i>-stressful but I put up with it</i></p> <p>Concern about what this prison would be like:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wary</li> <li>• Who cell-mate will be</li> <li>• Relationship with officers – getting beaten up</li> </ul> <p><b>(Officers treat me badly)</b> – <i>retaliated (threw food over them) but nothing else can do, officers have the power.</i></p>	<p>down from it because otherwise you'll just get walked over all the time, you'll get bullied all the time, they'll just try and bully you. So basically if someone tries to fight you, you can't back down. You don't want people that you know you to think you can't fight, or you're a nobody basically.</p> <p>But doing your time like that is stressful, I'll be honest with you – on basic (regime), that's with no TV or anything, no TV, just canteen every week and what I got on my phone credit. It's difficult with no TV but you just got to get on with it.</p> <p>This is my first time in this prison. I did feel a bit wary like, what's it gonna be like, who's your next cell-mate like and things like that. But then you just got to get on with it really. Like the officers, they don't seem to help you at all like. Like I had a fight on F wing with this guy and they took me down the block and the officers come in and beat me up, yeah. They stamped all over my head and everything. I swear to god this is true, they beat me up and that. Couple of weeks later I threw my food over one of the officers and then all of them come in, switched the camera off and beat me up again. I got my solicitor involved. You see you can't do nothing, you're under their power like. They got you under lock and key basically and when you're locked behind steel you can't do nothing really.</p>	<p>maintain respect from my peers</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Consequences of fighting</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I put up with the negative outcomes for the respect I think it affords me.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> What will prison be like?</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I get treated badly - <i>it's not fair?</i></p>
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<p>My behaviour does have consequences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Been down the block for fighting</li> <li>• And throwing food over officers</li> <li>• I get small meals</li> <li>• I'm not allowed out of my cell</li> </ul> <p><b>(I am 'stitched up')</b> – so my behaviour is justified?</p> <p>-</p>	<p>I haven't had much trouble here. But sometimes you do 'go off' like and sometimes you don't. I've been down the block for 2m, just come out er, 3 weeks ago for fighting and, er, throwing my food over one of the officers. Only because they're stitching me up all the time, like coming to my cell and giving me little meals, things like that. I don't trust them like. Why can't I come out and get my food? That's like normal rights, coming out, getting your food. But they have me banged up all the time like when I was down there. They let me out every 2 or 3 days like to have a shower. It's not on like.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Being sent down the block and not allowed out of the cell</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I am treated unfairly, this is why I behave the way I do (-my behaviour is justified?)</p>
<p>Being in prison with adults:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is calmer, more 'chilled out'</li> <li>• YOs want to fight all the time for the slightest thing</li> <li>• Seem to get on with me</li> </ul> <p><b>(The prison is OK, chilled with adults)</b> – they don't challenge me as much?</p>	<p><i>About being in prison with adults:</i></p> <p>It's OK, more chilled out like. They (adults) are more chilled out, like. YOs my age they want to fight and that over stupid things, really stupid things, like anything, they say the slightest little thing out of order and someone'll think you're being cheeky and will want to fight you. But the adults are a bit more chilled out and laid back. They seem to get on with me like and that's what I'm doing, just kicking back, just chilling. So it's OK here though, a good jail. I don't like the officers here.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Being in prison with adults</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> It's OK – calmer than with YOs, not fighting all the time. I challenge the officers though, so I don't like them.</p>
<p>Cell-sharing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• With someone under 21</li> <li>• Can ask to share with a friend or relative</li> </ul>	<p><i>Cell-sharing:</i></p> <p>It's OK – I'm sharing with someone under 21. You can get away with it sometimes – if you ask one of the officers if you can get two-ed up with a friend or a cousin or a relative like, someone your age. As long as you're</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Sharing a cell</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> It's OK – share with under 21 year old. Sometimes you can</p>



<p>Coming to prison was <i>scary</i>:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Didn't know what to expect</li> <li>• Worried about the routines</li> <li>• The officers</li> <li>• Next cell-mate</li> </ul> <p><b>(Stressful as well)</b></p> <p>Prison was <i>easier</i>. Expected:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fights</li> <li>• Pecking order</li> <li>• Bullying</li> </ul> <p>Says it was not like that and it is <i>cool</i>.</p> <p>Fighting is caused by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Retaliation to a perceived slight</li> <li>• Standing up for yourself</li> <li>• Standing up for a principle</li> <li>• Standing <i>up in front of your peers</i></li> </ul> <p><b>(Important to safe face)</b> – <i>especially in front of peers; more important than negative</i></p>	<p>not over 21 and he's under 20 say, you've got to be the same age sort of. If you're both under 20 then there's no problem.</p> <p>On coming to this prison:</p> <p>I was expecting it...I dunno, it was scary like sort of thing, didn't really know what it would be like here. Bit scared what it would be like, the routines, like adult jail, um, how the officers would be, who'd be my next pad-mate. Sat behind the door, just looking at the door....Mad, like. Stressful as well.</p> <p>(When got here) it was a lot easier than I was expecting – I thought there'd be like fights all the time cos it's an adult jail, I thought it's be like all sorts really, people trying to get you off the phone so they could use it next, all sorts really. Like stitching you up on your food and all that so they can have more food, like the cleaners have their food....but it's all cool like. You get to know the ropes. But it's different on different wings like.</p> <p><i>More on fighting:</i></p> <p>For example, I'm on the phone to my nan and my girlfriend and this big guy says 'get off the phone or I'm going to rip your head off' kind of thing and all that. He says 'you been on the phone for ages'. Basically you get 10 minutes on the phone and then it beeps and then goes off and I wasn't even on for that long for it to beep. So i'm still on</p>	<p>ask to share with a friend/ relative.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> What to expect before arrived at </p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Stressful and a bit scary.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> What prison was actually like</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> It's <i>cool</i>, not as overtly challenging as was expecting (in certain respects) and different on different wings.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Fighting</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Fighting is one way I can save face in front of my peers – <i>their respect is very important</i></p>
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<p><i>consequences?</i></p>	<p>the phone and this guy's like 'get off the phone' and it had me going like I was going to punch him with the phone or something. I hung up and he comes up to me and like 'you don't speak to me like that', trying to 'boy me off' sort of thing, sort of bullying me. Then a couple of 'my boys' are standing by the pool table and they're just looking at me, thinking, like 'are you going to take that' like? Are you going to let him boy you off like that. So I just stuck the head on the guy, headbutted him, punched him with a left and a right and I had a nicking. I go down the block and I went to that outside adjudicator and I had 28 days extra. That was last week. Just for that. Basically the way I've been brought up like, you don't let no-one bully you or nothing like that; if you get hit then you hit back like. Don't back down, you gotta do what you gotta do basically.</p>	
<p>Face-saving is really important: <b>(fighting redresses this imbalance)</b> - <i>helps me feel like I'm maintaining others' respect even if other consequences for me are negative.</i></p>	<p>If you don't, your mates will look at you and think 'he's an idiot', like. 'Why's he letting the man take over, thinking he can do that like'. I know I'm the one who goes down the seg but at the end of the day if someone's trying to bully me and a couple of my friends are here and they're like 'why are you letting him try and boy you off' like, it would make me feel angry and I'd think like well I can't let these, my own boys, think I'm an idiot, that I'm a pussy and I'm not going to take it. So that's when I do something about it.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Being belittled in front of peers</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I cannot allow others to apparently put me down in front of peers in case they think I am weak.</p>

<p>Adrenaline comes before a fight.</p> <p>Some reasoning, then:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reputation</li> <li>• Get taken advantage of</li> <li>• Kindness is mistaken for weakness</li> </ul> <p><b>(Must fight to level this again)</b>  <i>– Fighting restores status and self-respect?</i></p>	<p>Feel adrenaline then like. Nuts, you go mad. Obviously you get a little, like ‘shall I, shall I not?’, think what’s going to happen, will I go down the block but then you just got to get on with it – do what you gotta do. Can’t let someone do it to you. It’s not just your reputation in prison going down the drain, it’s just they think, say someone was trying to be nice, oh yeah, have you got a roll-up and you give them a roll-up then you’ll see they’ll take kindness for weakness and then they’ll tell all their friends and they’ll all come to your cell and that, one after the other: ‘have you got a roll-up’ and if you end up giving them a roll-up you’ll end up getting pissed off like, excuse my language but you just end up saying that and they’re like ‘what are you being like that for’ and you’ll end up fighting like.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i>  Being thought of as weak</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I cannot let others think I am weak, therefore I must fight to prove myself.</p>
<p>Can’t go to the officers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Will be classed as a ‘grass’</li> </ul> <p><b>(The negative consequences are worth it) – self-respect maintained.</b></p>	<p>If you went to the officers you’d be classed as a grass. That’s the same in every prison; you don’t go and tell the officers or no-one. Whatever’s going to happen will happen, you’ll go to the cell or to the showers or something. It is gutting like (going to the seg) but after a week you just get on with it like, read books., chill, kick back, sleep all day, sleep all night, do press ups in your cell before you go to sleep at night, that’s it really.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i>  Dealing with things on own</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i>  Can cope with punishment for ‘greater good’ of keeping self-respect.</p>
<p>Probation comes in to help me. This is important if I’m not going to reoffend.</p>	<p>At the moment I’ve got no grief at all, no-one’s really started on me and the officers are treating me with a bit of respect. I’ve been getting help off probation as well; this woman that</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> I need help from outside agencies</p>



<p><i>harder for himself.</i></p> <p>Thoughts going through head:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is my girlfriend going to be faithful?</li> <li>• What's she doing now?</li> </ul> <p><b>(Makes him paranoid)</b> - asks for phone call on impulse during lock up?</p> <p>Talk to cell-mate about girlfriend:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He's in the same sort of situation</li> <li>• Girlfriend is very supportive</li> <li>• Tattoo on her back – (proves her fidelity?)</li> </ul> <p><b>(Prison creates the insecurity?)</b></p>	<p>that's all you do, your head does overtime, all this work keeps going just thinking and thinking and thinking that's all you do. That's all I do anyway, I mean I do think a lot like. I've had a hard time like since I been in here, but I seem to make it harder for myself. It don't help me really, I make it hard for myself. I could make it a lot easier – which I have done in the last few weeks.</p> <p>Negative thoughts are like, 'is your girl going to wait, is she going to be faithful, what's she doing'. You know you look out the window and you see the nice weather, you think 'rah, what's she doing now?' Gets you paranoid because you know you can't do nothing about it. I just knock on the door and ask the boss for a phone call, I mean what's wrong with just giving someone a phone call? You ask to use the phone and they're like 'no, no, no, you're not having a phone call and I'm like 'why not?' Because they don't want to let you out.</p> <p>I talk to my cell-mate. He's in the same sort of situation as well like, so there's the 2 of us stressing over the same sort of thing, about our girlfriends and that. It's better to have a cell-mate because, instead of you being sat in your cell on your own just thinking and that with no-one to talk to just stressing out, you can talk about it. My cell-mate's like 'oh well if she's sending you letters and all like that' and I see her on a regular...like she comes and sees me all the time, she writes me letters, money, pictures. I got support from her like. She's got</p>	<p><i>reflective?</i></p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Negative thoughts</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I wind up, then need to do something about it there and then. Don't like being told to wait.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Doubting girlfriend's constancy</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Insecurity, but am reassured talking to cell-mate to some extent</p>
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thought girlfriend was unfaithful</li> <li>• Was treated badly by staff</li> <li>• Self-harmed (cut arms)</li> </ul> <p><i>-Concerns about girlfriend led to poor behaviour?</i></p>	<p>being faithful. We split up. I sent her flowers and everything. We got back together but I was so down and depressed when I thought I'd lost her I just didn't want to live. Plus when I first come to prison they was treating me like mud basically on the floor. It did my head in.</p>	<p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Felt in low mood, cut self</p>
<p>Self-harm:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Didn't help</li> <li>• Leaves scars</li> <li>• So I stopped.</li> </ul> <p><i>-limited coping skills.</i></p>	<p>Self-harm don't help. Obviously you don't want to be going round when you're older like with scars on your arms so I stopped. I come off an open ACCT...I'm off my ACCT so I'm just getting on with it now. I'll talk to someone now instead. I'll speak to my family or my girlfriend on the phone. But that was mostly over my girlfriend see? So now things are good between us and I'm seeing her on a regular...and she's telling me 'I love you and I'm waiting for you no matter what'. It's normally me like says to her, like you better wait for me, I hope you're being faithful and then I gets letters off her saying oh you better not let go of me and all that' and that makes me feel like 'rah, yeah', I mean she wants me as much as I want her and that makes me feel much much much better.</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Worry about girlfriend's fidelity</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I feel bad, worried, so I self-harmed. Feel better when everything is OK with my girlfriend.</p>
<p>Sometimes a 'safe cell' is used for people who self harm</p> <p><b>(Contradictory comments: ..the officers don't do anything for you, and ..they're only trying to help you really) – from own experience?</b></p>	<p>I have seen a couple of people like, well there's a boy I'm with now he's cut his arms and everything. They've put him in a safe cell and that. He was down and depressed like. Like I look at him and I look at myself and I was like that and it's not nice, do you know what I mean? And the officers don't seem to do nothing for you like. They</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Use of safe cell for self-harm</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Some empathy/affiliation with</p>

<p>Everything is going well now, but if challenged, would resort to old approach/ fighting.</p> <p><b>(Can't have people walk over you)</b> - <i>fighting is only way I can assert myself?</i></p> <p><i>Bullying:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People getting robbed for their tobacco</li> <li>• Their drugs</li> <li>• Their medication</li> </ul> <p><b>(I just let them get on with it)</b> – <i>detached, a bit uncaring?</i></p> <p>Obviously it's not nice seeing people get bullied and all that</p> <p><i>-some retraction of above hard-line?</i></p> <p>Like it don't help they give you extra days for fighting:</p> <p><b>(that's gonna make you worse)</b></p>	<p>leave you banged up all the time ...they're only trying to help you really like, sticking you in the safe cell so you can't harm yourself then you think 'rah, they're taking the mick out of you' but they're doing it for your own safety.</p> <p><i>Q: How do you get on with other prisoners on the wing?</i></p> <p>There's no problem on the wing right now at this moment like. I haven't had no dramas, everything's going smooth right now and I been there for 3 weeks. If someone come up to me on the phone now I'd go back to my old ways, that's just the way it is like. You can't have someone walk over you in prison. As soon as you get walked over once then everyone will walk over you then.</p> <p><i>Q: How much bullying is there in prison?</i></p> <p>I have seen it, people being bullied, yeah, people getting robbed and that for their tobacco and all sorts of things really. Drugs, seen people being robbed for their drugs, their medication from the hatch, all sorts. I just let them get on with it, I tell you. As long as it's not me, know what I mean? I'm alive. As long as no-one gets on the wrong side of me and they don't come to me then I'm all right. Obviously it's not nice seeing people getting bullied and all that, I mean like a little kid. I'll say you can't do that to him, he's just a kid. I have seen a lot of it since....my experience like. Like</p>	<p>another prisoner who self-harmed?</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Being challenged</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> If challenged I will 'fight back' it is the only way.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Bullying</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I get into fights and this may be because am being bullied, or may be an excuse</p>
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<p><i>–has been involved in bullying</i></p> <p>Like because he started on me, the other guy: - <i>I was being bullied?</i></p> <p>What am I meant to do, stand there and take it? (<b>Rhetorical question</b>) – <i>excuse for fighting? Has been bullied?</i></p> <p>Doesn't care what other prisoners think:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Got 'my boys'</li> <li>• Got people who'll stand by me</li> <li>• I am used to looking over my shoulder</li> </ul> <p>(<b>Prison subculture</b>) - <i>I accept this and am part of this</i></p> <p>Thought the adult population would bully the younger:</p> <p>(<b>younger = more vulnerable?</b>) – <i>didn't really know what to expect</i></p> <p>Mixed population:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is different from what expected</li> <li>• More relaxed, more chilled</li> <li>• Some wings more tricky</li> <li>• Different regimes</li> <li>• Different officers</li> </ul> <p>(<b>Got to be on guard though</b>) – <i>despite being calmer, still can't relax</i></p> <p>Mostly the young offenders are 'running up' on the adults,</p>	<p>it don't help because they give you extra days for fighting and basically that's going to make you worse isn't it? Because when your day comes, like your actual release date, you've got extra days because someone else started on you. Like because he started on me, bullying me, the other guy I mean, what am I meant to do? Stand there and take it? It's not me.</p> <p>I don't care what other prisoners think of me. I mean I got my boys on the wing, I got people who'll stand by me, I've got people who'll back my case if I need it. If I don't need it, I know it's there. But other than that it's all cool. It's not like...every other wing I've been on it's like you got to look behind your back, yeah. Since I been on B wing there's none of that. It's more chilled out on B wing.</p> <p><i>Of the mixed-age population</i></p> <p>I thought like cos the adults are older and there's more of them than there is like younger, I thought they'd bully you, fight you for your tobacco and whatever else you got, shower gel and everything. It's stupid things really like. Like I didn't know you couldn't get two-ed up with an adult and all that...i don't know, I can't explain it.</p> <p>It's a lot different from what I thought it'd be. It's more chilled, more relaxed than I thought it would be but there is</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Self-image in front of other prisoners</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Image is important and I survive as long as others have my back.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Mixed population</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Didn't know what to expect of the mixed age groups</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Mixed population</p>
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<p>contrary to what you'd expect.</p>	<p>some wings where you got to look behind your back, some adults that will try and rob you, try and bully you, try and get your stuff. But being in an adult jail compared with a YO jail, the officers are different, different regimes, different ways of opening up the cell door, loads of different things like.</p> <p>But to be honest with you it's most of the young ones running up on the adults like. Some of the adults think they're all big and all that but you've got the younger ones like, doing it to the older ones. That's what it's like, it's mad like. Real nuts. You'd think like it'd be the older ones would have more advantage over the younger ones but the younger ones are just taking over, running up on the adults, fighting on the adults, beating the adults up...</p>	<p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Not as bad as thought but still need to be on guard</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> mixed population</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> The younger prisoners are the aggressors/ take the initiative</p>
<p>Don't feel entirely safe – 50/50:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anything could kick off</li> <li>• Some other prisoners will try to 'boy you off'</li> <li>• Welsh prisoners in English prisons are targeted for comment – 'sheep'</li> </ul> <p><b>(Sees these as challenges)</b> – <i>will respond aggressively, therefore environment not safe?</i></p> <p><i>-But, fight and you get respect?</i></p>	<p><i>Q: How safe do you feel in prison?</i></p> <p>50/50 really. Anything could kick off, anything could happen. You could get stabbed, anything could happen really. But I feel safe in a way, and I don't. I like, well, I do and I don't do you know what I mean? Anything could happen. On some wings people like try to 'boy' you off but on B wing it's more chilled. OK here but for some people it's like, yeah, you're from Wales and you're in an English jail, a lot of people are like 'oh, sheep, you're all sheep' and all that innit, cos you're from Wales and that (laughs) and making noises and all that, like sheep noises. But as soon as you tell them, 'well, let's have it then, let's go</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Safety</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> Don't feel entirely safe – <i>but might be due to experiences of fighting</i></p>

<p>There's nearly always a tense atmosphere in prison:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On the exercise yard</li> <li>• I'm on my toes anyway – <i>because of the way I do my sentence?</i></li> </ul> <p>Some prisoners are vulnerable – <i>I'm vulnerable?</i></p>	<p>to the cell', and have it out with them then it's all right do you know what I mean? They respect you then, you get respect. They just call you 'welshy' then if they don't want to call you by your name.</p> <p><i>Q: What is the atmosphere like?</i></p> <p>On B wing chilled. On every other wing there's always an atmosphere that something's going to go off. If you're on the exercise yard and people don't really like the look of you or something like that, you get wary of them do you know what I mean? There's always an atmosphere, always. Obviously I'm on my toes anyway, I'm always wary anything could happen any minute. But I haven't got in trouble with no-one over there, like I haven't had arguments with no-one – staff included like, do you know what I mean? I've had a couple of barneys with one of the screws who don't like me. He's block staff like. He don't like me at all. He was working on the wing yesterday and the officer said to me a couple of days before (different officer) 'you'd better keep your head down tomorrow' and I said 'why's that?' and he said 'cos your best officer's on'. I said 'who's that then?' and he said 'wait and see' and who come to my cell in the morning? Mr X (laughs). 'Yo. Chill it is today, innit. It was OK.</p> <p><i>Final words:</i></p> <p>Like, some prisoners are vulnerable and it's hard for them. It's always</p>	<p><i>Focus of concern:</i> The atmosphere is tense; primed for an incident</p> <p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I always expect trouble – with staff and prisoners alike.</p> <p><i>Focus of concern:</i> Advice for coping in prison</p>
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<p>Talking to someone helps – <i>I’ve tried this; I’ve got medication too</i></p> <p>Got to get your head down – <i>knows he needs to do this, but hasn’t managed it so far</i></p> <p>Writing letters, making phone calls and keeping contact with family – <i>are all very important</i></p> <p><b>(Self-harm links to not coping)</b> – <i>regrets cutting arms now, worried about the scars.</i></p>	<p>good to talk to someone like your cell-mate or ask to speak to a Listener or to the Samaritans, which I’ve done myself, I’m not going to lie to you. Basically you got to get your head down, get the head you need, get the medication to stop you stressing. You see I’m on medication myself now, Fluoxetine, anti-depressants – they have helped me a bit as well. My advice would be to get your head down, make sure you write letters, make phone calls, make sure you get your visits and the important thing is to make sure you get your money sent in so you can speak and do what you want. It’s hard like, basically you’re sitting in your cell like, pulling out your hair. That’s when I cut my arms...and I didn’t even ring the bell, I just got back into bed after I done it. So down and that. When the officer looked in he saw the blood all over the floor and everything they all come in and that and I had paper stitches, glue and all that on my hand. But I don’t want to be walking around like that when I’m 30 with my daughter and having scars and that all up my arms. Hopefully they’ll just fade and go the colour of my skin.</p>	<p><i>Experiential claim:</i> I’ve struggled with my time in prison but I know what I need to do to manage better.</p>
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## Appendix 8 – Emerging themes spreadsheets

STEVE

Steve <b>Emerging themes: MENTAL HEALTH</b>			
Page no/ Line no	Text		Comments
15/320	Asked to speak to a CPN		
15/334	Anger problems, things like that; mental health issues		
16/365	Want to see CPN to sort my head out		
17/375	Gets in funny moods. Want to see CPN, sort it out		
18/401	Mother can see it sometimes, she just goes 'calm down'. I'd be shaking		
18/403	My head just ticks I got to hit something. Really aggressive		
20/446	Was supposed to get mental health assessment on the out but was 'too busy'		Wants help now though?
21/471	There are some things I don't understand. CPN would help get to the bottom of it.		As a result of off-the-record comments P1 made, I referred him to the In Reach MH team

Steve <b>Emerging themes: BOREDOM</b>			
Page no./ line no.	Text	Comments	
1/4	Stuck in cell 23 hours a day	Participant seems determined to see prison as 'boring'.	
1/6	Get to go on exercise...but then "you're still banged up all day"	Even though there are things to do, he chooses not to do them.	
1/7	Going to be out in 2 weeks - not worth bothering to apply for a job	Doesn't seem to be very resourceful in keeping occupied, finding things to do.	
1/10	Tried Education but that didn't work		

1/13	Didn't finish Education induction	Page & line no. refs given so focus of concerns and experiential claims can be checked as other interpretations emerge.	
3/39	Been waiting a month to go to the gym		
3/51	Jail was just as expected; nothing to do. Boredom	Again, seems set on prison being boring	
4/54	Doesn't use the library		
4/59-60	Nothing to do in cell, just chill, wait to go off (to sleep).		
6/106-9	On remand there's nothing to do, just wait to get sentenced	An excuse to be bored?	
8/140	Boredom linked with 'causing trouble' on the out		
18/408	All you do is lay on your bed and chill. There's no space to walk around		
20/451	Everything in this jail goes slow	Because nothing to fill time?	

Steve <b>Emerging themes: BELONGING</b>			
Page no/ Line no	Text		Comments
2/33	Shared a cell 'with some kid' - suggestion didn't 'know' him so didn't engage		
3/50	Reference to having 'other boys' in the prison	This theme seemed an important one to Steve - lots of refs to 'my boys' - people from the same area, what was important for him in prison.	
4/63	Knowing 'loads of people' in prison: on exercise yard this is important		
5/86-7	Only wants to share a cell with someone from own area		
6/95	I got boys from Birmingham' (sharing a cell with someone from B'ham)		
7/125-7	Some people get grief from others when they don't know anyone		
7/28	I'll be OK because I'm from [REDACTED] in a [REDACTED] prison		
8/146	Despite need for in-group, "it's not good going on in other people's business"		
9/176	Didn't like one cell-mate - out-group? (Looked scared)		
10/190	I seen my boys wind him up - don't expect me to stick up for you		
11/211-2	I know a lot of people in jails		

12/248	I'm just 20 now and a lot of my boys is 22/ 23 (years old)	Wouldn't be able to see them in prison if adults housed separately
14/308-9	I have no trouble here because I know loads of people	
16/348-50	Friendships in prison are different - 'you become very close'	
20/465	A lot of the adults are only 23. In my eyes that's my age, they're all in my age group.	
22/508	Prefer being with people own age.	

Steve <b>Emerging themes: HELP</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
1/10-1	Tried education - staff 'treated me like shit'	
2/22	Asked staff for help - says was told should know how to do something and wasn't given help	There seems to be a theme emerging about access to help in prison, but also something about staff engagement with this (perception that the staff 'don't care').
5/75	Says was given no help on induction wing	
8/154	Staff can't be bothering with a fight (but don't help people)	
9/182	Nothing staff could (or would?) do to help vulnerable prisoner (P1's cell-mate)	
15/331-2	Asked for specific help for mental health issues. Says waited 3m and still heard nothing.	Interprets this as staff don't care?
16/367	Never done programmes in prison - 'things like that stress me out'. They're all undermining you...I don't take that at all'.	Programmes don't help, they stress me out more?
18/410-4	I've tried (asking for help) so many times - from Healthcare. A female member of staff was helpful but what could she do?	
18/415-8	Someone seriously depressed might harm themselves, become suicidal	Talking about himself?

20/446	Was meant to have mental health support on the out, but he (Steve) was 'always too busy'	
20/453	Everything's too slow - even the dentist. Takes about 6 months to see the dentist: 'teeth'll fall out by then'	

Steve <b>Emerging themes: VULNERABILITY</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
8/155-7	Refers to life inside and outside prison - outside there's 'nowhere to hide'	The references to vulnerability seem to be in two parts: bully and/ or be bullied. Steve says people don't pick on him but he admits to bullying a cell-mate to 'toughen him up'. Vulnerability is inside and outside prison, which seems an interesting distinction for comment.
9/166-7	People get 'walked over' especially if they don't stand up for themselves	
9/171-5	Bullies can tell by the look in someone's eye if it's their first time in prison or if they're scared	
9/178-80	(I) pick on people to toughen them up (e.g. cell-mate)	
10/200-1	Perception bullying happens less in mixed population	
14/305-7	Standing up for yourself can sometimes lead to fights	
20/456-9	Safer in prison because enemies on outside.	



Steve <b>Emerging themes: COPING</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
7/129-33	Wants to make sentence as easy as possible for self; just 'do time' and get out	Coping links with some of the other emerging themes, however it seems that P1 has no developed coping strategies, or has developed maladaptive ones (not caring, letting things 'wash over' him , punching walls etc).
9/158-61	Distances self - detached - as way of coping	
11/231-5	Trying not to care about things	
15/319-26	Copes with bad news by 'punching' something in cell or letting it 'wash over' him - avoidant	
15/388	Just 'stopped caring' in order to cope	

Steve <b>Emerging themes: RESPECT</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
2/16-7	Feels badly treated by staff	Again, this theme may link in more with others, however it appears to have some stand-alone element in that P1 thinks people should be given respect - staff and other prisoners.
2/21	Attitude of staff is perceived as poor (and personal)	
9/164	Some people are 'cheeky'; deal with them by giving them a 'slap'	
13/283-91	Cell-mates should be clean - 'it's where I live'	

Steve <b>Emerging themes: FAMILY</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
12/238	Gets visits from family	
14/311	Wouldn't mind being in prison in England, except wouldn't get visits from family because too far to travel	

15/325	Stuff has happened to family since been in prison - don't let it bite	
15/328	Have had problems with family on the out	
16/346	All I care about is my family and that's about it	
17/388	Mother noticed I'd stopped caring. She tried to help but I didn't want to help myself	Family seems important to Steve but also the cause of some of his problems

### Steve **Emerging themes: THE BLOCK**

Page no/ Line no	Text
8/156	Nowhere to hide in prison - unless you go down the block (segregation)
14/296	Don't want to fight and get sent down segregation; just make it hard on myself

Steve <b>Emerging themes: SELF-HARM</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
15/319	Punch a wall if get bad news	
18/414	Some poor soul might string himself up because the jail's not helping him	
18/419	Don't see the point in self harm. Do nothing for me. No good self-harming.	
19/421	Punching the wall's not to harm yourself. If I don't punch the wall then I'll punch someone	
19/424	My hands are battered, damaged, they couldn't get worse from punching walls/ doors etc).	Steve had been on an open ACCT document - classed as vulnerable to suicide/ self-harm - prior to the interview

PAUL

Paul <b>Emerging themes: MIXED POPULATION</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
6/25	Get on fine with everyone. Just 'don't start'. Everyone's friendly	
7/7-8	The mixed pop is fine. If all youths likely to be more trouble.	
7/9-10	Youths younger & more active - more testosterone in their bodies	
7/12	Mixing them up chills the atmosphere	
7/24-5	People don't stick to their own age groups; there's no groups that hang around together	
8/1-2	Wasn't worried about being in with adults, age not a problem	But said had concerns prison might 'change people'
13/10	Better if the age groups are mixed up a bit	Because 'hectic' if all young people on one wing
13/11	Should share a cell with someone your own age so you have something in common	
13/13	If wing filled up with just young people would be 'hectic'	
13/21	With the adults it seems pretty chilled out	
15/6	Older people just want to sleep all the time or don't want to talk to you (so should share a cell with someone own age)	
15/8	Older people's mentality is different	
15/9	Younger people are more talkative, more active, up for playing games, things like that	
15/12	21 is not a good cut-off age - you're still the same as a teenager at 21, not an adult	21 year olds still quite impulsive

Paul <b>Emerging themes: UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT PRISON</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
1/1	(Prison is) pretty easy going, well not easy going....the worst bit is being in here	
1/4	Went to HMP [REDACTED] first of all, not sure why, think [REDACTED] was full	
1/10	It was a bit.....unusual	
1/11	Didn't think was going to get remanded in custody - was a shock	Wasn't expecting to even come to prison
2/1	Didn't have a picture, didn't know what to expect	
2/2	Induction helps you get used to being on a proper wing	
2/5	Easier than thought it would be	
2/19-20	Thought it would be harder, the boys a little bit worse: harder, arrogant	Thoughts about other prisoners
3/3	Didn't know what the facilities would be like	
3/19	Exercise yard - jail, not luxury	
8/4	Was worried about if being locked up turned people a bit different	Thought wouldn't be safe?

Paul <b>Emerging themes: ACTIVITIES</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
3/3	Mentions the facilities he wasn't expecting	Like Education & training
3/4	Like the gym, get an Education	
3/7	You get to choose to do a couple of things	You're not told exactly what to do?
3/10	Go out on exercise for 45 minutes	
3/14	Association for an hour	
4/4	You can do things like religion	
4/6	Could get a job being a cleaner - but not going to be here long enough	Are they discouraged from applying for work if not going to be there for long?

10/5	Can get boring in the day so find things to do like play cards, play chess, try to keep occupied.	Resourceful?
13/22	The atmosphere's quite boring	I.e. No fights all the time, like a YOI?
14/3-4	When the first few days have gone by there's not as much to do and it's boring	

Paul <b>Emerging themes: FAMILY &amp; VISITS</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
1/2	Misses family - worst thing about prison	
1/7	Was in [REDACTED] initially - got no visits, family live in [REDACTED]	
4/10	Family send money in	Important as doesn't work
4/25	Misses family - worst thing about prison. Gets visits though	
5/5	Has quite a few visits from family	
5/9-13	Get good things to talk about with family on visits but it's hard when they leave	
5/14	Writes letters to family and gets phone calls - other ways of keeping in touch	Again, resourceful?
5/18	Doesn't see the children - oldest boy would ask too many questions	
10/22	If got bad news, would probably ask brother to 'sort it out' (if it needed sorting).	
11/12	Family know he's OK because they visit, can see he's coping OK so 'their minds are settled' on that score.	Important for family to think all is well

Paul <b>Emerging themes: MONEY &amp; CANTEEN</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
4/11	You can get money sent in that goes on your canteen	Important as doesn't work
4/11	If you have a job you get money - like Education	But still chooses not to?

4/13	But I manage anyway, manage to get food to last me a week, with baccy and things like that	
4/14	Get a couple of packets of biscuits, and that, for later	You can get yourself treats - 'extras' on your canteen
5/15	Depends how much money you have on your canteen whether you can use the phone or not as on mobiles 'the money goes pretty quick'	Have to budget well

Paul <b>Emerging themes: ROUTINE</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
3/9-15	Description of routine in prison	
9/8	Can't do things when you want, like ask for a rizla from someone at bang-up	
9/17	Staff cut association by half an hour which 'wasn't on'.	
9/21	Annoyed when routine disrupted	
9/22	Things should be at a certain time every day	Seems very exercised by things not being done at the right time
9/30	When let out late they (the officers, the system?) don't extend time for that missed	Thinks that's 'out of order'
9/35	More detail about times when routine is disrupted i.e. Milk in am is late	Says finds it 'annoying': 'winds me up that does'
14/9	Routine is important - when officers are late to unlock it's annoying	
14/12	Recognises there's not much he can do about it so tells himself that	

Paul <b>Emerging themes: FOOD</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
4/13	Manage to get food to last me a week (food P2 buys on his canteen)	
4/14	Get a couple of packets of biscuits on canteen - 'it's hungry work in prison'	
14/23	Recognises being hungry is a trigger for a change in mood or when the food is served late	Links with theme 'ROUTINE'

Paul <b>Emerging themes: RELATIONSHIPS</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
5/3	(Has 2 children) Not with the partner I have now. I had the kids with my ex-partner	Doesn't want them to visit in prison, says older boy would 'ask questions'
6/1	Going through a bad patch with ex-partner; don't want anything to do with her when get out of prison	
6/18	Ex-partner and current partner don't get on. Current partner will probably make him see kids when she's not around	
10/21	Trusts girlfriend - 'she goes round my Mum's most days'	This is measure of trust?

Paul <b>Emerging themes: BULLYING</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
7/15	Has seen no bullying whatsoever	
7/17	Hasn't seen anyone harming themselves	
7/19	Says has seen no fighting, no bullying, nothing	
7/21	Has seen no racism	
8/24	Says would challenge any bullying if saw it happening	

8/26	Wouldn't tell a prison officer - that's 'out of order' -> labeled a 'grass'?	
8/29	Bullying could lead the victim to harm themselves	Not sure how honest P2 is being about this

Paul <b>Emerging themes: SHAME</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
11/18	Being in prison is not 'big'	
11/19	Didn't want anyone to know he's in prison	
11/22	It's not like a 'life experience'; it's not a nice experience	
11/26	Saying you've been in prison doesn't look too good	
12/18	Never wants to go back to prison again	Seems to be some level of regret is now in prison.

Paul <b>Emerging themes: ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
11/27-9	Had many different restrictions imposed to try and control behavior but nothing seemed to work	
12/2	ASB is a stage 'everyone' goes through	
12/6	Current offence(s) 'mistake'? Had been 'clean' (off drugs) and offence happened when he was drunk	Not taking responsibility?
12/9	Offence was actually 2 offences: common assault & criminal damage	Some minimisation?
12/12-4	Of all the offences committed in the past: burglaries, nicking cars etc. & goes to prison for pushing someone and breaking the strap on her handbag	Little victim empathy/ awareness shown



# RICH

Rich <b>Emerging themes: MENTAL HEALTH</b>				
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments		
1/5	P3 states he gets panic attacks			
1/7	Describes symptoms: can't breathe properly, hyperventilates			
1/8	Takes prescribed medication for anxiety/ panic attacks			
1/13	Too many people, doesn't like crowded places			
2/17	Hears voices			
2/21	Can't concentrate; mind wanders			
3/2-3	Takes meds to block the voices but likes valium			
3/4-5	Takes meds for depression and anxiety - likes this, feels better			
3/8-10	Will seek valium from GP when released			
3/20	Found 'mixing' the hardest part of prison 'I don't mix well'	Linked to general feelings of anxiety		
9/6	Says does not feel safe - 'paranoid' others watching him.	Linked to mental health, but reality in prison?		

Rich <b>Emerging themes: DETOX</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
1/11	Was put ('chucked') onto detox wing as soon as arrived in prison	Chucked' implies he's not cared about?
1/14-5	Detoxed for 2 weeks, put on valium for alcohol withdrawal then weaned off that: "gradually brought me down like".	V chaotic life. Only 18
2/14-7	Detoxing is 'hard work' - 'clucking' for your next meds. 'Cold turkey'	Very 'drug-speak'
2/15	Smoked 'weed'	
3/6	Voices started when first took 'miaow'	Plant fertilizer. Street drug

7/9-10	Likes taking drugs & drinking alcohol but sees it as underpinning his offending behaviour	Some insight
7/12-3	Enjoy it (drugs & alcohol) and have a laugh but can't be doing it anymore	Recognises the harm

Rich Emerging themes: ADJUSTING TO PRISON		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
2/1	Was' talked through it' but found the experience totally different	Due to lack of ability to concentrate, assimilate and generalise the information given?
3/17	Found prison 'hard to get used to, the routine, getting dinner and all'	
5/4	Long 'bang up' is difficult	
5/14	You just got to 'ride' the bang up	Is a poor coper though. No mention of activities given to keep occupied

Rich Emerging themes: CELL SHARING		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
2/9-10	Was told could not share a cell ("get 'two-ed up'") with an adult	
2/12	He shared a cell with another 18 year old	
2/13	Said he would have been fine sharing with an adult "you gotta get on with it"	Indicative of a more general acceptance of things/ issues?
5/1	Shares a cell 'with a boy from my area'	Knowing someone in prison is important?

Rich Emerging themes: FAMILY & VISITS		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
4/14	Has little support from family - says just mother and auntie.	Family has issues?
4/16	Mother has only visited once - he'd like it to be more often	Feels neglected?

Rich Emerging themes: MONEY & CANTEEN		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
5/16-7	Money is a problem. Depends on mother sending some in but she hasn't	
5/19-20	Has not applied for a job because still awaiting sentencing	May have been put off by staff/ MH issues also
10/14	Today's canteen - can't wait man!	Prisoners can buy tobacco, biscuits and other food on their canteen. P3 loves getting his canteen

Rich Emerging themes: SELF-HARM		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
6/9-10	Stress, nothing to do, panicking "that's when I cut up"	I need to be more busy/ occupied?
6/14	Just get a blade and think 'fuck it' and cut myself	
6/15-6	Doesn't really know what the self harm does for him. First cut his arm 'years ago'	Habit?

Rich Emerging themes: COPING		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
8/3	Says just bottles everything up	Generally describes quite avoidant coping

8/4	Takes drugs to block stuff out	No real strategies - or all maladaptive
8/9	Keeps self to self - "can't go wrong then"	
8/10	Stay away from the dickheads	

GAZ

Gaz <b>Emerging themes: ANXIETY (not knowing what to expect)</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
1/2-3	Worried about coming into prison (didn't know what to expect)	These seem quite normal anxieties
1/9-10	Worried about who would share a cell with (didn't know what it would be like)	Was anxious on the out - says drank alcohol for 'dutch courage'

Gaz <b>Emerging themes: BULLYING (having your possessions taken off you)</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
1/3	Thought might get pushed around	
1/17	Some cell-mates take my stuff	Seems to just accept this
1/19	Don't want to let people push you around	But has no choice?
2/9	The older (adult) prisoners can be intimidating. Think they can take 'baccy' off the YOs	This happens. He has had his tobacco taken by other prisoners
2/12	The older prisoners 'were all on me' because 'I was small when I first come in'	Also 'Vulnerability'. Small physically
2/13	Gave them my tobacco at first because I was scared	

2/15	Asked for help - told 'don't give it (tobacco) to them' or they'll nag you for it then you have to give it out then	
2/19-20	When you're new on the wing you're a bit of a target. 'I know you smoke....It's hard' (to say no)	
2/21	I felt weak, giving baccy out and not being able to do anything about it	Honest
5/22	Has not experienced physical bullying, but was scared of this	
5/26	If bullying was physical he would never have gone out of his cell	
5/26-7	They are 'always on you' for tobacco, toiletries etc	
6/4-6	Staff will do something about 'really bad bullying' - 'zero tolerance'	Reassured by this?

Gaz <b>Emerging themes: ADAPTING (getting used to things)</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
2/7	Got to get used to the adults in prison	
2/23-4	Been in 5.5m - know more about what to expect; know what these people are like	Expert now?
5/29	You get used to it (bullying) and end up saying no	Built up confidence and self-assuredness
5/30	Got to stand up for yourself	
7/25	You get used to the people in prison	
8/12	Don't argue with others, keep myself to myself and that's the best way to be in prison	Try and become invisible - then they won't take your stuff either?
8/19-20	You get used to (people asking for your stuff) after a while and then you're like 'whatever' and just walk off	Becomes braver
9/5	But it isn't as bad as you think it's going to be	

10/2	Getting used to the routine (days drag less)	
12/33	The routine is the hardest bit to get used to	Might make mistakes? Be in the wrong place at the wrong time?

Gaz <b>Emerging themes: FAMILY</b>			
Page no/ Line no	Text		Comments
2/25	Sees father as a letdown - makes promises, doesn't keep them, makes excuses		Doesn't have much contact with father
3/1	I can count on my mum - 'always been a mother's boy'		But actually doesn't want mother to visit
3/4	Can't get hold of other family members, doesn't have contact numbers		Doesn't sound too bothered by this
3/8-9	Carers <i>aren't family</i> because they can't be there 24/7		But strong implication he does see them as family, and more so than his blood relatives
3/14	The carers from the children's home are more like a family because they visit and are there for him more than his own family		
13/13	Mother sends in money for canteen about once a month		Some familial obligations?
13/20	Becky (former carer at children's home) is main visitor		
13/24	My mum doesn't come and visit me - I don't want her to, I'd find it hard		
13/26	Good relationship with Becky - she's like a sister		Again, described as familial relationship
14/2-3	I don't want my mum to come to the prison: 'I'm going to visit my son in prison', it isn't the best line, is it?		Ashamed?

Gaz <b>Emerging themes: POSITIVES</b>			
Page no/ Line no	Text		Comments

3/15	Definitely learned lesson. Been in prison 5.5m , seeing others has 'opened eyes'	Maybe thinks this is what researcher wants to hear?
3/19-23	Have hopes for future: look at others in prison, don't want that lifestyle.	
5/16	Prison has done me favours - learned me a lesson	
9/3-4	Put loads of weight on - eating well and going to the gym	
13/4	Find it easier to sleep	
13/7	The food's lovely! Didn't eat much before came in to prison - now eat lots of different things	Against a very chaotic, fearful life outside, the structure of prison life seems attractive
13/12	The prison is clean	

Gaz <b>Emerging themes: VULNERABILITY</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
2/12	The older prisoners 'were all on me' because 'I was small when I first come in'	Sees self as weak and small
2/21	I felt weak, giving baccy out and not being able to do anything about it	
4/10	Sees self as having more confidence now settled (and been in 5.5m)	Sees self as less vulnerable now than when came in: 100%
5/7	For a kid my age' it would be frightening going onto the lifers' wing	Seems a bit in awe of the life-sentenced prisoners
5/23	When first came in was 'petrified'; of who cell-mate was going to be and of being bullied physically	
8/19	When I first come in I was scared to say 'no'	
9/1	I was scared because I was only 18 and a really small person, really skinny when I first come in	Was very vulnerable when first came in to prison
9/4	Was scared because there were adults	

Gaz <b>Emerging themes: ACTIVITIES</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
4/12-7	Association - positive experiences, likes association	
4/18-21	Exercise - negative experiences, doesn't like exercise on the yard, finds it 'depressing'	
4/24	Does Education	
8/6-7	Choose Education when alternative is to sit in cell all day	
9/4	Going to the gym	Has helped boost confidence and gain stature?

Gaz <b>Emerging themes: LIFERS</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
4/29	Met a murderer' on Education classes	Seems a bit awed by this?
5/1	Lifers appear 'happy and chatty'	Implication is they shouldn't because they have killed someone?
5/2	Personally I couldn't live with myself if I killed someone	Big step from P4's offending (in his eyes) to 'killing someone'?
5/7	Some of the lifers're going to be in here until they die	
5/8	For a kid my age going on there (lifers' wing) it'd be hard	Sees lifers as different

Gaz <b>Emerging themes: NEGATIVES</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
5/13	Bang up every day is negative	
5/14-5	Asking for help from the officers and them not helping is a 'downer'	P4 doesn't have many negatives for his time in prison, mostly positives. When talking though, he does describe a failry chaotic lifestyle outside



		He doesn't describe the bullying as negative, which is strange (although doesn't think he's being bullied?).
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Gaz <b>Emerging themes: SAFETY</b>			
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments	
9/16	Feel safe in this jail		
9/17-8	Not as many YOs - friction boils up when there are a lot of YOs		
9/20	Not so many gangs in Cardiff (YOs from different areas)	This seems to relate to P4's feelings of safety	
10/14	Feel a bit safer where's there more staff (i.e. in Cardiff)		
10/19-22	The adults don't want gangs - makes atmosphere calmer than when all YOs together	Gangs' is almost a theme for P4, he mentions gangs a lot	

Gaz <b>Emerging themes: MONEY &amp; CANTEEN</b>			
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments	
13/13	Mother sends in money for canteen about once a month	Grateful to his mother, but he doesn't want her to visit?	
13/14	Struggle with money because don't get much on Education (£8-9 a week)	Budgeting important	
13/15	I look forward to canteen - it's like Christmas!	Like a child...(P4 is 18 years old)	

Gaz <b>Emerging themes: STRESSORS</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
13/17	Visits are stressful if people don't turn up & you aren't told	Feel let down, unloved?

13/19	When a visit doesn't come it's 'gutting'	Disappointing when you look forward to someone coming to see you and they don't come
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## DAVID

David <b>Emerging themes: FIGHTING</b>			
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments	
1/9-10	In every jail, people want to fight you	Need to fight to maintain self-respect? Respect from others?	
1/13-4	Getting into trouble for fighting	Was shipped to another prison for fighting	
1/16	For any reason, other prisoners being 'cheeky'	Again, link with RESPECT	
1/21	That's how it works, (fighting) is how it's got to be	Somewhat fatalistic view - can't back down from a fight	
3/21	Gets regularly sent to the block for fighting	Seems to just accept these consequences	
4/20	Before arrived thought there'd be fights all the time		
5/15	Describes precursor to a fight - was upset that his nan is ill, wants to use phone, spends long time on phone, is challenged by another (older) prisoner	Nan and girlfriend story self-justifications for spending long time on the phone when others are waiting?	
5/29	Headbutted him and punched him with a left and a right (for challenging me in front of 'my boys')	Detail given, trying to impress?	
6/11-2-	Describes a fight in a YOI - challenged by another prisoner for a mop (said he'd had it too long) - perceived offer of a fight 'come to my cell', so had a fight	Same principles applied to fighting in YOI or current jail - can't be perceived to look a fool	
6/21	Get adrenaline 'rush' before fight	Some evaluation: 'shall I/ shall i not?' but need to fight seems strong	
7/1	Can't ask for help (from officers) or will be classed as a 'grass'	Therefore have to fight - seems to be a justification	

7/23	I's fighting for my 18m old daughter	Even his vocabulary is 'fighting'	
12/23	They give you extra days for fighting - that's going to make you worse	Makes me worse? Gives to grievance thinking/ rumination?	
14/30	Have to retaliate; have to fight to get respect: 'Don't back down'	Link with theme of RESPECT	

David <b>Emerging themes: RESPECT</b>				
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments		
2/12-3	You can't back down or you'll get walked over			
2/16	Consequences of fighting (negative) - still do it though	Can't be seen to back down		
3/9	Cardiff is a 'black'n'white' jail (Public sector): get treated with more respect by staff in private prisons	Comparing with Parc?		
5/27-8	My boys' standing by the pool table looking at me - are you going to let that guy treat you like that?	Belief driving behaviour: if I don't fight they won't respect me		
6/1-2	(If you don't fight) then your mates'll look at you and think 'he's an idiot', why's he letting that man walk over him?	It seems very important what others think in this situation		
6/8	Can't let my own boys think I'm a pussy	Got to live up to some image or other		
6/27	People take kindness for weakness	I-can't-be-taken-advantage-of?		
12/11-2	You can't have someone walk over you in prison. As soon as you get walked over once then everyone will walk over you then	Strong attitude and belief underpinning behaviour		
12/28	Got my boys, people who'll stand by me, who'll back my case if i need it			
14/31	By fighting you get respect	Fighting seems the main vehicle by which P5 measures respect. Fighting is a big part of his experience in prison		

David <b>Emerging themes: ADAPTING</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
2/24	First time in this prison - felt wary; what's it going to be like	
2/25-6	You just got to get on with it	
3/15	My Dad said to me, 'it's just an adult jail'	Dad's views important?
13/12-3	Being in an adult jail compared with a YO jail, officers are different, different regimes, different ways of opening up the cell door	Has he had to be different too?

David <b>Emerging themes: RELATIONSHIP WITH OFFICERS</b>				
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments		
2/26	The officers don't help you at all	Can justify negative behaviour towards them in this way		
2/28	Down the block (segregation) the officers beat me up	I've been dealt with very badly		
3/2	Threw my food over one of the officers	To get back at them?		
3/3	They beat me up again			
3/6	You can't do nothing - you're under their (officers') power	But poor behaviour evens this up a bit/ justifies the behaviour?		
3/23	I don't trust the officers			
4/8	I don't like the officers here			
5/11-3	Officers on B wing seem OK - not on my back as much. You can get away with more (laughs)	Prison is a 'game'?		
7/1-2	You can't go to the officers, you'd be classed a 'grass'	A 'them 'n' us' situation?		
7/9	Officers on B wing treat me with a bit of respect	Maybe behaviour is better first?		
15/10	Had a 'barney' with one of the officers - 'he's a block staff like'.	Interpersonal difficulties with individuals?		

David <b>Emerging themes: THE BLOCK</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
3/19	Been down the block for 2 months	
3/21	Went to the block for fighting and throwing food over the officers	
5/30	Had a nicking for fighting, went down the block. Had to go to outside adjudicator, had 28 days added to sentence	Seems to accept going to the segregation unit as consequence for behaviour. Maybe there is some imagined respect for this as well?

David <b>Emerging themes: MIXED POPULATION</b>			
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments	
4/3	It's more chilled, YOs fight all the time		
4/15	Didn't know what to expect, found it a bit scary before arrived; the routines		
4/21	Thought there'd be fights all the time 'because it's an adult jail'	Any excuse? Says there are more fights in YOIs	
7/32	Because you're not an adult, can't get a job in this prison	David expresses the view this is because YOs are 'not old enough' to have a job. mIght have something to do with short stay?	
8/2	He's just a YO, there's more mature people on the wing	8/7 though, believes it is also on account of 'throwing my food over the officers'	
12/5-6	Thought because adults in the prison there'd be more bullying	The older and more experienced you are the worse you are?	
13/9-10	It's different than what I thought. More chilled, more relaxed		
13/11	But some adults will try and bully you, take your stuff		
14/1	Mostly it's the younger ones running up on the adults	In David's experience?	

14/2	Some of the adults think they're all big and all that	But I won't stand down from a fight with them?	
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David <b>Emerging themes: CELL SHARING</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
4/9	Shares a cell with someone who's under 21 years old	
4/12	Can ask to share with a relative or friend as long as they're under 21	Says 'you can sometimes get away with it' (asking to share with someone you know)
10/1	It's better to have a cell-mate then you can talk to him	A reflection relating to self-harm

David <b>Emerging themes: BULLYING</b>				
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments		
5/32	You don't let no-one bully you. If you get hit then you hit them back	Sounds like a 'mantra' of sorts. P5 says this is the way he's been 'brought up'		
12/13-4	Seen people being bullied - robbed and that for their tobacco, meds, drugs	Happens all the time. But some suspicion P5 has behaved in this way		
12/18	Obviously it's not nice seeing people getting bullied	But I get over it?		

David <b>Emerging themes: GETTING HELP</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
7/1	Doesn't see that can go to officers to ask for help re bullying or anything like that	Get labeled as a 'grass' if ask for help in this way
7/10	Been getting help off probation, Miss L she comes in and	Seems pleased about this. Describes the help in detail

	sees me	
7/15	Need help with housing, benefits, debt, financial problems	Acknowledgement needs help in these areas
15/18	Mentions an officer at another prison who helped him	Seems significant - wants to go back there and ask to see the man

David <b>Emerging themes: NEGATIVE THINGS</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
9/10	Being behind your door 23 hours a day	
9/15-6	I seem to make it hard for myself	P5 is referring to his challenging behaviour; fighting etc
9/17	Negative thoughts - gets paranoid about girlfriend: is she being faithful?	Said was reason for his self-harm?
		Punishment for fighting as a general theme: not the fighting itself, and not always the punishment, but when wants to settle, finds some of the old behaviour catches him up.

David <b>Emerging themes: FAMILY &amp; GIRLFRIEND</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
1/6	My nan's got cancer	This makes prison life harder
1/7	I've got a girlfriend and I want to settle down with her	This makes prison easier
1/18	I get visits. I got loads of support from my family, my girlfriend	
5/6-8	On the phone to nan & girlfriend	Challenged by another prisoner whilst on the phone - says reason he started a fight. Phone seems important
9/6	Rather stay in Cardiff because family and girlfriend come and see me	

9/11	My nanna had cancer, girlfriend had a miscarriage	Stressful; 'head does overtime'
10/5	Girlfriend writes me letters, sends money, pictures	
10/7	She's got my name on her back (tattoo) - What more can I ask?	The ultimate commitment?
10/10	I never loved a girl as much as this one, it does get me down (being in prison)	
11/9-10	Speaking to nan and g'friend on the phone makes me feel much better	Also 'Phone calls'
11/16-8	Write to nan & girlfriend	Other ways of coping
11/18	Got picture of g'friend. Every time look at it feel better	
11/21	Split up with girlfriend when first in prison - self-harmed	Thought she wasn't being faithful. Cut arms
11/28	Things are good between us: she loves me and is waiting for me 'no matter what'	Makes me feel much better

David <b>Emerging themes: PHONE CALLS</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
2/16	On Basic regime; noTV, only phone credit on canteen	Chooses to spend canteen money on phone credit - phone important
4/22	Thought adult prison would be difficult because people would try to get you off the phone	
5/15	On the phone to nan & girlfriend - gets challenged by another prisoner	Gives this as reason for fighting - guy tried to 'boy' him off in front of his friends
5/20-30	Long narrative about the phone procedures and etiquette	Clearly important
9/20-1	Get stressed, call officer, ask for a phone call	Upset when told 'no'
9/25	Tell the officers about nan's cancer & girlfriend's miscarriage	Still can't get a phone call



11/4	When worried about things gets on the phone straight away	When not banged up. When behind door, gets impulsive, rings cell bell, asks officer to let him out to use the phone. Becomes difficult when told no.
11/5	Phone calls most important to me	Will have a fight for phone calls
11/7	Quit smoking so could still have phone credit	Big personal commitment
11/8	Some people crave cigarettes, I crave phone calls so I can speak to my nan & my girlfriend	Sees the importance to self for self
11/9-10	Speaking to nan and g'friend on the phone makes me feel much better	Also 'Family & girlfriend'
11/27	If feel bad speak to family & girlfriend on the phone	Coping?

David <b>Emerging themes: SELF-HARM</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
11/20	I have self harmed.	Quite open about this
11/20-1	Was depressed and stressed over g'friend so self-harmed	To influence her, or as coping strategy?
11/25	Self-harm doesn't help and then I don't want scars on my arms	Appreciates there are consequences, and of course doesn't feel like that (the way he did when he self-harmed) anymore
11/28	Self-harm was mostly over my girlfriend	
12/4	One boy self-harmed and they put him in a safe cell	Don't want to be put in a safe cell? Stigma?
12/6	They (the officers) leave you banged up all the time. They're only trying to help	Officers only put people in there to keep them safe
12/7	Put you in a safe cell so you can't harm yourself	
12/8	You think they're taking the mick but they're only doing it for your own safety	
16/6	In your cell pulling out your hair (stressed). That's when I cut my arms	

16/9	Regrets cutting his arms: I don't want to be walking around like that when I'm 30 with my daughter and that	Again,some appreciation of consequences and labeling?
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David <b>Emerging themes: SAFETY</b>		
Page no/ Line no	Text	Comments
14/16-7	Safety: 50/50, anything could happen. You could get stabbed, anything.	You don't expect to feel safe in prison?

## Appendix 9 – Summary of all themes, all participants

MAIN THEME & sub-categories	PARTICIPANT: Steve	Paul	Rich	Gaz	David
<p><b>The complexities of ADJUSTING TO PRISON. Includes:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Uncertainties</b></li> <li>• <b>Routine</b></li> <li>• <b>Positives</b></li> <li>• <b>Negatives</b></li> <li>• <b>Food</b></li> <li>• <b>Family</b></li> <li>• <b>Stressors</b></li> <li>• <b>Belonging</b></li> </ul> <p>This theme captures some of the differences between what the young people were expecting before they arrived and how they experienced the realities once they had settled.</p>	<p>Steve does not seem to have had too much trouble adjusting to prison in that he seems to like to moan, but is largely untroubled by the routine or by the inmates.</p> <p>His family seem important to him; he says if he moved to a prison in England he wouldn't see them yet he indicates there have been some problems with his family but he 'tries not to let it bite'.</p> <p>Steve mentions 'my boys' a lot in his experience and this seems to be important to him in the sense of belonging to a group which is defined more by geographical area than by personality or any other affiliation.</p> <p>'Belonging' affects</p>	<p>Paul mentions uncertainties in regards to describing his first time in prison and not knowing what to expect; he said he worried if prison 'made people different'. He said prison was 'easier' than he thought it would be and the other prisoners were not as 'hard' nor 'arrogant' as he worried they might be.</p> <p>Routine seemed really important to this participant and it seemed related to his perceptions of fairness and predictability. He gives an example of being unlocked late and then not getting a corresponding amount of time back at locking up time again. He gave lots of examples of finding it 'annoying' when the routine was</p>	<p>This theme seems to be most relevant for this participant in the context of his uncertainties about prison and his stressors, which link with his mental health. He is only 18 years old, yet has quite a few issues. He has anxieties about what it will be like and how many people there will be and how many 'floors' 7 he was expecting). His mantra seems to be about 'you got to get on with it'. He says he know 'boys from my area' and is '2-ed up with one of them' which seems important to the way he settles He says he was happy enough coming to [REDACTED] because he knows 'a couple of the boys'. He says 'bang-up 24/7' is the hardest thing to manage.</p>	<p>Gaz4 said he was worried before he came into prison about what it would be like and worried about who he would share a cell with. Gaz is also only 18 years old and this was his first time in prison. He said he suffered with social anxiety and lack of confidence in the community and drank alcohol for 'dutch courage'. In prison he is 'clean' and says he feels he can stand up for himself. He said he thought the routine was the hardest thing to get used to but generally prison was not as bad as he thought it would be.</p> <p>Positives about his prison experience for Gaz including him expressing the view that he had</p>	<p>David said he had not known what to expect from this prison because although this is his third sentence, he has only been in YOIs previously so had no experience of an adult prison. He said he finds it 'completely different', the officers are different, the regime is different, they even have different ways of opening the cell door. This may be an individual reflection as David's sentence does not run the same as it does for most other prisoners: he spends a lot of his time on reduced regime and in the punishment block for fighting. He does not seem to have adapted well as he seems to want to take on the system, even though he says this makes things harder for him in</p>

	<p>experience in prison as positive or negative and determines to what extent an individual is accepted or becomes a member of the out-group.</p>	<p>altered: “things should be at a certain time every day”. Food related to this for Paul and was important because he recognised how feeling hungry affected his mood (negatively) also when it was served late. He spoke of buying “a couple of packets of biscuits” on his canteen because prison “is hungry work”.</p> <p>Paul said missing family was the worst part about prison for him; he looks forward to visits but says it is hard when they have to leave.</p>	<p>*Rich has little support from his family. He says he is only regularly in touch with his mother and his auntie and his mother has only visited once (he wishes it were more often).</p> <p>* Off the record, Rich’s father is serving a life sentence for the murder of his daughter – Rich’s sister. Rich has been told little about this, and the discovery coincided with his drug and alcohol misuse. He says he is not able to ask anyone about this and has lots hitherto unanswered questions.</p>	<p>‘learned a lesson’ (didn’t want to come back) but that after a few months he had become more healthy; he had put on weight, from eating ‘proper food’, had built muscle from using the gym and had gained significantly in confidence. Negatives for Gaz mainly centred on the ‘long bang-up’ and ‘asking for help’ (from the officers) but feeling he was not getting this.</p> <p>Family was a very important sub-theme for Gaz although ‘family’ in a wider sense seems to refer to significant others in his life rather than blood relatives (Gaz expressed considerable cynicism about his father and said although he was a ‘mother’s boy’ his mother did not visit him). The people to whom he felt closest appeared to be the carers from the children’s home he lived in growing up and he referred to one regular visitor as ‘like a</p>	<p>the long run.</p> <p>In terms of negatives, David says being ‘behind the cell door 23 hours a day’ is negative for him. He has also had to deal with negative thoughts and he has found this difficult.</p> <p>David presented as a very ‘buoyant’ individual which may be a mask to get him through his sentence (even if it is not the easiest way).</p> <p>He cited a positive was coming over to complete the interview with the researcher and that he has managed so far 3 weeks out of trouble – a record length of time he thought.</p> <p>Family seemed a very important element of adjusting for David; from his father telling him [REDACTED] was an adult jail when he first knew he was going there through to the amount and quality of contact he seems to need</p>
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				<p>sister to me', whilst acknowledging these people "aren't like family because they've got lives of their own and can't be there for me 24/7". Stressors for Gaz included waiting for a visitor who doesn't turn up. This is probably linked to disappointment.</p> <p>Gaz does not mention much about needing to belong – possibly being from [REDACTED] makes a difference to this. He refers to getting on with others by keeping himself to himself; "that's the best way to be".</p>	<p>with his girlfriend and his grandmother. David says he gets 'loads of support' from his family; they write, visit and send him money and he phones them as often as he can.</p>
<p><b>Elements of VULNERABILITY; how the self is perceived and protected and how weaknesses are exploited. Includes:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Bullying</b></li> <li>• <b>Mental health</b></li> <li>• <b>Coping</b></li> <li>• <b>Self-harm</b></li> </ul> <p>This theme highlights the</p>	<p>This theme seems to relate to ability (or not) to stand up for oneself. Steve maintains that others can 'see fear in your eyes' so you have to be brave and assertive. He admits to bullying his cell-mate but states this is to 'toughen him up' (although he says he 'didn't like him'). Although Steve does not</p>	<p>It seems important to Paul that his family see him coping well in prison.</p> <p>Paul does not seem to see himself as vulnerable and makes references to being able to stand up for himself. There is little mention of any trouble – he says so categorically that he has seen no</p>	<p>Rich is vulnerable by virtue of his mental health and his age. He says he doesn't see much bullying, but keeps himself to himself most of the time and doesn't seem to engage much with what's going on in the prison more widely.</p> <p>Rich describes some</p>	<p>Gaz has been quite vulnerable in prison. He describes other prisoners demanding toiletries and tobacco off him almost as soon as he arrived and he acknowledges he did not have the confidence to resist. He said he got used to this and coped with it by learning, over the 5-and-a-half months he's</p>	<p>David's relative vulnerability seems to be in his need to assert himself aggressively to be accepted? David was quite clear about his views on bullying – you do not take it and you stand up for yourself – if you get hit you hit back and says this was the way he was brought up. He</p>

<p>need to 'stand up' for yourself as there is little perceived help to be had. All refer to 'grass' culture if seek help from officers. No participant wants to see himself as vulnerable – Gaz the exception? Also, this theme highlights that the young men say you can see vulnerability in others.</p>	<p>seem to view himself as vulnerable, he disclosed issues with mental health which led the researcher to refer him to MHIR<sup>1</sup> services in the prison.</p> <p>Steve describes coping strategies that are predominantly maladaptive (punching walls when upset) although he does not seem to believe there is much wrong with the way he copes. He says he deals with things by 'not caring'</p> <p>Steve says he tried to refer himself to IR but he has received no response to date.</p> <p>Steve describes harming himself as a maladaptive coping strategy (e.g. punches the wall if get bad news) but then says it does nothing for him. He refers to 'some poor soul stringing himself up' if the prison doesn't help him; it is difficult to know</p>	<p>bullying, no racism no fighting "nothing like that" one wonders if this is true. He seems to see himself as a 'nice guy' who would say something (to those involved – not the officers: get called a 'grass') if he saw anyone getting bullied. He said that bullying could lead to the victim harming himself.</p>	<p>fairly well-defined mental health problems, anxiety predominantly, leading to hallucinations (hearing voices) which he finds troublesome and for which he is prescribed medication. He describes problems with 'mixing' with others and was anxious about times he might be left with groups of others.</p> <p>This participant doesn't seem to have very well-developed coping strategies: on the out he used drugs and alcohol 'to block things out'; in prison he has self harmed and is not really able to articulate why or how this helps him.</p> <p>Rich has self-harmed both in prison and in the community and worried at a recent self-harm scab on his arm where the dressing had been recently removed.</p> <p>Rich seems very troubled</p>	<p>been there, to stand up for himself and say no. He expresses the view that he was targeted because he was physically small (and under-nourished by the sound of it) and stood out as not knowing the ropes. It seems he copes with this by almost trying to see their POV and makes exceptions for 'people you know'. He said he had asked for help and was told to stand up to people as they would walk all over him if he did not.</p> <p>Gaz says he copes by sitting in his cell and will try and think of the positives. When he gets low in mood he says he tries to "think of the positives, not the negatives". Gaz does not seem to be a big socialiser and seeks his comfort mainly from himself and from positive reflection.</p>	<p>says he has seen bullying in prison however he does not get involved and says he does not try to do anything about it. He says people get robbed for their medication at the treatment hatch, their canteen (tobacco and toiletries) and drugs in the prison generally.</p> <p>*Interestingly, David has been the subject of anti-bullying procedures in the prison, as the perpetrator) but did not tell the researcher this during the interview.</p> <p>David seems to cope with his sentence with his fists, i.e. fighting and rising to challenges very readily and aggressively.</p> <p>Self-harm was an interesting' almost 'contra-theme' for David: he has harmed himself in prison but has also reflected on this and says he regrets the scars on his arms where he has cut</p>
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	<p>if he means himself, or is speaking hypothetically. He acknowledged self-harm as a factor in prison but does not seem to be advocating the practice as an effective strategy. Or does not see the link between what he says he does and how this is defined by others.</p>		<p>by the major issues in his family yet is unable to seek help. He asks himself 'why me?'</p>		<p>himself. He says he cut himself when he was stressed and was worried about his girlfriend seeing someone else. This also suggests maladaptive coping, or may have been in an effort to keep her. He comments now, however that the self-harm doesn't help at all and he doesn't want to do it again. It also suggests some degree of impulsivity (which fits with the later theme of fighting).</p>
<p><b>How ACTIVITIES in prison are perceived and utilised. Includes:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Boredom</b></li> <li>• <b>Money &amp; canteen</b></li> <li>• <b>Phone calls</b></li> </ul> <p>This theme is about how time is managed in prison; what is available and what is chosen. It seems to include an element of the degree to which the individual takes responsibility for his own positive experience.</p>	<p>For Steve, boredom seems to have a physical quality: 'stuck in cell' as well as inevitability: 'jail was just as I expected, nothing to do, boredom'. Activities to alleviate boredom are rejected by him: 'there's no point' with a series of excuses: 'I'm not here for long', 'I don't like doing X,Y,Z', 'I tried Education but that didn't work'. As a consequence he experiences everything in prison as 'slow' and time</p>	<p>Paul said that things can get boring during the day so he and others find things to do like play chess (see above). He says the atmosphere is "quite boring" but this may also link to his perception of the mixed population, as he expressed the view that YOs mixed with adults is much quieter than YOs all together.</p> <p>Paul said he was surprised</p>	<p>Rich has concerns about money and is reliant on his other sending in money which she does not do regularly. He is worried about applying for a job because of the other people in the workplace, being fearful of crowded places. He finds the bang up boring but doesn't seek more stimulating activity, except for the ability to earn money.</p>	<p>Gaz says he goes to Education classes every day and enjoys the 'chit-chat' and (sounds like) support. He likes association but does not enjoy exercise outside on the yard. He is one of the few participants who has chosen to take some activity in prison.</p> <p>He says he struggles a bit to manage his money but his mother sends him money 'about once a</p>	<p>From David's account it sounds as though he would like a job to get himself some money but is not settled enough to gain any credibility with the labour board. He does not mention boredom, however someone with his level of impulsivity probably would find it hard to self-manage for any length of time.</p> <p>Phone calls seem hugely important to him; and he</p>

	<p>passes slowly. Activities he takes part in are described in the context of the boredom they interrupted temporarily. He also links getting into trouble on the out with boredom. He seems determined to experience prison as 'boring'. Despite there being a range of activities available, he chooses to reject these.</p>	<p>there were so many things to do in prison but then said he does not do many of them (does not go to Education and does not 'do religion', although he does go to the gym and likes association and exercise.</p> <p>Because Paul doesn't work, he seems quite dependent upon his family sending in money but says he manages to budget within this and can make his canteen (food and 'baccy') 'last the week'. Paul says he doesn't use the phone very much as calls to mobiles are expensive so he writes to family and his girlfriend to keep in touch.</p>		<p>month' and care staff from the children's home also send him money. This puts Gaz in a better financial position than the other participants (and may contribute to his vulnerability as he says he loves buying toiletries – these are a luxury – and clearly has quite a few on display.</p> <p>Canteen is a source of excitement for Gaz and he describes it as "like Christmas!"</p>	<p>describes even giving up smoking so he can have sufficient funds to put money on his PIN to phone his girlfriend and his nan predominantly. He describes the phone call procedure in detail and a lot of the trouble he has experienced seems to have been as a result of making phone calls, both with other prisoners (being challenged about being on the phone too long) and with the officers (for ringing his cell bell to ask for a phone call when they can't let him out of his cell). The phone calls seem his lifeline to his family and a vehicle by which he asserts himself.</p>
<p><b>Being concerned about SAFETY in prison.</b></p> <p><b>Includes:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Fighting</b></li> <li>• <b>Mixed population (inc lifers)</b></li> <li>• <b>Anti-social</b></li> </ul>	<p>Steve says he feels '100% safe' in prison – probably safer than he does on the outside, because there is 'nowhere to hide' from enemies on the out. He mentions the 'block' specifically as somewhere</p>	<p>Paul says he feels safe, "very safe to be honest". He says he'd be happy standing up for himself but would not want to get involved in fights. He says he thinks the atmosphere is calmer with</p>	<p>Rich says he does not feel safe, except he does when they are 'banged up all the time' but not when he is involved in general prison activities. He says he doesn't mind the age of any of the other</p>	<p>Gaz says he feels safe in this prison mainly because it is quieter than he things YOIs are, there are more staff and the older population are calmer so the atmosphere is not as hectic and there are no</p>	<p>David says he feels safe '50/50' – anything could happen ('you could get stabbed or anything'). He says he is constantly on his guard for fights and challenges which seems unsurprising given the</p>



<p><b>behaviour</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Respect</b></li> <li>• <b>The ‘block’</b></li> </ul> <p>This theme relates to the participants’ account of how safe they feel in prison, which seems to be underpinned by how safe they feel in their lives generally <i>outside</i> prison. Making yourself safe physically involved an element of making yourself vulnerable – i.e. by fighting, however not all the participants stated any willingness to fight and all understood the consequences.</p>	<p>to hide.</p> <p>Standing up for yourself can lead to fights and Steve seems to condone this if it defies vulnerability.</p> <p>In terms of respect, Steve thinks people should be given respect - staff and other prisoners. He expresses the belief that staff do not show him respect and that other prisoners are sometimes ‘cheeky’, which implies they are not respectful. There is a passage that suggests cell-mates who are not clean are disrespectful as Steve sees his cell as the place his lives, his home.</p> <p>Steve links his ASB to ‘not caring’.</p>	<p>the adults, with more testosterone in the YOs, more energy = more incidents and fights. But Paul’s impression is that everybody gets on fine. Despite a lifetime of ASB on the out, he has not got into trouble at all in prison.</p> <p>Paul mentions ‘special wings’ for people who harm themselves but says he has not seen any of that.</p>	<p>prisoners because it seems he is more worried about numbers and crowded aspects than the age of other prisoners. He says he ‘stays away from the dickheads’ to avoid trouble – “no point getting a nicking is there. No point in getting involved in that stuff”</p>	<p>fights – that he has witnessed. Gaz refers to older prisoners not being part of gangs he describes YOs (████ in particular) as “scatty” and the prison is “like one nutty village!”</p> <p>Population-wise, Gaz was most distracted by the life-sentenced prisoners of whom he seemed to be in awe to some extent. He expressed some degree of judgement about what they have done and surprise that they seem ‘happy and chatty’ given their circumstances.</p> <p>Gaz says he doesn’t want to get into a fight because he doesn’t want to ‘end up down the block with no TV or anything’.</p>	<p>way he approaches his sentence.</p> <p>He, unlike any of the other participants mentions officers keeping you safe, and the ‘safer cell’ (ligature-free cellular accommodation on each wing for those particularly vulnerable to suicide/ self-harm).</p> <p>David readily rises to a fight and identifies the cues to when a fight is offered (imagined or otherwise). He says with the adults in the prison there are less fights than in YOIs but this apparently does not stop him. Fighting is about asserting himself and not losing face in front of peers – most important. This seems to link with self-respect also.</p> <p>He accepts almost without question that the block is a natural consequence to his conduct – especially the fighting – and it may</p>
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					be that this also is another route to increasing respect? Mistakenly I would imagine.
<p><b>How HELP is identified and accessed:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Detox</b></li> <li>• <b>Cell-sharing</b></li> <li>• <b>Relationships with officers</b></li> </ul> <p>This theme relates to the participants' views on the help they should be given against the almost taboo act of being seen to ask for help – especially from the officers.</p>	<p>Help seems to be quite a major theme for Steve in two ways: accessing help he thinks he needs and how he perceives the help that is available. He describes attempts to get help for mental health issues in prison, yet also says he did not engage with services when help was offered to him in the community. It seems to suggest a degree of entitlement? Yet he does not hold with offending behaviour programmes citing ill-informed justifications for this ('they're all undermining you'). He asked for help from Education and was told 'you should know how to do it' – a reason not to engage any further. Accepting help might mean he has to take responsibility? Steve does not engage with</p>		<p>Detox was quite a big theme for this participant. He describes the process of detoxification as soon as he arrived in the prison and it seems he had been abusing a range of substances. He also seemed quite attached to the idea of valium and said he wished he could be prescribed valium more readily (although he was told it is addictive and they don't like prescribing it in prison). He says detox is 'hard work'; 'clucking' and going 'cold turkey'. He says he likes taking drugs but sees the culture as related to his offending. His drug use seems related to quite a chaotic lifestyle outside prison.</p> <p>Rich shares a cell with another 18 year old from his area and is quite</p>	<p>Gaz says he did not have detox issues when he came into prison although had been drinking alcohol and smoking cannabis on the out.</p> <p>He described having many cell-mates and implied this was stressful because he had to get used to each one of them each time. There is also a suggestion in his narrative that implies he ingratiated himself with his cell-mates by sharing his 'loot' of toiletries and tobacco with them. He seemed a bit fearful of a (physically) big cell-mate but was reassured on discovering he was actually 'OK'.</p> <p>Gaz says he would ask officers for help (and did about the bullying) and was told he had to stand</p>	<p>David says he does not think the officers have helped him, in fact they have made him worse by ensuring he gets extra days added to his sentence for his ASB/ fighting.</p> <p>He allows however that some officers have let him 'have a chance' to settle and behave himself and he mentions one officer in particular who he describes as helping him a lot with his BICS cleaning courses. David says sometimes you can get the officers to let you share a cell with a relative or friend if you ask them.</p> <p>Going to the officers to say someone is getting bullied, for example is inviting the label of 'grass' which he would not contemplate.</p>

	prison officers it seems.		<p>happy about this.</p> <p>He says he knows he can speak with the prison officers if he has problems but says he doesn't want to do this, preferring to "keep it bottled up". This also seemed borne of the culture of not being seen talking to the officers or asking for help.</p>	<p>up for himself or people would keep on at him for his stuff. He mentions 'zero tolerance' to bullying in the prison and seems to find this reassuring but understood he had to deal with it himself was best.</p>	<p>He appreciates the help he is getting from probation – help with budgeting, housing, and potentially starting a new business.</p>
<p><b>OVER-ARCHING THEMES</b></p> <p><b>LOCUS OF CONTROL</b> - Internalised / externalised</p> <p><b>COPING STRATEGIES</b></p> <p><b>IDENTITY</b></p> <p>This over-arching theme seemed by the researcher to summarise broadly how the participants viewed their experiences. It was accompanied by other over-arching themes relating to COPING STRATEGIES used by the young people and how the</p>	<p>Steve accepts his status and likely sentence but is not helping himself in prison. His mental health issues seemed real to the researcher in that he was referred by her for assessment, however he seems to see this as a justification for him not to take responsibility or do anything. Steve seems to have an external locus of control which means he seems to believe events are beyond his control. He seems also to want to have things done for him – cf his inability / disinclination to find</p>	<p>Paul does not seem to give a 'deep' account of his experiences. He minimises his offence and seems to regard his sentence for 'just snapping (his victim's) handbag as unworthy of a period in prison. He does mention 'learning a lesson' from his time in prison and that he doesn't think it's 'big' or anything – to the point that he didn't want anyone to know he was in prison anyway. He seems to have quite big responsibilities for one so young (already has 2</p>	<p>Rich seems troubled/ preoccupied with his mental health issues and his difficulties coping with life's issues. He does not take any particular responsibility for his offending or predicament and his chaos seems symbolic of a significant issue in his life (his father apparently killing his sister and not knowing the details therefore not being able to make any sense of it).</p> <p>He has resolved to keep himself to himself and naturally tries to avoid</p>	<p>Gaz seemed to love the opportunity to talk and was honest and reflective about the problems he had experienced (mainly with bullying). He was pleased with his own 'growth' and framed his experience in a largely positive way, with plans for a different future. He seemed appropriately adapted in this way and did describe healthy, pro-social influences in his life, even if these were not his own biological family.</p> <p>Whilst Gaz did take responsibility for his</p>	<p>David is mostly blaming of others (externalised) but then describes some insight – I know I make things harder for myself. He accepts his punishments as part and parcel of his negative behaviour, but finds it easier I suspect to blame others for the aggressive incidents – even his response in these – than change anything meaningful about this himself. Quite a lot of adolescent insecurities, impulsivity and energy.</p>

IDENTITY of each was important.	gainful employment in prison.	children – had the first one when he was aged only 15 himself).	others / crowded places. He self-harms as a maladaptive coping strategy.  He says he does not like asking for help.	offence (stabbing someone) he saw it in the context of his out-of-control, somewhat frightening life.	
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## **SUPER-ORDINATE THEMES**

### **1. Elements of vulnerability; how the self is perceived and protected and how weaknesses are exploited.**

*This theme highlighted the need the participants identified that in prison people need to stand up for themselves or they will be ‘walked over’, ‘picked on’ and/or exploited by others. The theme included the elements below:*

- **Bullying.** Bullying was understood by the participants to mean mainly others having their possessions, medication, drugs taken off them either directly or through taxing on borrowing. Some denied it took place whilst others were victims/ perpetrators.
- **Mental health.** Specific mention of poor mental health was a sub-category of significance for some participants, but relative vulnerability as a result of this varied.
- **Coping.** This highlighted the differences in strategies used by the participants to manage themselves and the stressors they experienced in prison.
- **Self-harm** was a strong feature in a number of the young people’s experiences of prison, either their own self-injury, or in their views of others’ self-harm.

### **2. The complexities of adjusting to prison.**

*This main theme captures some of the differences between what the young people were expecting prison to be like before they arrived and their reports of the realities once they were settled. It included key elements identified by the points below:*

- **Uncertainties**, such as worries about who cell-mate might be, how many people, how big the building; if prison *changed* people
- **Routine.** This included not only what happened at what times, but how changes in routine affected participants. Routine seemed to both be about the importance of predictability and *getting used to* things
- **Positives and negatives**, perceptions of which seemed to impact on how an individual viewed his prison experience and adjusted to it
- **Food.** Although not a major theme, food does seem top feature as significant in the participants’ experience of prison
- **Family.** The participants’ families were highly significant to them in the way they thought about and adjusted to prison and managed whilst there.
- **Stressors** were different for each participant, however featured in the way they adjusted to prison
- **Belonging** to some group, being able to identify with something seemed very important.

### 3. Being concerned about safety in prison.

*This theme also seemed to link with the participants' feelings of safety **outside** prison as well. Key elements of 'safety' were;*

- **The mixed population** which did not solely focus on the mainly adult population but also those with a life-sentence and was significant in the participants' described feelings and experiences.
- **Anti-social behaviour (ASB)**. This was not a major theme however was significant for some in respect to self-management and response to external controls.
- **Respect**. This sub-theme was included here as it related to issues of safety and 'keeping the self safe' and being seen to belong and have others' respect. Included officers and cell-mates but also others more generally.
- **Fighting** linked with sub-theme above; was seen as the means by which to stay safe and gain/ maintain the respect of peers.
- **The 'block' (segregation unit)** elicited thoughts and feelings from participants relating to safety (you are safe there) but also as a consequence of poor behaviour, as punishment.

### 4. How activities in prison are perceived and utilised.

*This theme looked at how time is managed in prison; what was available and what was chosen. It seemed to include an element of the degree to which the individual took responsibility for his own negative/ positive experience/ time and money management. Activities were sub-categorised as follows:*

- **Boredom** was a strong sub-theme for some and linked with expectations almost as self-fulfilling prophesy. Boredom also linked with long 'bang-up' (time spent in cell). Perceptions of boredom and ability to self-direct and manage time varied among the participants.
- **Money and canteen** was a sub-theme viewed as important and possibly linked with many other of the identified sub-categories, such as coping, self-management, bullying, boredom and coping.
- **Phone calls** again link to coping and self-management, family and money.

### 5. How help is identified and accessed.

*This theme relates to the participants' views on the help they thought they should be given against the almost taboo act of being seen to ask for help, particularly from the officers. It included the following elements:*

- **Detoxification** which was 'forced help' but seen by those to who it applied as of benefit.

- **Cell-sharing** was a sub-theme relating to having someone to talk to which helped with self-harm (and linked with safety) but was interestingly not a ‘given’ and cell-sharing was raised mainly in the sense that all participants had frequent changes of cell-mate and had to adjust each time a new one was introduced.
- **Relationships with officers** was mainly neutral in that as a sub-theme participants did not generally engage much with the officers and none thought they would tell officers if for example they witnessed bullying as this would result in them being labelled as a ‘grass’. Some reported very poor relationships with officers and specifically expressed the view that officers did not help them, even when they asked for help.

5. Other, summary themes were identified related to locus of control (how the participants seemed to view their prison experience and with what efficacy they could affect this), how they coped with prison, and issues relating to the development, recognition and status of the young people in terms of their identity.

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<sup>i</sup> Mental Health In Reach

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