

**Serving Time: An Ethnographic Study of The Clink
Restaurant, Cardiff**



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Summary

This thesis reports on an ethnography of The Clink restaurant in Cardiff, Wales. The Clink is no ordinary restaurant; it is a rehabilitative programme for serving prisoners. Based on a year's observation of participants and interviews, the thesis contributes to the ethnographic body of writing found within criminology and, in particular, adds to the few qualitative studies investigating employment programmes for prisoners. With limited research conducted on The Clink site, the thesis provides a close observational account of what life is actually like for individuals undertaking an innovative work-based rehabilitative programme.

Initially, the thesis moves the reader to the start of The Clink process by revealing the reasons why individuals chose to join the programme, including motivations that could be linked to any prison job and reasons that were unique to The Clink programme. In what follows, I explore the realities of restaurant life by touching on issues that any restaurant employee would encounter. In addition, the thesis shows that participants had to manage a further layer of difficulties. I continue by drawing on a consideration of the wider and official Clink agenda, showing that The Clink achieves most of its aims and moves beyond them, but also that the formal version of The Clink needs nuance.

The thesis argues that whilst The Clink does break down some of the barriers to successful resettlement and does prepare participants for release, its process is not an easy one. The unique quasi-open conditions create intentional and unintentional obstacles for those passing through. Those on the programme had to deal with the challenge of working in one of the top restaurants in Cardiff, whilst still serving their time within the 'invisible walls'. These challenges included the location of the restaurant, pains of imprisonment and 'freedom', penal power operating within The Clink and having to manage their identity during interactions with the public. As a result, those on the programme found it difficult (and perhaps were not supposed to) forget that they were still serving their time. They had to negotiate constantly between being outside, whilst still inside. Yet, these obstacles extend beyond The Clink. The study concludes by arguing that, as it stands, The Clink prepares individuals for life in the community as an 'ex-offender'.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Andrew Graham (1955-2016), the most generous and caring Dad I could have asked for. I made a promise to you that I would complete this, so here it is.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank the management team at The Clink, Cardiff. Without their kindness, enthusiasm and patience, this research would not have been possible. I am also enormously grateful to the boys on the programme who allowed me to become a part of their Clink world. They showed resilience and humour and proved that everybody deserves a second chance. I will never forget the time I spent in The Clink.

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Glossary of Colloquial Terms

Term	Meaning
Bacon	Prison slang for a rapist or paedophile.
Bang up	Being locked inside a prison cell.
Burn	Tobacco.
Camp	Another term used to describe a prison. For instance, 'back on camp' means back inside the prison.
Home leaves	When prisoners are permitted to go home on temporary release from prison. Typically, this will be five days (and four nights) a month or every six weeks.
Lie down	Can only occur in Category D prisons. When a prisoner is now allowed to leave the prison grounds.
Nick	Another term used to describe a prison.
Nonce	Prison slang for a rapist or paedophile. Stands for Not on Normal Circuit Exercise.
Screw	A derogatory term used by prisoners to describe prison staff, in particular, prison officers.
Screw boy	A derogatory term used to describe prisoners who are overly friendly with prisoner officers. They may be seen to take the side of a prison officer.
Section 18	Refers to a criminal offence, specifically Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH). Section 18 is causing GBH with intent.
Shipped out	Moved from Category D (open conditions) prison to a closed condition prison. Normally, because a prisoner has broken open conditions.

Snitch/grass	A derogatory term to describe a prisoner who cannot be trusted by other prisoners.
Stage two	Term used to describe a work placement that is in the community and not run by the prison service.
Stretch	Prison sentence: a 'stretch' refers to the time spent in prison.
Townies	Release from prison for a day, approximately six hours. Whilst on a townie, prisoners are required to be accompanied by an individual whom the prison can contact at any time.

Table of Abbreviations

ABH	Actual Bodily Harm
CAQDAS	Computer-aided qualitative data analysis software
ETE	Education, training and employment
FOH	Front of House
GBH	Grievous Bodily Harm
HMPPS	Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (formally NOMS)
IEP	Incentives and Earned Privileges
IPP	Imprisonment for Public Protection
NOMS	National Offender Management Service (now HMPPS)
OG	Original Gangsters
PG	Plastic Gangsters
POA	Prison Officers Association
RDR	Resettlement Day Release
ROR	Resettlement Overnight Release
ROTL	Release On Temporary Licence
SCPO	Serious Crime Prevention Order
SPCR	Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction
TTG	Through the gate

Chapter 1. Introduction and Context

1.1. Introduction

The Clink is no 'ordinary restaurant' (The Clink, 2019); it is an innovative employment programme for serving prisoners. Offering an extended ethnography of The Clink, Cardiff, this thesis aims to provide a close observational account of what it is actually like for individuals to take part in a unique rehabilitation programme. With this in mind, this thesis positions itself as a contribution to the field of criminology.

Research is regularly commissioned to determine the success of general resettlement/rehabilitative initiatives, attempting to answer the question of whether or not they 'work'. More specifically, quantitative methods, offering statistical analysis, are preferred for evaluating these initiatives, including employment programmes for (ex-) offenders (for example, see Duwe, 2015; Alos et al., 2015; Wilson et al., 2000; Visher et al., 2005). Despite research offering mixed views on whether these programmes are successful in reducing reoffending, researchers use quantitative methods to determine whether participants who have completed a work programme have lower recidivism rates than non-participants. Although researchers have favoured the quantitative method, qualitative researchers have also investigated what 'works' for employment initiatives. The few studies opting for qualitative methods have tended to utilise the pre-/post-interview structure, or one interview towards the end of the intervention to determine the changes (for example, see Fletcher et al., 2012; Richmond, 2014).

Yet, this thesis is not a reconviction study. Instead, my study – an ethnography of The Clink, Cardiff – aims to offer a close observational account of what life is actually like for individuals participating in a programme. The study is therefore not concerned with whether The Clink 'works', instead it aims to provide a different perspective. Based on a year-long ethnography in The Clink, this research examines why prisoners chose the programme and includes a real-time account of Clink life. It aims to provide an analysis of what The Clink claims to do, against the actual experience of those who pass through the programme in order to improve understanding.

This thesis, therefore, provides three main contributions. Firstly, it adds to the ethnographic body of writing found in criminology (Clemmer, 1958; Sykes, 1958; Cohen

and Taylor, 1972). It provides an honest account of 'doing' an ethnography with a 'high risk' population. Secondly, this thesis contributes to the criminological literature by providing a nuanced understanding of both the benefits and challenges of Clink life from those who experience it. With the limited qualitative research available, the perspectives of those undertaking prison programmes have often been overlooked. From this, the thesis specifically contributes to criminological understandings of the 'pains of imprisonment', modern penal power and the management of 'spoiled identities'.

The final contribution is in relation to the field site itself, The Clink. As already noted, The Clink is not just a restaurant. Although it is set up to be a restaurant, it has primary goals that differ from an 'ordinary restaurant'; it is an intervention and opportunity for serving prisoners. To date, limited research has been conducted on-site. Whilst there has been a quantitative analysis of the reconviction rates of Clink graduates (MOJ, 2019a), the only qualitative research is provided in the form of short case studies, or 'sound bites' from graduates and employers.

This introductory chapter provides a platform on which to build the chapters that follow. Next, I offer an overview of The Clink programme nationally, then narrow the focus to The Clink, Cardiff. This includes an overview of HMP Prescoed, Category D, and Release on Temporary Release (ROTL). Relevant photographs taken by me are then provided. The Clink's own research, and why it is considered a gold standard will then be explored. Finally, the introduction concludes with an outline of the chapters.

1.2. The Clink

Whilst this study focuses on The Clink, Cardiff, the restaurant is a part of a larger national scheme. The Clink Charity, set up in 2009, runs a number of restaurants, gardens, cafes and events in partnership with Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service. The original concept was proposed by Alberto Crisci, when he was catering manager at HMP High Down (The Clink, 2018). Whilst working in the prison kitchen, he witnessed the high reoffending rates amongst the prison population, but also recognised the potential of the prisoners working in the kitchens. Reconviction rates, coupled with the appreciation that imprisonment does not help to reduce crime, led The Clink to focus on reducing the reoffending rates of ex-offenders through rehabilitation.

The Clink's aim is to provide prisoners with a chance to gain life and employment skills and qualifications, in order to equip the prisoners with the necessary skills and tools to secure employment upon their release. The scheme offers prisoners the opportunity to gain experience, and City & Guilds NVQs in:

- Food and Beverage Service
- Food Preparation and Cooking
- Basic Food Hygiene
- Barista Skill
- Horticulture

The Clink's intention is to mirror a real-life working environment in order to encourage trainees to take responsibility as individuals, learn timekeeping, teamwork, and customer service, and develop confidence and self-esteem. Part of this real-life experience means that paying members of the public can dine at the fully functioning restaurants. This is seen as a means of starting to break down preconceptions about prisons and prisoners.

Three of the training restaurants are located in men's prisons, and the fourth is located in a female prison. HMP High Down, Surrey, was the first Clink restaurant to open, and is situated inside the adult male local holding Category B prison (MOJ, 2018). Following the success of the first Clink restaurant, HMP Cardiff was the second restaurant to open. Uniquely, although The Clink, Cardiff is within the grounds of a local holding Category B prison (MOJ, 2017b), it is outside the prison walls. The third Clink restaurant opened inside the walls of HMP Brixton, which houses category C/D prisoners (MOJ, 2017a). Finally, the fourth Clink restaurant opened in 2015 and is located at HMP Styal, a Category D prison; it is the only Clink that aims to transform the lives of women prisoners. For a greater understanding of prison categories, please refer to Appendix 1.

The location, type and category of prisons creates a different experience for both customers and prisoners. The significant differences between open (Category D) and closed (Category A, B and C) prisons will impact on how The Clink restaurants operate. Customers dining at HMP Brixton or HMP High Down are subjected to security checks, photo identification is required, personal belongings are locked away, and customers are escorted to the restaurant by a member of the staff.

The Clink at HMP Cardiff is located outside the prison walls. Customers are served by prisoners from HMP Prescoed, a Category D prison (open prison) (MOJ, 2017d). A brief overview of HMP Prescoed is given below (section 1.2.2 'HMP Prescoed, Category D and ROTL'). Similarly, customers dining at The Clink, HMP Styal, are served by open category female prisoners. Prisoners at The Clink Cardiff and Styal are those who 'can be reasonably trusted in open conditions' (MOJ, 2011: 6). Customers are therefore not subjected to security checks, and they do not have to leave valuables or electronic devices (e.g. mobile phones) in lockers or provide photo identification. Customers eat with stainless steel cutlery, as opposed to plastic cutlery, and drink out of glass. Under 18s are also allowed to dine in these Clink restaurants.

For females working in The Clink at HMP Styal, the restaurant is located in the prison grounds. In contrast, The Clink, Cardiff is located in the grounds of HMP Cardiff, but it is prisoners from HMP Prescoed who work there. These prisoners are granted Release on Temporary Licence (ROTL), specifically a Resettlement Day Release (RDR) licence, to travel and work in the restaurant. ROTL is addressed below (section 1.2.2 'HMP Prescoed, Category D and ROTL'). Unaccompanied by prison staff, these prisoners are able to explore Cardiff city centre during their breaks. These varying circumstances make each Clink experience slightly different.

1.2.1. The Clink process

In order to allow for a smooth transition back into the community, The Clink offers a five-step integrated programme. All restaurants utilise these five steps: Recruit, Train, Support, Employ, and Mentor, as shown in Figure 1.



Figure 1. The Clink's five-step process.

(The Clink, 2019)

With The Clink, Cardiff the first step, Recruit, occurs in HMP Prescoed, and involves prisoners expressing an interest in participating in the programme. HMP Prescoed then decides whether the prisoner is suitable. Eligibility is based on established criteria agreed by the prison and The Clink. Prisoners must have no history of hostage-taking, must be of no interest to immigration, must have 18 months or less to serve, and must not have committed a sexual offence. Prisoners on a script are subject to further criteria.¹ The prison also conducts security checks, which further restricts the numbers of potential candidates. For instance, prisoners who are subject to a Serious Crime Prevention Order (SCPO) and who have lived in Cardiff or the surrounding area previously, are prohibited from taking part in the programme. The length of a prisoner's sentence does not determine whether or not they are selected; the only requirement (in relation to their sentence) is that they have a minimum of six months remaining to allow them to complete their qualifications. Prisoners who fulfil the requirements of the first stage start working at The Clink when there is availability.

The Clink's maximum capacity is 25 prisoners. A prisoner's time spent on the programme will vary according to the individual, their time left to serve, and their motivation/opportunity to move on to stage two employment. On arrival, prisoners will sign a memorandum of understanding between The Clink, the individual and the prison. The prisoner then chooses either Front of House (FOH) or the kitchen, and this determines the training and experience they will receive (although some participants will work in all areas, depending on sentence length). The issue of choice is examined in the findings (Chapter 5 'Rationale: Why The Clink'). Prisoners are then required to carry out the responsibilities of these positions. Their roles, alongside my own, are explored in more detail in the methods and findings chapters (Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 respectively). Along with gaining experience, in the Train step, the prisoners study for the accredited NVQs mentioned above, which can be gained throughout the process. The stage that follows is Support. However, it should be noted that participants are supported throughout the process by both management and the support worker. Managers are

¹ Script: a term used to describe prescriptions given to prisoners who have a drug or alcohol addiction. For instance, if a prisoner is addicted to heroin, they will be given a methadone script. If on a methadone script, potential participants must be prescribed 50ml or less and be committed to a reduction plan, in order to be eligible.

non-prisoners, who occupy the roles of restaurant manager, restaurant manager trainer, assistant restaurant manager trainer, head chef, sous chef, and support worker.

The Employ step can start during the prisoner's current sentence. The Clink is considered a 'stage one' placement, which can be followed by 'stage two' employment. Stage two employment involves companies (unrelated to the prison) employing prisoners (e.g. Holiday Inn). At this point, additional security checks are undertaken with the employer. The key difference between the two stages is pay. Prisoners who reach 'stage two' employment are paid the minimum wage (with 40% deducted by the prison). Prisoners on 'stage one' employment, are paid a lower wage, which is set by the prison service. For The Clink employees, this wage is approximately £3.30 a day (paid by the prison), with a weekly bonus of approximately £10 for full attendance (paid by The Clink). Although some prisoners will reach stage two during their sentence, others will remain at The Clink until their release. The Clink then helps these prisoners find employment on release.

The Mentor step occurs at the end of the process. This step is mainly the responsibility of the support worker, who is responsible for supporting prisoners 'through the gate', addressing not only employment needs but various other issues. On release, The Clink offers a bond that has to be used towards a useful purchase, for example, a deposit for accommodation. The amount of the bond depends on the length of time spent at The Clink. The Clink aims to address all seven 'pathways' of resettlement proposed in the reducing reoffending action plan (Home Office, 2004). This support is offered for a minimum period of 12 months, but can continue if the individual requires further support.

1.2.2. HMP Prescoed, Category D and ROTL

As noted above, prisoners serving at The Clink, Cardiff reside in HMP Prescoed. HMP Prescoed is also known as HMP Usk/Prescoed, and is the amalgamation of two distinct prisons located on different sites but operated under the same management teams (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2018). HMP Usk is a Category C prison located in south-east Wales and holding approximately 274 men, most of whom are sex offenders. Three miles away is HMP Prescoed, which is an open category prison with an operational capacity of 260 men. HMP Prescoed holds male prisoners convicted of a range of offences, who are coming to the end of their sentences. HMP Prescoed's main aim is to

prepare these men for a smooth transition back into the community. As such, most prisoners at HMP Prescoed will be released on ROTL. Generally speaking, there are two main forms of ROTL, which include RDR and Resettlement Overnight Release (ROR) (NOMS, 2015: 13-22). Prisoners at The Clink, Cardiff will be released on RDR. An RDR licence permits prisoners to leave the prison during the day, for a specific purpose that relates to their sentence plan. This licence can only be granted after the prisoner has completed a three-month introduction into the Category D prison. More detail is provided on RDR and ROR in Appendix 2. The prison consists of ten residential units, alongside two semi-detached houses built for the purpose of assisting prisoners for their release.

Prisoners who reach a Category D prison must demonstrate that there is no longer a need for them to remain in closed conditions. As open conditions focus on resettlement, a prisoner cannot generally be moved to a Category D prison if they have more than two years left until their parole eligibility date. Due to the strict criteria and sentence lengths, not all prisoners will reach open conditions. However, life-sentenced prisoners must have spent a period of time in open conditions before they are considered for release by the parole board.

Being in a Category D prison does not guarantee that a prisoner will be granted ROTL. Another rigorous risk assessment determines eligibility. ROTL is considered to be an important part of the rehabilitation and resettlement process. It enables prisoners to participate in necessary activities that help prisoners to 'prepare for their resettlement in the community' (National Offender Management Services; NOMS, 2015: 4). This process is particularly important for prisoners who serve long sentences, as it allows prisoners to address and arrange housing and employment (including placements such as The Clink), and to re-establish (or establish) relationships with families and their communities. These necessary activities are all linked to reducing reoffending.

Along with preparation, ROTL aims to protect the public by testing prisoners in the community (NOMS, 2015). Whilst on ROTL, of any form, the prisoner must comply with a number of licence conditions. Standard conditions include a ban on entering pubs, bars and clubs (unless the premises' primary function is selling food), engaging in any form of gambling or financial transaction, possessing a mobile phone and updating social network sites. ROTL occurs within a set period of release and is only for attending the

address or venue that is stated on the licence (the prisoner must always take an agreed route to and from the address) (NOMS, 2015: 35). Additional conditions may also be placed on the licence depending on the individual and the placement.

Under Prison Rule 9, a prisoner released on ROTL who breaches their licence conditions can be recalled back to prison if considered unsafe (NOMS, 2015). The punishment is dependent on what condition the prisoner has breached. If it is not appropriate for the prisoner to be kept in open conditions, the individual will be transferred to closed conditions.

1.2.3. The Clink, Cardiff, in images

An ambition of the study is, in part at least, to draw the reader into The Clink site. This section therefore provides visual points of reference. All photos were taken by me, and each is discussed in turn.

As can be seen, from Figure 2, The Clink building itself is relatively small. It is constructed in the same brick as HMP Cardiff located directly behind. Previously, the building had been used by HMP Cardiff as a waiting area for prison visitors. The Clink sign on the side and front of the restaurant, along with the mock prison bars shaped into 'The Clink' by the front door, identify it as a restaurant.



Figure 2. External view of The Clink.

On entering The Clink (Figure 3), customers are greeted by a doorman who will check reservations and hang coats. Customers are then accompanied to their table.

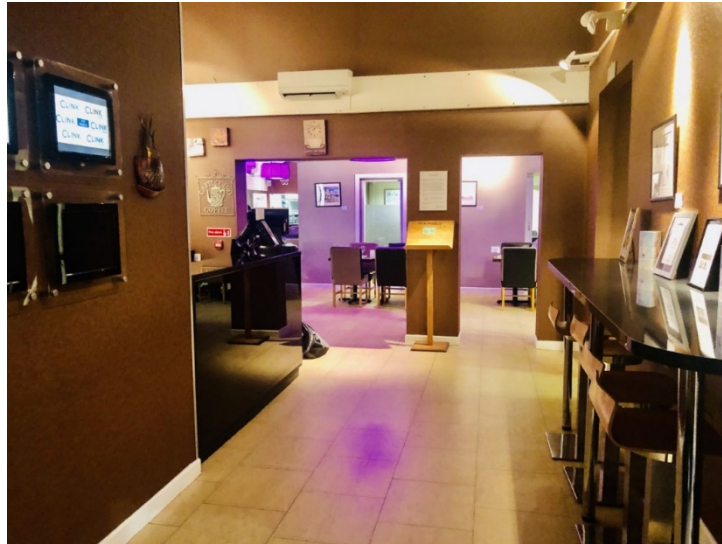


Figure 3. The Clink entrance.

Before reaching their table, customers will pass the bar, which is shown in Figure 4. Here, customers are able to purchase a range of non-alcoholic beverages.



Figure 4. The Clink bar.

The 96-cover restaurant floor (Figure 5) is situated past the bar area. All tables and chairs have been made by serving prisoners at various prisons. At the back of the restaurant, there are floor-to-ceiling mirrors providing the illusion that the restaurant is twice its size. The mirrors also provide views of the 'pass' for those facing away from the kitchen.



Figure 5. The restaurant floor.

Figure 6, taken from the back of the restaurant, shows the pass. Depending on where a customer is seated, the pass can provide a direct line of visibility into the kitchen. Here, customers can see the live action of dishes being plated. Normally, waiters position themselves against the pass, ready to deliver dishes to customer tables. Located next to the pass is a large poster advertising The Clink's ambitions.



Figure 6. The pass.

Whilst customers can only see through the pass, Figure 7 and 8 reveal the main kitchen area, with all the food stations, including starters, mains and desserts. The only section not visible is the pot wash, which is located around the corner. Contingent on numbers, each section will have one to two prisoners working on them. The management floats between sections.



Figure 7. The kitchen area.



Figure 8. The kitchen stations.

The final photograph, Figure 9, shows the conference room. Customers rarely enter this room unless it is booked for a meeting or private event. This room is mostly used by prisoners to eat, and by support staff who use it as an office.



Figure 9. The conference room.

Figure 10 provides a rough layout of The Clink from a sketch taken from my field notes. It is therefore not to scale. These visual points of reference will be used throughout the thesis.

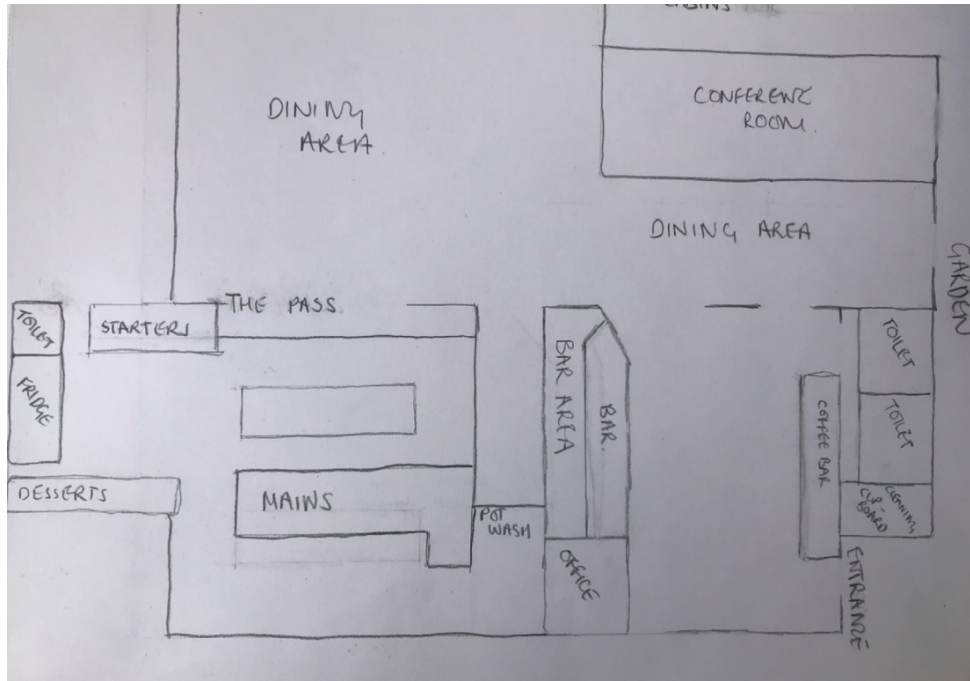


Figure 10. Layout of The Clink.

1.2.4. The Clink's own research

To date, there has been limited research conducted on The Clink. Some qualitative research has been provided in the form of short case studies or 'sound bites' from graduates and employers. One main piece of research conducted by the Justice Data Lab, in 2019, provides a quantitative analysis of the reoffending behaviour of Clink graduates. This research was an extension of a previous analysis conducted in April 2018 (MOJ, 2019a). The research compared 209 Clink graduates (treatment group) to 209 offenders who did not engage with the programme (control group). It is important to note that this research was national, not just at The Clink, Cardiff. Overall, the research found that those who took part in The Clink programme were less likely to re-offend. This finding was the one statistically significant result in the research. The image below provides a detailed summary of the impact of the intervention:

Overall estimates of the impact of the intervention

For **100** typical people who receive support, compared with **100** similar people who do not receive it:



The number of people who commit a proven reoffence within one year after release could be **lower by between 2 and 12 people. This is a statistically significant result.**



The number of proven reoffences committed during the year could be **lower by as many as 38 offences, or higher by as many as 6 offences.** More people would need to be available for analysis in order to determine the direction of this difference.



On average, the time before an offender committed their first proven reoffence could be **shorter by as many as 6 days, or longer by as many as 75 days.** More people would need to be analysed in order to determine the direction of this difference.

Figure 11. The Clink research findings.

(MOJ, 2019a: 2)

This information has allowed The Clink to claim that prisoners are 49.6% less likely to re-offend having engaged with The Clink training programme. Despite the clear quantitative successes of the programme, these results fail to explore what life is really like for a prisoner on The Clink programme. This present study is, therefore, the first of its kind, which aims to provide an in-depth, candid account of Clink life for those who pass through it.

1.2.5. 'Gold Standard' initiative

In light of the above research, The Clink has been considered a 'gold standard' initiative as it encompasses a number of recommendations from the publications; including linking programmes to specific demands within the broader labour market, providing 'purposeful activity' by creating real working environments, and working 'through the gate' (Chartered Institute of Personnel Development, 2004; Webster et al., 2001; SEU, 2002).

Arguably, The Clink has incorporated the need to identify real-time labour market information as it acknowledges the global skills shortage in the hospitality industry. Reported in their 'Taste of the Future 2020' report, the Foodservice Consultants Society International argued that skills shortage is one of the biggest challenges facing the

hospitality sector (FCSI, 2013). This prediction that skills shortage is to continue over the next few years guarantees that there will be jobs available for prisoners who attend The Clink. The Clink aims to provide prisoners with suitable and useful skills to meet the demands of the hospitality industry. This endeavour is reflected in figures released by The Clink that, in 2018, 78 Clink graduates were assisted into employment out of 112 graduates released (The Clink, 2018). It is important to note that not all Clink graduates enter into the hospitality industry. However, many of the skills learnt are transferrable to other sectors. Furthermore, through exposure, The Clink aims to build partnerships with employers to offer graduates employment on release.

The Clink also utilises ROTL, and is designed to reflect a typical restaurant setting, aiming to provide participants with 'real-life' experience and training. Prisoners are allowed to work in all areas of The Clink, gaining real FOH and kitchen experience and skills. However, it is important to note that The Clink is a 'stage one' job, and, unlike 'stage two' placements, labelling The Clink a 'real working' environment could be questionable. Firstly, 'stage two' placements mean that the prisoner has an opportunity to remove the 'prisoner' label; for instance, customers or other employees at these placements are unaware (unless disclosed by the prisoner) that they are in fact prisoners. Secondly, companies have questioned whether elements of The Clink represent a realistic restaurant setting, resulting in struggles when working in the community. The Wales Millennium Centre, which also employs Clink graduates, stated, 'The Clink needs to be realistic on one or two things ... do not over-staff the restaurant, so that they [prisoners] can learn how to deal with fewer staff' (Graham, 2015: 63).

In addition, The Clink website acknowledges the current failings of TTG, stating that 'ex-offenders are often let down at the TTG stage', and are often only offered this provision for a limited amount of time (The Clink, 2019). The Clink offers its own TTG approach, by allocating prisoners a support worker who works with the prisoner during their sentence (in The Clink and prison) and on release. A minimum of 12 months' support is offered to graduates. As with the support promised by TTG, support workers not only assist with employment but address all seven pathways associated with successful resettlement. Support workers liaise with prison staff (e.g. Social Services) to offer a 'seamless' sentence. Unlike other TTG services, The Clink support worker is not driven by a

payment-by-results scheme and focuses on one-to-one support during the prisoner's sentence and on release.

Unlike other community-based employment programmes, The Clink has wider aims. Central to The Clink's mission, is that it invites paying members of the public to dine at the restaurant. By allowing employers and the public to see at first-hand offenders 'making amends' and operating in a working environment, The Clink seeks to offer a unique experience that challenges negative perceptions. In 2018, The Clink released figures showing that 250 employers were willing to employ a Clink graduate (The Clink, 2018). These figures show that The Clink serves as a platform that attempts to act as a force against the prevailing stereotypes that produce stigma and discrimination. Importantly, these misconceptions are challenged by allowing the public, and employers, to converse freely and engage with prisoners, moving prison work from exclusive to inclusive. Exposing offenders, and showing that they have the potential to lead non-criminal lifestyles, assists in building a relationship between the offender and society. Arguably, The Clink operates as a type of 'status elevation ceremony' that could 'serve publicly and formally to announce, sell and spread the fact of the Actor's new kind of being' (Lofland, 1969: 277).

The Clink provides employers with information and research which challenges misinformed views. Clink information leaflets are given to potential employers, outlining research showing that two-thirds of employers found employing ex-offenders had been a positive experience (CIPD, 2004). Together with second-hand information, employers who have employed Clink graduates are invited to speak to other employers to provide first-hand accounts of their experiences. Both these sources of information help to 'myth-bust' and dispel the rumours about offenders and the problems that potential employers may face (Work and Pensions Committee, 2017).

1.3. Thesis outline

The above has provided a largely descriptive overview of The Clink and how it functions. Following this initial introductory chapter, Chapter 2 'Review of the literature' starts to position The Clink within the criminological literature and theory. Examining prison literature, the chapter provides an overview of prison labour today, examining the shift towards prisons becoming places of work and learning. As purposeful activity is a crucial

part of the prison experience, the chapter then discusses the wider penal literature, including 'pains of imprisonment', modern penal power and the management of 'spoiled identities'. It includes an overview of how purposeful activity has the potential to alleviate some of these deprivations, both within the prison and beyond the gates. Not wishing to overlook the fact that The Clink is a fully functioning restaurant, the chapter concludes by briefly examining ways in which restaurants have featured in the social research literature. Chapter 3 'Methodology' situates the study by offering an overview of the processes through which the site was accessed and how the data was collected, documented and analysed. Particular attention is paid to 'doing' the ethnography. This chapter also provides a reflective account of my time in The Clink, discussing how my role and function impacted on my data collection.

Chapter 4 'Setting the scene' offers an overview of the findings, with a lengthy vignette from my field notes. This large observational passage reveals several themes that are embedded throughout the ensuing findings chapters. This chapter also provides a clear descriptive sense of the way The Clink is organised and operates. Following on from this, Chapter 5 'Rationale: Why The Clink?' captures the start of the process, detailing why the prisoners choose The Clink programme and examining the requirements of each role and how these are allocated. Chapter 6 'The Clink Experience' moves beyond the entrance of The Clink into day-to-day Clink life. This candid account opens by briefly looking at the realities of working in a restaurant, by addressing issues that any restaurant employee could encounter. The chapter then explores the additional layer that the prisoners experience; the layer that maintains and reinforces their prisoner status. Particular focus is paid to the customers, the geography of The Clink, and some of the pains of imprisonment. This chapter leads on to the final findings chapter, Chapter 7 'The Clink's Agenda', which considers the wider and official Clink agenda. As revealed through close observational study, the chapter identifies areas of difference and similarity between the data and The Clink's ambitions. It focuses on whether the prisoners' motivations match these objectives, alongside whether The Clink provides a 'real-life' working environment. Within this chapter, it is revealed that The Clink moves outside the formal version of itself and its five-step programme by acknowledging other important factors in desistance. Taken together, the findings chapters aim to tell a story of what life is like for a serving prisoner at The Clink, Cardiff.

Chapter 8 'Concluding thoughts' draws upon the previous finding chapters to provide a discussion and concluding thoughts in relation to the three research questions posed in Chapter 3. It outlines how The Clink experience built 'invisible walls' around the participants and created an additional layer of pain. Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by examining the contribution that the thesis makes to policy and practice. This chapter also reflects on the study's weaknesses, and, building on these, it looks to the future to suggest further research. Each chapter, and the content it supplies, provides answers to the ambitions of my research.

Chapter 2. Review of the literature

2.1. Introduction

The Clink's website states, in bold, that 'The Clink is no ordinary restaurant' (The Clink, 2019). The Clink is a restaurant, but it is also an innovative employment programme for prisoners. Before the thesis examines the existing literature, it is important to note that the terms 'resettlement' and 'rehabilitation' are used throughout. The thesis recognises broader issues around using these terms, including the problem of the prefix 're'. However, it uses these terms to align itself with literature, policy and The Clink's terminology.

This chapter is predominantly going to explore prison research, and consider where purposeful activity fits within the penal system. The chapter begins by briefly outlining the shift in policy to focus on prisons as places of work and learning. Although the chapter reveals that prisons have moved towards purposeful activity, they have experienced difficulties creating opportunities; this has resulted in the involvement of the third and private sector.

With purposeful activity (including employment initiatives) built into the current prison system, the focus then shifts more broadly to examine the prison experience. In particular, this section pays attention to the pains of imprisonment, discussing both the traditional pains as well as the new burdens and frustrations that have evolved with modern penal practices. Alongside the pains of imprisonment, and drawing on the work of Goffman (1959, 1961, 1963), the chapter also provides an analysis of the prisoner performance. As the thesis is examining a programme that operates outside the prison, with prisoners on ROTL, the chapter then addresses the pains which continue through the prison gates, including the pain of freedom created by open conditions, release, parole and probation. The chapter then provides an insight into how purposeful activity could potentially alleviate some of these deprivations, both within the prison and beyond the gates. Whilst most of the chapter focuses on the criminological aspect of the programme, the chapter concludes by turning to research on restaurants and examines both the use of the ethnographic method in the industry and the realities of working in a restaurant.

2.2. Prison labour and purposeful activity

Prisons should not allow offenders to simply mark their time in a purposeless fashion. Rather, prisons should be seen as places where increasing numbers of prisoners are engaged in challenging and meaningful work.

(MOJ, 2010: 15)

Prison work has always been a key feature of prison life (Simon, 1999). The role and function of prison work have been contested throughout history. However, the thinking in the 20th and 21st centuries has included the revival of the resettlement agenda, which has resulted in policy-makers turning their attention to the notion that prison should provide purposeful activity. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2018) defines a purposeful activity as an activity that must be likely to benefit prisoners and contribute to a reduction in reoffending, including an activity or constructive interaction which builds life skills, develops learning, promotes well-being or enhances employability. Examples are not limited to work, vocational training and work placements, but can also include education, programmes addressing offending behaviour, volunteering, visits, art classes, peer support and attending the gym. It is important to note that prison work still includes work to service and maintain the prison.

This theme has been developed by several policy recommendations to ensure a focus on making prisons places of work through purposeful activity. Recommendations include the 2005 green paper, Reducing Reoffending through Skills and Employment (HM Government, 2005), the 2010 green paper, Breaking the Cycle: Effective Punishment, Rehabilitation and Sentencing of Offenders (MOJ, 2010), and Making Prisons Work: Skills for Rehabilitation (BIS and MOJ, 2011). All place work at the centre of rehabilitation, emphasising the importance of developing offenders' vocational and employment skills whilst still in custody, arguing that these skills are essential to finding and sustaining employment once released.

While employment can reduce reoffending, it also achieves another central goal of penal policy: protecting the public.² These publications and approaches have laid the groundwork for employment, training and education (ETE) to become a key component of the Criminal Justice System's efforts to reduce reoffending rates and support resettlement. The shift towards ETE as a key feature of prison life aligns itself with the changing notion that prisons are no longer places solely about punishment.

A focus on ETE was also reflected in the 'rehabilitation revolution', which placed work at the centre of the Coalition Government's criminal justice policy. This policy represented an attempt to incorporate ETE and aimed to have prisoners work up to 40-hour weeks as part of a daily routine. By engaging prisoners in 'paid work' (Cabinet Office, 2010) and purposeful activity, the strategy aimed to change the prison landscape from one where prisoners were compelled to spend 20 hours a day in their cells, to one where prisoners could participate in a normal working day. ETE has remained a priority for the new Conservative Government, with previous Prime Minister, David Cameron, announcing 'There is one other area where I want us to be bold, and where we can use the latest thinking to make a difference – and that is to help prisoners find work on release' (Cameron, 2016). This statement supports the Transforming Rehabilitation Agenda, which pointed to employment needs as a 'life management' issue for offenders (MOJ, 2013).

This focus has been reflected in recent inspections of prisons in England and Wales, with purposeful activity considered a key expectation and performance indicator. Prisoners must have regular and predictable time (at least 10 hours per weekday³) out of their cells to engage in purposeful activity; suitable activities need to be provided to meet prisoners needs; and all suitable prisoners should be motivated to engage (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2019).

To deliver the ambition of making prisons places of hard work and meaningful activity, the literature and policy recommendations argue that there are key features for what

² Programmes that aim to protect the public by reducing reoffending include a component of 'risk management', which will be explored further in the discussion on community-based employment programmes.

³ Unless a prisoner is not on the normal regime; for instance, is located in the segregation unit.

purposeful activity (in relation to employment) should offer. One key recommendation is the focus on 'through the gate' (TTG) activities. It is now widely accepted that rehabilitation programmes delivered in prison are likely to be more successful if followed up thoroughly after release. Acknowledging that a lack of support post-release contributes to reoffending, TTG provisions aim to mitigate some of the wide-ranging structural barriers to resettlement. TTG has been linked to pathways for successful resettlement, and therefore addresses accommodation, finance, benefits and debt, education, training, and employment. A key focus of TTG provisions is continuity, and they seek to offer prisoners a 'seamless' mentoring scheme from prison into the community (Murray, 2012). This idea of the 'seamless sentence' is supported by a number of renowned reports, namely, Reducing Reoffending by Ex-Prisoners (Social Exclusion Unit (SEU), 2002), Carter Report (Home Office, 2003), Through the Prison Gate (HMIPP, 2001) and Halliday (2001).

Bushway (2003) proposed that programmes also need to offer appropriate educational and vocational skills. Prior to imprisonment, many prisoners are absent from the labour market. Figures show that prisoners tend to have skill levels below those of the general population. Creese (2016) noted that 86% of the general population have literacy skills at Level 1, which is considered to be the appropriate skill level for succeeding in most types of employment, i.e. 'functional literacy'; in comparison, only 50% of the prison population attain this skill level, representing a significant barrier for prisoners. With reading being a fundamental prerequisite for the majority of jobs, it is unsurprising that people with convictions make up a sizeable proportion of the unemployed population. Along similar lines, Hunter and Boyce (2009) found that many prisoners have no work experience. Therefore, programmes need to recognise that these individuals have low skills and experience and should seek to offer these skills. Alongside education and vocational skills, Bushway (2003) argued that programmes need to offer professional qualifications and experience.

Furthermore, if purposeful activity is to provide 'real work' opportunities for prisoners, it needs to replicate, as closely as possible, the experience of a real working environment (Edgar et al., 2011). These environments need to offer the opportunity to acquire work habits, including self-discipline, structure, self-control, self-worth, punctuality, responsibility, and essential interpersonal skills. Programmes need to start to help to

'build and maintain a new identity in prison, before facing the challenges of release' (Bushway, 2003: 14). Promoting responsibility within the work regime can allow prisoners to engage in 'active citizenship' (Edgar et al., 2011) These new behavioural patterns are essential if an offender is to develop a new pro-social identity.

In summary, several recommendations from the literature have argued that purposeful activity needs to link programmes to the specific demands of the broader labour market, offer necessary skills and experience, and provide real working environments and 'through the gate' provision (Chartered Institute of Personnel Development, 2004; Webster et al., 2001; Social Exclusion Unit, 2002).

Despite these recommendations and a promising focus on ETE and purposeful activity, there have been difficulties in implementing such policies. Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS) has faced changes that have impacted who is responsible for operations, policy, delivery, and performance. Most recently, these changes have been reflected in the move from NOMS to HMPPS. Alongside policy changes, the delivery of 'purposeful activity' has faced fierce criticism. Many prisoners are still engaged in low-skilled, poor-quality activities that fail to contribute to a seamless transition into the community (Kethineni and Falcone, 2007). Academic research is supported by official prison reports, including HM Inspectorate of Prisons' recent annual report, which found that a low number of prisons, approximately one-third, had 'good' or 'reasonably good' purposeful activity (2019: 11). Purposeful activity is one of four 'health' tests that inspectors use to assess a prison. The results indicate that many prisons are falling short of what would be considered to be a 'healthy prison'. Purposeful activity was found to be affected by many aspects of prison life. It is arguable that work programmes, particularly in closed prisons, are not compatible with prison life. Legge (1978) contended that job roles are determined by security and availability as opposed to skillset, interest and experience.

In addition, prisoner wages have been contested. There are vast differences between payments in prison and in the community. Wages in prison have been likened to 'pocket money', which is offered as 'cash in hand' (Crook, 2007). Frances Crook, the former Director at the Howard League for Penal Reform, argued that this 'cash in hand' method would be considered criminal in the community (2007: 303). In addition, a prisoner's pay

is not reflective of the work the prisoner produces; rather, pay is used as an incentive to engage with the prison regime. For instance, a prisoner can lose earnings for disciplinary reasons outside a programme. The focus on compliance, as opposed to quality of work, arguably affects the status of prison work. This approach can reduce motivation among prisoners, ultimately undermining the effectiveness of such programmes (Lightman, 1982). Being denied a meaningful wage or employment rights feeds into the argument that prison labour can be exploitative punishment. Reports have called for prisoners to earn a fair wage; 'real work requires a real and equitable wage' (Howard League, 2011: 34).

Shea (2005) argued that prisoners' wages leave little room for addressing factors that could assist in reducing reoffending and promoting resettlement, including supporting family members and reducing debt. Many prisoners will enter into the establishment with housing debts (rent arrears) and court fines (Bath and Edgar, 2010). Despite NOMS' (Home Office, 2004) action plan to offer prisoners the ability to save for release via paid purposeful activity, the negligible income offered makes this an extremely difficult, if not impossible, task. Instead, the absence of a real wage exacerbates pre-existing financial problems and has the potential to disrupt the resettlement process that the employment programmes aim to support. In an attempt to combat some of the pitfalls of prison labour, prisons have involved the private sector and the third sector, as briefly examined below.

2.2.1. Business behind bars

Despite a move to make prisons places of work, prisons have experienced difficulties in creating opportunities for prisoners 'in-house' (as shown above). The involvement of the private sector in prison labour can be traced back to the start of the 1970s, where an attempt was made to professionalise industrial training in prison (Simon, 1999). More recently, with a focus on making prisons a place of work, current UK policy has encouraged a move towards partnerships with outside organisations. Academics have argued that prisons are unable to fulfil the criteria of meaningful employment, suggesting that private companies are more successful in providing the necessary skills needed for gaining employment on release (Pyle, 1997; Fenwick, 2005).

The best-known partnership is between Timpson⁴ and the Prison Service. Timpson has prison-based workshops and recruits directly from prisons (Murray, 2012). Other organisations offering prison programmes include Network Rail, National Grid Transco, and Travis Perkins. However, only Timpson offers jobs through the prison gate. With this partnership, both Timpson and the Prison Service have reported a number of success stories, with 10% of Timpson employees recruited directly from the prison service (Pandeli, 2019).

This partnership provides an example of how a private organisation can contribute to a reduction in reoffending, by offering opportunities for prisoners whilst in prison and on release. However, partnerships between private companies and the Prison Service have faced criticism. With increasing challenges to private contracted work, there has been a development of initiatives labelled as 'social enterprises'. Examples include:

- Barbed (run in HMP Coldingley): graphic design social enterprise
- The SOFA project (run in HMP Leyhill): recycling furniture and electrical equipment
- Oxford Citizens Advice Bureau (run in HMP Springhill): telephone advice for customers
- Inside Job Productions (run in HMP Downview): media production

(Cosgrove and McNeill, 2011)

These schemes aim to provide prisoners with meaningful training; for instance, Barbed considered prisoners as employees, and they had employment contracts and employee rights. It has been argued that the introduction of real companies can provide 'real' work for prisoners, yet the lifespan of these projects is often short. Barbed was closed due to an incompatibility with the prison ethos and rules.

These programmes demonstrate a new flux, with different organisations offering more opportunities for purposeful activity from the inside. This trend supports the notion that to create a safer society, resettlement and rehabilitation should be a collective responsibility. Everyone should play a part in helping ex-offenders integrate back into society. The wider involvement of the third sector is promising and recognises that all the

responsibility does not just rest with the individual or the Criminal Justice System. These outside organisations have the ability to support people to build the right partnerships, create relationships, and provide the necessary, relevant skills that are crucial to sustaining change. Opportunities are now also being offered in the community for open category prisoners. The Clink is an example of one programme based solely in the community.

2.3. The prison experience

As argued, prisoners are expected to engage in activity in prison, revealing it to be a key part of prison life. It is therefore important to examine the prison experience more generally within the literature. Even for those prisoners who are given the opportunity to work solely in the community (as with The Clink) they will have to return to the prison establishment after their 'shifts'. When examining the prison experience within penal research, there is a longstanding preoccupation with the 'pains of imprisonment'. The following sections address the traditional pains of imprisonment (Sykes, 1958) as well as the contemporary pains of imprisonment, including the demands of modern penal power and another fundamental feature of prison life; prisoner performance.

2.3.1. Pains of imprisonment

Whilst the pains of imprisonment are well documented, the discussion often begins with Sykes' *Society of Captives* (1958). According to Sykes, there are five distinct 'pains of imprisonment', which include the deprivations of liberty, goods and services, heterosexual relationships, autonomy and security. These pains form the basis of a useful conceptual toolbox to analyse, critique and demonstrate the harm caused by penal institutions.

The fundamental premise of a prison is to remove the individual from the 'free community' (Sykes, 1958: 65) and restrict their liberty. Coyle (1994: 24) suggests that the first deprivation, the deprivation of liberty it is the pain that causes the most distress; 'losing one's liberty is one of the most traumatic experiences any individual is likely ever to undergo'. The prisoner is removed from their community, family and friends and faces a deliberate, moral rejection. Furthermore, the deprivation of goods and services results in 'material impoverishment' which is a 'painful loss' (Sykes, 1958: 68); by losing

personal possessions, clothing alongside limited access to amenities, the prisoner can experience an attack on their identity (Goffman, 1961). Sykes (1958) noted that within this category, a reoccurring theme is the low quality of food offered.

The third pain of imprisonment, the loss of heterosexual relationships is caused by a key feature of the 'total institution' (Goffman, 1961); the physical separation of prisoners from the outside world. This separation prevents sexual intercourse. More recently, this category has been recast as the 'absence of voluntary sexual relationships, heterosexual or otherwise' (Shammas, 2017: 3). Sykes (1958) argues that this pain causes psychological problems and threatens aspects of the self, in particular, the prisoner's masculinity. Alongside being confined to the prison, prisoners are subsequently subjected to rules and regulations resulting in the deprivation of autonomy and control. Prison life is 'completely routinized and restricted' (Irwin and Owen, 2005: 98), making it challenging to exert choice. Prisoners lose the ability to make basic decisions, including when to eat, what to eat and where they can sleep. Sykes (1958) raises concerns regarding this deprivation as it forces the prisoner into a child-like state. The final pain of imprisonment, the deprivation of security is perhaps the most fearful for newcomers (Medlicott, 2001). It is well known that prisons can be unsafe places, in which prisoners need to protect themselves from physical violence and threats of violence. Sykes (1958) argued that the prisoner knows that he will be tested, sooner or later. Shammas (2017) showed that widespread substance misuse contributes to prison insecurity.

Importantly, Sykes argued that the psychological pains described above could be equally as damaging as physical ill-treatment. Together, they constitute a 'serious attack on the personality' (Sykes, 1958: 64). But how useful are these pains of imprisonment developed by Sykes more than 50 years ago? Despite an acknowledgement that the prison attacks a prisoner's identity and self-worth, the changing nature of penal power, coupled with a new generation of prisons and programmes, has brought new pains which are considered below.

Whilst Sykes' (1958) analysis of the pains of imprisonment is still widely used and is relevant, the changing nature of the prison has meant that these pains do not capture those created by the new generation of prisons and the modern penal system. The prison system has moved away from a system in which violence, intimidation and

aggression are used to ensure prisoner compliance. This shift is apparent when examining Jameson and Allison's (1995) account of the months prior to the Strangeways riots. Jameson and Allison (1995) describe instances in which prisoners were given cold food, purposefully placed in cells with known rivals in an atmosphere of 'congealed fear and sometimes terror' (1995: 75). Since then, the rise of 'neo-paternalism' has quashed the use of hard, direct coercive power in prisons. Whilst seemingly positive, this shift has resulted in a new generation of pains.

Drawing on Downes (1988) and King and McDermott (1995), Crewe (2011, 2015) updates the theory, arguing that the modern 'pains of imprisonment' can be split into sub-categories. These categories can be applied to the contemporary prison experience and included, the 'depth', 'weight', 'tightness' and 'breadth' of imprisonment. Before the new pains are explored, it is important to note that these modern frustrations do not eliminate the traditional pains of imprisonment. Prisoners continue to experience the pains identified by Sykes (1958). Rather the reformation of penal power has added an additional layer of pains, which co-exist alongside one another.

The first category 'depth' refers to the 'sense of being buried way beneath the surface of freedom' (Crewe, 2015: 54). King and McDermott (1995) describe this depth as the distance from release, level of situational control and the isolation from the outside world. King and McDermott (1995) refer to high-security prisons; this depth can be felt across institutions and, simply put, is the distance between the prisoner and the outside world. Yet, this distance should not be reduced to solely physical limitations, such as freedom of movement. As the 'depth' described by Crewe (2015) can be experienced in less extreme spaces, other types of distances need to be considered. Shammass (2014) argued that whilst open prisons offer a taste of freedom, these are transient and short-lived. The additional frustrations of open category prisons, including cognitive confusion, are explored in section 2.4 'Pains of freedom'. The 'weight' of imprisonment refers to the psychological oppressiveness that prisoners experience due to the prison regime, the idea that there are infinite 'rules-within-rules-within-rules' (Cohen and Taylor, 1972). King and McDermott (1995: 89) argued that the experiences of prison can feel like a 'weigh on their [prisoners] shoulders'. More recently, academics have revisited the concept of 'weight', challenging the assumption that 'heavy' prisons are worse (Crewe et al. 2014b). Crewe et al. (2014a) warned of the dangers associated with excessively

'light' prisons, arguing that the lack of staff power and regime causes chaos, confusion and are unsafe.

Whilst Crewe (2011, 2015) developed the two categories depth and weight outlined by Downes (1988) and King and McDermot (1005), he argued that both have changed over time and that neither term accurately encompasses the current frustrations of the modern penal system. Instead, he offered an additional metaphor, 'tightness'. The tightness category accommodates the pains generated by contemporary forms of prison governance, in particular the 'softening' of modern penal power. In an attempt to make the prison regime more decent, these changes in penal practice have seen psychological power supersede coercion (Crewe, 2015). However, as the regime has become less authoritarian, this had added a complex layer of demands and rules which are uncertain, difficult to understand and less visible. This soft power predominantly operates through prisoner-staff relationships and policies that encourage self-regulation. Within this category, Crewe (2011) characterises tightness as leading to three main pains: pains of uncertainty and indeterminacy, psychological assessment, and self-governance.

The pains of uncertainty and indeterminacy refer to the inconsistent decision-making process which impacts both the prisoner's current situation and future. As soft power lacks transparency, prisoners are unsure of how decisions are made, particularly about release (Crewe, 2011). For some, the unpredictable and anonymous nature of soft power causes significant anxiety. The second pain, psychological assessment, relates to the forms and processes which determine a prisoners' risk category, which again subsequently impacts their lives. Prisoners' identities are narrowed into constricted risk categories that adversely impact their self-image (Griffin and Healy, 2019).

However, even defining 'risk' is a subjective process. The risk principle is based on the idea that it is possible to predict criminal behaviour (Andrews et al., 1990). It is about predicting the future, which can never be done with 100% accuracy (Morgan and Gilchrist, 2010: 368). This problem can lead to an offender being assessed as too low or too high a risk. Furthermore, professionals assessing the same offender may have different views (Mair et al., 2006). For instance, an individual using their professional judgement to fill out an OASys assessment may experience 'dread risk' (Kemshall and

Wood, 2008: 622), which occurs when a professional does not feel confident in their own risk assessment capabilities; the more they dread, the higher they may perceive the risk. A negative focus on risk leads to constraints and controls, which could prevent a prisoner from being granted parole or being re-categorised to open conditions, such as HMP Prescoed. In a joint inspection of prisoners serving life sentences, inspectors were shocked by the lack of clarity and confusion over risk assessments, arguing that there was 'considerable room for improvement' (HM Inspectorates of Prison and Probation, 2013: 6). Attrill and Liell (2007) concluded that the assessment is simply 'done to them'.

The term 'tightness' captures the increased use of 'responsibilisation' (Bosworth, 2007), which has become a prison governance strategy (Ugelvik, 2011; Hannah-Moffatt 2000), which encourages prisoners to self-govern, take responsibility and showcase change. Self-improvement is required in order to create the 'responsible prisoner' (Bosworth, 2007) and contrasts with Sykes' (1958) deprivation of autonomy. However, a greater degree of choice is accompanied by a greater degree of risk, making prison life more complex and demanding (Crewe, 2011). To demonstrate 'responsibilisation', prisoners are expected to engage with rehabilitation programmes like The Clink. However, this expectation can be viewed as 'pressured rehabilitation' (Day et al., 2004) or 'coerced voluntarism' (Peyrot, 1985). Non-participation is often viewed as non-compliance and can affect a prisoner's parole eligibility. Prisoners can resent the transfer in responsibility involved in these processes. The greater degree of choice harnesses them in their own subjection (Foucault, 1977) and forces them to 'build inner bars' (Neumann, 2012: 148). Prisoners are obliged to govern themselves or risk the consequences, likening the prison experience to 'walking on eggshells' (Crewe, 2011: 509). These problems are exacerbated by a lack of understanding on the prisoner's part.

The final category, 'breadth' of imprisonment refers to the wide range of disciplinary mechanisms that currently operate beyond the prison in civil society (Crewe, 2015). Examples include being recalled to prison following a breach of licence, and continued surveillance. The breadth of imprisonment is explored further when the chapter examines 'pains of freedom'. It is important to note that the literature outlined above largely refers to close category prisons, The Clink offers the opportunity to explore how these pains might effect those who are working outside the physical prison walls.

2.3.2. Prisoner performance

As well as both the traditional and modern pains of imprisonment outlined above, accounts of prison life reveal a culture of fear, violence and aggression. In order to survive, prisoners must adapt to this environment. Impression management skills are used to create 'fronts' or emotional 'masks' of masculine bravado to hide vulnerabilities (De Vigiani, 2012; Jewkes, 2005). Masking is a common strategy that represents a form of suppression and is used to cope with the strains of imprisonment. In the context of prison, masking involves the prisoner suppressing traces of any characteristics considered 'feminine' such as pain, weaknesses, vulnerability and fear (Sabo et al., 2001; Johnson, 1987; Thurston, 1994). On the other hand, 'fronting' involves the presentation of an unauthentic self that conceals or withholds the true self. For instance, a prisoner may exaggerate their criminal status, 'constructing themselves as highly volatile ('nutters') or liable to use weapons ('tool-merchants'), or building up their bodies (Crewe et al., 2014c: 11).

Considering this 'manly font', the dramaturgical conception of self, developed by Goffman (1959) is useful here. Goffman used the term 'performance' to refer to the activity of an individual in front of an audience. Goffman explored how everyday-life actors perform, using various props to define the situation at hand. Continuing with the analogy of performance, the performance varies depending on the 'region' or 'stage'. The performances of an individual in the front region and the back region differ. On the frontstage, Goffman argued, specific performances take place in front of an audience. These performances are 'modified to fit into the understanding and expectations of the society to which it is presented' (Goffman, 1959: 35), meaning that an individual's performance frontstage will 'tend to incorporate and exemplify the official accredited values of the society' (Goffman, 1959: 35). On the other hand, backstage is an area where the performer can remove their mask, relax and rehearse for the frontstage. Goffman also discusses the off-stage region, in which actors are able to meet audience members independently of the team performance.

Despite the appeal and application of Goffman's framework, particularly in relation to 'fronting', some academics have argued that the framework is not sufficient. Crewe et al. (2014c) argued that the 'front' and 'back' stage distinction is too simplistic and difficult to

maintain. Goffman (1961: 216) described cells as 'personal territories' or backstage spaces, yet in reality, prisoners often share cells. Furthermore, it is problematic to apply these two binary metaphors to spaces within the prison where there is a blurring of the outside and inside, such as the visiting hall. Described by Moran (2013) as 'liminal carceral spaces', prisoners find themselves between the inside and outside worlds. These distinctive spaces encourage different types of performance and variations in the masculine performance. Given that The Clink is a restaurant located outside the prison, it raises interesting questions as to how participants may perform within this space. Crewe et al. (2014b: 17) argued that prison creates a 'multitude of normative and emotional domains' which require a variety of emotional performances.

2.4. Pains of 'freedom'

As this thesis is considering an employment programme that utilises ROTL, then it is essential to consider some of the frustrations that are experienced outside the physical walls of the closed category prison. Examining this literature will allow comparisons to be made. Although most penal scholarship has focused on the pains experienced within the walls, recent literature has revealed that the pains of imprisonment do not stop at the gates of the prison. More recently, scholars have diverted their attention to the pains of release and 'freedom', including the experiences of open category prisons, community supervision, parole and probation (Shammas, 2014; Durnescu, 2011; McNeill, 2019; Griffin and Healey 2019).

To date, limited research has been conducted on open category prisons. Shammas (2014) argued that the literature has overlooked the pains within these 'exceptional' prisons. Drawing on research conducted inside Norway's 'Prison Island', Shammas develops Sykes' (1958) traditional pains and Crewe's (2011) 'tightness' concept to conclude that the pains of open conditions can be reconfigured into five groupings: confusion, anxiety and boundlessness, ambiguity, relative deprivation, and individual responsibility. The first concept, confusion, is produced by the space, routine and requirements within which an open category prison operates. As previously discussed, open categories offer the opportunity to work in the community (e.g. The Clink), introducing the role of employee. Yet the role of employee and prisoner are two contrasting worlds, which the prisoner is expected to manage simultaneously

(Shammas, 2014). Balancing these two conflicting roles causes the prisoner cognitive dismay. In addition, Shammas (2014: 111) found that the prison 'did not look like or have the feel of a prison', but breaking the rules still produced 'prison-like effects', adding to the confusion.

The transition from closed to open prison causes the second pain; anxiety and boundlessness. Here, comparisons can be made to the 'release identity' (Crawley and Sparks 2006; Uggen et al., 2004), which is explored further in the following section. The 'freedom' and 'options' offered by open conditions produce an arena for apprehension and angst. This 'taste of freedom' also causes ambiguity, which Shammas (2014: 114) labelled 'bittersweet'. Prisoners are often left feeling unsatisfied and again confused by the conflicting juxtapositions between the inside and the out. Neuman (2012: 148) concluded in her study of open prison female prisoners that, although physically free, the conditions 'imprisoned the soul'. Whilst open conditions offer greater access to privileges, this access also gives the prisoner more to lose and leads to high expectations, causing relative deprivation. The final pain, individual responsabilisation (outlined previously) is felt acutely by open category prisoners. The open conditions require prisoners to engage in rehabilitation programmes and self-improvement. The pains outlined by Shammas (2014) reveal that the open regimes are softer and looser, but are nevertheless still experienced as tight (Crewe, 2011, 2015) and constraining.

In order to be released from an open or closed category prison, all prisoners serving life sentences will have to face the Parole Board. Yet, study of the pains associated with the process of parole has been largely absent. More recently, Griffin and Healey (2019) reviewed parole through the 'lens of deprivation', examining the pains experienced by life-sentenced prisoners seeking parole. These deprivations primarily link to risk management and include the pains of dealing with serious offences, the need to engage with rehabilitation services ('pressured' rehabilitation), and reintegration.

Griffin's (2018) study revealed that Parole Board members frequently reference reports from risk assessments on top of the reports provided by HMPSS. A life-sentenced prisoner must face, and ultimately satisfy, the Parole Board's own risk assessments. As addressed in section 2.3.1 'Pains of imprisonment', risk assessments subject the prisoner to unique pains and frustrations. Within these assessments, the nature and

gravity of the offence is also considered (Griffin and Healey, 2019), with 'crimes of passion' considered a lower risk in comparison to murders associated with gang violence (Griffin, 2018). Yet these decisions, and the process involved, have the potential to cause significant distress.

The parole process pays particular attention to the prisoner's engagement with services inside the prison, revealing the second deprivation: rehabilitation. Griffin's (2018) study showed that Parole Board members focus on prisoners presenting as 'redeemable'. Redeemability is connected with rehabilitation and subsequently linked to whether prisoners have successfully engaged with rehabilitative programmes. Despite being a crucial consideration for the Parole Board, prisoners are faced with a number of issues when attempting to access 'purposeful' activity/rehabilitative programmes. As previously outlined in section 2.2 'Prison labour today', limited availability, issues with staffing/pay and poor-quality activities fail to contribute to life beyond the gates. The final deprivation discussed by Griffin and Healy (2019) indicates that the pains of release and desistance are particularly problematic for life sentence prisoners. Released life-sentenced prisoners face the reality of life on licence.

2.5. Pains of release

The vast majority of prisoners, including those serving life tariffs, will be released from prison (Appleton, 2010). It is widely accepted that prison creates a number of barriers that must be overcome when re-entering the 'free' world. These wider barriers include the concept of 'spoiled identity', wider structural barriers, such as social and legal attitudes to ex-offenders, and continued supervision.

Having a criminal conviction 'scars one for life' (Petersilia, 2003: 19). These scars or 'invisible stripes' (Lebel, 2012) fuel feelings of anxiety regarding perceived stigma. Goffman (1963) defines stigma as an attribute that prevents an individual from being fully accepted in the social world; it is a devalued or offensive negative characteristic. Having a 'spoiled identity' means they must alleviate the tension their stigma creates to perform successfully and undergo face-to-face interaction. With perceptions of others dramatically impacting identity, ex-offenders must manage their 'spoiled identity'. Stigmatised individuals use impression management as a means of controlling the assessments others make. Goffman (1959) described two types of impression

management strategies which are particularly applicable to individuals suffering from a stigmatised identity: passing and revealing. Passing involves an individual concealing negative information about themselves, thereby concealing their stigma. On the other hand, revealing is the disclosure of the stigmatised identity (Goffman, 1963). Yet, The Clink invites members of the public in to be served by a prisoner, raising questions about how Clink participants manage their stigmatised identity on the programme.

The problem facing ex-offenders is that this stigma feeds into social and legal attitudes to ex-offenders (other aspects of 'breadth' (Crewe, 2015) making it difficult to utilise the 'pass' technique). Within the context of employment, these wider structural barriers include labour market conditions and employer and public stigma. For instance, it has been widely acknowledged that carrying labels such as 'offender', 'ex-offender', 'prisoner', and 'criminal' result in an undesirable categorisation (Uggen et al., 2004; Goffman, 1963). Regardless of the label chosen, all are equally damaging. 'Dangerous', 'unreliable', 'dishonest' and 'uneducated' are just some of the many negative attributes attached to these labels (Working Links, 2010). These characteristics conjure particular negative images that lead to exclusionary practices, ostracising members of this labelled population from social acceptance and legitimate aspects of society (Hirschfield and Schmader, 2008).

Negative stereotyping by the public often leads to stigmatisation, and this stigmatisation, coupled with rejection, can damage an individual's reintegration efforts (Braithwaite, 2000; Hirschfield and Schmader, 2008). The media plays a key role in perpetuating and distributing the negative stereotypes associated with criminal records, through focusing on rare, shocking and emotive crimes (e.g. rape and murder) and the failings of released offenders. These stories inevitably evoke negative reactions from society, making conformity difficult and further inducing criminality.

As employers are made up of the general public, it is unsurprising that the stigma surrounding a criminal record feeds into corporate culture. Criminal records are regarded by potential employers as carrying a negative social stigma. Henley (2014) suggested that 'ex-offenders' are personified as 'undeserving' when compared to other applicants. For instance, Pager (2003), in a US-based study, used four males who were matched and then paired through work experience and educational achievement. One participant

from each pair was assigned a criminal record. Pager found that participants allocated criminal records were less likely to receive a call back from an employer. Pager ultimately concluded that a criminal record significantly reduces the chances of employment. Pager's findings are supported by SEU (2002), which reported that approximately 75% of employers viewed individuals with criminal records as less favourable candidates.

Employers' negative prejudices tend to arise due to ex-offenders' perceived 'riskiness' (Henley, 2014). Lam and Harcourt (2003) claimed that the term 'riskiness', in this context, is synonymous with 'liability'. Therefore, employing a 'risky' individual with a criminal record could be viewed as a major 'liability'. Many employers are unwilling to 'risk' employing an individual with a criminal history, as the characteristics associated with ex-offender labels (described above) contrast with those of the desirable, 'low risk' employee. These fears are further reinforced by the media, which regularly highlights the high reoffending rates of ex-offenders.

In addition to the issue of stigma, many employers have recruitment policies and practices that request details of criminal records in a confusing, discriminatory and unnecessary manner. Legislation such as the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act (ROA) 1974, and Police Act 1997, has been referred to as 'invisible punishment' (Thomas and Heberton, 2012: 238). ROA 1974 states that following a period of rehabilitation, a criminal conviction is 'spent', meaning it does not have to be disclosed. Although theoretically promising, as it offers 'permission to legally move on from the stigma of one's own past' (Maruna et al., 2004: 14), this de-labelling is only available to those with a sentence of four years or less, which sends the message to those with longer sentences that they are undeserving of resettlement and are inherently irredeemable.

Unlike ROA 1974, the premise of the Police Act 1997 was to protect the public, and the Act was introduced in response to public anxiety regarding violent or sexual offenders in the workplace (Fletcher, 2002). The Act allows employers to request access to an applicant's criminal records (with the applicant's permission). The Act works with a three-tier system, in which a basic, standard or enhanced disclosure can be requested. Each level reveals different amounts of information. A basic disclosure can be requested by any employer. The rise in the use of the Police Act 1997 represents an increased

appetite on the part of employers to conduct criminal record checks. In response to this increase, international campaigns (including 'Ban the Box') have sought to persuade employers to remove the criminal record checkbox from application forms. By removing this checkbox, it is hoped that people with convictions will have better, fairer opportunities.

Coupled with the issues surrounding identity, those who have been released (or sentenced) in the community face supervision. It is only recently that research has turned its attention to consider the offender's experiences of probation and community sanctions (Durnescu, 2011; McNeill, 2019). Crucially, research has challenged the common perception that supervision is not a punishment and therefore is not painful. These studies provide empirical evidence that imprisonment is not the only sanction that can be viewed through the deprivation lens, and that other types of punishment, including life after prison, can also be experienced as painful.

Durnescu (2011) identified eight main types of deprivation caused by probation supervision. The most common draws on Sykes' (1958) deprivation of autonomy. Supervised offenders are required to attend appointments, follow conditions and update the probation service on their personal lives. Durnescu (2011) argued that the requirement to attend appointments results in the deprivation of time and in additional financial costs. Attending appointments coupled with joint probation/police visits to the home, being forced to return to the offence and having to alert employers sustains and contributes to the stigma and spoiled identity discussed in section 2.5 'Pains of release'. Probationers ultimately live under 'tremendous threat'; the threat of imprisonment' (Durnescu, 2011: 538). Breaching conditions or requirements outlined by probation or the courts can result in further punishment. Here, parallels can be drawn with individuals on ROTL. As outlined in section 1.2.2 'HMP Prescoed, Category and ROTL, individuals at The Clink programme have to adhere to licence conditions and can be recalled back to prison if considered unsafe.

McNeill's text *Pervasive Punishment* (2019) continues this argument by detailing further complexities around penal supervision. McNeill explains that although supervision is meant to be an alternative to custody, it has, in fact, just widened the net of the Criminal Justice System (Cohen, 1979). This widening extends through society and has profound

effects on individuals. Offenders are required to navigate a 'minefield' of additional complications that accompany supervision. One of the complexities relates to the invisibility of the punishment. The idea that individuals are 'free' in the community, but still held in the grasp of the Criminal Justice System. If the requirements and conditions are not followed, supervision is a path into prison. In comparison, McNeill suggests that prisons are viewed by some as easier and less complex.

The pains outlined above create both ethical and practical dilemmas, particularly in light of whether probation and community sanctions should be viewed as punishment or rehabilitation. Considering the deprivations, Durnescu (2011) called for probation to focus its attention away from risks towards the adoption of the 'good lives model'. The following section turns its attention to how purposeful activity, including employment schemes, aims to address some of the complications and pains outlined above.

2.6. Inside benefits

Despite the evident pains of imprisonment, both inside and outside the prison walls, there are clear benefits detailed by the Prison Service and academic literature of purposeful activity and employment programmes. This next section of the literature review focuses on these benefits and questions whether they could possibly alleviate some of these pains. These rewards tend to focus on what these programmes can do for prisoners beyond the gate, concentrating on resettlement, and reducing reoffending and desistance from crime. However, there are also benefits from prisoners engaging with these programmes whilst still inside prison. This section discusses three central benefits which have emerged from the literature regarding working inside the prison and includes using programmes as a form of escape, reducing boredom and conflict, and the opportunity to earn and spend money. It is important to note that these are all important aspects of any work, but again, clearly gain additional significance when an individual is in prison.

2.6.1. Form of escape

Prisoners are faced with the reality of a forcible suspension of everyday life. Being removed from the 'normal' rhythms of the social world means that temporality in prison is heavily distorted. Unlike most people on the outside, prisoners have a lot of time which is

of little value as they have no time of their own (Goffman, 1961). Time gains greater value for an individual when they have control over time; therefore, time is not valuable to prisoners who are unable to spend it in a way of their own choosing. For prisoners, time is not a resource that cannot be used, spent or saved, but 'rather an object to be managed in an undifferentiated landscape which has to be marked out or traversed by timeframes that connect prisoners with the outside world' (Wahidin, 2006: 5.4).

As previously outlined, this lack of autonomy and control over one's choices in relation to time has been considered one of the five pains of imprisonment (Sykes, 1958).

Consequently, prisoners attempt to manage time by learning to kill time, survive dead time, turn hard time into easy time, and ultimately to serve their time (Whaidin, 2006).

Attending programmes is considered a method of escaping both time and the realities of prison life. Whilst programmes utilising ROTL, allow prisoners to escape the physical boundaries of the prison. Richmond's (2014b) study included interviews with both male and female participants employed by Pennsylvania Correctional Industries. The study aimed to examine prisoners' motivations to engage with the programme. Many reported that they felt as though 'they weren't in prison anymore' and time passed more quickly (Richmond, 2014b: 239). For the period they were in the workshops, the work environment provided an escape and sense of normality, despite them still being prisoners. Being able to attend work and spend time out of the cell can also alleviate another pain of imprisonment detailed by Sykes (1958), namely the deprivation of liberty. Prisoners are confined to prison, but also within it. Employment can free them (to an extent) from the pain, as it provides more time out of the cells and avoids agonising periods of confinement in the cells.

2.6.2. Reduce boredom and conflict

With the overabundance of time described above, 'a great deal of prison life is spent doing nothing' (Little, 1990: 127). Prison life consists of endless monotonous repetitions, and prisoners must learn to live by prison time and accept the destruction of temporal autonomy. A consequence is boredom, which features heavily in a prisoner's daily life. Research has highlighted a number of strategies that prisoners use to 'kill' or pass the time in prison. Attending employment programmes has been noted as a fundamental

tool to keep busy and occupied. Prison programmes have been found to fill idle time, reduce boredom, and, in turn, reduce tension (Carlson and Garrett, 1999).

Reducing prison idleness through work has also been shown to reduce tension and hostility, demonstrating wider benefits for both prisoners and staff (Atkinson and Rostad, 2003). Fenwick (2005: 261) determined that regular employment aids prison security by alleviating the boredom that is likely to prevail in a prison environment. Combining work with the Incentives and Earned Privileges (IEP) scheme, has resulted in participation in certain work programmes being considered a 'privilege'. A prisoner's IEP level can, therefore, determine in which programme they are allowed to participate. With IEP tied to work, any bad behaviour or rule-breaking can result in the prisoner being 'sacked'. Richmond (2014) found that prison work provides an incentive to stay out of trouble, as prisoners are scared of losing their jobs. If a programme offers self-worth, pride and meaning, it has the ability to keep prisoners on the right path (Laub and Sampson, 2003). Research citing a connection between a reduction in violence and purposeful activity has been echoed in government reports. The Prison Safety and Reform report (MoJ, 2016) recommended engaging prisoners in good quality work opportunities, which reduce the amount of time spent in cells and have the ability to reduce violence and tension.

Although prison offers employment within the regime, time is only 'selectively routinised' (Cope, 2003: 161), and, despite the offer of prison work, prisoners can still find themselves with large amounts of unstructured time; for example, when prisoners are locked in their cells at night, or if they do not have work or education to attend. Prisoners must develop additional strategies to deal with this unstructured time. Common ways of passing the time are to sleep (Meisendelder, 1985) or engage in prohibited activities, e.g. using illicit drugs (Cope, 2003). Most strategies, particularly drug use and sleeping, allow prisoners to escape from reality temporarily, whilst filling time (Cohen and Taylor, 1972). However, these strategies are not easy. Sleeping can be difficult for a number of reasons, including noise and having to share a cell, while drug-taking is risky. Furthermore, negative experiences of work can, in fact, exacerbate boredom.

2.6.3. Earning and spending money

Wages are a central element of work, and prisoners are able to earn money through various means. As previously mentioned, paid purposeful activity can include education, prison jobs, commercial workshop jobs, and other training (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2016). The Prison Service Order 4460, amended in 2000, set out Prison Service policy on prisoners' pay. The order outlined rates of pay, stating that prisoners in employment must earn a minimum of £4 per week. In comparison, those who want to work, but are unable to do so due to lack of employment opportunities, are paid a minimum of £2.50 a week. On average, prisoners are paid between £10 to £15 per week (Bath and Edgar, 2010).

Crucially, prisoners are able to spend these wages in the 'canteen', which offers items such as sweets, chocolate, drinks, phone cards and toiletries. Being able to purchase these items can improve day-to-day living. Earning money and accessing 'luxury items' has the potential to reduce another of the deprivations outlined by Sykes (1958); that is, the deprivation of goods and services. Sykes argued that this pain is caused by a lack of access to goods and services that are available on the outside. These food items, which are not offered as part of the prison menu, are a symbolic bridge between the 'inside' and 'outside' (Valentine and Longstaff, 1998). Having money to spend in the canteen offers 'inmates an opportunity to resist the way the institution contains their identities' (Valentine and Longstaff, 1998: 139). Kalcik (1984) argued that food offered in the canteen helps remind prisoners of family and home. Prisoners having their own money to spend while incarcerated relieves tension on families; financially, emotionally and psychologically (Atkinson and Rostad, 2003). The chapter now turns to the benefits of purposeful activity beyond the gate.

Whilst there are some benefits to engaging with purposeful activity whilst still inside, programmes like The Clink aim to improve life beyond the gates for prisoners. As previously detailed, one of the key aims of The Clink is to reduce reoffending and encourage desistance from crime. Whilst this is not a focus of this research, the following section looks at what we know about how The Clink and other programmes can impact desistance and identity.

2.7. Benefits beyond the gate

A key aim of employment programmes is to provide prisoners with the skills and aptitudes that will secure employment. The use of employment programmes in prison as a key rehabilitative tool has been driven by the connection between employment and successful resettlement and desistance. This next section explores the role of employment and desistance, whilst drawing on a wider discussion on desistance and resettlement/rehabilitation.

There have been recent attempts to align resettlement and its practice with the theoretical foundation for desistance (Maguire and Raynor, 2006). Desistance theory places the individual at the centre of the process and involves a range of factors, including the seven pathways but also motivation, pro-social identity, hope, and positive social networks (McNeill and Weaver, 2010; Maruna, 2001).

Employment is critical, in that it can provide both personal, social and community factors influencing desistance. Whilst it is accepted that there is a complex relationship between unemployment and offending, there is a large body of evidence highlighting the role of employment in the desistance process (Laub and Sampson, 2001; Farrall, 2004; Maruna, 2001; Uggen and Massoglia, 2003). Farrall (2004: 64) suggested that paid employment can have many constructive impacts and can offer a 'hook for change' (Giordano et al. 2002) for several reasons. Firstly, legitimate employment results in a legitimate means of income, which can discourage crime for monetary gain by providing financial security. Alongside financial security, employment offers a daily routine, permitting the individual to move from unstructured time to structured time. A structural impact on day-to-day life reduces the opportunity for criminality to occur. There are also many non-financial mechanisms by which employment can encourage desistance.

Desistance theory has moved away from structural reasons to focus on identity and the relationship between the individual and society (Sampson and Laub, 1993). Weaver (2015) highlighted the central role of friendship groups, families, intimate relationships, employment and religious communities in achieving and maintaining successful desistance. These relationships can trigger and alter priorities, behaviours and lifestyle choices. The nature of the relationship determines whether it supports the individual to take a stake in conformity (Weaver, 2015). In the context of work, employment does

more than just provide income; it can offer important social bonds. Laub and Sampson (2001) stressed the importance of good social ties, arguing that attachment to the labour force allows social integration, inclusion and conformity, and encourages a bond to form between the individual and society. Specifically focusing on work, good relationships between employers and employees can help increase the development of social control (Sampson and Lamb, 1993). These informal social controls can help deter crime.

Increasingly, the desistance literature has shifted towards a focus on identity change (Maruna, 2001; Farrall, 2005; Vaughan, 2007), whereby individuals can stop identifying as 'offenders' and form new 'non-offender' identities. Narrative identity theory is useful here, with the best-known application featuring in Maruna's *Making Good* (2001). Based on a narrative analysis of offenders, Maruna (2001) argued that the individuals who successfully desisted from crime had redemptive personal narratives. Constructing a story of redemption, these narratives acknowledge past failures and trauma, and view them as key to success. Maruna (2001) argued that redemption scripts include three principal elements. Firstly, the assertion of a good core self; for instance, desisting offenders maintain that they were always a good person, or reinvented themselves. Secondly, a sense of control over their lives and hope for the future featured. Thirdly, the redemption scripts also involved a desire to give something back, or 'make good'. In contrast, those offenders who were still active presented condemnation scripts, which discussed a lack of personal agency, stigma, a need for consumption and material gain and a view that there was nothing left to lose (Maruna, 2001).

Other academics have shown that 'hooks for change' (Giordano et al. 2002), including employment, are crucial to initiating these redemption narratives or 'skeleton scripts' (Rumgay, 2004) as they provide guidance on how to develop a new identity.

Employment can offer ex-offenders the opportunity to form a pro-social identity. It can allow them to make an individual journey as it creates the opportunity for them to see themselves in control of their own future, provides purpose and meaning in their lives, and improves self-worth (Maruna, 2001). The impact moves beyond money and routine, as 'employment is part of the idea of what is acceptable' (Owens, 2009: 50). It allows individuals to feel a part of society and shows that they occupy a role. Desistance theory encourages a move away from the static labels of 'prisoner' and 'offender' towards personal identities (McNeill et al., 2012).

The focus on non-financial mechanisms shows the need for ex-offenders to engage in meaningful work once released. Interventions focusing just on human capital are not enough; employment needs to be conceptualised as multidimensional. Low-quality, short-term unstable jobs which create little self-worth or pro-social identity will not deter crime (Wadsworth, 2006). Therefore, the quality of employment is key to deterring an individual. Meaningful employment that creates social bonds, pro-social identities, and a belief that a person can take control of their future has the ability to help an individual create different kinds of 'narrative'. Maruna (2001) found that optimistic narratives play a key role in the process of desistance, highlighting the importance of thinking, belief and motivation. These arguments show that agency is just as important (if not more) than structure in the desistance process (Maguire and Raynor, 2006: 24).

Although there is clear evidence supporting the link between meaningful employment and desistance from crime, ex-offenders still face a wide range of obstacles when finding work in the community. Barriers can include employer and public stigma, legislation, and labour market conditions (addressed in section 2.5 'Pains of release'). Examining the role of employment in desistance, and the associated obstacles, highlights a critical element of desistance; it cannot just be an individual journey. More recent research recognises that desistance is a social process as much as a personal one. Full responsibility cannot be placed onto the individual. Owers et al. (2011) called for mutual responsibility, which requires community-level involvement alongside a broader social and political commitment to ex-offenders' reintegration. Prisons alone cannot support change. This movement needs to involve the full participation of families, the voluntary sector, communities, and statutory criminal justice agencies. All parties need to contribute to helping tackle the social and economic barriers that prevent change, but also offer opportunities to those who want it. Without this collaboration, individuals may want to desist but will have nothing to desist into (Owers et al., 2011: 18). Moreover, those involved in the shared responsibility of desistance need to develop an understanding of the desistance process. Fundamentally, those involved need to recognise that desistance is not an event; rather, it is a process that has been likened to a 'zigzag', as reoffending may occur throughout the process (Burnett, 1992). During this process, all successes need to be recognised and celebrated to help support and maintain change.

Whilst the prison literature discussed above is imperative, The Clink is also a fully functioning restaurant. The Clink aims to provide purposeful activity that mirrors a real working environment. It is, therefore important to understand the work environment within the restaurant industry. The literature review now turns its focus onto ethnographic research within the restaurant industry.

2.8. Research into the restaurant industry

The remainder of this chapter focuses on the development of research into the restaurant industry, in particular, the use of the ethnographic method. The section will then conclude with the realities of working in a restaurant.

2.8.1. The 'restaurant ethnography'

Research into restaurants has examined a variety of topics, including restaurant design, menus, management of the food service operation, operation of the business, and the workforce (DiPietro, 2017). Similarly, the context and types of establishments have varied from fast food, casual dining, bistros, fine dining, and even pop-up restaurants. Early widespread research into the restaurant industry focused on fast food, particularly in the 1980s. Prior to the 1980s, research had largely focused on family dining and airline food (DiPietro, 2017). However, with the expansion of the fast-food industry, academics altered their focus. At the time, with Margaret Thatcher's support, the UK witnessed a surge in the number of McDonald's restaurants (Wallop, 2014).

Since the 1990s, restaurant research has focused on a range of topics, such as service quality, types of food, customers, and marketing (DiPietro, 2017). Although research into the restaurant industry has spiked in the last 30 years, there exists only 'a mere handful of studies of restaurants based on primary fieldwork' (Sutton et al., 2004: 53).

Furthermore, research has tended to focus on one area of the restaurant, with much of the attention placed on customers as opposed to employees. Some of the most cited research include Whyte's (1948) text, *Relations in the Restaurant Industry*, Spradley and Mann's (1975) *The Cocktail Waitress: Women's Work in a Man's World*, Mars and Nicod's (1984) *World of Waiters*, and Fine's (2009) *Kitchens: The Culture of Restaurant Work*.

Despite Fine's (2009) study and growth of the restaurant industry, there have been only a small number of primary restaurant ethnographies beyond the 20th century (for more see: Gatta, 2002; Erickson, 2009). Sutton et al. (2004) argue there is much work that remains to be done to recognise and develop the rich potential of 'restaurant ethnographies'. Ethnographies have the ability to offer a greater understanding of the restaurant community.

2.8.2. Restaurant life

The literature characterises those entering the restaurant industry as young workers looking for temporary employment (Loughlin and Barling, 1999). Shigihara (2014) conducted research into the 'professional backspace' of a restaurant and revealed that 43 of her 52 participants had entered the industry in their teenage years. Restaurant work is often associated with long hours, poor wages, limited education, and limited benefits. These undesirable work qualities result in young workers often entering on the presumption that the work will be short-term. These negative perceptions of restaurant life have allowed it to be depicted as a 'bad job', centred purely on serving others (Erickson, 2011). It is therefore unsurprising that research has revealed a rhetoric around restaurant work not being a 'real job' and merely a stopover to something better (Shigihara, 2014; Ginsberg, 2001). This societal disdain for restaurant workers produces stigmatised occupational identities (Wildes, 2005). To cope with this, stigma management strategies form a key part of restaurant work (Erickson, 2011). Shigihara (2018) argued that food service workers create positive identities using 'not forever talk'. Discussing 'legitimate' careers allowed the workers to resist the stigmatised occupational identity.

Despite views challenging the legitimacy of restaurant work, working as a restaurant employee (both front- and back-of-house) is complex and hard. The restaurant environment is unpredictable and can be unstructured. Depending on the type of restaurant, there are varying temporal expectations, skills required, roles to play, and emotional demands. The work is physically hard, and all roles require an individual to stand on their feet all day and deal with heat, multiple orders, and the general public. As Whyte's (1948: 19) study argued, the restaurant worker 'has two bosses – his

supervisor, and the customer'. The involvement of the customer requires a very different type of labour; emotional labour.

In particular, servers are required to use social interaction to maintain performances that encourage tips and repeat custom. The performances required reveal the restaurant setting as inherently dramaturgical (Goffman, 1959). Goffman even uses the restaurant setting to demonstrate the sociological perspective of dramaturgy. For a server, the 'frontstage' is the restaurant floor, where the waiter performs their waiter identity to the audience (serving customers). On the frontstage, Goffman describes an appearance of freshness and cleanliness. On the other hand, the kitchen represents the 'backstage', where the preparation for the frontstage takes place. Goffman describes a drastically different experience backstage, stating 'during mealtime rush hour, once-used drinking glasses would sometimes be merely emptied and wiped instead of being rewashed', and 'parts of butter, softened, and partly used... would be rerolled to look fresh, and sent out to do duty again' (1959: 120). However, more recently, restaurants have allowed visibility into the kitchens through the use of open passes and even 'performance' cooking. This line of visibility enlarges the frontstage resulting in less backstage access. The merging of the kitchen and restaurant floor reduces the activities that are invisible to the customer, offering transparency.

Despite hard labour, humour and a sense of 'family' have been reported amongst restaurant employees. Owings (2002: 278) advertised the kinship of restaurant work, with one participant referring to her colleagues as 'an extended, surrogate kind of family'. There is a sense of shared substance between restaurant workers which is developed through working, eating and socialising together. The unsocial, long working hours contribute to this sense of belonging as people can distinguish themselves from other working groups. In addition, the organisational culture of humour contributes to creating and maintaining these bonds. Fine (2009) argued that horseplay, pranks and teasing are all features of restaurant life. Although the three types of humour differ in structure and delivery, all help to reduce conflict, tension and 'keep everybody's spirits up' in a stressful environment (Fine, 2009: 118). These customs, practices and rituals allow people to share a particular view of the world, unique to their 'tribe' (Bourdain, 2000: 124).

While research has revealed kitchen work to be thrilling, exciting and fun, it is also characterised by a culture of intimidation, bullying and violence. Burrow et al. (2015) argued that kitchen environments are male-dominated, highly competitive, and can illicit extreme workplace behaviour. In order to progress, one must learn to cope with the darker side of the industry, including mental and physical violence (Simpson, 2006). Not coping in the 'battlefield' (Simpson, 2006) can result in exclusion from the familial group.

2.9. Conclusion

This chapter showed that recent thinking has resulted in policy-makers turning their attention to the notion that prison work should aid employment on release. Yet, prisons are unable to provide sufficient 'in-house' opportunities themselves. Policy has therefore supported effective partnerships with outside sectors, including private industry and partnerships with charities and the third sector (Murray, 2012). These partnerships have the ability to offer 'real' work experiences that are successful in reducing reoffending. The Clink is one example of how a partnership has formed between the prison system and the third sector.

The chapter then moved to consider the prison experience more broadly, focusing on the pains of imprisonment. The 'updated' modern pains outlined in the literature review, show that whilst the prison experience is less heavy, it has become deeper and arguably more onerous. Crewe (2011: 525) concludes that whilst the softening of penal power is directly less oppressive and is considered 'lighter', it actually grips tighter. This 'light but tight' experience throws the prisoner into a realm of uncertainty, focuses on risk assessments and requires the prisoner to self-govern. This self-governance forces prisoners to engage in purposeful activity. As the chapter has shown, these pressures all create an additional layer of frustrations which co-exist alongside Syke's (1958) traditional pains of imprisonment.

Whilst a huge emphasis has been placed on the pains experienced within the walls, the chapter has shown that these extend beyond. The chapter outlined the pains of 'freedom' which are experienced by prisoners in open category prisons, life-sentenced prisoners facing parole, individuals attempting to re-enter society and those managed by the Probation Service. These pains create complications and serve as further barriers to rehabilitation and long-term desistance.

The chapter then turned its attention back to employment programmes and 'purposeful' activities. The chapter argued that these 'privileges' have the potential to alleviate, to an extent, some of the traditional pains of imprisonment, including the deprivation of goods, autonomy and liberty. However, when considering the modern pains of imprisonment, these programmes arguably contribute to the 'tightness' of the prison by encouraging prisoners to showcase change and self-govern. The benefits that work programmes can offer extend beyond the gate and have been identified as crucial to desistance. Employment offers a 'hook for change' which can initiate and support the creation of redemption narratives, pro-social identities and pro-social bonds. The chapter demonstrated why employment has been linked to desistance and that this gain cannot be the responsibility of the Prison Service alone. To support change, the process requires wider participation.

The chapter concluded by examining briefly the development of 'restaurant ethnographies'. Generally, there has been a lack of research into the industry. In response to this shortcoming, academics such as Sutton et al. (2014) have recognised the potential of applying this method. The chapter then exposed the challenging nature of restaurant work. The work often results in physical, mental and emotional exhaustion. Workers are required to maintain performances within a culture that has been reported to encourage violence and aggression. Nonetheless, employees in the industry report a sense of belonging, family and enjoyment through humorous interactions.

The literature discussed provides a platform for comparing The Clink experience against both prison life (including traditional employment programmes) and 'normal' fully functioning restaurants. The thesis will explore whether those participating on the programme were subject to the challenges and potential benefits outlined within this chapter.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter details the methods used to research The Clink. First, it is important to outline the research questions. The intentions of this thesis were deliberately broad to allow the themes to emerge from the data.

The questions I aim to address are:

1. How does penal power function in the quasi-open conditions of the Clink?
2. Whilst on The Clink programme, how and to what extent do the boys experience the pains of imprisonment? Do they experience different pains as a result of being in quasi-open conditions?
3. How do the boys manage their identity in The Clink, and how might this impact on desistance?

These questions do not focus on whether The Clink reduces reoffending. This study attempted to move away from whether the programme works in this regard; rather, the focus was on what Clink life was like for those who were experiencing it. The remainder of this chapter is organised into four sections and situates my study by considering the methodology. I begin by reflecting on my entry into the field. Drawing on the notion of 'preliminary fieldwork' (Caine et al., 2009: 490), I outline how I gained access, the NOMS ethical approval process, and how I entered the field. The next section turns to the research design and what framework of methods was used to collect the data. The ethnographic method is discussed; why it was chosen, and how observations and interviews were utilised. Here, the principles of the research and data analysis are also given.

The remaining sections offer a reflexive account of my time in The Clink, and the research experience. For instance, the third section provides a reflection on my position in the field, including my involvement and role as a trusted 'non-person'. The fourth and final section addresses the challenges and benefits of conducting an ethnography, focusing in particular on gender, clothing, emotions and ethical considerations.

3.2. Gaining access: preliminary fieldwork

It has been argued that almost every researcher who ventures into the field has considered the idea of 'preliminary fieldwork' (Caine et al., 2009: 490). Caine et al. (2009: 491) defined preliminary fieldwork 'as the early formative stages of research in the field that allow for exploration, reflexivity, creativity, mutual exchange and interaction, through the establishment of research relationships with local people'. This preliminary fieldwork takes place prior to ethical application or the construction of research procedures, but is equally as important to outline. The following discussion of my preliminary fieldwork highlights the importance of gatekeepers, making connections, and understanding the culture of the setting in the ongoing and partial process of fieldwork (Caine et al., 2009).

Like most researchers who attempt to access 'high risk' groups, including prisoners, I was anxious about the challenges of gaining entry (Schlosser, 2008). Schlosser (2008: 1502) advised that, to access and research these individuals, one must deal with a number of 'methodological landmines'. While I was not attempting to enter into a prison, this was no ordinary restaurant, meaning that I was still not protected from these landmines. The first key piece of protection against these 'landmines' came from my gatekeeper. Having conducted an undergraduate thesis in HMP Cardiff, I was fortunate enough to have formed a relationship with a key member of staff; therefore, gaining access to key personnel to begin the process was relatively straightforward. They helped set up an initial meeting with the Chief Executive of The Clink, and this allowed me to pitch the idea of undertaking my PhD on-site. Thankfully, during initial meetings, the idea was received with great interest. However, prior to beginning the PhD, I had to complete a Master of Science (MSc) degree in social research methods. With limited time, and wanting to avoid the demanding task of the NOMS ethical process, I decided to interview employers who employed graduates from The Clink. Conducting this research permitted me to maintain contact with key figures in The Clink, while allowing me to gather data that would still be pertinent to my PhD.

Throughout the first year of the PhD, interviews and phone calls took place with relevant staff members to gain a full understanding of The Clink process. As for most prison researchers, gaining access to the field site was contingent on gaining approval from the

gatekeepers (Schlosser, 2008). Both the Restaurant Manager and Chief Executive were crucial gatekeepers in my preliminary fieldwork. These interactions helped me to assess whether, after the first meeting a year ago, the gatekeepers were still interested and willing to understand project feasibility. Gaining an understanding of recruitment, training and employment processes helped me to refine the project and alleviate any concerns.

Although I gained approval from management, before submitting my NOMS proposal, they made a request for me to focus solely on interviews; specifically, focusing on a 'before and after' interview style. I was very aware that, despite not requesting access to a prison, I still had to face the NOMS application process. As Stevens (2019) emphasised, just acquiring the approval of gatekeeper is not enough power to gain access. With this in mind, I carefully examined NOMS' priorities. It was clear that they would also want an evaluative piece of research, that utilised a pre-/post-interview structure to determine changes. This point was made clear by the section in the NOMS form which requests information on how the research will benefit the service. However, I had concerns that solely using interviews would result in a lack of sufficient time to break down barriers and gain trust, which could, in turn, result in a scarcity of reliable content. Furthermore, just using interviews did not fit with my aims to provide a full picture of what Clink life was really like for those participating.

The centralisation of the service through the development of NOMS meant that a standardised application form was created. This form includes specific requirements which would determine whether access was granted or not. Prior to the introduction of this process, gaining approval from a gatekeeper (e.g. a prison governor) was sufficient. This formal change highlighted the changing nature of prison research, whereby policing now requires researchers to link their research to NOMS' priorities and show that their proposal will benefit the system while not requiring many resources. Permission for prison research is dependent on 'the actual or potential interruption to the prison's routine, including the staff who must facilitate the research' (Stevens, 2019: 4), and priorities will change depending on the political and penal climate. These priorities sculpt criminological research (Hannah-Moffat, 2011).

Although facing the same process as prison researchers, the unique location of the research allowed me to prove that I would not place any demand on prison service

resources. I would not need training, or officers to escort me around the premises. However, this need for evaluation had implications for my proposal, and led me to offer a 'before and after' interview style.⁴ Importantly, after discussions with the key individual, it was agreed that I would utilise observations alongside interviews, as this would enable me to create the fullest picture for both The Clink representatives and my research. It was hoped that the addition of a 'before and after' interview would alleviate concerns around the ethnographic method, which has experienced reduced support in the NOMS process (Jewkes and Wright, 2016).

Following on from these conversations, I began to develop my documents for submission to NOMS. I provided a breakdown of the aims and objectives, proposed methodology, access to frontline staff, data protection, research ethics and dissemination. Alongside this information, I offered a curriculum vitae detailing my research experience and relevant skills. Like the participants entering the process, but unlike the public dining in the restaurant, I had to be checked. Completing this process was challenging; many amendments took place due to the difficult nature of the process.

Alongside my submission, The Clink submitted its own NOMS form requesting approval to conduct a quantitative piece of research. This application was subsequently rejected. Knowing that there was a 'favourable bias' (Martel, 2004:162) towards quantitative methodology and producing quantitative evidence in the application process, the criminological literature caused anxiety and cast doubt on whether NOMS' approval was possible. A few weeks after submission, NOMS requested further information in order to make an informed approval decision. Information sheets, a semi-structured interview template, and specific details of the demographic data were requested. This information was submitted, and in April 2016 approval was granted.

3.3. Entering the field

After gaining ethical approval from NOMS, a final meeting was arranged with the General Manager to discuss when fieldwork could begin. Anxious, and not knowing what to expect, I entered the field at the beginning of June 2016.

⁴ These interviews are discussed in depth when the chapter examines methodology.

When first entering a prison, it is likely that a researcher will be accompanied by a member of staff, connecting the researcher to authority and outside powers (Marzano, 2007). Fortunately, as the restaurant was open to members of the public, I was able to enter the field on my own. My first week was spent mainly by the bar area, getting to know participants.⁵ I began by handing out participant information sheets. It soon became apparent that these were not well-received, and participants were not engaged with reading the information. Instead, verbal conversations about who I was and what I was doing seemed more practical. Ugelvik (2014) commented on having to make the first move when approaching prisoners in his research, describing these encounters as awkward and difficult. Yet, due to the fact I was female, and a 'new face' (discussed in section 3.6.1 'Gender'), I found I was inundated with questions and did not have to approach any participants. Although participants approached me, I knew from previous experience that I had to 'work up' feelings of confidence and sociability and 'play down' shyness (Tangney and Fischer, 1995). Later in the year, a member of management told me that she was impressed when I first arrived, as I 'held my own', revealing that she had been concerned that I would be 'eaten alive'.

Realising that the information sheets were of no use, I developed a short verbal summary in which I explained I was a PhD student interested in their experiences of The Clink. I used these conversations to explain that participation in the research was completely voluntary, and also, what the research entailed. Despite my best efforts, participants struggled to understand what a PhD or thesis was. One encounter in particular, stood out; Pete asked me at the end of a conversation if I would be able to conduct surgery when I had completed the PhD. Instead, participants found it easier to think of my time in The Clink as a university research placement.

Although there was keen interest in my role, due to the sceptical nature of the prison environment, some participants did not believe that my intentions were true. Rumours spread that I could potentially be an undercover police officer. Despite The Clink not being inside a prison, here it is possible to draw on the similarities with prison research. Being met with scepticism is not unusual for prison research, with Ugelvik (2014: 473)

⁵ In the methods, I use the term 'participants'. However, in the findings, this term is discarded. An explanation of why is given in this chapter.

facing similar accusations. Ugelvik experienced far more aggression than I experienced, with a participant asking him on his first day, 'What the fuck? Are you saying you are police?' During the first few days, it was evident that participants were cautious about what they said to me, or discussed around me. I made a conscious effort to eat breakfast, lunch and dinner with participants in the conference room, in an attempt to enter the participants' backstage area. The management team tended to either eat before the prisoners arrived, eat separately, or not at all. I felt it was important to distance myself from management, not wanting to lead to unequal power relations. My sitting in the conference room surprised the participants, with some later on in the year congratulating me for 'having the guts'. During the first few meals, participants did not discuss anything with each other but kept the conversation directed at me. However, as rapport began to build, and the participants started to trust me (realising I was not a 'grass', 'snitch' or undercover police), the conversation opened up.

Comparisons can again be drawn between my own experience and prison research. Schlosser (2008) reminded the prison researcher that the participants you come into contact with first, will tell others of their experience. First impressions are therefore crucial to acceptance. The individuals with whom I built a rapport during the first few weeks became key to my acceptance. The 'undercover police' rumour soon disappeared, and as new participants arrived, I would be introduced as 'safe', 'basically one of us', and 'Anna the Uni student', allowing me to be quickly accepted. My involvement, and how this contributed to my acceptance, will be explored further when I discuss 'Challenges and benefits of 'doing' the ethnography' (section 3.6). Next, this chapter turns to the research design and the framework of methods used to collect data.

3.4. Collecting data: choosing a method

Ethnography has been argued to be 'the most basic form of social research and resembles the way in which people ordinarily make sense of their world' (Liebling, 2001: 475). With prison research, attempting to provide a broad, descriptive picture of daily prison life, the method is well documented, particularly during the mid-20th century (Clemmer, 1958; Sykes, 1958; Morris and Morris, 1963; Cohen and Taylor, 1972). However, there has been a noticeable absence of prison ethnographies in the 21st century. This point was noted by Wacquant (2002), who expressed incredulity at the

scarcity of ethnographic field studies within prisons, despite being in 'an age of mass incarceration'. It has been argued that the only way to address the shortage of knowledge surrounding the prison environment and its changing population, is through sustained fieldwork (Crewe, 2006; Wacquant, 2002; Liebling, 2004). After a period of relative quiescence, ethnography has arguably become a more visible and well-established methodology in prison research. A number of studies have successfully used an ethnographic model to gain a more precise understanding of prison life from a prisoner's perspective (Crewe, 2006; Phillips, 2012). In the wider context, these studies have also helped to inform a growing body of expertise on the use of ethnographic methods to achieve positive results and inform policy development.

Along with the ethnographic method being shown to be useful in researching prisoners, it was selected for a number of other reasons. According to Geertz (1973), the fundamental purpose of any ethnography is to facilitate understanding; therefore, with the research aiming to understand the life of prisoners participating in The Clink programme, the ethnographical approach was best suited. In order to understand this world, Barad (2007: 185) argued that 'We do not obtain knowledge by standing outside the world; we know because 'we' are of the world. We are part of the world in its differential becoming.' Being a part of the world provides one of ethnography's greatest benefits: depth. Depth can be gained by disseminating and analysing speech, actions, behaviour, meanings, settings and accounts (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2001: 163). As well as depth, the flexibility of ethnography was also compelling. Dequierez and Hersant (2013) described the 'virtues of improvisation' in ethnography. This allows researchers the freedom to adapt, which is beneficial to the research process, analytical framework and knowledge production. Despite the benefits, there are limitations to ethnographies, and these are addressed in section 3.6 'Challenges and benefits of 'doing' ethnography'.

This research is in agreement that rather than being a method, ethnography can be more accurately described as an approach or strategy, which holds its own epistemological and ontological positions (Skeggs, 2001). These positions are addressed when the chapter turns to outlining the principles of the research and analytical process, in section 3.4.4 'Principles of research and data analysis'. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 3) noted that ethnography traditionally employs several methods to collect data including 'watching what happens, listening to what is

said, and/or asking questions through informal and formal interviews, and collecting documents and artefacts'. This research is, therefore, concerned with observations and semi-structured interviews.

3.4.1. Observations

The majority of the data was collected from participant observations. Selecting observations as my primary method of gathering data was grounded in the principles of research discussed below, in section 3.4.4 'Principles of research analysis'. Having spent approximately a year collecting field data, I had more than 700 hours of observations. My data, therefore, stems from observing all areas of The Clink, including before, during and after service, both in the kitchen and FOH. Participants took on a different identity in the presence of customers, compared to their identity during backstage interactions. It was thus important to observe all aspects of the scene. I observed many participants during the year, although not all participants are evidenced in the findings, which reflect those I saw the most. For instance, some participants spent a limited time in The Clink as they quickly moved onto 'stage two' opportunities. They all, however, generated the overall ethnographic findings, as will be discussed in further depth in Chapter 4 'Overview of the findings'.

Although observations can take a number of forms, ranging from 'complete observer' to 'complete participant', I adopted the 'participant-as-observer' role (Gold, 1958). My participants were aware that our relationship stemmed from the research, but I was in a social situation and developed relationships. I observed from a distance, but a large proportion of observations involved my direct participation in activities, conversations and work. In an attempt to see the social world through the eyes of the participant (Lambert et al., 2011), I participated in and observed all aspects of The Clink, as is discussed in more depth as the chapter explains my involvement.

3.4.2. Field notes

While a notebook is considered to be the ethnographer's 'professional symbol' (Pelto, 2013), it can also be problematic. Note-taking can affect the natural flow of events, can be difficult or even inappropriate at times, and can evoke negative reactions (Pelto, 2013; Madden, 2017). In the first few weeks, I carried around a notebook and jotted

down notes. Participants quickly became wary and curious about what I was writing, asking if they could read through the notebook. I refused, as I was mindful of confidentiality; I did not want participants to see information written about others. This response only added to the suspicion about my role in The Clink and led me to the decision not to carry a notebook. Madden (2017) recalled a similar situation in which a participant reacted to the notebook as if it was a police interview or interrogation.

Instead, straight after leaving The Clink, I dedicated time to typing notes. I did not want the information to be lost, and it was essential that I produced good quality notes. On the few occasions that I could not write notes immediately afterwards, I ensured they were typed the following day. At first, I was overwhelmed with data; knowing what to include and what not to include, was difficult. It took me a while to accept that it was impossible to write everything down, and that my field notes would be selective (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). This method of note-taking was tiring, and meant that I relied heavily on memory, but I did not want the presence of a notebook to disrupt the natural sequence of talk and the rhythms of social life. Having a notebook could have led to the collection of 'an accurate representation of misrepresentation' (Desmond, 2007: 292).

3.4.3. Interviews

Hundreds of informal, natural conversations (too many to quantify) occurred between myself and participants throughout the data collection, which could be conceived as unstructured interviews. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) noted, the line between participant observation and unstructured interviewing can often become blurred. When referring to interviews, I am talking about a distinct interaction between myself and the participant: a formally defined interview situation. In total, 20 formal, semi-structured interviews were undertaken with participants. The interviews were supplementary to the observations and allowed for clarification and validation; this was not necessarily about checking truths, but understanding how people can produce different accounts in the front/backstage.

As discussed in section 3.2 'Gaining access: preliminary fieldwork', The Clink organisation requested a two-stage interview process to enable me to offer an evaluation. Knowing that this would be supported by the NOMS requirements and would therefore impact on my access, the research proposal included a two-stage interview.

The first interview would be conducted at the earliest convenient point with participants; the second, and final, interview would be conducted with participants approximately a week prior to their completion of the programme, or at the end of the data collection period. Despite the pre-/post-interview forming part of the proposal, upon entering the field it soon became apparent that the proposal for a two-stage interview would be too time-consuming and unrealistic, for two principal reasons. Firstly, the interviews were to be undertaken during working hours, and it had been expected that the interview would take place during a participant's break. However, when discussing with participants when was best to conduct the interviews, I was quickly informed that there was 'no way' that anyone would be interviewed on their break. Thus, it was decided, and agreed by staff, that the interviews could take place before service (between 9.00am and midday), if no breakfast tables were booked and after participants had completed their morning tasks (cleaning, mopping, food preparation etc.). I was therefore conscious that attempting to conduct two interviews with individuals would impede their work. Secondly, as I was unable to speak to participants outside The Clink, it was difficult to keep track of their movements. On a number of occasions, I arrived at The Clink to discover that the participants had started their stage two jobs early, been sent back to closed conditions ('shipped out'), been sacked, quit, or released. This continual movement demonstrated that it would be difficult to complete the two-stage interview process with participants. I feared that I would be left with a number of entry interviews and few exit interviews; therefore, I swiftly decided to combine the two interviews to create one single interview.

I asked participants whether they would be happy to take part in an interview as soon as I was aware they would be leaving The Clink, often either to be released or to move on to their stage two employment. The rapport that I had built with participants through observations meant that no participant declined to be interviewed. All were happy to take part, with a number of participants throughout the year asking me 'when do I get my interview, Anna?' This self-selection made the process easier. Over the year, I conducted 20 interviews. This was a sample of the individuals I observed, and they were selected for practical reasons, such as availability. Other participants will feature in the findings. On average, interviews lasted 30 to 40 minutes. Again, I was mindful that the interviews were conducted during participants' working hours. Two interviews had to be postponed when they ran over into service; however, these were completed as soon as

possible thereafter. Participants' ages, offences, and time spent in prison are relevant to later discussions, as the findings identify two distinct groups of participants. Table 1 below provides information on the participants interviewed only.

Table 1. Personal characteristics of prisoner participants interviewed.

Pseudonym	Age*	Relationship status*	Number of children*	Current sentence	First prison sentence?
Mike	54	Single	2	GBH with Intent	No
Marcus	24	In a relationship	2	Conspiracy to supply class A	Yes
Lewis	27	Single	0	Conspiracy to supply Class A	Yes
Harry	48	Married	0	Murder	No
Ryan	25	In a relationship	0	Conspiracy to supply Class A	Yes
Jake	27	In a relationship	0	GBH	Yes
Tom	24	Single	2	Conspiracy to supply Class A	Yes
Martin	35	Single	3	Death by dangerous driving	Yes
Luke	34	In a relationship	2	Fraud	Yes
Chris	47	Single	4	GBH with intent	No
Gary	29	Single	1	Conspiracy to supply Class A	Yes
Dale	54	Single	2	Murder	No
Craig	32	In a relationship	2	Aggravated Burglary	No
Jack	46	Single	0	Murder	No
Reece	27	In a relationship	2	Actual Bodily Harm (ABH)	Yes
Ross	31	Single	1	Conspiracy to supply Class A	Yes
Simon	30	In a relationship	2	Conspiracy to supply Class A	No

Scott	45	Married	2	Conspiracy to supply Class A	No
James	27	Single	0	Murder	Yes
Rob	45	Single	4	Robbery	No

*Age, relationship status and number of children are at the time of interview.

Each interview was conducted in a semi-formal manner, in that there was a clear question and answer dialogue. Questions asked were on a range of topics, including employment history, motivation for participating, expectations, experience, changes, life after The Clink, and demographic information (Appendices 4 and 5). Although the interview schedule was followed, I was open to participants discussing other topics or events, as the purpose was to elicit information (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Interviews were a highly important supplement to observation and the participatory method of the research. Participants could talk openly and freely about their opinions of The Clink, without fear of repercussion. Thankfully, I did not experience the problem of the 'reluctant respondent' (Adler and Adler, 2002). Participants did not refuse to take part or fail to disclose information. The rapport built prior to the interviews, along with the less rigid nature of the semi-structured interview, enabled the interviewees to speak freely (Bryman, 2008). The interviews provided more of an evaluative focus, but also allowed me to understand differences between participants' accounts. Importantly, the interviews served the purpose of reminding participants of my role in The Clink.

Although recording the interviews enabled long quotations and dialogues to be documented, I opted not to use a Dictaphone. As Perry (2013) noted, quickly jotting down notes is much less obtrusive, which was significant for the participants, who were living in an environment laden with distrust and suspicion. This is not just an issue for prison research. Desmond (2007) recalled that his participants – firefighters – clammed up when a Dictaphone was present. Crew members described the tape recorder as 'threatening and invasive', and were worried that recordings could be used against them (Desmond, 2007: 292). I feared that using a Dictaphone would remind participants of being interrogated by the police. Furthermore, I did not want to reignite the suspicion that I was an undercover police officer. Even without recording equipment, a few participants jokingly likened the interview to a police interview. Jake teasingly answered 'no comment' to most questions before providing his actual response. Tom even went to the

extent of bringing Ryan to the interview as his legal representative. We carried out a short role play, pretending to be in a police interview. I would ask the questions, Tom would then lean over to Ryan and whisper before responding 'no comment'. Although the use of a tape recorder would have fully captured the words, it could have potentially, again, captured 'an accurate representation of misrepresentation' (Desmond, 2007: 292).

The location of the interviews varied but always took place in The Clink grounds. Interviews took place in the conference room, at the dining tables, and in the courtyard of The Clink. The location was often decided by the participant, and varied depending on which area was quietest. The freedom to allow the participant to choose the location showed the uniqueness of the setting. Like prisoners, researchers inside are restricted geographically. Ferszt and Chambers (2011) found it difficult to locate a private area, with prison staff often passing through during the interviews. Allowing the participant to decide the location within The Clink was an attempt to encourage a more comfortable and private environment. Although interviews were not interrupted by prison staff, they were often interrupted by other participants, who were keen to know what was happening. During these moments, interviews were paused until the interviewee and I were alone again, ensuring confidentiality.

3.4.4. Principles of research and data analysis

The purpose of this research was not to establish whether The Clink reduces reoffending; rather, it set out to gain an understanding of what Clink life was like for those passing through. With this in mind, I opted to use the ethnographic approach. Before considering a thematic and flexible approach to data analysis, it has been argued that the process of analysis is 'inseparable from the processes of theorising' (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 23); therefore, consideration must be given to the epistemological framework of the research. With the ethnographer concerned with describing the participant's world view, ethnography has been embedded within an interpretivist framework. This framework focuses on how individuals perceive, construct and interact with their environment. With the research focusing on individual interpretations and the subjective experiences of the participants engaging with The Clink programme, it was necessary to collect data from within. Doing so would allow me to gain an understanding

of the participants' social world and their lived experiences (Prus, 1996). This approach is therefore compatible with symbolic interactionist theories which concentrate on the construction of shared meanings that develop through relationships.

As argued by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 158), the process of analysis is not a distinct stage of research; 'it begins in the pre-fieldwork phase, in the formulation and clarification of research problems, and continues through to the process of writing reports, articles, and books'. The pre-fieldwork phase is the 'preliminary fieldwork' (Caine et al., 2009: 490) outlined in section 3.2 'Gaining access: preliminary fieldwork'. Thus, analysis is an ongoing feature (Noakes and Wincup, 2004; Coffey and Atkinson, 1996) and my analysis therefore began during my preliminary fieldwork stage.

With an interpretive, constructionist epistemological approach in mind, grounded theory is often utilised for analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Grounded theory promotes repeated theoretical sampling, coding and analysing, until theoretical saturation is reached. Despite being a popular option, with an 'epistemologically sound approach to qualitative research' (Clarke, 2003: 553), it has faced criticism. It can be argued that the grounded theory approach is unrealistic in terms of previous knowledge of the field (Clarke, 2003). As I had conducted research and worked within the field, it is impossible to suggest that I entered the field with a 'blank mind' (Goldbart and Hustler, 2005: 18). My master's study meant that I had a good understanding of The Clink and its process. Given these issues, it was decided that, rather than a purely grounded theory approach, the analysis would also draw on the principles of adaptive theory (Layder, 1998). Adaptive theory recognises that although predictions about social phenomena can be made, they remain fallible and are open to reformulation. It was clear that during the research, there was a movement back and forth between my own knowledge and my allowing theory to emerge from the data.

After exiting the field, I decided to begin to enter my data into NVivo (computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS)). I was aware of the benefits of CAQDAS, particularly for the effective and quick retrieval of data (Baugh et al., 2010). However, I found that NVivo started to distance me from the data, and I felt as though I was analysing quantitative data (Barry, 1998; Hinchliffe et al., 1997). Realising that computer software was not an effective substitute for a human, I opted to analyse the data by

hand. I began by printing out all of my field notes and taking time to read through them. I developed categories, themes, interpretations, and key areas of enquiry that formed the basis of my findings chapters.

3.5. My time in The Clink: my involvement

The remaining sections offer a reflexive account of my time in The Clink and the research experience. This first section outlines my involvement in The Clink, which moves on to my position within the field. Where would I fit in? What could I do? During the first few weeks, I was unsure what my level of involvement would be, or what I would be able to participate in. Initially, I felt like a novice or new recruit in relatively strange surroundings, not knowing where to stand or what to do. I had no previous experience of working in the hospitality industry and therefore my knowledge was limited, meaning that I entered the field as the 'acceptable incompetent' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 82). Thankfully, the participants were quick to show me 'the ropes', asking me if I would like to shadow them. I spent the first few shifts in FOH as I was unsure, at this stage, whether I would be allowed to work alongside participants in the kitchen. However, in the second week of entering the field, a participant asked whether I would like to spend some time in the kitchen. This encounter served as a gateway into the kitchen. As the first few weeks passed, I managed to drop the 'acceptable incompetent' label and adopted the role of 'participant-as-observer', as I became accustomed to my surroundings.

After establishing my presence, I visited The Clink several times a week. The Clink setting meant that I did not have to negotiate myself around units and wings, and I was not in a large prison which can hold hundreds of prisoners. This allowed me freedom of movement. Observing prisoners in a neutral setting also allowed for more fluid observations. Drake and Harvey (2014: 495) argued that prison researchers need a 'sense of mastery' to negotiate 'geographical layout, language, regimes, security issues, rules and procedures'. Whilst I still needed to develop this 'sense of mastery', my observations were not routinely disrupted by roll calls, bang up etc.

Wanting to gain a full picture, I attended a mixture of weekday, evening and weekend shifts. Day shifts would begin around 9am and end at 3pm, with evening shifts taking place from 5.30pm to 10pm. As stated, over the course of the year I spent approximately

700 hours in The Clink. Staff members allowed me to come and go as I pleased. At the beginning of each week, I would ask the General Manager if I could come in for the following shifts, and thankfully, no request was ever rejected.

So, what did I do? There was a drive from Clink management and the participants to involve me in all aspects of the scene. I did not want to be viewed as standing around, watching, 'doing nothing' (Fine, 2009: 237). I worked alongside participants in the kitchen and FOH, witnessing and participating in both areas. Each section and role had different tasks to complete while backstage, all of which I participated in. For instance, out of service, participants working on the bar were typically expected to restock the bar, clean the bar, set up the coffee machine, ensure the fruit was well stocked and sliced, and check the glasses. Those working the floor were delegated tasks such as sweeping and mopping the restaurant floor, dusting, cleaning the mirrors and conference room, and checking the tables. The doorman was required to vacuum the carpet by the door, clean the toilets, and ensure the coat cupboard was ready for service. Similarly, different roles in the kitchen meant that participants completed different tasks. In planning for service, participants on mains, starters and desserts prepared the elements of their dishes, while those on pot wash, washed any left-over dishes from the previous service and the kitchen equipment. The kitchen cleaner did just that, clean.

During service, I participated in different roles; for example, working alongside the barman making drinks, including a range of coffees, 'mocktails' and soft drinks (no alcohol was permitted). The doorman greeted guests, hung their coats, showed them to their table, and was responsible for shining cutlery, while waiters took orders, served the dishes, and prepared the tables. When I was FOH during service, I mainly participated in bar and door duties; however, I did shadow the waiters and 'had a go' myself a couple of times.

In the kitchen, I worked alongside participants in each area, including the pass. Working on the pass during service was daunting. I did not want to ruin the final stages of the process, the appearance of the dish. Participants joked about my shaking hands, told me 'not to over-think it', and to just 'throw it all on'. Nevertheless, each time I worked on the pass, these anxieties did not seem to fade. Yet, I did not feel the same pressure working on the other stations in the kitchen, as these stations tended not to be visible to the

customers. For instance, working on both the desserts and starters during service, plating up the food, cooking any ingredients that were raw, and finalising the dish, were conducted backstage. There was no structure to what area or task I became involved in each day; reasons ranged from who I had been talking to at breakfast, if one area was short-staffed and a participant needed help, or if there was an area I felt I had not engaged with for some time.

This one-on-one time with participants allowed me to foster and develop trusting relationships which impacted on my role (discussed below). For example, on one occasion, the Head Chef paired me with Jake to make a batch of brownies. Previously, Jake had been doubtful about me, calling anyone who spoke to me a 'snitch'. I spent the morning with Jake, discussing his life and his time at The Clink. Realising that I would maintain his confidentiality strengthened our relationship, as he was able to see that I was trustworthy. These encounters permitted me to have hundreds of informal conversations. In addition to working alongside the participants, I 'hung out' (Geertz 1998: 69) with them when they were not completing work responsibilities. Despite the challenges of 'hanging out' in prisons, researchers recognise the clear benefits. Both Browne and McBride (2015) argued that 'hanging out' in their own studies strengthened legitimacy, access and relationships. Not facing movement restrictions or time limits, I was able to eat breakfast, lunch and dinner, stand with participants while they smoked, and drink coffee with them.

3.5.1. My role: trusted 'non-person'

It has been argued that the hardest aspect of prison research is finding an 'acceptable research role' (King, 2000: 300). While a team may maintain a front for audiences, they do not keep that same front among themselves. Witnessing both stages is important for all research, including in the restaurant setting (Goffman, 1959) and the prison setting (Drake and Harvey, 2007). Goffman (1959) discussed three potential discrepant roles for gaining access to the backstage area; an informer, a shill, and a 'non-person'. An informer is an individual who pretends to be a team member to gain access backstage, with the aim of acquiring information that they can openly or secretly sell to the audience. In opposition to the informer, the shill pretends to be a member of the audience but is a member of the performing team. The shill aims to manipulate the reactions of the

audience. The final role, a 'non-person', refers to individuals who are present during the performance and backstage, yet are neither a performer nor an audience member. This was the role I aimed to adopt.

The division between performer and audience member encompasses the 'insider' and 'outsider' debate. The distinction importantly captures the role of the ethnographer in the field; however, the very distinction between insider and outsider is problematic (Kusow, 2003). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) advised handling this tension using the process of reflexivity. A common assumption is that ethnographers strive for insider status, by moving across the boundaries that divide 'us' from 'them'. Yet, the positions of 'insider' and 'outsider' should not be framed as fixed positions, but rather as ever shifting and permeable locations (Desmond, 2007). For instance, Beoku-Betts' (1994) study demonstrated her shift between the two boundaries. She was able to identify with her African American participants because of her racial background, but her educational qualifications positioned her as an outsider.

It was clear from the beginning that my level of acceptance would always be limited; I could never truly be a team member in the performance (an 'insider'). Although described by participants as 'one of the boys', my 'outsider' status came primarily from being female and a non-prisoner. While I was able to identify with the participants on gaining access to The Clink, I was not there under duress or to engage in a rehabilitation programme. Like the public, I was able to go home at the end of a shift. On the other hand, the participants drove themselves back to prison, which reinforced my non-prisoner status. My non-prisoner status caused a power imbalance, which is addressed in section 3.6.5 'Procedural ethics versus ethics in practice'.

Negotiating participants' language also showed that I was not a prisoner, and certain prison phrases had to be explained to me throughout the year. For instance, during one breakfast, Marcus and Reece were telling me about another prisoner who had just moved onto their wing. Marcus described him as 'bacon', clocking my response as he realised that I did not understand what he meant by 'bacon'. He laughed, and attempted to make me guess, eventually telling me that 'bacon' is slang for an individual who has committed a sexual offence. Prior to this discussion, I had only heard the participants

refer to sex offenders as 'nonces'.⁶ However, occasionally I would purposely 'play dumb', even when I knew the slang. Assuming the position of 'deliberate naiveté' (Bryman, 2008; Silverman, 2007) allowed the participants to explain the terminology to me. Additionally, I was frequently reminded of my female status. Although, as stated above, I was described as 'one of the boys', I did not join in hyper-masculine conversations around sexual conquests or banter regarding male genitals. My female status is discussed at length in section 3.6.1 'Gender'.

More recently, it has been suggested that being an 'outsider' 'is not a liability one must overcome, because achieving status as an outsider trusted with 'insider knowledge' may provide...a different perspective and different data than that potentially afforded by insider status' (Bucarius, 2013: 691). Furthermore, academics have warned against the dangers of occupying the 'insider' status. Dangers include misunderstanding the behaviour observed, relying on one's own knowledge as opposed to checking with participants, and the potential of bias from excessive rapport (Labaree, 2002; Miller, 1952). Rather, I would argue that I occupied the role of a 'non-person' (outsider, yet not an audience member) trusted with 'insider knowledge'; a 'trusted outsider'. The trusted 'non-person' role provided me with access to all areas of The Clink.

3.5.2. What to call my 'participants'?

In the literature review, the terms 'prisoner' and 'offender' were used to reflect the terminology used in the literature, official reports, prison guidance, and by The Clink. While the term 'participants' is used throughout this methods chapter, in my findings, I refer to my participants as 'the boys'. This was the way the participants referred to themselves and, having spent a year conducting an ethnography and working alongside them, I believe this has earned me the right to speak about them using their own terminology. As explained above, I became a 'trusted outsider' and, throughout the year, I found myself using their terminology for a number of things. I personally feel that the term 'participant' is too distant, while using the terms 'prisoner' endorses negative labels and results in undesirable categorisation (Uggen et al., 2004; Goffman, 1963). As discussed in the literature review, 'dangerous', 'unreliable', 'dishonest' and 'uneducated'

⁶ Nonce: Prison slang for a rapist or paedophile. Stands for Not on Normal Circuit Exercise.

are some of the negative attributes attached to labels such as 'prisoner' (Working Links, 2010). These are not terms I would use to describe my participants. I therefore avoid using the term 'prisoner' so as not to conjure stereotypical negative images of my participants.

3.6. Challenges and benefits of 'doing' ethnography

It is essential to place the researcher within the social world they seek to study. As advised by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), this chapter reflexively analyses the challenges and benefits of conducting my ethnography, and how certain aspects of my 'ethnographic self' (Coffey, 1999) impacted the research. When 'doing' prison ethnographies, the researcher needs to engage with levels of impression management (Drake and Harvey, 2014). Harding (1986) reminds us that, as researchers, our social and political locations affect our research, impacting the research design, methodology, data collection, theoretical frame-up, analysis, and writing up. Reflexivity is, therefore, a significant feature of this research. It is important to note that I do not want to be self-indulgent or narcissistic in the following section; the purpose 'is not to write about myself and my experiences for their own sake, to engage in biographism or meaningless navel-gazing, nor is it to simply share amusing (and embarrassing) anecdotes from the field' (Ugelvik, 2014: 472). The purpose of making the auto-ethnographic elements more explicit is to help make proper sense of the research, stimulate conversations, attempt to improve the research, and ensure rigour (Jewkes, 2012).

3.6.1. Gender

In this discussion of how my gender impacted the research, I am not suggesting that other ascribed and achieved statuses did not also structure the research process and outcome. Gender intersects with other traits, such as ethnicity, age, sexuality and class. However, like many researchers, I think it is important to comment on how being female impacted the participants' performance, particularly in respect of the development of trust (Gurney, 1985; Huggins and Glebbeek, 2009). Reflexively thinking, by being a female, I gathered different data and had a different experience to that of a male researcher working in this environment. It was evident to me that 'identity work' (Goffman, 1959) was taking place in order to facilitate the collection of data.

I rarely had to approach participants. As a young, unknown female, they were interested in me and what I was doing. As previously stated, during the first few weeks I was inundated with questions, and participants willingly engaged in conversation. Participants were keen to look after me, offering to make me drinks, offering snacks they had brought in, and always checking up on me. This experience differs from that of Ugelvik (2014), a male researcher working in a male prison in Oslo, who described entering the field as uncomfortable and a struggle. He was the instigator of conversation, and, at times, the prisoners would test his masculinity. Ugelvik (2014: 477) clearly acknowledged that this was partly due to his gender, stating that 'a female researcher would probably not have been tested in quite the same way'. Ugelvik (2014) was right. I was not tested in quite the same way. I did not have to demonstrate my masculinity, physical power, or stand my ground; rather, my trustworthiness was tested. My experience was more comparable to Goffman's (2014) experience, in which she described participants as being protective of her. For example, Mike, who would bring the paper in every morning, quickly realised that I would read it after it had been discarded. From then on, he insisted that I read the paper before everyone else.

Nurturing and caring are often characteristics associated with being female, and with performances of masculinity rife, the view that I was feminine and non-threatening offered respite. Correspondingly, Woodward (2008) assumed a maternal role when researching male boxers, arguing that it reduced tensions and the sense of machismo, which could have been present with a male researcher. Huggins and Glebeek (2003: 372) argued that being female contributed to 'interviewee openness', and invited interviewees to 'express stronger emotions'. In contrast, male researchers have opted to 'mute' their masculinity, in order to negotiate gender differences within the field (Thomas, 2017; Hanks, 2019).

Often, participants would confide in me about issues in their lives, predominantly relating to problems with family and partners. Participants often asked for advice on relationships and discussed upsetting life events. Throughout the year, I talked through a number of these difficulties with participants. For instance, one participant disclosed to me that his Dad had been diagnosed with stage four cancer. Having had my own Dad pass away earlier that year from cancer, I offered him some advice and support. He asked me upsetting and challenging questions, which I answered as honestly and openly as I

could. The personal nature of this self-disclosure left me, as well as the participant, feeling vulnerable. Yet, this increased the trust between the two of us, and allowed me to build a stronger relationship with him and the other participants who expressed their emotions to me. In turn, this made it easier for me to ask them questions. Derlega and Chaikin (1977) noted that one person knowing more about another person could lead to unequal power relations, something I did not want to develop. Being viewed as someone who was there to exert power, would have led to me being identified as a staff member or likened to a prison officer. However, I was very aware what was appropriate, or not, to disclose (this is discussed in section 3.6.3 'Procedural ethics versus ethics in practice'). Participants soon realised that they could speak to me in confidence about their issues, which further enhanced my 'trusted outsider' position.

During service, participants tended not to have time to make drinks for themselves and would ask the barman. Most of the barmen became frustrated with the frequent requests. I offered to make the drinks, and quickly adopted the role of 'drinks maker' for the participants, particularly those working in the kitchen. This added to my caring role, with participants joking that I 'looked after them'. However, participants did try and push the boundaries. For example, on a number of occasions, participants would 'jokingly' ask me to iron their uniforms. Refusing every time, I was reminded that, because I was female, it was my job. Not wanting to adhere to stereotypes by reminding them I was not their mother or partner, I was quick to tell them that they were more than capable of ironing their own clothes.

Although characteristics associated with females helped me to develop and sustain relationships, there were a number of incidents in which challenging the stereotype earned me respect. Throughout the year, I participated in more 'masculine' activities, such as lifting heavy boxes, power-washing the front and back courtyards, and helping to paint the fence. On one occasion, I helped Ryan to carry a drinks order to the shed. At first, Ryan insisted that I should not help as the boxes were heavy. I ignored his advice and continued to carry the boxes to him. Realising I was capable, he praised me, as did other participants, stating 'fair play' and 'you get stuck in'. Similarly, Westmarland (2001), who studied male police officers, was able to establish good field relations through keenly engaging in various activities and tests that 'showed bottle'. Taking part in more 'masculine' actions gained me respect from the participants. Similarly, engaging in

'banter', which participants considered to be a predominantly male activity, enhanced my status. To be teased and to tease back was important, with participants telling me that 'I took it well for a girl', and that my 'banter' was 'on point' for a girl.

Although my gender was predominantly an advantage, at times it was an obstruction. I occupied a setting that was populated mostly by men. Gurney (1985) stated that women could trigger certain behaviours in these male-dominated settings, such as gender-related behaviours of 'sexual hustling' and 'sexist treatment'. 'Hustling' can range from 'flirtatious behaviour and sexually suggestive remarks, to overt sexual propositioning' and 'involves statements or actions which place the female in an inferior or devalued position' (Gurney 1985: 12). It has been reasoned that the female researcher is more likely to encounter this in a male-dominated setting (Easterday et al., 1982). Although some staff members and customers were female, the majority of my fieldwork was spent surrounded by males. Throughout the year, with some participants, I experienced 'mild flirting' and 'sexual banter' (Gill and Maclean, 2002), being asked on dates, complimented, and asked about my relationship status. At first, I was worried about questioning these comments, fearing it would affect the research. Gill and Maclean (2002) explained that a female ethnographer is expected to deal with being a target of innuendo, rumours and boasting, at the same time as guaranteeing that the research does not suffer. However, as rapport with the participants developed, I was able to question any comments which I felt went against my own values and morals. Participants would also challenge this behaviour for me, telling others to 'watch what they say' or 'you can't say that'.

3.6.2. Impression management: what to wear?

When considering my 'ethnographic self', it was important to draw upon the management of my image (Coffey, 1999; Goffman, 1959). The 'self-conscious' presentation of the self has been well documented as a consideration when in the field (Goffman, 1959). Studies have discussed the issue of dress and physical appearance as part of impression management (van Maanen, 1991; Patrick, 1973). I was also a performer, but not in the team. What to wear was the biggest source of anxiety before I entered the field, and was heavily documented in my research diary.

Poulton (2012) experienced similar anxieties when meeting a football hooligan firm for the first time. Her research diary notes 'What do you wear to go and meet a firm of hooligans? ...I didn't want to attract any unwanted advances by dressing provocatively' (2012: 5.3). Like Poulton (2012), I became frustrated that I was dwelling over the issue, but I knew that how I presented myself was extremely important. Having eaten in the restaurant, I was aware that FOH staff wore black trousers and a shirt and tie, whereas management would be in their own formal clothing. I became very self-aware of my appearance and carefully thought about what to wear; as Jewkes stated, 'ethnography may be accompanied by a psychological anxiety that demands a continuous management of self when in the presence of those studied' (2012: 67). When FOH, I opted for smart/casual. Over the course of the year, I wore a variety of black jeans and trousers, shirts, and black shoes.

Mazzei and O'Brien (2009) posed the question 'you got it, when do you flaunt it?' Deliberately wanting to avoid 'flaunting it', to discourage 'hustling', I decided not to wear dresses (Soyer, 2014). Whilst I did not want to 'mute' my gender, I did not want to encourage inappropriateness. Formality was also important. Guessing that I would be mistaken by the public as staff, I did not want to damage the image of The Clink. However, wanting to avoid signalling authority, I did not want to dress exactly like management. I did not want my clothes to create obstructions to building equal and respected relationships with participants. Similarly, hoping that it would distance me from the staff, I consciously decided not to wear a name badge. Nevertheless, both participants and customers confused me for management. New participants, who I had not had the opportunity to introduce myself to, would ask me operational questions. Likewise, believing I was staff, customers would often ask me questions. Some participants did recognise my efforts to distance myself from management, with Dan jokingly telling me that he knew instantly that I was not management as I was slightly scruffier than the rest.

Participants working in the kitchen wore 'whites', whereas the Head Chef and sous-chefs wore black kitchen uniform, signalling a division of labour. When working in the kitchen, I attempted to find a set of whites that would fit me. Often dirty, and only in large sizes, I had to borrow a female staff member's black uniform. This did not go unnoticed by participants. When entering the kitchen, Rob told me that I should stay in the black

uniform as I would not want to be identified as a prisoner. With the choice of kitchen uniform forming a divide between myself and the participants, I tried to avoid wearing the black uniform.

3.6.3. Emotions in the field

Traditional approaches often advise managing, avoiding or making emotions invisible in order to achieve 'good' objective research, yet Gilbert (2001: 11) argued that 'it is an awareness and intelligent use of our emotions that benefits the research process.'

Emotions are no longer banished to the margins of research, and the emotionality of prison research has received much-justified attention in recent years (Crewe, 2014; Jewkes, 2012). Despite not being in an 'extreme' environment, I was still researching prisoners' experiences. It has been documented that the researcher experience can often become tangled with the prisoners' experience of prison life (Drake and Harvey, 2014). Acknowledging the emotional dimensions, a researcher can begin to untangle these experiences and, far from inhibiting the research, the inherent emotionality of conducting research enhances its rigour, integrity and validity.

Like everyday living, fieldwork is an emotional accomplishment, which, during the year, invoked feelings of joy, sadness, despair, anger, excitement, tiredness and confusion. Throughout the data collection process, my research methodologies incorporated emotional reflexivity as a core constituent of my data collection, analysis, and writing of the PhD. These emotions were recorded in my research diary and served as an extremely useful outlet, not only providing a method for coping but also strengthening my understanding of what the participants may have been feeling (Punch, 2012).

The different elements of the research evoked different emotions. For instance, conducting research in a restaurant setting resulted in tiredness. Tiredness featured heavily in my research diary. Ethnographers have noted that fieldwork is personally demanding and can lead to fatigue (Coffey, 1999). There were days when I was extremely tired returning from the field, and, knowing I could not write up the notes the next day, I would stay up, and this inevitably affected the quality of my note-taking. At times, I felt lost. I was not there to engage with a rehabilitative programme, work or even in dine in The Clink. The public, management and participants all had a purpose, but what was mine? I am not alone in having these feelings. Drake and Harvey (2014) found

that prison researchers often experience a sense of meaninglessness. Furthermore, my research diary notes days when I became paranoid that I was 'getting in the way', or was a distraction, particularly during service. Participants were keen to talk to me, and, at times, this would distract them from completing a task. Knowing that this was a source of anxiety for me, I attempted to develop strategies to avoid this situation; for instance, working alongside participants, encouraging them to complete the task, and removing myself from the participants.

Conducting research with prisoners induced other emotions. Yuen (2011) argued that emotionality is intrinsic to conducting research with prisoners and should not be denied or stifled. When participants left for stage two jobs, I was torn between different emotions: excited and pleased for them, but disappointed that I would no longer have contact with the participants. Hearing the biographies of some of the participants evoked sadness. Like Drake and Harvey's (2014: 496) example, I felt like a 'sponge'. I absorbed life stories that revealed mental health problems, deaths of family and friends, troubled childhoods, and illnesses. Having previously worked with offenders, in particular a project in a Vulnerable Person Unit (VPU), I had developed impression management strategies to cope with difficult emotions. It was important to implement these coping strategies to ensure that I did not become too emotionally involved, and to protect myself.

However, the feelings of joy, excitement and relief outweighed these emotionally difficult moments. Relief that, despite a notoriously challenging application process, I was granted access, and that The Clink staff, both prisoners and non-prisoners, allowed me to become a part of their world for a year. Observing participants learning, growing and making changes to their lives filled me with joy.

3.6.4. Leaving the field

Understandably, the literature on ethnography pays particular attention to how to get access to a research site and collect and subsequently analyse data. One of the most neglected problems is how to disengage from the field (Lofland, 1995; Gobo, 2008). When applying for ethical approval and meeting with gatekeepers, I stated that I would spend a year in the field. This year allowed me to gather a holistic picture of what daily life was like for participants in The Clink. However, spending a year in The Clink, with

close and regular engagement with participants, resulted in issues of attachment on leaving the field.

When was the right time to leave the field? Having agreed upon a year, time made the decision for me. I had also reached 'theoretical saturation' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 61), and I did not feel that my notes were shedding further light on the participants studied. Furthermore, I was worried that if I collected any more data, it would only make the analytical process more challenging. Knowing that leaving the field would be difficult, due to the quality of the relationships I had developed, I ensured that participants were aware of my planned departure so as to prepare both myself and them for it. Similarly, Hudson (2004) ensured that she told the young people in her study when the research would end, reminding them throughout the process. Despite my reminders, the participants asked whether I could contact the university to extend my fieldwork. Likewise, Hudson (2004) found that her participants demanded that she continue her fieldwork.

Thankfully, the timescale coincided with a number of participants leaving The Clink for a variety of reasons. Nevertheless, the departure process was difficult, and I experienced a number of emotions, including sadness, anxiety, relief and disorientation. I was relieved that I had enjoyed the year, and that I had collected what I believed was a sufficient amount of 'good' data. Still, having formed many positive relationships with participants, I was sad to have to break contact, although this was a scenario I had become used to during the year with the relatively high turnover of participants. My feelings of anxiety did not arise from worry about leaving the field too soon, but from moving on to the next steps. It was disorientating to find that The Clink would no longer be a part of my everyday life. Entering the field a few months after the passing of my Dad meant that The Clink had provided me with some structure at a challenging time. Not knowing what to expect, I was worried about the transition from fieldwork to analysing the data and writing. Having spent the year surrounded by participants as a 'trusted outsider', I had to revert back to being a full 'outsider', which was overwhelming and lonely. It took time to adjust and move on to the next steps of the PhD.

3.6.5. Procedural ethics versus ethics in practice

Guillemin and Gillam (2004) distinguished two different dimensions of ethics in research, which they termed 'procedural ethics' and 'ethics in practice'. Procedural ethics refers to the formalities that have to be completed to conduct research; for instance, my procedural ethics included an application to NOMS and the School of Social Science ethics committee at Cardiff University. These applications included details of the guidelines I would adhere to in order to allow the research to be governed with integrity.

However, there were a number of ethical issues 'in practice' which occurred during the research. Guillemin and Gillam (2004: 264) described ethics in practice as the 'day-to-day issues that arise in the doing of research'. The problem of rapport with participants highlights the difference between the rigid structure of procedural ethics against ethics in practice. For instance, I developed a rapport with participants over the course of the year, and I grew to like and respect a number of them. Pitts and Miller-Day (2007) suggested that the development of rapport with participants should be a priority. Rapport is mutually constructed between those who can empathise with one another.

Researchers are often encouraged to ask reciprocal personal questions in order to establish a 'relatively intimate and non-hierarchical relationship' (Oakley, 1981: 47). However, this approach raises issues with procedural ethics, which state that no personal information will be shared.

The practical and ethical problem of becoming intimate with participants is a documented issue in prison ethnography (Drake and Harvey, 2014; Crewe and Levins, 2015). Whilst not inside the prison, I was still researching 'high risk' individuals and needed to manage closeness alongside distance. I found these situations challenging. I was asking participants to provide me with personal details, and for them to talk at length about their experiences, without being able to offer similar information. However, at times I was open and offered information as evidenced in section 3.6.1 'Gender'. I often felt conflicted with what I could and could not say. I felt that if I was not forthcoming in responding to their questions, I would cement the divide between myself and the participants. This issue raises another problem within prison ethnographies: power imbalance. Despite my trusted 'non-person' role, and not being inside the prison, a power imbalance still existed. This imbalance primarily derived from the main difference

between the participants and myself: my ability to leave as I pleased. Here, links can be made to wider ethnographic studies that research 'vulnerable', or what Schlosser (2008) labelled as 'high risk' groups, which include prisoners, young people, the elderly, and medical patients.

Where possible, I attempted to eradicate this imbalance. For instance, worrying that the imbalance would only enhance my outsider status, I offered information that I felt was appropriate, and developed techniques to deflect personal questions. In Desmond's (2007: 287) study of firefighting, one participant teased him, stating 'So that's what ethnography is: you can ask us questions, but we can't ask you nothing?' Desmond reacted to this statement by beginning to answer their questions more openly and honestly. Unable to fully adopt Desmond's approach, I found different methods. On a number of occasions, participants asked me where I lived. As I occasionally walked to work, it was obvious that I lived in Cardiff, and so I would provide this information. When probed further, I used humour to avert the question, jokingly stating that they would get an extra charge for stalking if they were not careful. Participants would often joke with each other that they could get an extra charge for certain behaviours or conversations. This was a successful tool for changing the conversation and setting boundaries. It was easy to forget that my participants were prisoners, given the environment. Having previously only researched closed condition prisoners, there were significant dissimilarities between conducting an ethnography inside the prison walls and The Clink, raising different ethical issues in practice.

In my procedural ethics application, I stated that I would be handing participants information sheets. However, as previously stated, I quickly decided that participants were not engaging with the information on the sheets, and I felt it was more appropriate to have verbal conversations. When explaining the information (free to withdraw at any point, partaking is voluntary, partaking would not have a favourable impact on their ROTL, place in The Clink or sentence, all information would be confidential and anonymised, etc.), I asked participants if, at some stage, they would be happy to be interviewed. No participant refused to be involved in the research.

Despite procedural ethical guidelines, often advising that informed written consent should be obtained, I felt that verbal consent was the most appropriate method.

Murphy and Dingwall (2001) detailed concerns about gaining signed consent, stating that signed consent forms should be held securely, preferably on the fieldwork site, and with restricted access. It was key that I did not jeopardise the participants' anonymity. Obtaining verbal consent, rather than a signature, is said to be a better way of meeting the needs of both the researcher and the researched. Using an approach that eliminates the recording of names and the signing of forms by prisoners, minimises the harm to the prisoners at the time of the research and thereafter (Schlosser, 2008). The ethical information was reiterated to participants prior to them being interviewed, and additional consent was required. At the beginning of each interview, I reiterated the ethical guidelines in spoken word, clearly. I ensured that the participants understood the guidelines and asked again for their verbal consent. This verbal consent was then documented by me.

One problem with ethical ethnographic research, including my own, is that I had to assume that if a participant did not want to take part, they would inform me or find ways to avoid being observed. However, participants could have merely exercised politeness while silently objecting to my presence, or participants may have felt pressured to participate as no other participant had declined to engage with the research. Research investigating vulnerable populations, including prisoners, faces the challenge that participants could be impaired due to living in an environment that is coercive (McDermott, 2013). Although participants were outside the prison gates, they were nevertheless still serving their sentences, thus raising issues of informed consent. I hoped that the rapport I had developed would allow a participant to either opt-out or withdraw. As highlighted, conforming to the extensive rigidity promised by the procedural ethics was more of an aspiration than a reality. As Bosk (2001) argued, attempting to conform to rigorous consent procedures can lead to disruption to interactions, and can be socially peculiar.

Another problem with any qualitative study concerns the notion of anonymity, and whether this can ever be fully achieved. In an attempt to achieve anonymity, I have provided participants with a pseudonym (the most common form of anonymisation). Participants' real names and pseudonyms were not recorded on the same document. One document contained a participant's real name and a number, and this number was then assigned to a pseudonym. Alongside pseudonyms, replacement terms and vaguer

descriptors have been used throughout, with a view to preserving anonymity. All field notes were kept in my possession, while typed documents were encrypted and password protected. However, I am unable to assign a pseudonym to the location. The unique characteristics of this particular Clink render it pointless to attempt; therefore, those close to the scene may be able to unmask these disguises.

The research should include safety provisions, not only for the participants but also for the researcher. Liebling (1999: 150) recalled threats to personal safety when conducting an interview in a maximum security prison, describing the incident as 'traumatic'. I would often hear stories from participants of assaults they had witnessed in closed conditions. Pete recalled seeing a member of staff being 'bucketed'. In addition, having worked with offenders, both in the community and in prison, I was aware of the need to protect myself from harm. Yet, despite the prison climate and the rise in staff assaults, at no stage during the research did I feel unsafe; I felt protected throughout. As previously stated, the prisoners working in The Clink, Cardiff were 'open' prisoners (from a Category D prison) and had therefore been heavily risk-assessed. Category D prisoners are those who present a low risk and can be trusted in open conditions. In order to be considered suitable for an open prison, the individual must meet set criteria; for example, they must be low risk of causing harm, be trusted not to abscond, and have demonstrated good behaviour (MOJ, 2011). The Clink then provides its own additional risk assessment when accepting new prisoners.

3.7. Conclusion

Whilst my research is not an ethnography conducted within the prison walls, it still bears similarities with prison research. I faced similar 'methodological landmines' (Schlosser 2008: 1502) as did prison researchers. As the chapter has shown, these issues started at the very beginning of the research when I attempted to gain access. To an extent, I was able to relate to the participants as I faced rigorous procedures to gain access to The Clink. Once access was granted, these landmines continued when entering the field, building relationships, collecting data, finding my role, dealing with emotions, and managing power imbalances and ethical considerations. That is not to say that other ethnographies do not encounter these issues, but that researching 'high risk' groups can involve additional obstacles.

However, the uniqueness of the study helped alleviate some of these issues. Researching prisoners, outside of the prison walls, allowed me freedom of movement. As the chapter has revealed, this placed me in a stronger position when requesting access, distancing myself from authority, choosing locations for interviews, carrying out fluid observations, and participating in activities. In addition to the setting, the chapter demonstrated how my gender and 'identity work' (Goffman, 1959) helped me build a strong rapport with participants.

Thinking more broadly, it is important to consider and conclude the methods chapter on the fundamental debate in contemporary ethnography about authority, with claims that ethnography is merely an assembly of personal impressions, participants' opinions, and anecdotal stories. For instance, many of the details explained in the fieldwork are interpreted and not objectively described (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). However, this point does not mean that ethnographies are not to be trusted or are not applicable. Rather, ethnographers should proceed with an awareness of the debates around ethnographic authority, the limits to their claims, and the practical limitations of conducting an ethnography. This research fully accepts that it is a 'snapshot' of a particular period of time, with a particular set of people, and the findings do not claim to be objectively reported. It is known that The Clink is a community that is constantly changing. Nevertheless, the findings are still applicable and have purpose.

Chapter 4. **Setting the scene**

4.1. **Overview of the findings**

The purpose of this smaller chapter is to provide a bridge between the preceding chapters and the following chapters that present and discuss the fieldwork data generated in the course of my research in The Clink. The chapter aims to set the scene by providing a clear descriptive sense of the way The Clink is organised and operates. For prisoners, the issues of walls, and escaping them, is both literally and figuratively complicated. Initiatives like The Clink can assist in helping prisoners close to release to take down these barriers, and the findings demonstrate that The Clink assists in tackling some of the barriers. However, the thesis actually suggests that, for the boys, The Clink experience reinforces their prisoner status and reminds them that they are, in fact, still serving time.

The first findings chapter, 'Rationale: Why The Clink?', outlines in detail why the boys 'chose' The Clink programme, exploring a range of different motivations. The chapter then continues with the theme of choices, outlining which side of the pass the boys 'choose' to work on. The second chapter, 'The Clink Experience', briefly looks back at the realities of working in a restaurant, discussing issues that most employees could encounter. The chapter then returns to the main focus, examining in-depth the additional layer that the boys experience, which maintains and reinforces their prisoner label. It examines how the public, The Clink's location and the pains of imprisonment reinforce the barriers. The third chapter, 'The Clink Agenda', concludes with a consideration of the wider Clink agenda - the official aims and objectives of the programme, as detailed in the introduction of this thesis - identifying areas of difference and similarity as revealed through close observational study. The chapter compares the boys' motivations against the aims, before examining The Clink's three objectives against the data: providing a realistic working environment, changing public opinion, and reducing reoffending. It then concludes by questioning what really matters and whether this is what The Clink intended to achieve.

Each chapter draws on the same extended period of intensive participant observation and the same ethnographic dataset, fragments of which break the surface of the text at various points as reworked fieldwork vignettes. These vignettes are used to illustrate and

instantiate points developed in the commentary, and they also serve to keep the account ethnographically grounded. Switching my mode of address takes the reader straight into The Clink and shows them what life was like for the boys.

This thesis therefore seeks to make three main contributions. The first is that it adds to the ethnographic body of writing found in criminology. The second is concerned with the field site itself, which is not just a restaurant. Although it is set up to be a restaurant, it has other primary goals in comparison to an 'ordinary' restaurant; it is an intervention and an opportunity for serving prisoners. It is hoped that the dialogue tells the reader about the ambitions that The Clink declares upfront, but also moves away from whether The Clink 'works' in reducing reoffending so as to focus on what matters to the boys. With minimal qualitative data available on the views of prisoners while completing employment programmes, this research aims to provide a different perspective. The third and final contribution, therefore, is to provide The Clink with in-depth qualitative research as opposed to a quantitative analysis.

4.2. A day in The Clink

Before the chapter provides a clear descriptive sense of the way The Clink is organised and operates, I first want to bring the reader almost into The Clink itself, by quoting a large observational passage outlining a 'day in The Clink':

It is around 8.30am, and I am heading towards The Clink restaurant to start a shift. There is not much of a view from the front of The Clink; directly in front is the overpriced NCP car park, and directly behind is HMP Cardiff. To the side, you can see the parts of the prison that loom above the height of the thick stone walls topped with barbed wire. Although you are unable to see any prisoners, you can occasionally hear them through their barred windows.

It isn't until around 9.15am that the boys arrive on The Clink minibus. There are no staff on the bus, and it is driven by one of the boys. As they shout 'hello' in my direction, they head straight for the pass. I head over to join the queue. It is a Monday, meaning that it's eggs and toast for breakfast. Eggs of the day: fried. There are some groans across the queue, and three of the boys head into the kitchen to make their own scrambled eggs. While plates

are being piled, Liz appears from the office with a clipboard and starts to sign the boys in. One is not accounted for. Marcus shouts that Rob (who should be in The Clink) has an appointment in the prison so won't be in. Liz calls to report back to the prison and confirms that Rob is 'back on camp'.

All the boys, except Mike, head into the conference room to eat. The conference room is a closed room at the back of The Clink, which can seat 25 diners. The Clink allows the public to hire the room for professional purposes. The rationale for the boys eating in the conference room is that they won't have to re-lay the table, but are also out of sight from customers. This is not unusual for Mike, who often eats his breakfast leaning on the bar, claiming that he 'can't be bothered with "shit chat"'. Today's breakfast conversation is focused on the headline 'Teenagers sentenced to life for murder', in Lee's copy of the South Wales Echo, a local newspaper. Lee and others claim to know the two boys, arguing that they are 'alright' but have 'fucked up big time'. Liam laughs, and suggests that we could make a 'coming soon' poster in The Clink, with their faces. Everyone laughs. With most of the boys nearing the end of their sentences, they discuss how it must feel to be beginning a 24-year stretch. For most, it seems as though it does not bear thinking about.

It's 10.00am, and most of the kitchen boys have headed to the cabin to change into whites; however, some of the FOH boys are holding on. The small white portacabin is located outside, behind the back of The Clink. The boys are required to iron their clothes (if FOH), change, and store their personal items in the cabin. Jason heads towards the conference room and shouts for the boys to get up and get changed. Following orders, the guys slowly drift out to the cabin to collect their uniforms. Although the cabin's purpose is for changing, the boys disperse themselves throughout The Clink. There are no complaints from the kitchen boys, who shove their whites straight on and are in the kitchen. This is not the case for FOH boys, whose uniform consists of a shirt, trousers, tie, name badge, and grip shoes. First, Marcus appears at the office door, complaining that someone has nicked his shirt. He is told to rifle through the pile in the office, and reluctantly he starts. Next is Liam, who claims his black grip shoes have

been stolen. Liam starts to accuse the rest of the boys and examines everyone's feet. Everyone is quick to deny, and Liam, who is notorious for losing items, is told to go and have a proper look. While Liam takes another look, Ryan is trying to convince Alan to iron his uniform, for a pound. After persuasion, Alan agrees.

Liam reappears, shoes in hand, claiming that they must have been hidden by one of the other boys. The final issue comes from Lewis, who has left his name badge back on camp. Liz heads into the office to try and find a new badge and the sticker machine. He is handed a new one, but is told it will be his last one. With sprays of aftershave, the FOH boys are finally dressed.

There are no breakfast tables in. However, the morning jobs still need to be completed. The kitchen boys begin their preparation for the afternoon service. Mike, the doorman, is required to Hoover the carpet, clean the toilets, and hang the artificial shrubbery outside the front (or, as the boys like to call them, 'the balls').

The barman for the day, Marcus, is required to stock and clean the bar and prepare the coffee. I have somehow been roped into helping Marcus by making the endless coffee requested by the boys. The rest of the FOH staff, Liam and Ryan, are given a list of jobs including sweeping and mopping, ensuring all the tables are set, and cleaning the conference room.

All of the FOH boys are gathered around the bar examining the day's reservations. Six tables – three each for Ryan and Liam. Marcus is busy taking phone calls for bookings, while Ryan and Liam bicker over who is taking which table. Neither of them wants the two 1.30pm tables. I suggest that, to make it fair, they have one each. Grudgingly they agree. Marcus starts to throw sweeteners at Ryan's face. At first, Ryan tells him to 'fuck off' but quickly attempts to try and catch them in his mouth. This entertains the boys for around 10 minutes until Jason interrupts with, 'make sure you are ready for service'. Jason points to Ryan's ears, and Ryan starts to pull out his 'diamond' earring. Liam tucks his shirt in, and sarcastically smiles in Jason's direction.

As service is about to begin, Mike calls me over for a quick game of 'Clink or Nick?' We both move from inside the building to stand outside The Clink's door. The premise of 'Clink or Nick' is to determine whether the individual heading towards The Clink door is a prison visitor or a Clink customer. This game is harder than it seems. From the outside, The Clink does not look like a restaurant. It is a relatively small, odd-shaped building, made with the same bricks as the entrance to the prison. If you removed all 'The Clink' logos and signs, you would probably assume it was just another prison building. This made sense when it was revealed to me that building used to be the old 'prison visits waiting area'. Prisoners' families would be 'checked in', searched, and asked to wait before being led through to the main entrance. As a woman heads towards the door, Mike quickly shouts 'Nick'. As she enters, she looks surprised, and Mike advises her that the prison entrance is slightly further on. She states she didn't realise it was a 'proper posh' restaurant. The prisoner visitor is right, the 'proper posh' restaurant interior is cleverly designed. As you head past the bar and toilets, into the dining area, the back wall is floor-to-ceiling mirrors, giving the impression that the room is twice the size. The opposite end of the dining area features an open restaurant design. Customers are able to see their meals on the pass, and also into some sections of the kitchen, depending on where they are sat.

Eventually, we guess 'Clink', and the first table arrives at 12.15pm. Mike is ready at the door to greet the couple, take their jackets, and lead them to their table. It is Liam's table, and service begins. With a gap in between the next customers arriving, Mike calls me back over to continue the game. Marcus, who so far has only made four drinks, heads over to join in. The game is interrupted as more customers arrive. The final two tables at 1.30pm arrive.

Lunch is supposed to be served by around 2.30pm, enabling the boys to eat before break (at 3.00pm). However, it is edging closer to 2.30pm and there is no sign of lunch being served, and customers still remain in the restaurant. Marcus is 'clock-watching', while Liam and Ryan are discussing tactics on how to get rid of the customers. Marcus, who has guessed

(thankfully correctly) that no more drinks would be ordered, has cleaned down the bar. He attempts to slowly edge towards the back, to the cabin, to get changed. Jason catches him and forcefully reminds him that service is not over. 2.45pm, and a clunk on the pass can be heard. All of the FOH boys rush around the side to gratefully see that lunch has been placed on the pass, and Jason tells them that he will finish service. With break starting at 3.00pm (and only lasting for an hour as they have to leave at 4.00pm), the boys are in a predicament. Both eating and changing will inevitably take up some of their break time.

Lunch is chicken, chips and salad. With chicken considered to be good for 'bulking', some boys choose to change, wrap some chicken in foil, and head straight into town. Others attempt to change and eat as quickly as possible. Only two guys, Mike and Harry, take their time eating their lunch, and are the last ones left. They both agree, and inform me, that they are sick of walking around town with nothing to do, anyway. They eventually leave The Clink around 3.30pm. Mike heads to Sainsbury's to buy a newspaper and some mints, while Harry sits on the wall to wait to go back to 'camp'.

This extract outlining a 'day in The Clink' captures several themes that are embedded within the findings. Firstly, it provides something of an overview of the tasks the boys ought to be completing, and what the boys had to wear. It also shows the stark difference between closed and open condition prisoners. Mike was able to stand outside The Clink, without supervision, and play 'Clink or Nick'. The 'privileges' that accompany being in open conditions that are touched upon in the extract, such as breaks in the town centre, are explored (section 5.3.2). Yet, the 'freedom' that open conditions offers brought new challenges for the boys. As the extract shows, the boys had to interact with the public. The boys' view of the public, and the impression management techniques which they used to help maintain a performance, form a key part of the findings chapter.

Another theme revealed by the extract, is humour. Throwing sweeteners in their mouths, making jokes about their peers, and playing 'Clink and Nick', are all examples of humour and resulted in laughter. Humour, and the way the boys utilise it, is a feature in the findings chapters. For instance, humour is used to combat boredom, interact with customers, and defuse conflict. It is important to note that the findings are not limited to

the few topics outlined above; however, I wanted to begin the findings section with an ethnographical insight into The Clink that exposes some key themes. As previously stated, throughout the findings, vignettes are used to illustrate and instantiate points developed in the commentary, and, importantly, bring the reader straight into Clink life.

Before the chapter provides an overview of how The Clink is organised and operates, it is important to explain that two distinct groups were formed during the data collection and analysis: OGs (Original Gangsters) and PGs (Plastic Gangsters). These groups are for the purpose of analysis only and do not define these individuals. These two groups were not mutually exclusive, and their membership changed. However, there were commonalities in each group in relation to their motivations, perceptions, engagement and values. All of the individuals I observed seemed to fall into one of these two broad categories, although at times in the findings, I recategorise participants.

It is important to understand these terms. Firstly, I did not give the boys these labels, the boys organised one another into these groups. Although these two groups tended not to use the labels to describe themselves, they were often aware that others had ascribed them a label. These labels were assigned to the boys because of their prisoner status (mostly due to time served, age and offence), not because they were at The Clink. However, once at The Clink, the differences between the two groups did, at times, create different experiences.

The OGs were all older boys, except one, who had spent longer periods of time in prison. Mike, Harry, Chris, Jack, James, Rob, Richard, Dale, Scott and Tony are the OGs who feature in these findings. These OGs were all over the age of 40, except James who was 27. James shared similarities to the other OGs due to time served and offence. Their offences ranged from murder, violence (including ABH and GBH) and repeated drug offences. All the OGs had spent more than 10 years in prison during their lifetimes, and most had been in prison for this length of time or more on arrival to The Clink. Chris and Scott were the only OGs who arrived at The Clink with a sentence of less than 10 years; however, Chris was on his fourth sentence and Scott on his third. Importantly, both had spent more than 10 years of their lives in prison.

In contrast, the PGs were all under the age of 35. Jake, Ryan, Tom, David, Lewis, Gary, Marcus, Liam, Craig, Pete, Reece, Simon, Ross, Derek, Alan, Martin, Trevor, Luke and Dan, are the main PGs who appear in the findings. The PGs' offences mainly included drug offences, but also violence (both ABH and GBH), and death by dangerous driving. It was the PGs' first 'serious' sentence in prison. Their sentences were all for more than four years, but less than seven. Prior to this sentence, some PGs had spent short periods of time in prison; for example, Ryan had spent four months in prison two years previously. Although offences and time served were important features, age was central to these groupings. As previously stated in section 3.4.1 'Observations', I observed many individuals during my time at The Clink. They all fell into these broad categories and contributed to the overall findings. However, in the findings I reflect on those I saw the most (those named above). These groups are only drawn upon when necessary and are for the purpose of analysis. Before we hear more from them, the chapter will outline The Clink's opening and closing hours, shift times and roles.

4.3. Opening and closing

Opening hours in 'real-life' restaurants are determined by a number of factors including: the type of cuisine, staff numbers, type of audience, demand, and the location of the restaurant (Fine, 2009). The opening hours of a restaurant are dependent on the market niche to which the owners aspire. The Clink's opening and closing hours, alongside the boys working hours, did mirror 'ordinary' working life. The two tables below outline the service hours and the boys' schedule:

Table 2. The Clink's opening hours.

Day	Service			
	Breakfast	Lunch	Afternoon Tea	Dinner
Monday	9am-11am	12pm-3pm	1.30pm-3pm	Not available
Tuesday	9am-11am	12pm-3pm	1.30pm-3pm	Not available
Wednesday	9am-11am	12pm-3pm	1.30pm-3pm	6.30pm-9pm
Thursday	9am-11am	12pm-3pm	1.30pm-3pm	6.30pm-9pm
Friday	9am-11am	12pm-3pm	1.30pm-3pm	6.30pm-9pm
Saturday	9am-11am	12pm-3pm	1.30pm-3pm	6.30pm-9pm
Sunday	Not available	12pm-3pm	Not available	Not available

Demand and the popularity of the restaurant does have an impact on the opening hours of The Clink, demonstrating that managers have some autonomy to negotiate external constraints. During the first six months of data collection, The Clink did not open on Saturday evenings. However, after discussions between The Clink and the prison, the prison allowed the boys to have their licences extended, enabling them to work on Saturday evenings. When The Clink first began, the opening hours only included lunch sittings. Again, due to demand, The Clink negotiated additional hours.

Table 3. The boys' hours.

	Arrival time	Breakfast	Lunch service	Lunch	Break	Dinner	Dinner service	Finish
Monday	9am	9.15am	12pm-3pm	2.30pm	3pm-4pm	-	-	4pm
Tuesday	9am	9.15am	12pm-3pm	2.30pm	3pm-4pm	-	-	4pm
Wednesday	9am	9.15am	12pm-3pm	-	3pm-5pm	5.30	6.30pm-9pm	9pm
Thursday	9am	9.15am	12pm-3pm	-	3pm-5pm	5.30	6.30pm-9pm	9pm
Friday	9am	9.15am	12pm-3pm	-	3pm-5pm	5.30	6.30pm-9pm	9pm
Saturday	9am	9.15am	12pm-3pm	-	3pm-5pm	5.30	6.30pm-9pm	9pm
Sunday	9am	9.15am	12pm-3pm	2.30pm	3pm-4pm	-	-	4pm

It is important to note that the above are approximations. These times did vary, for instance, arrival time varied between 9.00am and 9.30am depending on traffic etc. Arrival time subsequently impacted when the boys were served breakfast.

Breakfast serving hours are not noted on their schedule as there tended to be few or no bookings during this service. On the rare occasion that there was a booking, management would cook and serve breakfast to customers until the boys had finished their breakfast and were ready to work. The boys' working hours and whether they helped The Clink achieve its aims are discussed in-depth in Chapter 7 'The Clink's Agenda'.

4.4. Roles and responsibilities

This section looks at the roles, and the duties to be completed in each role within The Clink. Similarly, to an ordinary restaurant, it is split into two areas: kitchen and FOH. How these roles were allocated will be addressed in 5.4 'Allocation of roles'. Following the tables below, the thesis will enter into the first step of the process for the boys, Chapter 5 'Rationale: Why The Clink?'.

The FOH is split into three different sections: doorman, barman, and waiter. The table below provides a brief overview of the responsibilities of each role; before, during, and after service:

Table 4. FOH roles and responsibilities.

Before service	During service	After service
<i>Doorman</i>		
Clean the toilets, Hoover the carpet by the door, hang out the artificial shrubs, clean the cutlery, clean the glass entrance.	Welcome guests, check their reservations, take their coats, show them to their table, check with management whether there is space for guests who do not have a reservation, shine cutlery, fold napkins, check regularly on the cleanliness of the toilets.	Help remove all remaining dirty dishes and glasses, help clean tables and re-lay tables, remove artificial shrubs from entrance.
<i>Barman</i>		
Clean the bar, restock the bar set up the coffee machine for service, begin preparing the mocktail mix, dry glasses from the dishwasher and return to the cupboard.	Prepare non-alcoholic beverages for customers, keep the bar clean, take drinks to tables if necessary, place dirty glassware in the dishwasher, dry glasses and return to cupboard.	Clean the bar, restock the bar, remove the bar bin, help remove all remaining dirty dishes and glasses, help clean tables and re-lay tables, place dirty glasses in the dishwasher.
<i>Waiter</i>		
Sweep and mop the main restaurant area, check that all tables are laid correctly.	Remain attentive to the number of tables allocated to them, take orders, communicate these orders to the kitchen, make suggestions if customers wish to be talked through the menu, have knowledge of the ingredients, take orders to the table, engage with the public, remove dirty dishes and glasses, clean tables after customers finish meals, collect payments.	Remove all remaining dirty dishes and glasses, clean tables and re-lay tables, ensure all tables are ready for evening service.

On the other hand, the kitchen had six stations available: cleaner⁷, pot wash, starters, mains, dessert, and the pass. Regardless of experience, those who began in the kitchen started on pot wash. The following table is a list of each section and its duties:

Table 5. Kitchen roles and responsibilities.

Before service	During service	After service
<i>Cleaner</i>		
Cleaning kitchen and associated equipment, walls, floors, fixtures and fittings.	Cleaning kitchen and associated equipment, walls, floors, fixtures and fittings.	Cleaning kitchen and associated equipment, walls, floors, fixtures and fittings.
<i>Pot wash</i>		
Ensuring the cleanliness of the pot wash area, cleaning, washing all items that have been left from the previous service, ensuring they are replaced in the appropriate area.	Ensuring that all items brought to the pot wash are washed, cleaned, grease-free, dried, and replaced in the appropriate area	Ensuring that all items brought to the pot wash are washed, cleaned, grease-free, dried, and replaced in the appropriate area, ensuring that the pot wash is left clean.
<i>Starters</i>		
Set up and clean station, prepare cooking ingredients for dishes, prepare any necessary elements of the dish that can be completed prior to service.	Cook food in a timely manner, maintain cleanliness of station, be alert to the rhythm from the pass.	Clean station, dispose of any food waste correctly.
<i>Mains</i>		
Set up and clean station, prepare cooking ingredients for dishes, prepare any necessary elements of the dish that can be completed prior to service.	Cook food in a timely manner, maintain cleanliness of station, be alert to the rhythm from the pass.	Clean station, dispose of any food waste correctly.
<i>Desserts</i>		
Set up station, prepare cooking ingredients for dishes, prepare any necessary elements of the dish that can be completed prior to service.	Cook food in a timely manner, maintain cleanliness of station, be alert to the rhythm from the pass.	Clean station, dispose of any food waste correctly.
<i>Pass</i>		
Prepare station, ensure that there are enough dishes for service	Plate the dish, final quality control, control of watching the order ticket, monitoring the speed and rhythm of coursing, ensuring the pass is clean and presentable.	Clean station, assist others if needed.

⁷ This role was not always occupied, and was used when there were too many boys.

The above presented an ethnographic overview of The Clink; the remainder of the thesis uses this information to provide a more in-depth understanding of Clink life.

Chapter 5. Rationale: Why The Clink?

The vignette provided in the introduction to the findings (Chapter 4) offers an outline of a typical day in The Clink. But how did the boys come to be there? All the boys 'chose' to come to The Clink. This chapter discusses the explanations provided by the boys working in The Clink. The data comes from both general conversations and interviews, in which the boys were directly asked what their motivations were for attending. These motivations are separated into three categories. Firstly, the chapter addresses motivations that could be linked to any prison job, in both closed and open conditions, such as killing time, friendships, extra home leave, and progressing to stage two employment. Then the chapter turns to motivations that can be clearly linked to The Clink's ambitions, including a desire to change and the TTG service. The final section addresses the most 'important' motivations that were specific and unique to The Clink. Notably, and unsurprisingly, all of the motivations demonstrated a desire to escape prison life. The chapter then continues with the theme of choice, outlining why and where the boys 'chose' to work and how these roles were allocated.

5.1. 'It's a prison job'

With The Clink being an extension of the prison, it is unsurprising that the boys (both OGs and PGs) gave reasons that can be linked to the benefits that could be accrued from engagement with employment programmes in any prison. For instance, both finding ways to kill time and attending programmes recommended by 'mates', could be associated with an employment programme offered in a closed category prison.

5.1.1. Killing time

Time is a primary concern for prisoners. Finding ways of passing time is an integral part of coping with prison life (Serge, 1970). The boys stated that one of the main reasons for attending The Clink was to 'kill time'. Prisoners must find ways of passing time through employment, and are encouraged to do so in open conditions. Going to work provides an opportunity for prisoners to leave their cells. The Clink became a tool that made time 'flow', helping the boys to deal with the experience of the temporal pains of imprisonment (Cope, 2003). The rate at which time passes was extremely important for the boys,

whose punishment was underpinned by time discipline. The Clink, as with other prison-based work and educational programmes, offers an alternative to prison time, and to the endless repetitions and same routine every day (until prisoners have spent too long in The Clink). It also offers an opportunity simply 'to do something', break free from prison routines, and reduce boredom (Manger et al., 2010). Clink time is explored further in section 6.4.2 'Clink time'.

5.1.2. Personal recommendation

Fine (2009: 46) argued that 'friends are much more likely than family to help the future cook actually land a job'. Although the boys could not 'land' each other a job, the boys were often encouraged by 'mates' to join The Clink programme, and were assured it would be a 'good laff'. They were told about The Clink by peers, and were provided with information about what to expect. For instance, Tom stated that three of his closest 'mates' in the prison were working in The Clink, so his decision was a 'no-brainer'.

5.1.3. Search for normality

A Category D prison allows prisoners to leave the prison daily to work in the community. Being able to work in the community on ROTL can contribute to a feeling that the prison walls are being taken down. This idea appealed to the boys, and offered some 'normality' beyond a typical closed category prison job. Attending The Clink meant that the boys could engage in a relatively normal daily rhythm: getting up, getting dressed, driving to work, having lunch, going back to work, driving 'home', and repeating this the following morning. The boys believed, at least initially, that being able to leave the prison physically would provide a sense of freedom. However, as Chapter 7 'The Clink's Agenda' outlines, there was a difference between their perceptions of The Clink and its reality.

Some prisoners even offered to work every day to avoid being 'stuck on camp'. Being 'stuck on camp' resulted in boredom, time being 'suspended', and was viewed as a pain of imprisonment. Chris, who was serving his fourth sentence, frequently asked the prison to allow him to work seven days a week. Yet, due to prison and ROTL regulations, the boys had to spend at least one day a week on camp (HMP Prescoed). Despite Chris' best efforts, his request was always declined. Camp was described, by Chris and others,

as repetitive and dull. As already noted, for the boys, time in prison was stagnant, and the passing of time took longer on the inside than on the outside (in *The Clink*). ROTL provided another way to make time pass more quickly. However, as section 6.4 'Pains of imprisonment' outlines, despite breaking away from prison, the boys still had to adhere to aspects of the routine; for instance, roll checks and searches. However, the time spent at *The Clink* offered change, time off camp, and even an opportunity for them to gain some temporal autonomy at break time (within limits). This temporal autonomy helped to alleviate some of the features of spatial and temporal deprivation, and the comparative event-lessness that prison life offers (Toch, 1992).

Although the search for normality and physically leaving the prison were important to all the boys, 'leaving camp' was more difficult for some than others. At first, due to their length of time incarcerated, OGs often struggled with the idea of leaving. These feelings were particularly acute during break time, and are examined in-depth in 6.3.3 'Breaks'. However, although the OGs struggled to leave the four walls, they acknowledged that ROTL was considered by professionals to be an essential stage in preparing them for outside life. Using *The Clink* to show readiness for the community is discussed below in section 5.1.5 'Playing the game'.

5.1.4. Home leave

Gaining stage one employment, such as at *The Clink*, meant that the boys received certain benefits. For instance, if eligible for home leaves (ROR), the boys were allowed one home leave every four weeks as opposed to every six weeks. Home leaves were of significant importance to the boys and were, understandably, one of the main reasons they applied for open conditions and subsequently stage one jobs. However, home leaves were mainly cited by PGs, who were keen to get back to their families and friends.

Plans for home leaves, and what happened on home leaves, featured heavily in PGs' conversations. The boys reported that they felt the 'most normal' on home leave, and some stated they often momentarily 'forgot they were prisoners'. However, in reality, the boys were aware that this 'freedom' always had an end date, and that they would have to return to prison. The boys reported that this small dose of freedom made it even harder to return. Even within their own homes (if they were allowed to return home), the

prison walls still figuratively remained up. As well as motivating these boys to join The Clink, the threat of having this benefit removed encouraged them to remain at The Clink.

Home leaves were cited less by OGs, particularly those serving very long sentences or life. For these individuals, home leaves, particularly the first one, were extremely daunting, and considered more of a 'test' than a privilege. Harry told me that, 'They [the prison system] are just waiting for me to fuck up on home leaves, so they can ship me back to closed then.' Harry, and others, due to their crimes, were not allowed home, or had no 'home' to return to. Therefore, their home leaves were spent in hostels, which were described as unpleasant and heavily monitored.

Most OGs found the term 'home leaves' ironic; including Jack, who had to spend his home leave in a hostel in a completely new area. Jack frequently told me that this area provided 'nothing for him', and that 'it wasn't his home', but he had to accept that if he wanted to get out of prison he would not be allowed back to his old life. There was a stark contrast between the OGs' and PGs' home leave experiences. Additionally, due to their offence type, some OGs had lost all contact with their family, making home leaves hard. Although they viewed home leaves as difficult, and tended not to cite them as a motivation, they recognised the necessity of them. OGs acknowledged that home leaves were part of the process to prove that they could be trusted in the community.

5.1.5. Playing the game

Positively engaging with stage one employment was also beneficial for those who had to apply to the Parole Board for release (most OGs had to face parole). Engagement with The Clink could be used in reports given to the Parole Board that comment on the 'prisoners' risk factors, reduction in risk and performance and behaviour in prison, including views on suitability for release on licence as well as compliance with any sentence plan' (Parole Board, 2016: 13). The boys who were using The Clink for parole purposes tended to have been advised to attend the programme. James, who was serving life, had been advised by both probation and prison officers that it would be a 'good step' to show that he could safely interact with the public. This challenges the voluntary nature of the scheme, as James was concerned that if he did not take the advice, it would be used against him in his hearing, and so consequently he decided to join The Clink.

Clink management wrote a number of reports throughout the year for the boys' parole hearings. These reports outlined an individual's personal and professional skills and, importantly, highlighted the individual's ability to communicate and engage with members of the public. One of the key responsibilities of the Parole Board is to determine whether it is 'satisfied that it is no longer necessary for the protection of the public that the prisoner should remain detained' (Parole Board, 2017: 15). In particular, interacting with the public could help demonstrate that these boys no longer posed a risk. This factor differentiated The Clink from other prison jobs; most stage one jobs have no, or little, contact with the general public.⁸

5.1.6. 'Promotion'

The boys also joined The Clink (a stage one job) in order to progress to a stage two placement. Stage two placement can be compared to a 'promotion', as it entitles prisoners to more money, choice and responsibility. This meant that, for some, The Clink was used as a 'stepping stone' to stage two.⁹ However, reasons for wanting stage two differed, depending on sentence and age.

PGs (who either had prospects for employment for release or would be continuing criminal activity) wanted stage two for monetary purposes. Stage two jobs meant the boys could earn the minimum wage (with 40% taken by the prison), a significant amount more than a stage one job. As a stage one job, it was unsurprising that although money was a primary motivator for other restaurant workers, this was not the case for Clink boys. All interviewed stated that they felt they should be paid more, arguing that they were doing a full-time job for 'fuck all' (approximately £3.30 a week). The issue of pay is revisited in section 7.2.2 'Pay'. For some, the low pay meant they experienced a lack of motivation, and this tended to result in behavioural issues. Yet, The Clink was used, in the long run, to gain more money by attaining a stage two job. On the other hand, those serving longer sentences, the OGs, were motivated not only by money but also sought to

⁸ However, interaction with the general public was not a motivating factor for most of the boys. This point is discussed in relation to where the boys 'chose' to work.

⁹ Here, it is possible to draw parallels with the current restaurant industry labour force. The Hospitality Training Foundation (2000) showed that many employees in the hospitality industry viewed the job as a temporary opportunity before beginning a career in another industry.

create social capital. It was hoped that these individuals could continue this employment once released and create connections with employers.

5.2. Thinking beyond the gate

Here, the chapter touches on motivations, which can be directly linked to what The Clink advertises to offer; in particular, the opportunity to learn new skills and participate in the TTG scheme.

5.2.1. Time for change

As outlined in the literature review (Chapter 2 'Review of the literature'), some boys loosely cited The Clink's objectives as providing the motivation for attending. Some were interested in increasing their human capital by learning new skills, and in the opportunity of employment on release. Although these could be motivations for a closed condition job (discussed below), open condition jobs, in particular The Clink, provide a different experience and have better links to employment on release. OGs who had served more time tended to be more motivated by the opportunity to gain skills and long-term employment. These individuals described themselves as having completely lost any sense of a work identity and having few or no employment options on release. In particular, OG lifers were aware of their negative credentials, and therefore acknowledged that their criminal record would significantly impact their future employment opportunities (for example, see: Pager, 2003). For instance, in an interview, Jack argued that without The Clink's assistance, he would be unable to find employment; 'Let's be realistic, no employer's going to choose a convicted murderer to work for them, are they?' It has been reported that this feeling of hopelessness is common amongst long-term prisoners, as they struggle to find meaning and purpose; 'The prisoner has to live with potentially no sense of direction, movement or purpose' (Sapsford, 1983: 77). The possibility of securing stage two employment through The Clink and on release, gave these boys hope that they could move forward with their lives.

Opportunities for employment on release tended not to be a core concern for those who were serving shorter sentences, the PGs, who had good family and friendship ties. Having good social ties meant some even had employment secured for release. These employment opportunities tended to be trades jobs including roofing, building, plumbing,

electrical, plastering and mechanical work. This pattern is in line with research showing that employment for offenders is typically gained through social networks, with social relationships playing a constitutive role in helping ex-prisoners gain employment (Rhodes, 2008). In addition, some of the boys serving shorter sentences had been able to maintain ties with previous employers to whom they could return on release. Some PGs were generally uninterested in employment, with a few revealing that they would be continuing with their illicit criminal activities once released. The difference between the motivations of PGs and OGs in relation to future employment, showed that sentence length had an impact on resettlement opportunities. OGs undoubtedly faced greater obstacles, and therefore were keen to engage with the support offered. As Jack argued, without The Clink advocating for him, he would have struggled to find an employer willing to take him on. This issue is explored further in the next section.

5.2.2. Through the gate

The TTG support offered by The Clink had attracted some of the boys. Although this was supposed to happen in other jobs advertised in HMP Prescoed, The Clink's TTG support was considered to be 'the best of the best'. As noted in the Introduction (Chapter 1), The Clink provides a 'through the gate' mentoring scheme, which supports the individual once they are released and offers a holistic approach, helping not just with employment but also with other key areas, such as accommodation. This aspect was particularly important for OGs. It is unsurprising that those who had spent longer in the prison system felt they required more support on release. OGs tended to need more support with several different life areas. For example, Richard, who was serving a 12-year sentence, had lost his property and his family had cut ties with him, meaning that he had no accommodation on release. In addition, changes to the Housing (Wales) Act introduced in 2015 removed the right for prison leavers to be considered a priority, and therefore prison leavers do not automatically qualify for emergency accommodation on release. Richard informed me that he applied to The Clink as he had heard that 'it was the best support for release out of all the jobs the prison offers'. The support worker did help Richard secure a private rented room, amongst other things, for his release.

5.3. The unique extras

There were also additional benefits, perhaps ones which were absent from The Clink's intentions but were extremely important to the boys. These were some of the reasons why the boys were motivated to join The Clink programme specifically, over and above other Category D opportunities.

5.3.1. Food, glorious food

Food is a motivation unique to The Clink. Being provided food during working hours is not exceptional, rather, it is the presumption that it would be 'good food', as it was a restaurant. The boys stated they came 'for a cooked breakfast' and 'free chicken'. The boys were enticed with the offer of an alternative to prison food; 'something different'. This motivation to attend because of the food was reinforced by Liam and Chris on their first day:

Two new boys have arrived this morning: Liam and Chris. The boys are showing them the ropes and shove them towards the pass. I am already stood at the pass talking with some of the others when Liam and Chris are introduced to me. Rob is quick to let them know that I am 'sound'. Chris seems quieter than Liam, and only nods, while Liam shakes my hand. Although Liam is confident, both seem a little overwhelmed. Their focus rapidly darts from me to the pass. It is a Wednesday, and the pass is covered with sausages, fried eggs, bacon, tomatoes, mushrooms and beans. Those eating the breakfast attempt to form an orderly queue and begin to pile up their plates. Noticing the toast is missing, Rob shouts over to the head chef and jokingly tells him to 'hurry the fuck up'. The head chef, who has obviously forgotten about the toast, grabs it from under the grill and throws it onto the pass. With the toast overdone, Rob starts to moan to some of the others. I focus my attention on the two newbies, who are not holding back. The boys have told them to 'take as much as they want'. Both Liam and Chris's plates are piled high as they head into the conference room.

Everyone is discussing a guy back on camp who was shipped out last night. A mobile phone had been found and he had forgotten to log out of his

Facebook, meaning that officers could prove he had been using the phone. All the boys are laughing at his stupidity, and agree that he deserves to be back in closed. The conversation soon turns to the newbies. Tom asks, 'So what do you think so far?' As he shoves a sausage into his mouth, Chris expresses disbelief at the breakfast, and Liam agrees, questioning the last time he had a full fry up. With a mouth full of food, Liam claims 'it's the main reason he came down here' as it has been around two years since he had a 'proper good fry up'. A couple of the newer boys agree that the breakfast is a perk, whilst most of the boys who have been in The Clink for a few months, butt in, claiming 'It's a load of shit.'

To Chris and Liam's scepticism, Tom even goes so far as to claim that he would now rather not have a prison breakfast. Chris responds telling Tom 'he's mad'. Rob interrupts them both and tells Chris to give it a few weeks and he will be sick of it. As he takes a bite into his toast, he loudly claims that the toast could be charged with a Section 18 on his mouth. Everyone laughs, as Rob throws the toast back onto the plate and leaves the room with his plate half full.

Although the food may originally have been a reason to attend, views on the food changed over time. Those who had been there longer complained endlessly about the breakfast and the other meals. They were described as 'greasy', making them put on weight, and boring. Being served mostly the same food each mealtime became monotonous. Due to the routine, Clink meals became aligned with the official prison food, which reminded them of their restricted autonomy. There was a distinct difference in the level of enjoyment of breakfast between newcomers and boys who had spent some time at The Clink.

Some 'ordinary' restaurants provide employees with food during shifts; The Clink has its own food schedule and provides set meals at around the same time each day. The table below summarises what was offered to the boys.

Table 6. When and what the boys ate.

	Breakfast (9.15am-9.45am)	Lunch (2.30pm-3.00pm)	Dinner (5.30pm-6.00pm)
Monday	Eggs and toast	Hot meal*	-
Tuesday	Eggs and toast	Hot meal	-
Wednesday	Full English	-	Hot meal
Thursday	Full English	-	Hot meal
Friday	Full English	-	Hot meal
Saturday	Full English	-	Hot meal
Sunday	Eggs and toast	Sunday Roast	-

*Hot meals tended to be some type of meat, some form of potato and veg/salad; for example, chicken, chips and salad.

Although a motivation to attend, the food was often viewed as an entitlement. As Ross argued, 'I mean we have to leave camp at 7.30am. If they want us down here this early, then they gotta feed us.' This sense of entitlement was felt for all meals. Most argued that if they worked long hours and were paid 'fuck all', then the 'least they could do' was to feed them. Food, for some, was viewed as a form of payment, until it became monotonous. There was little recognition that the opportunities The Clink could provide, for instance new skills and potential employment, could be considered 'payment'.

5.3.2. The Clink's location

Over and above everything just listed, even above the appeal that is particular to The Clink, is the matter of The Clink's geography. The Clink is outside of the prison, physically and arguably psychologically. As The Clink is located next to the city centre, the boys were allowed to have their breaks in town. The opportunity to have breaks in town not only made The Clink in Cardiff unique to other stage one jobs, but also unique in comparison to all of the other Clink sites. As outlined in the introduction (section 1.2 'The Clink'), The Clink, Cardiff, is currently the only Clink restaurant located outside the prison walls. The boys viewed this as an opportunity to go 'outside, outside', free from the gaze of prison or Clink staff. In concrete and geographical terms, it can be argued

that attending The Clink enabled the walls, to an extent, to come down. On top of this, it could be said that breaks allowed the walls to come down twice over. Breaks offered the opportunity to be outside the prison's four walls, as well as The Clink's own four walls.

The map in Figure 12 below shows the proximity of The Clink to the centre of Cardiff. HMP Cardiff is circled, this will also be useful for section 6.3 'The Clink's location'.



Figure 12. The Clink's location in Cardiff.

(Google maps, 2019)

This motivation was extremely popular amongst the younger, shorter-sentenced boys; the PGs. As Ryan argued during an interview, 'I don't care what I do, I would do anything for breaks in town.' Breaks permitted some temporal autonomy 'off stage' (Goffman, 1959), and provided the opportunity to connect with the outside world. However, for others (particularly OGs), this was a daunting process and warranted a new set of

impression management skills, making breaks difficult. Break time, and whether it helped eliminate the walls, is explored in-depth in section 6.3 'The Clink's location'.

Typically, prison jobs require workers to remain in the workshop with other prisoners. Yet, breaks in The Clink allowed the boys to gain some temporal autonomy, within a set time, and the opportunity to connect with the outside world. Although food at The Clink was a motivating factor (outlined above), this was superseded by the option of 'outside food'. For instance, the boys regularly discussed the foods they had purchased whilst on their breaks; in particular, eating at fast-food chains such as McDonald's, KFC and Burger King (depending on preference). Due to the restrictions placed on breaks, exploring food and the shops was one of the reasons the boys wanted breaks. This food was one aspect that marked the symbolic boundary between the 'inside' and 'outside'. With prison food considered a pain of imprisonment (Sykes, 1958; Ugelvik, 2011), and viewed as a further attack on their identity, this was hugely significant for the boys. Break time permitted them to indulge in foods they could not get access to in prison. This was especially important for those boys who had not had a home leave. With the removal of liberty being one of the main features of prison life, breaks were significant in providing the boys with competence and agency, yet within limits. However, as the findings progress, The Clink's geography is explored further, showing that the location of The Clink did in fact contribute to the barriers.

5.4. Allocation of roles

Whatever their reasons for signing-up to the programme, on arrival, the boys were faced with another choice. The principle decision is which side of the pass do the boys want to be?

Unlike a mainstream employment process, the boys tended to be asked on their first day which area they would prefer to work in. They arrived after their three-month lie down period, and therefore did not join as a cohort. Arrival was also dictated by The Clink's availability. From discussions with others on camp, the boys were aware of the different roles that each section required. Most asked to work in the kitchen; however, this request could not always be accommodated. Ryan's first day demonstrates this:

The boys have just arrived at The Clink and I spot a new face. I am called over to meet him. Rob and Tom introduce me to Ryan. He seems a little nervous but asks my name. After a brief conversation, he turns back to get his breakfast with the boys. In the conference room at breakfast, the kitchen boys are keen for him to join them out the back, whilst the FOH try and persuade him to work out the front; although Tom, who works FOH, honestly tells him that he would have gone out the back if there had been room. Ryan, who seems more confident when amongst the boys, is set on going in the kitchen, claiming he 'can't be arsed with the public'.

Jason the manager appears and tells Ryan that they need him to work FOH as there is no room in the kitchen. Ryan claims there 'is no way he can work in the front' as he has panic attacks. To evidence his claims, he argues that on his 'townie' on the weekend, he had a panic attack in McDonald's. He went to the counter and couldn't order his food. Jason informs him that he has little choice due to availability, but Ryan refuses. Jason tells Ryan that he has two options: he either works FOH or he goes back to camp on the bus. Jason tells him that he can start on the bar with Marcus. Marcus turns to Ryan to reassure him that he won't have to speak to the public from the bar; they just walk past to get to the restaurant. Not wanting to be sent back to camp, Ryan reluctantly agrees.

Having spoken to other boys on camp, the kitchen was portrayed as an 'easy life'. For the boys, not having to interact with the public was considered 'less work'. The boys stated that it was 'out of the way', and more of a 'laff' in the kitchen as they could be 'more themselves'. I had heard about Ryan from the other boys, and having spoken to him that morning, I was sceptical about his reasons for not being able to work FOH. These suspicions were confirmed later in the year when Ryan admitted having pulled the 'anxiety card' in an attempt to work out the back, for the reasons outlined above.

Fine (2009: 39) describes cooking as 'demanding work' and it is 'experienced as hard labour'. Fine argues that the long hours, pressured environments, hot and dirty conditions, personal dissatisfaction and lack of respect from the public, all contribute to the downside of cooking. However, many of these downsides did not apply to the boys. The hours were limited in comparison to a 'typical' chef. There were often a number of

boys in the kitchen, helping distribute the workload and pressure. As The Clink was considered a 'training restaurant', the boys were supported when needed.

This is not to argue that all boys found kitchen life 'easy'. Rather, the boys seemed to consider manual work to be less work than the identity work. 'Identity work' is discussed in-depth in section 6.2 'When you go to the zoo, you want to see the animals', where it is argued that 'identity work' reinforces the barriers between the community and the boys. Several stated that they did not want to work on the restaurant floor because they 'could not be bothered to act fake'. These comments and others demonstrated an awareness that FOH work required a particular presentation of self and performance (Goffman, 1959).

Although it was evident from conversations that the kitchen was often chosen for an 'easy life', choosing kitchen work was also used as a stigma management strategy. In particular, the lifers, or OGs, used the kitchen to restrict their interaction with the non-stigmatised. Working in the kitchen allowed the boys to avoid contact with customers and prevented them from having to discuss their stigmatised or 'spoiled' identities. Unable to 'pass' or conceal their stigma, those who had committed more emotive crimes tended to use this decision to manage their stigma. By choosing to work in the kitchen, these boys reduced their visibility and consequently the risk of being asked difficult questions. However, due to sentence length, these boys tended to spend longer at The Clink, and, knowing the criteria for Parole Boards, some eventually moved to FOH. How these boys managed their identity FOH is explored in Chapter 6 'The Clink Experience'.

Wanting to work in the kitchen could also be linked to future aspirations. Although this was rare, a few boys during the year expressed an interest in pursuing a career in the industry, arguing that they had worked in the other prison kitchens with the expectation that they would eventually be able to work in The Clink kitchen. Having spoken with prison staff, Clink management were aware of these boys and these requests were generally accommodated. However, Ryan's experience shows that role placement ultimately came down to availability.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter outlined the reasons why the boys 'chose' to attend The Clink. On paper, most motivations focused on escaping some of the traditional pains of prison life and a desire to be away from 'camp'. These motivations included killing time, learning new skills, stage two placements and getting extra Category D benefits, such as home leaves and breaks in town. The chapter explained how there were differences between PGs and OGs; the PGs wanted to work in The Clink because they were locked up. PGs tended not to make decisions based on what to do with their lives on release. In contrast, OGs were aware of the parole process and therefore their decisions tended to focus more on the future. They recognised that The Clink would assist with their parole board, and were fearful of rejecting the opportunity.

Examining these motivations raises key questions regarding the voluntary nature of the programme and reveals some of the current frustrations of the modern penal system, in particular the 'softening' of penal power. These frustrations were acutely apparent for OGs, who felt pressured to attend the programme to demonstrate that they were a 'responsible prisoner' (Bosworth, 2007) worthy of release. As shown by James, who was aware that every decision he made could be scrutinised and feared that not attending the programme could be used against him in subsequent parole hearings. The external 'extras' offered as 'privileges' or 'carrots' also encouraged the boys to attend, but, importantly, ensured that the boys remained at The Clink. Not progressing through the programme could result in the removal of these 'carrots' and encouraged good behaviour and participation.

The chapter then turned to focus on the reasons why most boys, both OGs and PGs, wanted to work in the kitchen. The boys used the kitchen to reduce their visibility and restrict their interaction with the public. They argued that FOH was more demanding and required them to manage their prison label. Being unable to pass or conceal their stigmatised identities forced them to employ different identity management strategies. These interactions will be explored in-depth in the following chapter. Now that the reader has entered The Clink, the next chapter turns to daily life on The Clink programme.

Chapter 6. The Clink Experience

The previous chapter outlined why the boys came to The Clink, and describing their daily routine enters into a more candid account; the sort that is revealed through close observational study. The beginning of this chapter briefly looks back at the realities of working in a restaurant. This section momentarily touches on issues that any employee could encounter, including boredom, conflict, and stress. Importantly, it focuses on how the boys used humour as a deflective device. While the boys experienced similar issues to typical restaurant employees, the chapter then moves on to discuss their inability to escape prison life.

The remainder of the chapter explores in-depth the additional layer the boys experienced which maintained and reinforced their prisoner status. Firstly, it addresses how the public reminded the boys that they were still serving time, examining why the boys thought customers came to eat and what techniques they subsequently deployed in interactions. It also looks at how these conversations allowed the boys to redefine their prison label and present themselves as good people, but argues that the very presence of these conversations was a reminder of the label. Then, the chapter returns to the geography of The Clink. The boys believed that the location and the 'autonomy' allowed in breaks were tests, and by detailing the 'Clink or Nick?' game, the chapter argues that the presence of HMP Cardiff acted as a physical reminder and deterrent for the boys. Finally, the chapter addresses how, despite The Clink allowing the boys to be free from the spatial deprivations of prison life, the pains of imprisonment still persisted. It will provide examples of how these pains were exacerbated by simple restaurant tasks, focusing on restaurant bookings. However, The Clink did also alleviate some of these pains. The chapter addresses how Clink time, on occasion, superseded prison time.

6.1. Restaurant realities

First, I am going to return to the reality of the restaurant by briefly dealing with issues that any restaurant worker may face, focusing specifically on boredom. With one of the main motivations, as outlined in section 5.1.1 'Killing time', being to 'kill time' and reduce boredom, the boys actually experienced another source for boredom. Here, the thesis

briefly goes back into the world of 'normal' work settings, in which pranks and the use of humour are commonly experienced to relieve boredom.

This candid account revealed that boredom had several origins; for instance, unpredictability of bookings, long periods of time when nothing happened, a lack of rhythm or tempo, table cancellations, and completing repetitive tasks. Day shifts tended to feature more of these aspects than the evening sitting. In particular, Mondays were considered to be the 'slowest' days. Management stated that this was 'normal' for the hospitality industry, applying the social suggestion that most people are still too tired from the weekend to consider eating out on a Monday. Furthermore, boredom seemed to be acutely felt by the FOH during the morning tasks, as they experienced 'qualitative underload' (Skowronski, 2012).

What is interesting, is how the boys then dealt with this issue. Runcie (1980) argued that employees play games, take extra smoke breaks, and socialise to cope with boredom. For the boys, humour, in the absence of other resources, was used as a deflective device. This is typical for a work environment, with several studies showing that groups of co-workers use humour to alleviate boredom and pass the time (Taylor and Bain, 2003; Garson, 1976; Burawoy, 1979; Fine, 2009).

The Clink provided different tools and a new playground for the boys to perform humour. Like Fine's (2009: 123) kitchen participants, pranks and horseplay frequently involved 'symbolic manipulation of food, causing embarrassment or discomfort to co-workers':

Jake appears from the kitchen and pulls Lewis and Ryan to the side. Although he starts to whisper, I am close enough to hear the plan. Jake has managed to steal some sardines from the kitchen and is planning on placing them in someone's trousers. With Lewis and Ryan finding it hard to contain their laughter, Jake jokingly punches them both on the arm and tells them to shut it. He starts to look around the restaurant to see who has not put their trousers on yet. There are two choices: Alan or Craig. Craig has finished making his coffee and has his trousers in his hand, while Alan, who eventually found his trousers in the cupboard, is placing them on the ironing board. Unfortunately for Alan, he decides to go to the toilet before he starts

ironing them. Noticing that Alan is separated from his trousers, Jake makes his move. He rushes over, and in plain view of all the other boys, slides the sardines into Alan's trouser pocket. Everyone starts to laugh, and Jake quickly retreats back into the kitchen.

Alan returns from the bathroom, and all the boys are trying not to engage with him for fear of laughing and rousing suspicion. Unaware of the sardines, Alan starts to iron his trousers and shirt. When he finishes, he places both items on. Now everyone is dressed in their uniform the morning jobs begin. The prank has evidently spread around The Clink as boys from the kitchen, particularly Jake, keep popping into FOH and having a look around or asking for an excessive amount of coffee and squash. Although the boys are distracted from their morning tasks, they manage to keep quiet the real reason they are distracted.

Eventually, Alan places his hand into his trouser pocket and lets out a groan. Everyone who is lucky enough to witness Alan's face bursts out laughing. Hearing the uncontrollable laughter, most kitchen boys rush out to FOH. Alan is also laughing, although whether he actually finds the prank funny is unclear. He has to start the process again, find a new pair of trousers, and iron them. This time, he keeps his trousers in his sight the whole time. The prank is the focus of the rest of the day. Boys randomly burst out laughing and recall the moment Alan put his hand in his trousers. Alan repeatedly asks the boys who placed the sardines, but no-one is willing to share this information.

Fine (2009) argues that a key component of a successful prank is trust; trust that the boys were willing to leave drinks filled with sweeteners or spiked with bits of food from the kitchen, or not to mention sardines in trouser pockets. Significantly, in this unique environment, this trust amongst The Clink boys extended beyond the prank. Fine's (2009) participants were proud to take ownership of a successful prank, which in turn established interpersonal closeness. Yet, Jake did not take ownership of the prank in front of Alan, nor did any others reveal to Alan who had placed the sardines in his trouser pocket, as this could have been considered snitching.

This prank served its purpose: to relieve boredom. Time was spent planning, developing and executing this prank. Time was then spent discussing the prank; the most successful pranks had a lengthy 'referential afterlife' (Goffman, 1981). Due to the success of this prank, it was still being discussed a number of weeks after the event had occurred. This example of horseplay has been drawn from a myriad of possible examples. Other instances included the boys winding up new recruits by convincing them they needed to prepare speeches for the public, hiding uniform, and locking each other in the bathroom.

Boredom continued into service (see section 6.3.1 'Clink or Nick?') and tended to be linked to the pace of the day. Operating at full capacity caused stress, while less populated shifts caused boredom. Full capacity days were common, and humour was again utilised by boys to deal with difficulties created by the working environment. Incidents that occurred in the front region, whilst serving, were diffused using humour in the backstage out of the view of customers (Goffman, 1959). Additional mechanisms for coping with stress included smoking. FOH management staff often informed me that hospitality workers were renowned for smoking. Smoking was blamed on the stressful nature of the work, and 'fag breaks' or 'fag time' offered momentary relief from the environment. As one manager stated, 'It is well known that individuals who smoke, get more breaks. And in this industry, you need breaks.'

As found in other workplace studies, humour was fundamental for comradeship, group affiliation and friendliness amongst the boys (Collinson, 1998; Hay, 2000). All forms of humour helped connect the boys (Fine, 2009). Newcomers were quickly involved in the pranks outlined above, and being able to engage willingly was crucial to acceptance (Haas, 1972). Pranks tested the willingness of new recruits to engage in the joking culture and their capacity to 'take a joke'. Not panicking, sustaining a friendly manner (while perhaps not feeling it) and demonstrating enthusiasm to engage in the humour, showed that they could be a part of the joking culture.

Despite the 'friendships', the workplace naturally 'generated arguments and disputes from internal strains and external forces' (Fine, 2009). The Clink was not an exception; tensions often arose amongst the boys. Heated situations were often defused using humour, which prevented major emotional outbreaks, minimised conflict and,

subsequently, maintained social order in the workplace. I witnessed Tom, who was well known for his good humour, defuse various arguments:

Pete and Craig have been bickering all morning. According to the rest of the boys, the argument began on the bus on the way into The Clink. Craig had got into the front seat of the bus, despite knowing that Pete had shotgunned the seat the night before. To add insult to injury, Craig purposely ignored any of Pete's radio requests on the journey down. This feud continued into breakfast, with both throwing insults at each other from across the table.

Following breakfast, the boys rush over to the bar to make their morning coffees. Craig, having finished breakfast first, has already made his. Pete notices his unattended coffee and pours most of it down the sink, refilling the cup with cold water. Although this could have been considered funny, in another context or between two other people, Craig is fuming. He starts to march towards Pete, broadening out his shoulders. Tom is quick to notice the impending bust-up and slides in between the two. He starts to impersonate both of them, and jokingly tells Craig he has always enjoyed cold coffee, while Pete has shit music taste anyway. Refusing to move out of the way, Tom continues until both eventually start laughing.

Tom's light-hearted response to the argument reduced the hostility between Craig and Pete and re-established harmony. The boys were aware that the consequences of arguing during service were far higher. It was therefore essential to find different means of defusing tense situations, and, with limited resources, humour became a useful tool.

Although the boys experienced common kitchen realities, including boredom, stress and conflict, their experiences always seemed to revert back to prison life. Alongside these realities is an additional layer of complications, which are addressed in the remainder of this chapter. These complications are created and sustained by the barriers that prisoners face, both in and out of prison. The next section of this chapter looks at three key areas that relate to these obstacles: the public, the geography of The Clink, and the pains of imprisonment.

6.2. 'When you go to the zoo, you want to see the animals'

This next section examines the public's participation in allowing and maintaining barriers between prisoners and the community. It first examines who the boys think The Clink customers are, and why. Techniques subsequently deployed to manage these apprehensions are outlined, before examining how humour is used to maintain a good impression.

6.2.1. Who comes in and why?

The Clink encourages the public to come and dine at The Clink to see prisoners 'doing good' and to buy into The Clink ethos. The Clink's website states that 'the restaurant allows prisoners to learn, engage with the public, and take their first steps towards a new life' (The Clink, 2019). Taking steps towards a 'new life' suggests removal of the prison walls, allowing the prisoner to make amends. This section outlines why the public, in the boys' view, come in to eat. In particular, it discusses the view of the FOH boys, who frequently discussed customers' motivations for attending The Clink. This question was of less concern for those in the kitchen as they had little interaction with the public; however, when asked, they also shared similar views.

Ordinarily, customers will choose a restaurant according to the type of food, location, recommendations, and online reviews (Regaudie, 2017). Although the boys acknowledged that the standard of food was high, and that this encouraged the public to attend, there were still many preconceived, loaded interpretations and anxieties as to why people came to The Clink. The boys tended not to believe that the public were attending to support their rehabilitation or to 'buy into' The Clink's concept. Rather, it was suggested that The Clink was a spectacle, providing an insight into an unknown world. These views were reinforced during interviews when the boys were asked about their experiences with the public. They often felt that those attending The Clink liked the idea of being served by a prisoner, in both interview and general conversation, likening The Clink to a fishbowl or zoo. This belief continually reinforced their prisoner status, and has the potential to create a barrier to the 'new life' advertised by The Clink, in that it does not assist in breaking down the walls, but reinforcing the 'us' and 'them' divide.

With the zoo idea in mind, the boys were aware of certain questions they could be asked and subsequently prepared for these in the backstage for their frontstage performance (Goffman, 1959) (discussed shortly). The view that customers attended The Clink to be served by a prisoner was reinforced when customers asked their offence. On one occasion, several boys were discussing whether or not they minded the public asking them what they were in for:

David, Tom, Reece, Pete and Marcus are stood by the bar after completing their morning tasks. Reece is relatively new to The Clink and is asking the boys what the customers tend to ask. Pete tells him that some may ask how long he has left, or how long he has spent in jail. Some even ask about the offence. Reece looks shocked and is about to speak before David looks at his face and butts in, 'Oh come on mate, why do you think they come in? It's like going to the zoo and not being able to read the information section about the animal. Everyone wants to know what they are looking at.' Tom, Marcus and Pete laugh and agree with David. All, except Reece, state that they are not bothered about disclosing their offence. Tom laughs and tells Reece he tries to slip the offence in before they even ask, 'might as well give them what they want.' He re-tells one of his favourite Clink stories; when he handed a customer a bottle of coke, winked, and told them that was what he was in for. Reece still looks annoyed and tells the boys that he will be telling customers 'to mind their own fucking business' if they ask him about his offence. Pete laughs, and challenges Reece, 'I'd like to see how that goes down'.

David, Tom, Pete and Marcus, who were all in for drug-related offences, were all happy to share their offences. Tom's view was reinforced in his interview in which he described The Clink as a 'cheeky novelty'. Tom admitted that if he had not been a prisoner, then he would be interested in 'seeing the unknown and all that'. All agreed that being forthright about your offence allowed for greater control in the management of their visible, stigmatised identities. On the other hand, Reece, who was in for ABH, disagreed. Those who had committed more emotive crimes tended to not want to engage with these types of conversations with audience members. This also impacted their decision on what section to work on, and suggests that these boys anticipated higher levels of stigma and

used techniques to manage this. Conversations between customers and the boys, and their purpose, are explored in-depth, next.

6.2.2. Interacting with customers

With the view that customers came in to be served by a prisoner, this section discusses the boys' apprehension and how they used stigma management strategies to manage it. The boys put on performances, which could be viewed as assisting in breaking down the barriers between themselves and the public. This is not to say that waiters and waitresses in typical restaurants do not put on performances. The well-cited restaurant ethnography: 'The World of Waiters' argues:

Waiters must always aim to meet the expectations of their customers. They do this by offering an idealised view of their situation, which involves concealing or underplaying activities, facts and motivations which are incompatible with the impression they are attempting to put over. They are actors putting on a performance (Mars and Nicod, 1984: 35-36).

Typical hospitality employees' interactions with customers can impact the amount of gratuity; therefore, a server's fundamental desire is to please the customer (Prus, 1987). Azar (2004) stated that tipping involves impressing the customer and presenting one's self-image as kind, generous, understanding, and worthy of a tip. FOH staff are therefore encouraged to manage their presentation of the self. It is possible to draw similarities with the boys, they were actors putting on a familiar routine, but they also had to engage in another performance. They had to go above and beyond the 'typical' performance of a waiter. As the boys were unable to accept tips, they mostly used interactions to construct positive personal identities aligned with The Clink's goals, and to manage their stigmatised identities.

A history of imprisonment can be a concealed stigma (unless disclosure is needed, e.g., for employment), this allows for more control over when and to whom they reveal their status. In this situation, individuals can 'pass' in day-to-day activities (Goffman, 1963). Passing involves stigmatised individuals interacting with someone who is unaware of the stigma of the person. However, The Clink meant that their 'prisoner' label was conspicuous and was considered a feature of the setting. The boys viewed their label as the 'attraction', meaning that a number of techniques were unavailable to the boys.

There is a considerable amount of literature on prisoners' identities which is concerned with their stigmatisation, though most discusses stigma attached to ex-offenders as opposed to serving prisoners (Lebel, 2012; Rowe, 2011). However, Toyoki and Brown's (2014) study provided some applicable strategies which serving prisoners use to manage their visible, stigmatised identity. Knowing that their stigmatised identity would often appear in conversation, the boys utilised a number of the 'appropriation' strategies identified by Toyoki and Brown (2014) to manage their identity. Whilst describing these 'appropriation' strategies, the thesis organises them into three moveable analytical categories: deflection, compensation, and concealment. These categories are not mutually exclusive, and techniques did fall into more than one category.

In order to 'create the right impression' (Mars and Nicod, 1984: 39), the boys discussed with customers their rehabilitation, connected themselves to socially valued roles, used the neutralisation technique of insisting that they had become 'different' people, emphasised culturally converted social identities, and discussed the 'future self' (Ospal, 2011; Toyoki and Brown, 2014). Deflection strategies were used by discussing other socially valued roles; this allowed the boys to divert the attention away from their offender label. One of the main socially valued roles that the boys connected themselves to, was fatherhood. They often shared recent stories of spending time with their children on home leaves, or discussed their children with customers. For instance, Dan enjoyed telling customers that he had been able to collect his son from his first day of school. Ascribing himself the socially valued role of a father, helped Dan to convince the audience member that he was, or could be, a socially adept member of the community (Gibbons, 2004). Fatherhood was used as a social category that allowed the boys to access a socially valued role, and helped them move away from the absent or 'bad dad' mark that is typically associated with prisoners (Meek, 2007).

In addition, some used their father status and need to be a 'breadwinner' to justify their crime. Dermott (2008) concluded that, for some, breadwinning is still an important component of men's fathering identity and one of their main commitments to family life. David defended and legitimised his offence (conspiracy to supply Class A drugs) to customers, stating that it was to provide for his children. David accounted for his engagement with criminal activity by providing biographical information that, in his eyes, justified his actions. Ultimately, David was trying to persuade audience members that his

offence was morally justifiable by connecting himself to a socially valued role. Deflection strategies were used mainly by PGs, who were able to discuss their time spent with children, or connect their offence to money. OGs had often lost these ties with family members due to time served, or were not allowed contact given their offence.

Both OG and PGs utilised compensation strategies, which involved the boys discussing how they could now be functioning, contributing members of society. Discussing these plans allowed the boys to use a 'that was then, this is now' discourse to demonstrate that they were 'rehabilitated' and had become different people (Toyoki and Brown, 2014). The boys attributed these changes to The Clink (and future employment), and maturation and family (partners and children), all of which are considered essential variables for desistance (Maruna, 2001; Laub et al., 1998). For example, Scott, who owned his own business, defined himself as a productive worker prior to imprisonment. Scott stated that he hoped to continue this role once he was released. Customers often asked the boys what their future plans entailed; this invited the boys to discuss their 'future self'. Interestingly, these future selves were similar to those of employees in conventional organisations, in that they consisted of individually significant hopes and aspirations which functioned, in part, as incentives for future behaviour in relation to work (Coupland, 2004). These conversations provided a platform for the boys to show what they could and had become, not what they had done, and support the argument that The Clink could be considered the 'certification' stage of desistance.

However, Crewe (2009) has argued that prisoners often discuss 'grandiose plans for the future' (140) that can be idealistic and implausible. The boys tended to be ambiguous about the money they could earn weekly, and the types of work they would do, and unrealistic about the impact of their criminal records. For instance, Luke had been convicted of fraud but hoped to continue his career in the financial sector. Yet, regardless of whether these plans were likely to be achieved or whether the boys believed them, these discussions were important in helping the boys to manage their stigmatised identity and present their 'new and improved' selves to customers. All these conversations and strategies helped the boys present a performance as a rehabilitated prisoner.

The final category used was concealment, the boys managed their identity by withholding information. This category was used by OGs. As opposed to, 'How long have you worked here?' or 'When do you start?', common questions from customers tended to include 'How long have you been in prison?' or 'How long do you have left of your sentence?' The boys were aware of this line of questioning and were prepared in the strategic choices they would make when responding. These decisions were discussed backstage amongst the boys and me, then subsequently performed frontstage (Goffman, 1959):

Harry and I are talking before service begins. Since attending The Clink, Harry has worked on the bar, but today is his first day on the floor serving. I am aware from previous exchanges that he has deliberately stayed behind the bar to avoid any in-depth conversations with customers. He is happy enough to 'just wave and say hi'. However, he has been persuaded after 10 months to have a go at watering. Having had little contact with the public for over 14 years, he is understandably extremely nervous and is constantly rubbing his hands.

In order to calm his nerves, we decide to perform a role play. I am sat at a table pretending to be a customer, and Harry goes through the introductory dialogue: the cocktail and soup of the day. Harry stops halfway through and sits at the table. He asks me what I think he should say if he is asked about his sentence or offence. I advise him that it is whatever he feels comfortable with. He clearly is not comfortable sharing his offence or sentence, as he asks me 'Who would want to be served by a murderer?' Harry decides that if someone asks, he will tell them that he was given a five-year sentence and is due for release the following year. He considers four years, but then realises that he would be eligible for a tag (adding complications). Knowing the system, Harry lists the crimes that could have been given five years. He states that the obvious choice is a drug offence; however, he feels that a drug offence might warrant further questions. Wanting to reduce the risk of 'tripping up', he chooses what he calls, an 'unsexy' crime: fraud. He tells me 'No-one ever asks questions about fraud, it's boring'. We laugh.

Acknowledging that his appearance does not match corporate fraud, he tells me that his fraud will be related to pay day loans, and laughs.

As Mars and Nicod (1984: 35-36) argued; for a waiter, creating the impression they want to portray involves 'concealing or underplaying activities, facts and motivations which are incompatible'. For instance, waiters often conceal what the kitchen staff really do, the limited cutlery or a dirty plate. Although some of these actions undoubtedly occurred in The Clink, the boys used these techniques in conversations. Some boys, like Harry, managed the information they disclosed. Harry would disclose to audience members that he had been given a five-year sentence and was due to be released the following year. Harry knew he could then claim that he had been sentenced for fraud, which he considered a 'boring' crime that did not prompt further questioning, preserving his sense of self. Revealing that he had actually spent just over 14 years in prison would have exposed the type of crime that Harry had committed.

Although most of the boys were outwardly unfazed when disclosing their sentence length, or time left (e.g. PGs such as David, Tom, Pete and Marcus), some individuals who were serving longer sentences, in particular the OGs (lifers and prisoners serving Imprisonment for Public Protection (IPP) sentences), were different. Like Harry, these boys were aware that divulging a longer sentence would implicitly inform the customer that they had probably committed murder. Harry drew on his own perceptions of the public's attitude to these offences, and fear of judgement, leading him to not want to share this information. Harry and others anticipated higher levels of stigma, and therefore lied about their sentence length, time spent in prison and, if asked, their offence. Shorter sentences suggested more 'socially accepted' and less emotive crimes, such as drugs or fraud (used by Harry). Associating themselves with these crimes helped to cast them as not generically bad or immoral people. Thus, their response was deployed to protect themselves from the consequences of discovery of their offence type by others.

Harry and others considered not disclosing any information regarding sentence length to customers; however, they were aware of the potential implications of not disclosing sentence length, if asked. This could potentially lead customers to the assumption that

they had committed murder, or even worse, a sexual offence¹⁰. Non-disclosure would be counterproductive for those who had committed the offence of murder and were trying to distance themselves from the crime. Nobody wanted the public to consider that they had committed a sexual offence. Yet, 'concealing' information to create a performance was not just for the audience. A number of boys serving life sentences clearly felt shame and remorse for their actions. Toch (2010) argued that many long-term offenders come to feel themselves to be considerably different from the person they were at the point they committed the original offence. He argued that many undergo 'crucial regenerative change pretty much on their own' (Toch, 2010: 8). This was true for some of the lifers. Having spent many years incarcerated, they had come to feel that they were a different person. Jack, who had spent 18 years in prison, told me that having to discuss his original offence with a stranger put him back 'at square one'. This was not to say that Jack was trying to deny or minimise his crime; he was remorseful. Crewe (2007a) has reported that long-term prisoners, in their first few years, often attempt to 'bury' or deny their offence. Although Jack did not reveal his crime to customers, he had clearly spent many years attempting to redeem himself.

These conversations demonstrated that the boys were 'highly conscious of their social predicament' and were 'strategic in the choices they [made] about how to address it' (Crewe, 2007b: 134). It is important to note that the conversations outlined above do not aim to present all of the boys' performances as cynical or 'fake'; this is something that is discussed in detail in section 7.3 'The Public'. While these conversations allowed the boys to redefine their prison label and present themselves as good people, the very presence of these conversations was a reminder of their prisoner status. The only other location in which this label was exposed was in HMP Prescoed, reaffirming the metaphorical prison walls around The Clink site. By putting on a 'performance', the boys managed to negotiate being inside while being physically outside. These conversations were considered to be 'hard work', and often impacted the boys' decisions on where to work (as previously outlined in Chapter 5 'Rationale: Why The Clink?').

¹⁰ Individuals who had committed a sexual offence were not permitted to work in The Clink, due to the conditions (allowing under 18s in the premises). However, this was not general knowledge to the public and was a question that was often asked.

6.2.3. Customers and humour

As well as discussing their future selves, socially valued roles, and withholding information, humour was a key tool for maintaining a good impression. Waiters and waitresses are the main contact between the customers and the restaurant, and consequently, it is their performance which will have a major impact on the level of customer enjoyment (Pratten, 2003). For instance, Spradley and Mann (1975), while observing waitresses and bartenders, argued that the public nature of joking was important to creating a friendly atmosphere for customers. A customer 'does not want to be served by a scowling bitchy waitress' (Spradley and Mann, 1975: 98).

Humour to create a pleasant atmosphere is encouraged in The Clink; however, there is another significant function of humour when interacting with customers in this environment. Accepting their prisoner status, the boys used humour to manage their stigmatised identities. As previously outlined, they were unable to engage with a number of stigma management strategies. Instead, humour in the frontstage became an important tool. Goffman (1959) argued that the stigmatised follow a number of rules for handling 'ordinaries' (in these circumstances, customers). One rule is that humour and self-mockery are used to try to reduce tension, break the ice, and neutralise stigma. Humour and self-mockery were frequently observed during service. For instance, Tom would often pour Coca-Cola into customers' glasses, point at the bottle and state, 'That's what I'm in for.' Tom used this 'disclosure' to defuse any tension and subsequently reduce prejudice. He was forthright, and immediately acknowledged that there was an obvious difference between the customer and himself. By 'confessing' his crime, he decreased the odds of the customers asking why he was in prison. On another occasion, a customer on the phone was unsure whether or not to provide Lewis with her credit card details. He laughed and told her that she was not to worry, he was not in for fraud, but drugs. Both provide examples of the boys mocking themselves and their offences to make light of the situation.

In addition to making jokes about their offences, the boys would comically perform to stereotypes:

It is David's second day at The Clink, and he has been paired with Mike to learn doorman duties. David is well known on camp for what has been

described by others as being 'a clown'. Mike is reluctant to pair up with David, but agrees. He begins by showing David that by knowing the reservation list, it makes it easier to organise the coat cupboard. Mike tells David that there will be a load of coats today because of the cold weather. Despite Mike's best efforts, David has become distracted with the other boys in the bar area. Having been given a new pair of black shoes that day, he is attempting to moon walk.

It is 12pm, and with the first table due any minute, Mike drags David away from the bar. Mike spots the first set of customers and pushes open the door, ready to greet them. Checking if they have a reservation, Mike crosses their names off the list and asks whether they would like their coats hung up. Both customers agree and begin to take their coats off. As they hand their coats to Mike, David loudly warns them, 'I wouldn't give your coats to him if I was you. He will rummage through them.' The customers nervously laugh, while Mike assures them that their belongings are safe and that it is a joke. Despite Mike being evidently annoyed, and telling David to 'shut the fuck up', David continues the 'joke'. With the next customers, David takes a coat himself and tells the owner that he hopes there's an 'expensive iPhone' left in the pocket. He laughs, and shortly after reassures them he is joking. The final victims of David's jokes are three younger girls. As they hand over their coats, David gasps, and loudly declares, 'At your own risk ladies.' Although this got the best reaction, David gauges that continuing the joke is no longer beneficial, but tells Mike, 'They all think we are thieves anyway, so I don't really get your problem.' Mike is quick to respond forcefully, telling David, 'Well I am no fucking thief, I am not scum.'

David's behaviour here in the public arena could be described as minstrelisation (Goffman, 1963); the performance of ingratiating acts in the presence of 'ordinaries' such as displaying a 'full dance of bad qualities imputed to his kind, thereby consolidating a life situation into a clownish role' (110). He is exaggerating his own and Mike's shortcomings and their stereotypes; the view that criminals are untrustworthy, and playing into the customers' expectations about how he should act, based on how they expect his stigma to influence his everyday performance. Engaging in this process to buffer anticipated reactions by the customers, allowed David a greater measure of

control in the management of the information he was conveying about Mike and himself. Although David found his joke highly amusing, Mike became increasingly annoyed and stressed to me that he did not want customers thinking he was a thief and that he may steal from them. He explained that although he may have been deviant, and accepted that he was a prisoner, under no circumstance would he steal something from someone. Here, Mike was using an appropriation strategy to distance himself from, what he considered to be, an immoral offender. In an attempt to represent himself as a 'good person', he is projecting stigma onto individuals whose crimes involved theft.

Perceived 'inappropriate' jokes which slipped into conversations with customers were dealt with backstage, as demonstrated by a conversation between Gary, Lewis, and two customers. Gary was explaining to customers that he used to be a roofer, but the customers were more interested in why Lewis was laughing while Gary explained his previous occupation. Lewis explained that Gary was the best 'roofer'; he would put tiles on your roof and return the next week and steal them. Gary laughed off Lewis' comment, and reiterated to the customers that Lewis was 'only joking'. Gary's presentation gave the appearance to the customers that he was willing to engage with the humour. However, when Lewis and Gary entered a backstage region shortly after the exchange, with no audience members present, Gary presented a different attitude. Like Mike, Gary was bothered and annoyed by the comments that presented him as an immoral offender, and told Lewis to 'keep his mouth shut' in future. In this exchange, Lewis had not acted as a team member, breaking both dramaturgic loyalty and discipline (Goffman, 1959) by revealing that Gary had previously stolen from his customers, subsequently damaging, in Gary's view, the customers' impression of him. However, Gary's ability to engage with the joke, using humour to 'save' the show, presented him as a 'disciplined performer' (Goffman, 1959). On the frontstage, Gary had managed to suppress his emotional response to Lewis' comments. These instances showed that it was important to the boys to be viewed as aligned with The Clink image, even if they themselves did not believe it. Neither Gary nor Mike wanted to be viewed as an 'immoral' offender.

6.3. The Clink's location

On paper, the geography of The Clink attracted the boys to the programme. As Figure 12 shows, The Clink is right next to the city centre, enabling the boys to head into town

on their breaks. However, it is also on the doorstep of HMP Cardiff, and The Clink was formerly used by the prison as the visitor centre. The following section outlines how the location of The Clink is, in fact, a physical reminder that the boys were still serving prisoners, and considers whether or not the presence of HMP Cardiff acts as a deterrent.

6.3.1. Clink or Nick?

The vignette which is presented during the opening of the findings touches on the 'Clink or Nick?' game. I purposely avoided comment on this game until now. This game highlights how the location of The Clink is a stark reminder of prison life, focusing particularly on prison visitors. The following extract is an example of Craig and I playing the game during a shift:

It is approaching 12 o' clock and service is about to begin. Craig glances over at the clock, which is placed just above the archway into the main restaurant. Realising the time, he tucks his shirt in, picks up the reservations board, and heads towards the door, gesturing for me to follow him. A couple of steps and we are both stood staring out of the glass front door of The Clink, waiting for the first customers to arrive. Having already examined the board, Craig is aware that he has two tables due in at 12.

Mid-conversation, we both notice an elderly couple, smartly dressed, heading in our direction from the NCP car park. Craig turns to me and asks whether I want to play a game. He tells me that he is able to predict who is coming to eat in The Clink and who is heading into Cardiff prison for a visit. Before I have an opportunity to agree, he points at the couple and bets his life that they will be coming into the restaurant. He is right. Craig politely asks the couple whether they have a reservation, checks the list, opens the door and invites them in. Due to the weather, he does not have to ask whether they would like their coats hung. He starts to laugh, and I agree to play the game. Next, are three middle-aged men in suits. We both decide that they will be coming to The Clink. We are right. Although the game seems comparatively simple, Craig starts to give me tips on how not to get caught out. For instance, if a man is in a suit, but on his own, he will be heading into Cardiff prison for a legal visit, not to The Clink.

A woman who is pushing a pushchair and holding the hand of a small child heads in our direction. Craig quickly tells me that she is definitely going into the prison for a visit. He laughs at her leopard print leggings, and checks his watch and tells me there is no way he is wrong as it is visiting time. The woman strolls past us towards the entrance of prison. Craig points towards two younger women, around the age of 20, dressed in similar outfits: jeans, strappy tops and Ugg boots. He bets that these girls will also be heading into Cardiff prison, to visit their boyfriends. I nod in agreement. Surprisingly, they head straight towards Craig and me. Instead of checking if they had a reservation, Craig is quick to ask them if they need change (no notes are to be taken into the prison when visiting). He explains that they will have to buy something to get change; the cheapest item is a 90p pencil. Laughing, he tells them that they will be able to use the pencil to write letters to their boyfriends in prison, and asks their boyfriends' names. The women take his comments with good humour, and light-heartedly tell him to 'shut up' and discuss whether Craig knows their partners. They both purchase a pencil and head into Cardiff prison. Craig turns to me and sniggers at me for doubting him.

We resume our position back outside the door, and Craig, still playing the game, tells me that really The Clink should offer a 'real' prison experience. The public come in to see prisoners, so why not give them what they want? I ask Craig what this would involve. He tells me that, instead of his uniform, which consists of a black shirt, trousers, grip shoes, and sought-after red tie, everyone would be wearing trackies. Swearing would feature heavily, and for starter, main and dessert, they would serve cocaine. In between laughs, a woman catches Craig's eye. The conversation swiftly turns to the woman's outfit. She is dressed in a short skirt and a crop top. He makes sure I have seen her and calls all of the women he has seen today "rough 'uns". I ask Craig whether his girlfriend visited him in closed conditions. He is quick to respond, and tells me that she did visit, but under no circumstances would she have ever worn anything like that. He insists that if we had seen his missus, I would have guessed Clink, and not the prison. He tells me that really, he comes from a good family. He has just 'fucked up' a few times, but this was, for certain, his final time.

Throughout the year, I played this game a number of times, with a number of different boys. We were almost always correct. Although when it was first played it was just labelled 'the game', a few months after I first played, Mike, one of the doormen, named it 'Clink or Nick?' Certain types of clothes, mannerisms, walks and the company all influenced the boys' decision. The game, which was created to alleviate boredom, not only revealed characteristics about who came into The Clink, but it also evoked an image of the type of individuals visiting the 'Nick'.

Here, the location of The Clink was key. As it is situated right outside HMP Cardiff, the boys frequently came into contact with prison visitors. Some shared the relief that they no longer had to 'drag' their families into visit halls, as they could go on home leaves, suggesting that the boundaries had been removed. They were able to spend quality time with loved ones away from the prison environment. Watching the visitors head into HMP Cardiff prompted them to think about the disparities in 'prison life' between open and closed. For some, the physical presence of HMP Cardiff was a powerful reminder of what they had to lose, and how far they had come. These feelings, combined, seemed to function as a deterrent.

However, for others, it reminded them that due to their own incarceration, they had caused their own family and friends to be branded as prison visitors. As the game drew on their own stereotypical views about the family and friends of prisoners, the boys were quick to differentiate their own families. During the game, they engaged in identity work, and attempted to distance themselves from what they described as "rough 'uns", to manage and protect their own identity. For instance, spotting a woman dressed in little clothing, heading into a visit, Craig quickly informed me that he would never have let his 'missus' attend a visit dressed the same way, and insisted that if we saw his missus we would have thought 'Clink'. Other boys asserted that although they had committed an offence, they came from a 'good family', and that their family 'did not look like that'. Some even refused to allow family members to visit them, as they (the boys) were ashamed, and did not want their families to be branded. Both Craig and the other boys were deploying stigma management strategies, by attempting to distance themselves from other stigmatised identities (family and friends of serving prisoners), insisting that they were 'different' (Toyoki and Brown, 2014). They described their own families as atypical, and did not want their families compared to those who were labelled 'Nick'.

6.3.2. 'It's all a test'

Despite physically moving out of the confines of the prison walls, the prison still interrupted and controlled elements of Clink life, which is punctuated by essential requirements from the Prison Service. Typically, organisations control the relationship between time and task, but this was different for The Clink. Prisoners themselves have previously used time as an organising metaphor, referring to a prison sentence as 'doing time' (Matthews, 1999) or 'serving time'. The frequent cues that the prison essentially controlled Clink time and its tasks, reminded the boys that they were still serving time. The Clink had to adapt and allow time for prison requirements. For instance, on arrival at The Clink, the boys were registered, and this was then reported back to the prison. Prison officers could attend The Clink for random searches (this was rare) and bring other prisoners down on their first day release, during service.

Alongside routine interruptions, incidents throughout the year reminded them that they were still serving time:

I arrive at The Clink around 8.30am. Although the boys are yet to arrive, the restaurant seems quieter than usual. Jason is preoccupied with something on the computer, so I ask him if he would like a cup of tea. He appears grateful and accepts the offer. He tells me he stressed, as he is having to write a report for the prison. Jason explains that the report is regarding an incident from the previous day. Derek, 'one of their best waiters', was caught outside the front of The Clink using a mobile phone during service. The security staff at HMP Cardiff caught Derek on their cameras and called HMP Prescoed. Officers at HMP Prescoed then came to The Clink, cuffed Derek in front of everyone, and took him straight to closed conditions (HMP Cardiff). Jason looks visibly disappointed and questions, if it was something urgent, why Derek had not asked to use The Clink phone?

Just as I am finishing Jason's cup of tea, the boys arrive around 9.00am and, as usual, make a beeline for the pass. While eating breakfast together, the boys are keen to regale the story regarding Derek. In comparison to the version of the event already described to me, this account includes the 'juicier' (arguably more exaggerated) details. Tony tells me that he thinks he

was on the phone to his 'missus', but the main focus is when the screws from HMP Prescoed arrived to cuff Derek. There is some confusion over how many screws arrived, but all agree that Derek looked like he was 'shitting it'. Richard adds that he could have sworn he had seen a few tears in his eyes. Amongst the jokes, I hear Mike say, 'They are testing us, and he fucked up.' Those who heard Mike's comment agreed, with Tony likening the process to a 'game', insisting that they must all 'stay one step ahead'.

Jason heads into the conference room, and firmly tells the boys that straight after they have finished eating, he wants everybody in the main restaurant, sat down. As soon as Jason leaves the conference room, speculation starts about what he is going to say. Everyone knows that it is about what happened yesterday, but there is a mixture of thoughts on the repercussions. The main fear is that some boys think they are going to start being searched more, and this assumption makes the vast majority in the room look uncomfortable. I am sat next to Simon, who does not seem fazed, perhaps due to the fact he is to be released in a couple of weeks. Simon explains to me that this is one of the issues of open conditions: it leads people to believe that they are citizens again. He blames complacency on breaks, townies, time at The Clink and home leaves, but maintains that, in reality, they are all still serving their time. Simon compares the event to prison, arguing that Derek would never have blatantly used a phone on a prison landing in front of the screws, so what did he expect when he used it in front of a camera (used by HMP Cardiff) outside The Clink?¹¹ Simon calls Derek a 'fucking idiot' and heads into the restaurant for the 'meeting'.

With everyone sat down, Jason begins his speech. It focuses mainly on reminding everyone that they are still prisoners and that they cannot do as they please. He outlines that there are rules that still need to be adhered to, and just because they are in The Clink does not mean they are not being watched. He reminds the boys that during breaks there may be officers in town, who will be looking to catch someone out. Although firm, Jason is sympathetic; he acknowledges that being in The Clink brings temptation,

¹¹ Under Prison Rule 9, Derek has broken his licence conditions, and was recalled back to closed conditions.

but he pulls the emotive card, by reminding participants to think of their families. Using Derek as a case to exemplify his argument, he asks the boys how they think Derek's partner and children feel, now that Derek won't have the opportunity to have his home leaves? Ending his speech, he points in the direction of Cardiff prison, asking the boys whether they would want to end up back in there.

The performance of handcuffing Derek and 'taking him away' during service acted as a warning to everyone else. Jason's speech allowed him to reinforce the ground rules, at the same time as highlighting the consequences. As outlined above, he began the speech by directly reminding the boys of their prisoner status, and the rules attached to this status (e.g. not using a mobile phone). He then moved towards a more personal, emotive approach by discussing family, in an attempt to convince them that breaking the rules is not worth it. Both the event, and Jason's speech, were blunt reminders to the boys not to forget they were still serving their time. Forgetting or ignoring their status placed the boys at risk of punishment. Like the rules created and enforced by HMP Prescoed, the physical presence of HMP Cardiff reminded the boys of the penalty: closed conditions. Both were enough to ensure that the boys stuck to the rules. However, Derek, by breaking the rules, had forfeited his opportunity to remain both in The Clink and open conditions. Derek was removed from The Clink and led straight into HMP Cardiff.

Particularly for the OGS, transitioning from physical walls to the metaphorical walls of open conditions was difficult. Open conditions have different time structures, routines and governance processes, and provide some elements of choice. The temptation to break ROTL regulations was overwhelming for some boys, particularly those who had served longer sentences. They resented the transfer of responsibility and did not see it as a privilege. As Mike stated in the conference room, open conditions are set 'to test you' and the game must be played. He described being 'given a little' with 'a lot more to lose'. When asked what he meant, using Derek as an example, Mike stated that if Derek had 'fucked up' in closed, he would have been put on basic and locked behind his door¹⁵, whilst in open, he was sent back to closed. For Mike, being a prisoner in open conditions had become more demanding (Crewe, 2011). Instead of succumbing to external demands, the boys were obliged to govern themselves and make decisions on

whether to risk the consequences of breaking the rules. The opening up of possibilities, and the promotion of 'responsibilisation', demonstrated the difficulty of managing their own prison experience. Derek's risk clearly did not pay off. Being sent back to closed meant Derek may have also received additional days on his sentence for having a mobile phone in closed conditions. Being sent back to closed meant that he had lost his home leaves with his family. This, for most of the boys, was a far greater loss than being placed on basic.

On the other hand, some boys (mainly PGs), argued in front of each other that open prison was 'easy time' and they did not consider open conditions 'real prison time'. These boys tended not to have spent any more than three years in prison, did not have to face the Parole Board, and were coming to the end of their sentences. These boys, like Derek, were more likely to risk breaking the rules. Outwardly, the presence of HMP Cardiff did not seem to faze them, and confirmed that they were happy to do the final few months of their sentence back in closed, if necessary.

6.3.3. Breaks

As outlined in section 5.3 'The unique extras', one of the main motivating factors for joining The Clink programme was break time, as the location allowed the boys to venture into the city centre. It was felt that break time would provide them with the greatest amount of autonomy during the day, and meant they could spend time 'outside, outside'. Yet, this autonomy meant that they were enlisted in the process of self-governance. Break time was ultimately a test for the boys to demonstrate 'responsibilisation'. Although some boys welcomed this choice, for some it provoked feelings of anxiety and powerlessness (Crewe, 2011). The boys had to govern themselves or risk the consequences of breaking the rules, meaning that the responsibility continued into break time.

Some boys struggled with what to do on their breaks. The limited choice of activity, movement and time, was just another reminder that they were still 'serving time'. For instance, certain activities were prohibited because they broke the boys' licencing conditions, such as consuming alcohol (although a non-prisoner hospitality worker would also not be permitted to consume alcohol at work), returning home, meeting with family or friends, travelling outside Cardiff, or accessing additional money. These individuals

found that having time but nothing to do, meant that breaks added to their time at work and they wished they were shorter. This was a view often held by OGs. The restraints, combined with access to limited money, were a stark reminder of their not being able to make free choices, and added to their constant search to find ways to kill time. The length of time allowed during breaks was also governed by the prison, with a drinking incident in the year leading to a cut break time. This caused outrage amongst the PGs, who felt that punishing everyone because of the actions of three individuals, was unjust and unfair. This incident reminded everyone that despite gaining some temporal autonomy, time was still a form of currency that could be used against them, with time externally controlled.

For some boys, this responsibility proved too much. Gary, a recovering drug addict, left The Clink and applied for a job back on camp. He found that the breaks, with little to do, resulted in too much temptation to take drugs. When I asked Gary how he had coped with this temptation on home leaves, he explained that he saw family members and friends outside of the city centre, and they were able to distract him. Spending time alone, bored and in the city centre, Gary felt that he would break his ROTL conditions and risk being sent back to closed conditions. 'Freedom', with no structure or support, led to temptation.

Some boys stated that break time was 'their time', a chance to be off stage (Goffman, 1959). Breaks offered the chance for them to drop the fronts performed during service. The boys welcomed a situation in which they did not feel like they had a 'big sign' above their heads labelling them a prisoner. Luke stated, in an interview, that he 'could walk around in town and no-one would know that I was a prisoner'. Breaks meant that their stigma was more easily concealed. On breaks, they did not have to disclose information and they gained a greater level of control. Concealment allowed them to interact with members of the public who were unaware of their stigma (Goffman, 1963).

On the other hand, some felt that although there was no 'big sign' above their head, they still felt 'marked out'. This view was evidently bound up with notions of stigma, and demonstrated that for some, stigma was internalised. Campbell and Deacon (2006) argued that even if individuals are not exposed to overt discrimination, they may still 'internalise' negative perceptions. Rob argued that people 'just knew' he was a prisoner

on his breaks, due to his walk, demeanour and his response to certain sounds. For instance, Rob stated that the sound of keys would immediately attract his attention. Although this response probably went unnoticed by most, Rob felt it was obvious to others. Rob's experience of incarceration was conspicuous; people could 'tell' that he had been, or was, a prisoner. Rob told me this suspicion was confirmed on a break, when a guy approached him and asked him if he wanted any 'burn' (tobacco). He got talking to this guy and asked him why he had tried to sell him 'burn'. The guy responded by telling him he 'thought he may want to take it back to jail'.

Furthermore, several boys (particularly those who had been incarcerated for a significant period of time, OGs) experienced anxiety attacks while on breaks. They had become accustomed to confined spaces, and breaks could be overwhelming. These boys were concerned that this was a 'tell-tale' sign that they had been imprisoned and were embarrassed by the experience:

I am sat talking with Scott, who is letting me know all the 'drama' from yesterday's break. Scott, who is the driver of The Clink van, had to end up using it during break to take James to the hospital. It had been James' first time unsupervised in public. He had been looking at CDs in a second-hand store and, clearly overwhelmed with the whole experience, James started to panic and collapsed to the floor. Fortunately, some of the boys, including Scott, were in the same shop. A few members of the public rushed to help James, but Scott managed to usher most of them away and helped James to his feet. Worried that James was still finding it difficult to breathe, Scott called the prison which directed him to take James to the hospital.

However, by the time Scott and James reached the hospital, James' breathing had returned to normal. Knowing the prison would check with the hospital, and not wanting to look like they had lied, Scott and James agreed he should still get checked. More importantly, it would mean they did not have to go back to camp. Scott tells me, jokingly, that he told James to speed up his breathing as they entered Accident & Emergency. After hours of waiting, James was given the all-clear and they returned to camp.

As Scott comes towards the end of the story, a few others have joined the conversation, including James. Everyone starts to laugh as Scott does an impression of James falling to the floor. James laughs, and re-enacts the event, claiming that maybe he had got too excited about a discounted Drake CD. James then tries to shift the blame onto me, for making him a strong coffee before he went on break.

James, in front of the boys, did not seem fussed about collapsing and was able to laugh about the experience. However, later in the shift, I spoke to him again. Although still laughing about the event, he told me it was embarrassing for him. He had convinced himself that the members of the public who had witnessed the anxiety attack would have been able to guess that he was a prisoner on ROTL. When asked how, he explained that it was obvious he had not been out in public for a long time, so it would either be that he had release from jail or 'some sort of mental place'. Considering the two options, James told me he would rather they thought 'jail'. Although realistically the public probably did not make this connection, it evidently bothered James. This experience showed how challenging stepping beyond the physical wall (both prison and The Clink building) was for the boys. Although an 'invisible wall' persisted while on their breaks, they were unable to physically hide behind it. The Clink building did invite the public in, yet there was still an element of 'safety' for the boys, particularly for those working in the kitchen. For instance, safety in numbers, support from management, and the pass (for the kitchen boys) which created its own barrier.¹²

6.4. Pains of imprisonment

Despite The Clink allowing the boys to be free from the spatial deprivations of prison life, the psychological pains of imprisonment were still endured. These pains were different to those that the boys would have experienced in closed conditions. This section begins by outlining some of the modern deprivations of imprisonment that the boys' experienced. In particular, it focuses on how the boys overcame these challenging situations to avoid emotional outbursts. The section then discusses how The Clink helped alleviate some of these pains, mainly in relation to time, detailing how Clink time allowed the boys to move

¹² The kitchen creating a barrier between the boys and customers, and this was a rationale to select kitchen work over FOH, as outlined in section 5.4.

away from the regimented routine of prison time to different temporal arrangements. However, despite a new temporal regime, simple restaurant tasks exacerbated these pains.

6.4.1. Additional deprivations

Home leaves allowed for the alleviation of some pains, including the deprivation of relationships, deprivation of goods and services, and the deprivation of liberty. Yet these pains were only momentarily relieved (approximately five days) before return back to prison. Although attending The Clink allowed the boys to remove themselves from the confines of the prison area itself, these deprivations remained. In fact, some of these pains, in some way, were accentuated by the boys stepping temporarily away from the confines of prison. They had to cope with prison life on top of work life. This is not to say that typical employees do not experience stress from home life, but it is widely acknowledged that stress has been found to be very high among the prison population (Mansoor, et al., 2015).

The boys experienced some elements of the 'classic' pains of imprisonment outlined by Sykes (1958), but here I draw upon a wider range of pains that predominantly focus on freedom. Open conditions added other pains including parole knock-back; being given a lie down; perceived unfairness with the prison system; dealing with offences; and receiving bad news (typically associated with family). These issues were not just small occurrences; they had massive implications for the boys. For instance, a parole knock-back for an OG could result in another few years in prison. Understandably, the boys were unable to leave these difficulties in prison, and they subsequently affected behaviour in The Clink. The phrase 'You have to laugh, or you will cry' was used by many when dealing with difficult situations or news. As Ugelvik (2014: 475) noted, 'The comical and the very serious go hand-in-hand'. Using humour had positive uses in organisational interactions; some were able to use humour to mask their emotions and concentrate on working on their performance while frontstage.

As with boredom, humour was an emotional resource that was utilised by the boys to mask their emotions when having to deal with the pains of imprisonment. Humour performed a serious function, in masking their emotions when faced with a range of difficulties. James' experience stands as an example of how humour was used to cope

with a testing situation related to prison: receiving a lie down. Not answering the phone on day release,¹³ James received a 45-day lie down. Receiving a lie down for 45 days demonstrated that the prison still retained control over James' time, even when he was not in The Clink or prison. Time was still used as form of punishment and a currency. James was allowed to keep his position at The Clink, as the incident was unrelated to the workplace. Significantly, this meant that James was no longer able to spend Christmas day at home. This would have been his first Christmas at home in 10 years. This was an extremely distressing event for both James and his family. He informed me that his Mum was 'gutted', and had been crying on the prison phone. Here, the loss of liberty was felt acutely by James as he was aware he could have returned home for Christmas. Arguably, this pain was heightened because, in closed conditions, James would have had no expectations to return home and was aware of the boundaries. However, he had managed to lose this opportunity.

James used humour to trivialise a situation he perceived as unfair. Humour provided James with an outlet to cope, and he admitted that if he did not laugh about the situation, he would have ended up feeling miserable. He used humour to try and mask his true emotions to the group, as his true emotions would have resulted in unfavourable consequences. For instance, getting upset or seeking comfort from the other boys would have been seen as a loss of self-control and portrayed as a weakness. Getting angry or aggressive would have resulted in punishment from The Clink or prison. James' 'choice' to mask his emotions with humour showed his awareness of the walls that remained around him. He was not free to choose his response, and instead used humour to control himself. James admitted that it would have been completely different if he had not been a prisoner. He explained that if he was outside prison and a similar situation happened, he would have probably 'lost it'. Fine (2009: 133) detailed witnessing 'cooks banging pans and throwing knives, glasses, utensils' and that participants let 'their anger escape within the confines of their backstage community'. In this situation, James was powerless, and understood that if he 'lost it', it would only increase the severity of his punishment. James was not just surrounded by his peers; management could report his

¹³ Individuals on day release are required to answer a phone call from prison staff. During this phone call, prison staff will ask where they are, and will also ask to speak to the person they have recorded on their day release form; e.g. their partner or parents.

behaviour back to the prison. Being able to control his emotions showed that some of the release mechanisms available to Fine's participants, and other employees in regular workplaces, were not available to the boys. They had to ensure that they did not use mechanisms that fell outside of the boundaries. Instead, by having fun and 'a laff' with the other boys before service, James was able to make the most out of a challenging situation. The other boys provided support through laughter. The availability of 'moral support', or any traits that could be conventionally associated with femininity, e.g. hugging, could have been perceived as a weakness; thus, humour was used as an ongoing support mechanism between the boys.

On another occasion, on arrival to The Clink, Simon was faced with some difficult news:

Arriving at 8.30am, I am at The Clink earlier than the boys. Jason is in the office, so I head to the kitchen to greet Seb and Tom. Shortly after, Jason emerges from the office and tells us that as soon as Simon gets in, he needs him in the office. A relative of Simon's has called The Clink to inform them that Simon's girlfriend and children have been in a car accident. They are okay, but understandably shaken and the car had been written off. They asked that Jason pass the information on to Simon as soon as possible.

The boys feed in from the car park and head for the pass. Simon is pulled from the group and asked to go into the office. Believing that Simon is going to be told off, the rest of the boys cheer as he pushes open the office door. Simon is laughing and playing to the crowd. The rest continue over to the pass. Shortly after, Simon appears from the office. His face has changed, he looks pale, and he doesn't speak. Avoiding eye contact with the rest of the boys, he heads straight over to The Clink phone and hands it to Jason so he can type the code in to make a phone call out. A few of Simon's closest boys ask him what's up. Simon, whilst hurriedly typing in a phone number, says that his 'missus and kids have been in an accident'.

The phone call with his girlfriend confirms that the injuries are minor, but Simon is clearly shaken up as he heads over to collect his breakfast. Simon has to repeat the story several times to different sets of people. Once sat in the conference room, trying to make light of the situation, Simon claims that he is 'more concerned about the car'. Everyone laughs and joins in with the

joke. Although the jokes focus on 'women drivers', the boys end the joke with words of security; 'in all serious though, mate, at least they are all okay'.

For the rest of the shift, Simon keeps himself to himself in the kitchen, preparing the starters. He is one of the first to dart out the door for break, and refuses lunch. He is evidently keen to get on break where he can call his girlfriend again from a payphone.

Simon, due to prison restrictions, was unable to leave The Clink to see his family and was only allowed to call using The Clink's phone. Simon's inability to leave The Clink reinforced the deprivation of liberty. Although not physically within the confines of the prison area, he was required to remain inside The Clink. Unable to leave, Simon used humour in an attempt to mask his feelings. Yet, this was a display of the limits of humour. Ordinarily a loud and boisterous character, throughout the day Simon was quiet except for the occasional 'joke'. In any other restaurant setting, the employee would either be allowed to leave work or would be able to see their family afterwards. Neither option was available to Simon. The situation was clearly frustrating and upsetting, yet these emotions are, as with James, unavailable to him without consequence. Both individuals were trapped emotionally and figuratively by the prison. Furthermore, after working a full shift and a short break, Simon was required to return to prison. Under these circumstances, both James and Simon were able to control their emotions extremely well, showing that humour serves as an important impression management tool. That is not to say that humour solved these pains, but it momentarily provided relief and allowed the boys to continue with their working day with minimal commotion.

6.4.2. Clink time

Despite the modern pains of imprisonment reminding the boys that they needed to regulate their emotions, The Clink seemed to provide an escape from prison time. As the literature review outlined, prisoners are forced to confront the issue of passing time. It therefore comes as no surprise that prisoners choose to work in an attempt to speed up prison time. As outlined in section 5.2 'It's a prison job', this factor was a key motivation for the boys attending The Clink, and the boys found themselves negotiating a different time order to prison time. This time order was one which related more to the order of free

society and enabled the boys to connect with a different timeframe. It allowed the boys to move away from the regimented routine of prison time to different temporal arrangements.

Worlds of work are temporally ordered, and The Clink, despite the prison influence, had its own temporal order that the boys had to adjust to. The boys had to learn new temporal orders, particularly those working in the kitchen who had to learn the temporal order of the dish. The following extract highlights how Rob, an experienced Clink participant, learned how to determine a dish's 'readiness':

Dressed in kitchen whites, I head into the kitchen. Before I am even fully in the kitchen, Rob shouts over, telling me I am going to be on mains with him during service. I start to head over to the mains section, and he yells for me to grab the laminated (in an attempt to be kitchen fool proof) menu from the pass. It is sticky and well-used. As I attempt to hand it to Rob, he asks 'which dish would you choose?' Scanning down the menu, I reach the chicken dish, and point. The main is a chicken dish, with a number of components, including leeks, potatoes and jus. In response, Rob declares

'Well that's what you'll be cooking today then.' Admittedly, I am a novice cook, and Rob tells me it is all about timing and starts to outline a number of techniques that can determine the dish's 'readiness'. He lists time, look, taste, smell, and touch. We laugh that taste is not one you can always rely on, and a customer probably would not want a chunk out of their chicken! Before we get a chance to continue the joke, the sound of the ticket machine interrupts. Rob rips the ticket and bursts out laughing, 'Four chickens it is.' I jokingly glare at Rob, who tells me we need to get on with it. First, I pick up the chicken and season it, then Rob tells me to pan fry it.

The frying pans are already in place, and Rob throws in a dash of oil. I quickly place the chicken into the pan, and it starts to crackle and spit. Unsure for how long to cook the chicken, I glance back and forth at the clock. Rob catches me and tells me not to bother with exact timings. He says that you only need to cook it for a couple of minutes each side, and the main indicator is how the chicken looks. I am looking for a crisp light brown skin on either side. Thankfully, this is relatively straightforward; both brown

and crisp skin are easy clues to identify the chicken's 'readiness'. Pretty confident that the chicken is ready to be moved into the oven, I grab Rob, who starts to inspect the chicken visually. He delicately touches the chicken skin with his finger and agrees that the chicken needs to be moved into the oven. The oven will ensure that the chicken is cooked through, but will also keep it warm while I take on the other elements of the dish. Rob reminds me not to forget about the chicken, as this runs the risk of overcooking.

Next, I need to pan fry the prepared, partly cooked potato. Wondering how the hell I was going to make the potato into the shape I had seen previously, I ask Rob how to make the 'fancy potato shape'. Laughing, Rob throws a cylinder cutter towards me. As I catch it, Rob tells me to use that to make the 'fancy potato shape'. After using the cylinder cutter, I place the potato into the pan. Rob provides me with an estimated time, but again, directs me to focus on the colour of the potato. As I attempt to concentrate on the colour, Steve stands by me and jokingly informs me that they are burnt.

Noticing that the potato shapes are going brown, I place them on a tray alongside the precooked leeks and put the tray in the oven. Rob states that he is sure we will get the call for our mains shortly, as the starters had already been served. On cue, I hear 'mains on seven'. Turning to Rob, he winks, and helps me bring the dish together. The final stages include checking that all elements in the oven are cooked but not overdone, and heating the jus. As I place all the elements on the serving tray and head towards the pass, I am jokingly applauded by the rest of the boys.

This event demonstrated that Rob had learned the temporal order of a dish. Unlike in prison, he had autonomy over his dish. He was knowledgeable about the key indicators of a dish's readiness. Fine (2009: 73) argued:

No one technique can determine whether a dish is properly cooked, overdone, or underdone... In determining whether dishes are ready, cooks rely on timing (internal and external clocks), taste, smell, sight, touch, and occasionally, sound. Together these senses suggest how temporal demands are cued.

Rob uses all of these senses to determine the readiness of the chicken dish. Cooking in The Clink had the ability to move Rob's focus away from 'clock-watching time', and

shows that I was the one who was looking at the clock. Although Fine (2009) included 'external clocks' in his methods list, he then argued that inexperienced cooks tend to prepare food by the clock as they lack confidence and experience. Rob clearly had gained enough experience and confidence to move away from the clock. These new temporal orders enabled the boys to shift their focus of time away from prison time, momentarily. They were able to focus on other aspects, such as the look of the dish. For instance, in the example above, Rob actively encouraged me to ignore time and focus on appearance. Cooking time required the kitchen boys to time the production of the individual dish, but also manage the flow of orders. As shown, Rob knew when the mains on seven were going to be called. It was a challenging task, and not all boys could cope with the pressure. Some tried and then opted for other stations, such as the pass.

In addition, with prison time disassociated from the rhythms of time on the outside, The Clink's changing rhythm and tempo offered a reminder of organisational time. For those who had worked prior to imprisonment, this reintroduction of organisational time allowed them to reconnect with their work identity. In an interview, Scott, who had previously owned a business (a long time ago), praised The Clink for reminding him of a working day. He stated that it offered some normality within the confines of prison life. For Scott, The Clink helped prepare him to go back to his business, reinstating his working identity. For instance, travelling to and from The Clink (although depending on who was on shift determined whether the bus ride was bearable) mirrored 'ordinary' life, unlike a workshop in prison. The boys often compared The Clink to other prison jobs, with most arguing that 'there was no competition'. Furthermore, with the addition of Clink time, the boys were able to mark the transition from one time-band to the next. From work time, break time, prison time, and home time (for those experiencing home leaves and townies). This was particularly significant for the boys, who described the prison regime as repetitive. They stated that these changing patterns in different environments (not just within four walls) helped time to pass.

Once the boys became familiarised, most days in The Clink had the organisational temporal routine that they expected. However, different circumstances disturbed the standard temporal routine and subsequently evoked different emotions. For instance, the festive period resulted in a number of pressured days, with multiple large group bookings for both lunch and dinner. In contrast, the beginning of the year, unsurprisingly, resulted

in fewer bookings. Fine (2009) argued that restaurant workers, in particular chefs, have differing views of fast-paced work. Some claim to enjoy it, while most find it unpleasant. The Clink boys seemed to prefer fast-paced days. Although pressured days at times resulted in mistakes, temporal strains, tension and increased fatigue amongst the boys, they stated that these days were important in speeding up time; a key aim for prisoners. Although fast-paced days meant returning back to prison 'quicker', this was viewed positively as it meant 'another day down'. Crucially, fast-paced days helped participants' own experiential time to flow faster; for instance, home leaves and townies seemed to 'come around quicker'.

This 'speeding up' of time and new temporal orders helped alleviate some of the main pains of being incarcerated. Yet this 'speeding up' of time did not seem to last. For example, those who had spent long periods working in The Clink and experienced boredom acutely, ended up comparing Clink time to prison time. Parallels can be drawn here with the boys' experience of The Clink food in section 5.3.1 'Food, glorious food'. For these boys, there was a shift from time seeming linear to reverting back to cyclical; it became repetitive, and these boys indicated temporal pains. In these instances, these boys either pushed for stage two employment or threatened to leave. Threats to leave were often empty threats given the constraints of prison rules; this reinforced the hierarchy of choice, as leaving employment resulted in modern deprivations including 'lie downs', which subsequently resulted in missed home leaves and townies. Thus, these boys felt trapped waiting for stage two or release, and therefore experienced a lack of motivation. Management attempted to alleviate these pains by moving the boys to different sections, yet this was not always possible. Next, the chapter explores how even simple restaurant tasks aggravated some of these pains.

6.4.3. Taking a booking

The pains of imprisonment were exacerbated by simple restaurant tasks. Taking a booking induced certain emotions in the boys, and consequently altered their experience of the working day. FOH boys were trained to answer the phone and take bookings. These tasks involved using the diary. Significantly, scanning through the diary, taking bookings and requests, brought back into view a certain sort of everyday calendared time. Many were unprepared for this, as they had actively avoided this kind of time

during their sentence. Looking at these dates reminded the boys of the time they had wasted, but also generated excitement for release.

For those coming to the end of their sentence, taking a booking past their release date sparked excitement. For instance, after taking a booking for 25 people, Craig chuckled to himself and said that he would be released before the booking and therefore found it amusing that he would not have to deal with the big table. The reminder that Craig's release date was soon, generated elation, and led Craig to discuss what exciting activities he might be doing on that very date.

This excitement led to behavioural issues. 'Release fever', a term coined by Clink management, was used to explain the behaviour of those who were nearing the end of their sentence. Release fever involved excitable, distracting and disruptive behaviour. Those who experienced release fever were difficult to engage and challenging to manage. Punishments, such as lie downs or removal from The Clink, did not deter this behaviour, as the boys had, most of the time, been on their final home leave. As well as behavioural changes, when the boys reached the end of their punishment, which is underpinned by time discipline (Foucault, 1979), time featured heavily in their discourse. For instance, they would purposely select an individual who had a substantial amount of time left, and jokingly ask them, 'So, how long have you got left?' They would then eagerly wait to be asked the same question. If no question was asked, they either sought the question, 'So, are you going to ask me?' or enthusiastically and freely offered up the information. Again, these behaviours tended not to be exhibited by the OGS, who either were waiting for their Parole Board or had successfully passed the Parole Board, as bad behaviour could still have an impact on their release on licence.

The boys also expressed disbelief that they had served their sentence, and reflected on their time spent in prison. Simon described his first month in prison as the hardest. He stated that he constantly looked at the calendar and the days dragged. However, after the first month, he learned not to count the days. This was a vital piece of advice that the boys discussed: never count the days. Some refused to have a calendar in their cells until the final stretch of their sentence. It was within these last few weeks or months that it became acceptable to 'mark time' by counting down the days or crossing dates off a calendar, as illustrated by Luke, who changed his routine when he had 30 days

remaining. His usual routine included waking up, getting into the shower, having a shave, getting dressed and getting on to the bus ready to drive it to The Clink. However, in his final 30 days, his routine changed slightly, and consisted of waking up, getting into the shower, having a shave, getting dressed, crossing the day off on the calendar, and getting on to the bus ready to drive it to The Clink. This demonstrated that the boys could only face interacting with time (ticking months, weeks and days off) when they came to the end of their sentence. For Luke, interacting with time before his final 30 days would have only added to the temporal pains of imprisonment.

Although time is invisible, literally seeing the dates in the diary reminded them of the time they had 'wasted'. Although, on occasion, it had been 'a laff', it had ultimately been a 'waste of time' for most:

Liam has wandered over from the pass. He is hot and frustrated. It is coming towards the end of a double shift and he is clearly ready to head back to the prison. Marcus the barman is outside having a fag, and the phone rings. Liam huffs and picks up the phone. It is a booking. After placing the booking into the diary, he flicks from start to back, picks the diary up, and drops it from a height. It makes a bang as it hits the bar top. He looks at me and tells me that he has wasted 'three of those'. He starts to list what he has missed and lost in those three years, including his partner and his house. Attempting to console Liam, I remind him that he is near the end of his sentence. He picks up the diary again and searches for his release date. He scribbles 'Liam's last day!!!!' and heads back to the pass.

Time was undoubtedly a strong reminder of the pains of prison life. The boys had temporal restraints under which they were required to labour. The diary stood as another reminder that they could not spend their time in a manner of their own choosing, or in a way that had value to them. Although they were out of the physical prison, their time was still owned. As section 6.3.2 'It's all a test' outlined, the boys still found themselves captive to prison requirements; checking in, random searches etc. Whereas typical employees may count down the hours to the end of their shift, the boys knew that the end of their day meant returning to prison. Although the boys did not own their own time, the time lost to them was of great value.

The boys seemed to adopt different methods to cope with the sense that their lives had been foreshortened. The thesis organises these into three loose analytical categories: the denier, the dweller, and the accepter (not mutually exclusive). It is important to note that the boys switched between categories, and some did not fit into any. The denier (the least populated category) failed to accept that their sentence had been a waste of time, insisting that 'nothing major' had changed since being incarcerated. Time had been suspended, and these boys coped with their sentence by creating what others have called a 'time vacuum' (see Cope, 2003: 165). These boys tended to be PGs and never long-term prisoners. All of the long-term prisoners had come to accept that the outside world was moving on in their absence and they therefore populated the other two categories. These individuals suggested that, on release, they would be able to continue from where they had left off, suggesting that they had suspended their identity (Schmid and Jones, 1991). This approach allowed these boys to protect their outside identity. Their sentence had stultified their maturity, as highlighted by Ryan who stated that he entered prison aged 25 and would be leaving prison aged 25. Prison had 'preserved him'. Working with the belief that they had left their unspoiled identity at the gate, and would be able to pick it up, intact, and as it was left at the gate, enabled these boys to deal with 'wasted' (although not in their eyes) time.

The dweller tended to discuss 'what could have been', outlining what they could have achieved in the time they had spent incarcerated. These individuals felt a profound sense of time being stolen from them, with some arguing that their sentence was too harsh. This category was occupied by a mixture of PGs and OGs who found it hard to see beyond their spoiled identity. Scott often compared his life to a close friend who had taken a different path. Explaining that if he had not wasted all this time, his own business would have been as successful as his friend's.

Finally, the accepter outwardly accepted that they had wasted time but were actively trying to ensure that no more time would be wasted. Like the dwellers, these boys accepted that they had a spoiled identity but endeavoured to discuss ways in which they could create an unspoiled identity. OGs in this category tried to focus on the merits of their sentence: courses, reaching open conditions, working in The Clink, finding stage two employment, and preparing for release. Accepters of the wasted time attempted to reconstruct their narratives of self. These topics led to the creation of 'redemption

narratives' (Maruna, 2001), allowing 'accepters' to try and form new, 'unspoiled' identities.

Taking bookings, scanning through the diary searching for release dates, general use of the diary and conversations with customers, all led to discussions regarding 'marking time'. When discussing the duration of their sentence remaining, the boys tended to work in days or weeks as opposed to months or years. They described their sentences in days. Ross, who had been sentenced to 912 days, stated that he had 30 days until his release, as opposed to around four weeks, or a month. When asked, the boys maintained that days and weeks seemed less daunting, but also that the judge sentenced them in days. This was the memory that most had not forgotten, and one which stood out.

In addition, they used unique 'prison' methods to count downtime, making the time left appear more manageable. Trevor described having to get through 36 cans of tuna before his release date. Trevor had 36 weeks left, which meant he had 36 canteen orders. Every canteen, Trevor would buy one tin of tuna. Trevor explained that eating 36 cans of tuna would fly by, as opposed to nine months. In response to Trevor's canteen counting method, Simon informed Trevor that he only had three home leaves left until release. Using home leaves to quantify how long a participant had left was a common method. One home leave tended to equate to one month.

Using home leaves, canteen and other distinctive methods, seemed to enable the boys to cope and survive the rest of their sentences. Taking bookings, and using different methods to conceptualise time, has been reported in other prison studies. Crewe et al. (2017) found that long-term prisoners used similar techniques, such as regular sporting events, psychological milestones or different patterns. Although only some of Crewe et al.'s participants could project ahead, all of the long-term boys in The Clink were able to do this. Unlike Crewe et al.'s participants, all of these boys were coming towards the end of their sentences.

Importantly, these simple daily tasks induced emotions and conversations that were unique to The Clink boys. Typical employees would not be faced with the daily realisation that they did not own their time. This issue demonstrated the additional layer

that the boys faced when working in The Clink, and how simple tasks altered their emotions, conversations and day-to-day experiences.

6.5. Conclusion

The beginning of this chapter, which briefly returned to the realities of work in restaurants, showed that The Clink boys were faced with typical restaurant issues, including boredom and stress. Being faced with the realities of a restaurant suggested that the boys were able to escape prison life and enter the working world. However, the remainder of the chapter challenged this notion. Actually, what we see is that Clink life creating an additional layer of frustrations, with the boys experiencing the combined pains of work, 'freedom' and imprisonment. The demand on the boys was high, and the unique environment created its own set of frustrations.

Firstly, the chapter showed the difficulties of being exposed to the additional labour of impression management. Likening The Clink to a 'zoo' and 'fishbowl', the boys employed several strategies to manage their visible 'spoiled identities'. Crucially, these techniques contributed to the 'redemption' narratives (Maruna, 2001) that presented them as rehabilitated prisoners.

The Clink's location showed that whilst the boys gained some temporal autonomy, the soft power operating in The Clink forced the boys to impose their own 'disciplinary gaze' (Crew and Levins, 2015:3) and self-govern. The Clink was therefore viewed as a 'test', with breaks viewed as the ultimate challenge. Interruptions by the prison service reminded the boys not to forget their prisoner status. Situated right next to HMP Cardiff, the 'Clink or Nick?' game enabled the boys to see how far they had come, but also reminded them of how their incarceration had caused their families to be branded as prison visitors. Some found the juxtaposition unnerving, and even upsetting. Whilst the presence of HMP Cardiff was an obvious physical reminder of the consequences for not engaging in the self-governance.

The chapter then outlined how 'Clink time' allowed the boys to see beyond prison life and focus on a different type of time. The boys moved away from clock-watching to different kitchen methods, including taste, smell, touch, and appearance. The Clink provided a different temporal routine; however, after lengthy periods in The Clink, this

time reverted back to prison time. The chapter concluded by detailing how these pains reminded the boys that they were still being held both emotionally and figuratively by the prison. Even simple, unremarkable restaurant tasks, including taking a booking, exacerbated these pains. The next chapter returns full circle to focus on The Clink agenda.

Chapter 7. The Clink's Agenda

The third and final empirical chapter draws on a consideration of the wider and official Clink agenda – the official aims and objectives of the programme as detailed in the Introduction (section 1.2 'The Clink') – identifying areas of difference and similarity between The Clink's agenda and the data as revealed through close observational study. It is therefore important to revisit The Clink's aims, which are to reduce reoffending through the training and thereby rehabilitation of prisoners. These aims are achieved by simulating a realistic professional working environment that invites prisoners to engage with the public. Whilst working, the boys have the opportunity to achieve accredited NVQ and City & Guilds qualifications. It is hoped that learning new skills, including timekeeping and customer service and obtaining qualifications, alongside an intensive through the gate support package, will reduce the risk of the prisoners returning to prison.

This chapter compares the boys' motivations for attending The Clink and the realities of their experiences of The Clink agenda. The discussion then turns to The Clink environment, focusing on whether The Clink provides a 'real-life' experience, exposing areas of resemblance and difference in relation to working hours, pay, and management. Part of being a real restaurant is to have real diners, and it is hoped that their experience will challenge the stereotypes of prisoners. This chapter examines whether it does so (to the extent that the Clink experience can).

Using this information together with interview data, the chapter draws on the boys' own evaluations of The Clink. The interview data is compared against my own observations, which provide both conflicting accounts and clarity. The chapter concludes by addressing an aspect of Clink life that it does not necessarily advertise: the involvement of the family.

7.1. Motivations

First, the boys' motivations for attending The Clink, outlined in Chapter 5 ('Rationale: Why The Clink?') are compared against The Clink's agenda. There are some motivations discussed that can be directly linked to The Clink's agenda, while others are

less clear. For familiarity, the chapter addresses these motivations in the same order and categories outlined in Chapter 5.

7.1.1. 'It's just a prison job'

Using The Clink to 'kill time', be with friends, and access more home leaves (all reasons which could be attributed to other closed category and Category D employment opportunities), does not clearly align with The Clink's objectives. Rather, finding means of passing time is arguably one of the main issues of prison life, not an aim of The Clink programme. However, was it a problem that the boys were motivated by external factors (beyond The Clink's aims)? This question is difficult to answer, with arguments for both sides.

It could, for example, be argued that elements of these motivations did aid the process of 'resettlement', even if this benefit was not necessarily recognised by the boys. For instance, ROTL which permits home leaves, can be viewed as an important part of preparing the individual for their resettlement into the community. If used properly, having a home leave every four weeks as opposed to six weeks, should hypothetically increase the amount of time individuals have to arrange housing, employment, and to re-establish (or establish) relationships with their families and communities. As reported in the literature review, these activities are all linked to reducing reoffending.

Correspondingly, although The Clink was used to kill time, while the boys were 'killing time', they also had the opportunity to learn new skills. Again, increasing human capital has been linked with reducing reoffending and resettlement.

Similarly, joining because of 'mates' is absent from the expressed intentions of The Clink; however, friendships not only encouraged the boys to attend, but also to remain on the programme. Boys throughout the year often encouraged one another to 'stick at it'. On one occasion, Ryan had spent the day telling Mike that he had 'had enough' and that he was going to quit. Mike reminded him of his home leaves and asked him to think about what 'his missus would say'. After much persuasion from Mike and the other boys, Ryan agreed to stay, and he did so for another three months until his release. Within these three months, he moved from FOH to the kitchen and learned additional skills useful for release. Without these friendships, Ryan may have potentially left The Clink and lost the opportunity to gain more training.

Using The Clink to 'play the game' for parole boards, falls short of The Clink's agenda. Rather, it reflects prison culture, in which rehabilitation is occasionally viewed as a process of satisfying bureaucratic requirements. It is merely a 'tick box' exercise to satisfy parole boards that the individual is 'safe' to be released. Yet, an individual's engagement during the programme is also monitored and fed back, confirming that simply attending is not enough. Therefore, it does not necessarily matter if the boys attended in order to 'play the game'; once they were there, they still engaged with the programme. Although some may argue that engagement was due to the anticipated reports, those who had parole seemed to want to change. These individuals recognised that they had little to return to and needed the support.

7.1.2. Thinking beyond the gate

A number of the boys reported themselves as having been attracted to participate in The Clink, in part at least, by the idea of increasing their human capital: learning new skills, boosting opportunities for employment on release, and accessing good TTG support. Jack's views, reported in section 5.2.1 'Time for a change', can be taken as representative here, in particular what he has to say about The Clink helping him access employment in the community. Where such sentiments were expressed, it is reasonable to speak of alignment between respondents' accounts of participation and the formal Clink agenda. At least some of the boys talked about wanting the same thing from The Clink as The Clink was offering them. This has been viewed as a positive alignment, with likely benefits for all participants so inclined. The obstacles to entering the labour market faced by those with criminal records are well enough established. So too is the positive correlation between active participation in the labour market and desistance from crime. Numerous studies indicate that joining the labour market results in a legitimate means of income, daily routine and social integration, and has the potential to support the development of new pro-social identities (see, for example, Farrall, 2004; Laub and Sampson, 2001; Maruna, 2001). Desistance theory argues that all of these factors have the potential to reduce reoffending, which is the ultimate goal of The Clink. For those boys who spoke of their attendance in these terms, there is seemingly a close alignment with what The Clink sets out to provide and what it accomplishes.

Attending for the intensive support package before and after release is also clearly aligned with The Clink's intentions. Despite the literature review reporting the failings of many TTG schemes, The Clink is considered an exception. The scheme offers a holistic approach which the boys recognised as key to their rehabilitation. As highlighted in section 5.2 'Thinking beyond the gate', the scheme was extremely important for the boys who had served longer sentences, including the OGs. The boys who joined to access this package were evidently thinking beyond the gate and planning for their release. In interview, Harry advised me that he had joined the programme to access the support as he knew that it would 'help him survive in the community'; this showing that he was thinking beyond the gate.

7.1.3. The unique extras

'Break time' was one of the most cited reasons given by the boys for their attendance at The Clink. This motivation is nowhere to be found in the official aims and objectives of the programme. Walking-around time, looking in shops and buying food does not seem to fit with what The Clink wants to offer. However, as with home leaves, breaks could support the process of resettlement. Again, if used properly, breaks could be used to help plan for release. Importantly, breaks allowed some of the boys to adjust to being in the public, some for the first time. For example, some came to The Clink before they had been granted home leaves. Therefore, townies, along with Clink breaks, meant that they had an opportunity to spend time in public while still serving time. Although break time is considered a benefit, Chapter 6 ('The Clink Experience') highlights the reality. The boys still felt 'marked out' and were acutely aware of their internalised stigma which made breaks another form of labour. Clink breaks also, to an extent, mirrored 'ordinary' working life. This will be discussed when the section considers the work environment.

Although most of these motivations can be linked back to The Clink's ethos, they do depend on how the individual used their home leaves, breaks, and time in The Clink. To engage fully in the desistance process and be 'rehabilitated', the individual needs to be motivated to change. None of the boys, when discussing the benefits of breaks and home leaves, associated them with their own rehabilitation or change. Disclaimers of behavioural change and rehabilitation were very seldom, if ever, part of the conversation when discussing these benefits.

7.1.4. Kitchen vs FOH

Like Chapter 5 (Rationale: Why The Clink'), this chapter shifts away from the reasons given for attendance, to examine the choice of workstation against The Clink's objectives. Selecting the kitchen for an 'easy life', or as a stigma management strategy, did not fit with The Clink's agenda. Rather, these two reasons were linked to laziness and self-preservation. The boys seemed to want to avoid having to present themselves to the public as 'reformed' or 'rehabilitated' characters, arguing that it was either fake or 'too much work'. This, however, is not to say that the boys had not achieved The Clink's main aim; rather, they seemed to want to avoid the additional labour of impression management. As section 6.2.2 'Interacting with customers' shows, interactions with customers required the use of appropriation strategies, including deflection, compensation and concealment. The data provided in 'The Clink Experience' chapter (Chapter 6) shows that interacting with the public was not an easy task. The public were fully aware of the offender label and this resulted in the labour of impression management.

Some boys demonstrated a genuine interest in kitchen work (mainly OGS). Their reasons showed a clearer alignment with The Clink's aims. These boys had aspirations that they would be able, with The Clink's training, to gain stage two employment in the sector, which could continue on release. However, regardless of motivation, Ryan's experience outlined in section 5.4.2 'Allocation of roles' showed that role placement came down to availability. By removing the choice, The Clink potentially reduced the individual's motivation. Placing someone in a role where there is little motivation goes against the desistance process and, subsequently, The Clink's resettlement claims. As reported in the literature review, although motivation may not be sufficient in itself to reduce reoffending, it is a necessary condition.

7.2. The work environment

The Clink aims to reduce reoffending by providing a 'real-life' working environment. A real-life working environment would suggest that the prison aspect should disappear. Although this is not necessarily the case, as the previous chapters highlight, elements of The Clink did in some ways replicate a working restaurant. This section draws upon the working hours, pay management, and a typical feature of work life: boredom.

7.2.1. Working hours

Realistic working hours (see Tables 5 and 6) enabled the boys to take part in work routine, and reminded them of and prepared them for a typical working day. As they would in other restaurants, the boys followed service hours, had breaks, and had 'holidays' (home leaves/'townies'). The Clink represented a different set of regulated time intervals that allowed them to differentiate between time periods. Throughout the year, the boys compared their hours to a normal working day:

All of the boys have arrived for the morning shift, and Luke heads towards me. He is swinging a set of keys around his fingers and proudly places them onto the top of the bar. I congratulate Luke, who I know has been waiting a long time to be cleared by security to drive the bus. I ask him what it meant to him, and he tells me he feels 'normal'. He can now get up, drive himself to work, work normal working hours, and drive home. Luke, who previously worked in the financial sector, joked that The Clink made him work even longer hours.

Although Luke did not want to pursue a career in the hospitality industry once released, he appreciated the reminder of a work routine. Working long hours provided him with a sense of self-worth, and he reported in interview to feeling 'ready' again for work life. Unlike some of the boys, Luke was able to compare the work against his previous role. Being able to drive to The Clink added to the normality of his Clink experience. He had gained more responsibility and did not seem to resent this transfer. Spending long hours outside the prison allowed him to escape the physical confinements of the prison.

Yet Fine (2009) paints a slightly different picture, with chefs arriving hours before their shifts to prepare, and staying late into the night. This was evidently impossible for The Clink to mirror, as the hours were dictated by the prison. Furthermore, the boys' holidays (home leaves or 'townies') took priority over work. Although they were required to inform management of their schedules, these dates often changed due to external issues. At times, these changes made it difficult for management to determine who would be on shift and so created operational difficulties. It was evident that with the restrictions, The Clink could not do any more, and provided as 'normal' working hours as was possible. Despite these differences, none of the boys recognised that the hours did not mirror a

fully functioning restaurant. Throughout the year, there were complaints that they worked long, hard hours. These complaints were anticipated, as The Clink's hours were significantly longer than any other stage one prison job. These arguments were often linked to the problem of pay, which will now be addressed.

7.2.2. Pay

Despite being praised in interviews for being like a 'real job' (addressed during the boys' evaluation), there was one significant difference that the boys were unanimous about, and that was the issue of pay. The boys felt that the pay was unfair and did not match their efforts. Jake echoed this point in an interview, saying that the pay was a 'liberty' and 'took the piss'. The boys could not understand why they were being paid the same as a 'normal' prison job, when they worked 'real hours' in a 'real' restaurant. None of the boys mentioned the bond scheme. When asked what The Clink could improve, all of the boys collectively agreed that work in The Clink should be paid as a stage two job. The boys brought up the issue of pay throughout the year:

Gary has been asked by Jason to clean the back of the cupboards on the bar. Before answering, he takes a look. You can tell by his screwed-up face that he is not happy, and he calls me over to have a look. The backs of the cupboards are sticky, with fluff, dust and other unidentifiable items stuck to them. Gary stands back up and tells Jason that they need to pay him more before he even considers cleaning the cupboards. Jake agrees with him, claiming that cleaning the back of cupboards is a 'stage two job'. Gary jokingly offers Jason three pounds (a day's wage) to clean the cupboards. In response, Jason humorously asks Gary if he would 'like a ride back to camp?' Knowing that if he continues to refuse that he may be sent back to prison, Gary reluctantly starts to half-heartedly clean.

This perceived injustice was highlighted by all of the boys, with humour often being used to explain the issue. As Gary was a prisoner, he was aware that there were no options for directly challenging management without consequence, and so he completed the task. The threat of being sent back on the bus was enough to get Gary to comply. Here, humour performed what Flaherty (1984) refers to as 'reality work'; it has the ability to convey serious information without appearing to do so. Humour was therefore used as a

vehicle to express resistance and convey serious messages, with the ability to claim that it was never intended (Mulkey, 1988; Collinson, 2002). The issue of pay reduced motivation amongst the boys, and meant that jobs were not completed fully or to standard. There were also concerns that they would be released with 'nothing' as they were unable to save money. Although, at times, this caused a lack of motivation in The Clink, it increased motivation to move on to stage two opportunities. Yet, this extract does not just reveal the boys' frustration with pay or the use of humour in an attempt to resist; it demonstrates a noteworthy power dynamic between management and the boys. The chapter now turns to examine the relationship between the boys and management.

7.2.3. Management

The management staff had all come directly from the hospitality industry, and they worked relatively normal hours. None had any previous experience of working in a prison. The boys reported good relationships with Clink management, with both sides saying that 'having a laff' was integral to their working relationship. Melissa, a manager, explained that humour made it 'so much easier to work and manage them [The Clink boys]' arguing 'if they were all surly, miserable, depressed and angry, it would be impossible to do the job'. Melissa said that humour was conducive to the smooth running of The Clink, and subsequently social cohesion. These good relationships helped to prevent any major conflicts or emotional outbreaks (Kristoffersen, 1986: 103) and assisted in providing a smoother everyday interaction.

'Having a laff' with the boys also made it easier for management to give instructions. The Head Chef explained that 'It is best to have fun. If you are willing to have fun, then they are more likely to follow directions.' Sternthal and Craig (1973) found that humour has an attention-getting quality; drawing in the audience's attention leads to improved persuasion, connection and compliance. Once attention is gained, it is easier to provide instructions, demonstrating a clear connection between laughter and productivity.

Using humour to manage the boys mirrored techniques used by management in the workplace, and also prison staff. Prison officers have been shown to use humour to manage their relationships with prisoners (Nielsen, 2011). Importantly, in both prison and The Clink, humorous exchanges allowed the parties to distance themselves from their respective positions. Some types of humour temporarily reduced the inequality and

momentarily redefined the social structure. Nielsen (2011) suggested that humour moves officers from what they are, and reveals personal aspects of themselves (their who) allowing for connections to form. Joking relationships therefore permitted management and the boys to step out of their roles and meet as equals. This was a particularly useful tool for management who were often regarded with suspicion and caution. The boys were evidently wary of forming relationships, as they ran the risk of being labelled a 'screw boy'. However, joking allowed good relationships, without these risks.

While certain uses of humour allowed the boys and management to form relationships, other uses of humour reinforced the power imbalance between the two parties. As shown in the extract used in section 7.2.2 'Pay', asking Gary whether he would like a ride back to camp indicated Jason's ability to influence Gary's behaviour. This comment allowed Jason to 'clarify status and power relations' (Smeltzer and Leap, 1988: 296). Using humour masked the authoritarian content of the message, but still reminded Gary that management had the power to discipline. This humour therefore served as a regulatory mechanism and helped maintain order. The threat of being sent back to camp was almost always enough to ensure compliance. The boys were aware that, once back on camp, they would face further consequences, such as reduced home leaves. These consequences incentivised compliance and ensured that the boys did not 'overstep the mark'.

Regardless of the relationships developed, management held positional power over the boys which blurred the roles between management and prison staff, making it impossible for the boys' relationships with management to resemble 'ordinary' working relationships. Managers were also required to carry out additional job requirements:

I have just returned from break and notice that all of the boys have gathered in the courtyard. I wander over to see what the issue is, and Pete informs me that the guys fixing the kitchen equipment have found a mobile phone and have handed it in to management. The boys are trying to work out whose phone it is and are starting to panic. As I return into the bar area of the restaurant, Jason is placing a mobile phone into a resealable evidence bag. He advises me that he has phoned the prison and they are en route to

collect the phone. The phone will be taken and examined to determine whose it is. On the bag, Jason scribbles where the phone was found and what time.

Despite these sorts of incidents, management still did not consider themselves 'prison staff' and clearly struggled with the unavoidable power imbalance, which caused moral dilemmas. In particular, the decision to remove an IPP or lifer was a particularly tough decision. Due to behavioural issues, only one IPP individual was removed during the year. Management were aware that sacking them would most likely prevent them from passing their parole board. While management were debating their decision to remove him, the support worker pointed out that this would cost him 'years'. This added pressure, that management's decisions could drastically impact the boys' future, resulted in leniency, with Jason advising me that if The Clink had been an 'ordinary' restaurant, some of the boys would have been sacked 'a long time ago'.

7.2.4. Work realities

Despite The Clink offering relatively normal working hours and being run by hospitality staff (with additional roles), the boys experienced it as another venue for boredom. Humour was used to combat boredom and kill time; however, experiencing boredom seems to be absent from the express intentions of The Clink programme. The data suggests that practice is contrary to The Clink's ambitions to fuel and develop individual skills and attitudes. The boys, when bored, engaged in pranks, misbehaviour, and avoiding jobs. Yet boredom, and finding the means to relieve boredom and kill 'dead' time, are defining features of some work. As shown in both Roy's (1959) and Fine's (2009) observations, workplace culture includes boredom. Deflecting boredom is a part of an 'ordinary' working environment, suggesting that The Clink is a pretty fair representation of a normal workplace. It would be unrealistic to suggest that The Clink had a constant stream of jobs that needed to be completed. Even if this were the case, it is likely that a constant flow of tasks could result in a lack of motivation.

Whilst elements, including boredom, are comparable to working life, referring back to the restaurant studies outlined in the literature review raises the question whether The Clink wants to, or ever can provide a true-life experience. In particular, studies of the kitchen have revealed a climate of violence, aggression and masculinity (Burrow et al., 2015).

The Clink aims to promote a move away from the issues that are intrinsically linked with certain crimes. This is not to say these issues were absent from The Clink. Behavioural issues were witnessed throughout the year, and these tended to be linked to displays of masculinity from the PGs. OGs tended not to have to prove their masculinity, as it had already been acknowledged. Plus, behavioural issues from OGs could affect their parole board. OGs also indicated that they had spent many years around males competing to be the 'hardest', and felt it was immature.

There were, however, no physical fights or violence during the year (with the exception of a few shoves). This could be due to several factors, including the power imbalance described earlier, which could result in an individual being sent back to closed conditions or even facing extra charges. Home leaves and townies evidently incentivised compliance, and had the power to tame masculinity and reduce violence in The Clink. Furthermore, the absence of physical violence could also be related to the selection process for a Category D prison, as described in the literature review. Violent behaviour has also been linked to prisoners' loss of autonomy and independence, lack of material goods, and heterosexual relationships, all elements which are central to their being a 'real man' (Newton, 1994). Open conditions provided the boys with other means of demonstrating their manhood. For instance, they were able to engage in sexual relationships on home leaves and townies, and discussed these encounters with one another to boost their masculinity. Finally, the working environment diverted their attention (particularly when the boys were frontstage with customers), removing chances to display their toughness. The conditions of 'employment' at The Clink carried a much higher level of conditionality, ensuring relatively good behaviour and reduced visible displays of violence than would actually be found in much of the catering trade.

7.3. The public

The Clink invites the public to come and dine at the restaurant, in the hope that they will learn that prisoners need and deserve a second chance. On the whole, conversations with customers were positive, as was reflected in the comments book. Feedback included comments on the 'fantastic service and food', with many wishing the boys 'all the best with their future'. Although I made brief field notes on conversations with customers, this thesis does not focus on the potential attitudinal change by members of

the public. It is therefore difficult to comment confidently on whether or not this aim was achieved. I can, however, comment on how the boys managed The Clink's ambitions while conversing with customers. As shown in Chapter 6 ('The Clink Experience'), the boys utilised the 'that was then, this is now' discourse, and focused on future plans. The topics of conversation helped present an 'idealised' version of the frontstage, and were consistent with the impression and goal that The Clink attempts to portray: rehabilitation. A number of these performances were genuine, with the boys invested in the conversations.

Yet, it became evident (and this can mainly be assumed from backstage conversation) that some of the boys did not believe in, or were not invested in, The Clink's aims. Or, alternatively, did not want to present themselves, in front of others, as being invested in their own rehabilitation:

I am stood at the pass near table one, which Liam has been serving. He has cleared the table and the customers have asked to pay the bill. While he takes the card payment, the customers ask him what he plans to do once released. Liam says that he is going to get a job plumbing, and wants to become more involved with his daughter. He mentions that his friend has a plumbing company and they have agreed to take him on. Laughing, he concludes that it should be enough to 'keep him out of trouble'. The customers laugh and wish him good luck with his future plans.

Liam returns to the bar, to stand with some of the other boys. I follow him round, and having overheard the conversation with his table, I ask Liam whether he plans on joining his friend's company. Liam laughs and asks me 'what company' and not to be 'stupid'. I ask him why he had bothered telling his table these plans. He tells me that he has got to be 'fake' as 'it is what they want to hear'.

Backstage, Liam (and other PGs) visibly did not believe in his performance, branding it as 'fake'. These boys tended to be involved in displays of masculinity backstage, and disruption which unintentionally challenged The Clink's aims. Whilst they engaged in redemption narratives with customers, they seemed less convinced backstage. They argued it was all 'a front', with a few even revealing that they planned to continue their

illegitimate activities when released. In reality, the vast majority of performances moved between fact and fiction. Yet, crucially, these boys still maintained the performance frontstage and therefore aligned themselves superficially with The Clink's official aim: rehabilitation. Whether or not these boys believed in these conversations does not necessarily affect The Clink's goal of changing public opinion. Regardless of future intentions, they performed and provided narratives consistent with rehabilitation; as proven by Liam, who admitted he had 'made up' the story as that was what 'they [the customers] wanted to hear'.

On the other hand, OGs tended to be more invested in their performances and provided consistent narratives FOH and backstage. Although they may not have been truthful about their offences, these boys' conversations suggested that they had entered the process of desistance. These boys were attempting to reach secondary desistance, which relates not just to a stop in criminal behaviour but also to a change in identity from offender to non-offender (Lemert, 1951). They associated this change with a number of factors, with most citing age as a factor. Maturation theories represent the earliest theoretical work surrounding desistance (Goring, 1919). They argued that they were 'too old for this shit' and had grown out of criminal behaviour. In addition, these boys stated they had 'a lot more to lose' in relation to prison time. With most on life licence, once released, any issues in the community could result in substantial recalls.

7.4. The boys' evaluation

Examining the data collected through the interviews, the following section draws upon the boys' own evaluation of The Clink. Despite some of the realities of working in a prison restaurant (detailed in the previous chapter), in interviews, the boys described their time at The Clink as mostly enjoyable. This enjoyment was linked to several factors, including breaks, food, 'friendships', the ongoing support, relationships with management, and being out of camp. The boys often provided glowing references, as evidenced by the interview with Harry:

Harry has been offered a stage two placement and agrees to an interview. He provides an overview of his Clink experience, reporting that The Clink has changed his life. Having spent 14 years in prison, The Clink has allowed him to slowly get used to 'being out again'. The questions then turn

to discussing interactions with the public, and their role in the process. Harry details not feeling nervous about the public, 'I think I just got on with it, I mean I do like talking to people'. Harry continues 'I have enjoyed working with the public and feeling normal again.'

Yet, working alongside Harry for several months, I had witnessed several scenarios that did not match with his feedback provided in the interview. Harry had found the process difficult at times and had wanted to quit. He struggled with the thought of the public being aware of his offence. This is evidenced by the extract in section 6.2.2 'Interactions with customers'. Strikingly, there was a difference between the sorts of statements that the boys made in interview, in comparison to what I heard and witnessed in my observations. Throughout the interviews, there were two main anticipated responses: that The Clink had 'changed their lives', or, that it was a 'waste of time'. It is possible that Harry, who had to face the parole board, did not want any negative comments affecting his account of changing, due to concerns that these comments may be shared. The potential impact of the formality of the setting is addressed below.

Whilst the 'waste of time' response was a rarity, some boys did report these feelings in interview. When asked about his experience, Jake stated: 'To be honest, I don't really see much point in coming down here. I guess I have just been able to have a laugh with my mates and go into town on my break.' He reiterated during the interview that The Clink had 'done nothing' for him. Again, the observational data sits apart from Jake's statements. I witnessed several occasions in which Jake benefited from the process. He had begun the process with few skills, openly admitting he 'couldn't even boil an egg'. By his release, he was able to work all sections in the kitchen, producing dishes of high standard. While Jake may not have believed that The Clink had helped him, he had undoubtedly gained from the experience. Providing a bleak image of The Clink could be because Jake was concerned that the information may be overheard or reported back to peers.

When asked in interview about future plans, all of the boys, including Jake and other PGs, stated that they would like to move away from criminal activity. However, general conversation which had occurred prior to the interviews undermined these answers. Some boys, including Jake, had informed me that they would be resuming their criminal

activity as prison had provided them with 'contacts'. It is difficult to tell whether these boys wanted to make a good impression in interview or thought it was what I wanted to hear. These conflicting responses showed that the PGs did not present confident accounts of change, and the likely answer is that they themselves were unsure.

Along with potentially rehearsed responses, the interview setting created a different environment which could also account for the disparities. Here, it is useful to revisit, in more depth, the brief example provided in the methods chapter:

Tom is due to leave next week for his stage two placements, and has agreed to an interview. I have confirmed with management that once Tom has completed his morning tasks, he can be interviewed. With no breakfast tables in, I head towards the back of the restaurant where it is quiet. As Tom heads to the table, he signals for Ryan to follow. Both Tom and Ryan sit down at the table and I remind Ryan that this is an interview between myself and Tom. Tom doesn't respond, and Ryan says: 'I am here to represent my client who has been wrongfully arrested'. Quickly realising that they are mimicking a police interview, I introduce myself and ask Tom why he thinks he has been arrested. Tom glances at Ryan, who leans over and whispers into his ear. Tom looks back at me and answers 'no comment'. This continues for a few minutes until we all start to laugh. Ryan gets up, shakes my hand, and thanks me for deciding to release his client. Once Ryan has left the table, I ask Tom whether he is happy to still be interviewed. Tom agrees.

Although a joke, this scenario reinforced the point that the formality of the setting clearly reminded the boys of an official interview. Despite the rapport I had developed, and the reassurance that their answers were confidential, the unavoidable change could have caused concern that I might pass the information on to other professionals. Importantly, these disparities revealed the significance of using observations alongside interviews, and revealed that the boys' thoughts about their own rehabilitation and The Clink were too complex to be explored solely through one interview.

Whilst there were discrepancies between interview and observations, there was also clarification and validation. The OGs provided more confident accounts when asked to

discuss future plans. The boys agreed that The Clink could help them to get employment and support them through the gate. This indicates that The Clink may be successful in reducing reoffending. However, it is acknowledged that prison can often prompt narratives of transformation, but actually 'staying straight' once released is complex, with both external and internal challenges. Interestingly, most of the boys, when asked whether they thought they would return to prison, stated 'never say never'. These boys believed that, under a set of specific circumstances, they would 'do their time again'. Yet these examples tended to be extreme and were related to protecting family.

In addition, the boys were unanimous, in both the interviews and observations, on their thoughts regarding pay. The interviews confirmed the frustrations with payment, or lack of it. None of the boys viewed the opportunity to learn new skills as a form of payment. Along with pay, the boys also noted having to both 'work and live with arseholes' (as described by Tom). Unlike most co-workers, the boys had to work and also live alongside one another. Naturally, this did cause conflict, even between those who had formed close alliances. Chapter 6 ('The Clink Experience') showed that, with limited resources, humour became a useful tool. However, not all issues were prevented by the use of humour, and the boys disclosed that conflict would be 'dealt with' outside The Clink (either on the bus or back on camp).

Most boys could list practical skills that they had learned and developed in The Clink. Other boys (mostly OGs) made direct reference to the intrinsic value of the programme. Dale's interview stands as a useful example:

I am conducting an interview with Dale, who has just been asked to tell me about his time at The Clink, including what he did and didn't enjoy. Dale compares himself to an object that had been 'taken off a shelf'. Having spent many years in prison, Dale tells me that prison put him 'right at the back of the shelf, with no purpose'. He described being forgotten about and cast aside. Attending The Clink felt like he had 'been taken off the shelf' and had been 'given a use again'.

In addition, Chris reported that prison had taken him 'off track' and had 'knocked him backwards'. On the other hand, The Clink experience had allowed Chris to rebuild his confidence and feel 'a small part of the community'. Jack advised me that because of

The Clink, combined with home leaves and day releases, he 'had the best chance possible' for release. This evidences that The Clink had provided the boys with a sense of self-worth and purpose. All of these factors, both internal and external, have the ability to contribute to successful integration and a reduction in reoffending.

Similarly, most of the boys noted substantial disparities between The Clink and other prison employment programmes. All of the boys interviewed commended The Clink for being 'way better' than any other jobs offered in prison, for varying reasons. These reasons tended to be linked to the motivations, including the opportunity to change, breaks etc, but also relationships with the management. Feedback regarding the management was constructive; the boys felt that management were non-judgemental, supportive and empathetic, and were crucial to producing positive outcomes. Those who mentioned the management did not discuss the power imbalance at play (outlined in section 7.2.3 'Management'). The boys acknowledged that management had to meet requirements dictated by the prison, and they seemed to respect this. Jack argued that it was the first time anyone 'had shown any interest in him' and helped him to believe in himself. These narratives of hope and belief in one's confidence to 'go straight' is known to be crucial to the desistance process.

It was clear during both interview and observations, that The Clink offered so many more benefits outside its own agenda and aims. The final section of this chapter addresses one aspect: the involvement of the family.

7.5. Family matters

The chapter concludes by addressing an aspect of Clink life that it does not necessarily advertise. This section focuses attention on the impact that The Clink had on the boys and their families. An unanticipated benefit of attending The Clink was the involvement of the family. Throughout the year, The Clink encouraged family relationships; a discount was offered to family members to encourage them to dine at The Clink. If needed, phone calls were permitted to be made and the support worker liaised with the family. Focusing on the family provides an example of what The Clink does not advertise, but is equally as important as employment for reducing reoffending rates. The Clink has evidently recognised the literature that indicates that stable family relationships, contact and

support, can have strong effects on a prisoner's chances of successful resettlement (see May et al., 2008).

Another example involves the 'Clink Christmas'. Each year, before The Clink closes at Christmas, the boys' families are invited for a Christmas dinner:

It is the week before Christmas, and today is a day that a lot of the boys have been looking forward to: Clink Christmas. They have been allowed to invite family members to The Clink for a Christmas dinner. Today, the tables have turned, and all of the staff, including myself, will be serving the boys. As the boys filter through from The Clink bus, I notice that Peter, Jake and David are clasping a range of chocolates and flowers. They tell me that they made a special stop en route to The Clink to buy presents for their partners.

Although the staff are serving the boys, the morning routine needs to be completed. The boys rush round, and eventually are allowed to get changed back into their clothes around 11am. Today, there is extra aftershave, fewer tracksuits, and more time spent making sure they are looking 'fresh'. Jake is running around the restaurant, and I ask him if he needs any help. He tells me he is trying to find something to put his flowers in. After searching around, the best we can find is a protein shake bottle. We fill it with water, place the flowers in, and position them in the centre of the table.

It is approaching 12pm and a huddle has gathered around the front door as the boys eagerly await the arrival of their guests. Although excited, some of the boys seem tense, and clock watch. First is Pete's wife and four children, closely followed by Jake's partner, who is accompanied by a friend. Jake has arranged with his partner to bring a friend, as a blind date for Tom. All the boys start to wolf-whistle, and push Tom in excitement. Soon, The Clink is full of partners, children, siblings, parents and grandparents. The tension seems to have disappeared, except for Reece, who is still waiting by the door. Mike jokes that Reece has been stood up, and although Reece laughs, he begins to look more and more concerned. Eventually, Reece asks whether he can borrow The Clink phone to call his partner and their child. After a quick phone call, Reece's partner confirms that she is five

minutes away and had been stuck in traffic. Reece looks visibly more relaxed and removes himself from the front door to join the rest of the boys.

Shortly after 12.40pm, everyone is encouraged to take their seats for service to begin. The boys whose families could not make it, and those who had no family to invite, are all placed on a table together. Ryan has already named the table 'the singles' table. There are around ten boys on this table. Most of the OGs are placed on this table. I have been allocated the bar and two tables. My first table comprises Jake, his partner, and Tom and his blind date; whilst my second is Craig, his partner and two children. Just as I am about to start service, Ryan's Dad appears at the bar. He asks me whether he can have a pint. Jake and Ryan are within earshot, and burst out laughing. Whilst I explain that the restaurant does not serve alcohol, Ryan's Dad turns to Jake and Ryan and humorously asks 'what kind of restaurant is this?'

Service begins, and everyone is served their starter followed by the main event. The festive favourite is served; roast turkey and all the trimmings. There is little time for me to interact with both tables as I dash back and forth from the bar. Shortly after the mains have been cleared, Jake pulls me to one side and asks me whether I can ask chef for the 'special' dessert now. Thinking Jake is taking the mick, I question him. Jake tells me to 'just go and ask the chef'. I head towards the kitchen expecting to be laughed at; however, the chef produces a pile of brownies, cream and ice-cream for the table of four to share. Luckily, all of the other boys are too engrossed in their conversations to notice the dessert placed on Jake's table. Jake, who is looking extremely pleased with himself, thanks me and I return to the bar. As the desserts are cleared from the table, the boys exit with family members for their break time.

Witnessing the preparation that took place on family day, demonstrated the gravity of the event for the boys. Clothing represented a visual image of the boys' identity and served as a form of self-presentation (Goffman, 1959). Smiley and Middlemass (2016: 226) argued that clothing plays a crucial role in re-entry, as it provides the opportunity for prisoners to '(re)shape their identity, (re)affirm their sense of manhood, and reconnect

with the community'. Wearing smarter clothes, using extra aftershave and buying presents, represented a form of impression management aimed to impress family members. Knowing that they would not see their family members until their next townie/home leave, these performances were crucial.

Those families that had attended reminded the boys of the social support they still had managed to maintain. The boys appeared to use their time in The Clink as evidence of their willingness to change. A well-presented appearance contributed to these narratives of change. The Clink Christmas allowed the boys to show the family that they had successfully engaged with a programme and stood as a cause for celebration. During the day, the boys encouraged their families to talk to staff members about their progress, and seemed pleased with the positive feedback.

This day was particularly significant for the boys who were unable to have home leaves over Christmas. James, who had lost his opportunity to go home for Christmas, was able to invite his Mum and Dad to the Clink Christmas. Being convicted of murder aged 17, he had not had a Christmas dinner with his parents for nine years. James described it as the 'next best thing', and appreciated that this would not be happening in closed conditions. The day was free-of-charge. This was particularly pertinent for the boys, as, statistically, a prisoner's family is more likely to experience social disadvantage and hardship, which is exacerbated by the imprisonment of a key member (Jardine, 2017).

Furthermore, the skills learned were not just for employment purposes. Many of the boys discussed the impact of taking these skills home. For instance, when Craig returned from a home leave, he boasted about being able to cook one of the 'fancy' dishes he had practised in the kitchen, for his wife. When Craig began at The Clink, by his own description he had only ever cooked a pot noodle. He informed me that he just wanted to show his wife that 'he had changed', and that waiting for him had been worth it.

Although these family members or partners may not have been able to prevent the offending in the past, under these new circumstances, these relationships could provide a relevant role in the process of desistance. The Clink enabled families to spend quality time together (along with home leaves), but the role of learning (which can be a desistance factor itself) evidently helped strengthen these bonds. As Craig shows, he

wanted to be able to 'give something back' to his partner who had stuck by him throughout his sentence. Craig felt a moral duty to show his partner that he had learned something, and that he had changed, which seemed to be offered as compensation for all of his partner's support during his incarceration. This aligns with the literature, which argues that families can be 'turning points' of change (Sampson and Laub, 1993). However, it is better placed to label these relationships 'returning points' of change as they represented pre-existing bonds (Cid and Marti, 2012).

7.6. Conclusion

This chapter returned to focus on the wider and official Clink agenda. It compared The Clink's objectives against the motivations provided by the boys for attending the programme. While motivations related to thinking 'beyond the gate' can be directly linked to the grander goals, most motivations appear to be different from what The Clink aims to offer. What the findings reveal is that most motivations are an attempt to escape the pains of being incarcerated, with home leaves, killing time, playing the game, breaks etc. Yet, as the other findings chapters have revealed, within these 'carrots' and 'rewards' there are additional pains. For instance, breaks, the closest glimpse of 'freedom' offered by The Clink, created their own discomforts that can be associated with the 'pains of freedom'. This notion is explored further in Chapter 8 'Concluding thoughts'.

The chapter then compared The Clink against a 'real' working environment. It provided examples of how The Clink does, to an extent, mirror typical work schedules and display features of 'normal' work life. Nonetheless, key aspects of work-life, including pay and management, are dictated by their prisoner status. The chapter argued that the boys struggled with the lack of equitable wage, which in turn reduced motivation. The chapter also reported that the blurring between the role of Clink management and prison staff reinforced both the boys' prisoner identity and the soft power operating in The Clink. Whilst managers were able to use discretionary power, they still held positional power over the boys. Regardless of the additional requirements, managers attempted to distance themselves, ironically, using similar techniques as prison staff.

Whilst the chapter recognised that it is difficult to examine whether The Clink changes public opinion, it addressed how the boys presented The Clink's ambitions to customers. Regardless of actual future plans, all boys presented 'redemption narratives' to the

public, thus aligning themselves with The Clink's narrative. However, the chapter questions whether all the boys believed in these narratives backstage. There were inconsistencies in these performances. Nonetheless, it is possible to suggest that the 'redemption narratives' portrayed frontstage would have the potential to impact on the public's judgement.

Focusing on the interview data, the chapter revealed disparities between interview responses and observational data. The interview setting promoted two static responses, which did not match the intricacies of the process. On the hand, the interview data provided clarification and validation, particularly in relation to pay. The chapter concluded by moving beyond what The Clink advertised and detailing how the family was a key part of the process.

It is evident that The Clink's formal version of itself needs nuance. The aims do not play out in a simple formulaic way and do not take into account the challenges faced by the boys. They had to manage the complexities of serving their time, alongside working in a restaurant. Each day in The Clink was distinctive and brought about new challenges for both the boys and Clink management. The conclusion chapter, which follows, draws on the three findings chapters in order to make sense of the arguments that have emerged from the data.

Chapter 8. Concluding thoughts

8.1. Introduction

The main objective of this thesis has been to provide a close observational and interview-based account of what it is actually like for individuals undergoing an innovative rehabilitation programme. In this final discussion, I am going to draw upon the three previous chapters to answer the research questions posed in Chapter 3:

1. How does penal power function in the quasi-open conditions of the Clink?
2. Whilst on The Clink programme, how and to what extent do the boys experience the pains of imprisonment? Do they experience different pains as a result of being in quasi-open conditions?
3. How do the boys manage their identity in The Clink, and how might this impact on desistance?

It is important to note that this chapter reflects and consolidates the discussion and analysis that has already been presented in each of the preceding chapters. The arguments made draw on the material already presented.

Throughout this chapter, I make reference to the phrase 'invisible walls'. Whilst this is not an official term used in national policy, the notion behind it is instantly recognisable. The concept of 'invisible walls' is linked locally to a big Lottery-funded project based in HMP Parc, South Wales: 'Invisible Walls Wales'. The innovative project aimed to make the prison walls 'invisible', through offering rehabilitative activities and courses that break down the barriers to successful resettlement. The term encompasses the idea that prisons are not at their best when they seclude and contain, and instead, they should be helping prisoners 'through the gate' into the community. In particular, the project focuses on the family and involves the total reverse engineering of the prison visiting facility at HMP Parc. Whilst innovative, the concepts behind this project are not novel. Breaking down the barriers between the prisoner and community is at the core of most resettlement initiatives.

Within this discussion, I invert the 'invisible walls' concept by suggesting that The Clink experience actually involves the continuing presence of the walls. Despite The Clink offering an insight into the working world, the boys found it difficult to (and were not

supposed to) forget they were still serving their time. These challenges from the 'invisible walls' created barriers between the boys and the community. The chapter outlines how these 'invisible walls' were created by penal power (research question one). It then addresses the pains caused by the 'invisible walls' (research question two). How the boys' subsequently managed their identity and the impact of their doing so on desistance is then explored (research question three). The chapter then moves on to concluding thoughts, addressing the implications for policy and practice, and suggestions for future research. The discussion concludes with the thesis' contribution, and a final note on The Clink.

8.2. The 'invisible walls'

The Clink's quasi-open conditions represent exceptional circumstances that offered the opportunity for the boys, if they wished, simply to walk out. In The Clink, there was a clear absence of direct control operating, power was 'exercised more softly, in a way that [was] less authoritarian' (Crewe, 2011: 523). There were no locked doors or gates, no security and typically no official prison staff. Yet, despite this 'softness', only a few boys openly broke the rules, and none of the boys walked out. The findings revealed that penal power within The Clink operated 'lightly' but 'tightly' (Crewe, 2011), with self-governance used as a principal technique to ensure compliance. Whilst self-governance has become a common penal strategy (Ugelvik, 2011; Hannah-Moffatt 2000), and its pains are experienced in institutions across the board, The Clink's unique environment and its closeness to 'freedom' required additional responsibility. The techniques used by The Clink (discussed below) shaped and sustained the 'invisible walls'.

While self-regulation and governance can be considered preparation for life outside prison, the gravity of doing this whilst still serving time cannot be ignored. As addressed in Chapter 2, this 'soft power' (Crewe, 2011) is considered a modern deprivation that promotes self-regulation in all behaviour. Instead of breaking down the walls, self-regulation required the boys to remember that they were still within the walls. As the findings have shown, the boys were frequently reminded of their prisoner status through the location of The Clink, HMP Prescoed's influence, Clink management, and interactions with the public. How these factors contributed to penal power is discussed

now, whilst the pains and implications associated with these factors are addressed in 8.3 Pains of imprisonment and 'freedom'.

Although the geography of The Clink attracted the boys to the programme, the location was a tool that encouraged self-governance. As Chapter 6 outlined, the presence of HMP Cardiff was a physical reminder that the boys were still serving their time, and was an obvious example of the consequences of breaking the rules. Furthermore, interacting with prison visitors and playing 'Clink or Nick?' forced the boys to reflect on their own experiences of imprisonment and its impact on their families, again highlighting the risks of non-compliance.

The demand on the boys was high, and The Clink was viewed, by some, as a 'test'. As shown in Chapter 6, some of the boys resented this transfer of responsibility, likening it to a game that must be played. The game required the boys to enrol in the process of self-governance and impose their own 'disciplinary gaze' (Crewe and Levins, 2015: 3), or place themselves at greater risk of punishment. Although most boys remained within the 'invisible walls', some of the boys, mainly PGs, were willing to take risks in the game, as shown by Derek, who was sent back to closed conditions after being caught by HMP Cardiff's security cameras on the phone. The incident involving Derek and his mobile phone showed that penal power operated not only through HMP Prescoed or the Clink management but also through other Criminal Justice institutions. The boys were not subjected to a one-dimensional gaze, rather a wide net of invisible surveillance. Exerting control in this manner is similar to the concept of the panoptical gaze (Foucault, 1977), showing the 'breadth' of imprisonment experienced by the boys. Incidents like Derek's reminded the boys of this gaze and that self-discipline was a necessity to remain on the programme. This 'carrot and stick' rehabilitation required the boys to control every aspect of their behaviour, including their emotions. Emotions were suppressed and controlled to reduce the risk of having their benefits removed, as shown in Chapter 6 by James and Simon who, after receiving bad news, were aware that overt displays of emotions were unavailable without consequence. Both used humour to provide momentary relief and managed to control their emotions.

The findings revealed how these strategies of compliance were constantly reinforced, with Clink life being routinely checked and interrupted by the prison. This soft power was

also exercised by Clink managers, who held a large amount of discretionary power. As shown in Chapter 7, staff held positional power over the boys, and decisions impacted the benefits of open conditions, including home leaves and day releases, and could even influence decisions made by the Parole Board. In some respects, this discretionary power worked favourably for the boys, as it resulted in leniency. Yet, the inconsistency that accompanied leniency only added to confusion, uncertainty and indeterminacy (Crewe, 2011). The additional roles required from management blurred the boundaries between management and prison staff, which caused issues for Clink management. Management struggled with the moral dilemma of wanting to promote change and second chances while sticking to rules and regulations dictated by the prison. Whilst the boys' behaviour ultimately impacted whether they were removed from the programme, knowing the long-term effects, management could not help but feel responsible and guilty about these decisions.

The 'tightness' of penal power also requires prisoner to show credible change and growth (Crewe, 2009). In principle, The Clink programme is voluntary. However, the findings, in particular Chapter 5, raise the issue of 'choice'. Some of the motivations reveal that it could be considered 'pressured rehabilitation' (Day et al., 2004) or 'coerced voluntarism' (Peyrot, 1985). The idea that the prisoner must pursue self-improvement and be a 'responsible prisoner' (Bosworth, 2007) requires engagement with rehabilitation programmes. This issue was pertinent for the boys who had to face parole boards and who were concerned that non-participation might have negative consequences. Non-attendance is generally considered to be non-compliance and can affect an individual's parole eligibility, as every decision is scrutinised (Crewe, 2009). This issue raises questions about the word 'choice', as these 'choices' are influenced by consequences.

In addition, once at The Clink, there was no 'choice' to quit. As outlined, leaving without moving on to stage two, being released or an exceptional circumstance, resulted in the removal of privileges. Being at The Clink for long periods caused temporal pains which led to the boys feeling stuck. If the desistance process calls for the individual to steer their own life, then placing pressure on offenders to take part and remain on rehabilitative programmes has the potential to lead to poorer outcomes (Day et al., 2004). Owers et al. (2011: 18) called for working with the prisoner, 'not on them'.

Conversely, there are several justifications for pressured rehabilitation. It has been argued that the benefits that one can achieve once on a programme outweigh the disadvantages (Day et al., 2004). Once on the programme, it is hoped that the individual develops internal motivation and resistance and that feelings of coercion are reduced. This point feeds into the idea previously argued, that it does not necessarily matter if the boys were motivated by external factors. Deci and Ryan (2000) found that these extrinsic motivations can change to intrinsic motivations. Again, this is not an argument against The Clink; rather, it is a reflection of the modern penal system. Increasingly, offenders (particularly violent and sexual offenders) are coerced to attend rehabilitative programmes or face affecting their risk level.

Considering the above and research question 1, it is evident that penal power functioned 'lightly', but 'tightly' in The Clink. The quasi-open conditions and The Clink experience helped form the 'invisible walls' that ensured that the boys attended the programme, remained on the programme and engaged with the process of responsibility. Importantly, the soft power exercised in The Clink meant that the boys found it difficult to (and were not supposed to) forget that they were still serving their time. The next section examines the implications of the erection of the walls, focusing specifically on the pains caused by being within the walls, whilst physically outside them.

8.3. Pains of imprisonment and 'freedom'

Section 8.2 The 'invisible walls' has already drawn upon some of the pains experienced by the boys, showing that whilst the penal power operating in The Clink is less directly oppressive, it still gripped the boys tightly. As described by Crewe (2011), this 'light' but 'tight' experience crucially required The Clink boys to self-govern, forcing them to negotiate being outside whilst still within the 'invisible walls'. This next section continues to examine the additional layers of frustrations, focusing on the different pains experienced due to being in quasi-open conditions. All of these pains created, reinforced and maintained the 'invisible walls'.

With The Clink on the boundaries of prison and community life, the boys experienced both the pains of imprisonment and pains of 'freedom'. They were neither fully imprisoned nor released, which created its own set of frustrations and complications. The boys experienced elements of the classic pains of imprisonment (Sykes, 1958). Yet

these pains were significantly reduced due to the conditions and therefore do not capture the full scope of the pains experienced by The Clink boys. The pains drawn upon in Chapter 6 reveal how the penal power in The Clink and HMP Prescoed accentuated these frustrations. Extra pains created by these conditions also included the 'taste of freedom', coping with prison life alongside work life and managing the public.

The transition from closed to open was challenging, particularly for the OGs. As Shammas (2014) argued, this challenge creates both anxiety and a sense of boundlessness, which have also been identified in released prisoners (Crawley and Sparks, 2006). The boys had to cope with a move from closed conditions to a 'seemingly limitless' open prison, then on to a 'seemingly boundless' outside world (Shammas, 2014: 119). Due to the location of The Clink, the boys moved between open prison, The Clink and the outside world on a daily basis. They were unable to hide physically behind the walls and felt exposed. The closest glimpses of 'freedom' offered by The Clink were breaks. Whilst Chapter 5 outlined that break time was a key motivation for attending The Clink, in reality break time was viewed as the ultimate test of 'responsibilisation' and for some was overwhelming. The findings revealed the challenges of stepping beyond the physical walls (both the prison and Clink building). Stories told by the boys, including James' experience of collapsing on his break, reveal the difficulty of confronting 'normal life'. Instead of excitement, breaks were another source of anxiety and apprehension.

The 'taste of freedom' offered by breaks was 'bittersweet' (Shammas, 2014: 113). The initial excitement promised too much. The boys quickly realised that breaks reminded them of what they could not do, as opposed to what they could do. As discussed in Chapter 6, there was a limited choice of activity and movements, and they were restricted with times. The blurring of the outside world and prison created the ultimate challenge. Furthermore, having to adopt the role of employee, whilst still occupying the role of prisoner, meant the boys faced the pains of serving their time, alongside work realities. As Chapter 6 highlighted, the boys experienced boredom, conflict and stressful situations during work. In addition, these two identities conflicted with one another, which caused the boys confusion. The boys were required to work in a fully functioning restaurant, despite being frequently reminded that the prisoner identity took priority. This point is explored further in the next section.

The realities of working in a restaurant also required the boys to engage with the public. The Clink argues that it provides a platform to showcase change. By inviting the public to come and dine at The Clink, it could be considered a 'status elevation ceremony' that could 'serve publicly and formally to announce, sell and spread the fact of the Actor's new kind of being' (Lofland, 1969: 277). Meisenhelder (1997) argued that transformation is only possible if society believes that an individual can change, in what he calls the 'certification' stage of desistance. Educating the public that people can change, or that 'criminality' is not a permanent trait, allows for 'moral redeemability' (Maruna and King, 2009). Therefore, The Clink could be viewed as 'breaking through social prejudice' (Siegel et al., 1998: 6), which can be linked to the desistance process as one of the primary challenges facing resettlement is public stigma (Maruna, 2011). Encouraging the public to dine at The Clink and be served by a prisoner was an intentional barrier created by The Clink. Initially, The Clink encourages the presence of the walls to challenge the public's negative perceptions. For The Clink to achieve this, it is essential that the public know they are being served by serving prisoners. However, it is hoped, by the end of the experience, that these walls have been broken down for the public.

Despite this being a potential long-term benefit to the boys, this was viewed as a frustration. Whilst conversations could be considered as part of the 'de-labelling process', the boys seemed to view them as a constant reminder of their prisoner status. The pain of managing their 'spoiled identities', the process of being relabelled and its impact on desistance is discussed in section 8.4 Identity work in The Clink.

Whilst the boys experienced both pains of contemporary imprisonment and pains of 'freedom', The Clink, to an extent, did alleviate certain pains and offer rewards for engagement. For instance, the findings demonstrated that The Clink seemed to provide an escape from prison time by providing its own temporal order. Additionally, there are clear aspects of The Clink that allowed the boys to prepare for release. It clearly engendered positive changes in the lives of some of the boys. It was not necessarily an issue that the boys were motivated by external factors (home leaves, breaks, friendships, etc.) as, once they were there, they were there. As previously highlighted, even if the main motivation was for a 'better break time', once on the programme, the boys seemed to experience both external and internal benefits. As the findings showed, the programme had positive outcomes including increased self-worth and self-

confidence, a sense of achievement, strengthened social capital, new practical skills and human capital, improved personal competences and improved family ties.

Inviting families into The Clink is a key illustration of The Clink attempting to break down barriers created by prison. Facilitating family contact provided the boys with a useful resource to help prepare for release, but also alleviated some of the 'weight' and 'depth' of imprisonment. The family day, The Clink Christmas, discussed in Chapter 7, allowed the boys to celebrate their successes with family members present. However, the findings also suggest that the boys wanted to show their families that they had changed, indicating that there were social as well as institutional pressures to engage with the programme. Although not cited as a significant motivation, The Clink Christmas revealed that the boys wanted to prove they had successfully engaged with the programme. This day, therefore, permitted the boys to use The Clink as a stage to demonstrate their ability to change. There is a substantial body of research which argues that the involvement of the family can increase the chances of success in resettlement (for example, see May et al., 2008; Williams et al., 2012). Significantly, The Clink provided opportunities for these changes to continue through the gate.

Despite The Clink alleviating some of these pains, the 'invisible walls' and the pains that accompanied them never disappeared. Reflecting research question 2, this thesis has shown that being neither fully imprisoned nor released created its own frustrations. The quasi-open conditions meant that prisoners experienced the contemporary pains of the penal system, alongside the pains of released prisoners. Nuemann (2012) argued that whilst Nordic prisons may be more 'humane', this does not mean they are experienced as any less prison-like. This same can be said of The Clink experience. This finding supports the notion that the experiences of different types of imprisonment should be understood individually and locally. Moreover, these pains will continue to follow the boys into the community, particularly if a prisoner is released and then faces a 'second sentence'. For those on a life licence, this 'second sentence' will never end. They will continue to feel the pains of release and probation addressed in Chapter 2. Although some of the boys will eventually be free of the restrictions set by the criminal justice system, the labels of being an 'ex-offender' will persist. For instance, the boys who received sentences longer than four years (all of them) will never legally be 'rehabilitated' under the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act (ROA) 1974. However, these barriers and

pains are not just legal, they are moral and social too. Labels, pains of 'freedom' and continued restrictions are symptomatic of broader issues that The Clink alone cannot address. These wider barriers show that desistance needs to be a social process as much as a personal one. No amount of prison-based intervention (including The Clink) can address these pains and secure desistance without community-level and broader social and political commitment to ex-prisoner reintegration.

8.4. Identity management in The Clink

As discussed above, the public were encouraged to dine at The Clink to be served by a prisoner to support their rehabilitation. Rather than disrupting (an ambition of The Clink), the public reinforced the 'prisoner' label. Likening the restaurant to a 'zoo' or 'fishbowl', the boys did not truly believe that the public ate in The Clink to engage with a 'belief in redeemability' (Maruna and King, 2009). Interactions with the public demonstrated that the boys were highly conscious of the negative credentials associated with their prisoner label, and this required them to engage in identity work. Harry's experience serves as a useful example, in which he concealed his offence (murder) to the public by pretending he had been sentenced for fraud. The active avoidance of becoming a waiter showed that they considered 'identity work' to be harder than manual work. The boys were highly conscious of their predicament and attempted to reduce their visibility by working in the kitchen. This finding raises concerns regarding desistance, as the literature argues that individuals need to feel that others believe in their capacity to change. It also shows the need for the individual to see themselves differently, to support a move away from the criminal identity. Considering the boy's views, the findings suggest that The Clink process effectively re-labelled them.

This 'prisoner' identity was also reinforced by prison staff and Clink management. As Chapter 6 argued, Clink life was punctuated by the Prison Service. Prison staff made random visits to The Clink, registration was required, and random searches were conducted. As already argued, the additional roles required of Clink management contributed to the 'invisible walls', but also helped sustained the 'prisoner' identity. With the boys serving time, it was impossible for The Clink management truly to distance themselves from prison staff; importantly, this meant that the boys' prisoner status came before their role as a Clink participant. Again, this 'prisoner' identity was strengthened by

other factors including The Clink's location (the physical presence of HMP Cardiff), frequent interactions with prison visitors and even simple restaurant tasks such as taking a booking.

As the findings demonstrated, in order to manage their social predicament, the boys employed several strategies to mitigate and navigate shame, stigma and their spoiled identities. Humour was a consistent strategy deployed by the boys. With multiple purposes, it was used in all social interactions, including with each other, myself, management and the public. Critically, it was used by the boys as a principal means of negotiating the barriers created by the 'invisible walls' that surrounded them. As a communicative device, it has transformative potential as it supported the boys in managing their 'prisoner' identity. For instance, Tom pouring Coca-Cola into customers glasses and stating 'That's what I'm in for', showed that humour and self-mockery were applied to 'confess' his crime, reduce tension and allowed him greater control.

Other strategies included deflection, compensation and concealment and are detailed in Chapter 6. All three were used to redefine the prisoner label. Importantly, the use of redemptive narratives allowed the boys to refer to their criminal pasts as 'failure events' (Maurna, 2001: 133), present a sense of agency and re-frame their identity. The boys used these conversations to distance themselves from their past and construct positive personal identities. As shown in Chapter 6, these redemption narratives included 'that was then, this is now' discourse. The Clink was used as a guide to initiate these 'skeleton scripts' (Rumgay, 2004) and as an example of how the boys were attempting to 'make good'. Creating these social and personally acceptable narratives was a collaboration between the boys and The Clink. Significantly, desistance literature highlights that those who stay away from crime engage in transformation narratives. These narratives reveal identifiable changes to their personal identity and self-narrative; 'better' versions of themselves (Maurna, 2001; Appleton, 2010; Laub and Sampson, 2003), suggesting that some of the boys had entered the process of desistance.

However, some boys resisted the assumption that they ought to adopt redemption narratives. As chapter 7 revealed, backstage, a few boys provided condemnation scripts (Maruna, 2001), which challenged the authenticity of the narratives presented to the public. Yet, regardless of whether the boys were invested in their scripts, they still

maintained and performed them frontstage. This is not to say that all the boys who presented conflicting narratives were purposefully lying, rather they had been 'schooled in presenting a narrative of redemption' (Liem and Richardson, 2014: 706). The narratives that lacked coherence could be due to several reasons, including wanting to maintain bravado in front of their peers and confusion over their identity. Regardless, almost all of the boys wanted to be a 'better' version of themselves once released. The reality is that most narratives moved between fact and fiction, revealing the complexities of identity in the desistance process.

In relation to research question 3, the findings have shown that The Clink programme maintains and reinforces the prisoner label, forcing the boys to employ several identity management strategies. However, the boys will be constantly reminded that they are an 'ex-prisoner' or an 'ex-offender' once released. As the literature review revealed, recruitment policies, the public and practices frequently request details of criminal records. The boys will have to continue to promote themselves as good people, despite having criminal records, once in the community. The failure to escape these labels is indicative of a wider problem in society that The Clink cannot fix. The Clink could therefore be viewed as an accurate representation of what to expect once released, through social interactions with the public provide time for prisoners to practice and develop their 'redemptive scripts', which have been found to be key to desistance (Maruna, 2001). Here, The Clink forms part of the redemption ritual. Throughout the study, the boys continually proved to be masters of their 'performance'. They relentlessly managed to negotiate being inside while being physically outside.

8.5. Implications for policy and practice

Here, it is not my intention to propose specific policies. I aim to speak more generally regarding the research's implications for policy and practice. Within this discussion, recommendations are offered for both The Clink, and resettlement initiatives more generally.

Firstly, purposeful activity should always aim to create building blocks for successful integration into the community. The evidence is that prisons cannot deliver this alone (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2019), which calls for wider participation. The Clink represents an encouraging shift towards the idea that rehabilitation and resettlement

should be a collective problem to solve. The Clink, a charity, involves the prisoner, criminal justice services, the public, and the family unit. This combination supports the thought that desistance from crime is a social issue as much as an individual issue; a system that promotes and supports change and requires public participation.

Importantly, these partnerships need to form at the beginning of the desistance process and remain throughout planning and delivery and through the gate into the community. These partnerships need to offer programmes that are viable both operationally and financially.

When programmes are developed between the prison and outside organisations, the prisoner needs to become an employee of that company. This is best practice and would encourage prisoners to develop positive working relationships with the company. The Clink did this to an extent; however, the findings demonstrate that it is difficult to remove the prison from the day-to-day running of the programme. Instead of a memorandum between The Clink, the individual and the prison, it is recommended that The Clink develops its own contract. This would promote responsibility between the employee and employer (and vice versa).

Despite an encouraging collaboration between The Clink and its partners, there need to be more opportunities like The Clink model across the board. To create a fair and equal system, opportunities cannot be based purely on the luck of location. Furthermore, all those who want to change should be offered the opportunity, regardless of offence. It is understood that a programme needs to be suitable, safe, and appropriate for all those involved; therefore, for the more serious offences, these interventions need to integrate cognitive thinking, to help change the way these individuals think and act. This point leads to a specific recommendation for The Clink programme, that the eligibility criteria provided by The Clink and prison service should be reviewed (within reason).

Opportunities to change should not be exclusive to certain offence types. For instance, The Clink does not allow those on a Serious Organised Crime Prevention Order to take part, yet these individuals are still granted home leaves and townies. The process aims to promote change, but fails to offer all individuals equal opportunity.

Programmes of any nature, working with individuals who want to desist from crime, should ensure that progress is recognised and successes are celebrated. The Clink

created The Clink Christmas as a platform to showcase change, in which the boys could publicly show their families that they had achieved something. Regardless of whether these individuals were ready to change, there was recognition of their achievements and strengths. Feeding praise back to individuals allows for a sense of accomplishment and improved self-confidence, which can, in turn, promote desistance.

To continue recognising the participants' hard work, this research recommends that The Clink reviews its payment scheme. Clink participants need to be paid a daily wage, by The Clink and not the prison. Payment by The Clink would further help to improve the employee and employer relationship discussed above. The prison wages left little room for addressing factors that could assist with the boy's resettlement. Whilst The Clink offers a bond scheme, allowing participants to save their own money would promote a sense of responsibility and self-worth. The findings reveal that the pay issue did reduce motivation among the boys and this, at times, undermined the programme. This recommendation is not to suggest that Clink participants should be paid the same as a stage two wage, as it does not want to discourage individuals from moving on to stage two placements. Rather, a graduated-payment scheme is suggested, with the view to increasing motivation, decreasing behavioural issues and enabling the boys to save for release.

While successes should be celebrated, this study has also shown the complexities of the desistance process and the Clink experience. Completing a programme and deciding to desist from crime can be extremely difficult. Organisations, the public, and all those involved, need to understand that desistance is a journey, not an event. Policy needs to reflect the fact that when individuals attempt to desist from crime, they do not tend to succeed the first time. Attention needs to be paid to what the individual thinks will work, placing them at the centre of the process. Furthermore, the pains of the process need to be acknowledged and understood. The Clink is not an 'easy' option, and the experiences of prison programmes should be understood locally and individually.

Finally, prisons are the most expensive form of punishment and should be used as a last resort. Programmes like The Clink should not be exclusively offered to prisoners. Prison should not be viewed as the only method by which individuals are able to access these types of interventions. Viewing prisons as a solution will only lead to an increase in the

prison population, which is already at breaking point. For instance, community orders could direct individuals to participate in purposeful activity.

8.6. Future research

More broadly, this thesis recommends that future research utilises the ethnographic approach. The ethnographic method allowed me to gain a truer understanding of the lived realities of those undertaking The Clink programme and what worked for them. During a time of political uncertainty, it is key that ethnographic work continues with the prison population. As Leibling (1999: 147) points out, there is an 'absence of pain', understanding and emotion from quantitative methods. Nevertheless, the limitations that accompany ethnographic research should not be ignored. Practically, ethnographic research has been described as a dirty and messy way of doing research (Ugelvik, 2014). Not only is it messy, but 'to do ethnographic research in prison [or with prisoners], you need time' (Leibling, 1999: 475). The idea that one can gain access to a prison or prisoners easily, rapidly gather data and leave, is naive. Researchers need to be prepared for a lengthy, emotionally draining process. However, it is my view that the possible outcomes of ethnographic and qualitative research in general, outweigh the challenge of an overwhelming and daunting process. It is therefore promising that researchers are continuing to use this method, despite ever-increasing barriers that prevent or limit access. Specifically, this research calls for further ethnographic work to be conducted in open category conditions. There is a noticeable absence of research conducted in this area, and the pains within these exceptional prisons have been overlooked.

In relation to my own research, I have two suggestions for future research. This thesis only offers an insight into a part of the boys' journey. While getting to know them in The Clink, it was clear to me that their stories were worthy of further examination. I was disappointed that I could not find out, in detail, what happened next for the boys. I would therefore like to continue following their stories in the community. Without a follow-up study, there are many unanswered questions, including what happened to them once they were released. If they are able to sustain long-term change, how much of this can be attributed to The Clink? For example, was it Craig's final time in prison? If it was, what part did The Clink programme play in stopping him from returning? Despite the

conflicting narratives offered by the PGs, did any of them desist from crime? For instance, did Jake actually use the connections he had developed in prison to go on to sell drugs? More generally, evaluations of these types of programme need to gather the perspectives of participants. It is important to understand why these programmes do or do not work for them.

Another avenue for future investigation would be to study any potential changes in public perception. As highlighted in section 7.3 The Public, I was unable to determine whether The Clink achieved one of its key objectives. Were the boys right? Are the public motivated to dine in The Clink to catch a glimpse into an unknown world? Do they leave having had their preconceived interpretations challenged? Like the boys, does it matter why the public attend The Clink, as long as they leave believing that prisoners deserve second chances? Both of these areas would provide interesting research projects.

8.7. A final note

This thesis provides an ethnography of The Clink, and is the first detailed qualitative study of a Clink restaurant. Whilst the study was conducted outside the prison walls, it adds to the ethnographic body of writing found in criminology, including prison ethnographies. It offers an honest account of 'doing' an ethnography with a 'high risk' population, with both the challenges and successes highlighted. The second contribution is again to the criminological literature; specifically, the literature that examines employment programmes for serving prisoners. Using the ethnographic approach, this study was able to reveal what life is like for an individual undertaking an innovative employment programme. It offered a unique insight into an area which has previously been overlooked. The final contribution is in relation to the field site itself, The Clink. The findings have provided The Clink with an in-depth qualitative piece of research on its project. It is hoped that this will provide The Clink with a greater understanding of the boys' (and future boys) time on the programme.

The Clink was not an easy process for the boys. Their experiences were exhausting and challenging, at the same time as being rewarding and enjoyable. They had to deal with the challenges of working in one of the top restaurants in Cardiff, whilst still serving their time within the 'invisible walls'. These walls were created by the soft power operating in The Clink, which created a 'light' but 'tight' experience, which required The Clink boys to

self-govern, engage in the programme and remain on the programme. The unique quasi-open conditions, which promoted self-governance, created their own additional layers of frustrations for the boys. Experiencing both the pains of imprisonment and the pains of 'freedom', they were constantly reminded of their prisoner identity. To manage their prisoner identity, they had to employ a range of strategies, including the use of redemption narratives.

However, in reality, this additional layer may never disappear for the boys. These issues extend beyond The Clink, and this layer (the 'invisible walls') and its complications will persist without a whole package of change, which includes the involvement of the prisoner alongside the public, the government, statutory agencies, families, and voluntary agencies. This package requires full participation and engagement in the desistance process. As it stands, the difficulties the boys faced in The Clink prepare them for the realities of being an 'ex-offender' in the community.

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Appendix 1: Prison Categories

Upon entry into the prison system, adult male prisoners are categorised into four different security categories. Rule 7, of the Prison Rules of England and Wales 1999, permits for the classification of prisoners, in accordance with any direction of the Secretary of State. The prisoner's categorisation will determine the type of prison they are allocated to the four security categories are as follows:

- Category A: 'Prisoners whose escape would be highly dangerous to the public or the police or the security of the State and for whom the aim must be to make escape impossible.'
- Category B: 'Prisoners for whom the very highest conditions are not necessary but who do not have the resources and will to make a determined escape attempt.'
- Category C: 'Prisoners who cannot be trusted in open conditions but who do not have the resources and will to make a determined escape attempt.'
- Category D: 'Prisoners who present a low risk; can reasonably be trusted in open conditions and for whom open conditions are appropriate.'

(MOJ, 2011: 6)

The prisoner's security category relates to what type of prisoner they are. These security categories, according to the PSI 40/2011, are based on:

- How likely they are to try to escape.
- Their risk of causing harm to other prisoners and prison staff.
- Any control issues that impact on the order of the prison or the security and safety of those within it.

(MOJ, 2011: 6)

Unless the prisoner is a Category A prisoner, they will be automatically categorised as a Category B prisoner. Prisoners on remand are generally housed in Category B accommodation, again, unless they have been provisionally categorised as A. Importantly, re-categorisation can take place during the sentence, and is a process that starts from an assessment of risk. The main purpose of re-categorisation is to determine whether or not, and to what extent, a prisoners' risk level has change (MOJ, 2011). The aim is to ensure that the prisoner is held in the appropriate conditions of security. Re-categorisation is not necessarily progress, a prisoner's risk level can decrease, but also increase, resulting in the individual being classed in a higher category. When facing re-categorisation into a lower category, there must be 'clear evidence of a reduction in previously identified risk levels to a level that is manageable in an establishment of the lower category' (MOJ, 2011: 10). Depending on sentence, prisoners will have either a six monthly or annual review of their categorisation. Issues with the assessment of prisoner risk are outlined in the following section.

Appendix 2: Release on Temporary Licence (ROTL) Types

Generally speaking, there are two main forms of ROTL:

- **Resettlement Day Release (RDR).** This licence permits prisoners to leave the prison during the day, for a specific purpose that relates to their sentence plan. For instance: work placements (paid/unpaid), maintaining family ties, training and education (all placements must be approved by a governor). This licence can only be granted after the prisoner has completed a three-month introduction into the Category D prison.
- **Resettlement Overnight Release (ROR):** This licence enables prisoners to stay overnight at their release address. This address has to be verified by the probation service. Its purpose is to allow prisoners to re-establish links with their family and community. This licence can only be granted nine months before their release, or parole, date. A prisoner is only permitted one ROR in a twenty-eight-day period. Duration of stay varies from three to five nights. Those convicted of an offence that is considered violent begin on three nights (this increases following successful RORs), whilst other sentences (e.g. drug offences) allow the prisoner to start on five nights.

(NOMS, 2015: 13-22)

Other, less common, ROTLs include: Special purposes licence and Childcare resettlement licence.

Appendix 3: Information Sheet for Participants (example)

Information Sheet

Background to study:

My name is Anna and I am a PhD research student at Cardiff University. I am interested in your experiences of The Clink training programme. I want to find out your opinions about what works about The Clink, as well as what could be improved. I would like to undertake two short interviews with you and observe how The Clink works in practice. This research is independent of the Prison Service and The Clink.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you agree to take part in two short interviews:

- The first interview: Will take place as soon as possible and I will ask you to answer some questions.
- The second interview: Will take place approximately a week before you finish The Clink training course and I will ask you to answer some questions.
- The interviews will take place in The Clink and at a suitable time.
- There are no right or wrong answers, I just want to hear about your experiences.
- The discussions will take no longer than 20 minutes.
- I will take notes during the interview. No recording devices will be used.

If you agree to be observed:

- I will be present during training and serving hours at The Clink.
- I am not here to monitor or assess you, but to understand how The Clink works.
- I will be taking notes during observations. No recording device will be used.

Do I have to take part?

- It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. Taking part is voluntary.
- If you do agree to an interview or to be observed, you are still free to withdraw from this study at any time and without giving a reason.

- If you do withdraw from the study any information you have given in interview will be removed from the research.
- Taking part in the study will not affect your sentence, time in prison or involvement in The Clink.

If I agree to take part, what happens to what I say?

- All the information you give to me will be confidential and used for the purpose of the study.
- The only exceptions are if you tell me something that is against NOMS rules and illegal acts. This will have to be reported to staff.
- All information will be anonymised and used in a way that will not allow you to be identified.
- All data will be collected and stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and will be disposed of in a secure manner.

Please ask me any questions if you are not sure about anything or if you want to know more about the study. After you have had time to consider your involvement in the study I will ask you whether or not you would like to participate.

Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix 4: Two-stage Interview Schedule (example)

Entry Interview

- House keeping
- Overview of interview
- Informed consent checklist

You may need to think back to when you started at The Clink

Employment history

- Please tell me a bit about your employment history (expand on answers)
- If in employment prior to custody, can you tell me about the last job you held prior to entering prison?
- Do you have any qualifications? (GCSE's etc.) What about school?
- Have you ever been involved in any training or other educational/vocational courses before, either in the community or in prison? Any courses etc.?
- What other jobs have you had in prison, how do you think the Clink will compare?
- Have you experienced any difficulties in gaining employment in the past? If so, what were these?

The Clink (Motivations, expectations, fears)

- What are your motivations for participating?
- What encouraged you to partake in the programme? Did anyone encourage you to attend?
- What are your expectations of participating at The Clink?
- What skills do you expect to learn?
- Do you have any worries?
- What is your role going to be at The Clink?
- What do you think this role will involve?

- Tell me a bit about your ROTL
- Are you worried about interacting with the public?

Demographic information

- How old are you?
- How would you describe your ethnicity?
- What is your relationship status at the moment?
- Do you have any children? If yes, how many children do you have?
- Can you tell me about your current sentence? (Offence, length of current sentence, release date) – Would you say your offence was related to employment issues?
- Can you tell me about any past convictions? (Number/type) Is this your first time in prison?

Close

- Any questions?
- Would you be happy to be interviewed for a follow-up interview before you leave The Clink

Exit Interview

- House keeping
- Overview of interview
- Reiterate participant's rights- Confirm that they understand and agree to be interviewed.

Experience:

- Tell me about your time at The Clink.
- Did your role stay the same? Have you been involved in any other roles?
- What did this role involve?

- Did the programme meet your previously discussed expectations?
- What have you enjoyed about the process?
- What have you not enjoyed?
- What do you think The Clink could do to improve the programme?
- How have your experiences been with the public? Do you think they are an important part of the process?
- How did The Clink compare to other prison jobs/programmes or vocational training programmes?

Changes:

- What practical skills have you learnt?
- Do you think you have experienced any personal changes?
- What has been the most important thing you have learnt at The Clink?

After The Clink:

- What are the next steps for you when you are released?
- Do you have any employment opportunity lined up?
- Do you feel ready for work? Why? How much is this to do with The Clink?
- What are your long-term employment goals?

Appendix 5: Revised Interview Schedule (example)

One time only interview

Employment history

- Please tell me a bit about your employment history (expand on answers)
- If in employment prior to custody, can you tell me about the last job you held prior to entering prison?
- Do you have any qualifications? (GCSE's etc.) What about school?
- Have you ever been involved in any training or other educational/vocational courses before, either in the community or in prison? Any courses etc?
- What other jobs have you had in prison, how did you think the Clink compared?
- Have you experienced any difficulties in gaining employment in the past? If so, what were these?

When you first started The Clink

- What are were your motivations for participating?
- What encouraged you to partake in the programme? Did anyone encourage you to attend?

Expectations vs outcomes

- What were your expectations of participating at The Clink? Have these been met?
- What skills did you expect to learn?
- Did you have any worries? Have these disappeared?
- What was your role at The Clink? Did it stay the same?
- Was it what you expected?

Experience

- Tell me about your time at The Clink.
- What have you enjoyed about the process?

- What have you not enjoyed?
- What do you think The Clink could do to improve the programme?
- Were you nervous about interacting with the public? How have your experiences been with the public? Do you think they are important part of the process?
- How did The Clink compare to other prison jobs/programmes or vocational training programmes?

Changes

- What practical skills have you learnt?
- Do you think you have experienced any personal changes?
- What has been the most important thing you have learnt at The Clink?

After The Clink

- What are the next steps for you when you are released?
- Do you have any employment opportunity lined up?
- Do you feel ready for work? Why? How much is this to do with The Clink?
- What are your long-term employment goals?

Demographic information

- How old are you?
- How would you describe your ethnicity?
- What is your relationship status at the moment?
- Do you have any children? If yes, how many children do you have?
- Can you tell me about your current sentence? (Offence, length of current sentence, release date) Would you say your offence was related to employment issues?
- Can you tell me about any past convictions? (Number/type) Is this your first time in prison?