Orange-Collar Workers:

An Ethnographic Study of Modern Prison Labour and the Involvement of Private Firms

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Abstract

Work routines are integral to prison life. One recent development, at the behest of the government, especially in privatised prisons, has been the contracting out of work by private companies to prison. This type of work is usually organised under the guise of rehabilitation, employability and skills development to help offenders enter the labour market upon release. This thesis aims to provide an insight into the experiences and everyday existence of what I term '*orange-collar workers*' - prison inmates who carry out privately contracted work in a prison setting. The research uses an ethnographic approach to explore this phenomenon; forty semi structured interviews were conducted as well as participant and non-participant observation in a private prison, *Bridgeville*. The themes that developed through the fieldwork included boredom, unskilled work, humour, masculinity and hierarchical structures within the workshops. The discussion of these themes illustrates the mundanity, the lack of skill and the particular culture in the orange-collar workshops which is not conducive to rehabilitating prisoners as it does not acclimatise them to a real work environment. It is found that orange-collar work does very little in terms of rehabilitating prisoners. Instead, it merely provides them with the immediate benefit of keeping busy which is considered better than the alternative of being 'locked up'. With regard to rehabilitation, the primary triumph of orange-collar work is preparing prisoners for low-skilled, low-paid work, dominated by hierarchical conflict, little autonomy and few prospects - the characteristics of the work most likely to greet them on release. This serves to reinforce their antipathy to the mainstream world of work and (coupled with their exposure to alternative avenues of earning money in criminality) only discourages many prisoners from entering legitimate employment. But prisoners admire the private firms who are utilising their labour. They respect the ability to make money by whatever means necessary and they see exploitation as part and parcel of economic success.

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Glossary of Colloquial terms used by Prisoners

Word	Meaning
Bang Up	Being Locked inside a prison cell. Being 'banged up' behind your cell door
Gov	Gov refers to the prison governor but 'a gov' is a more general term used to describe any member of prison staff, not just the prison governor
Nicking	Being reprimanded, usually in the form of a written warning. A nicking can affect prisoners enhancement because, for a standard prisoner, two written warnings would lead to their demotion to basic prisoner
Bag Heads	A derogatory term used to refer to drug addicts
Co-D	Co-defendant. The person that an individual committed a crime and was sentenced with
Off the Books	Off the books refers to undeclared work or what MacDonald (1994) terms 'fiddly work'. It is illegally taking cash in hand for work and it offers no job security or regularity
Double Bubble	The interest prisoners accumulate when they borrow from each other. For example, if a prisoner borrows one cigarette from another prisoner, in accordance with the rules of double bubble, he must repay him with two cigarettes
Screw	The colloquial, derogatory term used to describe prison staff (more specifically, prison guards or instructors) by prisoners
Screw boy	A derogatory term used to describe prisoners who were seen to be too friendly with prison staff. 'Screw boy' is an insult in prison and refers to someone who may be untrustworthy
Bird	Prison Sentence. For example, 'Do Bird' means 'Doing time in prison'
On Licence	Most prisoners on fixed prison sentences are released from prison half way through their sentence. The time they spend outside of prison during their fixed prison sentence is referred to as being 'on licence'. During this time prisoners are supervised by probations officers and they must adhere to certain conditions
Con	A convict

Its philosophy is a little more complicated than people think. It is acknowledged that neither convict prisons, nor the hulks, nor any system of hard labour ever cured a criminal. These forms of chastisement only punish him and reassure society against the offences he might commit. Confinement, regulation, and excessive work have no effect but to develop with these men profound hatred, a thirst for forbidden enjoyment, and frightful recalcitrations (Fyodor Dostoyevsky, 2011, p. 17).

1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Work routines are deep-rooted into the prison system and are integral to prison life. Prison work takes many forms and performs numerous roles in the modern prison establishment such as prison maintenance, skills development, occupation and profit. One recent development, at the behest of the government, especially in privatised prisons, has been the contracting of work by private companies to prison. What follows is a dissertation that provides an insight into the experiences and everyday existence of what I term '*orange-collar workers'* - prison inmates who carry out privately contracted work in a prison setting. I spent a year observing, interviewing, speaking informally as well as working alongside several prisoners involved in carrying out privately contracted work. Privately contracted prison work is growing quickly in the UK and as such, it is contributing both to the prison and the broader economy. Yet, this privately contracted work is being conducted by a secreted and hidden workforce. The intention of this thesis is to uncover the everyday experiences of orange-collar workers. I consider whether the routine work activities contribute to prisoners' re-assimilation or reskilling for the mainstream labour markets. I consider prisoners'

aspirations for life beyond the prison walls and their reflections on being used as privately contracted workers and whether, from their experience, rather than steering them away from crime, orange-collar work provokes them to stay on the not so straight and not so narrow.

This first chapter will provide a platform on which to build the succeeding chapters. I will provide some background into the use of modern prison work and its governmental focus. I will outline the research aims, the methodological choices and I will provide an insight into the proposed research contributions. Finally, I will offer a breakdown of the chapters in this thesis.

1.2. Research Context

Sixty-seven per cent of prisoners are found to be unemployed in the four weeks before imprisonment (The Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). Many have opted to avoid the formal economy altogether with over one in seven saying that they have never had a job (Fletcher, 2010). The Social Exclusion Unit's (2002) report 'Reducing Re-offending by Ex-prisoners' suggests that employment reduces the risk of re-offending by between a third and a half. It is against this backdrop that UK policy has increasingly been driven towards improving the employment prospects and skills of offenders as a means of reducing re-offending (Fletcher, 2008).

At the outset of this PhD research the Conservative- Liberal Democrat coalition government announced plans to transform British prisons into 'industrious places of productive work' and prison industries departments have since continued to grow. The Ministry of Justice (2010) argues that 'prison should be a place where work itself is central to the regime, where offenders learn vocational skills in environments organised to replicate, as far as practical and

appropriate, real working conditions' (Ministry of Justice, 2010, p. 15). The Department of Business, Innovation and Skills (2011) proposed a shift in prisoners' experiences of work and training towards making offender learning an 'authentic part of the skills system' so that they can satisfy specific demands within the broader labour market (The department of Business, Innovation and Skills, 2011, p.7). To achieve this they aim to strengthen links and develop ongoing relationships with employers. It is believed that 'a prison that is a place of work and industry will instil in offenders the disciplines of working life: order, timekeeping, working to deadlines, being managed and overseen' (The department of Business, Innovation and Skills, 2011, p.16).

The Government proposed a 'rehabilitation revolution' which sought to put the employment of prisoners and ex-prisoners at the heart of the new penal strategy (Fletcher, 2011). This is illustrated by their proposed plans in 2011:

'Our ambition is to transform prisons into industrious places of hard work. We will:

- Create a working week of up to 40 hours for prisoners;

- Focus the daily regime around work;

- Ensure prison work is sustainable and self-financing; and

- Focus education and training in prisons on equipping offenders to work, and link work activity to qualifications and employment opportunities on release, enabling offenders to be productive members of society, not a burden on the state.' (Ministry of Justice, 2011, p. 3).

However, much prison work is low-skill, low-capital workshop activities where as many prisoners as possible can be occupied in one place (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). A recent study found that 38 per cent of prisoners worked in prison workshops at some point during

their sentence (Niven and Olagundoye, 2002) and this illustrates the large number of prisoners that take part in orange-collar work. Such work is unlikely to help develop the social skills sought by employers, such as communication, teamwork and reliability (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002).

According to Fletcher (2011) working prisons allow politicians and Government officials to demonstrate that they are serious about both rehabilitation and punishing offenders. There is a confusing dichotomy surrounding the rhetoric of prison work. Whilst it is marketed as something that can be rehabilitative, it is also propagandised as a form of retribution to appease the throng of individuals who want to see punishment in prison. The punishment aspect of prison work is demonstrated by Kenneth Clarke[1]:

> The public wants a penal system that properly punishes …The first thing we are doing is introducing a full working week to get more offenders off their beds and into purposeful activity…Right now, prisoners are simply a wasted resource – thousands of hours of manpower sitting idle. (Whitehead, 2012).

However, Oliver Wright, a journalist for the Telegraph criticises this approach, arguing that:

> The real issue is that it's all about employment in prison rather than employability. Sending prisoners to work in sweatshops might quench the public appetite for justice, but it's only a short-term fix. Education and treatment in prison needs to be incentivised as much as employment. The Government rhetoric about work might sound good but it's just a smokescreen (Wright, 2012).

This smokescreen is also identified by Schlosser (1998) who argues that there is a growing incentive of profit in prison work. He discusses this in the context of the US but his comments also reflect the changes in the British penal system with its increasing reliance on private firms. Schlosser (1998) explains that 'what was once a niche market for a handful of companies has become a multi-billion dollar industry…The prison industrial complex now includes some of the nation's largest architecture and construction firms, Wall Street

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[1] The Secretary of State for Justice 2010-2012

investment banks… companies that sell everything from bullet-resistant security cameras to padded cells' (Schlosser, 1998, p. 10).

With all of this in mind, there can be little doubt that controversy continues to be a feature of debates concerning prison labour (Van Zyl Smit and Dunkel, 1999). These debates are not novel or ground breaking as the employment of prisoners in England and Wales has been a consistent (not necessarily successful, but consistent nonetheless) aspect of the prison system from as early as the 18th Century (Vagg and Smarrt, 1999). However, the way in which prison labour is employed has changed drastically and the ideology that prison labour rests upon continues to change. Central in recent debates is the question of whether prison labour can bring about reform in an environment where it is used to also generate some sort of profit for an outside sector (Harding 1997; Piacentini, 2001). As Simon (1999) and Piacentini (2001) argue, if prisoners learn skills that will be useful, are reasonably paid, and are engaged in meaningful work, then all's well and good. However, if their work is unskilled, poorly paid and does not provide them with skills that they will use after custody then they are being exploited (Simon, 1999; Piacentini, 2001).

This thesis will incorporate and transcend several disciplines such as employment studies, sociology, criminology and organisation studies to understand privately contracted prison work. The thesis will demonstrate how orange-collar work does little in preparing prisoners for legitimate employment. For some it merely reinforces their apathy towards low skilled, low paid employment which subsequently reinforces their excitement and interest in criminality and the larger sums of money that it has the possibility of yielding. Prison work then contributes to the new type of entrepreneur; materialistic, risk taking, Richard Branson adoring, rapacious criminal/'worker' through magnifying the existing problems of the legitimate world of work that is most readily available to these individuals.

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1.3. Aims and Approach of the Research

There are several exploratory aims that are addressed within this thesis:

- To provide an understanding of the nature of privately contracted prison work

- To provide an understanding of prisoners' attitudes towards conducting privately contracted prison work and identify the individuals conducting this work

- To explore the working environment of privately contracted prison work: workplace relationships, interactions and the performance of work tasks

- To explore the relationship between prison work and employment after prison.

The research has been conducted as part of an ESRC funded PhD. An ethnographic approach is used and access was granted to a large private prison in the UK, *Bridgeville*. I was provided with my own set of prison keys enabling movement throughout all areas of the prison. The fieldwork took place (primarily in the prison industries department) over ten months between 2012 and 2013. During the study I conducted forty semi-structured interviews with prisoners and utilised both participant and non-participant observation. The narratives and examples in this thesis have primarily been developed using interview transcripts and field notes.

1.5. Research Contributions

This research offers a number of proposed contributions:

- It provides a detailed ethnography of a feature of prison life that has been largely ignored by previous prison ethnographies – the role of work in prison life and its use as a form of labour market rehabilitation. This is the first ethnography conducted of privately contracted work in a privatised prison in the UK.

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- It is the first study that has provided detailed thick description of the prisoners who carry out contract work on behalf of private companies in this prison work environment.

- It presents a journalistic style reportage of how prisoners cope with the demands of being confined within prison and the role of work in this whole process of coping.

- It contributes to the understanding of how (orange-collar) work can (or more accurately cannot) rehabilitate prisoners to encourage them to give up a life of crime.

- This research utilises an interdisciplinary approach and thus it is informed by both the literature between the sociology of prison and studies of work and in some ways informs the 'New Sociology of Work' (Glucksmann, 1995; Pettinger et al, 2006).

- This research builds on the work of Dick Hobbs (2013) who identifies neo-liberal, hedonistic, entrepreneurial attitudes amongst a criminal subculture. I identify these same attitudes amongst many members of the prison population – forming a type of embourgeoisement of the criminal class and I provide an analysis as to how this process reinforces the pull of a criminal rather than legitimate, non-criminal career path.

These contributions will be elaborated on later in the thesis. The final section of this chapter will provide a breakdown of the thesis chapters.

1.6. Chapter Breakdown

This thesis will attempt to demonstrate the accomplishment of the research aims over 10 chapters besides this current one. Chapter 2 sheds light on the historical development of

prison labour and introduces the debates that besiege the private employment of prisoners. Chapter 3 will discuss the literature surrounding prison labour; this will include research of prison life, research that specifically looks at prison work (either as a side line or as the research focus) and it will how illustrate how this PhD will extend the traditional notions of what can be considered 'work'. Chapter 4 will break down the methodological choices. The chapter will explain the reasons behind the ethnographic approach, its intricacies and limitations. It will also provide a reflexive discussion on the role of the female researcher in a male prison and the nuanced findings that can develop from this dichotomy as well as the quandaries that it raises.

Chapters 5 to 10 inclusively present the findings of this research. Each chapter focuses on a specific theme of the research findings and provides a detailed analysis. Chapter 5 is an overview of *Bridgeville*, the prison. The chapter introduces the different sections of the prison and provides a detailed description of the prison industries department and the privately contracted prison workshops. This chapter provides context to the research and introduces the foundations on which to understand the subsequent findings focused chapters. Chapter 6 provides an insight into the types of individuals that make-up the privately contracted prison workshops, from their attempts to distance themselves from their role as 'prisoner' or 'criminal' to their geographical affiliations and their cultural differences. The chapter outlines five different types of prisoners identified in the workshops: *The Career Criminals, The Apprentice Criminal, The Not-for-Profit Criminal, The Criminal Precariat* and *The Pariah Criminals*. This categorisation relates to prisoners' propensities regarding criminal behaviour and their attitudes towards, and experiences of, work and employment inside and outside prison.

Chapter 7, 8 and 9 explore the day-to-day life within the privately contracted prison workshop. Chapter 7 focuses on the issues of boredom both inside the workshops and the wider prison environment and attempts to explain how prisoners deal with boredom and 'kill time'. The chapter discusses prisoners' rationale for entering the prison workshop; for normality and routine, a chance to escape their prison cells, financial rewards and the opportunity to socialise with other inmates. It also draws on the sociology of work to understand how prisoners attempt to pass their time. Chapter 8 focuses on the theme of humour to provide an understanding of the informal culture of the prison workshop. The chapter draws attention to the numerous potential functions that humour plays for orange-collar workers; for coping, for boredom's sake, to bolster masculinity, for seeking acceptance and for interacting with authority. Applying the ideas of Mike Mulkay (1988), the chapter demonstrates how humour performs serious functions in the workshop and is not merely used as a form of amusement and blithe. Chapter 9 introduces the concept of a *prisoner bureaucracy*. The chapter uses the prison management's official hierarchy within the workshop (where a small number of prisoners perform quasi-managerial roles) to explain how conflict can develop in the prison workshop. It draws attention to the complexities of introducing management structures into a total institution where prisoners eat, sleep and play in the same places, with the same people, at the same time (Goffman, 1961).

The final findings chapter, chapter 10, attempts to provide some additional cohesion to chapters 5-9. I illustrate the redundancy of the specific industry in which prisoners are gaining experience- manufacturing. I then draw attention to another possible industry in which prisoner may attempt to gain employment after prison- the service sector (due to its growth). However, the cultural norms of the orange-collar workshops (masculine, crude humour and leisure at work) do not transfer well to the service sector working environment

(McDowell, 2013). I note prisoners' pessimism of this work as a form of rehabilitation with the exception of the Waste Management Department where prisoners were more enthusiastic about gaining employment in a related industry outside prison. All of this mostly demonstrates what orange-collar work does *not* do for prisoners. I then move on to discuss what it *does* do- it prepares prisoners for low-paid, low-skilled, boring work. However, the participants of this research expressed materialistic values and entrepreneurial spirits and aspirations to become business owners; these desires cannot be fulfilled by low paid, low skilled work. And, given prisoners exposure to criminal activity and illegitimate ways of creating profit, criminality can seem like a more viable option to achieve their desired lifestyles. Opting for criminality allows prisoners to identify with a consumerist culture and embody a type of embourgeoisement. The level of prisoners' identification with an entrepreneurial culture is further illustrated by their admiration for the private firms that are using their labour. In chapter 10 I conclude that orange-collar work does little to disrupt the criminal behaviours and does not attempt to direct entrepreneurial attitudes in a positive way. In sum, the rehabilitative purposes of orange-collar work are redundant and this research finds that it only serves the purposes of occupying prisoners and increasing the profits of Bridgeville and the private companies contracting this work.

In the final chapter, I will conclude this thesis by providing a synopsis of the research and its findings and I will provide further detail of the research contributions that I have outlined in this introduction. These contributions are organised into three categories; empirical contributions, theoretical contributions and practical contributions, highlighting how this research can inform academic literature and social policy. Finally, I will provide the limitation of this research and ideas for potential further research that could lead on from this thesis.

2. Breaking Rocks: The Development and Debates of Prison Labour

2.1. Introduction

The literature review will be presented over two chapters. This first chapter will provide context, introducing the historical development and debates of prison labour. The second chapter will provide an empirical context and will discuss the research that has explored prison life and prison work.

Firstly, in this chapter I will provide a brief history of prison labour and how it has developed, primarily within the context of the UK, by reviewing the literature within these areas. I will then introduce the debates within the literature that envelop prison labour, particularly with the involvement of private firms. I will discuss the benefits and pitfalls of using prison labour as identified within academic debates.

2.2. The Historical Development of Prison Labour

I will show here how prison labour has evolved from something primarily focused on punishment (despite the contribution of prison reformers) to a less harsh regime, with attempts made to turn it into something more rehabilitative. I will then illustrate the profit motive that has developed within the penal system and prison labour and this will lead me to introduce the state of modern prison labour in the UK.

2.2.1. Prison Labour for Punishment

Prison was originally used as a holding place for those awaiting trial or punishment (punishment often being some form of torture or a sentence to death); it was rarely used as punishment in its own right (Vagg and Smarrt, 1999). Until the 1770s, for those who committed severe crimes, transportation was used and criminals were shipped to the British

colonies. This was curtailed at the end of the eighteenth century when many British colonies refused to accept British convicts. As a result prisons throughout the UK became increasingly overcrowded and imprisonment with hard labour was beginning to be seen as a suitable, alternative sanction for offenders. Foucault (1979) argued that the use of prison for punishment symbolised how punishment had moved away from being physical, the tortured body was avoided as well as the theatrical displays of torture and the state instead moved towards punishing the 'soul' in a secreted manner.

In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century prison labour was justified in three ways: work was viewed as an alternative to the corrosive influence of other prisoners, as morally improving and profitable. With regard to profitability it was suggested that prison labour had the ability to reduce the cost of imprisonment and provide prisoners with some money and savings (Vagg and Smarrt, 1999). Although the justification for prison labour was primarily the thinking of prison reformers, at this time, it tended to be used as a form of punishment with the aim of deterring the criminal class from committing further crimes and returning to prison. Prisoners were sentenced to 'imprisonment with hard labour' which involved painfully tedious and futile work such as powdering bathbrick and oakum picking and using devices such as cranks and tread wheels. It was assumed that conducting hard labour would be so painfully dull that it would ensure prisoners would not want to return to prison (Vagg and Smarrt, 1999).

So at this time prison work was used as a form of punishment and rehabilitative prison work was essentially discouraged. An 1835 Home Office study stressed a hard stance on prison work in which a visiting judge at Bedford Prison objected to any form of labour that could be perceived as vocational training on the grounds of less eligibility; he argued that prisoners

should not be given an opportunity for improvement that those who had not committed a crime could not afford to pursue (Home Office, 1835). This hard stance on prison labour was slightly eased by the Prison Act of 1865 which divided 'imprisonment with hard labour' into first class and second class hard labour. The former involved the previously described methods of the crank and treadmill whilst the latter involved any form of hard labour determined by local justices (Fox, 1952). Even by the end of the 1800s views on the importance of prison work as a form of deterrence were still widely held. In 1885, Sir Edmund Du Cane, Chairman of the Prison Commission wrote 'the punishment of hard, dull useless, uninteresting, monotonous labour is necessary for its penal effect' (Vagg and Smarrt, 1999, p. 44). Melossi and Pavarini (1981) argue that prison labour attempted to design 'a factory of proletarians within a capitalist setting who are then subject to reform through rules, norms and regulation' (Melossi and Pavarini, 1981, p. 26). Melossi and Pavarini (1981) argue that it is not only prison labour that has attempted to do this; Criminal justice legislation such as the 1530 Vagrancy Act, and the New Poor Law Act in 1834 (Melossi and Pavarini 1981, Hudson 1997) were also designed to reaffirm class boundaries by targeting the unruly and forcing peasants and the poor into workhouses (Melossi and Pavarini 1981).

> Forced labour in workhouses or houses of correction was geared towards breaking working class resistance; it compelled labourers to accept the most exploitative conditions (Melossi and Pavarini, 1981, p. 15).

It was believed that the individuals in the workhouses tended to lack the skills or motivation to compete in the open market. As such several Poor Law Authorities planned to make workhouses profitable by exploiting the free labour of their inmates. The tasks conducted in workhouses were very similar to the work undertaken later in prison.

Like Melossi and Pavarini (1981), Foucault (1979) viewed reform as correcting criminals' behaviour through training the body to adhere to norms and regulation such as teaching order,

imposing structure, and by ensuring 'the correct use of the body' to encourage diligence and avoiding idleness (Foucault 1979, p. 152). Timetables and routines were (and still are) used to organise time and drive repetition (Foucault 1979; Piacentini, 2002). Foucault (1979) believed that prison labour was used to produce an ideal, disciplined workforce; labour as a form of social control. Prisons, mental asylums and even factories were institutions that ushered a new form of dispersed power- disciplinary power. But work itself has become a new form of discipline in attempting to create a particular type of person.

Rusche and Kirchheimer (1939) also saw prison labour as a form of control, primarily economic. They argue that it is `illusory' (Rusche and Kirchheimer, 1939, pp. 141-142) to assume that prison labour exists to reform prisoners when in fact it continues to be a punitive measure. Alongside being punitive, Rusche and Kirchheimer (1939) suggest that prison labour's role came to be determined by the labour market. In times of labour shortage in the free market, punishments became more lenient and prisoners were put to work that was more useful. In times of excess labour, punishments became less constructive (Rusche and Kirchheimer, 1939). For Rusche and Kirchheimer (1939) prison labour serves multiple purposes with economic incentives moving more prominently to the forefront:

> It is certain that the houses of correction were very valuable for the national economy as a whole. . . and reform was a secondary issue to the economy (Rusche and Kirchheimer 1939, p. 50).

2.2.2. A Gradual Move towards a Less Harsh Regime?

Simon (1999) conducted a detailed historical analysis of prison work in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries showing that the harshness of prison work during this period was slowly alleviated. The Gladstone Report in 1895 recommended relaxing the harshness of prison labour. It recommended that prisoners should be able to earn something continuously during their sentence and although this was not adopted in the decade following the

Gladstone Report, tread wheels were taken out and replaced with workshops where prisoners worked together. This was followed with the disposal of the cranks and the reduction in the use of oakum picking which was eventually disposed of in the 1930s (Simon, 1999). The Prison Act 1898 alleviated the harshness of prison labour by abolishing first class hard labour. As a consequence, all prisoners were to be employed from the beginning of their sentence in 'useful industrial labour'. The work often involved making mats, sewing mailbags, sewing prison clothes or domestic and maintenance tasks (Simon, 1999).

The most noticeable shift away from punishment developed in the early 1900s. The prison commissioner's annual report in 1906-1907 commented that:

> Every effort is made…to obtain means of employment which shall not only be remunerative but shall furnish in its execution the occasion of teaching some sort of industry to the prisoner which, if it may not directly conduce to his employment in that particular trade on discharge, will at least give him the habit of applied labour, the absence of which quality is the principal predisposing cause to a life of crime (Annual Report, 1906-1907, p. 30: In Simon, 1999, p. 5).

However, despite the inclination to use prison work for training as opposed to punishment, due to external market forces, work wasn't always readily available and many prisoners remained unoccupied during their sentence (Simon, 1999).

WWI created the need for prison labour in the form of making war supplies. But this was short lived. Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway (1922) concluded that prison labour was still a low priority within the prison system. There was a lack of trained instructors in the workshops and many work processes were labour intensive because better equipped workshops would provide less employment. Some non-productive or counterproductive tasks were used merely to absorb prisoners' time. Work was 'regarded as a means to an end, emphatically not as a craft, but as a prescribed task to be fulfilled as part of the punishment of imprisonment' (Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway, 1922, p. 113). So whilst prison labour had

moved away from the harsh ideals of punishment by the 1920s, it was instead dealing with issues of occupying prisoners rather than rehabilitation. Despite their criticism, Hobhouse and Fenner Brockway (1922) acknowledged that factory work outside of prison could also be monotonous and degrading but they argued that the work in prison should aim to be more purposeful. They advocated a system of payment for prison work (which was not in place at the time).

A Government Inquiry in 1932 argued that the primary aim of prison work should be the rehabilitation of the prisoner and not the exploitation of prison labour to secure a return for the state (Departmental Committee on the Employment of Prisoners, 1933). The inquiry recommended that there should be a drive to obtain more work and a vigorous pursuit of industrial efficiency. This was partly fulfilled by the end of the 1930s, WWII created an urgent need for the production of war supplies which boosted prison industries (Simon, 1999).

2.2.3. 'Treatment and Training' or Efficiency and Profit?

The Criminal Justice Act 1948 attempted to expand work opportunities for prisoners, with the watchwords being 'treatment and training' (Simon, 1999). While the principle of punishment in prison work was dwindling the rationale of profitability began to grow. A Government inquiry in 1959 criticised the government for their uncertain and half-hearted approach to prison work and emphasised the need for industrial efficiency which they felt was essential for good training. It was also suggested that orders (for prison made products) should be sought from private firms as well as government departments as a way of improving efficiency. The inquiry's emphasis on efficiency in prison work led to the opening of training prisons such as Coldingley Prison in 1969 (Simon, 1999).

Coldingley was regarded as a move towards a more work and training focused regime and was initially viewed as a success and a confident move towards efficiency. Prison labour was beginning to be viewed optimistically and at the beginning of the 1970s an attempt was made to professionalise the prison industries department which was given the brand name Prindus (Simon, 1999). But this optimism was short lived due to the rising prison population in the 1970s. The strain on the prison service meant that despite an emphasis on efficiency many of the prison industrial workshops ran at an increasing loss. The 1985 report of the Prison Inspectorate stated that they had come to 'the inescapable conclusion that substantial parts of the system were wholly pre-occupied with survival' (HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, 1985, p.3). By the early 1990s Coldingley's success had plummeted as work hours were shorter than anticipated, machinery was often out of date and there was inadequate financial planning (Simon, 1999). During this time, there was also much controversy surrounding Prindus due to allegations of corruption within the department and because it symbolised the governments endorsement of involving the private sector (and with that, profit) more heavily in the penal system (Simon, 1999). The Woolf report in 1990 identified the competing motives of prison labour. The Woolf report suggested that work in prison should not be run like a business and it should not be motivated by profit as had been the case under the previous rhetoric of 'industrial efficiency'. Instead, it was argued that work should be purposeful and constructive for as many prisoners as could be usefully deployed. The Woolf report argued that the development of prison labour should only be influenced by the need to find work which could help prisoners into employment after release (Simon, 1999).

Despite the Woolf report's stance towards prison work, the ideology underlying the prison system generally continued to be confused. Liebling (2004) suggests that Woolf's vision of a system of high basic standards and rights with extra incentives was reshaped into a more

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'punitive and restrictive' system of 'sticks and carrots' (Liebling, 2004, p. 30). England and Wales have had a confused series of prison labour policies: Labour has been used as an element of punishment specified in addition to custody, as a means of training (especially in Young Offenders Institutes- YOIs) or as a way of occupying prisoners time but, in practice, it is best described as 'symbolic' and 'tokenistic' (Vagg and Smarrt, 1999). According to Vagg and Smarrt (1999) roughly once every dozen years, there is an attempt to give labour a higher priority within prisons. In practice, these efforts have amounted to very little.

2.2.4. 21st Century Prison Work: Show Me the Money

The penal system has not been exempt from the growing neo-liberal ideology that has become more embedded in modern society and politics. According to Crewe (2009) the core logic of modern prison governance is economic.

> One part of this framework is a more forceful insistence on the financial accountability and frugality of government institutions. Imprisonment should be cheap, cost-effective and able to justify itself to a parsimonious public…According to this logic, it should also learn from commercial practices or have its functions contracted out to the private sector if viable and economical (Crewe, 2009, p. 17)

Bureaucratic managerialism has been the primary mode of operation within the penal system since the late 1980s (Crewe, 2009) which has brought with it the development of the National Offenders Management System (NOMS) in 2008 (NOMS, 2014). The present management of prisons and prison labour has embodied a continuous and more expansive use of private firms with an emphasis on profit.

The Justice Secretary Kenneth Clarke launched One3One Solutions in 2012; an enterprise that brings together private companies and prisons to increase productive, commercial work for prisoners with the dual motives of rehabilitation and encouraging profit for private firms:

> We deliver many high quality products and services for household names. We help businesses with textiles, printing, laundry, woodwork, furniture making and engineering in all sorts of innovative ways. We have tens of thousands of workers in

> more than 450 facilities in Her Majesty's prisons. We offer you a social return as well as great business benefits. Our team is motivated to help change lives as well as satisfy your customer needs. Offenders are motivated to work and return to their lives outside better prepared for work. It is a way to give something back to your community (One3One Solutions, 2014).

Due to the surging growth in privatisation within the penal system, England and Wales currently have fourteen privately contracted prisons (HM Prison Service, 2014). This has led to an influx of a profit motive where lucrative prison labour is not only used to cope with the growing costs of holding prisoners, it is also used to improve private companies bottom lines. Whilst prison labour continues to be a key feature of the modern prison its marketed rehabilitative purpose still sits on the back-burner whilst occupation, profit and other motives take precedent.

I have, thus far, reviewed the historical literature of prison work. I have introduced the development of prison labour from its beginnings in the late eighteenth century as an alternative to transportation and its ensuing use as a form of punishment to its modern standing with its more explicit engagement with private firms. The next section will review the stream of literature that has debated the value of prison work and the modern day involvement of private firms. I will present the arguments that suggest private prison labour is beneficial, discussing its positive impact on recidivism, its ability to keep prisoners occupied and its commercial and economic benefits. I will then draw attention to the pitfalls of private prison labour; the possibility that it may displace free workers, the problems that arise when profit is prioritised and the issues that arise due to the types of industries that prisoners work in and which prisoners are chosen for work.

2.3. The Debates of Prison Work

The notion of involving the private sector in developing prison industries has been debated since the nineteenth century (Ignatieff 1978, 1983; Piacentini, 2002). The debates are fraught

with complexities and overlapping contentions. I will present the conflicting views surrounding prison labour to illustrate the effects that it can have on numerous groups in society. As these debates are more established in the US, I will also draw upon the development of the private use of prison labour in the US as well as the UK.

The purpose of imprisonment is perceived differently by numerous groups in society with a key distinction being the contention between punishment and rehabilitation. At both ends of the spectrum there is a philosophical opposition to private sector employment of inmates (Atkinson and Rostad, 2003). Some in favour of rehabilitation argue that privately contracted prison labour can be useful in providing prisoners with real workplace skills and experience whilst others see it as an exploitative tool for generating profit. Some in favour of punishment argue that privately contracted prison labour is useful as it keeps prisoners busy during their sentence and not left idle whilst others disagree with the benefits that prisoners can obtain through private industries such as wages and transferable employability skills (Van Zyl Smit and Dunkel, 1999). I will first discuss the benefits of private prison labour before discussing the pitfalls of privately contracted prison labour.

2.3.1. The Benefits of Private Prison Labour

Robert Atkinson and Knut Rostad (2003), key proponents of privatised prison labour, argue that a number of groups in society can benefit. These benefits include reduced recidivism, enhanced security, a flexible workforce for business, lower public service costs for tax payers and increased economic support for society (Atkinson and Rostad, 2003).

Fenwick (2005) argues that there is a pressing need to provide work for prisoners:

> From a penological point of view, meaningful employment for prisoners is very important. It has the potential to provide important job skills that might be useful for prisoners in seeking employment after their release. Regular participation in work can also help to inculcate prisoners with more disciplined work and personal habits. From

> the point of view of the prison administration, regular employment may aid in ensuring prison security, not least by alleviating the boredom that would otherwise prevail (Fenwick, 2005, p. 261)

Pyle (1997) suggests that the renewed interest in private companies is down to the fact that 'only private manufacturers can produce jobs quickly enough to prevent idle prisoners in overcrowded prisons from riot and destruction' (Pyle, 1997, p. 167). He argues that privately operated prison industries are more successful in equipping inmates with skills that will aid them in finding regular employment upon release. It is suggested that private organisations can provide prison work more efficiently and successfully than the state (Pyle, 1997; Fenwick, 2005).

In addition, Fenwick (2005) argues that privately contracted prison labour can be more ethical than state run prison labour because when the state is the only entity involved in prison labour, Convention 29 of the ILO requires neither that the labour be voluntary nor that the prisoners be paid for their labour (International Labour Organisation, 2011). Convention 29 is based on the assumption that the state has and always will have the power to extort forced labour from its citizens (Fenwick, 2005). In contrast, more careful and reformative initiatives must be undertaken when private firms are involved in such an initiative because of the added contentious motive of profit (Fenwick, 2005). Fenwick's (2005) argument questions the notion that the privatisation of prison labour is more exploitative. I will now move on to discuss the specific benefits of private prison labour that are suggested within the literature, firstly, its link to recidivism.

2.3.1.1. Prison Work and Recidivism

There is an expectation that private involvement in prisons would, directly or indirectly, lead to better work and training opportunities for prisoners generally (Piacentini, 2002). Prison work is considered an important element of rehabilitation as much research has shown that

unemployment is a predictor of criminal activity (Glaser and Rice, 1959; Pownall, 1967; Witte and Reid, 1980; Davis, 1983 Saylor and Gaes, 1997; La Vigne, et al. 2008; Matsuyama and Prell, 2010; Berg and Huebner, 2011; Lockwood et al. 2012). Rhodes (2008) argues that a stable job is central in reducing the likelihood of reoffending by up to fifty per cent.

Atkinson and Rostad (2003) found that, in the US, more than two thirds of all state ex-offenders were rearrested within three years of being released indicating that simply going to prison is not a deterrent from criminal activity. However this figure is reduced when only prisoners who had entered the prison industries (privately contracted prison workshops) are considered (Atkinson and Rostad, 2003). According to Shilton et al. (2005) increasing prison industry programmes can provide incentives to link training in prison to hiring slots in the community (Shilton et al. 2005) which would be beneficial considering that studies show that less than half of released prisoners have adequate job placement plans (Shilton et al. 2005). Private prison work can teach workplace habits, practices and readiness skills and in the context of more skilled employment, prisoners can learn specific and relevant vocational skills (Atkinson and Rostad, 2003).

Contrary to the perspectives of less eligibility Braithwaite (1980) argues that because most prisoners are people who have been disadvantaged socially, educationally or vocationally, they should be eligible to acquire skills and training through work and education in prison. It is also suggested that even during periods of national unemployment there are still skill shortages and prisoners should be trained for such vacancies rather than their labour being wasted (Braithwaite, 1980). Flanagan and Maguire (1993) and Fleisher and Rison (1999) argue that profitable prison labour does not necessarily connote exploitation. Instead private sector involvement can create a `factory environment' that ensures quality is maintained and

is comparable to outside industries, giving prisoners a more accurate impression of outside work. If prison work is used appropriately it can 'normalise the social and economic life of prisoners and facilitate the integration of staff and inmate activities' (Flanagan and Maguire, 1993; Fleisher and Rison, 1999; Piacentini, 2002, p. 86). But the positive effects of prison labour are not restricted to when prisoners are released; the following section will discuss the literature that argues private prison work is beneficial as it keeps prisoners occupied.

2.3.1.2. Keeping Prisoners Occupied

Keeping prisoners busy on a daily basis in prison workshops can reduce tension and hostility. Prisoners are kept occupied and engaged in work rather than having to contend with the anxiety of being locked inside a prison cell. Atkinson and Rostad (2003) argue that prison labour can have personal benefits for prisoners (with regard to reducing tension) and can simultaneously reduce the strain that the hostility and anxiety puts on the prison service, particularly frontline staff that are forced to deal with these issues (Atkinson and Rostad, 2003; Fenwick, 2005; Flanagan and Maguire, 1993).

A key justification for prison labour is continually grounded in humanitarian principle as the prisoners' involvement in meaningful activity can reduce tensions, aid individuals in coping with the harshness of the institutional environment and give prisoners a sense of self-worth. Zamble and Porporino (1988) contend that prison environments place individuals in a 'behavioural deep freeze' that may reduce already deficient inmate coping skills. It is suggested that work programmes help to thaw these deficiencies and enable prisoners to cope more easily in prison. Flanagan and Maguire (1993) argue that it is essential that prisoners are engaged in meaningful activity because an individual's self-concept is linked to how their time is spent. They found that industrial programmes could enhance stability and improve the

atmosphere of the institutional environment. I will now move on to discuss the commercial and economic benefits of private prison labour.

2.3.1.3. The Commercial Benefits of Prison Work

A principle economic benefit for employers is the free use of space and utilities. Prison labour is also attractive to the employer with seasonal labour needs. Companies with short term product manufacturing cycles followed by long idle periods for workers may find a prison labour force an attractive alternative to mass hiring followed by mass layoffs (National Institute of Justice, In: LeBaron, 2008). Those that oppose privately contracted prison labour often do so because they believe that businesses' only interest in employing inmates is to cut costs by exploiting 'cheap labour'. However, Atkinson and Rostad (2003) suggest that, in the context of the US, firms choose prison labour for reasons other than cheap labour. They argue that many firms place a higher importance on the quality they receive in using prison labour over cost reductions. Atkinson and Rostad (2003) argue that both prisoners and business are rewarded through prison industries and that it is not used solely as an exploitative measure for a cheap and docile workforce.

2.3.1.4. The Economic Benefits of Prison Work

According to Atkinson and Rostad (2003) the wages that prisoners will earn help their dependant families financially, emotionally and psychologically. Providing prisoners with wages that they can use to support their family can also have an impact on wider society; if prisoners are contributing to their families on the outside, their families will be less reliant on the welfare system which could reduce costs to the tax payer and the state (Atkinson and Rostad, 2003). Logan (1990) argues that prisons can cease to be a drain on government spending if prisons are self-sufficient through private sector involvement. Flanagan and Maguire (1993) also believe that ensuring prisoners contribute to their costs will reduce the strain on the states' penal expenditures.

Although there are economic criticisms of privately contracted prison labour (due to the belief that it can take jobs away from the law abiding workforce outside of prison) some argue that assigning work to the most efficient producer is good for the economy (Wright, 2001). Similarly, Atkinson and Rostad (2003) argue that an increase in the prison labour force has little to no effect on the unemployment rate outside of prison. Atkinson and Rostad (2003) believe that prison labour is not a zero sum game and does not lead to existing workers being permanently displaced. Displaced workers acquire jobs again and produce goods and services and new workers are not just workers - they also become consumers (Atkinson and Rostad, 2003). Atkinson and Rostad (2003) argue that in the long term, employing prisoners doesn't raise unemployment but adds to overall GDP. They argue that keeping prisoners idle, or even worse, breaking rocks, does nothing to add to the wealth of the economy. Therefore, rather than stop prison labour, Atkinson and Rostad (2003) believe that assistance for displaced workers should be expanded.

However, Atkinson and Rostad (2003) do not acknowledge the micro level issues such as the effects displacement can have on individual workers. Individuals will be forced to face the distressing situation of looking for work and facing unemployment, even if it is only temporary. The anxiety will be exacerbated with the knowledge that their jobs are moving inside prisons. Therefore, whilst some in favour of privately contracted prison work paint a bright and polished picture of its outcomes, in reality, there are still several problems that need to be considered. These problems will be explained in the following section.

2.3.2. The Pitfalls of Prison Labour

Davis (1999) argues that criminologists who support the involvement of the private sector are naive and do not fully grasp how privately contracted or privately run prison labour can

become a form of slave labour (Davis 1999; Piacentini, 2002). Schneider (1999) argues that private prison industries involve a fundamental conflict of interest because profit motives are not consistent with the best interests of prisoners and the public (Schneider, 1999). According to Garvey (1998) once punishment becomes a source of profit to the state its incentive to punish increases (Garvey, 1998). Reformers accuse some contractors of practically running the prison, becoming the 'power behind the throne, greater than the throne' (Dorothea Lynde Dix In: Garvey, 1998, pp. 360-361). The following section will address the arguments that suggest that privately contracted prison labour threatens the livelihood of free workers and the civil liberties of prisoners.

2.3.2.1. The Displacement of Free Workers

Gordon Lafer (2003), a key adversary of prison labour, argues that it displaces free workers and exploits prisoners. Lafer (2003) believes that privately contracted prison labour undoes everything that union members have fought so hard to achieve as prisoners have previously been used directly as a strike breaking force (Lafer, 2003). For Lafer (2003) the difficulty of prison labour for working people is twofold: it takes decently paid jobs out of the economy and undermines the living standards and bargaining power of those who remain employed but whose firms are now forced to compete with prison industries (Lafer, 2003). Lafer (2003) argues that a free market economy ought to have no place for a vast army of prisoners undermining the wages of working people (Lafer, 1999). Former United States Secretary of Labour, Robert Reich, commenting on private firms' use of prison labour suggested that:

> Without really intending to do so, the nation is in the process of creating a giant job program for people who are likely to be unemployed. The only problem is that in order to be eligible for it, you've got to be in prison (Robert Reich In: Atkinson and Rostad, 2003, p. 12).

2.3.2.2. The Profit Motive: When the Bottom Line is prioritised

There is also literature that questions the equity of prison labour. According to Lafer (1999) prison workers are statutorily exempt from virtually every form of labour protection enacted

throughout the past one hundred years (Lafer, 1999). Prisoners can be hired, fired or reassigned at will (Lafer, 1999). It is not hard to comprehend what private firms like about prison labour and consequently, what free workers abhor about it. Lafer (1999) argues that despite the 'spin' that prison labour serves a rehabilitative purpose expenditures for education and training in US prisons have actually been declining (Lafer, 1999). In the US, Lafer (2003) notes that the prime supporters of the prison labour initiative in Oregon did not come from prison reformers, prisoners and charitable organisations but from a clique of conservative businessmen who have promoted a host of anti-worker initiatives over the past decade (Lafer, 2003).

Black (2011) describes prison labour and the involvement of private companies as a 'naïve, ill thought out, divisive and ultimately unobtainable fantasy' (Black, 2011, p. 38). Black (2011) believes that the education of prisoners will suffer as a result of this initiative. Although the programme is apparently intended to rehabilitate prisoners and provide them with skills, when wages are thrown into the equation, it can be contended that the whole ideology and objective of prison labour changes. Black (2011) believes that where prisoners are able to earn more money in work than they can in education, work is likely to become more popular but if prisoners' basic numeracy and literacy skills are not adequate, the amount of hours they have worked in prison is immaterial to their chances of gaining employment post-incarceration, more so if the work has been unskilled.

2.3.2.3. Working in Declining Industries

LeBaron (2008) contends that a rise in neo-liberal policies has reduced the power of labour so that workers (especially female workers, workers of colour and, pertinent to this research, ex-prisoners) are being forced to accept precarious, informal, seasonal and part-time work (McNally, 2002; LeBaron, 2008). Prisoners who engage in monotonous, low skilled work

have little chance of gaining employment upon release as increased competition has compelled employers to search for alternative ways to reduce costs such as outsourcing labour (Crow and Albo, 2005). Lower wage zones are often located offshore but, according to LeBaron (2008), some firms are able to stay in the US by moving production into prisons; a strategy that peaked during the 1990s in the face of surging competitive sector imports (LeBaron, 2008). Therefore, ex-prisoners with low skills are less likely to find employment upon release, firstly, as these low skilled jobs are moving abroad and secondly because ironically they are moving into prisons. Also debateable is whether the skills are marketable on the outside. Many prisoners are being trained in declining industries such as textiles and furniture making (Atkinson and Rostad, 2003).

Lafer (2003) argues that prison work programmes threaten to create a vicious cycle of poverty and imprisonment. When the economy goes into recession, the supply of decently paid jobs will shrink, more working class people will fall into poverty and some will engage in crime as a practice of survival. Those arrested will be incarcerated and put to work for private companies where their labour will serve to eliminate many more decently paying jobs on the outside, reproducing the cycle. Therefore, if prisoners are not provided with the opportunity to obtain employable skills in growing industries and in more skilled sectors, this vicious cycle will continue (Lafer, 2003). The next section will discuss the types of prisoners that are chosen to conduct privately contracted work.

2.3.2.4. Which Prisoners will be Chosen?

It is argued by some that the idea of using prison work to reduce recidivism is merely pretence, especially when we consider prisoners who are serving life sentences with little chance of release (Black, 2011). Black (2011) believes that the scheme of prison labour is likely to only involve lifers or long term prisoners as these individuals provide the sort of

stable long-term population that any prospective company would ideally want to use. Black (2011) views the rehabilitative objectives of prison as a 'sales pitch' to encourage individuals to concede. Wright (2003) argues that prison industries prefer to hire people serving life sentences to avoid the retraining and slow production often associated with prisoner turnover. Using prison labour in this way calls into question the claim that work and training programmes are intended to provide meaningful job skills to rehabilitate prisoners (Wright, 2003). Hawkins (1983) goes as far as to suggest that prison labour is racially biased in favour of white prisoners particularly in periods of high unemployment. Similarly, Fitzgerald and Sim (1982) argue that prison labour is determined along racial and class lines. They suggest that the limited opportunities available to prisoners can lead to the politicisation of punishment whereby prisoners are effectively excluded from certain skills and professions.

But who is a 'worker?' The answer to this question often determines who receives legal protection or support and who does not. Disputes over this question animate both feminist scholarship (examining nonmarket work) and labour law scholarship (examining how labour market restructuring challenges legal definitions of employment) (Glucksmann, 1995; Zatz, 2008). The legal status of prisoners as workers, across the world is contrasting (Van Zyl Smit and Dunkel, 1999). Courts often hold that prisoners are not employees because their efforts are not economic in character (even though they receive payment for their work) (Fenwick, 2005). The complexity of prisoner's 'worker' status only adds to the problems of this type of work in prison.

2.4. Concluding Remarks
This chapter has discussed the literature in order to present the historical context for this research. It has followed the progression of prison labour from the eighteenth century to its modern position in society today and the many purposes in which it has been used for. I have

presented the academic and political debates of prison labour and the involvement of private firms. I have introduced the arguments for and against private prison labour. The following chapter will continue to explore the literature informing this study with a focus on empirical research of prison and prison work.

3. Empirically Exploring Prison Life and Prison Labour

3.1. Introduction

The concept of work has played an important part in the world of prisons (Coyle, 2005). This review will begin by drawing on early empirical research of prison life in order to build a clear, chronological picture of the environment in which prison work takes place. The large scale studies of prison will provide a sociological understanding of life behind bars and also the environment in which prison work takes place. This will follow with a more focused look at prison work, which will involve the few studies that have specifically focused on prison labour (where work is the core subject matter) and the larger scale studies of prison life where work is marginal to the primary research. This will proceed with a discussion of the literature that explores the involvement of private firms in prison labour. I will then illustrate how this PhD research will expand the traditional notions of what can be considered 'work'.

3.2. Prison Life

As Goffman (1961) explains, work inside prison is not an isolated experience. It is merely one element of prison life that cannot be separated from the others. In contrast to the 'outside', where work can be separated from leisure time, family time and sleep, prison encompasses every aspect of prisoners' lives; they sleep, work, eat and socialise in a single place. To understand this working life and prison work it is important to first draw attention to the milieu in which this work is set. Between the 1950s and the 1970s, studies of ordinary prison life were common (Clemmer, 1958; Sykes, 1958; Goffman, 1961; Morris and Morris, 1963; Irwin, 1970). These studies provided an in depth understanding of the prison environment and the social world of the prisoner.

3.2.1. The Early Scrutiny of Prison Life

Clemmer (1958) conducted one of the earliest studies of prison life. His work was based in a US prison and was concerned with the 'unseen environment' using a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods. Clemmer (1958) established an understanding of a distinct inmate culture; a society with values and norms dissimilar and often hostile towards both the prison authority and wider society. But Clemmer (1958) noted that not all prisoners adopted this culture. Whilst some integrated fully into the prison culture (which Clemmer (1958) referred to as 'prisonization'), other prisoners did not at all. Those prisoners that did not integrate maintained their cultural affiliation with the wider society that they knew, upholding the norms and values that they had before entering prison. Some inmates could be located somewhere between the two, becoming partially assimilated 'in the shadows of two cultures and not acculturized to either' (Clemmer, 1958, p. 110).

Clemmer (1958) found that this lack of conformity to either culture was condemned by many inmates. Conformity was stressed as an important force in the development of positive and negative relationships with one another. The values the prisoners advocated were formalised by Clemmer (1958) as the 'inmate code', which unified prisoners due to their shared situation and captive experience. It also united them in opposition to prison officers and the prison institution.

Whilst research has identified the concept of 'prisonization' and the all-consuming nature of prison creating a prisoner identity (Clemmer, 1958; Goffman, 1961), it has also been suggested that prisoners' identities instead permeate the prison walls and prisoners hardly lose their 'outside' identity upon entering prison (Sykes, 1958; Irwin and Cressey, 1962; Cohen and Taylor, 1972; Jacobs, 1977). Sykes (1958), in his study of a maximum security

prison in the US, found that each inmate brings his own needs and his own background and takes away his own interpretation of life within the walls.

Sykes (1958) explored the prison from the perspective of both the officers and the prisoners focusing on the system of power inside prison. He found consensus in the view that life in a maximum security prison was depriving and frustrating in the extreme. He argued that the deprivation and frustrations of the modern prison may be the acceptable or unavoidable implications of imprisonment. Sykes (1958) says that these include the deprivation of several things, including: liberty, goods and services, heterosexual relationships, autonomy and security. These deprivations and frustrations can be just as painful as the physical maltreatment which they have replaced (Sykes, 1958).

Goffman's (1961) research, 'Asylums' has also been highly influential in understanding the total institution. Whilst Goffman's (1961) ethnographic research looks at the social situation of mental patients, he also applies his findings to several types of inmates, namely prisoners. The research focuses on the maintenance of predictable and regular behaviour in the total institution. This does not only apply to the inmates but also to the staff and Goffman (1961) argues that within a total institution everyone is aware of the social role that they must play. Like Clemmer's (1958) ideas of acculturation, Goffman (1961) suggests that aspects of the inmates' lives and identities are systematically stripped from them, manipulating and shifting their sense of self.

These early studies of prison life were conducted at a time when little was known about the experience of the prisoner. They abetted in weakening the enigmatic nature of prison and built a more substantial and authentic picture of prison life.

3.2.2. The Growth of Research into Prison Life

Morris and Morris (1963) provided an exhaustive understanding of prison life in the context

of the UK. They explored the formal and informal aspects of social structure, the substance of

prison culture, co-operation and conflict amongst prisoners and staff as well as the influence

of external forces upon the prison community. According to King and Elliot (1977) 'The

Morrises were pioneers of research into the working of prison in the United Kingdom' (King

and Elliot, 1977, p. 36). Whilst King and Elliot (1977) acknowledge that they have benefitted

from the experience and research of Morris and Morris (1963) they also state that they were

able to benefit from the mistakes that they made. According to King and Elliot (1977) the

Morrises (1963) could have overcome a lot of problems relating to their enigmatic position

had they confessed their interests and presented a clearly defined research problem. Had they

invited co-operation from the participants (staff and prisoners), their role in the prison would

have been more transparent and may have invited more support and less hostility.

King and Elliot (1977) conducted an in depth study of Albany prison from its creation. They

examined at close range and in great detail the establishment and growth of a new prison

virtually from the outset. King and Elliot (1977) explored the modes of adaptation that

prisoners used to adjust to prison life. They found that in order to understand how prisoners

adapted to life in prison, researchers should go beyond previous institutional history, criminal

careers and identifications outside of prison and incorporate particular prisoner biographies.

A good deal of contextual information about the circumstances in which prisoners serve their

current sentence and how long they expect to be subject to those circumstances is necessary

in order to understand their adaptation (King and Elliot, 1977).

Mathiesen (1965) conducted an in depth sociological study based in a Norwegian correctional

institution. He explored prisoners' questioning of authority and how prisoners dealt with the

imbalance of power found within the prison. His main concern was the censoriousness of the prison population and he discussed the concerns that prisoners had over the legitimacy of staff members' power. Mathiesen (1965) suggested that while prisoners were highly critical of the power relations in the prison, arguing that staff members were unjust, inefficient or immoral, much of the time this was not their primary concern. For example, the imbalance of power became less of an issue and was almost forgotten when inmates talked and joked with staff in a leisurely way.

Unpredictability was also viewed as a crucial problem amongst the inmates which elicited much reaction (Mathiesen, 1965). In an earlier Norwegian study, Galtung (1959) made a similar deduction, emphasising the use of 'possibilities' used amongst staff to avoid directly disappointing inmates. By being somewhat non-committal in their response to questions from inmates staff were able to give themselves more flexibility. In this sense, it was suggested that 'perhaps' played an important role in the prison community (Galtung, 1959). Mathiesen's (1965) findings concurred with that of Galtung (1959) arguing that unpredictability was most often met with disappointment. In situations such as those concerning parole and job applications unpredictability was experienced as a problem. However Mathiesen (1965) suggests that occasionally it could also be experienced as a pleasure. Given the dullness and monotony of incarceration and the difficulties in making time pass more quickly, occasional unpredictable events and experiences were welcomed.

Irwin's (1970) study looked at criminal identities; he provided an insight into the prison experience through the use of prison roles. Irwin (1970) identified and described prison roles such as *the politician* and *the right guys*- the leaders of the prison community. The idea of roles in the prison community was also identified by Sykes (1958) who talked of argot roles

within prison. Irwin and Cressey (1962) integrated the use of roles and identity in prison with the prison culture and the social systems that exist amongst the prison community. They observed that many convicts, especially *the thief*, bring with them a commitment to a subculture which is not stripped from them in prison; it in fact prepared them for life in the prison.

3.2.3. Life in the Modern Prison

A more modern sociological exploration of the lives of prisoners is the study conducted by Ben Crewe (2009). He conducted an ethnographic study of modern prison life exploring the inner world of the late modern prison, documenting the nature and experience of power for prisoners as well as how prisoners adapt to new mechanisms of power. Crewe (2007) notes the changing dynamics within the prison and illustrated this through the opinion of one lifer, who found that in the past 'you could ask for something and you knew the answer. The answer was always 'no'. There was no delusions, no dangling carrots…no moving goalposts' (Crewe, 2007, p. 263). Crewe (2007) argues that the tone of late modern penality is soft, sly and unmanly and while overt opposition elicited a kind of bemused admiration, it was also considered deeply naïve and unproductive.

Thus far, this chapter has discussed large scale studies of prison life, particularly those of an in-depth, qualitative nature. These studies have primarily focused upon providing an understanding of prison life as a whole, exploring the subject in relatively broad terms. Although most, if not all these studies draw on the work aspect of prison life and life as an employee in prison workshops, as Clemmer (1958) notes, 'It is impossible to cover adequately the labour and industrial situation as the topic itself is worthy of a book' (Clemmer, 1958, p. 77). This review will now draw attention to the minor sections of several of these studies that focus specifically on prison work. This will lead to a discussion of

studies in which prison work is the focus of the research rather than a small part of the overall study.

3.3. Prison Work

As prison work has been a staple part of prison life for as long as the use of the prison itself, it features in the majority of studies that explore prison life, albeit marginally at times. The following section will primarily focus upon industrial prison workshops. It will follow with a discussion of the literature that explores the rehabilitative nature of prison work and the possibility it has for improving prisoners' skills and employability.

3.3.1 The Prison Workshop

Sykes (1958) compares the working prisoner to a rebellious son who is forced to work by a stern father:

> The troublesome youth may not earn his keep but at least he is to be employed at honest labour…It should not surprise us if the parent in our simile is motivated by a curious blend of economic self-interest, faith in the efficacy of work as a means of spiritual salvation and a basic, hostile feeling that no man should escape the burden of supporting himself by the sweat of his brow (Sykes, 1958, p. 16).

Sykes (1958) found that work provided some freedom of movement within the prison that would otherwise be lacking. This was an obvious incentive to work. The main incentive, according to Sykes (1958) would be less prison time (for everyday the prisoner worked, their sentence would be reduced, although this was not the case in all prisons). As a result of this, few prisoners refused to work, but this didn't stop more subtle forms of rebellion e.g. apathy, sabotage and the show of effort rather than substance. Due to the custodian's limited means of coercion there is little they could do about these subtle forms of resistance. Sykes (1958) found the nature of most work to be monotonous and unskilled, providing little intrinsic work satisfaction. Prisoners were not given responsibilities in the inmate labour force, instead

guards and civilian work supervisors possessed all the control and supervision, making advancement within the workshop unattainable.

Clemmer (1958) found that unemployment and idleness prevailed in the prison. He notes that there were too many hands for the work available in the prison, which has been echoed by much research since (Goffman, 1961; Simon, 1999). During the time of his study, there were two approaches regarding how to conduct prison work in the US: either paid with no talking or unpaid with permission to talk during work. When asked which they would prefer, the majority of prisoners preferred to be unpaid with the permission to talk. Clemmer (1958) found that the key reasons prisoners worked was because they wanted to, he drew this conclusion due to the limited number of coercive measures that could be taken on prisoners for not working. They knew that idleness was boring and conducive to greater unhappiness (Clemmer 1958). Work provided prisoners with the opportunity for social interaction as well as escape from isolated confinement.

Despite the importance that the prison places upon work and its rehabilitative function, Clemmer (1958) argues that it is still less important than the leisure time function. In a quantitative sense, work is less important than leisure, because there is less of it (Clemmer, 1958):

> If we can teach our inmates enjoyable and socialized methods of spending their leisure time, it is possible that, as new values replace the old, ex-convicts will less frequently engage in crime…we must inculcate a doctrine in prisoners that most of them cannot expect to be highly successful as workers…they must be taught to be satisfied with running a machine, tilling the soil or like work which any person of low average intelligence and a decently healthy body can do (Clemmer, 1958, p. 276).

Clemmer (1958) proposed re-educating prisoners through their leisure time, with the aim, not to find fulfilment and happiness in work but in leisure time activities. Clemmer (1958) also explored aspects of the working environment and identified three types of workers: *the*

ordinary convict worker, the semi trustie/politician and *the trustie*. The category that a prisoner was aligned with often depended on what work they did. 'The ordinary convict' worker got the least favoured jobs, whilst 'the politician' was able to obtain a better job either through outside connections or skills. He was not criticised by other prisoners for getting a better job as he was often able to achieve this through means that did not involve creeping to the officers. However, 'the trustie' was often seen as befriending the officers in order to get ahead in the prison work system and this was often frowned upon and criticised by other prisoners.

Clemmer (1958) and King and Elliot (1977) found that little constructive training was provided for prisoners during their incarceration (but King and Elliot (1977) found that Albany offered more variety in terms of the different types of work that could be done in comparison to most prisons at the time). In terms of industrial work King and Elliot (1977) found some workshops, such as tailoring, to be quite regimented in terms of the work systems and freedom of the workers. In contrast, the work in the wood work industries was not regimented; prisoners had considerable control over their tasks and the pace of their work. The prisoners in the workshop appeared to smoke at will and horseplay was common. The cutting shop and light textiles workshop fell somewhere between these two. The industrial work generally was the most unwanted work in the prison due to the limited advantages that it offered (such as the minimal amount of contraband they could take from the workshops as well as the low pay).

One area of work that was met with conflicting views was the officers' kitchen. Some prisoners disliked the early start of this job and felt that serving officers was degrading. But for others the officers' kitchen was viewed as a desirable job because prisoners could pilfer

food, goods and other contraband. However, this also had the ability to cause problems for kitchen workers if tougher prisoners pressured them into taking things (King and Elliot, 1977). Working in the officers' kitchen was also desirable due to the information that could be obtained from overhearing the conversations of the staff in a situation in which they are relaxed and more likely to openly discuss events of the day. This job was also found to have a more subtle benefit of shifting the balance of power. The officers treated the prisoners serving them with more respect than normal and often engaged in friendly conversation.

For Goffman (1961), the concern with work inside a total institution was more focused upon its suffocating control rather than the details of the type of work and its individual desirability:

> In the ordinary arrangements of living in our society, the authority of the work place stops with the workers' receipt of a money payment; the spending of this in a domestic and recreational setting is the worker's private affair and constitutes a mechanism through which the authority of the work place is kept within strict bounds (Goffman, E. 1961, p. 20).

As previously alluded to, Goffman (1961) describes total institutions as a breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating these three spheres of life, work, sleep and play. In terms of work, prisoners' basic needs are accounted for and thus the monetary incentive of work becomes less enticing. Goffman (1961) suggests the link of working and earning a living is missing inside the prison walls; prisoners were not attempting to sustain themselves through prison work because all of their essentials were already provided. This is unhelpful in preparing prisoners for work on release because the motives for working in prison will differ from the motive to work outside of prison (where work is essential for survival) (Goffman, 1961).

Most often though, the inmates of Goffman's (1961) total institution had little access to work.

As such, Goffman (1961) suggests that the individual who was work orientated on the outside

tends to become demoralised by the work system of the total institution. Work was carried

out at a very slow pace in an attempt to make the work last longer; both to reduce boredom

and increase pay. Prisoners had little control over the work that they did; it was chosen, not

by them, but *for* them by the institution. This rarely took into consideration the previous

experience, skills or interests of the individual and instead focused upon filling spaces within

prison industries and workshops. This was also found to be the case by Morris and Morris

(1963):

> The function of the board is to integrate the prisoner into the community, not
> so much as a person but as a unit of the population. Essentially he is a
> replacement of a man who has gone out that morning…If he has read the
> reception information card the prisoner will remember that he has been told
> that he will be set to the work 'most appropriate' for him, but whatever
> implications might be read into this, it would be more accurate if the card told
> him that he would be put to work in a place where there was a vacancy to be
> filled (Morris and Morris, 1963, p. 104).

This was found to still be the case in research conducted by Simon (1999). Simon (1999)

conducted an in-depth study of prison work in six prisons across the UK. She found that, with

only some exceptions, prisoners had little say on where they worked. Prisoners were placed

to meet the prison's needs rather than his own. Simon (1999) described the nature of prison

work, how it differed from work on the outside and how it correlated with the work that some

prisoners did after release. Simon (1999) found that work in prison was very different to work

on the outside; mainly due to the lack of responsibility in prison employment and the state of

dependence that prison life induces. This confirms Goffman's (1961) idea that total

institutions control all aspects of prisoners' lives, limiting their responsibilities to the most

tedious and simple of tasks, making it difficult for them to make their own choices (Goffman,

1961). This makes it difficult for work in prison to complement and lead sufficiently to work

outside where workers are expected to take on more responsibility and are given more freedom over their working life.

It is no surprise then that prisoners felt that work in prison was more useful in helping them get through their sentence than in preparing them for a job on release. The staff interviewed by Simon (1999) shared a similar attitude. Staff believed that work in prison was primarily provided for the purpose of managing and controlling the prison on a day-to-day basis. The reasons ranked highest were 'to give inmates time out of their cell' and 'to keep them busy and stop them causing trouble'. Despite staff viewing these as the current reasoning behind prison work, they argued that in fact, the best justification of prison work would be to prepare prisoners for work upon release. Simon (1999) concluded that prison staff were confused about the purpose of prison work and what it ought to be. They were not given clear directions as to whether prison work should be used for punishment, rehabilitation, profit or simply keeping prisoners busy.

The theme of confusion is echoed throughout several studies of prison work. Cooper and King (1961) found that in the post-war period the confusion underpinning prison labour was the result of the conflict arising from using prison labour for 'penalogical purposes' (keeping prisoners active and building character) and 'economic purposes' (efficiency/profitability/ introducing enterprise into the prison environment) (Piacentini, 2002). Cooper and King (1961) categorised the main aims of prison work to establish how far these aims were realised. They looked at both penalogical aims (such as preventing mischief, instilling good work habits and teaching skills) and economic aims (prisoners contributing to their keep, reduce the debt to society). Cooper and King (1961) argued that all the economic aims were dependent upon prison work being efficient and profitable which often contradicted the

training and vocational aims (which did not always generate profit). It was concluded that it was extremely doubtful that any of the aims were being realised and that 'the root of this unhappy picture is the confusion of ends which is to be found throughout the service' (Cooper and King, 1961, p. 172). Over a decade later, King and Elliott (1977) found that deciding which goal should take precedence was still not explicitly stated.

Dawson (1972) looked at the assumptions and consequences of the prisons' attempt at imitating an outside work environment and also found confusion over the role of prison work. She found that workshop instructors were uncertain of their roles and sceptical about the value of prison work. The study also found that workshop products were of poor quality and inmates worked irregularly and with little interest. Dawson (1972) also explored power relations within the prison workshop. The work supervisors/instructors were found to have very little power, both in relation to other staff groups and in relation to motivating their inmate workers for production. Similarly, Glaser, (1964) found that work supervisors' personal influence on prisoners had the potential to be an important factor in prisoners' rehabilitation. It is interesting to note then that the members of staff who could have the most positive influence on prisoners often have the least power to affect a prisoner's choice, structure and type of work.

Morris and Morris (1963) found that work was not regarded as particularly important and it was not valued in terms of providing prisoners with specific skills and training:

> The inculcation of habits of industry through work can be regarded as training in the sense that the transformation of an idle man into an industrious one represents a change of character. There is, however, a vital difference between industrial *training* (the acquisition of skills) and industrial *employment* (the performance of work tasks). Though the Pentonville prisoner works, it is generally at an unskilled task and if an unskilled man leaves the prison having developed some industrial skill it is usually be chance and not design (Morris and Morris, 1963, p. 22).

Although they explain that the work in Pentonville was in no way explicitly punitive, the monotony of the tasks performed by the prisoners was said to be uncomfortably close to the quality of the treadmill (Morris and Morris, 1963).

Dawson (1972) found that eighty four per cent of inmates thought that the purpose of the prison industries was either to make money for the prison by exploiting inmate labour or to keep prisoners occupied. Nearly eighty per cent also saw no resemblance between prison work and outside work and nearly seventy five per cent felt that their prison work experience would have no effect on their attitudes towards working when released. Much of these problems were left unaddressed despite research highlighting them. However Simon (1999) argued that not everything remained unchanged, over twenty years later the atmosphere in the workshops had improved, better quality products were produced and there was a growth in the vocational training on offer for prisoners.

Piacentini (2002) conducted research into prison labour in a Russian setting. She found that the purpose and practice of prison labour had changed since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Like Foucault (1979), Piacentini (2002) suggests that prison labour had been used to re-correct prisoners (albeit with a communist rather than capitalist agenda); before the collapse, prison labour was justified in terms of teaching prisoners how to be 'proper Soviets' (Piacentini, 2002, p. 316). However, after the collapse, Piacentini (2002) found that although the philosophical underpinning of prison labour was rehabilitative, prison labour was also used to subsidise prisons. She argues that prisoners had to work to ensure their own personal survival as well as that of the institution and staff. This subsiding has been achieved through the integration of the private sector within Russian prison work.

There has been much research specifically exploring the way in which prison work could be rehabilitative and whether or not it has the possibility of improving the skills and employability of prisoners. The following section will discuss this literature in more detail.

3.3.2. Employability and Skills in Prison Work

Braithwaite (1980) conducted a large scale quantitative study of prison work in Australia. She conducted interviews with prisoners nearing their release who had registered with the government employment service. Braithwaite (1980) found that nineteen per cent of these participants were known to have obtained jobs after prison and nineteen per cent of these were related to the prisons work experience. Braithwaite (1980) argues that these optimistic results demonstrate the need for prisoners to be trained in legitimate occupational skills which would enable them to get well paid and satisfying jobs on release which could diminish the attraction of crime. Braithwaite (1980) proposes a more vigorous commercial approach to managing prison industry involving private employers.

Hunter and Boyce (2009) conducted qualitative interviews to explore prisoners' participation in a peer advising scheme set up by a charitable organisation. Some prisoners noted that doing the NVQ and the peer advice work gave structure to their day and increased the social interaction they had with others. It was also something worthwhile and several prisoners reported that it was a constructive way to get something positive from their time in prison. Prisoners thought the role of peer advisor was fulfilling and helpful in attaining work experience and qualifications and they believed that the NVQ provided escape from the agitation of other prisoners. Despite these positive functions, Hunter and Boyce (2009) criticised the scheme for the short term nature of the work experience. Furthermore, prison employment opportunities have been criticised as functioning primarily as a way of passing

time rather than having any connection to preparatory work experience (Simon and Corbett, 1996).

Hunter and Boyce (2009) identified that the participants involved in the initiative present a more stable, low risk section of the prison population. In order to be chosen to perform the most desirable job several requirements usually needed to be fulfilled such as regular drug testing, basic numeracy and literacy skills and good behaviour. It is argued then that this group already have a greater chance of resettlement than most prisoners. Several researchers have argued that high risk prisoners should be targeted for these schemes instead (Harper and Chitty, 2005; Burnett and Maruna, 2006). But, most often, high risk prisoners are not ready to participate in such schemes and readiness for work on release is an unrealistic goal (Hunter and Boyce, 2009). Therefore, it would seem apposite to target those prisoners who are demonstrating good behaviour as they could be more willing to reform and use the skills and experience they obtain once released. Hunter and Boyce (2009) concluded that many prisoners believed this scheme would help them turn their lives around. Although this sounds positive, it also had a negative effect because it raised prisoners' expectations and resulted in disappointment when some were unable to get placements with the charitable organisation on release. This is likely to have a detrimental effect on any new found confidence and work skills (Webster et al. 2011). As such Hunter and Boyce (2009) stress the importance of achievable goals to build prisoners' confidence and to ensure their expectations can be realised.

Alos et al. (2011) conducted a study of 3075 prisoners to determine whether learning a trade (either through training or work) inside prison could improve prisoners' employability upon release. The study found that prison work had a favourable effect on employability. It gave

prisoners a greater chance of finding a job whilst simultaneously ensuring order in prison and providing emotional stability for the prisoners. According to Alos et al. (2011) although a lot of prison work is very simple it is an opportunity for those who have never worked and those who have been unable to retain a job to develop their skills. Prison work provides individuals with work discipline and self-esteem and strengthens the link between work and earning a living (Alos, et al. 2011). However, Alos, et al. (2011) also found that participants who did find work upon release were mostly employed on short term, temporary contracts with a high likelihood of dismissal. So, if an individual is offered transient work with little stability and a lifestyle that they are unfamiliar with or the opportunity to return to something that is exciting and familiar it is not difficult to understand why prisoners return to crime.

Research has also explored the role that maturity and age play in improving prisoners' employability (Uggen, 2000; Alos et al. 2011). Alos et al. (2011) acknowledged that younger individuals were more likely to reoffend, but found that they were also the ones getting the best results in employment whereas those over the age of fifty found it much more difficult to find employment upon release. Alos et al. (2011) found that participating in cultural or sporting activities and occupying a 'job of trust' in prison was associated with more post-prison employment, but also more recidivism. They argue that this is because prisoners adapt their behaviour to prison life and conform to prison rules in order to normalise their time in prison but it does not necessarily mean that they are willing to give up crime. Currently work instructors, prison staff and probation officers will look at prisoners performing well in prison work and become optimistic about their chances of rehabilitation when this is not always the best indicator for future success.

3.3.3. Prison Labour and Private Firms

Several studies transiently refer to the involvement of private firms in prison work (Morris and Morris, 1963; Braithewaite, 1980; Simon, 1999) but I found little empirical research that focuses on the involvement of private firms in prison labour. Simon (1999) briefly explored the role of private firms in the employment of prisoners and found that local employers were viewed as an invaluable resource in helping to make prison work relevant to the outside. At the time of her study the most common role of private companies were as customers for prison made goods, either through the open market or through contracts such as in the light assembly workshops. Simon (1999) concluded that whilst this could be beneficial for prisoners it still remained problematic. She drew attention to the ethical dilemmas of utilising prisoners to improve profits for private firms:

> If in making the products prisoners learn skills for jobs on release and if they are reasonably paid, well and good. But if their prison work is unskilled and poorly paid then they are being exploited in the same way as underpaid homeworkers. The prison's chief aim should be to train inmates with marketable skills rather than to make money for the prison (Simon, 1999, p. 201).

Simon (1999) found that whilst most private firms acted as contractors and customers another form of collaboration was the complete takeover of prison workshop by private firms (though this is much less common). Simon (1999) explained that most private collaborations did not last very long due to the tension that often arises between the aim of making money and the aim of rehabilitating prisoners (Davies, 1995; Simon, 1999).

Lightman (1982) analysed three Canadian prison projects which attempted to resemble outside working conditions by utilising private employers. In Lightman's (1982) analysis he identified two basic approaches to prison work- the Manpower view and the Industrial view. The Manpower view regards prisoners as disadvantaged and vulnerable members of the labour force and as such prison should provide them with skills and training. In contrast the

Industrial view argues that prison industries should be regarded as a business first. It should be efficient and profitable and the rehabilitation of prisoners would be an unintended benefit (Lightman, 1982). Lightman (1982) concluded that private management of a prison industry could be a useful tool in the rehabilitation process. The private employer may offer various advantages in the operation of a prison industry which are not available with an institutionally managed approach. He suggests that a major benefit of such a scheme is the way in which it could normalise the prisoners' work situation (as well as allowing prisoners to be paid much more). As such, the prisoner can view himself (and be viewed by others) as a member of the outside labour market rather than a prison inmate and Lightman (1982) believed that 'this definitional labelling issue may be one of the most useful results on the entire process' (Lightman, 1982. p. 40). But the nature of confusion over the purpose of prison work resonates with Lightman (1982): 'Just like the correctional system in general, prison industries have been characterised by fundamental ambiguity as to ultimate purpose' (Lightman, 1982, p. 36).

So whilst there is limited empirical research relating to privately contracted prison work, within the literature there is a consensus that the role of prison work is ill-defined and this ambiguity is something that prisoners, prison staff and management battle with daily. The literature thus far has brought to light the living conditions and everyday lives of the prisoner, prison work and the confusion that resonates within the prison workshop, the rehabilitative function of prison work and the possible input that private firms might have on prison work. All of this provides an understanding of the issues for a *'prison'* worker but not necessarily a prison *'worker'*. The following section will draw attention to the way in which this PhD research has implications for both the study of prison and the study of work and as such, it

will attempt to marry these two fields in the exploration of modern prison labour and the use of private companies in providing this labour.

3.4. The New Management Criminomics of Prison Work

A Marxian perspective with its understanding of exploitation and alienation is especially relevant in conceptualising the everyday experiences of prisoners as workers. The daily lot of prisoner workers as a source of cheap, expendable and confined labour for private contractors is easily explained in terms of key Marxist ideas on the creation of surplus- value and on the causes of alienation in the workplace. But the insights offered by Marxism are ultimately limited: the discrete experiences of prison workers, shaped and informed by their confinement within a total institution, are to be reduced to, and explained by, the grand historical scheme of the proletarian class struggle. Seen in this light, I conclude that Marxism is of limited value as a conceptual tool for exploring the daily toil of the prisoner as worker.

What the life of the prison worker demands is a set of ideas which begin to revaluate and overhaul traditional notions of work - embracing the possibility that work may not involve employment, that work forms an integral part of non-work environs that treats work as connected to various different spheres of social life (Glucksmann, 1995, 2005; Pettinger et al., 2006). This thesis explores prisoners experiences of conducting work that is, in reality, not considered to be 'work' in the legitimate sense it also explores prisoners aspirations of work beyond prison and this also includes 'work' that is not traditionally considered to be 'work' as prisoners engage in criminal careers and earn a living in activities such as dealing drugs or robbery. This is the first study that explores private prison labour in this way.

I have coined the term *'orange-collar work'* to refer to privately contracted prison work. The term orange-collar work derives from two roots; firstly the prisoners cinematic depiction in

the orange jumpsuit and secondly the similarities of private prison labour and blue-collar work. Throughout this thesis privately contracted prison work will be referred to as orange-collar work and the prisoners who conduct this work as orange-collar workers.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the empirical studies of prison, prison work and the involvement of private firms in delivering prison work. This literature review has explored prisoners' acculturation and adaptation to prison life and prison culture (Sykes, 1958; Clemmer, 1958, Goffman, 1961; Morris and Morris, 1963). It has also drawn attention to the deprivations experienced by prisoners and explored the literature that has discussed themes of identity and power in a prison context (Mathiesen, 1965; Irwin, 1970; Cohen and Taylor, 1972; Crewe, 2009). With regard to prison work I have discussed day-to-day life in the prison workshop and the research exploring the rehabilitative features of prison work (Dawson, 1972, Simon, 1999). I have also introduced the limited research that has discussed private firms' involvement in prison work (Lightman, 1982). Finally, I have introduced Glucksmann's (1995) total social organisation of labour in order to demonstrate that studies of 'work' need not be restricted to specific socio-economic spaces. The study of work can and should encompass literature beyond management and employment studies and as such this research has also utilised sociological and criminological literature to broaden the concept of work. The next chapter will discuss the methodology of this research. I will introduce the philosophical underpinnings of the research as well as the methods that I have adopted to study modern prison labour. I will discuss the rationale behind the choices whilst reflecting on their limitations. I will utilise a reflexive approach to provide details of the data collection and I will conclude the chapter by detailing the analysis of the data and the ethical considerations of the research.

4. Methodology

4.1. Introduction

The literature review has illustrated that research into prison work is somewhat lacking. There is currently little understanding of the work that is undertaken in prison, particularly work carried out on behalf of private firms within the UK. This phenomenon is worthy of research given the ethical implications of the collaboration between the prison and the private firm in providing prison labour. It is important that this be explored in more detail in order to understand prison labour in the UK and its unorthodox working environment.

This chapter will detail the methodological choices of the study. The specific aims of the research and its philosophical underpinnings will be presented. I will then provide context to the research by introducing the research setting. The chosen methods will then be outlined with a description of why these have been chosen and how they were implemented whilst drawing attention to some of their limitations. I will then reflexively discuss the data collection and how being a female outsider played a significant role within this study. This chapter will conclude with a description of the data analysis and the ethical concerns that were important to consider before conducting the research.

4.2. Research Aims

This research aims to:

- Provide an understanding of the nature of privately contracted prison work

- Provide an understanding of prisoners attitudes towards conducting privately contracted prison work and identify the individuals conducting this work

- Explore the working environment of privately contracted prison work: workplace relationships, interactions and the performance of work tasks

- Explore the relationship between prison work and employment after prison.

It was determined that for this research, an exploratory approach would be adopted. Given my limited knowledge and experience of a prison environment and the limited research that has thus far been conducted in this field it would be difficult to postulate theories at this early stage. The concept of prison work is still under researched and thus an inductive, iterative approach would be most fitting.

4.3. Philosophy and Politics

This research aims to build an understanding (or 'Verstehen') of prison labour, engaging with an epistemology that accepts the subjective nature of research. The research focuses on the individual interpretations and subjective experiences of the prisoners in this research setting. It is believed that reality is constituted in our perceptions and is constructed through social interaction (Berger and Luckman, 1966). It is also believed that truth is apprehendable in the form of multiple, intangible constructions that are experientially and socially based, being both local and specific in nature (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Reality and individuals constructions of reality are viewed as alterable and inevitably relative to particular actors, in a specific place, at a particular time (Schwandt, 1994). The focus of the research is to understand the social world by evaluating participant's views of that world (Bryman and Bell, 2007). The researcher's personal characteristics will play a role within the research; it will impact upon how participants respond to the researcher and also how the researcher responds to all elements of the research project, influencing the progression, process and outcome of the research. As such, it is important to situate the researcher inside the field. However, this research does not seek to completely disregard an objective reality and the abandonment of

the concept of truth, as this can often insinuate an ignorance and repudiation of issues such as oppression and discrimination (Gurney, 1999), which, from a purely subjectivist stance could be denied as merely discourse or a subjective interpretation. This is particularly pertinent given the vulnerable social status that the participants of my research hold. It is argued that 'the privileging of social action over social structure need not necessarily seek to deny the existence of structural inequalities' (Gurney, 1999, p. 1709).

The research explores prison labour at the micro level prioritising the more personal and immediate aspects of social interaction in daily life such as emotions and self-identity (Layder, 1999). This study has drawn on the philosophical understandings of Goffman (1983) in that it is concerned with the nature and dynamics of interpersonal encounters, especially as seen from the point of view of the actors involved (Layder, 1994).

Whilst I prioritise the micro level in exploring prison labour I argue that the micro and macro level cannot be separated and in fact, they are intimately related. 'Social life is an interwoven whole in which all elements play a part in an ongoing flux of social activity…while possessing their own characteristics, they [micro and macro] are interlocked and interdependent features of society' (Layder, 1999, p.2). Although Goffman (1983) was primarily concerned with the micro level and face to face interactions he still acknowledged the 'loose coupling' of structure and agency (Goffman, 1983). I view agency and structure as complementary forces. The role of structure cannot be discounted because whilst it is believed that individuals have the ability to change the structure in which they inhabit this by no means suggests that they will. And even if they choose to do so the social structures in which they work within will influence them. Therefore, whilst the focus will be upon individuals' own beliefs and behaviours, it is still acknowledged that these will be influenced

by wider structures. This cannot be ignored within the prison environment. The participants within this study have all chosen to commit a certain crime, yet, it is no surprise that the majority of them come from deprived backgrounds with little economic, educational and social capital.

4.4. Research Context and Access

This research took place within a private prison in the UK which, for the purpose of this study is named *Bridgeville.* Fieldwork took place over a ten month period between 2012 and 2013. I initially made contact with the company that runs Bridgeville and after several conversations via email and telephone I was invited to meet the deputy director of the prison to discuss my research. I visited the prison several times after this for meetings, interviews, to submit an application for research and to complete security items. After approximately a year of negotiations and discussion, full access was obtained to the prison. I completed two days of training to enter Bridgeville which involved learning how to fill out essential paperwork, learning about the structure of Bridgeville and how to interact with prisoners and I had to undertake self-defence training. I was provided with my own set of keys to enter and leave the prison at my own discretion. Although a year may seem a long time to negotiate access, it was in fact quicker than I had anticipated given the dangerous and secreted research environment and the nature of my research. I was nervous about starting my research but as I had visited Bridgeville several times before I began the data collection I had become familiar with many of the staff members as well as the inquisitive nature of prisoners. This gradual entry into Bridgeville made the beginning of my fieldwork less daunting.

The majority of my fieldwork took place in the prison industries department and one of the managers here offered to be my port-of-call during my research. I met this manager occasionally during my fieldwork and he would stop to ask me how my research was going

but ultimately I was given free rein of Bridgeville and with the exception of accessing prisoners' cells I had access to all areas of the prison.

Many of the decisions that were made with regard to the practicalities of conducting this research had to consider timing and convenience. Initially, it was decided that several prisons would be visited to explore orange-collar work. However, this would have demanded a much longer period of time in the field that was available to me in my doctoral programme. The erratic nature of prison (e.g. the high turnaround of prisoners), the need to build strong relationships with participants and the multi-layered details of privately contracted prison work meant that in order to build a solid and holistic understanding of this work a longer period of time would need to be spent in one prison rather than dividing this time amongst several. This is also in keeping with most ethnographic studies of prison life where the focus has been one single establishment (Clemmer, 1958; Sykes, 1958; Morris and Morris, 1963; Mathiesen, 1965; Jacobs, 1977; King and Elliot, 1977; Crewe, 2009) 'with depth of analysis and richness of detail take precedent over breadth' (Crewe, 2009, p. 3). As noted by Crewe (2009):

> Generalizability has been willingly sacrificed for an approach that can pierce the skin of the institution, penetrate official descriptions, and show the interconnections between apparently discrete elements of the prison's social structure (Crewe, 2009, p. 3).

With regard to the decision to research a private prison it was believed that given private prisons' more outward emphasis on profit, they were likely to be more involved in privately contracted prison work and this indeed was found to be the case.

4.5. Research Methods

Qualitative methods have been utilised to address the research questions. As the research is exploratory it was judged that ethnographic methods were the most suitable. Participant and

non-participant observation and semi-structured interviews have been employed for this

study. The merits of these methods and their suitability for this research will be outlined in

this section as well as the more practical issues of how they have been used.

4.5.1. Ethnography

Jorgenson (1989) argues that an ethnography is best used when little is known about a

phenomenon, when there are differences in opinions between insiders and outsiders and when

the phenomenon is somewhat hidden from public view. Clearly, these justifications for

utilising ethnographic approaches are relevant for this research project. During the mid-20th

Century a robust number of ethnographic studies took place that built a comprehensive

picture of both the structure and day-to day life of prisons at this time (Clemmer, 1958;

Sykes, 1960; Cohen and Taylor, 1972; Reiter, 2014). However, according to Waquant (2002),

by the 21st century:

> Observational studies depicting the everyday world of inmates all but vanished just as
> the US was settling into mass incarceration and other advanced countries were
> gingerly clearing their own road towards the penal state. The ethnography of the
> prison thus went into eclipse at the very moment when it was most urgently needed on
> both scientific and political grounds (Waquant, 2002, p. 385).

Similarly, Simon (2000) called for more qualitative prison research, for a return to the mid-

20th century practices of accessing and analysing prisons (Simon, 2000; Reiter, 2014). This

further validates the choice of methods for this piece of research. According to Liebling et al.

(2012) so far, 21st century research on private sector prisons has tended to focus on

performance, management and budgets rather than internal cultures, practices and

relationships (Harding, 2001).

Prison work, particularly that which involves private firms, is a complex matter and requires

in-depth research. Taking prisoners out of this setting and performing a question and answer

session with them (without understanding the context of their working environment and the

general day-to-day life within the workshop) risks achieving only a naïve understanding of the prisoners' environment as a whole. It is believed that in order to understand this phenomenon and gauge a fair understanding of orange-collar attitudes towards this work, research should take place within the natural setting of the orange-collar worker[2]. The task of an ethnography it to investigate some aspects of the lives of the people who are being studied and this includes finding out how these people view the situations they face, how they regard one another and also how they see themselves (Atkinson and Hammersely, 2007). Proponents of ethnographic research, particularly within the prison context, focus on its strengths. Ugelvik (2014) argues that:

> Ethnography should be the method of choice if one is interested in the situated social reproduction of meaning, of selves and in describing events and processes as they are understood and negotiated by the people actually living them (Ugelvik, 2014, p. 471).

The flexibility available within ethnographic approaches was also appealing. The ethnography encourages the investigation of unforeseen findings as they arise, allowing the researcher to adapt the research and its aims to what develops in the field. According to Atkinson and Hammersely (2007, p.3), 'It is expected that the initial interests and questions that motivated the research will be refined and perhaps even transformed, over the course of the research'. Without the use of an ethnographic approach it is unlikely that several themes in the findings of this research (such as workplace humour and workshop hierarchies) would have been uncovered. These themes were only realised after spending long periods of time within the workshop and observing orange-collar workers interact with each other, conduct their work and also by participating in this work myself. These themes were then incorporated into the interview schedule in order to find out what orange-collar workers thought about these issues on a one-to-one basis.

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[2] It seems strange to describe a prison as a natural setting as it is in fact an artificial setting. Nonetheless, it is the natural setting of 'the prisoner' during his incarceration.

The observation (both participant and non-participant) and interviews will now be critically evaluated, drawing on their merits, some practical issues they beget and how they were conducted.

4.5.2. Observation

Participant observation describes the gathering of data by participating in the daily life of a group or organisation that one studies (Becker, 1958). In terms of understanding such things as practices and attitudes it is believed that observing what individuals do rather than simply taking their word for it will provide greater insights (Becker and Geer, 1957). Observational methods are also useful in facilitating the building of relationships, and given that prisons are generally 'low trust environments' (Liebling, 2014) this is particularly useful. I conducted what Geertz (1998) describes as 'deep hanging out'. I sat in the workshops chatting and working amongst orange-collar workers over a ten month period. I built strong, reciprocal relationship with several prisoners. Their degree of comfort with my presence was made clear during a workers' forum in the last month of fieldwork, as illustrated by my field notes:

> At the end of the workers' forum meeting, the industries manager mentioned my attendance at the meeting, explaining why I was there- to which Neil (Workshop 1) responded 'yep we all know Jenna, she's practically one of us now' (Field notes, 13.06.2013).

Neil described me as 'practically one of us' and I was accepted as a trusted observer to this group. It was ironic that Neil would describe me in this way given that I was clearly an outsider in this setting but it was something that pleased me given the efforts that I had gone to in order to be accepted by the participants. But my participation was nonetheless limited as I was still a female and a non-prisoner (which will be discussed in greater detail shortly). Whilst I did regularly conduct the work with orange-collar workers, to develop a more comprehensive understanding of prison work I primarily used non-participant observation to gather data.

Using observation meant that I played a key role within the research and inevitably, for better or worse, shaped its outcomes. It is argued that the researcher should not be afraid of contaminating the data with subjective interpretations as it is the subjectivity of the interactions that makes ethnographic methods stand out from other techniques (Corbetta, 2003). According to Ugelvik (2014) 'the researcher's lived experiences, including her or his situated emotions and feelings, are the central methodological tools available to ethnographers. This should be acknowledged and used to the fullest both while in the field and when writing up the research afterward' (Ugelvik, 2014, p. 479).

4.5.3. Semi-structured Interviews

Atkinson and Silverman (1997) argue that interviewing is the central resource through which contemporary academia and society engage with issues. Semi-structured, open-ended interviews have been selected as they provide thick description (Seale, et al. 2004) incorporating depth, nuance and multidimensionality (Mason, 2002). In contrast to structured interviews that tend to have a preconceived and rigid scheme where the researcher is the dominant voice throughout (Corbetta, 2003) semi-structured interviews are more likely to facilitate interaction and in depth dialogue. The less rigid nature of the process can foster a rapport between the researcher and participant (Burgess, 1984; Bryman, 1988; Silverman, 2006) and allow the participant to explore concepts and ideas outside of those specified by the previously prepared questions (Silverman, 2006). The participant is able to 'contribute to the shaping of the conversation as opposed to falling into line with the interviewer's priorities and preconceptions' (Watson, 2011, p. 212).

Therefore, due to the depth and flexibility that semi-structured interviews can provide, it is considered to be more suitable in addressing the research questions outlined for this research, which are broad and exploratory.

4.5.3.1. Interviews with Prisoners

Forty semi-structured interviews were completed with prisoners from the privately contracted prison workshops. Finding a room to conduct the interviews caused some difficulty as Bridgeville staff did not want to leave me alone to interview prisoners. The majority of the interviews were conducted in a small classroom inside the carpentry workshop so that I had some privacy. A small number of interviews took place in a classroom in the electrics workshop and one interview was conducted in the instructors' office in Workshop 4. The instructors office was the most difficult place to conduct an interview as the instructors insisted on leaving the door open for my safety. The instructor and his colleagues entered the workshop several times which affected the interview's continuity. All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed by hand. They lasted between twenty minutes and one hour and thirty minutes. A list of questions was taken into each interview and this schedule was used to ensure that the interview remained focused in addressing the research aims. However the discussion in the interview was not restricted to this schedule- it was primarily used as a guide. Four industries workshops and the Waste Management workshop were the focus of this research as they all utilised orange-collar work. Each orange-collar workshop accommodated thirty-five prisoners and Waste Management held around twelve prisoners. I attempted to pick a similar number of prisoners from each workshop (see Table 1 below). It was hoped that this would provide a well-rounded picture and a detailed insight into prisoners' perspectives of prison work and its environment.

TABLE 1: WORKSHOP INTERVIEWS

Workshop	Number of Interviews
Workshop 1	8
Workshop 2	10
Workshop 3	8
Workshop 4	8
Waste Management	6

The prisoners within the industries department regularly moved between the workshops and as such, many had a detailed understanding of the day-to-day life in more than just their own workshop. In fact, several times I went to collect a prisoner for an interview only to find that he had moved to a different workshop. Therefore, when discussing the workshops, the tasks and the instructors, many prisoners provided me with information beyond the workshop they were currently based in.

The interview participants' ages ranged from eighteen to fifty-six and their prison sentences ranged between one and eight years (See Appendix A). Almost half of the participants had been unemployed before coming to prison. Most expressed experience of labouring, construction, and other blue-collar work, primarily unskilled. However, one participant had worked in an estate agent office, another had worked in a care home and another had been a waiter. Still, these were all low paid work.

Interviewees were chosen based on willingness. After conducting several months of observations within these workshops I asked prisoners whether they would be willing to participate in an interview. Most were willing as it meant that they would be able to escape from the workshops for an hour or so. Others were nervous of being recorded and

information getting back to the prison staff (despite reassurance) and so they refused, but this only pertains to a very small number of prisoners.

Interviews were a highly important supplement to the observation and participatory methods of this research. The interviews allowed me to take orange-collar workers out of the workplace and converse alone without the watching eyes of their fellow orange-collar workers or prison staff. They could talk more openly and freely about their opinions of the work, the instructors and problems in the workshop without fear of repercussions. Thus, the observations and interviews complemented each other as I was able to view how they behaved in the workshop as well as hearing their individual views. Sometimes it was clear that bravado and other issues obscured their real views when inside the workshop whilst a need to be viewed as a good person meant that sometimes they would hold back or 'perform' within a one-to-one interview. Combining these two methods allowed me to get a more nuanced feel for life as a prison worker.

4.5.3.2. Interview with Private Firms

It was more difficult to obtain representatives from private firm to interview than it was to obtain interviews with prisoners. I could not contact the private firms that were utilising Bridgeville's prison labour directly as it could compromise Bridgeville's relationship with them and consequently my relationship with Bridgeville. Instead an email from the industries department was sent out on my behalf to all firms that were currently contracting to Bridgeville. My research was described in the email and it asked whether they would be willing to participate. This email was sent to around eight companies. Two firms replied to the email, Forflight and BookSmart. I visited both of these companies and conducted interviews with their senior operations managers. As I only obtained two interviews from

private contractors these interviews were viewed as supplementary to the primary focus of the research: understanding prison work from the perspective of the prisoners.

I chose not to record the interviews with the private company representatives; instead I used an interview schedule and made vigorous notes throughout and after the interviews. When interviewing the operations manager of ForFlight, I spoke briefly with him over the phone which followed with a meeting at his office. The interview lasted around 30 minutes. I also interviewed staff members from Booksmart. I arranged a meeting by email with the operations manager, Annette, but on the day that I arrived for the interview she had been called away and had left me in the hands of her second in command, Lucy. However, Lucy was not able to answer all of my questions so this interview was followed by a telephone interview with Annette and a subsequent visit to Booksmart to be given a tour of the workplace.

4.5.4. Limitations

Despite the immense benefits that can be obtained through utilising qualitative methods, there are still limitations involved. Liebling (1999) argues that prison research should involve qualitative experiences rather than limiting research to something quantifiable but she adds that there is no doubt that this inevitably creates a more 'messy' research process where data can be more difficult to process and interpret than data collected in a more structured manner (Marcus, 1998; Liebling, 1999, Reiter, 2014). Both the interview and ethnography are time consuming, with an overwhelming amount of 'raw data' (Bryman, 1989). As previous ethnographers note:

> At times, the ethnographer will struggle to just barely keep her or his head above water in a dizzying stream of strange and foreign impressions… ethnography for such reasons is an endeavour that may sound simple enough on paper (it's just what people normally do, right?), but it is very difficult to do it well in practice (Connell, 2002; Ugelvik, 2014, p. 472).

Initially, essay writing was planned to be incorporated into the methodology of this research. It was hoped that orange-collar workers could write a short essay about their experiences of conducting prison work. This was decided at a time when I was unsure as to whether I would be able to record interviews with prisoners and I believed obtaining something in their own words would be a useful supplement to the research. However, I was advised by Bridgeville management that as many prisoners struggled with reading and writing this could become an awkward and intimidating exercise and as such it was determined as inappropriate to use.

The following section will provide a reflexive account of conducting an ethnography in a prison. The researcher cannot be separated from the data entirely, instead, the researcher is a part of the data that is generated, and the researcher's role within the research should be explored. 'Reflexivity involves reflecting on the way in which research is carried out and understanding how the process of doing research shapes its outcomes' (Hardy, et al. 2001, p. 533). I will draw specifically on the issues of gender and the complexities of the insider/outsider status in the prison environment.

4.6. Data Collection: Entering the Field

The role of the researcher can have serious implications for how the field is perceived and how successfully a rapport can be built with participants. Liebling (1999) argues that the researcher is vitally important to the research end result and it is important to discuss their role and situate their experiences inside the research findings and analysis. This can also offer guidance to future ethnographers.

Jewkes (2012) calls for further reflection on matters of gender, emotion and prison research. She suggests that there may be particular dilemmas and anxieties engendered by being a

woman in an institution dominated by men, with particular issues being self-presentation and professional credibility (Jewkes, 2012; Crewe, 2014).

I do not want to be self-indulgent in discussing my experiences of the field which is a common caveat of reflexivity or the auto-ethnography (Crewe, 2009; Delamont, 2009). Like Ugelvik (2014, p.472) I argue that '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'. Instead, it is hoped that by writing myself into the world that I have investigated and introducing my emotional and experiential accounts I can widen ethnographic analysis 'in ways that make both the everyday life in a prison and the everyday life as a prison researcher visible in new ways.' (Ugelvik, 2014, p. 472).

4.6.1. The Obscure Absence of Danger in Prison

Once access to Bridgeville was secured, the issue of researcher safety needed to be addressed. The prison setting is viewed synonymously with danger. In 2012 there were 2,801 assaults on staff in male prisons throughout the UK and of these 252 were found to be serious assaults (Ministry of Justice, 2013). Informing my supervisor and university ethics committee that I would like to enter a prison was met with much hesitancy and concern. Throughout my fieldwork senior colleagues regularly asked me 'have you finished yet?' They were anxiously awaiting the end of my fieldwork to calm their nerves as they worried about my safety in Bridgeville. It is a difficult place for anyone to immerse themselves into the field and watching a young female enter an institution filled with hundreds of men (many of which were in Bridgeville for violent crimes and were dealing with a lack of female company) was likened to feeding me to the wolves. The field work was met with much trepidation and yet in ten months of fieldwork I felt surprisingly protected and safe in prison and this was

something that I had not anticipated. This feeling of safety was not the result of the security systems and surveillance in Bridgeville it was in fact due to the etiquette and values of the majority of the prisoners. I would argue that it is possibly safer to be a female researcher in this environment than it is to be a male researcher as it was considered socially unacceptable to harm a woman by the majority of prisoners[3] that I met and I found that many prisoners were also highly protective of female staff members.

Prisoners used several tools in the workshop including hammers and screw drivers. Throughout the day small pieces of metal or plastic would fly through the air as a result of prisoners conducting their work. On several occasions these pieces of plastic and metal flew in front of my face or even hit me. When this happened several of the prisoners I sat with would be outraged. They would look around to find out where this had come from and aggressively berate the person responsible for almost harming me. The 'traditional woman' tends to be viewed as harmless and unthreatening (Horn, 1997; Huggins and Glebbeek, 2003); women are seen as someone who must be protected (Horn, 1997). I was told by several prisoners that they would look after me and the scenario just described highlights this. As such, in the total male institution the female stereotype of being frail and gentle worked to my advantage with regard to safety. I was non-threatening and the masculine culture within the prison made it so that most wanted to protect me.

Therefore, initially the particular setting of the prison was met with scepticism by both myself and colleagues at the university (because I was a small, young woman) but as the fieldwork developed these characteristics became advantageous in surviving in this setting and alleviating the potential for harm.

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[3] Obviously there were exceptions to this but given the self-governing nature of the prison culture, those who did not internally adopt this idea often externally proclaimed they did in order to follow the strict norms of the status quo.

4.6.2. Prison Dress Code

Without falling too deeply into the gender stereotype, it is important to discuss the issue of dress within this setting and how the researcher's presentation of self is managed in the field (Goffman, 1971). I had made a decision at the start of my research not to enter the field in formal clothing. As suggested by previous research, where mode of dress distinguishes personnel at different levels of an organisation the researcher should adopt the style of those with whom he/she wishes to be identified (Olesen and Whittaker, 1970; Bodgan and Taylor, 1975; Johnson, 1975; Gurney, 1985). Given that the basis of the research was to understand prison work primarily from the perspective of the prisoners it was important that they were comfortable around me and it is unlikely that formal clothing would have achieved this. Prisoners enter the prison workshops wearing t-shirts and jogging bottoms and I wanted to mirror this informality in my dress. Having an outsider enter the prison workshops can be suspicious enough, but a woman wearing a smart suit would have exacerbated this mistrust as it would most likely have signalled authority. Therefore my basic fieldwork dress code consisted of jumpers and jeans and I hoped that this casual clothing would help me to appear more approachable.

The issue of formality was an important consideration when it came to dress but there was also the issue of drawing attention away from my gender through clothing. As noted by Soyer (2014) women find that their bodies are on display when they conduct fieldwork in male dominated settings and this was most certainly something I was aware of during my fieldwork. At the beginning of my research I was told to ensure that I did not have 'too much flesh on show'. One manager at Bridgeville told me 'I don't mean you need to dress like a nun but obviously be sure to cover up'. What did this mean? I thought it would go without saying that short skirts and low cut tops would be a serious faux pas in this setting.

As a young female wearing make-up and styling my clothing is a daily ritual. This all changed when I entered Bridgeville. I entered wearing little to no make-up, unkempt hair and oversized jumpers to deemphasise my femininity (Soyer, 2014). Trethewey (1999, p. 423) employs a Foucauldian lens to explore how organizational and gendered discourses are 'quite literally written upon women's bodies' in ways that can constrain their professional identities. Trethewey (1999, p. 423) found that many women lived in fear that they may lose hard-fought credibility as a result of their excessive sexual or undisciplined bodies as it is suggested that women never know when their bodies may display messages and meanings that were not intended. She found that professional women were concerned about finding strategies of self-presentation that are simultaneously engaging but not too inviting, soft but not weak, and interesting but not threatening. Similar organisational literature has also found that even when women choose not to be a 'sex object' at work, their behaviour is still interpreted as sexual by men (Gutek, 1989; Sheppard, 1989). This was a concern for me during my research as I was very aware that I was often the only women in the workshop, I was always the only female wearing my own clothing and I was a similar age to the majority of prisoners in the workshops. I made every effort to bury my sexualised gender through informal clothing to avoid tarnishing the credibility of my research.

Despite my efforts to desexualise dress many prisoners commented on my appearance and occasionally sexual comments were made. It was not a concern over whether I was found attractive or not, it was more a concern as to whether I appeared to have made excessive effort for my own self-satisfaction and self-esteem. If this was perceived to be the case by prisoners it would be impossible to be taken seriously for the duration of the research and this would have negatively affected the credibility of the research and me, the researcher. For example, on one occasion, a prisoner approached me and told me how lovely I smelled and

proceeded to guess the perfume that I was wearing. After this, I stopped putting perfume on each morning to avoid these types of compliments as they could sometimes be uncomfortable in this setting and I was aware that they could potentially affect my ability to build a rapport that was conducive to gathering data. This would have been exacerbated had I worn more provocative, feminine clothing. Finding a healthy balance between appearing dishevelled and over-done was pivotal to building relationships with prisoners on an equal and respected level.

I had carefully considered how my dress would affect prisoners (the focus of my research) but I had not fully taken into consideration how this may have been perceived by other setting members. Whilst dressing down performed its intended role of removing a stifled sense of professionalism this had an effect on prison staffs' perceptions of my research because a certain respectable image that can often be achieved through clothing was lost. Dress coupled with my age and gender served to create an image amongst some staff that I was a young girl playing in a prison. However, although my age and gender presented challenges in Bridgeville, like Gurney (1985), I found that:

> My youthful appearance and the fact that I was a graduate student and a woman helped create the impression that I was non-threatening and naïve. This combination may have helped alleviate setting members' initial anxieties about having an observer in their midst (Gurney, 1985, p.47).

Therefore, these non-threatening attributes of being a young, naïve woman may have made it easier to gain access to this environment, but subsequently posed problems whilst in the field with regard to sexuality, professionalism and credibility (Lofland, 1971; Wax, 1971; Rovner-Pieczenik, 1976; Easterday, et al. 1977).

4.6.3. Gender as the Key to a Man's World

When conducting his own prison ethnography Ugelvik (2014) had to make the first move when approaching prisoners which, he explained, could be quite awkward and

uncomfortable. During my first week in Bridgeville it was rare that I had to approach a prisoner as a large number of them would surround me in each workshop, asking who I was and what I was doing there. They were curious about my presence as having a young female in the workshop was a novelty for the inhabitants of an all-male prison. This helped to ease me in to the field without having to deal with the 'awkwardness' that Ugelvik (2014) discusses. Being a woman gave me a means to access this male dominated world.

Ugelvik (2014) also comments on his requirement to appear strong, masculine and be able to 'hold his ground' in prison. This again was not the case for me. As I have suggested, being female meant that many prisoners felt the need to look after me. Acts of kindness were afforded to me by prisoners and efforts were made to integrate me into the group. Throughout my time at Bridgeville I was offered an excessive amount of tea and coffee each day by staff and prisoners. This was the standard protocol in Bridgeville as tea and coffee played an integral part of the day to day lives of prisoners and prison staff. The simple offering of tea and coffee is not noteworthy with regard to acts of kindness but on one occasion one prisoner went above and beyond to make me feel welcome. Each day prisoners are issued with a tea bag or coffee sachet in the workshop. This coffee/tea was regarded as substandard and many prisoners joked about its awful quality. As such, many prisoners would often smuggle[4] their own teabags into the workshop; brand-named tea bags that they had purchased from the prison using their earnings from prison work. One morning the instructors in the workshop offered me a cup of tea which I accepted. One of the prisoners, Sam, saw that it was a prison issued teabag and frowned disapprovingly and said 'You shouldn't be drinking that rubbish!' Sam went back to his wing for lunch and on his return he approached me and sunk his hand deep into his pocket. He pulled out a handful of branded teabags and asked me to take them.

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[4] I use the word 'smuggle' as prisoners were not allowed to bring items from their cells into the workshop

This was an incredibly generous gesture as most prisoners earned £15 a week in this workshop which was usually used to call family and friends, to purchase snacks (as prison meals were reviled), cigarettes and branded tea bags. So of the little earnings that Sam had he purchased branded tea bags and was kind enough to share them with me.

Kind acts such as this were common throughout my fieldwork. I was told I would be 'looked after' and I was often introduced to other prisoners with an opening line of 'this is Jenna, she's doing research here, she's alright she is'. I believe that this level of rapport would have been difficult to achieve had I been a male researcher. The intense macho culture within the prison suggests that an unknown male entering the prison would be met with more apprehension and less acceptance. Returning to Ugelvik (2014), he suggests that he needed to hold his ground amongst male prisoners and appear masculine in order to be accepted. In contrast many prisoners 'took me under their wing' and provided me with a certain level of acceptance, going out of their way to make me feel included. My gender undoubtedly was to thank for this.

Another key advantage of being a female researcher in a male prison was that being female was often viewed synonymously with being 'caring'. In Rubin's (1975) study of working class family life, she attributed the intimate rapport she achieved with her male respondents to their greater experience expressing their feelings to women instead of men. Scully (1990) drew a similar conclusion during her study of convicted rapists where she suggested that, despite the nature of the topic being crimes against women, her male participants seemed to find it easier and more natural to talk to her than to her male colleague. Martha Huggins argues that being seen as 'forgiving' and 'nurturing' possibly invited some interviewees to express stronger emotions (some participants began crying during interviews) (Huggins and

Glebeek, 2003). This was also found by Gelsthorpe (1990) in her experience of researching male prisoners.

I was often positioned in the role of 'mother' (or at least 'mothering'/ 'nurturing') or 'sister', someone that the men could confide in and talk to without fear that they would be ridiculed for expressing their emotions. One prisoner, Wally, was in the process of helping his mother fight for custody of his children as they were not considered safe with Wally's ex-partner, the children's mother. This was incredibly stressful to contend with whilst behind trapped behind bars and as such Wally liked to talk to me about the progress of this situation and tell me about how he was finding it. Despite me being an outsider Wally was more comfortable expressing his emotions to me than to his fellow male prisoners. Similarly, Jonesy, a seasoned Bridgeville prisoner was the life and soul of his workshop, always cracking jokes and ridiculing his friends. However, when we talked alone he would tell me about how hard it was to be away from his son. He talked about being upset when his son would cry down the phone and tell Jonesy he missed him.

> I was speaking to my little boy the other day, I don't get emotional in here, I just don't…and I was crying my eyes out because my nan she used to take us on holiday all the time, me, my brother and my sister, my nan phones my ex up and said 'does he [Jonesy's son] want to come to Spain with us?' And he said no. So I phoned him and said 'what's the matter? Why don't you want to go on holiday with Nan?' and he said 'I just loves you dad, I want to go with you.' I said 'I'll call you back, I'll call you back' [due to having to hold back tears], it broke my heart. I can't keep doing this to him it's not fair' (Jonesy (24yrs), Workshop 3).

During my fieldwork I found that publicly opening up in this way was a rarity for prisoners at Bridgeville. Like Rubin (1975) and Scully (1990) I found that these men seemed to be more comfortable expressing their feelings to a woman than to a man. Being able to talk through these problems with prisoners and provide some support meant that I was able to build stronger relationships which in turn made it easier for me to ask them about their work and address my research questions. This rapport also made them more responsive and receptive to

these questions as they were comfortable in discussing a wide range of issues with me. I was exposed to prisoners' machoism expressed in the workshop when they were in the company of other men and I was also exposed to their more personal emotions and attitudes when we met individually. Thus, the gender dynamics of the field built a more holistic picture of the participants in this study.

4.6.4. The Female Outsider: Getting My Hands Dirty

I settled into Bridgeville to such an extent that it was a talking point amongst the instructors. Near the end of the research, during a conversation with one instructor, he told me that he remembered when I had started my research he had been on holiday and when he returned several of the other instructors had told him about a 'young girl who they couldn't believe was getting on so well and didn't seem to be scared at all' he commented 'we've had big men come in here and they've been terrified and you didn't bat an eyelid'.

Wherever possible, I socialised with prisoners and immersed myself into the prison culture and I gained much respect for this. For example, when participating in the work in the Waste Management department I would eat my lunch with the prisoners. The Waste Management department stayed in the workshop during lunchtime[5]. They ate their lunch in the main room and the instructors ate their lunch in the staffroom with the door closed. The instructors regularly asked if I would like to join them but I always declined this offer and ate my lunch with the prisoners. One afternoon the instructors told me that the prisoners had commented on this in admiration- it distinguished me from 'the screws' and allowed me to fit in and be more aligned with 'the boys' than with prison staff.

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[5] This was in contrast to most orange collar work workers who returned to the prison wings at lunchtime.

My level of participation in prison work also contributed to this. The work in the Waste Management department involved emptying the prison bins and separating the waste and items for recycling. This was incredibly messy and smelly work and a large number of the prison population avoided this job for these reasons. However, I worked alongside prisoners performing this job for several days, outside, in extremely cold January weather. The prisoners I worked alongside told me several times that no staff member or visitor had ever worked with them before. This level of participation facilitated and accelerated the unearthing of candid data. I had earned participants' respect for conducting this 'manly' work because it was assumed amongst prisoners that women would not be able to conduct this type of work or that women should not be 'getting their hands dirty'.

I also gained respect and received 'kudos' for using tools in the workshop. I was applauded for 'getting stuck in' and 'getting my hands dirty'. I regularly worked alongside prisoners hammering at parts and unscrewing bolts. One afternoon in Workshop 1 I was stood around a table with a group of prisoners, we were chatting and working simultaneously and during our conversation I interrupted one prisoner, Joe, to ask him to pass me a pair of pliers. He began to laugh and explained 'I can't believe I'm working with a girl who knows what pliers are called! That's amazing, I'm going to ring my girlfriend later and tell her!' The rest of the group joined in; they said they were impressed that I knew the name of these tools, how to use them and that I was happy to work with them on these tasks. I believe that the initial shock and subsequent admiration of me participating in this messy work was exacerbated by the fact that I was female. Gender therefore played a vital role in obtaining candid data, ironically in juxtaposing ways. I was able to engage with prisoners as my non-threatening gender offered respite from the ego battles and bolstering of masculinity, whilst at the same

time, my performance of stereotypical masculine activities served to improve my status as I gained respect for being a female performing masculine tasks and getting 'stuck in'.

4.6.5. The Problem of Rapport: Prisoners Curiosity

I have discussed the benefits of being a female in a total male institution, particularly the way that some traditional female characteristics worked in my favour by facilitating a safer environment, more receptive participants and helping me to gain a certain level of 'kudos' for entering a male prison as a female outsider and joining in with their work. However, not all inherently female attributes worked in my favour. Some instead posed challenges for both the research outcomes and the researcher.

Prisoners were curious about my presence. Many were inquisitive about why I was there and what I was doing. They wanted to know what my research was about and what job I hoped to get from completing this research. These questions were a useful aspect of the relationship building. Prisoners were more comfortable around me once they felt they knew a bit more about me and it also gave me an opportunity to explain my research to them. However, this level of curiosity coupled with the rapport that had been built also had its drawbacks. The prison population is mainly drawn from the local area, an area in which I also live. I was frequently asked where I lived and this would follow with a host of new questions asking for a more precise location, what car I drove, my partner's job and where I socialised. This became difficult. Because I had built a good rapport with participants, when I would not provide them with this information many were offended. They were offended that I did not trust them which obviously had a negative effect on our relationship. When I was not forthcoming in providing an answer to these questions it cemented the divide between myself and the prisoner and reinforced their role as 'prisoner' over 'participant'.

Several researchers argue that rapport with respondents is sustained through exchange relationships (Wax, 1952; Golde, 1970; Lofland, 1971; Johnson, 1975; Danziger, 1979; Gray, 1980; Lofland and Lofland, 1984; Gurney, 1985) and as such, novice researchers are advised not to expect something for nothing (Gurney, 1985). Oakley (1981) encouraged the asking of personal questions from her participants which established 'a relatively intimate and non-hierarchical relationship' (Oakley, 1981, p. 47) but it is not always possible or safe to conduct research in this way in the prison setting. The prisoner as a participant then poses problems when we view the research relationship in this way. It seems impertinent to expect a relationship to be built between the researcher and participant where information giving is unilateral. So, in order to build a reciprocal relationship, when prisoners opened up to me or provided me with information about themselves I needed to respond by providing information about myself without putting myself in a vulnerable position.

I would instead generate conversations about what food I liked and what television shows I watched to build relationships with participants based on common interests. Food was a fervent topic as prisoners often told me how much they detested prison food. Many loved to discuss their favourite fast food restaurants or home cooked meals and plan what they would eat first once they were released. Building relationships in this way seemed to work well and this generated a lot of conversations and discussions without compromising my safety.

Avoiding awkward situations and uncomfortable questions was difficult but what was more difficult were the issues that arose from feeling comfortable in this environment. I spent a lot of time chatting and working with certain individuals, individuals that I grew to like, respect and to some extent trust. Within ten months of fieldwork several prisoners were able to deduce particular information about me from blasé comments that I had made. They would

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remind me that they had figured this information out, not to threaten, simply to assert their intelligence. So, ironically, whilst I felt safe inside Bridgeville, I started to feel less safe at home. When I left the field the realisation that I was spending each day with prisoners would sink in. In the evening, after a day of fieldwork in Bridgeville I would sit at home and panic over comments that I had made that day. I was regularly anxious about how my day had gone, had I upset anyone? Would they know where I lived? Had I given them too much information about myself? This anxiety was exacerbated when prisoners told me the areas of the city that they would 'go robbing', one of which was where I lived. Although I felt relatively safe inside prison I felt vulnerable when I walked outside the prison gates. I left my prison keys and took off my 'researcher hat' and picked up my car keys and put on my 'civilian hat'. This highlights the dangers and anxiety that have the possibility of transcending the field. Because of this I wondered whether prisoners would treat me with the same courtesy outside prison as they did inside prison. In Bridgeville prisoners were governed by a masculine code to protect women. This was enforced and fostered by prisoners. Would this still extend beyond the prison walls when I was no longer a novelty and prisoners were not governed by the same rules? This leads me to discuss the problems that arose from being a female researcher in Bridgeville.

4.6.6. Barriers to the Female Outsider in Bridgeville

Being female had definite advantages, especially the fact that I had a certain curiosity value but conducting research in an environment dominated by men was bound to lead to some difficulties. These difficulties revolved around being a female and being an outsider and both of these characteristics limited my immersion into the field.

4.6.6.1. The *Female* Outsider

Generally, prisoners were incredibly cooperative with my research as evidenced by comments made during interviews which alluded to how prisoners hoped that they had assisted me:

> I hope I gave you a good perspective and covered what it's like (Neil (48yrs), Workshop 1).

> I hope you get your qualifications in what you want to do (Jake (22yrs), Workshop 1).

Several prisoners spent time teaching me to perform tasks in the workshops and overall prisoners were extremely accommodating. This cooperative attitude was not adopted by one of the workshop instructors. It was ironic, entering this environment that was considered dangerous and unnerving, that I faced my greatest difficulties with prison employees rather than the prisoners themselves.

One instructor in particular had a discernible problem with my presence in the workshop. It was as if a female would only enter a prison playing the role of seductress. I was made to feel embarrassed and my research was undermined constantly in this workshop. I was frequently reminded that 'some of the boys had taken a liking to me'. One afternoon while chatting to a group of prisoners, the instructor shouted across the workshop 'you're all sat around her like she's a camp fire and you're roasting marshmallows!' He told several of the prisoners off for talking to me, telling them to get on with their work. He told them that he was going to have me removed from the workshop as I was a distraction (despite the fact that on this particular occasion the private contract had not delivered any work so prisoners were sat around reading and playing draughts). When I asked him if he felt I was causing difficulties in the workshop he told me that he was simply teasing the prisoners. This made my research very difficult to undertake in this particular workshop as prisoners worried that they would be reprimanded

for talking to me, or worse, humiliated in front of me and the other prisoners. As Trethewey (1999) suggests, women cannot escape from the sexual embodiment of gender and altering these sexualised perceptions can be difficult. It is unlikely that a male researcher would face the same difficulty in this environment but it is important to note that the difficulty faced with this particular instructor was an anomaly and generally the instructors were accommodating.

Whilst this was the only instructor that I came across that seemed to be intentionally drawing attention to my gender and creating this difficulty, several instructors inadvertently did this also. For example, although swearing is an everyday part of prison life, when I entered the workshops prisoners were frequently reprimanded for swearing in front of me. In most cases they were told 'don't swear in front of Jenna' or 'don't swear in front of the lady' despite the fact that I did not want prisoners to adjust their behaviour because of my presence. But this was to be expected. Having me within the workshop meant that behaviour was altered no matter how successfully I was able to build relationships. I was still a female outsider.

The female outsider status was also reinforced on the (rare) occasions in which prisoners made inappropriate comments towards me. Like many other female researchers (Gurney, 1985; Lumsden, 2009) I occasionally experienced sexual hustling which involved flirtatious behaviour, inquiries into my relationship status (with a follow up question often asking whether my boyfriend approved of me spending my day with male prisoners or whether he would be covetous of this) and sexually suggestive remarks. For example, when I approached prisoners to ask them to participate in interviews two prisoners responded by asking 'does it mean that I get to be alone in a room with you?' As a result of these comments I automatically excluded these prisoners from interviews as a precautionary measure for my own safety.

I have discussed the key difficulties of being a *female* researcher in Bridgeville that were identified during my fieldwork. I will now discuss the difficulties that arose more specifically due to me being an outsider in Bridgeville.

4.6.6.2. The Female *Outsider*

Becoming an insider or an outsider is often a concern for researchers (Reeves, 2010). Despite the benefits obtained through in-depth participation and the trust that can be built between the researcher and participants, the level of acceptance will always be limited when the researcher is an outsider. My outsider status came primarily from being a female and a non-prisoner. With regard to being female, the male prison environment is obviously a highly masculine one (Harvey, 2007; Hua- Fu, 2005) and whilst most were comfortable and welcoming I was still not completely accepted due to the fact that I was not male. I did not join in when discussing 'sexual conquests' or banter surrounding the male anatomy which meant that I could not be 'one of the lads' and as such my level of acceptance was limited. With regard to being a non-prisoner, I could never be fully accepted by prisoners because at 5pm when they went back to the wings, I went home. This inevitably limited my level of participation and acceptance. I was not considered one of them, despite gaining their trust. As a result of this, it is important to note that my findings come from a position of 'trusted outsider' rather than 'insider'.

I made every effort to obtain this position as 'trusted outsider' by making simple adjustments such as sitting alone in the staff canteen at lunchtime. A handful of prisoners worked in the canteen and I did not want them to think that I was befriending staff members as staff were often viewed as the enemy. Sitting amongst prison staff would cement my position as 'screw', a friend of the officers and as a result a non-trusted outsider. There would be an assumption that what prisoners told me would be passed on to staff members. Instructors and

staff members often asked if I would like to join them for lunch but I brought books and politely replied that I had a lot of work to catch up on during lunch.

In the context of the female *outsider,* I also had to consider the symbolic meaning of holding my own set of prison keys and the simple luxury of being able to open and close doors. Although obtaining a set of personal prison keys was a crucial step to obtaining exhaustive data this level of freedom and control was occasionally met with cynicism. Holding keys meant that I was able to come and go as I pleased, a great advantage for myself but a privilege that is not afforded to the prisoners. Having keys marked me out immediately (Jewkes, 2012) and initially I was often branded as a member of staff by prisoners. This created an initial barrier. I had to assure prisoners that I did not work for the prison and I was not digging for information that would get them into trouble. But I was also not there to help them in their day to day problems. I had no power or influence amongst the prison staff and so the role of researcher meant that I could not move them to a different workshop, I could not get them a job on the wings and I could most certainly not get them a pay increase (no matter how often they asked). However, due to the long period of time I spent in Bridgeville's workshops it became clear to participants what my purpose and role was- not staff, not prisoner, but the ambiguous role of researcher.

I did not identify with the Bridgeville employee nor the prisoner 'as a prison ethnographer you're reminded each and every day (as you leave your key in the automatic key safe and leave the prison, knowing that you can come and go as you please) that you are member of a 'group of one'' (Jacobs, 1977; Ugelvik, 2014, p. 478).

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4.6.7. The Female Outsider: Final Comments

Given the 'egos at play' and the performances of masculinity that are a key aspect of prison life, my non-threatening gender offered respite from this. The perception that I was 'feminine' and thus would most likely be caring and empathetic meant that many prisoners were keen to talk to me which allowed me to build stronger relationships with participants and receive more candid responses. This enhanced my data and also created a more comfortable and safer environment in which to conduct my fieldwork. Paradoxically, it was not only the 'feminine' traits that strengthened my research experience. My participation in the more masculine activities in the workshop also served to improve my reputation amongst setting members and allowed me to be more included in the social aspects of the workshops. This again enhanced my data as well as my feelings of safety in the research setting. As a female, utilising my feminine characteristics served to build rapport and thus gather data more easily. Performing masculine activities, as a woman, helped earn respect.

Nevertheless, as an outsider, my insights would still be limited. Being a female researcher within this total male institution meant that it was inevitable that I would experience both the advantages and disadvantages of marginality (Papanek, 1964; Easterday et al. 1977; Danziger, 1979; Thorne, 1979). But this marginality was turned into an asset by preserving a degree of detachment from setting members. This detachment provided insights and opportunities that could not have been attained had I 'gone native' (Gurney, 1985).

In the final two sections of this chapter, I will move away from this reflexive discussion on the role of the researcher and I will present the data analysis techniques utilised in this research and the ethical considerations of the study.

4.7. Data Analysis

Field notes and interview transcripts were analysed to develop the findings for this research. The analysis of data is often considered to be the most ambiguous aspect of research (Wolcott, 1994). The interview data and field notes were broken down into easily identified themed subsets which were established through the reading and rereading of data in its entirety, facilitating the formation of concepts and interpretations (Cresswell, 1998). As Miles and Huberman (1994) emphasise, analysis such as this is not linear and involves reflection and repetition as many of the themes are interrelated.

Therefore thematic analysis has been used to organise the data. Essentially, this involved assigning codes to the data which facilitated the concentration of the bulk of the data into analysable units by creating categories or themes (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). Codes have been attached to 'chunks' of varying sized data such as phrases, sentences, interesting quotes and whole paragraphs (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The data has been analysed drawing upon the literature evaluation, the research objectives and cross referencing the different pieces of data with each other (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996).

The analysis took a literal, interpretive and reflexive approach (Mason, 2002). The literal reading focused on the form, content and language of the data. The interpretive and reflexive analysis involved constructing a version of what it was believed the data meant or represented (Mason, 2002). Furthermore, in order to embrace a reflexive approach, I located myself within the research (as illustrated in this chapter).

4.8. Ethical Considerations

As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggest, the central value of social research is truth. However, in this search for truth, other values must still be considered and it is understood

that some ways of searching for this truth would be considered unacceptable. There are

ethical issues that must be considered when conducting research. This is particularly

important when considering the participants of this study and their vulnerability. Pseudonyms

have been used throughout this research in an attempt to divorce the participants from this

piece of research. Pseudonyms have been used for the prison itself, the private contracts, the

prisoners, Bridgeville staff, the managers of the private contracts and local place names.

In order to ensure that all parties involved were comfortable with participating in my

research, the aims of this research were discussed overtly. In order to gain access to

Bridgeville, I provided a detailed research proposal outlining what I would be researching

and why. This information was also disseminated when conversing with prisoners. When

observing the workshops all prisoners were made aware that I was a researcher from Cardiff

Business School and that I was there to research privately contracted work and their attitudes

towards this work. Prisoners were then approached and asked to take part in an interview. It

was explained that the interviews were voluntary and each interviewee was provided with a

consent form. I read over this form with them explaining the details of their participation and

asked them to sign the document if they were happy to do so.

Finally, ethical issues were also raised about the safety of the researcher in this setting (as

previously highlighted). As a prison is not the epitome of safety with regard to research

settings precautions were taken to ensure my own welfare. I was provided with basic self-

defence training and used my initiative to eliminate danger (avoiding interviews with

prisoners that I felt uncomfortable with). But most importantly, I ensured that I treated all

participants with respect and kindness; a very simple technique to ensure that research can

run smoothly and without hostility.

4.9. Conclusions

This chapter has provided a detailed description of the chosen methods for this research. An ethnographic approach has been utilised which involved participant and non-participant observation as well as semi-structured interviews, primarily with prisoners. It was decided that this approach best addressed the research questions. This chapter has also provided a reflexive account of conducting the fieldwork for this research and the double edged sword of being a female outsider in a total male institution. The data analysis and ethical considerations of this study have also been illustrated. The next chapter will provide an in-depth description of Bridgeville and the orange-collar workshops in order to contextualise the research setting.

5. Bridgeville Prison Plc.

5.1. Introduction

The following chapters will present the findings of this research. Several themes emerged throughout the fieldwork and analysis. These have been organised into five chapters. I will first provide context to the research by presenting the environment in which prison work takes place. In the next chapter I will discuss the different types of prisoners that find themselves in the orange-collar workshop and how they develop and adapt their identity in this environment. I will then discuss the work itself- why prisoners 'choose' to complete orange-collar work, what they think about completing the unskilled tasks, dealing with boredom, monotony and 'killing time'. The informal culture within the workshop will then be discussed, drawing specifically on the humour used in the workshop. The hierarchical structures in the workshop will then be explored and analysed drawing on power relations and the cultural norms of prison life. Finally, I will bring these themes together to discuss privately contracted work and the implications that it may have on prisoners' relationship with crime and work outside of prison.

In this chapter, as stated, I will introduce Bridgeville. I will provide a broad description of the prison environment and Bridgeville's industries department. I will specifically discuss the orange-collar workshops (the focus of this research) and provide a detailed description of each workshop.

5.2. Welcome to Bridgeville

My first visit to Bridgeville took place in March 2012 and was not exactly what I had expected. Having never visited a prison before, I was expecting a melancholic, miserable and

forbidding experience. In fact, when I arrived I was surprised that the reception instead resembled that of a low budget hotel chain with bright colours, new carpets and busy, enthusiastic receptionists. So despite having strict entrance procedures that needed to be followed to the letter, giant metal gates every few metres that had to be opened and shut behind you (which involved a check and then a double check as leaving one of these gates unlocked would result in a hefty fine for the prison as well as the more problematic scenario of an escaped prisoner) and the omnipotent presence of security, Bridgeville seemed less foreboding and intimidating than I had imagined.

Bridgeville is a category B/C[6] private prison (1 of 14 private prisons in the UK) that first opened its doors in the nineties. Bridgeville holds approximately one thousand four hundred male prisoners and around six hundred and fifty members of staff. There are three sections that make-up Bridgeville- the youth offenders institution which holds sixteen to eighteen year olds[7], the vulnerable prisoners unit (VPU) which holds prisoners who are not considered safe to remain in the main prison (primarily sex offenders and prisoners who have acquired debt in the main prison) and the main prison itself. I spent several weeks observing the VPU but the majority of my ten months were spent in the main prison where the general population of prisoners reside.

Since the Incentives and Earned Privileges Scheme (IEP) was introduced in 1995 across England and Wales, prisoners have the opportunity to earn benefits on the basis of good behaviour (Crewe, 2009). Almost all prisoners start out as 'standard' and through good behaviour they can be promoted to 'enhanced' status or as a result of bad behaviour they can

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[6] There are four security categories for prisoners- A, B, C& D. Category A prisoners are considered the most likely to escape (and the most dangerous) and so they require the highest conditions of security. In contrast Category D prisoners are considered to present the lowest risk and so they can be trusted in open conditions.
[7] I did not enter this area of Bridgeville.

be demoted to 'basic' status. Enhanced prisoners receive benefits such as increased visiting hours, improved cells on enhanced wings (with telephones and showers), access to more desirable jobs with higher pay and more visits from friends and family. If prisoners are demoted to 'basic status' they are forced to wear prison issued clothing rather than their own clothes, they are unable to order from the canteen, they are denied access to television and it can also negatively affect their wages. All of this continues until they are able to restore their position as a 'standard' prisoner by improving their behaviour. This structure of promotion and demotion inevitably has implications for each prisoner's choice of employment, his role in the workshop and - (the most important to the prisoner) - his pay.

Prisoners at Bridgeville spend a large part of the day out of their cells, either participating in education, vocational courses or work. Bridgeville is a working prison and it is compulsory for prisoners to be occupied during the day. The compulsory nature of the work was not made explicitly clear until the end of my research, when I revisited Bridgeville to discuss my research and pose post-fieldwork questions. The deputy director of Bridgeville told me that it is the prison's aim to move prisoners into work (or education) approximately two weeks after arrival. It was not only myself who was unaware of the compulsory element. During my fieldwork prisoners seemed confused about the nature of prison work; while some told me that work was compulsory and that prisoners would face disciplinary action if they refused to work others told me that there were ways around this and that rules on work in Bridgeville were not necessarily enforced.

As explained in the Social Exclusion Unit (2002, p. 54) report *'Reducing Reoffending by Ex-Prisoners'* work in prison can be divided into three main types:

1. Work to maintain and service the prison, including cleaning cells and landings, working in the kitchen or laundry, and grounds maintenance
2. Mundane and repetitive work for external contractors, such as bagging nails, stuffing envelopes, and assembling simple electrical components
3. Complex production tasks, either for external contractors or more usually for internal consumption, including making window frames and furniture, plastic household goods, and light engineering

I observed prisoners working in the staff kitchen, cleaning and serving food on the wings, working in the staff canteen, working in the laundry, working in agriculture as well as several other areas on work. But I was primarily interested in the 'mundane and repetitive work for external contractors'- the privately contracted prison work.

On entering the prison, it is explained to prisoners that they must submit an application to take up particular educational courses, vocational courses or work. Some of the work and courses are in high demand such as a wing job and the bricklaying vocational course. If prisoners request a course or job that is at full capacity they are put on a waiting list and placed in a different workshop until they are able to move to their desired placement. Prisoners usually start out as part-time workers (either working in the morning or in the afternoon) and are then able to progress to full time hours (which subsequently doubles their wages).

Although prisoners have the option of participating in education, for many prisoners education sits far down the list of coveted positions. The social exclusion unit (2002) found that fifty-two per cent of male prisoners in the UK had no qualifications at all. They also found that nearly a third of prisoners had been regular truants at school and eighty-nine per cent of male prisoners left school at fifteen or sixteen in comparison to only thirty-two per cent of the general population. This serves to highlight how a large number of prisoners have been disengaged from education for most of their lives. Many still are as their current

vocation (criminal activity) does not require formal academic skills and so they tend to have a more negative attitude towards participating in education in prison. During interviews I asked participants to rank nine possible day time prison activities- this included education, vocational work, wing jobs, enterprise work and a handful of enhanced jobs (see Appendix C) They were to select '1' for their most desired place and '9' for the place that they would least like to spend their day. Fifty per cent of the participants ranked education in eighth or ninth place and none of the prisoners ranked education first (most desired).

Those that are in purposeful activity (such as work) are paid on a weekly basis into their prison accounts. Prisoners spend their earnings via a credit system and do not handle cash (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). They are able to use this money to purchase food, toiletries etc. from the prison canteen sheet or they are able to save this money for release. In order to be eligible for a pay increase prisoners must attain enhanced status. The terms of pay are standardised across the UK prison system but there is some room for flexibility and this is presented in the Prison Service Order 4600 (see Table 2 below):

TABLE 2: PAY RATES

MANDATORY PAY RATES

Unemployment pay
Minimum £2-50 per week (50p a day) based on a five-day week

Employed rate
Minimum employed rate of pay is £4-00 per week

Short-term sickness
The rate of pay for short-term sickness is £2-50 per week

Long-term sickness and retirement
The rate of pay for prisoners who are long-term sick or of retirement age is £3-25 per week

                                                            Prison Service Order 4600

The following section provides an insight into the Vulnerable Prisoners Unit and the work that is conducted in this part of the prison.

5.3. Bridgeville: The Vulnerable Prisoners Unit

The Vulnerable Prisoners Unit (VPU) is made up predominantly of sex offenders making this a very different setting to the main prison. Prisoners here are generally much older with a wider range of socioeconomic backgrounds and with very different levels of work experience compared to the general population of prisoners. I spent several weeks in the VPU workshops and found it unnerving due to the quieter and more polite environment which was a stark contrast to the swearing and loudness of the main prison.

The VPU has a self-contained industries section employing around sixty inmates. They are able to work in a handful of enterprise workshops, such as repackaging dry products (tea bags, sugar, and coffee sachets) for airlines which is contracted out to Bridgeville by the company ForFlight[8]. Another workshop in the VPU was involved in constructing security alarms for a locally based company. At the beginning of my research, several prisoners were also recycling ink cartridges for a private firm but this contract finished due to problems with a lack of work being provided. This is all unskilled work but there were also opportunities for enhanced prisoners in the VPU to work in Bridgeville's print shop. This was a much more skilled job where prisoners used computer programmes such as Photoshop to develop signage for the prison and create advertising tools such as leaflets for local companies. Local private firms used this facility for one-off or occasional jobs rather than formal contractors. They used the print shop sporadically and found out about the shop through word of mouth in the local area or through staff at Bridgeville.

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[8] This contract had previously been assigned to the main prison but was now carried out in the VPU.

The workshops within the VPU are worthy of in-depth research of its own. There are vast differences between the workers in the VPU and the main population of prison workers. Given that the prisoners in the VPU were, on the whole, more skilled with greater work experience than those prisoners in the general population, it was interesting that VPU prisoners were conducting similar privately contracted work to prisoners in the main prison. This would contradict the apparent rehabilitative purpose of the work in enhancing prisoners' employability because prisoners in the VPU, on the whole, already have employable skills. The detailed level of enquiry that such complexities demand could not be fully accommodated within this research. Because of this and because of the personal and emotional difficulties of researching this group of prisoners, made up predominantly of sex offenders (including paedophiles and rapists) in ten months of fieldwork I only spent a few weeks observing the work in the VPU. Therefore, whilst my fieldwork from the VPU will be referred to, this will be minor and the focus will be the main prison, more specifically, the Prison Industries Department which employs the largest number of prisoners. This is where the majority of fieldwork took place.

5.4. Bridgeville: Prison Industries Department

The focus of this research is Bridgeville's industries department. The industries department employs around two hundred and seventy prisoners and is made up of both vocational and enterprise workshops. Unlike Bridgeville's reception area, the industries department is cold with concrete slab floors, more 'rustic' and unadorned. Each workshop is separated by walls but the walls have large gaps at the top and incredibly high ceilings which meant that when you entered the industries department you could hear the hammering, smashing, shouting, laughing and the multiple, competing radio stations from each workshop. The industries department is made up of vocational workshops and enterprise workshops (the latter of which will hereafter be referred to as orange-collar workshops).

The vocational workshops provide prisoners with qualifications through training, namely National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ) level 1 and 2[9]. They have one instructor and can accommodate twenty prisoners. The orange-collar workshops receive work from external contracts. Each orang-collar workshop can accommodate around thirty-five prisoners and in order to ensure prisoner-to-staff ratios there are two instructors in each workshop. Vocational workshops introduce prisoners to a variety of trades and offer qualifications. These include industrial cleaning, painting and decorating, bricklaying, carpentry and electrics but these workshops often have long waiting lists. There are also long waiting lists for jobs such as wing cleaners which I was told come with the perks of being first in line for the dinner queue and extra gym sessions. As a result, the orange-collar workshops are often considered to be the least desirable prison jobs and are often made up of prisoners who are on the waiting list for vocational workshops or wing jobs. Because the orange-collar workshops can accommodate the largest number of prisoners this tends to be the first stop for most prisoners.

In the orange-collar workshops there are also a range of qualifications that prisoners can complete, such as:

- Health & Safety, Manual Handling and Principles of COSHH (control of substances hazardous to health) (NVQ Level 1 and 2)
- Performing Manufacturing Operations (NVQ Level 1 and 2)
- Recycling (NVQ Level 1 and 2)

Simon (1999) found that previously, this type of work (light assembly work contracted into the prison) was not designed to rehabilitate prisoners. She notes that in Liverpool prison in the early 90s, orange-collar work was very often reserved for inmates regarded as inadequate and those withdrawing from drugs- those considered incapable of performing anything more

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[9] NVQ level 1 is the equivalent of a GCSE grade D-G. NVQ level 2 is the equivalent of a GCSE A*-C

challenging. In Kirkham prison during the early 90s, this work was reserved for prisoners medically unfit for heavier work and in Highpoint prison this work was used to contain the disaffected and those for which no other work was available and was later used as a short term stop for men awaiting course vacancy (Simon, 1999). This 'short term stop' was also found in Bridgeville but this work is expanding in prison, driven my government policy to increase productive work in prison. I spoke to many prisoners from the orange-collar workshops that were only there because they were waiting for a position to open up in a vocational workshop.

It is suggested by Simon (1999) that previously orange-collar work was not regarded as particularly rehabilitative but was used as something to occupy prisoners, particularly those that the prison staff felt would struggle with more challenging work. In an interview with the Deputy Director and Prison Industries Manager they explained that they believed the purpose of orange-collar work was rehabilitation.

> JP: What is the motive here behind prison work? Is the work here based on punishment/ rehabilitation/occupying prisoners/profit/ a mixture or simply just a standard part of prison?
> Response from Deputy Director: Rehabilitation. The Deputy Director said that she believed that the workshops were rehabilitative- 'they provide prisoners with a skill set that they haven't already got and it also provides them with a work ethic- to get out of bed every morning and go to work' (Field notes, 12.06.2014).

When I asked why they thought that private firms used Bridgeville's prison labour the prison industries manager replied that a lot of the companies had struggled to find people outside to do this work as it is very monotonous.

I asked the deputy director about profit in the orange-collar workshops. She explained that this was commercially confidential information and that they would not be able to tell me. She explained that not even the government's National Offenders Management Service

(NOMS) had access to this information. Only Bridgeville and their parent company knew the profits generated by the orange-collar workshops.

5.5. The Orange-Collar Workshops

The following table outlines the key details of each orange-collar workshop such as contracts and job description. In each orange-collar workshop Quality Controller's (QC's) earn £25 per week, technicians earn £20 per week, general orange-collar workers earn £15 per week and prisoners in Waste Management are enhanced and earn £30 per week.

TABLE 3: THE WORKSHOPS

Workshop	Contract	Instructors	Hierarchy	Work
1 (approx. 35 prisoners)	CrashCo. ElectroWire	Mark Harry	1 Quality Controller Handful of Technicians	Breaking apart computer items such as desktop computers, printers, scanners, separating these parts to be recycled. Packing electrical rubber wires. Due to the inconsistency of this contract, only a handful of prisoners are assigned to this work as and when it comes in.
2 (approx. 35 prisoners)	BookSmart	Dennis Greg	2 Quality Controllers Handful of Technicians	Packing books, stickering books, shrink wrapping books and quality checking them to make sure the pages are all written in the same language.
3 (approx. 35 prisoners)	PullEm Partpro	Allen Glen	2 Quality Controllers Handful of Technicians	Wrapping straps through a plastic case, rolling them and packing them. The product is then sold to supermarkets and other companies and is used to pull large warehouse trolleys. Repackaging small car parts and stickering them.
4 (approx. 10-12 prisoners)	FlushCo.	Ray Karen	2 Quality Controllers £25 per week Handful of Technicians	Workers put together different components of household plumbing parts such as toilet flushes. When made, these parts were repackaged by orange-collar workers.

	ScrapIt.	Sarah	No Orange-Collar Hierarchy	This job is performed outside (still in Bridgeville). Some workers collect the bins from all over the prison. Others then separate the waste into recyclable groups such as plastic, cardboard and food waste. Then 1 or 2 of the workers use a bailer to compress the paper into small bundles ready to be taken away by ScrapIt who have a contract with the prison to purchase their recycling.
Waste Management		Amanda	Enhanced Job- All £30 per week	

As illustrated in Table 3 each of the orange-collar workshops inside the industries department has two instructors both of which are non-prisoners and are employed by Bridgeville. Each workshop also has one or two quality controllers (QC), several technicians (usually not exceeding five) and between twenty-five and thirty standard orange-collar workers. All of these roles are occupied by prisoners. Officially, in order to become a technician or a QC a prisoner must be enhanced. The QCs tend to work closely with the instructors, they delegate work to the technicians who then inform the standard orange-collar workers what work needs to be done (although this structure varies slightly within each workshop).The roles of QC and technician are usually offered to prisoners who have spent time in the workshop and have a firm grasp of the work.

The revolving door of Bridgeville means that the orange-collar workers within the industries workshops change constantly. Not all workers are full time and so through the day the workforce fluctuates. The workshops also face high turnover due to prisoners being released, moving to a different job or moving to education classes.

The orange-collar working day begins around 8.30am. Workers are frisked on their way into the workshop and on their way out. Not an ordinary start to the working day. Although the orange-collar workers enter the workshop around 8.30am work does not usually begin until

around 9am after tools have been distributed and workers have had a cup of tea and a chat.

Workers take a fifteen minute break at around 10am; orange-collar workers must remain in

the workshop during this time where there is a toilet and a hot water generator to make tea

and coffee. At around 11.30am prisoners start to hand in their tools to the instructors and

morning work finishes at 12pm. Prisoners go back to their wings for lunch at 12pm until

2.30pm. At 2.30pm prisoners return to the orange-collar workshops. They have a fifteen

minute afternoon break where they can have a cup of tea and a rest like they do in the

morning. Prisoners pack up at around 4.30pm to ensure that all tools have been collected. The

orange-collar day ends at 5pm (4pm every Friday) at which point prisoners queue at the

workshop door and wait to be released back to their wings; they are frisked on their way out

of the industries department and then they walk back to their wings for the evening. This is

illustrated succinctly in Table 4.

TABLE 4: ORANGE-COLLAR WORKING DAY

Time	Day
8.30am	Orange-collar workers enter the workshop
8.30am-9am	Pick up tools. Have a tea/coffee and a chat
9am	Start work
10am	Coffee/tea break
10.15am	Back to work
11.30	Give back tools
12pm	Go back to prison wings
2.30pm	Return to workshop. Collect tools.
3.30pm	Coffee/tea break
3.45pm	Back to work
4.30pm	Give back tools
5pm	Queue up to return to prison wings

This routine is repeated each day: the walk to work, the frisking, the handing out of tools, the

work, the empty breaks, the queuing for hot water to make a cup of tea, the rationing out of

tea bags, the hovering around the toilet cubicles in an attempt to get a last drag of someone's cigarette, the handing back of tools, the queuing at the door, the final frisking and the walk back to the wing.

The workshops all operate differently and their style and organisation are primarily dictated by the instructors and sometimes the personal characteristics of the senior orange-collar workers (QCs and technicians). Each workshop will be described in greater detail in the following section and pseudonyms have been used for the companies contracting the work.

5.5.1. Workshop 1: CrashCo
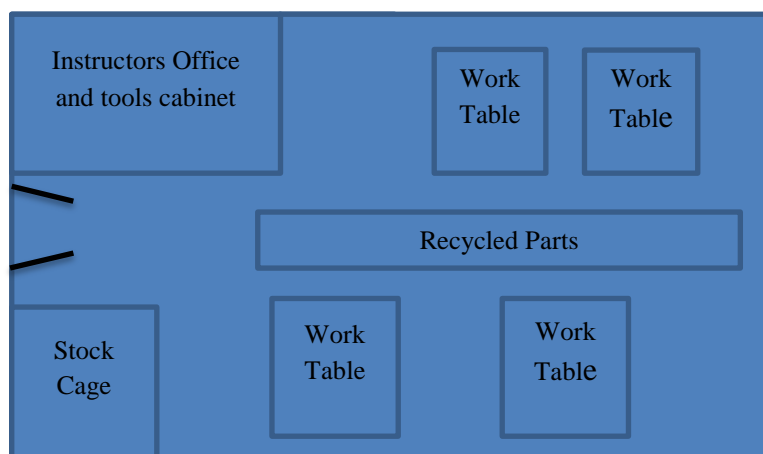
Figure 1: Layout of Workshop 1

The main private contract in Workshop 1 is Crashco- a recycling company that sends old electronic materials such as broken computers to Bridgeville where they are broken apart and the materials are separated for recycling. Orange-collar workers in Workshop 1 use tools such as screw drivers, hammers and pliers to break apart and separate the materials into metal, plastic, rubber before putting them into designated containers in the middle of the room to be recycled. Work in Workshop 1 can be particularly dirty and the orange-collar workers very often leave the workshop covered in ink, dirt and dust. So whilst prisoners usually prefer to wear their own clothes, in this workshop they often choose to wear Crashco issued T-shirts to

keep their own clothes clean and intact (the parts can also be sharp sometimes resulting in cuts and ripped clothes - I often left this workshop with small cuts on my hands from breaking apart the computers).

The instructors in Workshop 1 are Mark and Harry (non-prisoners) and the QC is Neil, a 48 year old first-timer. Neil has a trusting and friendly relationship with the instructors and he has even arranged to meet Harry, his instructor, for a pint after his release from Bridgeville. I did not speak to Neil too much in the first few months of my research as he was often busy working; he kept his head down, got on with his work and was not particularly talkative. By the end of December, after over three months of fieldwork, he was used to my visits and began inquiring about my research and regularly offered to help and talk with me about his work. Although he was taciturn I spoke to Neil regularly and he was one of the few prisoners that I met at the beginning of my research who was still completing orange-collar work at the end of my fieldwork.

There is a strict procedure with tools in all workshops but the work activities in Workshop 1 require more tools for breaking equipment so their distribution takes some time. I asked the instructors in Workshop 1 how they felt about the prisoners in their workshop having access to hammers and other dangerous tools but they had been working with prisoners for so long that it did not seem to faze them. The workshop must perform a lockdown if a tool is lost to ensure that it cannot leave the workshop and be used as a weapon. This came close to happening several times during my fieldwork as prisoners were prone to putting tools in their pockets and forgetting about them. Workers in Workshop 1 are each assigned to a table where they break apart the electronics. Neil is in charge of getting the electronics out of the stock cage and onto each table.

> I walk around basically and make sure they decommission it and strip it and all that and you've got the technicians that take the stuff off the tables and then I go around and make sure the technicians are putting it in the right places and that its stripped properly (Neil (48yrs), Workshop 1).

The orange-collar workers separate the parts and as explained by Neil, the technicians check each table, clear it of parts and organise them into the designated containers.

Crashco is the dominant work in Workshop 1 but occasionally another company, Electrowire, sends work to Bridgeville, which involves rolling up electrical wiring and packing it to be sent out. The wires are then used for kitchen cookers and sold to DIY stores. As this contract is not regular, a handful of orange-collar workers are assigned to this work and are put on a separate table to complete this contract when it comes in. The work provided by Crashco is consistent and there is a constant flow of work in Workshop 1. The majority of workers I spoke to like the regularity of this work as they preferred to keep busy:

> There's always something to do there (Neil (48yrs), Workshop 1).

> Yeah because you're always doing something in there like. You're always busy like (Jamie (22yrs), Workshop 1).

> It's always something different though, something is brought in different every day or every other day, so that breaks it down (Kane (22yrs), Workshop 1).

5.5.2. Workshop 2: BookSmart
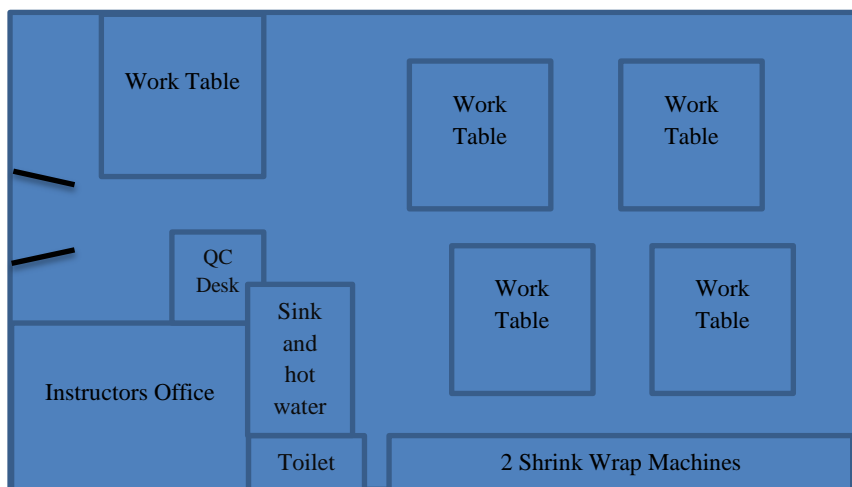
Figure 2: Layout of Workshop 2

Booksmart, a publishing company, sends books to Bridgeville for repackaging, shrink wrapping and quality checking. Workshop 2 is run by two instructors, Dennis and Greg (non-prisoners). Dennis is the lead instructor and Greg had been working at Bridgeville for five weeks at the beginning of my research.

The QC sits at a desk at the front of the workshop and completes Booksmart's paperwork. During my fieldwork the role of QC passed on to several prisoners, starting with Anthony and finishing with two QCs sharing the role, Gibbo and Luke. Anthony managed to get a job in Waste Management around six months into my fieldwork and I later interviewed Anthony while he was working there. Gibbo had not been in the workshop very long but he was fast-tracked to QC because he was a returning prisoner and had worked as a QC in Workshop 2 during his previous sentence. Gibbo and Luke received their QC jobs in the final two months of my fieldwork.

Dennis would appoint a technician to be in charge of each table in the workshop (see fig. 2) and each table is set a specific task to complete each day. The instructors inform the QCs about what work needs to be done. The QC then passes this information onto the technicians who organise the work and inform the orange-collar workers on their table. For example, during one of my fieldwork observations a table of orange-collar workers were tasked with quality checking the books to ensure that all the pages had been written in English. The technician brought the books to the table and the workers and technician read through each page and set aside the books in which pages had mistakenly been inserted that were written in German. Another table would stick promotional labels on the front of books or insert leaflets inside the books. And another would repackage the books and put them into cardboard boxes. These tasks changed daily depending on what Booksmart required for each order. There are a

small number of orange-collar workers who are taught how to use the two shrink wrapping machines. The shrink wrappers receive the same wages as the technicians and are in charge of running these machines.

The work in Workshop 2 is sporadic and varies in intensity. On my first visit to Workshop 2 there was very little work to be completed as the last order had been small. But by Wednesday afternoon workers were incredibly busy and a contract had to be completed to a strict deadline. I noted this in my fieldwork diary at the time:

> (Monday) A small order came in Friday so there was not much to do at all today. By around 10.30am the instructor had told most workers to stop working in order to save work for the afternoon and so several sat reading a book instead (Field notes. 8.10.2012).

> (Wednesday) Workshop 2 replicates a factory workshop this afternoon. Yesterday and this morning the boys were mainly sat around but this afternoon an order came in and everyone is extremely busy. Today is a much bigger order and there were more boys working than there had been (Field notes. 10.10.2012).

5.5.3. Workshop 3: Pullem and Part Pro
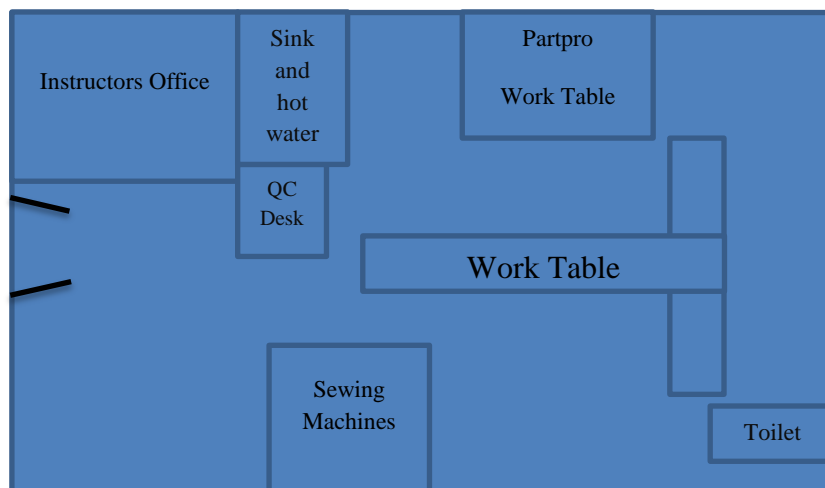
Figure 3: Layout of Workshop 3

Workshop 3 is home to two private contracts, Pullem and Partpro. Pullem produces straps for industrial trolleys and is the most consistent work but most orange-collar workers told me that they prefer the work provided by Partpro. This may be because they prefer the work but

it may also be because the work comes into the workshop less often and this provides them with some variation. Most orange-collar workers sit on the long table in the centre of the workshop (see fig. 3) and pull a strap through a small piece of plastic, one strap after another, continuously throughout the day and then put all the completed straps in a cardboard box next to their chair. Another group of workers collect these boxes and roll up the straps and load them into cardboard boxes ready to be sent out. There are also four sewing machines in Workshop 3 that are used to sew loops into the straps. A handful of orange-collar workers are trained to use the sewing machines and so they spend most of their working day continuously sewing a small section of each strap. Like the shrink wrappers in Workshop 2, those trained to use the sewing machine earn the same as technicians; they have assimilated a skill that is essential for the functioning of the workshop and the completion of the contract.

Partpro is a car parts supplier. This work arrives less regularly and involves repackaging small car parts. A small group of orange-collar workers are assigned to the Partpro work and this includes the QCs. Some of the QCs are also trained to use the sewing machines and as such they have some level of autonomy in choosing what work to do each day but their key responsibility is to complete the necessary paperwork. The work they are tasked to complete is also dependent on what needs to be sent out most urgently. The role of technicians in Workshop 3 is not as clearly defined as in the other orange-collar workshops and it is difficult to identify which orange-collar workers are technicians here.

The instructors in Workshop 3 are Allen (the more prominent instructor) and Glen. Glen is much older (he retired at the end of my fieldwork), he struggles with his hearing and some workers in Workshop 3 see Glen as a soft touch. There were always two QCs in Workshop 3 and this job swapped hands twice during my research so I observed three sets of QCs here.

Two pairs that I got to know well were Jonesy and Cameron and after them, Bill and Ash.

The QCs in Workshop 3 had a fair relationship with the instructors, they all seemed to get on

relatively well although some QCs could occasionally get frustrated with Glen as he could get

a little flustered and hesitant at times. Allen is viewed as the authority figure, the

disciplinarian by orange-collar workers in Workshop 3 and as such he is not the most popular

instructor but the QCs seem to work well with Allen. The constructive relationship between

Allen and the QCs is helpful as even though many of the standard orange-collar workers

loathe Allen they are (more) willing to take orders from certain QCs. Therefore, the QCs in

Workshop 3 would relay Allen's orders resulting in less conflict.

5.5.4. Workshop 4: FlushCo and Tea-packing
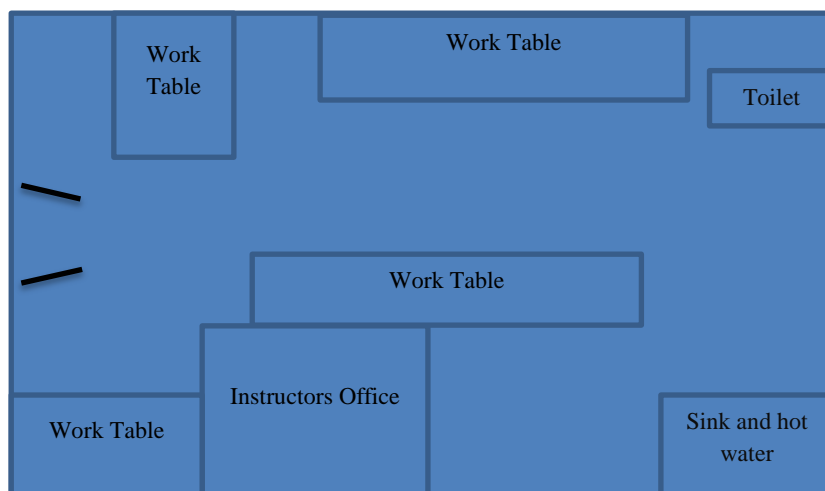
Figure 4: Layout of Workshop 4

Workshop 4 is engaged in two different types of work: work contracted by a company named

FlushCo and an internal operation which prisoners call 'tea-packing'. Flushco is a private

company that produces household plumbing parts such as toilet flush components. The

orange-collar workers complete the creation of these products by fitting parts together,

repackaging them and boxing them up. Tea-packing is not sent in by a private firm. This

work involves preparing breakfast packs for all prisoners. This requires prisoners forming an

assembly line where coffee sachets, cereal packs, tea bags, sugar sachets and jam sachets are

added to a small, clear plastic bag that is passed along the assembly line. The last orange-collar worker ties the bag up and puts one hundred breakfast packs into a large bag and sets each bag aside. All items in the breakfast pack are non-perishable and so if not enough work arrives from Flushco, tea-packing is brought out as the breakfast packs can simply be stored away until they are needed. Tea-packing was abhorred by most prisoners at Bridgeville.

The instructors in Workshop 4 are Ray and Karen. Ray can be strict but some of the orange-collar workers who have spent a lot of time in this workshop have adapted to Ray's management style and have developed a relationship with him. Newer orange-collar workers do not especially like Ray because of his tough methods. Karen is a small lady in her sixties who is strict with the workers but also empathetic and jovial. Almost all the orange-collar workers in Workshop 4 speak highly of Karen. They enjoy her banter and direct approach explaining that she 'won't have no bullshit' (Mo (26yrs), Workshop 4).

The QCs and technicians in Workshop 4 have been in the workshop for a long period of time or have been in this workshop on previous sentences and have progressed to these higher ranked positions quickly. As these workers are familiar with many aspects of the FlushCo work and the tea-packing, they act as second in commands to Karen and Ray and their role changes daily in the workshop depending on what needs to be done. The technicians in Workshop 4 have influence with the instructors and as such they see themselves as personage in the workshop. This has implications for the different relationships within this workshop which will be discussed in more detail in later chapters.

5.5.5. Waste Management

The Waste Management unit within Bridgeville's industries department loosely fits into the description of privately contracted work. While it is very different to the more production based set up of Workshops 1 to 4 it still utilises a private company. This work involves

selling the prison's recyclables on to ScrapIt who work with other parties to distribute the recycled materials. The work here involves emptying all of Bridgeville's bins and separating the rubbish into waste, plastic, cardboard and others. This work is completed outside due to the malodourous and dirty nature of the work. The instructors, Amanda and Sarah, have their office in a small demountable outside of the industries department. Amanda has been working at Bridgeville for fifteen years and has a great relationship with all prisoners. Prisoners talk of Amanda with affection and appreciate her kind and humorous approach. Sarah is younger than Amanda and is viewed more as the disciplinarian. Sarah regularly comes out of her office to ensure the boys are working and to discipline anyone she believes to be slacking or mucking around.

There are around ten orange-collar workers in Waste Management. This job is reserved for enhanced prisoners only and all orange-collar workers here receive £30 a week. Waste Management workers also work longer hours as they do not go back to their wings during lunchtime. Instead they have lunch and breaks in the demountable. This work environment is more relaxed as the prisoners are awarded more trust due to their enhanced status. The workers here are not shadowed by the instructors and are given more autonomy than orange-collar workers in Workshops 1 to 4 where the set-up is stringent with more surveillance.

There are no QCs or technicians in Waste Management as £30 is the maximum amount that a prisoner in Bridgeville can earn. Instead, workers were put in charge of different areas of this work, or took turns to perform different tasks. For example, Lewis was in charge of the bailer

and had to teach new workers how to use it. All prisoners enjoyed doing the 'run'[10] and so a handful of the most trusted orange-collar workers took it in turns to do this.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter has introduced Bridgeville by providing the details of the environment where orange-collar work takes place. I have discussed the different subdivisions of the prison: the young offenders' institute, the vulnerable prisoners unit and the focus of the research, the general population of prisoners. I have provided an insight into Bridgeville's industries department where I have discussed both the vocational workshops and the orange-collar workshops. The chapter closed with a detailed description of the orange-collar workshops that are at the heart of this research: Workshop 1, 2, 3, 4 and the Waste Management department. It is hoped that this chapter has provided a clear picture of the research environment, the backdrop for orange-collar work. I will now turn to an integral part of this thesis: the workers themselves.

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[10] Prisoners did 'the run' with Amanda. This task involved walking around the whole of Bridgeville collecting the industrial bins from outside each wing and department. The prisoners enjoyed the freedom of walking around without being carefully watched.

6. Orange-Collar Workers

6.1. Introduction

This chapter will provide a detailed description of the orange-collar workers themselves. I will draw attention to several of the prisoners that I interacted with during my fieldwork, who significantly informed this research. I will then discuss the way orange-collar workers sculpt and negotiate their identity in prison and how this identity permeates the prison walls. I will then introduce five types of orange-collar workers that I observed in the orange collar workshop. These categories are based on prisoners' pre-prison employment (I use the term 'employment' loosely here to encompass criminal employment that many prisoners engage in such as robbery and drug dealing) and how these criminal categories have implications for their behaviour in the prison workshop.

6.2. The Orange-Collar Workforce

Bridgeville's orange-collar workers are predominantly white working-class men. Each workshop holds a handful of orange-collar workers over the age of forty but the majority are in their twenties and early thirties. This is a reflection of the national prison statistics which illustrate that in 2013 over 60 per cent of the prison population in England and Wales were between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-nine (Berman and Dar, 2013). Bridgeville is not located in an ethnically diverse area and this was reflected in the make-up of the workshops-there were only a handful of ethnic minority orange-collar workers. The majority of prisoners are drawn from the local areas surrounding Bridgeville, most prisoners originally came from Bluetown, Jackston (both urban areas) or Greening (the most rural of the three).

The participants of this research were exceptionally transient. Because of this, there were only a small number of orange-collar workers who were in Bridgeville's industries department from the beginning of my research until the end (or near the end). Most notable of these was Jonesy, a 25 year old man in Workshop 3, an infamous Bridgeville recidivist who I will always remember for his nonchalant and unashamedly reply when I first asked him what he did for a living: 'I'm a thief Jen'. Nelson was another - a 27 year old man from Workshop 4 who was obsessed with Bluetown football team. He explained his criminal lifestyle by drawing on his difficult upbringing in which he watched his father's killing (his father was also involved in criminality and was shot as a result of these criminal links). Neil, a 48 year old first time offender remained the QC in Workshop 1 throughout my ten months of fieldwork. Neil in particular compounded my perplexity of the rationale of prison as I could not understand what purpose prison would serve for such a gentle giant like him. Neil was in Bridgeville for Manslaughter. He had never been in trouble with the police before but he was sent to Bridgeville as a result of a disagreement with another man whilst at his local pub with his partner. Despite Neil's very large stature, he was very gentle and passive. However, on this occasion, the disagreement escalated into a fight in which Neil's strength worked against him: he threw a punch that broke the man's jaw and sent him to hospital. Regrettably, whilst in hospital the man contracted a hospital infection and died. Neil worked quietly in the workshop, mainly keeping himself to himself. Another permanent character in the workshops was Anthony. He was twenty five but without my knowing this I would have guessed he was a lot younger. He had spent a lot of time in care as a child and had never had a full time job. He was a QC in Workshop 2 when I entered Bridgeville but moved to Waste Management in the latter part of my fieldwork. Anthony had some difficulties joining in with the banter with the other orange-collar workers and he annoyed some. He was quite socially awkward and would often attempt to compliment me and although this was a source of personal

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embarrassment for me I found that his attempts were simply the way he interacted with women as he did the same with the two female instructors in Waste Management. These individuals, as well as several others, feature frequently throughout this fieldwork and my ideas of orange-collar work were heavily shaped by these inmates.

6.3. Orange-Collar Workers: Role Distance from Prisoner/Criminal Labels

Something that prisoners frequently referred back to during our conversations was the concept of being 'a good person'. Orange-collar workers spent a lot of time attempting to convince me that they were 'good people *really*' despite being incarcerated. Some were explicit about this and others drew on their employment, their roles as fathers and by describing themselves as 'hard workers' to distance themselves from the role of 'criminal' or 'prisoner' and the negative connotations associated with these labels.

Goffman (1961) argues that role distance is the attempt to distance oneself from roles that they must perform (in this case, prisoner). Role distance develops from the performers' particular status or identity which is associated with certain expectations. For example, there is an expectation that if you occupy the role of prisoner you must be a bad person or a dangerous criminal. Role distance then reflects a desire to dissociate oneself from this expectation as it does not fit with their self-conception. As highlighted by Stebbins (1969) 'the inclination to engage in role distance behaviour is stimulated by the presence of a certain 'audience' or special other persons in the ongoing situation who will denigrate the role player for enacting the expectations' (Stebbins, 1969, p. 406). However, performing role distance does not necessarily mean that the individual is refusing to play out the expectations, it simply means that the individual (in this case, the prisoner) can still fulfil his role obligations whilst maintaining self-respect. This came across in several interviews:

> I just want to change my life around, I wasn't a bad person on the out, I was just hanging around with the wrong crowd. I've got a well-respected family in the community (Gurdeep (26yrs), Workshop 3).

> I'm always made out to be the bad person and that's what does my head in down there (Louie (27yrs), Waste Management).

> I am a person who works. I am a person with the knowledge and wisdom of working. So it don't matter what they chuck at me, I will do it (Bobby (48yrs), Workshop 3).

They were quick to tell me how much they loved 'grafting' and what they wanted to do for their children when they left Bridgeville. Prisoners told me how trusted they were by staff in the workshop and on their wing. Jake for instance portrayed himself in this way. I recounted the following episode:

> I'm like 'who's been in my cell?' [The prison guard then replied] 'Aw no one I know you won't brew hooch or anything' I was like 'for a start I don't even know how to do it so tell me instructions and I'll give it a go' but he's like that 'I don't need to, I trust you, you're the only person on this wing I actually do trust' (Jake (22yrs), Workshop 1).

Adam from Waste Management was completing his first prison sentence. Adam was sentenced to 8 years in prison for a serious assault. He had not been in trouble with the police before and frequently tried to reassure me that he was different from the typical prisoner. This was illustrated in a discussion of how Adam dealt with authority differently to others in prison:

> If some guy I didn't even know said to me 'go and grab them boxes by there' I'd just go and do it because I'm used to it, I've worked since I was 16…just because they've got that job [QC or technician], I wouldn't have a thing with them but if people talk to me tidy, I'll talk to them tidy, other people just don't like it…I've never been to jail, I came to jail when I was twenty six for the first time, this is going to be my only time, I can guarantee you, I've never been in trouble before, and it's just people who've been to jail loads of times they're like 'don't talk to them, don't talk to the screws', but I'll talk to people how they talk to me (Adam (28yrs), Waste Management).

These accounts are echoed in Brown and Toyoki's (2014) study of prisoners. They explored how prisoners managed their stigmatised identities and similarly concluded that prisoners used alternative identities to manage this stigma. They found that some inmates categorised themselves as different to other prisoners as highlighted by Adam in the previous extract and

others who took on socially valued roles as father, productive worker, friend and businessman.

Brown and Toyoki (20114) found that, alternatively, there were also prisoners who embraced their defined role as prisoner/criminal and viewed this positively. I also identified this in the orange-collar workshops. Prisoners with prominent reputations and high status in the criminal underworld wore their sentence as a badge of honour. These individuals were few but orange-collar workers such as Jonesy built much of their identity around his criminal activity; for example, when he described himself as a thief. But as Brown and Toyoki (2014) explain, this positive acceptance of the criminal label and the attempt to distance themselves from this label are not mutually exclusive. Whilst Jonesy proudly discussed his criminal career and reputation he still managed this identity to ensure that he could also be perceived as a good person and a loving father. He told me stories of how much his son was missing him and how he wanted to leave his criminal career and 'go straight' for the sake of his son. But as this was his sixteenth stretch in Bridgeville, I couldn't help but question whether this was his genuine intention, or merely a fantasy that he drew on so that he could be viewed as repentant and virtuous.

The next section will further discuss how prisoners' identities were not locked into their prisoner status. Their identities permeated the prison walls and they used their geographical affiliations outside prison to sculpt their identities inside prison (and also to develop some camaraderie in prison).

6.4. Boyos from the Hood: The Local Orange-Collar Workers

According to the likes of Goffman (1961) and Sykes et al. (1960) prison culture is a distinctive culture. Given the all-consuming setting of prison and the length of its existence,

the prisoners have enough shared history to have formed a set of basic assumptions which guide behaviour, perceptions, thoughts and feelings (Schein, 2004). Goffman (1961) suggests that prisoners' identities are stripped from them upon entering a total institution:

> The recruit comes into the establishment with a conception of himself made possible by certain stable social arrangements in his home world. Upon entrance, he is immediately stripped of the support provided by these arrangements. In the accurate language of some of our oldest total institutions, he begins a series of abasements, degradations, humiliations, and profanations of self. His self is systematically, if often unintentionally, mortified…The barrier that total institutions place between the inmate and the wider world marks the first curtailment of self…Admission procedures might better be called 'trimming' or 'programming' because in thus being squared away the new arrival allows himself to be shaped and coded into an object that can be fed into administrative machinery of the establishment, to be worked on smoothly by routine operations. (Goffman, 1961, pp.24-26).

Goffman (1961) argues that total institutions perform a removal of much of the identity that individuals possessed before incarceration. Foucault (1979) describes this stripping down of identity as a 'recoding of their prisoner existence', suggesting that their old identity is stripped from them and replaced by a total prison identity. It was clear that, at times, prison life could feel all consuming. For example, one afternoon whilst observing Workshop 3 a seemingly trivial discussion developed between Bill, Ash and several others in the workshop as to what the difference was between a fruit and a vegetable. This conversation progressed for quite a while and disputes and spats ensued until I promised that I would find out the exact differences that evening and provide them with the information the next day. For prisoners, without access to the internet and with only limited, scheduled access to library facilities it was difficult to resolve these pesky, irksome debates.

However, I did not find that this all-consuming nature of the total institution resulted in prisoners' identities being wholly shaped by the prison. Instead, much of their identity permeates their lives inside and outside prison (Irwin and Cressey, 1962; Jacobs, 1977). Like Cohen and Taylor (1972) I found that prisoners hardly lost their identities as a result of being

processed through the prison system. Cohen and Taylor (1972) criticise the standard sociological accounts of adaptation to institutional life, as they suggest that it portrays the inmate:

> As an essentially passive creature whose adaptations- ingenuous as they sometimes might be- are somewhat pathetic in nature. He cannot fight, he can only learn how to accept in a more comfortable way (Cohen and Taylor, 1972, p.133).

Cohen and Taylor (1972) argue that it is untrue that the prisoner receives no recognition of himself in any other role. In their own study they explain that prisoners maintain links with the outside world 'in correspondence with relatives and friends, in contacts with us, in newspaper reports and even books about the better known of them, the men are constantly being reminded of other identities' (Cohen and Taylor, 1972, p. 135-136).

Many orange-collar workers try to maintain the roles and labels that they had constructed before incarceration, such as the role of worker or father as previously mentioned. More than this, whilst the total institution is all consuming and all activities are conducted inside Bridgeville, this does not mean that they are hermetically sealed from the outside world. As Bridgeville is not a high security prison, prisoners have the opportunity to receive visits from outsiders and socialise with other prisoners. Given that Bridgeville is a local prison, many prisoners find old friends, acquaintances and even family members inside Bridgeville. Even if prisoners do not know each other outside prison, many bond and form relationships founded on the commonality of being from the same local area on the outside and they use this to maintain their links to the outside world.

Because most prisoners were brought up in the surrounding areas they tended to divide themselves according to their geographical location outside of prison. Orange-collar workers from Bluetown (a central city) tended to stick together as did workers from Jackston (another

urban area) and workers from Greening (a rural suburb not too far from Bridgeville). Orange-collar workshops displayed camaraderie with prisoners from the same areas and antipathy towards those prisoners from neighbouring towns and cities. Participants explained that much of this animosity came from football teams as well as cultural norms.

> There is rivalry in most workshops between 'Bluetown boys' and 'Jackston boys' and also sometimes 'Greening boys' as these three groups make up the majority of the prisoners. Although a lot of this is not 'out right' or aggressive- the Bluetown boys usually sit together as do the Jackston boys…The instructors also told me that when someone came in to snitch on someone else it was always Jackston on Bluetown or Bluetown on Jackston but never Bluetown on Bluetown or Jackston on Jackston (Field notes. 13.12.2012).

The instructor in Workshop 4 amused himself some days by separating these groups.

> Ray said that for fun he sometimes orders the prisoners to sit in the order of Bluetown-Jackston-Greening- Bluetown- Jackston- Greening to wind them up and also because they often work better like this. Ray said that because they are not sat next to individuals they want to socialise with they don't have as many distractions. This seating arrangement compels them to work more quickly so that they can finish their work earlier and move to have a chat with those orange-collar workers that they want to socialise with (Field notes. 13.12.2012).

This would suggest that whilst there is a distinct and powerful prison culture, this does not work independently to life outside the prison walls. Prisoners bring with them aspects of their culture and identity from the outside. The division of these groups as well as the building of relationships based on geography has implications for the orange-collar workshops.

Given the growth of research into gang culture in the UK (Aldridge and Medina, 2008; Bennett and Holloway, 2004; Bradshaw, 2005; Bullock and Tilley, 2002; Deuchar and Holligan, 2010; Hales et al. 2006; Mares, 2001; Pitts, 2008), Philips (2012) was interested to explore whether these gangs had formalised inside prison. She initially argued that it was not unimaginable that gangs may develop into British prisons in the same way that they have been identified in the US (Jacobs, 1974, 1977; Irwin, 1980; Ventakesh and Leavitts, 2000; Fleisher and Decker, 2001). However, upon conducting research in prison, she found that this

was not the case and organised criminal gangs were not widespread within prison. Philips (2012) instead found that 'gangs' were informal, and as I found, based on geographical alignment. She describes gangs as networks structured through place identities and territorial allegiances which operate outside prison.

Similarly to Philips (2012) I found that within the orange-collar workshops there was no evidence of the 'iconic imagery of organised and violent gangs depicted in US research' (Philips, 2012, p. 55). Instead 'individuals saw themselves as deeply embedded and formally bound by territorial area-based loyalties inside prison – a key feature of gang identification' (Philips, 2012, p. 57). Philips (2012) found that, for young prisoners in particular, their localised identities were shaped by their lives 'on road' and were formed according to spatial zones such as social housing estates or town areas (Philips, 2012). Their identities were not transformed inside prison as suggested by Goffman (1961), instead their identities permeated the prison walls. Crewe (2009) also found that these localised, territorial allegiances permeated prison life and geography was often used to establish loyalty and affiliation amongst prisoners.

I found that, within the orange-collar workshops, these neighbourhood allegiances were most often handled with jest. Most of the animosity was described as banter amongst prisoners as described by Jonesy and Will:

> Even the boys from Greening, the Bluetown boys, the Jackston boys are like 'ergh you fucking Jack Bastards', 'ergh you Bluetown scum' but we joke about it, it's not malicious or nothing, it's good we can do that and have a laugh (Jonesy (24yrs), Workshop 3).

> In our workshop, you've got a couple of Bluetown boys in one group then you've got me and the Greening boys in another group, you get the older guys then in that group, but we can all have a laugh with each other (Will (25yrs), Workshop 4).

I discussed this geographical divide with Nelson, a technician in Workshop 4. He explained

to me that it used to be more aggressive, particularly where football teams were concerned,

but he felt that it had attenuated in recent years and the animosity had now become more

light-hearted (although he did not know the reasons for this dilution). Nelson was almost

obsessive about Bluetown football team and he felt that much of the divide stemmed from

team affiliation. When he described the divide as 'friendly banter' he added, 'don't get me

wrong, I love it when they lose [at football]'. However, it was clear that the divide was not

based on football alone. There were cultural differences acknowledged on both sides based

on the geographical location that they were from on the outside as made evident by Nelson:

> They got no [fashion sense] if you look at their trainers, they wear Reebok classics;
> we were wearing Reebok classics like 16-17 years ago, when I was 8 and 9! They're
> still wearing them now. You might see them wearing Kappa bottoms [but] you won't
> see them in Bluetown now (Nelson (27yrs), Workshop 4).

Similarly, Greening and Jackston prisoners criticised Bluetown prisoners for wearing their

trousers too low and 'thinking they're black'.

> I don't like this jail, I don't like it at all…Because we're all mixed; there's Bluetown,
> Jackston, fucking Lamington [another local city] and I just- I can get on with anyone
> but…I don't like how the Bluetown people call you Bro and all this. It's not nothing
> to do with them…they act like they're from London and all that and it's not good like-
> they're not even black, they're white and they got like a boulder in their trainer- they
> walk with a limp and all sorts and it's just like 'walk properly' (Jake (22yrs),
> Workshop 1).

The loyalty amongst prisoners from particular localities came from both a place of animosity

for the rival localities but also from a shared cultural understanding amongst those within the

same group. Relationships in the orange-collar workshops, as identified by Philips (2012) in

Rochester and Maidstone prison, were often formed on the basis of mutual understandings of

their lives outside prison and having mutual friends in common from their localities.

Friendships that developed in Bridgeville or previously established friendships offered certain

perks such as 'Double Bubble'[11] being waived. Double Bubble was often flouted amongst close friends and family but rarely between those from different communities.

Geographical localities were found to play a key role in the internal social organisation of the workshops and the socialisation between orange-collar workers. The Waste Management department was made up predominantly of Bluetown boys and as such some prisoners from Greening or Jackston told me that they were reluctant to take a job here. Similarly, one orange-collar worker, Nigel, hailed from Jackston and he was unwilling to get on with any work during his first week in Workshop 1. He felt that there were not enough fellow Jackston boys in the workshop so he attempted to move to a different workshop. He had been told that there were plenty of Jackston boys in Workshop 4 and a few weeks later I found that he had manoeuvred his way into this workshop (with the help of Jackston boys in Workshop 4 recommending him to their instructor). Nigel told me that he was happier to conduct work in a workshop where he would have more opportunity to socialise with people from his area. Therefore although prison can shape a prisoner's identity, this research found that orange-collar workers still maintain much of their pre-prison identity and this is maintained by drawing on their geographical affiliation and building relationships with other prisoners from the same areas. The prisoners' identity is also shaped by their criminal activities. I will look at this is more detail in the following section.

6.5. Orange-Collar Classifications

During my fieldwork observations and interviews I recognised that there were several types of criminals in the orange-collar workshops and this had implications for the type of role that they took on in the workshops. I have organised them loosely into categories. These

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[11] Double bubble led to some prisoners accumulating large debts in the main prison which put their safety at risk. Some opted to move to the VP unit for their own protection. The practice of Double Bubble was also found by Crewe (2009) and Philips (2012) and is practised frequently in prison.

categories represent the type of prisoners that make up these workshops and relates to the 'employment' they pursued in their pre-prison lives (Farber, 1944) and how this, as well as their personal characteristics, shaped their adaptation to orange-collar work in Bridgeville. The orange-collar identity was shaped in many cases by the criminal careers of prisoners and this (as will be explored in chapter 10) fundamentally shaped their attitude and experience of work.

Several researchers have identified different categories of prisoners and their roles and found that prisoners displayed a great number of distinctive lifestyles (Farber, 1944; Sykes, 1958; Clemmer 1960; Iriwn, 1970; Cohen and Taylor, 1972; Crewe, 2009). For example, most recently Crewe (2009) identified five categories of prisoners based upon their adaptation, compliance and resistance to prison. Crewe (2009) identified: *Enthusiasts, Pragmatists, Stoics, Retreatists* and *Players*. Enthusiasts denounced their past identities as morally shameful and argued that their status as 'lowly captives' was entirely warranted. Enthusiasts saw their incarceration as an opportunity for self-improvement. Pragmatists felt that to resist the all-powerful prison institute was either impossible or imprudent. Pragmatists tended to be young, low-level recidivists serving short term sentences for violence or drug related crimes. Stoics held similar characteristics to the pragmatists but did not see the prison as necessarily 'all powerful' or coercive. Stoics were typically long term prisoners who supressed their frustrations and considered it sensible to comply in order to hasten their sentence progression. Retreatists had a much more fatalistic attitude to the self and the future rather than solely the prison. The Retreatist applied to a small number of prisoners who 'rejected or sidestepped both the means and ends of the institution' (Crewe, 2009, p. 191).Finally, Players were the most likely to enact subordination, they were normatively opposed to the prison's practices and principles and hostile to its staff. Players performed backstage resistance which included:

> Unstated contempt, fantasies of revenge, *sub rosa* activity invested with anti-institutional meaning (e.g. drug dealing; stealing from kitchens, workshops and classrooms) and active subversion (e.g. setting off fire alarms and buzzers) (Crewe, 2009, p. 200).

Many of the characteristics associated with Crewe's (2009) categories were also found amongst Bridgeville's prisoners.

The prisoner categories that I have identified draw upon prisoners' criminal lives and employment outside of prison and the implications that this has for their attitude towards and behaviour within the orange-collar workshops. Some of these categories are evidently more detailed than others primarily due to the level of contact that I had with particular members from each category. For example, I spent a lot of my time with *career criminals* (discussed below) during my fieldwork as they often acted as gatekeepers and held QC or technician status in the workshop (meaning that they were most able to provide me with information about the work and the workshop itself). The categories are by no means exhaustive or mutually exclusive and do not necessarily encompass all the prisoners that I met. Like Cohen and Taylor (1972) I do not suggest that these categories are permanent or 'exclusively restricted to the types of men who at present favour them' (Cohen and Taylor, 1972, p. 153). The categories that I have created should be thought of as more of a literary classification rather than a scientific classification. It provides a frame of reference in which to understand the relationships and informed cultural nuances of the orange-collar workshop and orange-collar workers' attitudes towards work which will feature in the following chapters.

The orange-collar classifications that I identified include: *the career criminal, the apprentice criminal, the not-for-profit criminal, the criminal precariat* and *the pariah criminal.*

6.5.1. The Career Criminals

The *career criminals* have developed or are developing established careers as criminals, who undertake crime as a vocation (Hallsworth and Silverstone, 2009; Hobbs, 2013). Examples of

these careers include drug dealing, robbery and dealing stolen goods where profit was regularly attained through criminal activity. *Career criminals'* primary motive for becoming involved in crime was remunerative. Some of the *career criminals* have grand ideas of 'going straight' but many embrace this lifestyle and openly admit that they have no intention of retiring from their criminal career. I asked Nelson whether he wanted to work when he left Bridgeville. This was his response:

> Nah, nah not really, it's because I know I can make so much more money from committing offences I think 'forget it' and because of my [criminal] record now it's harder and harder to get work. I've made my bed kind of thing. (Nelson (27yrs), Workshop 4).

Several others expressed a similar attitude:

> Now I know how much money I can earn out there in one night, I'd never do a full time job and not rob. It's like £250 a week and I can earn that in five minutes out there (Will (25yrs), Workshop 4).

> Really I should have more motivation out there because of my kids and that but when I'm out there I think 'I could make this money in half an hour, what I could make in a week' but I've got to lose that mentality (Jonesy (25yrs), Workshop 3).

McCarthy and Hagan (2001) argue that declines in inner-city employment opportunities during the 1980s and 1990s resulted in substantial increases in unemployment and a drop in wages between 20-30 per cent, particularly for males, the young, the under-educated, and racial minorities (McCarthy and Hagan, 2001; Fagan & Freeman 1999). Urban ethnographers (Anderson 1999; Fleisher 1998; Sullivan 1989), economists (Freeman 1996; Grogger 1998), sociologists (Wilson 1987) and some criminologists (Baron & Hartnagel 1997; Fagan 1992) agree that a substantial number of inner-city dwellers reacted to a lack of employment opportunities by turning to or escalating their involvement in crime. As Freeman (1996, p. 36) concludes, 'a collage of evidence supports the notion that young men respond substantially to the economic returns of crime' as a way of dealing with the reduced opportunities for legal work. Anderson (1999, p. 134) argues that youth that turn to drug dealing make their decision 'based in part on what they are able to do successfully'.

Whilst some research has estimated that criminals earn less per hour than other workers (Wilson and Abrahamse, 1992) the majority of research contradicts this. Reuter et al. (1990) found, in a study of convicted drug dealers, that drug dealing is 'much more profitable on an hourly basis than are legitimate jobs available to the same persons'. Fagan (1992; 1993) similarly concluded that drug incomes exceeded legal (work) incomes by a wide margin. And according to Hagedorn (1994) gang members in Milwaukee had a mean monthly drug sale income of $2400 compared to legal monthly incomes of $677. This research highlights the allure of criminality and why *career criminals* chose crime over legitimate employment. Many *career criminals* saw their involvement in crime as their employment as it brought in a regular income. Whilst the consequences could be fierce they enjoyed the quick and sometimes excessive payoff. Like the gang members in Sudhir Venkatesh's (2009) study of Chicago street gangs, *career criminals* also referred to their criminal activity as their 'work'. Will, a technician from Workshop 4, describes how he viewed his 'work' as robbery and his job as a mechanic as a hobby:

> I do mechanics out there, I wasn't qualified but I know what to do. Me and my mate, I wasn't even getting paid much, it was just more of a hobby. I earn all my money out in the nights robbing but I go out in the day, me and my mate and fix a couple of cars on the side of the road, different people phone every day and we do them cheap….I go out now, me and my mate, we go on a farm, drive off in a jeep, a thousand pounds and that's like ten or twenty minutes work. So you go out working for forty hours a week for what? £200 to £300? I couldn't handle that. I do mechanics because I like it, not for the money, it's for something to do in the days…All my mates, they've all got jobs [so] they call what I do, they call it my job, robbing (Will (25yrs), Workshop 4).

Will and several other *career criminals* explained that robbery and drug dealing were a normal part of their lives and something that they thought would be difficult to give up. Nelson also normalised his criminal activities organising them around plans with his family. Although it was part of his routine, he confessed that he did not want to see this as natural. However he explained that the rewards were too tempting.

> I'd be comfortable doing two or three burglaries and selling stuff (drugs and stolen goods) in the morning, take the missus and kids for food, that's normal for me. And it

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shouldn't be, I'm gutted I think like that really. Well gutted I feel like that because it's always going to potentially bring me back up here…. [I] started selling drugs and was working/training [as a lifeguard] and I was making £150 a week but then I would wake up in the morning and make that money in an hour and I'd be thinking 'I'd rather do that than go to work'. Even though the risk of that could put me in prison for a long time, I've woke up, I've answered the phone four or five times and I've made £100. It would be tempting for anyone (Nelson, (27yrs), Workshop 4).

Whilst *career criminals* could be found in the orange-collar workshops, I found that it was unlikely that the more high-ranking *career criminals* would be located there. Before starting my fieldwork in Bridgeville I met a man in his seventies who, in his younger life had visited most prisons across the country as a result of his involvement in London's criminal underworld working for the infamous Kray twins. He explained to me that he and his 'colleagues' avoided the orange-collar workshops fervently and given their high status and contacts in prison they were often able to obtain more desirable work such as employment in the prison kitchens. While high-ranking organised criminals may not choose to take on orange-collar work several more street level *career criminals* worked here (such as Nelson, Will and Jonesy) and they enjoyed high status for their long sentences, loyalty to other criminals and their criminal activity outside of prison. As Philips (2012) notes, 'crime type, length of sentence and time served, physical prowess and presence established through a tough reputation from 'road' or in prison were indicators of esteem' (Philips, 2012, p. 56). The *career criminals* were often very forthcoming with me, introducing me to other orange-collar workers and talking to me openly and candidly. They did not fear that others would call them 'screw boys' for talking to a non-prisoner because their reputations were established. Because of their high status in prison *career criminals* were often able to obtain the more superior roles with higher wages in the workshop. They often had good relationships with the instructors due to their repeat visits to Bridgeville. Alos et al. (2011) found that professional criminals knew how to do time best and that they 'normalised' their stay in prison. Professional criminals' participation in activities was strategic, not for

rehabilitation, but to 'kill time', obtain some income and to obtain benefits for good conduct but they still preserved the personality that led them to offend. (Alos et al. 2011, p. 11).

Career criminals are accustomed to imprisonment and they know that 'kicking off and arguing will get them nowhere so they learn how to 'do bird' and get through the system quickly to the better paid jobs to make their prison experience a little easier'. (Field notes. 13.12.12). I previously referred to Clemmer's (1958) identification of three types of workers: the ordinary convict worker, the trustie and the semi trustie/politician. The ordinary convict worker worked in the least favoured jobs. The trustie was often seen as befriending the officers in order to get ahead in the prison work system and this was often frowned upon and criticised by other prisoners. The politician was able to obtain a better job either through outside connections or skills. He was not criticised by other prisoners for getting a better job as he was often able to achieve this through means that did not involve creeping to the officers. The *career criminals* had closest affinity to Clemmer's (1958) politician as they were more confident to talk and joke with instructors without fear that they would be labelled as 'screw boys'. They were respected and trusted by other prisoners which is also supported by Nelson's comments:

> Yeah, they know, they know, if someone got blamed for something or if someone stole something and no one really knew it, only the QCs and the technicians and the workshop knew it the boys would know in general who probably grassed them up and they know it wouldn't come from me…I'm from the streets like. I ain't a grass man, fucking hell (Nelson (27yrs), Workshop 4).

And many of them realised that building relationships with some members of staff could be conducive to their progression in Bridgeville.

> The Govs over here are doing a job basically, they didn't ask you to go out and burgle a house. When you come in here, you've got to play the system. What's the point in being cheeky to the govs and then there's one gym space and the kid who's good as gold says 'can I go to gym?' and I asked before him and he's [the prison guard] thinking, 'but that one was cheeky yesterday, I'll give it to the other kids'…it helps you get through your sentence (Nelson (27yrs), Workshop 4).

When I interviewed Nelson, I asked him how he had managed to obtain the role of technician without his enhancement as this was against prison rules:

> It's only because they know me in industries and I've worked here for a long time…She (Karen, the instructor) phoned up the woman who does all the money and mentioned my name and said can you do one of my good boys a favour and stick him on the technician pay without his enhanced, because he could get enhanced but he doesn't want to move off the wing he is on (Nelson (27yrs), Workshop 4).

Career criminals' identified their criminal activity on the outside as their job or work. They made most, if not all, their money this way and provided for their families through their illegitimate jobs. These careers make them well known inside Bridgeville amongst prisoners and staff and they maintain a trusted reputation amongst both. They know the routines of prison which makes daily life easier for them and staff. They show loyalty and solidarity with prisoners which can also be useful for staff in terms of influencing other orange-collar workers to become more productive. This makes them desirable members of the workshop, particularly in the higher roles of QC and technician as they can act as intermediaries between staff and prisoners.

6.5.2. The Apprentice Criminals

The *apprentice criminals* tend to be first time offenders or younger members of the workshop who do not yet have fully established criminal careers. Like *career criminals*, *apprentice criminals* are also motivated by monetary gain and material possessions- the white-collar dreams of the orange-collar worker. But they are at the earlier stages of their criminal career. *Apprentice criminals* admire the career criminals and their ability to make a great deal of money quickly. *Apprentice criminals* may have started out in legitimate jobs but they are finding that these jobs cannot pay for the extravagant lifestyles that they want to pursue. For example, one morning in Workshop 1, I worked alongside Paul and Harvey dismantling computers and discussing their previous employment. Both Paul and Harvey had legitimate jobs before prison, Harvey was a delivery driver (which he ended up using to transport drugs)

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and Paul had started working as a car salesman but supplemented this through the selling of cocaine. They talked about how they regretted their decision to sell drugs and said they felt they had 'become greedy'. Both men were earning money in legitimate employment and did not give this up for a life of crime but they, particularly Paul, told me how they were enticed by the quick, easy, large sums of money on offer if they turned to illegal activities. Paul told me how he enjoyed making £3000 a day and 'blowing it on a night out and flash new clothes'. Although he professed to regret his decision which landed him in Bridgeville, he confessed that he enjoyed the lifestyle that he realised through the drug trade.

UK workers have been experiencing unprecedented falls in real wages and living standards. According to Gregg et al. (2014) since 2008 real weekly wages have fallen by around 8 per cent. Full-time male employees in the private sector have seen the greatest decline in real earnings since the recession (Office for National Statistics, 2013). This is particularly pertinent when contrasted with research suggesting that crime pays more than legitimate work, especially in the context of young, working class men (Anderson, 1999; Freeman, 1996; Fagan and Freeman, 1999; McCarthy and Hagan, 2001).

Although some *apprentice criminals* suggested a willingness to work outside prison, they were reluctant to work for the minimum wage. Jamie from Workshop 1 told me that he would not work for minimum wage and others held high expectations of what they considered a decent wage to be. Nathan told me that he would be willing to give up crime if he had a decent wage and he told me what he thought a decent wage was:

> Well I don't know £400-£500 a week…These days it's easier to sell drugs because you're earning a killing out there [laughs], bare money on drugs out there, that's why people don't bother looking for work. My mate is driving around in a £90,000 car and signing on the dole...As long as I've got money coming in so I can provide for my kids I'm not bothered. And I'm not bothered about what I do and how I get the money. As long as they don't go without anything I'm alright like…if I can do it

illegal it's alright like but it all depends like, if I can get a job then I won't have to do nothing but if I can't get a job and that, then you go back into your old ways don't you (Nathan (26yrs), Workshop 1).

These high expectations mean that *apprentice criminals* are often tempted into crime by the opportunity to make large sums of money quickly at a young age. As explained by Nathan, if they cannot achieve monetary success quickly in the labour market, crime offers an attractive career option.

Whilst discussing previous experiences of work with orange-collar workers, most had precarious experiences of legitimate employment such as agency work or temporary employment or working off the books. As a result, many expressed to me their dissatisfaction with paid employment and instead sought illegitimate work.

Jamie, a 22 year old orange-collar worker from Workshop 1 was unemployed before he came to Bridgeville. He had previously worked as a labourer but this was sporadic and always off the books:

No I just have it now and then like when someone will phone me up and say 'I've got a bit of work for you' or something like that (Jamie (22yrs), Workshop 2).

Jamie talked about his previous job opportunities on the outside and explained how he failed to turn up for a job that he was once offered. He explained:

I just couldn't be fucked and back then I was making so much money doing other things…Like obviously robbing and just illegal things…I was making so much money, [I] just thought, I'm not working for £50 a day (Jamie (22yrs), Workshop 2).

While Jamie and Nathan share similar characteristic to the *career criminals* they did not have the same connections in Bridgeville and did not command the same respect as the *career criminals* who were popular in the workshops. This is because they did not share the established reputation of the *career criminal*. *Apprentice criminals* struggled with the

authority in the workshop unlike the *career criminals* who were more relaxed and used their relationship with the instructors to their advantage.

Mackenzie, a part-time worker from Workshop 1, was also an *apprentice criminal* and was serving his first prison sentence at the age of eighteen. He was convicted of robbery. His Co-D, Dale, also eighteen, was in Workshop 3 with his older brother, a well-known *career criminal* in Bridgeville (Jonesy). During conversations with Dale and Mackenzie (and workshop observations) I found that both looked up to Jonesy. Mackenzie talked about Jonesy with admiration and it is possible that they will follow in his footsteps. Mackenzie primarily socialises with *career criminals* and *apprentice criminals* in the orange-collar workshop and criticised those who did not fit in to these categories. Mackenzie does not get on well with the instructors and many of the QCs and technicians (those who are not *career criminals*) in his workshop. He avoided work and messed around in the workshop, joking and entertaining himself with his fellow *apprentice criminals*.

Apprentice criminals tend to be less respectful of authority and have not learned how to 'work the system' in the same way as *career criminals*. As a result, they often do not get on well with the instructors, as illustrated by another *apprentice criminal*, Jermaine:

> That guy Mark [the instructor] just gets on my nerves, anytime I'm doing something he's telling me 'you're not doing it properly' well I'm new to the job, I need you to explain to me what to do rather than just telling me I'm not doing it properly- just for that- I'm not doing anything. Then he sent me out one time and gave me a written warning. Luckily the new point system wasn't put in then otherwise I would have been kicked off the enhanced wing (Jermaine (18yrs), Workshop 1).

I found that *apprentice criminals* shared similar characteristics to the prisoners Farber (1944) labelled the 'youthful aggressive' prisoners who do not yet have a 'crystallized criminal ideology…no high skill…but daring' (Farber, 1944, In: Cohen and Taylor, 1972, p. 150). I rarely found *apprentice criminals* in technician or QC positions, they were highly critical of

the work and many chose to only work part-time. They used the workshops as an opportunity to socialise rather than earn money or reduce boredom, and they also tended to be more aggressive in the workshop:

> If it wasn't for extra charges, I guarantee you he would have had his head smashed in with one of the tools, I guarantee you. He gets under people skin, not only does he stay there, linger and fester, he wriggles through it. He's just a cretin (Jermaine (18yrs), Workshop 1).

During my research observations I found *apprentice criminals* to be the most disruptive orange-collar workers. They disliked authority and their relative youth brought an element of immaturity to the workshop- throwing things and laughing at others:

> Because I was laughing for ages because we called Ahmed 'Rafiki the monkey' off Lion King and we was laughing for like twenty minutes straight and the guy [the instructor, Mark] kicked off (Mackenzie (18yrs), Workshop 1).

Several orange-collar workers, such as Neil and Kane, complained to me during my time in the workshop about the immaturity of some of the younger workers and how frustrated they would become when these individuals would throw screws and other parts across the workshop.

> They don't do nothing [with regard to work], or they disrupt other people and start chucking things and throwing things and just annoy other people then (Neil (48yrs), Workshop 1).

6.5.3. Not-for-Profit Criminals

The title of this category does not mean to suggest that these are 'Robin Hood' type criminals, it intends to draw attention to the fact that their crimes are most often not committed in the pursuit of monetary reward. *Not-for-profit criminals* refer to the more incidental criminals such as those who have committed crimes like violence, fighting or causing damage. They are often first time offenders with few or no links to criminal lifestyles. *Not-for-profit criminals* do not commit crimes in pursuit of money, they do not wish to be *career criminals* and they usually possess full time jobs outside prison. For example, Neil had no criminal record and had always been engaged in legitimate

employment. His employer has told him that his job would be waiting for him when he leaves

Bridgeville. I spoke to several *not-for profit criminals* who criticised those they believed did

not possess a strong work ethic.

> I'm old school anyway. You've got to work to survive haven't you? And pay the bills
> and all…Trouble is that there is a big percentage of them in here that…I don't know
> how they survive on the out… either they rely on mum and dad or their bloody under-
> dealings and whatever but what I can see is that a hell of a lot of them don't want to
> work- they've got no interest in work on the out at all. And how they're gonna get
> through life I do not know (Neil (48yrs), Workshop 1).

A strong work ethic and a history of employment were principal characteristics of the *not-for-*

profit criminal. Jake, a mechanic by trade, was in Bridgeville as the result of a violent

offence. He has been to Bridgeville and other prisons for previous crimes most often due to

violence. As explained earlier, many orange-collar workers were keen to distance themselves

from the stereotype of the typical prisoner and this was most pertinent for the *not-for-profit*

criminals. This group were keen to explain to me that they were not like other criminals.

They told me that most prisoners were lazy and did not want to work and they made it clear

to me that they were hard working both inside and outside Bridgeville. For example, Jake

discussed his work ethic during our interview:

> I do enjoy working, I've worked since sixteen and I'm not going to stop. If I can hack
> it and if I'm not disabled or whatever, I'll work until I'm a thousand, happily. I don't
> like sitting around, I've got like, I'm just always hyper active, I prance around that
> workshop like hell… some boys are just lazy (Jake (22yrs), Workshop 1).

Then there was John from Workshop 4.

> They [*apprentice criminals*] just mess about because they've never been in a working
> environment in their life so they don't know no different. And other boys, they want
> to work, because I believe, you go to work to work, you don't go to work to mess
> about…the boys on that table [his table in Workshop 2], Dennis [the instructor] will
> probably tell you himself, I think it's the best table because we don't whinge or moan,
> work's there, get on with it, have a cup of coffee and that (John (42yrs), Workshop 2).

Not-for-profit criminals were often reliable orange-collar workers and had little recidivist

history. Their plan was to get through their sentence as quickly, quietly and painlessly as

possible. Both Neil and John were in their forties at the time of my fieldwork and had never

been to prison before. *Not-for-profit criminals* get on with their work, and like Neil, many

work through their breaks just to keep their minds busy. They were often not a part of

criminal culture and so they do not necessarily come to the workshops to socialise. Instead

they come to pass the time and enhance their progression in Bridgeville. As explained by Joe

from Workshop 1:

> JP: Is there any job that you'd prefer to be in?
> J: Not really. You get some of the more cushy jobs that pay a bit more but I'd rather
> be kept busy like, the busier you are the quicker the time goes
> JP: And the cushy jobs don't do that?
> J: No, you're mostly sat around drinking tea and it's just not me like, I just keep busy
> (Joe (39yrs). Workshop 1)

Joe was 39 years old and this was his first time back in prison 'in a long time'. Joe was a

technician in Workshop 1 and was a mechanic outside of prison. He explained that he had a

strong work ethic which he contrasted to other, primarily younger, members of the prison

population:

> A lot of them don't [work], the younger the boys, they seem to think 'ah well, live life
> dangerously' but for me it's a must to work because I've got family (Joe (39yrs).
> Workshop 1).

This was a distinctive characteristic of the *not-for-profit criminals*; an industrious attitude to

work.

6.5.4. The Criminal Precariat

The Criminal Precariat is the least stable group with little success in criminal careers or

legitimate employment. Often due to difficult living situations, upbringings and problems

with drug and alcohol abuse they embark on criminal activity, not for the consumer lifestyle

like the *apprentice criminals* but out of necessity. They are involved in crime to obtain their

next fix or to 'get by' rather than 'keep up'. Often they are in Bridgeville as part of a cycle of

abuse. They performed well as orange-collar workers as they crave approval, structure and

routine. For example, Anthony had an abusive childhood and several prisoners and staff

members were aware of some of the perturbing stories from his youth which floated around the prison through word of mouth. Anthony enjoyed the trust given to him and worked closely with the instructors during his time as QC. Jake from Workshop 1 also enjoyed the trust that he received from his instructors and happily took on extra roles in the workshop for no extra pay:

> But then Hugh and Martin haven't got any like reason why not to trust me because I do everything that they want me to do and I do more because that's the way my head works (Jake (22yrs), Workshop 1).

Liam from Workshop 3 would also be considered a member of the *criminal precariat*. He had a difficult upbringing (several of his siblings were also in prison) and a perilous lifestyle involving drug taking. Liam held technician status in his workshop, despite not being an enhanced prisoner, due to his close relationship with Glen the instructor. The *criminal precariat* do not hold much influence in the workshops with fellow orange-collar workers as habitual drug takers endured a low status in Bridgeville. On my first visit to Workshop 3 several workers at the front of the workshop told me not to go to the back of the workshop 'because that's where all the bag heads sit'. Similarly, Dennis, the instructor in Workshop 2 explained that Anthony was quite unpopular amongst orange-collar workers and this was likely to be because of his close relationship with the instructor without the high status and trust of fellow orange-collar workers. These individuals were more aligned with Clemmer's (1958) 'Trustie' prisoner. *Precariat criminals* were often less trusted by other orange-collar workers as others feared the *criminal precariat* would act as informants to instructors.

6.5.5. The Pariah Criminal

The pariah criminals are those prisoners in the VPU who are considered as outsiders amongst orange-collar workers in the main prison. *Pariah criminals* are primarily those whose crimes are linked to paedophilia and sexual abuse. Most of the *Pariah criminals* I observed tended to be qualified and skilled with legitimate white-collar professional careers on the outside.

Pariah criminals were meek and mild mannered in comparison to the machoism and bravado of prisoners in the main prison. They explained to me that they came to these workshops because they disliked spending time in their cell alone. *Pariah criminals* were used to work routines and employment on the outside and so they wanted occupation during their incarceration and wanted to keep their minds busy. Their crimes are often unrelated to profit and as such they are not pursuing criminal careers; there are clearly other issues behind their crimes unrelated to monetary reward. I met engineers, human resource managers and farmers in these workshops who were skilled and did not need any encouragement from instructors to complete the work. This contrasted greatly to the main orange-collar workshops where workers often procrastinated and instructors were constantly coaxing orange-collar workers into completing work. Staff told me that the *pariah criminal* regularly offered to make them tea and coffee which was unheard of in the main prison workshops and the instructors in the VPU referred to this as the *pariah criminal's* attempt to 'groom' them. This attitude meant that *pariah criminals* worked hard in the workshop and sought the approval of the instructors- an ideal workforce for the orange-collar workshops as they were relatively skilled and grateful to be working. As I did not interview orange-collar workers from the VP unit, this classification was based on my observations in the workshop and informal discussion with these workers as a group.

6.6. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the orange-collar workers. I have drawn attention to the way in which they manage their stigmatised identities and how their identities permeate the prison walls. Finally I have discussed the criminal categories that I identified in the orange-collar workshop: *the career criminal, the apprentice criminal, the not-for-profit criminals, the criminal precariat* and *the pariah criminal*. I have explained how these characteristics and the 'work' they conduct outside of prison affect their role in the workshop. *Pariah criminals*, *not-*

for profit criminals and *the criminal precariat* tend to be the most obedient orange-collar workers whilst *career criminals* tend to obtain higher paid positions and hold status in the workshops. *Apprentice criminals* tend to be the most disruptive orange-collar workers. The following chapter will draw on my ethnographic study of these orange-collar prisoners, involving exhaustive participant and non-participant observation and interviews, to present a detailed exploration of life inside the orange-collar workshop and the experience of being a prison worker in this setting.

7. Killing Time: Completing Orange-Collar Work

7.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the essential work-prison life balance of inmates 'employed' in the prison industries workshops. The chapter begins by describing the prisoners' motives for entering the orange-collar workshop with reference to the orange-collar criminal categories introduced in the previous chapter. Using observational data and interviews, I will also explore how the prisoner experienced 'occupational' life inside the workshops – focusing on the unskilled and repetitive nature of this work and the way it adds a further layer of boredom and monotony to that of being a prisoner doing time. Finally, I will comment on the way orange-collar workers cope with time in the workshop by incorporating leisure into their working day. I also incorporate the ideas of Donald Roy's (1959) 'Banana time' (and other studies of the workplace outside prison) into my analysis to illustrate how prisoners break up their day. Passing time is an integral aspect of prison as eloquently explained by Serge (1970) describing his own experience of imprisonment:

> The unreality of time is palpable. Each second falls slowly. What a measureless gap from one hour to the next. When you tell yourself in advance that six months – or six years- are to pass like this, you feel the terror of facing an abyss (Serge, 1970, p.56).

Prison work does something in helping prisoners to pass time and get through their prison sentence as smoothly as possible.

As previously explained, orange-collar work is made up of 'repetitive and mundane work' for external contractors, primarily light assembly work (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002):

- Workshop 1- The breaking apart of computers
- Workshop 2- Repackaging, shrink wrapping and quality checking books

- Workshop 3- Assembling trolley straps and repackaging car parts
- Workshop 4- Assembling house hold plumbing parts and 'tea-packing'
- Waste Management- Separating recyclables and waste

As previously explained, some form of out-of-cell activity in Bridgeville is compulsory and (work or education) as a result, very often, prisoners were obligated to conduct orange-collar work. I have suggested that, generally, the orange-collar workshops were not a desirable or sought after location of employment; twenty-four of the forty prisoners I interviewed told me that they would prefer to undertake vocational work or a wing job rather than be employed in the workshops. But there were still eleven out of the forty prisoners who said they would select orange-collar work as their first choice. There were a diverse range of attitudes towards this work amongst prisoners but the majority did not necessarily *choose* orange-collar work, instead, as Simon (1999) found, it was thrust upon them due to matters of convenience (e.g. availability of work).

7.2. The Rationale: Why Choose Orange-Collar Work?

This section will discuss the multiple explanations that were given by prisoners for working in the workshop. I will draw on the orange-collar categories to highlight how the rationale differed amongst prisoners. Some prisoners *chose* orange-collar work - eleven interviewees ranked the orange-collar workshops as the place they would most like to be occupied during their incarceration. Others were put in orange-collar workshops because there were no spaces available anywhere else. Gurdeep, from Workshop 4, sums this up well. He recognised that he had little control over what job he did and that he would most likely be trapped performing a job that he did not enjoy whilst in Bridgeville:

> But then sometimes you don't get that option to move, to enjoy yourself, you're in an environment where you haven't got an option. A certain percentage of people can do this [orange-collar work] and a certain percentage of people can do that [vocational work] (Gurdeep (26yrs) Workshop 4.)

Many prisoners were frustrated that they were unable to get a place in the vocational workshops, Ethan from Workshop 1 noted:

> The courses here [vocational workshops] are good, practical work and that. But the others [orange collar workshops], they're not so good. All those hours for little pay, it's pathetic really (Ethan (19yrs) Workshop 1).

So if prisoners prefer these alternatives, why do so many compliantly enter the orange-collar workshops? My interviews revealed that the justifications for choosing the prison industries' workshops were that they afforded prisoners a chance to earn some money, to socialise, to have a break from their cell, to have some form of routine and to provide them with some normality within the incarcerated confines of prison life. So although some may prefer to perform other jobs or pursue other activities, if these were not available, orange-collar work was often considered to be better than no work at all. This will be examined in further detail in the following sections.

7.2.1. Normality and Routine

Going to work is an opportunity for prisoners to leave their wing. The industries department is based a short outdoor walk away from the wings so prisoners have a chance to walk back and forth to work each day. Several told me during conversations in the workshop that they enjoyed taking in the fresh air. Many prisoners I spoke to said that it made them feel more normal and allowed them to forget (for just a short while) that they were in prison. The orange-collar workshop would, in their set up, imitate real blue-collar workplace settings. And so this 'normal' setting (combined with walking to work and walking 'home' at the end of the day) helped prisoners to negate the stress of being encaged. One inmate from Workshop 1 observed:

> Down here, you walk to work, you get off the wing then, but when you're on the wing [working], then you're on the wing twenty-four hours (Nathan (26yrs) Workshop 1).

This was confirmed by Adam who worked in the Waste Management section:

That's just like a normal factory job, working in Workshop 3, working in most of these one's is like a normal factory job, like the toilet parts (Flushco), it was just like working in Nissan when I was making car parts for Honda Civics and that, it's just the same as that really (Adam (28yrs), Waste Management).

Other prisoners told me that they wanted routine whilst in prison and they enjoyed the repetitive daily rhythms of orange-collar work: getting up, getting dressed, walking to work, having lunch, going back to work, finishing for the day and starting this all over again the next morning. Kane from Workshop 1 talked me through how he usually spent each day and how he enjoyed this consistent routine; he felt it made his prison time pass quickly:

My routine: Get up in the morning, have your breakfast, go to work, come back you have your dinner, I might have an hours sleep or play on the play station or something like that, watch a bit of telly, you go back to work, I'm out on 'soc' (socialisation time) until 8 o'clock but you haven't got to come out on 'soc' you can close your door, play on computer, watch telly- next thing you know it's 10 o'clock. Time goes quick then. Once you do it that way, it do break your day down quick (Kane (22yrs), Workshop 1).

Nathan, Nelson and Kyle also commented on how some prisoners did not like the unsettling nature of change and so although orange collar work was not their first choice of occupation, they had settled into the workshop and did not want to change their routine:

If you change the routine then you get the prisoners moaning 'cos they like routine don't they, they do like it yeah (Nathan (26yrs), Workshop 1).

I have been offered to go up the staff canteen and a change would be nice but because I don't have long left…I am settled coming here, it's a routine now for me I think, and I think that routine when you're in one, it does go quicker. As soon as I'm settled I just want to stay where I am, it's not the best place but I cope with it (Kyle (26yrs), Workshop 3).

I know what to expect when I'm in tea packing. Consistency isn't it. Change, I don't really like change, that's why I stay on the same wing (Nelson (25yrs), Workshop 4).

As explained, *the criminal precariat* often have unstable lifestyles outside of prison (involving drug and alcohol abuse) with little structure. The structure and routine that was offered to them in prison provided refuge from their usual unpredictable lifestyle.

Career criminals were also found to enjoy the routine of work. As previously mentioned, Alos et al. (2011) argue that recidivist prisoners adapt their behaviour to prison life and conform to prison rules in order to normalise their time. Louie, a prisoner in Waste Management had never been to prison before. He noticed the juxtaposing attitudes towards work and routine between himself and his friends (primarily career criminals). His friends were regular visitors to Bridgeville and so they were more hardened to prison life:

> I think that's been one of my major stresses while I've been in prison, it's the routine and that, it's too repetitive, it's doing my head in, I hate it. A lot of people, they loves it in here, a lot of my mates say 'Nah, I loves the routine and that', I hate doing the same thing every day. If you're a true criminal, I think you need the routine, a lot of my mates like, they've been in and out of here all their life, but with me, I can't stand it. I like to do something different every day. It really does my nut in because you go home then and basically you go to bed and you're back up in the morning, It's too [much of] the same (Louie (27), Waste Management).

7.2.2. Time Out of Cells

At the beginning of my research, I was frequently told by younger members of the workshop (*apprentice criminals*), that they would much prefer to be 'banged up' behind their cell door than come to work. However, after several months of fieldwork and discussing this issue with a wider variety of orange-collar workers, I found that, for most, 'bang up' was said to be the most difficult aspect of prison life. This was particularly true for prisoners who were not repeat offenders and were not hardened to prison life. I was told that 'bang up' triggered the painful realisation that they were in prison, and for some, time spent in their cell could become the most laborious aspect of their sentence. This was the most pertinent for *not-for-profit criminals*. They were usually not accustomed to prison life. They completed orange-collar work to get out of their cells, off the wing and to keep busy. Neil and others like him told me that they wanted to escape the confinement of their cells:

> I couldn't though [work on the wing], I'd feel like a budgie stuck in a cage all day, you don't do nowt, no fresh air (Neil (48yrs), Workshop 1.)

Orange-collar work appeared to keep prisoners busy and keep their thoughts away from prison life. Mark from Workshop 2 explained how he used work as a distraction from prison life:

> I get money sent in and that as well so I do it more to be out of my cell than for the money... I'd prefer to be down here, just to keep occupied, basically time doesn't go as slow as when you're lying on your bed all the time, get a bit boring, I'd rather be out doing something, distracted (Mark (33yrs), Workshop 2).

Many were grateful for orange-collar work as they realised that without it there would not be enough work to go around.

> Well, it's good because you wouldn't have the work to go around otherwise would you? Do you know what I mean? If I had to rely just on prison work and things, you'd be locked up most of the time (Neil (48yrs), Workshop 1).

Pariah criminals, like *not-for-profit criminals* also wanted to escape the wing and their cell. Many *pariah criminals* occupied regular, skilled jobs outside of prison so doing nothing in prison was not an option for them. Several told me that they came to work for their sanity; they did not want to be cooped up on the wing with nothing to do for long periods of the day.

7.2.3. Financial Rewards and Pay

Monetary incentive was not exclusive to any criminal category. While some prisoners were fortunate enough to have family and friends sending money to them from the outside, others did not - and this applied to each category of prisoners. Although the pay is fairly insubstantial, it helps sustain prisoners whilst inside. To purchase phone credit, tobacco, snacks, toiletries and other luxury items their only option is to work[12]. Jake from Workshop 2 commented as such:

> I'm not lucky enough to have family members send me money in, I spend on canteen what I earn from this prison workshop, and I don't have the choice to spend anything else. I've seen like 300 quid in someone's canteen sheet and I'm just looking at it like 'oh well innit' and they're boasting about it (Jake (22yrs), Workshop 2).

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[12] Prisoners also receive money if they are in education but the orange collar work is one of the highest paid occupations in Bridgeville.

Jamie in Workshop 1 chose to work part time[13] because he had access to his own money from outside prison but he still acknowledged that prison wages were important for many to survive in prison:

> I just put an app [application] in and said [I'll] go anywhere like. Just to break up a bit of the time … Some of the boys in here, they're not as lucky as me, I've got my own money outside and I got family and I got mates, do you know what I mean. Some people, they only work part time and they haven't got no money outside and they haven't got no money getting sent it, £7 isn't gunna do nothing. You've got your phone credit, if you smoke you've obviously got your tobacco and that's not even enough for a pack of fags like (Jamie (22yrs), Workshop 1).

Anthony explained how he enjoyed the extra money he obtained from working in Waste Management as it allowed him to save for his release:

> I prefer the money in Waste Management. I don't get money sent in so, it's only an extra £5, but an extra £5 when I'm saving money to go home, for a bond for a flat, the extra £5 a week is a lot of money when you're saving. I've ripped my canteen sheets up until I go home, it's hard but I find other ways, I play poker, that's my other way of getting some money in the week (Anthony (25yrs), Waste Management).

Other prisoners told me how important earnings were for prisoners who did not receive money from their family and friends:

> I don't get any money sent in so £30 a week to me is a lot in here (Lewis (48yrs), Waste Management).

> People in here don't get money sent in, so if everyone was on a fiver a week no one could cope (Kane (22yrs), Workshop 2).

Orange-collar work offers a wage that is slightly higher than that paid for wing jobs[14] as well as some other positions in the prison. Therefore, even for those prisoners who enjoy remaining on the wing, some cannot afford to choose their desired job or educational course; instead they must choose a job that provides the most income for them to survive during their prison sentence.

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[13] Prisoners started out in the workshop as part timers, either working mornings or afternoons and were offered the opportunity to extend this to full time after spending a few weeks in the workshop

[14] The highest earning job on the wing was £18 and in the orange collar workshops it was £25

7.2.4. Opportunities to Socialise

Nathan, an orange-collar worker in Workshop 1, explained that he was not incentivised to come to the workshop for money. He told me that he came to the workshop to socialise:

> Nah, I get money sent in, it's just having a laugh with the boys and that, talking with your friends and that, that's the only reason you come out of your cell (Nathan (26yrs), Workshop 1).

Similarly, Jonesy in Workshop 3 commented that socialising and getting along with his workmates was the most important part of the work

> JP: Do you think having all the boys around helps?
> J: Yeah, that's the biggest part really, you've got to have a [laugh], like if you're in a workshop where you don't like no one and no one likes you, it's not good is it? (Jonesy (24yrs), Workshop 3).

I found that *career criminals* and *apprentice criminals* were the most likely to use the workshop for socialising. *Career criminals* and *apprentice criminals* used the workshops as an opportunity to meet with other criminals and enhance their reputations in a manner that might even be described in professional circles as networking. For example, Jonesy and Cameron became good friends through sharing the QC position in Workshop 4. Cameron was released several months before Jonesy and they arranged for Cameron to pick Jonesy up when he was released from Bridgeville. Several prisoners had brothers or fathers on different wings and they used the workshops as a space to meet. Jonesy's younger brother entered the prison a few months into my fieldwork. Jonesy spoke to the instructors in his workshop and managed to get his younger brother, Dale, a job there too.

Career criminals often had a steady flow of income and so a prison wage was not a necessity. *Apprentice criminals* were not attracted to the workshops by the prospect of leaving their cell and 'killing time'. In fact, I was told by several *apprentice criminals* that time in their cell, watching television went the quickest.

I was told by instructors and prisoners that the workshops were occasionally used to swap contraband between prisoners. This is illustrated by field notes compiled just a few months into my data collection where I noticed that occasionally prisoners would behave suspiciously in the workshop:

> While some would often rather be in their cell than working, the workshops give them a perfect opportunity to socialise with people other than those only on the wing. Those with a wing job are only likely to bother or talk to these people they share a wing with. This socialisation time allows prisoners to pass on information and contraband to others. I didn't see any of this but the instructors in Workshop 4 told me that they had recently sacked someone for doing this. Often the toilet door at the back of the workshop would slam shut with several prisoners inside- it was always left open but every so often I would turn around and it would be shut. It seemed quite obvious that the door wasn't shut because they were shy and even when they were smoking the doors were left open so it was clear that something more deviant was going on (Field notes, 13.12.12).

John, a 42 year old prisoner from Workshop 2 made a similar inference:

> There's a lot of wheeling and dealing that goes on in here, people want to meet each other over here to do a bit of wheeling and dealing so you've got to try and root it out, does he want to come over here cos his mates are over here or does he want to come over cos he's giving his mate a bit of this and his mates giving him a bit of that (John (42yrs), Workshop 2).

As highlighted, the workshops were also utilised as a place to socialise, meet up with other prisoners, build reputations and exchange contraband. Like low skilled factory work outside of prison the social relations of the workshop were vital in accommodating the limited intrinsic value of the labour process itself.

7.3. The 'Catch 22' of Orange-Collar Work

Many of the inmates in the wider prison work environments that I interacted with during my fieldwork avoided the orange-collar workshops. When speaking to a group of men from the mechanics vocational course I asked them whether they would prefer to sit in a cell all day or go to work. They said that they would hate to be sat in their cells all day and were glad to come down to the mechanics workshop because they liked the atmosphere there and the opportunity it afforded them to socialise with other prisoners. However, they explained they

would rather be locked in their cell all day than conduct the 'mind numbing' work in the orange-collar workshops, as illustrated in the following field notes:

> As I have heard so many boys this week tell me they would prefer to be banged up all day than let out of their cells I asked the boys in painting and decorating what they would prefer. They almost unanimously agreed that they would prefer to be in the workshop and would hate to be stuck in their cells all day. They said that those boys were the lazy ones and that anyone who said their day went quicker from being locked in their cell all day was lazy. Again, is this because the more hard working boys have been chosen to be in this workshop or because the work in this workshop is more interesting? One of the boys from the mechanics workshop said that he preferred to be out of his cell because he liked the atmosphere in this workshop- but if he had to work in any of the orange-collar workshops he said he would hate it and would prefer to be locked up in his cell as the work was 'mind numbing'. (Field notes, 11.10.12).

These prisoners told me they couldn't handle performing the repetitive tasks found within orange-collar work, spending all day doing something that did not engage them and occupy their mind. In line with this idea, several prisoners argued that orange-collar work was the primary source of boredom for them during their prison sentence and this idea transcended the criminal categories. The inconsistent amount of work, the unskilled nature of the tasks and the lack of choice in work meant that many believed the work to be the source of boredom in prison and as such they would prefer to spend the day in their cell. This attitude was expressed by many orange-collar workers when I first entered the workshops to ask them about the work. Some told me that the notion of being kept in a cell all day watching television and listening to music was preferable to work. The monotonous tasks in the workshops were viewed as boring and were seen to make time move more slowly.

> It's alright like cos it's easy but it's crap, it's boring and that. It's just that work- it's just shit (Liam (24yrs), Workshop 3).

But it is not just the workshops that induced these feelings of boredom and tedium; it was felt that prison more generally also generated the same level of tedium. The literature discussing prison life highlights the resounding and inescapable boredom that permeates prison (Sykes, 1958; Frey and Delaney, 1996; Cope, 2003; Ferrell, 2004) and this was supported by many of

the views expressed by the participants in this research. For some, work acts as a tool to help prisoners cope with their prison sentence and the boredom of prison life. It plays a key role in helping pass time more quickly, keeping them busy and distracted. Prisoners at Bridgeville realised that idleness is boring and can be conducive to greater unhappiness (Clemmer, 1958). This was made clear by Kane, Ethan and Ben during interviews:

> A lot of boys are only working because they need the money, I just want to get out of my cell, that's the only thing I'm doing it for, otherwise you'd end up going nuts in your cell on your own all day or with your pad mate so it's easier to get out and work, it's not exactly hard work either, it's common sense in there, it is easy, so I don't mind being in there, it's alright (Kane (22yrs), Workshop 2).

> Down here…just makes the time go quicker… [In prison] you just become lazy…I'd rather be down here to keep myself occupied (Ethan (19yrs), Workshop 1).

Ben explained how work provided him with the opportunity to escape from the tedium of his cell:

> It's boring [the work] you're just sitting there looking at a wall all day. I don't mind, it pays doesn't it, it's not much but it's better than being stuck in your cell all day I suppose (Ben (27yrs), Workshop 4).

None of the foregoing interviewees viewed their tasks as interesting or fulfilling. Ben describes the work as boring but, like the others, he believes that it is better than the alternative of spending the majority of the day in a cell. This suggests that whilst this work was considered by most to be boring and monotonous it does something, albeit minor, to occupy prisoners. Cohen and Taylor (1972) found that, although the participants in their study (primarily long term prisoners) played down the significance of being involved in work activities as a way of passing time, they found that a small few still found some value in partaking in work:

> We have been a little too sweeping, however, in writing off work as a way of speeding up the passage of time. There are a few in prison who feel it to be better than nothing. They admit that it is self-deception, but claim that there is no alternative (Cohen and Taylor, 1972, p. 103).

Thus, the role of the workshop is twofold in the context of boredom. It both reduces the boredom of prison life for some whilst simultaneously exacerbating the level of boredom for others. Fine's (1990) study of the restaurant business contains relevant observations. He argues that an absence of temporal autonomy, a lack of control over temporal decision making in situations such as this can create a structure that in fact amplifies the experience of boredom. Therefore, the discipline and control of prison life and the lack of control involved in orange-collar work could be considered the source of prisoners' boredom. This raises the 'catch 22'of orange-collar work; it is the most readily available activity in getting prisoners out of their cells and away from the tedium of the wing, but only offers them an alternative tedium where they simply attempt to pass the time in a different environment. I will explore this point in more detail in the next section.

7.4. Unskilled Work and Boredom on the Inside

This section will continue to focus on the theme of boredom. It will discuss how prisoners' negative experiences of work are exacerbated by the fact that they live in the same place that they work. Furthermore, despite rhetoric of rehabilitation, several prisoners were frustrated with the unskilled nature of prison work. This section then will discuss how boredom is exacerbated by the lack of skill and satisfaction realised in the completion of orange-collar work.

The Prison Service has a performance target of ensuring prisoners spend 10 hours a day out of their cells during weekdays (HM Inspectorate of prisons, 2007; Travis, 2008). Private prisons face financial penalties for missing targets and so prisons like Bridgeville have a financial incentive to keep prisoners occupied as well as the incentive to reduce the stress, anxiety and subsequent violence that may materialise if prisoners spend too much time in their cells (HM Inspectorate of prisons, 2007; Travis, 2008). The low level of skill required

within orange-collar work is beneficial for Bridgeville as it helps to ensure that a large number of prisoners can join this workshop with little to no training. This enables Bridgeville to keep more prisoners occupied for longer periods of the day.

The level of skill involved in the majority of tasks in Bridgeville is very similar to that of a low skilled Fordist assembly line, particularly when discussing the FlushCo and Pullem packing. Both of these tasks involve completing the smallest, simplest of task over and over again and passing it along the line for another worker to complete the next stage in assembling the final product. Orange-collar work is repetitive, monotonous and an example of work at its simplest form. Workers have little to no autonomy over how they conduct this work in most of the orange-collar workshops. In Workshop 4 for example, the instructors very often decide where each orange-collar worker will sit. This lack of involvement in this work contributed to feelings of boredom and alienation in the orange-collar workshop. Bottomore and Rubel's (1963) Marxian-informed understanding and description of the alienated worker provides a fitting portrayal of the attitudes of many orange-collar workers with whom I came into contact with:

> In what does this alienation of labour consist? First that the work is external to the worker, that it is not part of his nature, that consequently he does not fulfil himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery, not of wellbeing, does not develop freely physical and mental energy but is physically exhausted and mentally debased.

Bottomore and Rubel (1963) also note that the alienation experienced by the worker contrasts with the freedom of their home life:

> The worker therefore only feels at home in his leisure, whereas at work he feels homeless. His work is not voluntary but imposed, forced labour. It is not the satisfaction of a need, but only a means to satisfying other needs. Its alien character is clearly shown by the fact that as soon as there is no physical or other compulsion it is avoided like the plague. (Bottomore and Rubel, 1963, p. 177-178).

The sense of homelessness of the alienated worker described by Bottomore and Rubel (1963) is something that, for the orange-collar worker, there is no escape. Incarceration creates an extra layer of alienation: orange-collar workers struggle to escape this alienation as their home is also the place in which they work. Furthermore I found that the deskilled nature of the work was not conducive in providing meaningful employment with rehabilitative potential or intrinsic satisfaction. In the previous section I have not mentioned 'developing skill' or 'learning a skill' as a motive for entering the orange-collar workshop. Prisoners told me that if they wanted to develop a skill they would instead opt to join a vocational workshop instead and the orange collar workshop was merely a waiting place.

In addition, there is the issue of whether the unskilled and monotonous characteristics of orange-collar work prepared these prisoners for life on the outside. Bridgeville portrays an image of corporate social responsibility with regard to their emphasis on prison work. Bridgeville's website suggests that privately contracted work has been embraced by the prison due to the belief that it can be beneficial for prisoners, the prison and wider society. This attitude was also expressed to me by the deputy director of the prison[15] and prison management. However, the testimony of a large number of the orange-collar workers interviewed suggested that such benefits were not to be found. This type of work did not create intrinsically valuable work for inmates, as the work itself was seen as boring, monotonous and not conducive in providing them with useful skills.

Several workshop instructors told me that due to the limited work experience and low levels of educational attainment unskilled work was all that many prisoners could manage. Work of greater complexity might be too difficult for prisoners. However, in interviews with orange-

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[15] As stated in chapter 5 the Deputy Director said that she believed that the workshops were rehabilitative

collar workers their expressions of boredom and lack of engagement suggested that they would prefer more skilled and challenging work. Some orange-collar workers explained that after a short while they began to lack motivation in some aspects of their work and as such they expressed a desire to move on to something more challenging:

> Well I like a challenge now, so I'm looking for something better to do (Gwilym (31), Workshop 3).

> I prefer the Flushco, it challenges you more than tea packing. You just have to switch off when you're doing that because otherwise, it's just that boring and repetitive. Whereas, with Flushco, you're doing different parts at different times and it is more interesting (Carl (51yrs), Workshop 4).

Several workers had managed to progress upwardly within the workshop hierarchy to obtain QC jobs and they said that they were motivated to obtain these roles not only by the increase in wages but also by the added challenge and skill involved in the job which offered them the chance to be busier and more engaged. In some workshops the role of the QC was very 'hands on' and prisoners had to complete a significant amount of paperwork for each order dispatched or received from the private contracts, it therefore needed to be completed to a high standard (as external companies would receive this paperwork). As many prisoners sought after the QC jobs this would suggest that some prisoners wanted more work to do, they wanted to be more engaged and they wanted more responsibility and something more challenging to complete (than repetitive orange-collar work).

The opinions of the instructors and the attitudes of several orange-collar workers contradicted each other. Instructors believed prisoners could not cope with skilled work but many prisoners were searching for meaning in their work and something that would challenge them. Whatever the different interpretations, it was clear that the rehabilitative potential of orange-collar occupations were limited. This was confirmed as my research progressed and as I became more familiar with prisoners and work instructors.

One afternoon, just after the orange-collar workers had been sent back to the wing for lunch, I

approached several of the instructors to find out whether they thought that orange-collar work

would be useful for prisoners once they had left Bridgeville. Greg, an instructor from

Workshop 2 said that it 'promoted a good work ethic' and an instructor in Workshop 3

commented that it was useful in getting prisoners out of their cell for parts of the day; neither

felt that it was necessarily useful in helping prisoners gain employment after prison. I asked

Karen, the instructor in Workshop 4, the same question. In her response she first began to

reflect on her background in manufacturing and initially concluded that, as the prison work

was similar to her experience of manufacturing work, Flushco work could be useful in

helping prisoners gain work based skills. But on further reflection, Karen realised that the

majority of the factories and industrial estates where she had once worked had closed down

and she then questioned whether this work would even be available to prisoners upon release.

Therefore even the instructors did not see the work as being beneficial for prisoners post-

prison.

Several orange-collar workers held an equally pessimistic view and did not feel that this work

would help them in acquiring a job upon release, as evidenced by Jonesy from Workshop 3:

> JP: Do you think there is anything in the work that could help you get a job on the
> outside?
> J: Nah. That's my opinion, I don't. It's just putting stickers on stuff and sending it out
> isn't it. It's just to make my time go quicker (Jonesy (24yrs), Workshop 3).

Gurdeep, also in Workshop 3, expressed a similar scepticism with regard to the link between

orange-collar work and gaining employment after prison:

> JP: Would you do this type of work outside?
> G: [laughs] no, I'd avoid it 100 per cent. Because we're in prison we have to do it,
> we've got no choice and if you don't do it, you're going to sit in your room all day
> and do nothing, you'd be on basic and you're gunna get bad entries in your books. I'm
> one of those people that, when I'm somewhere, I like to progress and learn different

things. I wouldn't do something like this on the out, but because it's prison work you've got to get your head down and do it. There's nothing in it that you can improve on or benefit from (Gurdeep (26yrs), Workshop 3).

Bobby spoke indignantly about the nature of orange-collar work, he explained that he wanted

to be doing something in which he could develop a skill:

> This is like a kids' work. It doesn't really give you any knowledge- great knowledge and experience for going outside to get a job… You can do factory work but when you get on the outside you'll just be doing factory work, you won't be doing skilled work. You'll just be packing bags, tagging boxes, checking things- that is nothing. These guys in this workshop that we are in now [this interview was conducted in a small room inside the carpentry workshop], at least they are learning to build something on their own so that even when they get on the outside and they want to do that work for themselves … at least they are making money, they have a skill. The people in our workshop [Workshop 3], we don't learn nothing; we just do basic work that even a two year old could do. Put a sticker on something, put it in a box, then put it in a bigger box and send it out, that's nothing. Well to be frank, it's not hard work. I wish I was doing something to gain more skill and this prison has less skilled work… they don't take on enough people, because [in the carpentry workshop] there are like six or seven people in here. In my workshop there are thirty-five people in there now. The difference is because they have less people learning in the prison and more people working for the prison to make money (Bobby (48yrs), Workshop 3).

Others also expressed disdain for orange-collar work and dismissed any ideas that this work

would help them to develop skills:

> JP: Do you think the work you do here will help you when you leave?
> I: I hope I never see a strap ever again when I get out. Nah, yeah, it's given me more motivation, not skills (Gwilym (31yrs), Workshop 3).

> JP: Do you think the work you do in there will help you get a job on the outside?
> I: No.
> JP: Are there any skills you've learned in there that you could use outside?
> I: (long pause) I knew how to use sewing machines before. The only thing I've learned is doing those NVQs and that's it. It's just all the paperwork you've got to do. In the workshop you don't hardly learn nothing. It's just feeding straps, rolling them (Liam (24yrs), Workshop 3).

There was a sense of pessimism amongst the prisoners when it came to their prospects on the

outside. Some prisoners argued that the jobs that will be available to them upon release are

more likely to be taken by those people who have not committed a crime:

> People in there [the workshops] have got skills that you can use outside and they would be better at the jobs outside than some of the people who are in those jobs but

because of their criminal record and the fact that they're in this place means that they will never get a job (Carl (51yrs), Workshop 4).

No one will employ you on licence. Nah- they see your criminal record and that lets you down (Nathan (26yrs), Workshop 1).

This pessimism is reasonable when we take into consideration the modern work environment that these individuals will enter. The possession of a criminal record was a minor inconvenience to finding work in the industrial labour market of the late 1960s (finding jobs in stable manual employment in manufacturing and construction industries) (Martin and Webster, 1971; Soothill, 1974; Fletcher, 2008). But for individuals leaving prison today the picture is very different; 'many ex-prisoners have been relegated to the margins of the labour force and spend much of their working lives in the informal labour market undertaking both illegal (criminal) and otherwise legal (but undeclared) activity' (Fletcher, 2008, p. 285). Therefore, it is no surprise that Simon (1999) found that prisoners felt work was more useful in helping them get through their sentence than in preparing them for work on release. The low level of skill provided and the boredom that prevails in the orange-collar workshop suggests that little has changed and the purpose of prison work remains confused and contradictory.

Having considered the nature of boredom due to the unskilled features of much orange-collar work and the double alienation, in effect, of working in the same place where prisoners also live, begs the question of how orange-collar workers coped not only with the work but also of simultaneously being prisoners.

7.5. Escaping the Monotony of Orange-Collar Prison Work

Having explored the unskilled nature of this work and the relationship between prison work and boredom this section will present the coping strategies that prisoners use, or what could

be described as their 'escape attempts' from the boredom of orange-collar work. As explained by Cohen and Taylor (1972):

> The marking and the passing of time are the major elements in long-term prisoners' lives. Time presents itself as a problem. It is no longer a resource to be used, but rather an object to be contemplated – an undifferentiated landscape which has to be marked out and traversed (Cohen and Taylor, 1972, p. 104).

Cohen and Taylor (1972) refer specifically to long term prisoners but coping with boredom and attempting to 'mark out' ones time is a task that all types of prisoners must manage. So how do orange-collar prisoners manage this time? This question will be addressed in the following sections.

7.5.1. Leisure at (Prison) Work

It is suggested that contemporary changes in the labour market and the growth of new technology has led to new interests in high performance work practices (Danford et al. 2008). But, 'rather than generate conditions for so-called 'empowerment' of workers, in many cases, lean production has resulted in a deterioration of workers' quality of working life in the form of job strain, work intensification, job insecurity and stress' (Danford et al. 2008, p. 153). Work intensification is evident in several different types of industries such as manufacturing or the public sector (Danford et al. 2008; Carter et al. 2013). However, I found that this was far from the case in Bridgeville's orange-collar work. The work environment that I observed was comparably relaxed[16] with a limited use of technology and very little work intensification. This type of work is ideal for Bridgeville as it is in their financial interest to extend the working day as far as possible given that they are penalised if prisoners do not spend enough hours out of their cells. Workers found time in the day to escape from work to chat with friends, have a cigarette, make a cup of tea and play pranks. Edwards and Scullion (1982) describe this discretion to manipulate the working day for their own end as 'leisure at

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[16] Although on days that orders were due for collection, the workshop could become much more chaotic and stressful.

work'. They found that there was less absenteeism in factories that allowed workers to manipulate the day in this way where workshops were organised in a way that allowed workers a degree of control over manning and effort levels. The workers within the metal factories and the orange-collar workers within my own research were able to carve out breaks in their working day to relieve the pressures of their jobs while still at work (Edwards and Scullion, 1982; Boggis, 2001). Prisoners enjoyed these informal aspects of the working day and made the most of their ability to socialise during working hours.

Similarly to the findings of Gouldner (1954), rules were not always enforced strictly in the orange-collar workshop. Gouldner (1954) refers to this informal practice as the indulgency pattern. The informal practices in which prisoners partook were implicitly agreed between them and the instructors as it was believed that these informal practices allowed the labour process to run more smoothly. The 'no-smoking rule' in Gouldner's (1954) Gypsum factory was only recognised when the safety inspector paid his visits to the plant. Gouldner (1954) believed that this served to exemplify a 'mock bureaucracy'. This 'mock bureaucracy' was evident within Bridgeville's orange-collar workshops also. For example, there is a no smoking policy in Bridgeville (in all prisons for that matter) for all areas of the prison with the exception of the prisoners' cell[17]. However, as most prisoners at Bridgeville smoke, instructors recognised that prisoners would be highly unwilling to come to the workshops each day if they could not smoke at all. As a compromise, instructors 'turn a blind eye' to prisoners smoking in the toilet during break times as long as they are not smoking in plain view and do not flaunt this privilege. Instructors also act with discretion with regard to workers moving around the tables and chatting with other orange-collar workers as long as the work is completed. Socialising is a key reason for entering the orange-collar workshop;

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[17] Although more recent changes to the law mean that this will soon be illegal also.

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instructors are aware of this and so allow some movement and chatter in the workshop because without it, it is likely that there would be more disruption and resistance to the work. As Gouldner (1954) explains, 'it was because management's actions did not appear to strive for a return on every cost for a gain against every outlay, that workers felt it had a 'proper attitude'. It was management's expression of this attitude that allowed workers to feel that they were being treated 'humanly' (Gouldner, 1954, p. 54).

During the time of Clemmer's (1958) study of prison life, he found that prisoners in the US could either work for pay without talking and interacting with other prisoners during work hours or unpaid with the permission to talk during work. When Clemmer (1958) asked which they would prefer, the majority of prisoner that were questioned preferred to be unpaid with the permission to talk. Similarly, as shown earlier in exploring prisoners' motives for joining the orange-collar workshop, many used the workshop as a place to socialise and leave their cells rather than a place to work and so I found that leisure at work became a key aspect of orange-collar working life for most, as illustrated by Mackenzie:

> Yeah, it's nice to have a laugh and that while you're working like innit, when you're having fun time flies (Mackenzie (18yrs), Workshop 1).

How orange-collar workers utilise their leisure at work (primarily the use of workshop humour) will be discussed in greater detail in the proceeding chapter. The following section will discuss other ways that prisoners manage their own time during the working day and how they attempt to manipulate the passage of time.

7.5.2. Completing the Tasks in 'Banana Time'

Boredom at work is not something exclusive to prison labour. It is found in many different types of work, particularly blue-collar environments. Roy (1959) examined the level of repetition in a blue-collar factory and how workers dealt with the formidable 'beast of monotony' and the 'beast of boredom' (Roy, 1959, p. 158). Roy found, through his own

experiences and through observing others, that the most effective ways to deal with these beasts was to develop a game of work and to divide the day into manageable segments referred to as 'banana time' and 'peach time' (when the workers would break to eat their banana or peach) as well as events that were not verbally recognised as 'times' and were unrelated to food e.g. 'window time'. This breaking up of the day made the tasks more bearable and helped to make time seem to move more quickly. Within the prison setting, research has found numerous ways in which prisoners attempt to pass time. Frey and Delaney (1996) found that prisoners used sport and leisure to pass the time and Cope (2003) explored the way that youth offenders used marijuana to pass their time as they felt it allowed them to control and manipulate the passing of their sentence.

Participating in the work myself allowed me to experience the level of monotony involved in the work and I, like Roy, found myself attempting to break the day up into manageable segments according to the assigned tasks. I found myself planning 'I will do five of these and then stop and chat' or 'I'll finish this pile by three o'clock and then I will have a break'. Setting these goals were attempts to draw some meaning and take control over the work (Roy, 1959). Orange-collar workers are permitted little to no control both inside the workshop and outside the workshop and so it is no surprise that banana time style activities were used by several prisoners that I spoke to.

Bobby, an orange-collar worker from Workshop 3, divided his time between working on the Pullem products, wrapping straps and repackaging the Partpro products. In the workshop, there is a long table in the middle of the room where prisoners sit either side of the table (about ten each side) and put together the Pullem products. The orange-straps and the plastic handles fill the whole table and a handful of workers regularly pour more onto the pile. Each

prisoner on the table has a cardboard box on the floor next to him. Prisoners must thread the strap through the plastic and put them into the boxes. I found this to be one of the most painfully tedious jobs in the prison. The workers did this continuously, five days a week for around six hours a day and some had been in the workshop for several months. Creating a game out of this work was an important part of coping in the workshop and tensions could arise if anyone interfered with workers' ability to complete their game/aim. Bobby aimed to fill his cardboard box to the top with straps within a certain time. One morning an orange-collar worker attempted to empty Bobby's box of straps before he had finished filling it which lead to an argument between the two men. Bobby discussed his anger at this situation during our interview:

> This box is supposed to hold 200 straps in it and by the time you reach thirty, he dump it out and give the box back so it looks like you're not doing any work…So I said to him' don't you dare move my box until it's full. I am working on a skill, my skill is to fill a box by the clock. I work off the clock to fill a box. Unless the table is empty and there's no strap on the table, do not touch my box (Bobby (48yrs), Workshop 3).

Whilst conducting this work I shared a similar game plan to Bobby - I wanted to fill the box as much as possible within a certain timeframe. I had an inexplicable desire to fill the box to the top and I was always disappointed when an orange-collar worker would take my box away before I was able to fill it. It seems very insignificant but when a prisoner's whole day is spent performing this same task, it becomes essential to draw some meaning from the task, regardless how tedious that task may be.

Jonesy, the QC in Workshop 3 also made a game out of work and set himself targets. In order to attempt to pass the time more quickly, Jonesy explained that he focused explicitly on the work and when he completed the task he had planned to finish he would allow himself a break. Despite having formal breaks prescribed by management, orange-collar workers gave themselves small breaks through the day to reward themselves for completing a task:

I just get my head down. I don't focus on nothing else bar my work. Say if you got twenty boxes and there are twenty smaller boxes in those boxes. I've got to take them all out, sticker them one by one, I'll just focus on every box, a box at a time and nothing else comes into my head, just bam bam bam. When I've done that, I'll have a little break (Jonesy (24yrs), Workshop 3).

Whilst there were similarities between Roy's (1959) study and the orange-collar workers with regard to making a game out of work, the way in which orange-collar workers broke up their day differed from Roy (1959) given their restricted autonomy. Despite the work regime being fairly relaxed these workers are prisoners first and foremost and thus there are additional restrictions placed upon their freedom within the workshop. Orange-collar workers are unable to leave the workshop at any time unless escorted by a prison officer. They cannot bring food into the workshop and their breaks are prescribed for them (although this does not mean that orange-collar workers don't manipulate these break times and take them for longer or attempt to take extra breaks when the instructors are not watching).

The prisoners habitually watch the clock, waiting for their break time to begin. When I observed the workshops, I found a similar, almost meticulous pattern in all four orange-collar workshops: when break time was announced almost every worker would put down his tools, grab his cup and head off to make a cup of tea. The orange-collar workers take it in turn to head into the toilet cubicles to have a cigarette discreetly after which they return to their table and sit down in front of their work and wait until their break is finished.

During break times I watched the different strategies that orange-collar workers used to fill this time. Most days, several prisoners would get out a draughts board and play a game while others would watch and nominate themselves to take on the winner. I observed several (primarily older orange-collar workers) sit quietly or read a book. It is quite comical observing these breaks as many of the workers, particularly *apprentice criminals*, would

spend the morning trying to avoid work by performing pranks, chatting and exploiting leisure at work and yet during their actual leisure time (their designated breaks) they would sit in the same seat in front of their work rewarding themselves with a rest for all the 'hard work' they had done that morning. But this was not the situation for all workers. I watched several orange-collar workers continue working through their breaks, explaining that they had nothing to do during this time and so they preferred to keep themselves busy. These orange-collar workers tended to be the *not-for-profit criminals*, those individuals who were not used to 'doing time' and were constantly looking for ways to cope with their sentence. Neil in Workshop 1 and Carl in Workshop 4 are prime examples of this. In contrast to many QC's and technicians who did not complete the same work as other orange-collar workers (taking on a more managerial role, delegating tasks and filling out paperwork), Neil also participated in breaking apart the computers. Neil did this alongside his managerial responsibilities in order to keep himself busy. I observed Neil conducting this task during break times on every occasion that I entered the workshop. Neil told me that without the work 'time would drag' and so he would 'play with things and take them apart' even during break times to keep himself busy. This again highlights how for certain types of orange-collar workers, the work was used to relieve the boredom of prison, despite the fact that the work itself was still considered to be a source of boredom. As Carl explains, having nothing to do was worse than completing boring work:

> The half hour standing around doing nothing is the worst, it's the slowest because it drags, time drags. I carry on packing bags and stuff like that and they all say 'you're supposed to stop working' and I say 'no, only if you've got tools, you don't have to stop working' I get bored easy, I don't like standing around, I'd rather work (Carl (51yrs), Workshop 4).

Prisoners busied themselves throughout the working day, either by making a game of work, engaging in leisure at work or simply conducting more work. As noted by Cohen and Taylor

(1972) prisoners are consumed by attempting to make the passage of time move more quickly. This can be achieved by work or even by coming up with ways to avoid work.

7.6. Conclusion

The findings suggest that prisoners are not, for the most part, taught a transferrable skill within the orange-collar workshops. Arguably, the only skill they obtain is the capacity to complete boring and monotonous work (or develop strategies to cope with boredom and monotony). Furthermore, some working practices are becoming intensified outside of prison and so it is possible that if prisoners enter the labour market they may not enjoy the extensive leisure that they have experienced in the orange-collar workshop. Most of the orange-collar workers I interviewed believed that this work would not be beneficial in helping them into employment after prison. Instead they used the workshops as a place to go for some feeling of normality, to socialise with other prisoners, to earn some money and get out of their cell. As Simon (1999) noted, prison work has been identified as more useful in helping prisoners get through their sentence than in preparing them for work on release. The following chapter will explore the informal culture of the orange-collar workshop and the numerous functions that humour plays for prisoners at work.

8. The Games Prisoners Play

8.1. Introduction

This chapter will focus on the informal culture amongst prison workers in the industries unit, focusing especially on the role of humour inside the workshops. I found that humour performed several possible functions for orange-collar workers. It was used to help prisoners cope with prison work and prison life and to relieve the chronic boredom that, as explored in the previous chapter, is a daily reality for working prisoners doing time. Humour was used to bolster masculinity and enhance status or signal affiliation with a particular group. It was also used to interact with authority figures in prison, either as a subtle form of resistance or as a way to develop good relations with staff without running the risk of being deemed a screw boy. The humour expressed in the workshop is a statement of social background as well as the shared culture of prison and criminality (Collinson, 1988; Willis, 1977, 1979; Kehily and Nayak, 1997).

8.2. Orange-Collar Humour

The common assumption is that humour is not something that should be taken seriously and instead should be used as an antidote to seriousness (Lockyer and Pickering, 2008). But this chapter will demonstrate that humour performs important functions within everyday life and should not be dismissed merely as an 'antidote to seriousness'. Mulkay (1988) argues that:

> Because the language of humour is necessarily implicit and allusive, and because its signals mean that serious intent can be easily denied, social actors regularly use the humorous mode, not as a self-contained alternative to serious discourse, but as a useful resource for accomplishing serious tasks (Mulkay, 1988, p.217).

Willis (1977) contends that humour is 'the privileged instrument of the informal, as the command is of the formal' (Willis, 1977, p. 29). This chapter will show how humour is integral to social relationships and social interaction in the orange-collar workshops. It

performs a helpful function with regard to passing time and creating enjoyment within an otherwise dull environment but it also performs what Flaherty (1984) describes as 'reality work' in which playful discussion and jokes can be used to carefully convey serious information without appearing to do so (Mulkay, 1988). As Ugelvik (2014) notes, in prison 'the comical and the very serious go hand in hand' (Ugelvik, 2014, p. 475). This is also the case in a range of dangerous or stressful occupations outside of prison (Collinson, 1988; Sanders, 2004; Wright et al. 2006). Thus, the sociological analysis of humour can tell us much about how existing social relations are reaffirmed and normative social boundaries maintained (Lockyer and Pickering, 2008) or challenged.

Humour is a part of everyday culture. Humour reflects the values of a culture through actions, discourses, roles, rituals, ceremonies, norms and stories (Morgan et al. 1983; Berger, 1997; Plester, 2009). I witnessed first-hand and was also privy to the use of humour and workshop banter during my observations. The workshops were often considered more jovial than Bridgeville's prison wings. The atmosphere was often more relaxed in the workshops making it a more appropriate setting for orange-collar workers to commit pranks without the fear, tension and aggression that consumes many other aspects of prison life.

8.3. Humour for Coping

In Willis's (1977) study of school counter-culture and the development of this into the workplace he suggests that a defining aspect of 'the lads' culture was 'having a laff'. He found that the purpose of 'having a laff' was multi-faceted: it served in setting them apart from others, cementing their group affiliation, defeating boredom and dealing with fear and overcoming hardship and problems (Willis, 1977). Similarly, these were all found to be a core function of humour in the prison workshop. Drawing on Mulkay (1988) humour

performs serious work in Bridgeville, it is often used as a coping mechanism for dealing with the isolation of prison life and it allows prisoners to trivialise their experience.

Nelson from Workshop 4 highlighted precisely how workshop banter and joking could help in dealing with hardship and problems. He explained how having little or no access to family and friends can be extremely isolating, saying that as a prisoner and orange-collar worker he had no control over his life and it could leave him feeling powerless and frustrated. Humour provided a useful outlet to help Nelson cope with these difficult situations and his comments were echoed by other prisoners that I interviewed. When discussing the importance of humour with Nelson he said:

> We just have a laugh, day in day out. You become childish when you're in jail I think, you're just having a laugh and if you don't have a laugh then you'd be stressed out, you'd be totally stressed out. My missus was ill with cancer, going through chemotherapy and my baby was fitting all the time, how would you cope with that if you weren't out of your cell all day every day having a laugh? If I was stuck in my cell all day, I'd probably be crying every night (Nelson (27yrs), Workshop 4).

Nelson also admitted that because he felt powerless to control anything in the world outside prison, humour allowed him to relax inside prison. Given the dangerous and volatile lifestyle of many criminals in society Nelson explained that he has very little time on the outside for 'having a laff'. He said that the dangerous situations that he enters meant that he must maintain a stern and somewhat 'professional' demeanour on the outside.

> N: In here, you don't have to be serious, you can have a laugh and just get on with it, on the outside, on road, you've got to have that serious face about you
> JP: So you're more serious on the outside?
> N: Way more serious. Even though I'm still easy going and I can have a laugh and that, but I'm always doing something that could potentially put me away for years. In here, what's there to be serious about? The only thing I'm serious about in here is football, no bullshit there (Nelson (27yrs), Workshop 4).

In prison Nelson is able to detach himself from some of this intensity and humour allows him to do that. Whilst the lack of control can be frustrating, it is something that orange-collar

workers are forced to deal with. Humour allows them to detach themselves from the outside world and attempt to make the most of the situation that they are in.

Respondents said that it helped them cope with prison life and its isolation and pretend, even for just a short while, that they were not locked away. Instead, they could pretend that they were at work with their mates. For instance, Adam from Waste Management noted:

> It's a good mood, always a good mood down there [Waste Management], we've got a good team down there at the moment, it's always a good laugh. That's what I mean, it's like being out [outside prison] down there for me, you've got proper work banter now. Like on the wing, you couldn't have that because you're all doing different things but down there, you're all close together and you have proper work banter and I like it (Adam (40yrs), Waste Management).

Thus, humour as a mechanism for coping with incarceration was evident within the orange-collar workshop. Humour then performed a serious function in easing prisoners' experience of Bridgeville. It also performed several other functions, one of which was relieving boredom in the workshop. The following section will discuss this function of humour.

8.4. Humour for Boredom's Sake

Orange-collar workers perform pranks, tell jokes and 'take the mick' out of each other as a way to help pass the time and get through the working day and their sentence. In a sociological study of a different environment, Woods (1976) found that school pupils used humour as comic relief to cope with school. He found that pupils viewed the school as an institution riddled with 'boredom, ritual, routine, regulations (and) oppressive authority' (Woods, 1976, p. 185-186). As discussed in the previous chapter, boredom is prevalent in the prison workshops and the social aspect of work is a crucial incentive for prisoners. The socialising and playfulness within the workshops helps distract orange-collar workers from the dull tasks they are supposed to be undertaking.

As previously noted, the unskilled nature of orange-collar work can be extremely unengaging for prisoners. Willis (1979) found, that a dispossession from work was most obvious in the case of boring, repetitive, mindless jobs, and 'this is most dramatically shown up by the many working class accounts of how time drags' (Willis, 1979, p. 188). Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that orange-collar workers also use humour in an attempt to pass the time, as explained by Mo:

> We do have a laugh sometimes, you do get your off days, don't get me wrong but you do with any job really but I enjoy it at times, we do have a laugh, even though we don't enjoy what we are doing, well I don't, we try and make the most of it, because if you're stressing all the time your bird's just going to drag, you're just constantly thinking 'I don't want to be here, I don't want to be here (Mo (26yrs), Workshop 4).

Anthony and Kane also felt that using humour was useful in alleviating the feeling of boredom, almost making time appear to go quicker than it would otherwise:

> If you're not going to have a laugh, your day is going to go very slow, so you've got to have a laugh to a certain extent, but you've got to know when to draw the line (Anthony (25yrs), Workshop 3).

> Don't look at the clock, you look at the clock it drags. Just have a laugh, do you're work but have a laugh with the boys and next thing you know times goes quick. If you're moping around, can't be bothered, looking at the clock, you're back and forth, it seems to drag (Kane (22yrs), Workshop 1).

Practical jokes, or pranks, were fundamental in passing the time and relieving boredom as they often involved planning and development which helped to fill the time. Furthermore, the more successful a prank was the longer that it might be a source of conversation and joking in the workshop. So practical jokes helped to pass time in three dimensions- due to pre-planning, the enactment of the prank and the source of conversation it produced afterwards. As suggested by Collinson (1988) workers prided themselves on their predatory ability to 'pounce on the weakness of their colleagues' in order to 'wind them up' (Collinson, 1988, p. 188). This provided a laugh for all who observed such pranks and helped pass the time as suggested by Luke, an orange-collar worker in Workshop 2:

> J: What do you do for a laugh?

L: Wind each other up, banter and stuff isn't it. Stick stickers on peoples back, how many stickers you can stick on someone's back, we all get paranoid now if you touch our backs so that's quite funny. You look back and you've got about 80 stickers on your back… [Kevin] usually gets stickered, because he bites easier (Luke (21yrs), Workshop 2).

I observed many of these pranks first hand and I was able to see the reactions to them. On my first morning in Workshop 2 I arrived before the prisoners. I sat at one of the tables waiting for their arrival and watched as each person came in, registered his attendance with Dennis, collected a tea bag from him, gave me a puzzled look and proceeded to the sink to pick up his mug and make a cup of tea. I could hear a group of orange-collar workers shouting, swearing and sniggering. When I went to find out the cause of this hilarity I could see that one or two of the prisoners had spilled water on themselves. A small number of the prisoners had used stanley knives to cut holes in other prisoners' allocated mugs[18]. Small inconspicuous incisions had been carved into the bottom of the mugs so that when the orange-collar worker poured hot water into his cup it would spill over them. Many found this prank (and others like it) hilarious, and erupted in laughter when an individual fell victim to a particularly good practical joke. I was also told about infamous pranks that had occurred in the past. They were used as a talking point, something to refer back to that could continually provide a laugh for prisoners even after the prank had been committed or after the prisoner had left the workshop. Some orange-collar workers had become legendary for particular pranks they had pulled or for practical jokes that had been pulled on them, so much so that I often heard about the same pranks and stories from different prisoners in different workshops. For example, during an interview with Aaron in Waste Management, he told me about a prank that had been played while he was working in Workshop 3. When he told me his version of what had happened, I had already heard about it from several workers from Workshop 3:

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[18] Each prisoner writes his name on the side of his cup to make sure others do not use it

A: They start getting bored in there and that's when they start winding, it gets a bit childish it do, it's funny sometimes, but sometimes it gets a bit boring. There was this one guy in there; he reckons he was [into] kick boxing and that…

JP: Gwilym?

A: Yeah! They do stupid things, he let them tie his arms up once and said 'see if you can get out of this' and he let them and he was tied up for ages and they wouldn't untie him and they were like 'don't show Allen!' [the instructor] and he was sitting there like that [puts arms under the table] hiding it from Allen. Allen seen him and he said 'what are you doing by there?!', 'nothing' he said and he come around and seen his arms with the red ribbons all tied up [laughs] (Aaron (32yrs), Waste Management).

Performing pranks like this can have two outcomes for prisoners if an instructor becomes aware of them: instructors can either reprimand the prankster or allow the incident to transpire and look the other way. Clearly there is risk involved in an instructor finding out about certain practical jokes, especially the incident with the ribbons that Aaron described, which could have been potentially harmful for Gwilym (luckily for Gwilym and the others involved they were not punished). The risk involved in a joke such as this often enhances its humour and can also provide the orange-collar worker who commits it with status. Typically, if caught, they are hailed a hero by fellow prisoners and if they manage to escape punishment they are still revered. The discussion of this type of humour facilitated the killing of time in prison.

Helping orange-collar workers cope with prison and alleviating boredom have been identified as potential functions of humour. They take time to plan and organise, they break up boredom and monotony when they are carried out and they can kill time in the future as a source of jovial discussion. The following section will explore the possible influence of masculinity in the workshops and how humour is often used to display individual's masculinity. Humour is highly subjective and yet, given the shared cultural understanding of the orange-collar workers in terms of their understanding of prison life, similar social backgrounds and

masculine identities, they often shared a similar sense of humour. This involved pranking, mutual ridicule as well as uncouth, offensive and sexual joking.

8.5. Humour and Masculinity

It is important to articulate what exactly masculinity is within the context of this research. Whilst it is acknowledged that masculinity is something that is negotiated, renegotiated, nuanced and fluid, within the orange-collar workshop I found there to be a hegemonic masculine identity. Like Kenway (2001), I found that this masculine identity embodied 'strength, mobility, autonomy, solidarity and a capacity to dominate space' (Kenway, 2001, pp. 7-8) whilst rejecting femininity. This particular concept of masculinity is associated with a 'macho', industrial working class, traditional form of masculinity (Willis, 1977, 1979; Collinson, 1988; Connell, 1995, 2005; Kehily and Nayak, 1997; Kenway and Kraack, 2004). As Alcadipani and Tonelli (2014) suggest, there is a tendency for men working in a male-dominated shop-floor environment to reaffirm their masculinity as an instrument for reconciling their low hierarchical status. This is particularly true for the orange-collar worker where low societal status is compounded by their captivity and powerlessness. I found humour to be a crucial tool in performing and regulating masculinity (Kehily and Nayak, 1997; Alcadipani and Tonelli, 2014). Humour was not necessarily an effect of working class masculinity but instead, humour was 'constitutive' of these very identities (Kehily and Nayak, 1997, p. 70).

Kehily and Nayak (1997) suggest that banter, cursing and risqué humour can substantiate and bolster masculine identities by expelling femininity from the self to others. Collinson (1988) explains in his study of shop floor workers that this bolstering of masculinity was achieved through the uncompromising banter of the shop-floor which was permeated by 'uninhibited swearing, mutual ridicule, displays of sexuality and 'pranks'' (Collinson, 1988, p. 186).

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Much of the humour I observed seemed to be an attempt to exaggerate masculinity in this way. For example, one morning in Workshop 2 I witnessed what could be interpreted as an attempt at conforming to the prisoners' masculine ideals through humour. An orange-collar worker discreetly passed wind, then called a friend over and laughed as he walked through the awful stench. Everyone around laughed hysterically when the target realised what had been done to him. Some orange-collar workers consciously kept me away from the toxic area and I deemed this as having something to do with me being a woman, as well as an outsider. However, although I would suggest that performing masculinity was the purpose of this attempt at humour this is merely one of several explanations that are explored in this chapter. Most ideas about masculinity are about opposing femininity (Marlowe, 1989; Hay, 2000; McDowell, 2003). Expressing a masculine identity was often accomplished through sexual and sexist humour and women were often the butt of the joke in the workshops.

> Personally, some staff do bring their problems from home inside, and take it out on us, so like sometimes, when they're shouting at us and having a rant and a rave, like in our heads, if it's a woman we'll say 'time of the month' or something like that or if it's a man 'oh his missus can't be giving him none' (Rhys (28yrs), Workshop 4).

In both of these scenarios described by Rhys it seems that it is the fault of a woman for the shouting and 'ranting' of Bridgeville's prison officers, illustrating the casual, chauvinistic humour used in the workshops.

Holland (1990) found that for working-class young men 'the definition of being a male was shot through with the need to display sexual prowess and power' (Holland, 1990, p.11). This was often achieved through sexist humour amongst prisoners. One afternoon whilst having lunch with the orange-collar workers in Waste Management they began to swap stories about the women they had previously had sex with. Several of these orange-collar workers lived near each other outside of prison and as such they had friends and acquaintances in common. If the others knew of the woman described in the story and thought that she was attractive

they would congratulate the prisoner. If they believed that she was unattractive they would ridicule him for having sex with her. The more obscene the sexual situation the more kudos the prisoner would gain. Joking about sexual conquests was key to enhancing masculinity in the workshop and, during the conversation, the story which achieved the most laughs involved one orange-collar worker performing obscene sexual acts with his friend's mother. This received even more laughter because of the shocking and risqué involvement of his friends' mother as the profaning of female family members is a source of antagonism in prison and is often used to bolster masculinity (Harvey, 2007). Discussions like this one (that involve bragging about sexual conquests) celebrate versions of masculinity that display sexual daring and an audacious resistance to authority particularly since 'the mother' is considered out of bound amongst these groups (Kehily and Nayak, 1997). Kehily and Nayak (1997) conclude that storytelling, like this example from Waste Management, 'affirms hyper-heterosexual versions of masculinity and acts as regulatory reminders, and performative rehearsals, for the desirable behaviour of the male peer group' (Kehily and Nayak, 1997, p. 80). It is interesting to consider here that the participants of Kehily and Nayak's (1997) research were teenage boys whilst the participants of my own research were primarily in their twenties and early thirties. It would seem that this bolstering of masculinity through the discussion of sexual prowess, insults, pranking and other forms of humour is not something that ends in the playground.

Whilst the use of humour in the orange-collar workshop can be attributed to the attempts to bolster masculinity, this is merely one of several explanations for how humour functions in Bridgeville. Much of the examples discussed above can also be ascribed to prisoners' attempts to conform to the prisoner community as producing masculine identities through humour was important in gaining acceptance and demonstrating group conformity. The

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following section will provide further discussion for how prisoners attempt to conform and affirm status through humour. As Mulkay (1988) observes, humour often performs contradictory functions. It both aides conformity to the group but also allows for the ascertain of individual status.

8.6. Seeking Acceptance or Status or Both?

In the context of an all-male workshop the ability to produce a laugh is a defining characteristic of group membership (Collinson, 1988). The joking culture of the 'lads' in Willis' (1977) research established a non-conformist, highly masculine sense of identity for its members. As well as demonstrating conformity, being able to make fellow orange-collar workers laugh could improve status within the group and lead to respect. This section will discuss how humour can perform dual functions. It can both facilitate group acceptance and simultaneously improve individual status. Prisoners must use humour that is suited to the particular group in which they wish to obtain acceptance or status.

Collinson (1988) suggests that joking culture was based on the demands of group conformity and can be used to strengthen bonds to a particular group (Francis, 1994). Vinton (1989) concluded, in a study of a small organisation, that humour was used to create bonds, rather than do violence to them. She found that humour was used as an equalizer and a harmonizer rather than as a dominance mechanism. Like the participants of Collinson's (1988) research I found that orange-collar workers were 'defensively engaged in mock battles of male sparring, bluff and bravado, it was expected that these workers would be aggressive, critical and disrespectful, so as to create embarrassment in others' (Collinson, 1988, p. 188). Interestingly, embarrassing others was a tool to conform, show allegiances or simply assert status in a group that you wish to conform to. As Jonesy explained, teasing was used to show conformity to particular neighbourhood groups:

> Boys are like 'ergh you fucking Jackston Bastards', 'ergh you Bluetown scum' but we joke about it, it's not malicious or nothing, it's good we can do that and have a laugh (Jonesy (24yrs), Workshop 3).

Jonesy's comments suggest that humour was used to gain acceptance and conform to a particular group (in this case based on geography) whilst simultaneously allowing individuals to stand out and increase status within that group by embarrassing outsiders. *Career criminals* were less likely to be the target of jokes and more likely to be the ones leading the teasing, they held status and this could be bolstered through humour. The *apprentice criminals*, usually of a younger age, regularly took part in joking and banter in the workshop: they attempted to improve their status within the group by targeting other groups such as *not-for-profit criminals* or *precariat criminals*. They very often even targeted each other in an attempt to position themselves as superior to the others within their social group.

I found that several of the orange-collar workers, particularly those from within the same groups of friends, used joke telling and humorous insults in order to compete with each other for popularity and status. In Workshop 3, a group of workers, including the QC at the time, Jonesy, would regularly tell jokes and compete to receive the loudest laugh. This was also the case for a small group of *apprentice criminals* in Workshop 1. Mackenzie used disrespectful humour to secure a laugh amongst his fellow prisoners which performed the dual purpose of conforming to the prisoner community but also securing status within this group:

> I was laughing for ages because we called Ahmed, Rafiki, the monkey off Lion King and we was laughing for like twenty minutes straight and the guy [the instructor] kicked off (Mackenzie (18yrs), Workshop 1).

Studies of feminine shop floor culture suggest that whilst teasing is present, it is most often used to sustain rather than fracture the community of female workers and performs a supportive function (Pollert, 1981; Westwood, 1984; Korczynski, 2011). I did witness on occasion the use of humour as a support mechanism but this occurred primarily amongst the

pariah criminals in the VPU where most of the orange-collar workers did not adopt the

traditional hegemonic masculine identity. I found that ridicule was most commonly used in

the orange-collar workshop (in the main prison) as a tool for conformity; conformity to the

macho, bravado laden culture of the prison community. The individual who was able to

ridicule and insult and receive 'a laugh' was viewed positively and accepted as a member of

the group.

In ensuring conformity to the group, a prisoner needed to demonstrate that, not only could he

tell a joke, but that he was able to take a joke and 'laugh it off'; participating in both sides of

the humorous conduct. Being able to take a joke is considered to be a type of Darwinian

masculinity. Collinson (1988) describes a 'social 'survival of the fittest' as the underlying

principle behind the pressure to be able to give and take a joke' (Collinson, 1988, p. 197).

Anthony expressed how it took him some time to be comfortable on the receiving end of a

joke:

> Now, I've changed about him, he is a good guy, he's tried to have a laugh but where I
> couldn't take a joke before, now I can. Now I can bear a joke, I can have a laugh with
> people, but I can also give it back. I never used to be able to give it back before which
> is why I didn't like it but now I don't mind it (Anthony (25yrs), Waste Management).

Anthony was not well-liked when I first visited his workshop in 2012, he struggled with the

joking, teasing culture of the prisoners but by the spring of 2013 I found that Anthony had

adapted to this culture and was joining in with the banter of the workshop which helped him

to fit in with the group more.

In the Waste Management department, Louie (aged 27), whose humour was infantile, tended

to be the butt of most jokes amongst his fellow orange-collar workers. Louie took the humour

well which affirmed his place within the group as 'one of the lads' but his humour did not

serve in exerting his masculinity as most of his humour involved poking fun at himself. As a

result, the other orange-collar workers in Waste Management revolved most of their pranks and insults around poking fun at Louie. Many jokes revolved around Louie's assumed small penis (during my observations of the workshop I found penis size to be a key focus of what it meant to be masculine amongst orange-collar workers), which then resulted in pranks where all the orange-collar workers would regularly attempt to pull Louie's trousers down in front of the two female instructors or myself throughout the day.

Like Collinson (1988), I found that weaker members of the workshop were targeted as the butt of the joke. This is demonstrated by the example of Louie. His small stature and immature nature meant that he was not considered to be the most masculine member of the group and as such he was often teased. However, he was accepted into the group because of his ability to take a joke. On one occasion, when Louie went to the toilet (which was a porta-toilet as Waste Management conducted their work outside), the other orange-collar workers locked him inside and turned it on its side when the instructors weren't looking. Louie was left in the horizontal porta-toilet for at least ten minutes (or for as long as the instructors did not come out to check on them). Eventually Louie managed to get out of the toilet at which point he dusted himself off and berated the others whilst still laughing at the prank. 'Food fights' were occasionally instigated in Waste Management using the leftover food from the bin. One afternoon in icy January weather, when I was working in Waste Management separating food to be recycled, Louie became the primary target of a food fight and this led to him being covered in rancid yogurt and bin juice. He had to remain in these smelly clothes until he was able to return to his wing at 5pm. Because Louie was able to take this humour well and laugh at himself he secured his position within the group. He was well-liked amongst his fellow orange-collar workers (although occasionally others commented that his infantile humour could become tiresome) as he was considered the 'clown' of the group.

Therefore, in order to be accepted to a group, it is important not only to be able to 'dish it out' but also to 'take it on the chin'. An orange-collar workers' group membership is questioned when he 'bites' or becomes too aggressive when he is the target of the joke. 'Biting' can also have the adverse effect of encouraging more teasing and can lead an orange-collar worker to become a target for future ridicule, as illustrated earlier when discussing the prank of discreetly putting stickers on each other's backs in the workshop: '[Kevin] usually gets stickered, because he bites easier' (Luke (21yrs), Workshop 2). Although humour is powerful in demonstrating affiliation with a group (Willis, 1977), and status within a desired group, it was antithetically used as a tool for challenging authority and performing 'reality work'.

8.7. Humour and Authority

Korczynski (2011) argues that it is important to analyse whether supervisors and management are included or excluded from the joking culture within the workplace as many workplace based studies have identified the way that humour is used to challenge authority (Roy, 1958; Westwood, 1984; Rodrigues and Collinson, 1995; Taylor and Bain, 2003; Korczynski, 2011).

I found that orange-collar workers also used humour to subtly challenge authority and this was found to be an important coping strategy. In terms of power relations, it is obvious at one level that Bridgeville prison staff were figures of authority vis a vis prisoners; the Bridgeville prisoner was subservient to and under their command. Openly resisting staff, aggressive behaviour or the questioning of authority could lead to punishment (in the form of written warnings which could lead to the relegation of prisoners status from 'enhanced' to 'standard' or from 'standard' to 'basic'). Hence joking was used as outlets to express resistance whilst hiding behind a shield of humour. Orange-collar workers can hide behind a joke because, very often, the suggestions that are made whilst operating in the humorous mode can be denied by the joke teller with little loss of face (Fine, 1984). Humour can be used to say

something serious, whilst allowing the speakers to claim that is was never intended (Mulkay, 1988) and as such, it performs a useful function for orange-collar workers; they are able to demonstrate their opposition and deny that they are doing so. One afternoon in the VPU I witnessed how a group of prisoners used humour to convey a serious message. The following field notes illustrate how prisoners joked about the strictness of particular instructors:

> All workers seemed to get on with Stevie the instructor but some joked that he was a 'slave driver' and that he whipped them when I wasn't there- all said in jest with a laugh or smile but it simply highlighted the extent to which Steve (who is ex-army) watched over them strictly and kept to the clock stringently- the men would ask how long they had left until break- he answered specifically- '35minutes'. (Field notes, 13.06.2013).

The use of humour 'played down' the remarks made by prisoners about Steve and ensured that they would not be punished for such comments.

Humour is seldom accorded the 'serious' consideration that non-play discussions attract (Grugulis, 2002), 'the person intending a humorous remark can always reject its negative implications – or what has been said altogether – by referring to the communication as fun and, therefore, not real' (Nielsen, 2011, p. 501). Zijderveld (1983) argues that one should never underestimate the serious nature of play and this is ultimately the underlying tone of this chapter. As Mulkay (1988) notes, the indeterminate nature of the boundary between serious and humorous content leaves that boundary open to social negotiation. So in the context of the orange-collar workshop, prisoners negotiate with their instructors (and other authority figures) the type of humour that will be considered socially acceptable.

Crewe (2007) found that displays of resistance within prison tend to be covert rather than overt given the sometimes severe punishments that could be meted out. According to Crewe (2007) the normal reality of prisoner resistance sits somewhere between overt rebellion and absolute consent. He argues that the tone of the late modern penal system is 'soft, sly and

unmanly' and while overt opposition elicited a kind of bemused admiration, it was also considered deeply naïve and unproductive. Overt displays of resistance are therefore rare within the prison setting; instead subtle forms of resistance are displayed and I found humour to be fundamental in this subtle resistance.

One Wednesday morning, in Workshop 1, Sam (an orange-collar worker) asked me whether I would like a cup of tea. I accepted and he very kindly offered to get me a mug from Mark, the instructor. It is important to note here that all orange-collar workers' mugs are identical- small, light blue and plastic. The mugs that prison staff use are noticeably different. They are typically brought from home and they are usually large, ceramic and often colourful. Sam picked up an instructors mug for me. He went to the sink to wash the mug and was caught doing so by another orange-collar worker. Within seconds the whole room began a football style chant of 'Screw boy! Screw boy!' as he had been caught washing an instructors mug. At first, I was a little nervous that I had caused a problem until I saw Sam laughing (although a little awkwardly) at his own misfortune of being caught helping a non- prisoner. I apologised but he explained that this was normal and everyone was just joking and teasing him.

Two days after the 'screw boy' chanting episode, late on a Friday afternoon as I was leaving Workshop 1, some of the boys were discussing how they had all laughed at Sam for being a 'screw boy' by making me a cup of tea. I explained that I was still confused as I was not a 'screw' (I had been observing the workshops for almost two months at this stage and it was well known that I was not a member of staff). Gav, the orange-collar worker who had started the chant said that this did not matter. Because the mug was not a prisoner's mug it did not matter who it was for, if anyone is caught doing something for a member of staff (or non- prisoner) then this is just what happened and they had to have a laugh and make fun of each

other. Dwayne added to this by saying to Sam 'and she still wears keys', suggesting that my symbol of authority was still something that they could resist.

The 'screw boy' football style chant highlights the culture of 'us against them'; it illustrates how prisoners subtly inform others about acceptable behaviour when interacting with staff. There is an unwritten rule amongst orange-collar workers that they must not assist prison staff in anything more than what is required from them as prisoners/workers. If an instructor asks a technician to take a pallet into the corridor they will do this without hesitation as this is a requirement of their job but if they are asked to do something for the instructor personally, such as making them a cup of tea, many will decline. In many cases orange-collar workers build trusted and cooperative relationships with their instructors and as such they will oblige such requests; some will even make the instructors coffee and tea without being asked, but very often, they will be labelled 'screw boys' and will receive teasing from other orange-collar workers because of this. The teasing can be jovial or if it is believed that a prisoner is working too closely with staff to an extent that he is considered untrustworthy the teasing can become less jovial and more hostile. For example, whilst Anthony was working as QC in Workshop 1 and Carl in Workshop 4, they were both teased more belligerently for working too closely with the instructors. This humour was therefore used to resist prison authority and to regulate the 'us against them' prison culture. This type of humour made all prisoners aware that colluding with or befriending staff would not be tolerated and that they would be a target for humiliation or teasing if they ignored this rule.

Challenging authority is not the only function that humour plays in the interaction between prisoners and instructors as will be explained in the following section.

8.8. Humour as a Strategic Interplay between Instructors and Prisoners

This section will explore further the subtle interplay of humour between instructors and prisoners. Humour is not only used to challenge authority but it is also used to build alliances with instructors without being deemed a screw boy.

The relationship between orange-collar workers and their instructors is highly complex and nuanced. Lines are blurred in terms of exactly how they should behave towards each other. The fluidity in standards of behaviour could perhaps be explained by the different personalities of the instructors. I identified three different types of instructors through my observations of the workshop dynamics as well as through comments that were made and anecdotes that were told to me during interviews. These categories include the *informal instructor*, the *formal instructor* and the *boundary shifter*. 'The informal instructor' allows some give-and-take in the context of humour such as Amanda in Waste Management and Harry in Workshop 1; 'the formal instructor' establishes strict boundaries between themselves and orange-collar workers and rarely engages in humour with them, for example, Allen in Workshop 4 and Mark in Workshop 1; and the 'boundary shifter' continuously alters the limits of what is acceptable conduct for prisoners in terms of using humour, this makes it difficult for prisoners to recognise the appropriate way to deal with these instructors such as Dennis and Greg in Workshop 2. On some occasions joking was fine and on others it could result in punishment.

Joking was used by prisoners as a form of disparage with all of these groups. However, for 'the informal instructors' humour was not always used as oppositional; it was also used in a pleasant and social manner. Humour allowed prisoners to develop good relations with people

in authority without running the risk of being deemed a screw boy. Nielsen (2011) found in her study of humour in prison that:

> The humorous exchange allows both parties to distance themselves from their respective position in the prison context whereby they expose unofficial aspects of themselves and reduce the inequality that officially characterizes the relationship (Nielsen, 2011, p. 505).

For example, Amanda, like the boys, enjoyed the 'banter' in the workshop and understood the difficult environment that prisoners were trapped in. She told me that she attempted to provide a more jovial work setting which subsequently diminished the boundaries between herself and the orange-collar workers. Parallel to this, the orange-collar workers in Waste Management regularly commented on how they were able to have a laugh and a joke with their instructors, particularly Amanda:

> That's what I'm doing most of the time but other weeks I go out on the runs, collect the bins with Amanda (the instructor), I laugh about how short she is, because she tries to open the gate and she can't open it (Anthony (25), Waste Management).

> Even though Amanda and Sarah are in the office and that, they come out and have a laugh with you, they don't treat you like any lower than anyone else, whereas the other lot, because you're in jail and you're convicts, you're shit really. But Sarah and Amanda are not like that (Lewis (48yrs), Waste Management).

Similar comments were also made about Harry, an instructor in Workshop 1.

> I gets on great with them, me, I think they're cool, especially Harry, he's funny, he's so funny. He's brilliant, he's so laid back, but he's not that laid back like if you push your luck he will give you a kick up the ass (Joe (39yrs), Workshop 1).

> You don't have to suck up to them and be their best mate, you just say morning to them and have a conversation, if they tell you to do something you do it and you just have a laugh back with them, cos they will have a joke with you, they will have a laugh and a joke with you. Harry's the worst, he'll come up to you and tell you jokes but Harry's also strict when he needs to be (Kane (22yrs), Workshop 2).

As Nielsen (2011) explains, the illusory qualities of humour 'pave the way for amicable communication and provide the possibility of denying the implied content of such exchanges, if need be' (Nielsen, 2011, p. 506).

With regard to 'the formal instructors', in most circumstances respondents said that these

formal relationships were accepted as they appreciated the consistency. These instructors

were typically regarded as strict but fair, as indicated in the following comments:

> Allen's alright, a bit strict I find Allen though (Gwilym (31yrs), Workshop 3).
> Mark is, he's a bit tender like, you've got to watch what you say to him like but he's a good bloke like (Nathan (26yrs), Workshop 1).

> When Ray first started up we didn't get on but we clashed too much, whereas I suppose after time we sort of learned to get on with each other… we normally ended up arguing with each other for the first few weeks but we settled down, now we're sound, now he knows how to take me (Mark (33yrs), Workshop 2).

> Ray's a good laugh but Ray puts his foot down more, but that's just the way that Ray is (Rhys (28yrs), Workshop 4).

'The formal instructors' then rarely engage in humour themselves and prisoners would

mainly utilise humour as a form of resistance with these instructors rather than in joviality

and even when using humour as resistance, prisoners knew to be careful as the boundaries

between themselves and these instructors were laid out clearly for them.

However, the 'boundary shifters' might joke and ridicule orange-collar workers but did not

tolerate their attempts to strike back. Orange-collar workers were often angered by the

inconsistent approach of these instructors. Michael and Lori explain how Dennis could be

inconsistent and heavy handed in his response to humour:

> The instructor's a bit of a tit though, Dennis…He gave me a written warning for laughing. Serious. Someone knocked coffee over some leaflets and I laughed and he gave me a written warning (Michael (22yrs), Workshop 4).

> Yeah we have a good time and that, we have a laugh. Yeah with the instructors as well but something's they take to heart and you get written warnings. They're alright to have a laugh and a joke but when it's at their expense they don't like it, but when it's at your expense they like it (Lori, (24yrs), Workshop 2).

Will from Workshop 4 told me that he did not like Dennis because of the way he shifted

boundaries and often became quite aggressive. Will told me a story about a time that Ray (his

instructor) had tried to play a prank on Dennis, incorporating Will into this prank, which resulted in an adverse outcome for Will:

> I don't like Dennis. Childish he is… Last week on the same day I just found out that my nan and grandpa died and I found out my missus was cheating on me, all in the same day so I was a bit upset so Ray [his instructor] thought [that it would be a good idea to] send me down [to Workshop 2] to wind Dennis up- that would cheer me up a bit. So I went down there, chucked a load of crates outside his door [as his instructor had told him to do] and Ray said that if he asks, say 'Ray says happy birthday' and walk off. So I did that, and he [Dennis] was kicking off down there, I walked in stores to get other stuff from stores and he come behind me and started mouthing off at me and I said 'look, don't speak to me like that' and he came right up to my face and said 'what are you going to do about it?' I said 'how old are you? Grow up will you, you're supposed to be a grown man'. I said 'go away' and he said, 'speak to me like that again and I'll give you a written warning' and my mate was taking rubbish down at the same time and he seen it so he burst out laughing, Dennis turned to him and said 'carry on laughing by there and I'll nick you for it as well'. You can't get any worse than that (Will (25yrs), Workshop 4).

'Boundary shifters' like Dennis regularly used humour to tease the orange-collar worker but very often the teasing could be quite harsh. In a study of humour among colleagues in psychiatric staff meetings, Coser (1959, 1960) found the use of ridicule as social punishment. I found that often Dennis would use ridicule as a form of social punishment. For example, Dennis did not like the orange-collar workers answering my questions and talking to me in the workshop and he made this clear by teasing prisoners if they talked to me, as explained in chapter 4[19]. He would shout these comments across the workshop in order to embarrass individuals in front of me and orange-collar workers. I found that this form of social punishment worked successfully for Dennis as several orange-collar workers in Workshop 2 became nervous to talk to me in case they were also teased in this way.

Greg, the second instructor in Workshop 2 would also be considered a 'boundary shifter' as he often attempted to joke and tease orange-collar workers but enforced punishment if a joke was made at his expense that he did not like. One morning I was sat with a group of orange-

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[19] Dennis made comments such as: 'you're all sat around her like she's a camp fire and you're roasting marshmallows'

collar workers in Workshop 2. We were filling out crossword puzzles and chatting as no work had arrived that day. Most workers were quite bored as there was very little to do and consequently, so were the instructors. As such, Greg approached the table and attempted to start a conversation. One of the boys had been given the unfortunate nickname of 'Donkey' so Greg asked, already chortling, 'why do they call you donkey?' The answer was because the other prisoners had suggested that he looked like a donkey. 'Donkey' was a little embarrassed of this nickname and seemed defensive that Greg had brought this up so he replied, 'why do they call you gay?' at which point all the orange-collar workers on the table erupted into laughter. I had heard comments such as this float around the workshop most days with little consequence of punishment and yet on this occasion, 'Donkey' received a written warning for this comment.

The ambiguous boundaries set by this type of instructor were therefore difficult for orange-collar workers to accommodate, and contention over such issues served to reinforce the oppositional relationship between many orange-collar workers and instructors. Freud (1905) claims that the entertaining veneer of a joke compensates for its hostile content which is how many orange-collar workers were able to escape punishment if their jokes were at the expense of instructors (although this was not the case for 'Donkey' in the scenario that I have described as the attempt at humour was not at all subtle). Humour then, was used to perform 'reality work' (Flaherty, 1984; Mulkay, 1988) and was used for 'hierarchy building' by orange-collar workers and 'boundary shifting' instructors such as Dennis (Robinson and Smith-Lovin, 2001).

8.9. Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the way humour was sometimes used as a coping mechanism to deal with the confinement and isolation of prison life and how it was used as a way of passing

time, getting through a prison sentence and creating entertainment during working hours. Humour was regularly used to demonstrate conformity to particular groups within the orange-collar workshop and to improve members' status, often through ridicule and practical jokes. It was also a tool for demonstrating masculinity; orange-collar workers committed pranks and engaged in sexist humour, which was considered to be a way of bolstering a masculine identity. And finally, humour was used as a tool for challenging authority and communicating with prison staff. Humour could be a regulator to ensure orange-collar workers were aware of the opposition of prisoners to prison staff. It also served to discern and test the boundaries between Bridgeville staff and orange-collar workers. This chapter has illustrated how humour performs multiple, sometimes contradictory functions. It is not something that is simply light hearted and purposeless, it performs a serious role in the workshop and as Mulkay (1988) suggests, it occurs 'because mundane, serious discourse simply cannot cope with its own interpretative multiplicity' (Mulkay, 1988, p. 214). Humour helps us to 'recuperate from the tensions of the real world' (Mulkay, 1988, p. 223) and should not be viewed merely as an 'antidote to seriousness' (Lockyer and Pickering, 2008). Humour helped prisoners to get through their working day. The orange-collar workshop was a place where humour could perform multiple functions and thus ease the complex issues of prison life.

The following chapter will explore the formal hierarchical structure of the workshop, more specifically the roles of QC and technician and how these roles impact upon all orange-collar workers. The chapter discusses why orange-collar workers take on these roles, the politics of these roles and the conflict that ensues as a result of them and the all-consuming nature of prison life.

9. Inside the Orange-Collar Iron Cage

9.1. Introduction

It is important to explore orange-collar hierarchies given that hierarchical structures dominate outside organisations and are something that orange-collar workers must contend with if they are to enter the employment market upon release. It is also important to explore this aspect of the orange-collar workshop because their set-up is an attempt to mirror something that is present in most bureaucratic organisations, but, most organisations are not 'total institutions'. Because of the all-consuming nature of prison it is interesting to study how the workshops' hierarchical structure operates in order to determine whether they are constructive or could possibly become constructive. Interconnecting boundaries between work and play is something that has also been identified in the contemporary organization (Fleming and Spicer, 2004) and other total institutions (See Sampson, 2013 for research on seafarers) but it is interesting to explore how prisoners experience the difficulties of the work/non-work boundary given the particularly volatile environment in which they live (and work).

This chapter will discuss how these hierarchies are implemented through what I term the prisoner bureaucracy which involves the incorporation of certain specified prisoners into management authority through the roles of QC and technician. These supervisory roles are concerned with the direct day-to-day responsibilities in the workshop (Lowe, 199; Bett 1980). Here I will explore why prisoners choose to take on the authoritative roles, the organisational politics of these roles and the implications that they can have for all orange-collar workers at each level of authority.

9.2. Bridgeville's Orange-Collar Management: Prisoner Bureaucracy

The private contractors who use Bridgeville's Prison Industries Department, namely, Workshops 1 to 4, set deadlines for the work to be completed. The deadlines vary from week-to-week and the work load fluctuates. Some days prisoners are busy working to complete an order while on other days they may have no work at all. It is argued that the flexibility of the workforce is one of the key benefits of utilising prison labour particularly for companies with the demands of seasonal and irregular work schedules (Lafer, 1999; LeBaron, 2008). Companies with short-term product manufacturing cycles followed by long idle periods may find a prison labour force an attractive alternative to mass hiring followed by mass layoffs (LeBaron, 2008). In addition, without privately contracted work to complete, many prisoners would be left idle with little to do throughout the day. Therefore, Bridgeville can be more forgiving with regard to the fluctuations in work as sporadic work is better than no work at all. Adapting to these needs can improve the bottom line for the prison and also ensure that prisoners are out of their cell for larger periods of the day. When interviewed, the Deputy Director of the prison explained that Bridgeville's contract with the government alone did not provide them with a particularly substantial profit margin. By utilising private company contracts for work inside prison, she told me that they were able to make a significant profit[20].

To ensure that the workshops can adapt to the fluctuating and sporadic work and to ensure that the work is completed on time (to the standard that the private firms require), order and consistency are necessary in the workshop. For this purpose Bridgeville have created a management hierarchy or what can be termed a prisoner bureaucracy inside the workshops as illustrated by the diagram below:

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[20] I was told by the Deputy Director that the workshops profits were commercially confidential and thus they were not disclosed to me.
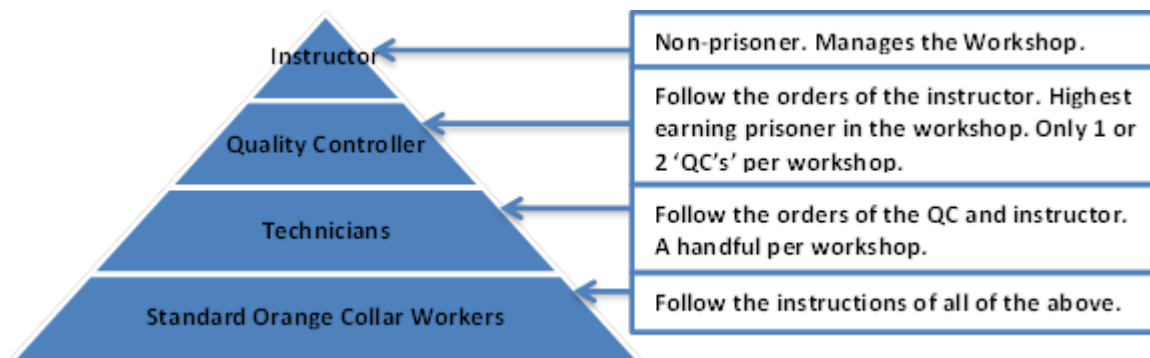
Figure 5: Workshop Bureaucracy

The prisoner bureaucracy does not only manage the work process it can also be used as an incentive for good behaviour for prisoners. I was told by management, instructors and orange-collar workers that the higher paid roles are reserved for enhanced prisoners and serve to generate trust between instructors and prisoners by providing more responsibility and often more skilled work. In contrast, I found the role of the standard orange-collar worker lacked responsibility and accountability and this has also been found in previous studies of total institutions (Goffman, 1961; Morris and Morris, 1963; Simon, 1999) where it has been argued that inmates have little autonomy over their daily lives (Goffman, 1961; Simon, 1999). This lack of responsibility is said to be unhelpful in preparing prisoners for work on the outside where they will be expected to take on responsibility and accountability in the workplace (Simon, 1999). It would seem that taking on the role of QC or technician could prove useful for prisoners in terms of gaining employable skills. These ideas will be discussed in greater detail in the proceeding sections.

9.3. Money, Trust and Meritocracy: Why Climb the Orange-Collar Ladder?

Orange-collar workers told me that taking on QC or technician positions showed initiative and they believed this would help them 'progress'[21] through the prison system. A more immediate benefit of the job role is the wage increase. The wage increase is not especially high but in the prison setting a small amount of money can make a big difference (e.g. more money to spend in the canteen, to save or to add to their phone credit). As well as these practical benefits some orange-collar workers argue that it provides them with responsibility, trust and something to work towards. This was an important aspect of the job for many, particularly for *precariat criminals* such as Liam, Anthony and Jake, a group for whom trust and approval were sought after commodities (due to often having little of either outside of prison). I was not the only one who observed this to be the case. Lori in Workshop 2 had arrived at a similar supposition:

> A lot of boys in here, no one has ever trusted them with nothing in their whole life, but obviously with me it's different, where some of them have been brought up in care and all that sort of thing and they can't trust no one (Lori (24yrs), Workshop 2).

Several QCs and technicians told me how they enjoyed the trust involved in the role, as, for some, their life course had given them few such opportunities. Due to issues such as criminal records, alcohol and drug abuse, many individuals had not previously been considered to be trustworthy, particularly in a work setting. Prisoners proudly told me about the trust that they had been granted in their workshop. For instance, Jake observed:

> If I ask [the instructor] for a tool from the office, I can get one. I can ask him and he'd give it to me because I've got so much trust in that workshop I can be trusted anywhere…I am a trusted prisoner in that workshop…I do everything they ask and more. (Jake (22yrs), Workshop 1).

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[21] QC or technician status signified co-operation with the prison system. This good behaviour could be rewarded with the possibility of being moved to a D-category, open prison or being given an electronic tag for the last stages of their prison sentence.

Neil and Louie also commented on enjoying the trust extended to them by instructors in the orange-collar workshop:

> Well it's nice to be trusted and show you importance and they ain't looking over their shoulder and asking you about this and that all the time. I go in there (the office) and they don't say a word to me. I just get on and do what I do and they don't say nothing. That's it (Neil (48yrs), Workshop 1).

> It's a good job [in Waste Management] because you're out doors so you got the summer coming up now, it's a lot of trust involved, obviously because it's a low risk job. I love trust, if you give me a lot of trust then I'll treat you good. If you treat me- maybe not so much now but before- with no trust, I'm not a good person (Louie (27yrs), Waste Management).

The role of the technician and QC is designed to be less constrained and more empowering. Conger and Kanungo (1988) suggest that empowerment can be central in weakening an individual's belief in their personal powerlessness. There are conflicting ideas over the notion of empowerment in the organisation but Greasley et al. (2005) argue that in all the different ideas surrounding empowerment there is a consensus that it is the 'dynamic process of a redistribution of power between management and employee' (Greasley, et al. 2005, p. 355) and they suggests that this mainly involves increasing employee authority and responsibility (Greasley, et al. 2005). Greasley et al. (2005) studied empowerment in the context of individuals employed in construction projects and they argue that:

> Empowerment can thus provoke a strong emotional response, which may affect their attitudes to their work and to themselves personally. If they feel that they are empowered and are able to take pride in their work, they can feel a high level of self-esteem, which goes well beyond the boundaries of their working world…There is a clear link between empowerment and self-esteem indicating that this perceived 'softer' emotional response can have practical consequences. (Greasley et al. 2005, p. 364).

Menon (1995) found that greater job autonomy and meaningfulness of a job can lead to greater perceived control and empowerment for employees. Although hierarchies are notoriously viewed as non-empowering I would argue that the prisoner bureaucracy could still be considered a form of empowerment: it allows orange-collar workers to develop in the workshop, take on more responsibility and authority and consequently helps in building their

self-esteem and confidence and positive feelings towards their work which several QCs and

technicians explained to me. Therefore, the prisoner bureaucracy has the potential to benefit

the orange-collar workers and Bridgeville. When compared to the less skilled tasks of

standard orange-collar workers (Simon, 1999) it can be suggested that the role of QC and

technician may be more useful in preparing prisoners for work after prison.

Standard orange-collar workers also seemed to respect the meritocracy that they felt the

workshop hierarchies displayed. Rhys and Gurdeep, standard orange-collar workers, illustrate

how they admired the jobs of technician and QC and viewed it as a positive step in the

workshop:

> I think it's a good idea because you're inspiring people to want to achieve something.
> I say to the boys 'get enhanced, you've got a chance to get technician. Stay enhanced,
> you've got a chance to be QC. So you go from £15 to £20 to £25'. So you're helping
> yourself just by keeping your nose clean. I think it's a positive thing (Rhys (28yrs),
> Workshop 4).

> Yeah well obviously they've worked to that standard, they've shown that they're
> capable of doing that, that's what we need to show now. We need to show Glen and
> Allen that we are capable of doing the work and we want to progress to their [QC]
> level. Especially when you're mingling and jingling with these QCs, they [the
> instructors] think 'ok he's working around him, maybe he's learning around him to
> get to his level so when the QC leaves that's his job' (Gurdeep (26yrs), Workshop 3)

Similarly, John spoke positively about the roles of QC and technician and saw it as something

that orange-collar workers could work towards:

> JP: In your workshop you've got QC's and technicians, what do you think of them?
> J: They're alright, they want to do it, and they've worked their way up because they
> started on the tables, went from the tables to the shrink-wrapping and then they went
> to QC as it would be in a normal working environment
> JP: What do you think of the hierarchies in the workshop?
> J: I think it's a good thing, it sets targets for people, at the end of the day, if I was still
> here for another 12 months I'd be going in that direction as well because you get
> better money and you're more trusted, then you've got a proper working relationship
> with the staff and the staff do try and make it like a normal working environment
> (John (42yrs), Workshop 2).

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The prisoner bureaucracy has other unintended benefits. Some standard (non-managerial) orange-collar workers told me that they felt more comfortable approaching fellow prisoners for help with the work than approaching instructors. As illustrated in chapter 5, Crewe (2009) developed several categories of prisoners based largely on the way they dealt with prison authority. He describes one group, 'the players' who were overtly anti-authority. I identified similar individuals in the orange-collar workshops and their problem with authority meant that they often preferred to avoid conversation with instructors (who they considered a more legitimate authority figure than QC or technician) and would instead prefer to learn about the work from other prisoners. As Louie Explains:

> Because then it's a prisoner helping another prisoner out as well because they've just done it, so it's a prisoner helping you instead of an actual employee from Bridgeville (Louie (27yrs), Waste Management).

Mark and Richard also explained that most prisoners would prefer to speak to a fellow prisoner about the work rather than the instructor:

> It's something to aim for in the workshop and I think half of the boys would rather go to Gibbo, the QC, rather than go to Dennis [the instructor], so it's a good thing, they're another con aren't they? So some people would rather go to them than the instructors, so at least the job gets done properly (Mark (33yrs), Workshop 2).

> I think it's alright, it's good really because it's better them showing you the ropes than [the instructors] (Richard (56yrs), Workshop 2).

For most orange-collar workers, their reasoning tended to be due to their belief that prisoners are 'all in the same boat' and due to their contempt for authority as explained by Jonesy:

> JP: Do you think it helps being told by another boy, rather than an instructor?
> J: Yeah, because obviously I'm the same as them, we're all prisoners, we're all serving time aren't we, obviously people in our situation, criminals, we naturally have a problem with authority and Allen and Glen, to us, are authority figures so obviously if I go over, I'll put it in a street way, and then they're like 'yeah, yeah, cool, cool'. Glen and Allen can't do that because they'd just get told to fuck off (Jonesy (24yrs), Workshop 3).

Over half of the orange-collar workers that I interviewed expressed their acceptance, and in some cases, a positive view of the prisoner bureaucracy. QCs and technicians enjoyed greater

pay, trust and responsibility and standard orange-collar workers saw it as something to aspire to. It also allowed them to discuss work with fellow prisoners rather than being forced to communicate with Bridgeville staff. So far, this would suggest that these roles were a constructive feature of the workshop.

But the difficulties and challenges of the prisoner bureaucracy also seeped through. In several conversations with orange-collar workers antipathy was expressed towards the management system inside the workshops. At least twelve interviewees expressed outright disdain for the incorporation of prisoners into management. I watched several scenarios unfold which highlighted the conflict that was often generated as a result of these hierarchies. Animosity towards these roles also grew due to the way some QCs and technicians abused their roles and utilised the 'special' relationship that developed between QCs/technicians and their instructors.

9.4. Corrupt Perks of the Job: Having the Instructor's Ear, Pulling out the Biscuits and Relishing the Power

A general view amongst many orange-collar workers was that 'having the ear' of a member of prison staff meant that they could often negotiate over which wing they would like to be on, what coffee they want to drink at work and what type of work they would have to do in the workshop. So being a QC and working with instructors came with some real perks. For example, one afternoon around 3 months into my fieldwork, I was sat in the staff room in Workshop 3 talking with the QCs, Andy and Hugh. I noticed that on a large white board (that listed all Workshop 3 orange-collar workers) next to Andy and Hugh's names was a written disciplinary. It was highly unusual for QCs to have a disciplinary so I asked them what they had done. They told me that once every few weeks they would ask Allen, their instructor, to give them a written warning. This seemed incredibly strange so I pushed for a more detailed

explanation. They explained to me that, although they were currently enhanced, they had not

been moved to the enhanced wing. Whilst the enhanced wing had better facilities (phones and

showers in cells) what was prioritised over this was not having to share a cell with a fellow

inmate. Andy and Hugh knew that if they were forced to move to the enhanced wing they

would have to share a cell with other prisoners, whilst currently, they both had a cell to

themselves[22]. They knew that they would not be allowed to move to the enhanced wing with

a tarnished record so Allen (the instructor) agreed to give them a written warning every few

weeks for smoking in the workshop (a 'legitimate' low-level offence but one that did not

carry any more punishment than a small written warning). This meant that they would be able

to stay on their current wing but maintain their position as an enhanced prisoner. This

allowed them to earn all the benefits of being enhanced such as higher pay and more visits

but without being on the enhanced wing.

Administering these pseudo warnings every month was obviously not permitted. But if an

instructor had built a good relationship with the QCs in his workshop he was willing to flout

the rules to help them out. But this is not something that Allen did for everyone.

Other prisoners often made comments about Andy and Hugh because they took their breaks

in the instructors' staff room and did not sit with other prisoners[23]. This practice was not

specific to Workshop 3. Similar arrangements were evident in several workshops where the

instructors and the QCs had built a particularly strong relationship. For example, Nelson, a

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[22] Prisoners must share cells when the prison is at full capacity. As there is only one enhanced wing in
Bridgeville it was more likely that they would have to share a cell if they were moved there. Andy and Hugh's
current wing was not at capacity and so they each had a cell to themselves.
[23] Prisoners are not allowed in the staff room unless they are given permission to do so by an instructor. But for
these particular QCs the instructors bent the rules and allowed them to sit in the staff room and make their own
coffee

technician from Workshop 4 was allowed to keep a bottle of squash in the instructors' fridge

and he would stroll into the office when he pleased to drink from this.

In addition, some QCs and technicians enjoyed a certain level of authority that came with

these roles. Some jeopardised their relationships with orange-collar workers preferring to

work more closely with the instructors and enjoy the perks that came with the role.

> When Dennis pulls out the biscuits you see everyone working a bit better and as QC
> he gives me a bit of coffee now and again. When you get like that, you do get a bit
> more loyal (Luke (21yrs), Workshop 2).
> Dennis was ok, he'd bring you in biscuits, he'd bring you in tea bags, he didn't bring
> it in for everyone but where I was QC and the technicians, he'd sort of look after you
> a bit better. I can go in his bag now and then, grab myself a tea bag or a coffee sachet
> without the boys knowing, Dennis would say 'yeah, crack on, go and get one'
> (Anthony (25yrs), Waste Management).

As well as extra biscuits some prisoners enjoyed the authoritative element of the job. When I

interviewed Carl, a technician from Workshop 4, he told me that he had once hit somebody

across the head for not completing the work properly. He said it was done in jest but that

other workers did not see it that way. He explained that he didn't mind telling other prisoners

what to do:

> You get attitude from people yes, because they don't like another prisoner telling
> them what they can and can't do but some technicians don't like telling them what
> they can and can't do so they will never get the QC's job whereas other technicians
> who don't mind telling them what they can and can't do, don't mind taking the crap
> that comes off the boys. You just let it go over the top because if you rise to it, you'd
> end up on a nicking every day (Carl (51yrs), Workshop 4).

Other prisoners told me about Carl and explained that they thought he enjoyed the power that

came with his position of technician. Carl was 51 and had been to prison five times. He

talked to me about the variety of jobs he had in the past, all unskilled and fleeting and he had

been unemployed before entering Bridgeville. During my conversations with Carl I suspected

that he was not particularly happy about where his life had gone and used this 'managerial

authority' in the workshop, albeit small, to make him feel more important. Thus, orange-

collar workers such as Carl, Anthony and Luke enjoyed the perks that came with these positions: the power, authority and snack related bribes.

The procedure of choosing orange-collar workers for the role of QC and technician also exacerbated resentment towards the workshop hierarchies. Whilst the QC and technicians roles are often awarded on merit, other factors are considered when deciding who to appoint to these positions. The positions of QC and technician are dominated by prisoners with long sentences and those who frequently visit Bridgeville. This issue will be considered in the following section.

9.5. Long Termers and Frequent Flyers: The Expedient Hierarchy

While in many circumstances QCs and technicians have been promoted on the basis of their length of time and experience in a workshop, their work ethic and their attitude, there were examples of other pathways into a technician or QC job. Along with those that demonstrated application and effort, there were two other types of orange-collar worker that tended to be promoted to these positions. These included what have been termed the *'frequent flyer'* and the *'long termer'*. The 'frequent flyer' refers to those prisoners who regularly visit Bridgeville and the 'long termer' refers to prisoners that have comparably longer prison sentences.

Black (2011) has argued that in the private employment of prisoners the stable long-term prisoner is ideal for prospective companies. Within the workshops that I observed I noted that almost all of the QCs and technicians had sentences that were longer than a year. Neil, the QC in Workshop 1 who was convicted of man slaughter was serving just over a year inside prison. Bill, one of the QCs in Workshop 3 was given an eight year sentence and Rhys, the

QC in Workshop 4, was sentenced to 'imprisonment for public protection'[24]. Rhys was sentenced to prison to serve a minimum of nine months but he was not given a release date. At the time of my fieldwork Rhys had been in prison for 6 years and was waiting for a parole hearing[25]. For the workshop instructors these 'long termers' are ideal workers. They can be trained up at the beginning of their sentence and can then spend a long period of time in the workshop; instructors do not have to keep training new prisoners for these roles and the 'long termers' can help train other prisoners and they are likely to complete the work to a consistent standard. Although orange-collar work involves little training a slightly higher level of training is required for the QC and technician jobs as these roles involve completing paperwork for the contracts. Usually, the more experience the QC and technicians attain the better they perform and the more quickly the work can be completed. The losers in this situation are often the remaining orange-collar workers who are waiting for the opportunity to be selected to move up in the prisoner bureaucracy. As suggested, the QC and technician roles are the few jobs in the workshops that have the possibility of helping prisoners develop workplace skills and they offer the highest pay. Yet, rather than ensure that many workers have a chance at performing this role which could build their confidence, skills and abilities, these jobs are monopolised by 'long termers' as this is convenient for the instructors, Bridgeville and the private contractors.

The 'frequent flyers' are also ideal QC or technician candidates. Because they have visited the workshops several times on different prison sentences they have become well acquainted with the work, with the instructors and with the way Bridgeville is run. For example, Jonesy had been to prison sixteen times and spent much of this time in Bridgeville. Liam, a

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[24] This is also known as an IPP- an indeterminate prison sentence with no 'end date'- the prison decides when this type of prisoner is fit to leave. IPP's have since been abolished.
[25] In the last few weeks of my fieldwork Rhys was given a parole hearing where he found out that he was being released after 6 years of having little knowledge or understanding of when this would be.

technician, had also accumulated a substantial number of prison sentences (ten or eleven) and was familiar with the instructors in Workshop 3. Nelson, one of the main technicians in Workshop 4, had been to prison five times and most of these were relatively long stretches- he had spent a large amount of his adult life in prison (mainly Bridgeville) and he had spent a lot of this time working with Karen and Ray in Workshop 4. He told me that when Karen and Ray found out that he was back in prison they would make a call to his wing and ask for him to be sent down to Workshop 4 if he wanted to work. He was therefore given priority over other workers who may have requested Workshop 4. He was familiar with the work and had a good relationship with the instructors. They trusted Nelson and this made him an ideal technician for the workshop.

> He [Ray] treats us a bit different because we're more respectful like…He won't look out of the office and catch me throwing a couple of sauces [from the tea-packing] at someone, or Rhys or Carl, he won't see us doing that. One of us won't nick something from the office (Nelson (27yrs), Workshop 4).

However, like several other technicians, Nelson was not an enhanced prisoner. Bridgeville prison rules state that, to be considered for a QC or technician position, an orange-collar worker must be enhanced. But often instructors would bend these rules and instead put forward non-enhanced prisoners (particularly 'frequent flyers') due to their familiarity with the work and the fact that they do not require as much training as a new worker so the work is completed quickly and most likely to a higher standard. This contradicted all of the meritocratic ideas that supposedly underpinned the QC and technician roles and simply highlighted the way in which they were often put in place to suit the prison and private contracts rather than the prisoners themselves. This did not sit well with some prisoners such as Ben, a standard orange-collar worker from Workshop 4 who had noticed that the prisoner bureaucracy was lacking meritocracy:

> You find that there are technicians that aren't even enhanced, and you've got to be enhanced to be a technician so there is favouritism. They're not even enhanced and

they're supposed to be and they're getting paid more money than you (Ben (27yrs), Workshop 4).

The corruption of these roles made some prisoners distrust the workshop management hierarchies-particularly those at the top (the QCs and technicians). I will illustrate in the following section respondents' reactions to the hierarchical structure of the workshops and how they viewed those at the top as 'screw boys' who could not be trusted.

9.6. 'Screw Boys' and 'Grasses': Orange-Collar Aversion to Workshop Hierarchies

As Ugelvik (2014) found in his ethnographic study of prisoners, 'never say anything is the fundamental rule for prisoners loyal to the prisoner community' (Ugelvik, 2014, p. 475). If QCs and technicians are perceived to be working alongside instructors and not prioritising the prisoner's (or criminal) 'code' based on ideas of resisting authority and sticking together, the findings from this research suggest they are likely to be regarded with some suspicion by fellow inmates. Their supervisory and higher paid roles reposition them as superior to other prisoners. This was viewed negatively by some orange-collar workers that I spoke to who regarded all prisoners as equal. Mackenzie, an *apprentice criminal* in Workshop 1, was dismissive of authority particularly when the authority came from other prisoners. He describes in the following extract how he did not appreciate the way Neil asserted his authority:

> That big guy [The QC] he started moaning yesterday, cos he said we were all in the way by the door…he said 'fucking move'…he thinks he's a proper Gov and we have a go at him saying 'what are you on about?! You're a prisoner!' (Mackenzie (18yrs), Workshop 1).

QCs and technicians that other prisoners thought were taking advantage of the furtive perks of the job or acting as informants to the instructors were labelled 'screw boys' and faced contempt from other prisoners in the workshop. I asked Carl, the technician from Workshop

4, whether he faced any hostility from orange-collar workers due to his position as QC, he

responded:

> All the time, all the time. Yeah because they turn around and say 'you're a screw boy, where's your keys? What do you think you are? You're not an instructor, you're just a bleeding, the same as us, you're another con' (Carl (51yrs), Workshop 4).

This does not seem surprising when we consider earlier inferences about Carl that suggest he

enjoyed the authority of the role. Some orange-collar workers, such as Mo in Workshop 4,

argued that some technicians and QCs (like Carl) 'threw their weight around' which only

served to extend the distance between QCs and orange-collar workers:

> They're alright [the QCs and technicians]. Some of them are alright but sometimes, I feel like some of them, not all of them, like Nelson, he's my mate, he's cool, like with the technicians, I've noticed they think they're a bit better than you at times, and I don't like that at all. A few weeks ago, I'm not going to mention no names but one of the technicians, tried telling me, 'get up and get on the line' that's how he spoke to me, if he said to me 'ah Mo, come on mate you're slowing things down a bit can you please get on the line?' [I would have said] 'No problem mate'… [but] I said to him 'you what?' and he's quite elderly, he's quite old and I didn't really want to hit him or anything like that, because if I hit him I would have ended up hurting him. I said 'Listen, don't speak to me like that, what do you think you're doing?' And he's like 'Oh I'm just doing what I'm told to do'. I said 'yeah, you're doing what you're told to do but you don't need to tell me like that. Fair enough, you're doing your job but don't speak to me like I'm some idiot' and he tried running his mouth a bit and I said 'Listen, carry on like that and I will fly kick you straight in the head' and he went and told Karen! Yeah! He went and told Karen….I've been on the same wing as Carl, for months and months and he's never spoken to me like that…Because he's a technician, he just wants to impress Karen a little bit or impress Ray, I think that's what it was. (Mo (26yrs), Workshop 4).

According to Mo, Carl explicitly ignored the prisoners' code and incidents like this made

some orange-collar workers sceptical of QCs and technicians. It was not just Mo who felt this

way about Carl. Throughout the interviews I conducted, many discussed how Carl became

'too involved' in his role as technician, basking in the power and authority it afforded him:

> You've got Carl the old guy. I thinks he takes his job a bit too…you know. He loves it. I think he's more, we say he's a screw boy…. where you're working, he'll come up to you, like he thinks he's the boss, like he's an officer, he's like 'that's where you're working' he's got to tell you, it makes him feel better. And it's like, I know where I'm working anyway, you don't have to tell me. Ray tells people who are technicians 'tell them to do this, tell them to do that' to do his dirty work I suppose (Ben (27yrs), Workshop 4).

The general conception within the workshops is that all prisoners are 'in the same boat'. But the prisoner bureaucracy, which sees prisoners incorporated into management, disrupts the concept of being 'in the same boat' and increases competition and animosity between orange-collar workers.

I interviewed Bill from Workshop 3 not long after he had joined the workshop. He was cynical of the prisoner bureaucracy and expressed disdain for the QCs and technicians, referring to them as 'screw boys' and commenting that they didn't work as hard as he did. However, in the last months of my fieldwork, Bill was promoted to the workshop QC and told me that he now faced similar resentment from orange-collar workers as he had once shown. This is illustrated in an extract from my field notes:

> Bill said he and Ash faced some grief from other prisoners because of their relatively new and improved workshop roles as QC. He said he didn't get trouble from new boys particularly new youngsters who blindly accepted the rules of the workshop- the irritation was felt by the boys who Bill and Ash had previously worked next to, did the same work as and came into the workshop at the same time- a resentment that they earn more money and have more power and responsibility in the workshop. These orange-collar workers questioned why Bill and Ash had been given this role over others. Because they had once done the same job it is difficult for some to take orders from these men. (Field notes, 25.06.2013).

Bill was an ex-marine and talked proudly of his military background and enjoyed the control and dominance of the QC role. As such, he told me that he was not particularly concerned by this resentment. However it seems from his comments outlined in my field notes extract that the orange-collar workers in Workshop 3 were less ambivalent about his promotion.

There was also resentment over the amount of work that QCs were doing. Many prisoners felt aggrieved that QCs and technicians were paid more than them when, from their perspective, QCs and technicians actually did less work. This did vary in each workshop due to the differences in the individuals holding QC and technician positions. In some workshops the

QCs and technicians were very hands on and were heavily involved in the work. For example Neil, the QC in Workshop 1, worked through his breaks. QCs from other workshops did not always behave in a similar way, for example in Workshop 2 a key role of the QC is to fill out the paper work and they would often spend most of the day sat at a desk at the front of the workshop. Behaviour like this angered individuals such as Ethan, a 19 year old standard orange-collar worker in Workshop 1. Ethan resented doing more work for less money and less authority.

> JP: What do you think of your QCs and your technicians in your workshop?
> E: They're alright, some of them are a bit lazy… they don't really do nothing really, they just walk about like and pick things up off the side… the QC's are getting like twenty quid more than the part timers and us part timers are probably doing more than they do in a week…half the time I just see them walking about, picking little things up off the side, we could do that!?... [The QC] he does do a good job with what he's doing, but the technicians, I don't see how they're on a lot more money than us and they don't do nothing…I don't listen to none of them anyway, I just do my own thing cos they haven't got a right to tell me what to do so I'll just do my own thing and let them do their own thing …It is good for them [the QC's and the technicians] to get their D-cat or something and tag but like, my point of view is that they don't do nothing (Ethan (19yrs), Workshop 1).

Being labelled as a screw boy was difficult to avoid if you were to take on the role of QC or technician. Sometimes it would be used in jest but very often orange-collar workers used this term to warn QCs and technicians about their dominating behaviour.

Certain QCs and technicians, particularly *career criminals* were able to evade such labels due to their violent and criminal reputations on road, length of sentence, physical prowess, confidence and reputable criminal careers (Philips, 2012). This allowed them to transition into the roles of QC and technician with a certain level of ease. Jonesy had a notorious reputation outside of prison. I heard stories from several prisoners that Jonesy had once gone into the street with a machete knife to resolve a dispute. Orange-collar workers respected him and had confidence that he was not a snitch. He was able to build trusting relationships with instructors without being considered a traitor. In the following interview extract, Jonesy

explains how his reputation and previous prison time ensured that he would not have to deal

with labels like 'screw boy':

> I don't tell them what to do, say they don't know how to do something, I'll go and
> show them what to do but I'm not like Allen and Glen, I don't say 'do this now!
> You've got to do this!' I'd just say 'boys do me a favour' like that because at the end
> of the day, I'm the same as them, I'm a prisoner and I aint getting called fucking
> certain names by other prisoners like screw boy. There's none of that in my
> workshop, I've heard it myself [about others] but the way I do things in my workshop,
> that don't come into the boys minds and because some of them know me on the
> outside, they just know. There's having a joke, like nine times out of ten 'oi screw
> boy' that's a joke but it's when prisoners think they've got to act like screws and
> that's when…I'm never gunna get to that stage and the boys know that. I don't give a
> fuck, if someone called me a grass, trust me, all my boys would be straight up and
> telling them because I've done jail for boys [for crimes] that they've done that I've
> never even been involved in, you just got to keep your mouth closed (Jonesy (24yrs),
> Workshop 3).

However, Jonesy still made every effort to avoid being branded a 'screw boy'; he spoke

sternly when we discussed this in his interview and stressed to me that he was not considered

to be a screw boy by his fellow orange-collar workers. This suggests that even with this

strong reputation, Jonesy was still fearful of this label which serves to highlight that even

career criminals, like the majority of QCs and technicians, faced a daily battle of juggling

their roles as prisoners with their seniority in the workshop.

9.7. Juggling the Conflicts of the Prisoner-Manager Role

When describing the total institution, Goffman (1961) contrasts it to modern society where

the individual tends to sleep, play and work in different places with different people. In the

total institution there is a breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating these three spheres

of life:

> First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single
> authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity is carried on in the
> immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and
> required to do the same thing together. Third, all phases of the day's activities are
> tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a prearranged time into the next, the
> whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of explicit formal
> rulings and a body of officials. Finally, the various enforced activities are brought

together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfil the official aims of the institution. (Goffman, 1961, p. 17).

Performing the role of QC or technician becomes difficult in the conditions of the total institution (Goffman, 1961). If a QC or technician enforces the orders of the instructor they risk being labelled a screw boy by other prisoners but if they do not enforce instructors' orders they risk punishment and demotion. Both prisoners and instructors put pressure on the QCs and technicians to follow either the prisoner's code or to conform to the ideas of the prison authority. The nature of the total institution means that they cannot escape from their work colleagues as they eat, sleep and play in the same place with the same people. Nelson told me how he walked a difficult line between prisoner and manager and how pleasing both groups simultaneously was not always possible:

> The boys in my workshop they say 'you guys have got it easy' and I say 'but you don't actually see what goes on'. If my workshop pisses about, Ray and Karen will call me and the QC into the office and say 'right, go and have a word with them and tell them to chill out' but they [Ray and Karen] don't realise that we're inmates as well. I can't go up to the boys and say 'look, stop fucking throwing stuff' just because I'm a technician, it doesn't mean I've got a badge or a set of keys because I never would want that. I'm one of them like….difficult position…If I say to one of them 'stop throwing something' all he could say to me is 'piss off man, you aint a Gov …either way he [the QC/technician] is gonna get it cos Ray and Karen will be saying, that's why you're technician and QC because you're there to make sure everything goes to plan, but then the other guys are saying 'who are you to tell me? You've got a prison number same as me like' (Nelson (27yrs), Workshop 4).

On several occasions when undertaking workshop observation I found QCs and technicians had completed work that they were not required to do. It seemed as though, in their anxiety about asking standard orange- collar workers to do certain things, QCs and technicians would sometimes juggle several jobs at a time to ensure the work was completed and both the instructors and the prisoners were content. Nelson (technician) for example would often 'pick up the slack' to avoid asking other orange-collar workers to complete work:

> If they [the instructors] say we need to hurry the line up and finish this order instead of me saying to the boys 'quick we've got to finish this order' I'll probably jump on it myself and help out, easier just rather than say to the boys (Nelson (27yrs), Workshop 4).

An incident which took place in Workshop 2 illustrates the challenges which face inmate technicians in quasi-supervisory roles. I had been conducting fieldwork in Bridgeville for around two months and I was spending this particular morning in Workshop 2. A group of workers were wrapping up cookery books for Booksmart and putting stickers on the books. Each prisoner was assigned a different task- some used the machines to wrap the books, others put the stickers on and others repackaged the books to be sent back to Booksmart. Dennis, the instructor, approached the table of orange-collar workers who were packing the books to assess the quality of the shrink wrapping. He told the prisoners that he was not happy with the quality of the shrink wrapping and that they had to un-sticker every book they had done that morning, unwrap them and start from the beginning. This put Lori, the technician in charge of the shrink-wrapping machines, in a difficult position. He was nervous because if the books were sent back to Bridgeville by Booksmart due to poor quality he would be accountable. Dennis told him exactly this, 'we both have very high standard of quality and you (Lori) have to make sure that all the others using the shrink-wrap machine keep to this standard too'. He told Lori that if he found mistakes Lori would be responsible and face the consequences.

When the books are not shrink-wrapped to a high standard, Lori and the book packers are always nervous to send them back to the shrink-wrappers for fear that they will be angry at the criticism of their work, which I saw was very often the case. Therefore, not only was Lori put under immense pressure by Dennis but he also had to contend with his fellow orange-collar workers- those working on the shrink-wrapping machine. Lori asked two of the shrink-wrappers to re-do the work as requested by Dennis but this was met with aggression and swearing with one worker saying 'what are you fucking on about? There's nothing wrong with this work! I'm not redoing it'' Lori appeared to be caught between the consequences of

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ignoring the instructor and the alternative, which was to urge the shrink-wrappers to redo the work which evidently put him in an uncomfortable position. Gibbo, the QC, eventually convinced Lori to sneakily pack the work away when Dennis was not looking. Lori nervously, with Gibbo's help put all the books back in the cardboard boxes, sealed them and put them on a pallet ready to be sent out. Later, I observed Lori tell Dennis that the work had been redone even though it had not. This simply highlights the small battles that QCs and technicians have to deal with each day in the workshop.

I did not witness any fights erupt over situations like this one but Lori told me that this had happened in the workshop:

> L: Obviously I don't think we [technicians] should be able to tell them what to do, boss them around because we're all prisoners, we're all in the same boat. It will cause trouble. If they don't like it and they don't like you, you will probably end up having a fight.
> JP: Have you seen anyone have trouble over this?
> L: Yeah, I've seen people get [offers] to the toilets [to fight].
> JP: Have people fought over this?
> L: Yeah and people have got threatened. All sorts. I've heard about it from other workshops as well. Half of them are screw boys (Lori (24yrs), Workshop 2)

Instructors are often put under pressure to ensure a contract is completed on time. The privately contracted work is valuable to Bridgeville. Several instructors told me that they were aware of the profit that the prison work generated and were therefore under pressure to ensure that the private companies contracting this work were happy with the output and quality. The work also ensures that prisoners spend more time out of their cell each day which contributes to Bridgeville's bottom line[26]. Several times when I entered the workshop and asked to take an orange-collar worker away for an interview I was told 'No, you can't take him, he's a good worker, we've got to get this contract finished by 2pm'. The pressure put on instructors with regard to orange-collar work often led to stress and this stress was

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[26] As explained earlier, private prisons are penalised if prisoners do not spend enough time out of their cell (HM Inspectorate of prisons, 2007).

often transferred to QCs and technicians. They were put under pressure to ensure that standard orange-collar workers were completing work at a timely pace and to a good standard.

Instructors also pressurised QCs and technicians to 'grass' on other orange-collar workers. For example, instructors wanted QCs and technicians to tell them who was not working hard or who was stealing from the workshop. Lori noted a scenario where the instructors pressured those in the QC position to provide information on the day-to-day problems within the workshop and he explained why he thought some orange-collar workers 'caved' to this pressure:

> When I was QC he [Dennis, the instructor] used to say to me when the books had gone missing 'aw just tell me who it is' and obviously I ain't going to grass at all. He threatens your job, he says 'if you don't tell me, you'll lose your job' so obviously some of them need the money more than others, like some of them don't get money sent in on the outside, so they've spoken then, they've talked (Lori (24yrs), Workshop 2).

This instructor, Dennis, threatened several of the QCs suggesting that they would lose their jobs if they did not provide information about issues in the workshop. For example, in the first week of my fieldwork, a handful of books went missing in Workshop 2. Dennis thought that these books had been stolen by one of the orange-collar workers (previously workers had been fired for hiding the books down their trousers and attempting to take them back to the wing). But in fact on this occasion, it later emerged that the books had accidentally been packed away to be sent out without being counted. Dennis asked the QCs and technicians to disclose who was responsible for this as he wrongly presumed it was theft. Outside prison this is a duty you may expect a supervisor or manager to fulfil. If an employee is pilfering from the company, it is a managers' responsibility to report this. However, as explained, the orange-collar workshops operate within a prisoner's code and asking QCs and technicians to 'grass' flouts the code and makes them a target to other prisoners. Orange-collar work is

bound by added constraints and norms that don't exist outside of prison. Luke, a QC from

Workshop 2 told me that he would not enforce certain orders that Dennis asked of him:

> No because I just won't do it. It's not my job to go and tell them to stop smoking or
> tidy up after themselves. It's my job to show them what to do in the work, see that
> they get it done properly and if they're not, ask them (Luke (21yrs), Workshop 2).

The conflict involved in performing the role of QC or technician meant that some orange-

collar workers refused to take on these roles:

> Myself, I couldn't really tell them what to do because, I wouldn't want to, at the end
> of the day I'm here to do time just the same as them like, I'm not employed by the
> prison in that way so I wouldn't like to be put in that position where I've got to tell
> them what to do…It would lead to tensions and that, it would, people would be
> slagging you off behind your back and what have you and at the end of the day, I've
> got to live here, Mark and Harry can go home at the end of the day and forget all
> about it but I got to live here, it's a bit more difficult (Joe (39yrs), Workshop 1).

Robert in Workshop 2 had given up his technician position. He explained that the pressure

and conflict involved in attempting to juggle the roles of manager and prisoner had become

too much. He found that the role of QC made prisoner unity difficult:

> I'm not bothered about who's number one [QC] I don't want to boss people around. I
> don't want to be in charge of anyone really. I just want to do my job…I said [to the
> instructor] look, put me on the machines [instead of a technician's job]. This is doing
> my head in. Not that I couldn't do it, it was just too much hassle- I'm a con, I don't
> want to be telling other cons what to do, we're all in the same boat (Roberts (31yrs),
> Workshop 2).

Most QCs and technicians would often have to make a choice between these two roles which

resulted in them being viewed unfavourably by instructors or prisoners. As a result, I

identified what Lowe (1993) found in his study of manufacturing supervisors, that they

'remained paralysed in [their] new role by an effective lack of status and authority' (Lowe,

1993, p. 753). The juggling of roles resonates with the findings within the management

literature, that these quasi-supervisors are trapped between two roles:

> Wedged between the workers and management they represent both to each other and
> neither to themselves…constantly torn by competing demands and loyalties. They
> have come up from the ranks but are not part of management. Nevertheless, they are
> the voice of the front office that is heard on the shop floor (Fletcher, 1969, p.341).

The following section will explore how the prisoner bureaucracy could lead to some prisoners being ostracised in the workshops.

9.8. Ostracisation as Punishment for Collusion with Authority

Workers who sided with instructors and did not defend fellow orange-collar workers would be viewed as an outsider: 'not one of us'. Labels such as 'screw boy' spread fast in Bridgeville, leading to a particularly ostracised form of existence.

Several orange-collar workers told me that they were unwilling to talk to certain QCs or technicians as they believed that what they said would 'find its way back to the instructor'. For example, during my observations of the workshop and informal discussion with orange-collar workers, several in Workshop 4 told me that they would not inform Carl (the technician) of anything that was going on in the workshop. Similar comments were made about Anthony when he was a QC in Workshop 2 at the beginning of my fieldwork. On my first day in Workshop 2 I talked to Anthony, who was sitting alone at the time and asked him whether he had to deal with any stick because of his role as QC, to which he defensively replied 'I couldn't give a fuck'. This defensive attitude ostracised Anthony; it made orange-collar workers less willing to divulge information around him for fear that this information would find its way back to instructors.

Dan, another QC from Workshop 2, explained in his interview that he often felt segregated due to his position at the top of the prisoner bureucracy. He felt that he was viewed differently by other inmates due to his increased responsibility and higher earnings. Dan was a quiet member of the workshop and had never been to prison before. I watched Dan get on with his work quietly and efficiently. When I asked Dan what he thought about his prison job he responded:

It's alright, it's good, it keeps me busy in the day, it gives me a wage, I know it's not that much but at least I don't have to rely on my family then so much, even though I could, I don't have to, I can stand on my own two feet in prison (Dan (30yrs), Workshop 2).

Dan would most likely fit into the *not-for-profit criminal* category. He attempted to get through his prison sentence as quickly as possible by keeping his head down and getting on with work. Whilst these are ideal characteristics for the QC in the eyes of the instructors (as they are willing to work hard), they often face opposition from orange-collar workers as they do not hold the high status and reputation in prison like the *career criminals*. When interviewed, Dan explained that a simple change in his title led to difficulties maintaining relationships with orange-collar workers:

There's one bad side to it [being QC] because people see me differently now. I'm not treated like a prisoner anymore, when I used to be talked to before a lot, now I don't get that anymore. There are only a few people in the workshop that actually talk to me now. Other people don't for some reason…As soon as I turned QC it was different. Well they talk to me but there's only so much they tell me because they think, 'how's he got a job so quick?' cos I've only been there 5 months and I've gone from table to shrink-wrap and up to QC and I think they look at me different and think 'he's only got a job because he's always telling stuff about us' or whatever but I didn't ask for the job so…I noticed it straight away, as soon as you take the title on, it changes (Dan (30yrs), Workshop 2).

Lori confirmed Dan's thoughts. He commented that he didn't dislike Dan but insinuated that he might possibly be informing Dennis.

Yeah, like Dan's alright, he's safe like, I like him but he's a bit up Dennis's ass like. Obviously in that workshop as well, there's snitches in there, I don't know who but… (Lori (24yrs), Workshop 2).

Beliefs like this are most likely what led to Dan being ostracised as he suggests. The final section of this chapter reiterates the all-encompassing nature of orange collar work into all aspects of prison life.

9.9. But at the End of the Day…

Workplace stress and pressure is evident in many different occupations. However, what is different about orange-collar *prison* work is that this pressure does not end in the workplace

but follows orange-collar workers back to their 'home life', which for the time being are cells in the very same place in which they work: prison. The workshops and prison cells are just yards from each other. As Goffman (1961) explains 'the central feature of total institutions can be described as the breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating these three spheres of life' (Goffman, 1961, p. 17). Given the more volatile and violent environment that is the prison setting small disagreements within the workshop can easily escalate due to the constant and close contact that orange-collar workers have with each other. Bill and Roberts explained to me how the conflict that develops at work can easily follow them back to the wing.

> [There is] resentment, because he's a screw boy. Goes two ways….the thing is, what the instructors don't realise is at 5 o'clock when they go home, you've got to go back to the wing with me, so if you've given me some grief for 4 hours, you're coming back to the wing 'I'm not having this, I've had 3 days of this' [I'll] start turning you up. I've had a nose to nose argument with a technician, yeah and the QC, yeah walking back to the wing because he was bitching about it, I said 'ah shut up you pussy', he was saying 'I'm trying to get this work done and you're not doing it right', (Bill (44yrs), Workshop 4).

> You carry it with you [stress and conflict from the workshop] and then you go on the wing then and you've got people talking 'are you gunna have that? Are you having that?' and then it winds you up and you think 'right' and it ends up escalating, but it's jail isn't it. I wouldn't want to go back there again in that technician's job (Roberts, (31yrs), Workshop 2).

This emphasises the way the three spheres of life (work, sleep and play) are married together in prison and what prisoners do whilst at work can have implications for other areas of their life (Goffman, 1961).

This idea of the all-consuming total institution makes this a less than ideal environment to introduce competitive hierarchical structures which, as I have demonstrated, shattered the criminal code and generated conflict, animosity and distrust. As Roberts recognises, 'It's Jail isn't it', this is not a work place separate from the social aspects of prisoners' lives.

Over half of the interviewees spoke positively of the prisoner bureaucracy but other interviews and my observational findings instead highlighted its problematic nature. Bill believed that the workshop hierarchies were not for the benefit of the prisoners but instead they were put in place to benefit the private prison and the private firms involved. These feeling were rare among prisoners but I identified two orange-collar workers, Bill and Bobby who expressed these ideas during interviews. Bill viewed the bureaucracy as superficial and thought that it was merely put in place to bolster the image of Bridgeville when in reality it was a farce and did not contribute to rehabilitation.

> JP: You've got QCs and technicians in your workshop, what do you think about having QCs and technicians in the workshop?
> B: It's a joke, it's a joke. That's all it is. It's for Bridgeville to say, oh look we're rehabilitating people, we're giving them a better rate of pay, which has been stopped this week anyway, they've dropped the money down, so all technicians are back to £15 so that will be fun to see how you motivate someone to go on to a machine to do a job that was being paid £5 a week extra is now being paid the same as me. So how are you going to motivate me to go on the machine to learn that and not give me anything else in return. Sit back and laugh (Bill (44yrs), Workshop 3).

A large number of respondents viewed the structures as functional and worthwhile but a small number were not only critical of those that took them on, but were also critical of why they were used by Bridgeville (as highlighted by Bill who questioned the rehabilitative motives of the hierarchy).

This chapter has described the prisoner bureaucracy illustrating how it could be a positive function for some prisoners but that it was primarily a dysfunctional element of the workshop given the conflict that it created and the fictitious meritocracy it was built upon (as frequent flyers and long termers dominated the higher ranking positions in the workshops). The following chapter will demonstrate the continuity between these findings chapters and will explain how these experiences of orange-collar work may affect their lives or more specifically, their employment after imprisonment.

10. Learning *Not* to Labour

10.1. Introduction

The research findings (chapters 5-9) thus far have explored different features of the orange-collar workshops where privately contracted work is carried out in Bridgeville Prison: from hierarchies, to the way prisoners deal with work-induced boredom, and even the personal histories of orange-collar workers themselves. By exploring these different facets of the orange-collar workshops it is argued that despite the attempts to replicate a mainstream working environment, this proves ultimately difficult, if not impossible, within a prison setting, especially one that is privatised and is undergird by commercial objectives. Prison life marries the three spheres of life – work, sleep and play – making work inseparable from all other aspects of life inside prison (Goffman, 1963). The all-consuming nature of prison life can be incredibly overwhelming and challenging for individuals as work conflict and boredom can seep into other areas of prisoners' existence (Goffman, 1963).

Having spent almost a year talking, working and even socialising with the prisoners from the orange-collar workshops, I began to form a bond with them – although I may not have gone completely 'native', I admit I most certainly danced along the perimeters. And because of this ethnography-induced empathy, it was natural that I reflected on their life chances beyond prison. The most pressing concern to begin with was whether orange-collar work provided a step towards rehabilitation and the integration of these men into mainstream society and away from a life of crime and therefore prison. This chapter very much represents my journey in these reflections which inevitably begin with prison but meander into the relationship between criminal careers and modern capitalism.

Instead of performing a rehabilitative function that sets prisoners up with valuable skills and an authentic experience of work, my ethnographic study suggests that orange-collar work imparts an unrealistic and naïve perception of the 'real world' of work. In the prison setting that I observed, work exists, in part, as a 'prisoner-sitting' exercise – an opportunity to ensure that prisoners have constructive time outside the prison cell. And whilst hierarchies exist in the workshops, this is not a typical work bureaucracy of line-managers and employees. The prison is a total institution where the main division is between inmates and officers or 'cons' and 'screws'. It is not a work environment, and the orange-collar workshops may not be preparing prisoners for the legitimate world of work after prison. Moreover, orange-collar work is primarily focused on manufacturing and unskilled assembly based work – the sort of work that forms a dwindling segment of the de-industrialised British labour market. Thus, much of what they learn is not relevant for the contemporary labour market. But even though the orange-collar work milieu is not a realistic one it does give prisoners some ideas about the real world of work… enough of an idea to deter many.

In chapter 6, I discussed the orange-collar worker typology, for example the *not-for-profit criminals* and the *apprentice criminals*. Here, I explained how, for many prisoners, the 'work' or criminal activity that they undertook before incarceration had a potential impact on their performance and behaviour inside the orange-collar workshop. By the same token, the findings of this research suggest that orange-collar work can also have an impact on prisoners' attitudes towards legitimate (and illegitimate) employment upon release from prison.

Paul Willis (1977) conducted a sociological study of teenage boys moving from the education system to the workplace. He was interested in the way the counter-culture that 'the lads'

embraced during their time in school prepared them for the blue-collar jobs that they would obtain afterwards. He believed that through the lads' counter- culture they were 'learning to labour'. He explored the humour that the boys used, the masculinity they performed and the way in which these cultural characteristics suited the types of jobs that these boys would obtain when they entered the labour market (which was to be low skilled manufacturing work). While there were indeed many similarities between the participants in my own study and the participants in Willis' (1977) classic study, I found that in conducting orange-collar work, for several reasons (all of which will be explored in this chapter), prisoners were instead 'learning *not* to labour'. In reality it did very little to prepare prisoners for real work; it instead helped to shape disenchanted attitudes and did little to disrupt prisoners' occupations in criminality- a case of learning for crime.

This chapter will be organised as follows: I will begin by illustrating the redundancy of the specific industry in which prisoners are gaining experience-manufacturing. There has been a significant decline in manufacturing jobs in the labour market and orange-collar work employs a simplified and outdated example of factory work - all of this leads me to conclude that this type of work may not enhance prisoners' chances of gaining employment after prison. I then draw attention to another possible industry in which prisoners may attempt to gain employment after prison- the service sector (due to its growth). However, the cultural norms of the orange-collar workshops (masculine, crude humour and leisure at work) do not transfer well to the service sector working environment (McDowell, 2013). I note prisoners' pessimism of this work as a form of rehabilitation and explain that the exception to this pessimism was the Waste Management Department where prisoners were more enthusiastic about gaining employment in a related industry outside prison. All of this will mostly demonstrate what orange-collar work does *not* do for prisoners.

I will then move on to discuss what it *does* do- it prepares prisoners for low-paid, low-skilled, boring work; work that they do not desire or envision in their future. Given prisoners exposure to criminal activity and illegitimate ways of creating profit, this avenue of criminality can seem like a more viable option in order to achieve their desired lifestyles. The level of prisoners' identification with an entrepreneurial culture is further illustrated by their admiration for the private firms that are using their labour; I will demonstrate in the final section of this chapter how prisoners admire and respect the ability to make money in whatever way possible and because the legitimate avenues to achieve this are mostly closed off to them, crime is often a plausible option. Why this identification with a criminal lifestyle and entrepreneurialism? There are interrelated reasons why prisoners identify with and are attracted by both a criminal career and entrepreneurialism. First, the participants of this research expressed the importance of monetary rewards and materialistic aspirations ('white collar dreams') which were expressed in part by the desire to be entrepreneurs and business owners (and this applied to almost all the prisoner categories I have presented with the exception being the *pariah criminals*); these desires cannot be fulfilled by low paid, low skilled work. Second, there is the idea of the mainstreaming of crime. This is the observation that, increasingly, criminal activity and dealing in illicit markets such as drug dealing and the production of counterfeit goods, is a viable and high rewarding career. Opting for criminality allows prisoners to identify with a consumerist culture. In other words the orange-collar workers embody a type of *subterranean embourgeoisement*. I conclude that orange-collar work does little to disrupt criminal behaviours and does not attempt to direct entrepreneurial attitudes in a positive way. In sum, the rehabilitative purposes of orange-collar work are redundant and this research finds that it only serves the purposes of occupying prisoners and increasing the profits of Bridgeville and the private companies contracting this work.

10.2. The Decline of Manufacturing and the Rise of the Service Sector: Where Do the 'Reprobates' Fit in?

The Social Exclusion Unit (2002) found that in many cases the employment opportunities available in prison do not match current needs in the labour market, lessening its rehabilitative impact. During imprisonment, orange-collar workers complete low-skilled, low-automated manufacturing with a relaxed regime of control (within a highly controlled wider scenario). In other words, the work and skills training in the workshops is oriented to manufacturing - they are in terms of supply-side being prepared for a manufacturing career. However this is problematic from a demand side: manufacturing has declined dramatically in the UK over the past forty years. It accounted for 21.5 per cent of the UK workforce in 1981 and now makes up only 7.8 per cent (Rhodes, 2014). Many of the work-based studies that I have drawn upon in this research took place in the 1950s and 1960s; a time when manufacturing accounted for over 36 per cent of the UK workforce and was thus a more feasible option of employment (Office for National Statistics, 2011). As explained by Rowthorn and Coutts (2013):

> The UK is unusual in two respects. It has experienced the largest decline in manufacturing employment of any advanced economy. It has also experienced the biggest post-war deterioration in its manufacturing trade balance. No other advanced economy has gone from surplus to deficit in its manufacturing trade in such a spectacular fashion as the UK has done over the past sixty years (Rowthorn and Coutts, 2013 p.5).

Despite the obvious concern that the manufacturing industry is in decline, there are several other complications with using this quasi-manufacturing work in Bridgeville:

- It does not represent authentic manufacturing work that can be accessed outside prison.
- Manufacturing has changed dramatically outside of prison so even though some elements of the work resemble traditional manufacturing work, this is outdated.
- Given the shrinkage of manufacturing and, as a result, the high competition for jobs in this sector, ex-prisoners would have to join the back of the queue behind those

individuals without criminal records and those who have more work experience (Fletcher, 2008).

Thus, orange-collar workers are acquiring skills and a taste of work that is no longer easily available outside prison. The labour market has changed significantly in recent decades. Generally, even as far back as the early 1980s, automation and increased surveillance were eradicating 'leisure-at-work' - the space and time for sociable relations between workers while they were *at* work (Edwards and Scullion, 1982). Today's high performance manufacturing workplaces bear little resemblance to the relaxed and informal setting witnessed in the orange-collar workshops. Therefore, prisoners may have been given a false insight into what this work entails. They may need to consider alternative forms of low skilled work. If we look beyond manufacturing and consider the possibility of orange-collar workers gaining employment in the service sector, which currently accounts for eighty three per cent of jobs in the UK (Department of Business, Innovation and Skills, 2014), we find that there are other problems.

It is argued that deindustrialisation (which brought with it new cosmopolitan city centres built upon financial, corporate and service sectors) has ruptured working class communities and produced 'vulnerable and increasingly disposable 'contingent workers'' (Persuade and Lusane, 2000; Hobbs, 2013, p. 116). Low-skilled service based jobs offer those with few qualifications/little work experience an opportunity of employment, but it is appreciably different from the skilled and semi-skilled jobs of the manufacturing sectors which once dominated the UK economy. Research shows that this new world of service work may not be ideal for the typical orange-collar worker. McDowell (2003) argues that unlike manufacturing and other traditional 'masculine' employment, for work in the service sector, 'attributes of docility and deference are more highly valued in prospective employees than the macho

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bravado and protest masculinity of disaffected working-class young men' (McDowell, 2003, p. 834; Leidner, 1993; Bourgois, 1995). Nixon (2009) found that work in the service economy requires skills, dispositions and demeanours that are antithetical to the masculine working-class habitus. It is no surprise then that the most significant declines in male economic activity over recent years have been among manual workers and men with few skills and education qualifications (Gregg and Wadsworth, 1998; Alcock et al. 2003; Faggio and Nickell, 2003). The changed nature of the labour market outside prison could thus be said to pose a threat to the identity of the masculine, working-class man.

The masculine identities of the orange-collar workers, usually enhanced and at times instilled within the orange-collar workshop, will most likely be *un*helpful if they attempt to enter the labour market. The informal work culture that orange-collar workers absorb and inhabit is not the desired cultural norms and values of the modern working environment, namely the service sector. In fact, McDowell (2003) argues that the expanding job categories in the bottom end of the labour market increasingly rely on 'feminized' attributes and skills. The informal attributes and traits needed to survive and thrive inside the orange-collar workshops - crude humour, male banter and mock aggressive behaviour, in the context of a relaxed supervisory approach to prisoners' socialising while they work – are not those necessarily valued in the service sector. Such norms are no longer reflected in modern manufacturing work and they are not reflected in contemporary service sector work, which is highly visible, subject to surveillance and dependent on performance indicators related to positive employee interactions with customers. But whilst orange-collar work may not necessarily prepare prisoners for the modern labour market in the UK, it may have important rehabilitative qualities. The following section outlines prisoners attitudes towards the rehabilitative potential of orange-collar work.

10.3. Private Prison Work as a Rehabilitative Tool: an Orange-Collar View

When we look at the prison population across the UK, it is largely made up of men with few resources, living below the poverty line with low literacy abilities and intermittent employment histories (Garside, 2007). Research has found that only 32 per cent of prisoners are said to have been in paid employment in the four weeks prior to custody and around 13 per cent of prisoners reported never having had a job (Berman and Dar, 2013). A similar situation was evident amongst the orange-collar workers that I interviewed. More than half of the forty interviewees were not in employment before coming to prison and many of the others were conducting 'off the books' work. This would suggest that their opportunities for employment after prison are bleak and many of the participants explained to me that they did not feel orange-collar work was helpful in addressing this problem.

When I asked orange-collar workers whether they thought that the work they conducted would help them in finding employment after prison, the majority typically responded pessimistically or without enthusiasm. A flavour of their reaction can be seen in the following quotes from Matt, Jermaine and Ethan, all considered to be *apprentice criminals*:

> If I got a factory job or something like that [yes it would] but if I don't get a factory job, no [I don't think it will help me get employment after I leave prison] (Matt (20yrs), Workshop 2).

> Clipping wires!? [laughs] Can I ask you the same questions and hear your response please? (Jermaine (18yrs), Workshop 1)

> Well, the type of work I'm doing [in the workshop] nah. It's not something I want to be doing when I get out, I'll want to be doing practical work like painting and decorating… I'm doing a recycling NVQ and that will probably, possibly help me, but none of the work I'm doing in the workshop [will help me] (Ethan (19yrs), Workshop 1).

Jonesy, a *career criminal*, echoed this cynicism with regard to the rehabilitative abilities of orange-collar work:

> Nah. That's my opinion, I don't [think this work will help me get employment after I leave prison. Work in the orange-collar workshops is] … just putting stickers on stuff and sending it out isn't it? It's just to make my time go quicker (Jonesy (24yrs), Workshop 3).

Even those individuals who thought that it could be useful discussed this in the context of 'others', for example, 'it's not useful for me but I think it can help *other* prisoners learn a routine and gain some work experience'. The usefulness of the work did not appear to apply to any concrete individual, only the abstract 'other' as exemplified by John:

> JP: Do you think the work in Booksmart can help you on the outside?
> J: Well not me personally, but people who've never worked, yeah (John (42yrs), Workshop 2).

During my observations of Workshop 2, I was told by several orange-collar workers that if they were able to show that they worked diligently and were trustworthy, there was a possibility that they would be recommended for an interview with BookSmart. This was effectively a job interview for potential employment upon release from prison. After completing my fieldwork at Bridgeville in the summer of 2013, I visited Booksmart and found that the operations manager had already hired an ex-prisoner from Bridgeville. Coincidently, this was one of the men that I had interviewed, Matt, an *apprentice criminal* from Workshop 2 who was in Bridgeville for selling cocaine. Matt had been at Booksmart for several weeks and I was told, at the time, that he was doing well. But although he had managed to take his first step onto the employment ladder, this first step was not a stable one. The work at Booksmart was precarious and sporadic. Shift schedules were revealed weekly and the number of hours changed frequently. Some weeks Matt would be given thirty hours, other weeks three hours, and some weeks he would be given no hours at all. When I spoke to him during my visit to Booksmart he told me that he was nervous that this arrangement would be unsustainable and I have since found out that Matt is no longer employed at BookSmart. This is an example of the precarious world of work that ex-offenders may enter after imprisonment. Despite the fact that Matt was awarded a great opportunity to obtain

work (as a result of working for Booksmart in prison) the only work available to him was unstable, low-paid and sporadic. This type of precarious work is now experienced by a range of workers (Standing, 2014) but perhaps prisoners are more vulnerable to begin with. Orange-collar work then has the possibility of helping prisoners into low-paid sporadic work but as will be explored in later sections, due to their exposure to the opportunities in the subterranean labour market, low paid unstable work is much less enticing.

Brinkley (2013) argues that 'zero hours contracts have come to symbolise a wider concern that the labour market is moving towards more contingent, less secure and more exploitative forms of employment at a time when in many areas jobs are scarce and people have little choice over taking whatever work is available' (Brinkley, 2013, p. 5). Standing (2014) argues that the precariat is 'being fed by an extraordinary number of people who have been criminalised in one way or another' (Standing, 2014, p. 87). Before imprisonment, a large number of the orange-collar workers that I interviewed, as well as the prison population more generally (Berman and Dar, 2013) were being paid for work off the books and did not receive any of the stability of being in fixed employment. From these experiences many prisoners already have a negative and precarious view of legitimate work and their prospects of life after prison (47 per cent of adults are reconvicted within one year of release (Ministry of Justice, 2013b)). I would argue that orange-collar work only serves to exacerbate this negative view for a large number of prisoners. An exception to the pessimism of prison work was found in the Waste Management Department. The prisoners employed here were more enthusiastic about the chances of gaining employment as a result of the work experience in waste management. Exactly why this may be the case will be explored in the following section.

10.3.1. Orange-Collar Recycling Work as Labour Market Rehabilitation

Despite the shortcomings of the majority of orange-collar work in terms of its rehabilitative potential, the Prison Industries' Units *can* offer relevant training for the mainstream labour market. Such training exists outside the workshops in the form of prison work on waste management contracts. The recycling industry is growing in the UK and since 1998 the recycling sector has seen a threefold increase in sales turnover (Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, 2012). It has also seen an increase in the number of jobs (Harvey, 2013). Perhaps in this knowledge, orange-collar prisoners in waste management displayed a more optimistic view (than those in the four orange-collar workshops) of gaining related employment after leaving prison. And this optimism was most likely boosted because waste management and refuse work is often considered masculine work (Kyed, 2011) and thus, an environment in which these individuals would be comfortable and familiar with.

For some, refuse work was viewed as an attractive option for prison work. Despite the dirty nature of Waste Management work several prisoners told me that they chose to work here, and spoke positively about the experience. They explained that not only was it an enhanced job which offered higher pay but they also valued the opportunity to complete NVQs in recycling and gain experience in this area of work. The prisoners were aware that waste management is a growing industry and that there could be potential job opportunities for them in the industry outside prison. For example, Adam had been working in the waste management industry before he came to prison and said that gaining the qualifications in the Waste Management Department in Bridgeville would help him in returning to this job after release.

> JP: Do you think the work that you do will help you get a job on release?
> A: Well yeah, I got my job back anyway but it would help you get a job though because they do the NVQs down there now because Dave, my boss, has said that

whoever starts up the tip now has got to get their NVQs, they're bringing it in, it's law (Adam (28yrs), Waste Management).

Other orange-collar workers in waste management also spoke positively about their prospects of obtaining waste management work after prison:

JP: Do you think the work you do in waste management will help you get a job on the outside?
L: Yeah, because obviously I'll have a bit of experience now which will stay fresh in my head and obviously I did my NVQ level 1 in recycling so I can show that to an employer yeah so, it will be useful (Louis (27yrs), Waste Management).

L: To be honest with you (the work in here, recycling) has helped a lot, I won't get a chance like this out there, to get an NVQ; I'm hoping to do level 2 in the next couple of weeks…
JP: And do you think the work you do in there will help you get a job on release?
I: I'm hoping it will, yeah
JP: Do you think it will help you more than some of the other work you've done in here?
I: Yeah, yeah especially somebody my age, who's going to employ an electrician at my age, or someone working in the staff canteen at my age, no they'd just laugh at me, but recycling, I've probably got a better chance (Lewis (48yrs), Waste Management).

Not only were the prisoners in recycling and waste management more confident about gaining employment in a related industry upon release, but they were also more likely to express their fondness of the work than other orange-collar workers:

JP: So what do you think about the work you do here?
L: I like it actually, it's given me a bit of an incentive that I can go out there and get a job in recycling. Yeah, that's where the money is, there's not many jobs out there now, and this recycling thing, it's a big business so I'm hoping I can go into it, otherwise what's the point in me doing my NVQs here and not using them when I get out (Lewis (33yrs), Waste Management).

JP: So what do you think your work's like in comparison to some of the other jobs?
J: Some of the boys don't like it, they think it's smelly, but you get used to the smell anyway, plus you're outdoors.
JP: So you think it's a good job because you get to be outside?
J: Yeah, it's not just that you get to be outside; it's good work experience as well. You're more likely to get a job doing that on the out because it's getting bigger isn't it [the Waste Management Industry], whereas lots of other jobs are going (Jack (28yrs), Waste Management).

I found that, predominantly, prisoners thought that orange-collar work was unhelpful in performing a rehabilitative function and preparing prisoner for work after prison but prisoners

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in Waste Management were the exception. However, orange-collar workers in Waste Management are all enhanced prisoners and have been given this job as a result of good behaviour. Furthermore, Waste Management was made up predominantly of *not-for-profit criminals* and *precariat criminals* – the more deferential and compliant prisoner categories. This inevitably has implications for these findings as this group of individuals represents a more stable, 'low risk' section of the prison population. As Hunter and Boyce (2009) explain, low risk cohorts have a greater chance of successful resettlement and as such, their enthusiastic opinions may simply be reflecting this rather than the usefulness of the work they conduct.

10.4. The Dead-End Career Options for the Undead: Orange-Collar Work and Learning Low Paid Work

So with the exception of Waste Management, I have thus far illustrated the ways in which orange-collar work may not be considered useful in preparing prisoners for post-prison employment; not only does it focus on failing British industries but the workshops also foster a masculine, informal culture that is no longer a key feature within most workplaces (McDowell, 2003, Kehily and Nayak, 1997, Edwards and Scullion, 1982, Boggis, 2001). Furthermore, as has been illustrated, many orange-collar workers believe that prison work did not help them develop relevant skills. So far I have demonstrated primarily what work does *not* do for prisoners, the following section will now move on to discuss what it *does* do.

There is something of a paradox at work in orange-collar work. Whilst problematic in terms of rehabilitation and integrating prisoners into the labour market, I found that orange-collar work did prepare prisoners for modern work; it gave them an insight into low-skilled, low-paid work, dominated by hierarchical conflict, little autonomy and few prospects - the type of work most likely to greet them on release. As Fletcher (2011) suggests, 'exposing offenders

to the routines of work may simply be shorthand for preparing them to accept any working conditions' (Fletcher, 2011, p. 121). This was patently illustrated by Matt when we discussed whether he felt the work in Workshop 2 was useful in preparing him for work:

> J: So, you don't think the work is useful?
> M: No [it only teaches me about] working for a small wage, that's probably it. You don't get paid what you want out there [outside of prison] do you? And if you don't like you're job out there, you're not always going to love your job do you, you just got to get on with it, that's what I think (Matt (20yrs) Workshop 2).

Orange-collar work provides prisoners with a flavour of the more negative aspects of low paid work which serves to reinforce their antipathy towards legitimate employment. This, coupled with their exposure to alternative avenues of earning money in the illegitimate labour market, only discourages them from entering the real world of work. Jermaine, *an apprentice criminal*, commented during his interview that his whole experience of working in Workshop 1 had demoralised him and he was no longer motivated to pursue work or education in Bridgeville. Jermaine told me that he detested the orange-collar work and the following extract illustrates his response when asked whether it put him off the mainstream world of work:

> J: It's the work, the workplace, the environment. I would have done something irrational if Mackenzie and Ahmed wasn't there. Serious…I will never in my life want to work in industries whether it's working as an electrician, painter and decorator [or] recycling that I'm doing now
> JP: Inside prison or outside prison?
> J: Both. I'm not a handy man. I wanna do something around the sports field, study sport science, this thing just gets to me, I'm not even in that mind frame where I want to learn anymore. Before I used to be hungry for education, hungry, I got my [NVQ] level 2's in English and Maths, IT, this, that and the other, I've got GCSE's … I was hungry for education…and then I came here and it's all come to a halt like. For what, I've even got a sports psychology course that I should be doing now but I'm just not in that mind frame. All I want to do is get the fuck out of this place. I want to get out of the workshops….
> JP: You don't want to do education [either], why's that?
> J: I can't be bothered anymore, this whole thing has just demoralised me. All I want to do is focus on getting my physique done [work out in the gym] (Jermaine (18yrs), Workshop 1).

Jermaine's response was typical amongst the *apprentice criminals* interviewed for this research; their experience of orange-collar work fortified an apathetic attitude towards work. As Fletcher (2011) argues, this type of prison work is the 'antithesis of the sort of employment most likely to lead to a reduction in reoffending, given that it is characterised by weak attachment to the workplace, irregularity of routines and a 'hand-to-mouth' existence' (Fletcher, 2011, p. 121). Waquant (1999) refers to this as a new penal common sense which attempts to criminalise poverty and normalise insecure, low paid employment. Orange-collar work is a paradigm of low paid, low skilled work and simply reinforces prisoners' negative attitude towards legitimate work whilst subsequently reinforcing their positive attitude towards illegitimate work. As Abbot (1981) argues, imprisonment further worsens the position of ex-prisoners in the labour market and socialises individuals into an inmate subculture that is a 'school for crime'. Venkatesh (2009) explains that traditional strategies of attempting to get young people back into school and finding them entry-level jobs is of little use because few criminal gang members are 'willing to trade in their status and the prospect of big money for menial work' (Venkatesh, 2009, p. 72).

This left me curious as to whether orange-collar workers were averse to all forms of work. This was far from being the case. As a researcher who spent almost an entire year alongside prisoners, from a variety of criminal backgrounds, I found that for certain orange-collar workers there is, if you like, a shadow career structure and labour market that centre on 'work' and necessary 'skill sets'. This shadow career structure is essentially criminal. This led me to consider alternative types of criminal 'employment' that enticed prisoners and steered them away from legitimate work. This alternative labour market reinforced the redundancy of orange-collar work and also underlined the values that many prisoners held, attitudes of materialism and entrepreneurialism, which also discouraged prisoners from low-

skilled, low paid work - work that would not satisfy their future aspirations of being economically successful.

10.5. Orange-Collar Roots, White-Collar Dreams

Prisoners expressed attitudes which appeared to be heavily influenced by consumer culture and egoistic individualism. As Hallsworth (2005) argues, young people produce and reproduce their identities based upon capitalist culture and consumption. Crewe (2009) found that consumer possessions were important in signalling status in prison, especially for younger prisoners who were fixated on issues relating to clothing. One prisoner in Crewe's (2009) study described it as the 'peacock effect'. Consumerist ideas were also found to be a central focus for prisoners in my own study. During a conversation in the Waste Management Department, the orange-collar workers discussed in great detail the importance of getting the best and most expensive clothes and toys for their children. Similar aspirations were expressed whilst chatting to a group of prisoners in Workshop 1; they competitively discussed how they spoilt their children. When discussing the birth of his daughter, one prisoner proudly explained how he had immediately bought her a custom made pink velour tracksuit, personalised with her name on it. For most of the men I spoke to, money was the be-all and end-all, their ultimate objective. Low-income jobs would not be able to satisfy their hedonistic, material-driven lifestyles and as such alternative avenues were explored. The majority of individuals who buy into this consumerist culture cannot afford to be a part of it (Hobbs, 2013); consumer culture and the void created by post-industrialism has promoted 'intense personal competition' and incited individuals to consume to a level that for many, cannot 'be lawfully sustain[ed]' (Currie, 1985, p. 278; Treadwell et al. 2013). So, in the hope of gaining entry into this exclusive club and the material possessions that go hand in hand with it, some individuals develop illicit means of obtaining these possessions that endorse the use of violence and rule breaking (Hallsworth, 2005).

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This ethos breaks away from the characteristic make-up of industrial society where solutions to everyday problems were always pragmatic and never 'magical' (Hall and Jefferson, 1976). It is suggested that the normalization of casual criminal behaviour 'should not be understood in terms of pathology, but in terms of predatory logic (Williams, 1989, 1992; Mieczkowski, 1990), where individualism and pecuniary advantage reign over communal priorities (Bourgois, 1995)' (Hobbs, 2013, p. 122). The writings just cited underline the fact that orange-collar work does little to prepare prisoners for post-release employment. The type of work prisoners are conducting in prison will most likely only yield low income and insecure employment – forms of employment that cannot buy the things they desire such as a 'big house' and/or a 'Mercedes'.

As discussed in Chapter 6, several researchers have found that criminal activity such as drug dealing is more profitable on an hourly basis than legitimate jobs available to the same persons'(despite the increased risk of imprisonment and subsequently a long stretch of no earnings) (Reuter et al. 1990; Fagan, 1992; 1993; Hagedorn; 1994). Orange-collar workers who had previously worked as drug dealers or thieves told me how much money they would earn a day and what they would buy with this money. As mentioned previously, one orange-collar worker, Paul, a cocaine dealer from Workshop 1 who fitted into the category of *career criminal*, told me that he regularly earned £3,000 a day from dealing drugs. On the same day he would go shopping and spend a large amount of this on a new outfit to wear out to town in the evening. He explained that he would go out on a Saturday night, in his new outfit and 'blow the rest of the money on buying champagne' for himself, his friends and women that he would meet that night.

The large sums of money that can be accumulated by criminality was also illustrated by Nelson, a *career criminal*, who explains why he continues to deal drugs rather than join the legitimate labour market:

> I was working (legitimate employment) and I was making about £150 a week but then I would wake up in the morning and make that much money in one hour (drug dealing) and I'd be thinking I'd rather do that than go to work. (Nelson (25yrs) Workshop 4).

The materialist concern with money and consumer durables inevitably coloured prisoners views of the low-skilled, low-wage work that they were required to undertake at Bridgeville. This thesis highlights the redundancy of orange-collar work as a means of offering an alternative pathway to the realisation of prisoners' materialistic ambitions. As such, I draw the conclusion that crime, the type of crime in which you can accumulate quick and easy money, and lots of it, would seem like a much more appealing option for many, particularly *career criminals* and *apprentice criminals* who have already had a taste of this lifestyle; orange-collar work does little to deter them from crime.

A criminal career also offered a certain level of job satisfaction. As Hobbs (2013) explains, 'there is now a complex field of transitional possibilities featuring markets offering something more interesting than a 'McJob'' (Craine, 1997; MacDonald, 1998; Ritzer, 2004; Hobbs, 2013, p. 134) and something that offers a more immediate financial reward (Hobbs, 2013). This has implications for prison work being used as a rehabilitative tool; whilst it does not *cause* recidivism my thesis argues that it also does nothing to *prevent* it. In reality, prison work is a source of distraction and a provider of income for prisoners and prisons so whilst it works *inside* prison it does very little in helping prisoners once they are *outside* the prison walls.

The materialistic attitudes expressed by orange-collar workers went hand in hand with their aspirations to become entrepreneurs. In my interviews and conversations with prisoners in the orange-collar workshops, which carried out contract work for private companies, I felt it appropriate to explore their attitudes to private capital - especially the companies that they were effectively working for a rate much lower than the national minimum wage. The results of these discussions threw up some surprising insights about prisoners' admiration for entrepreneurs and their desires to emulate this, often in a legitimate sense rather than in a criminal sense (although their inability to enact this legitimate entrepreneurialism led to several attempting to pursue this through criminal activity). Trying to understand these rather surprising attitudes, led me to explore recent anthropological studies in criminology, as will be detailed in the following section.

10.6. Inside the Dragon's Pen: The Mainstreaming of Crime and the Embourgeoisement of the Criminal Class

Several researchers have noted the growing perception of entrepreneurship as virtuous, with the representation of entrepreneurs as 'super-heroes' (Williams, 2006; Jones and Spicer 2006, Williams and Nadin, 2012, p. 896). This admiration for, and growth of, entrepreneurialism has also been identified within the informal economy (Williams, 2006; Williams and Nadin, 2012) and has also been found within working class communities (Hobbs, 2013). This admiration for legitimate entrepreneurialism and a materialistic, aspirational lifestyle was evident amongst the participants of my research; they embodied a type of embourgeoisement. By this I mean I found that they more readily identify with (or wish to be identified with) an entrepreneurial, consumerist class rather than a working or criminal class (Harvey, 2011). Embourgeoisement is the concept of the working class increasingly adopting patterns of

behaviour and emulating the styles of life previously held only by the middle classes[27] (Jelin, 1974). So while the individuals I have discussed may not receive the same earnings as middle class individuals they still strive to achieve their more consumer driven lifestyles and status. Luke articulated this admiration for an entrepreneurial spirit and a motivation for profit when asked what he wanted to do after prison:

> [I've been] watching The Apprentice and all that for years, I've read Lord Alan Sugar's book and Richard Branson's book, I like them all I do… [I'd like to work in] Business management or something like that. I want to be a manager, owner or CEO of a big company, that's the ideal dream, with a thousand people under me…Top of the table at the press conference and everything, I think I've got what it takes as well, if I use my head now, I'm only 21 now, I'll be out when I'm 24, if I use my head now I'll hopefully be a millionaire by the age of 30 (Luke (21yrs), Workshop 2).

Orange-collar workers such as Luke admired Alan Sugar and Richard Branson - he put them on a pedestal as self-made men that he aspired to be like. When I asked prisoners what they would like to do for employment after prison several participants expressed that, if they did envisage living a 'straight' life, they wanted to be businessmen and start their own companies:

> J: I dunno like, I wants to own my own business, like a car valeting thing or something like that
> JP: Invest in it and get involved or?
> J: Invest in it and I dunno, I'd get involved but obviously I'd put some money to get, just to make some money like (Jamie (22yrs old) Workshop 1).

> Hopefully, if I can, if I get enough money together [I can] look into going on to these Prince's trust things and start up a small business like, I'd need to look into it a bit more (Joe (39yrs old) Workshop 1).

> I don't know, maybe have my own business, I'd love that. My uncle did it, he had nothing, 3 bedroom council house in [a more deprived area of Bluetown] and now his business is worth 2 and a half million. He does all roofing and flooring materials and he's got his own yard and that, he lives in [an affluent area of Bluetown] (Kyle (26yrs old) Workshop 3).

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[27] This emulation of the middle class is often said to be the result of a rise in the standard of living amongst manual workers but I am instead more convinced by Rinehart's (1971) argument, that 'it makes more sense to speak of the proletarianization of white-collar employees' (Rinehart, 1971, p. 159) with regard to earnings. As such I utilise the concept of embourgeoisement to refer to an attitudinal change rather than economic.

But as expressed by Jamie and Gurdeep (below) orange-collar work did very little to prepare prisoners for this ambition of business enterprise:

> JP: Do you think this work will help you get a job when you leave?
> J: I doubt it, I'm not into factory work. I might have to work in my step dad's factory but it won't be long- business is my long term goal, owning my own business (Jamie (22yrs) Workshop 1)

> JP: Do you think this work will help you get a job when you leave?
> G: Nah, nah, nah, I want to do something, a future something where I can progress, maybe do a family business or something. Like I said I might want to go back into fruit and veg or something so that maybe when my kids are older they can have it as a family business or something. I want to do something where there is profit, not where there is a set wage and you're on £10 an hour and that's what you're going to be on for the rest of your life. I want to do something to benefit me and my kids (Gurdeep, (26yrs) Workshop 4).

Despite these positive aspirations, Beder (2000) argues that 'for the millions of people in precarious employment, the old rhetoric of the self-made man and work leading to success has little grounding in the reality of their experience' (Beder, 2000, p. 145). Hobbs (2013) argues that within post-industrial society youth groups are becoming increasingly market orientated (Hobbs, 2012; 2013). As a researcher who has specialised in studying British criminal gangs, he admits that the drug trade 'offers an accessible alternative sphere of enterprise to declining opportunities in traditional male employment' (Hobbs, 2013, p. 116). Hobbs (2013) suggests that the quest for excitement and status by many youth subcultures, particularly from the working class can often be satisfied by these illegitimate avenues as they can offer an alternative career trajectory (Slaughter, 2003, Hobbs, 2013). Orange-collar work does not present an 'exciting' opportunity for employment and as such, prisoners who possess the entrepreneurial attitudes that I have presented (but cannot enact them legitimately) may opt to exit legitimate employment (if they had ever entered at all) and move towards criminal careers instead.

This thesis suggests that orange-collar work does nothing to disrupt the development of the new criminal entrepreneur or instead nurture their entrepreneurial spirit and develop it in a positive sense. Most orange-collar workers have unstable experiences of work outside of prison; orange-collar work does little to convince them that intrinsic satisfaction can be obtained through such activity or that this type of work could ever lead to better jobs and better pay. This has been previously illustrated through interviews especially *apprentice criminal* types such as Jermaine and *career criminals* like Jonesy when they describe the pointlessness of prison work in preparing them for post-release employment. This was eloquently and amusingly illustrated by Jermaine's response when I asked him if he felt this work was useful: 'Clipping wires!? Can I ask you the same questions and hear your response please?' For those prisoners who have no experience of work outside of prison such as Jermaine and Ryan[28], orange-collar work does little to convince them that this is something that they should desire.

I was curious to understand whether this valorisation of the self-made entrepreneur also extended to capitalist institutions and business entities. The results of my questions on this subject were rather surprising – or rather they did not conform to my own preconceptions about the orange-collar prisoners as underpaid contract workers.

10.7. From Don Corleone to Donald Trump: Orange-Collar Identification with Freewheelin' Capitalism

Not only did I find that many prisoners adopted materialistic, entrepreneurial, profit-driven attitudes for their own future, I also found that this extended to their attitudes towards the private firms that were employing them; a postition that I had not anticipated.

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[28] An orange-collar worker in Workshop 2 who at the age of 25 had accumulated more than seventeen prison sentences

I discovered from my interview with the manager of Forflight (one of the contracting companies at Bridgeville) that he had previously conducted light assembly work in house but, after finding out that contracting the work to prison would be more cost effective and less time consuming, he moved this work inside prison, opting to abandon minimum wage workers for prisoners paid £15 a week. He explained to me that the company's sole reason for contracting to Bridgeville was for cheap labour. This illustrates the dilemmas posed to prisoners after their release (as these types of jobs are in fact moving into prison) and the reduction in their rights in the labour market (both inside and then outside of prison). Fleming (2013) draws attention to the erosion of labour rights across the globe. He argues:

> Labour rights around the world continue to be eroded on an exponential level, with the global financial crisis lending license to pursue labour policies that would have made 19th century robber barons blush. And the virtues of unbridled consumerism are still proclaimed unabated, even when the unsustainable nature of its credo is obvious to all (Fleming, 2013, p. 338).

I had naively assumed under this backdrop that prisoners would be angry about the exploitation of their labour and it's futility as a rehabilitative tool. But, in fact, many of the prisoners I interviewed, even those who felt the work was exploitative, told me that they 'wish they had thought of it'.

During interviews with orange-collar workers I asked their opinion on the involvement of private firms and the development of a profit motive in prison work. During my observations of the workshops prisoners expressed disdain for their contemptible pay (with most being on £15 a week) when profit was being made at their expense. Their responses were particularly interesting as they told me that they felt the work was exploitative, referring to it as 'slave labour', but they admired those who were responsible for the exploiting. In typical Marxist

form the prisoners of my research willingly consented to their own exploitation and interestingly, they admired it.

After several months of observations, interviews and informal discussions, it became clear that prisoners were only angry about exploitation by Bridgeville and prison authorities; they made clear lines of distinction between Bridgeville as the exploiter to be criticised and private companies contracting out work to Bridgeville as commercial opportunists to be revered. Indeed, the private contractors were regarded with admiration and respect. Prisoners venerated the need to make money by any means necessary. They believed that the concept of sending work into prison to be completed was a smart business model as it would increase company profits, as evidenced through the comments made by the manager of Forflight (who contracted to Bridgeville for the primary purpose of profiting from cheap labour). But prisoners' admiration did not extend to Bridgeville; many held the view that the deprivation of liberty is a core state function, a responsibility that should not be contracted out to private companies for them to derive profit (Liebling and Crewe, 2012).

Prisoners admired the entrepreneurial, easy profit tactics employed by the private firms. Lori from Workshop 1 expressed such positive views of capitalism (an attitude which I found amongst almost all of prisoners I interviewed). He was disdainful of the profits that Bridgeville generates from orange-collar work but he explained that it makes business sense for private firms to hire prisoners:

> L: They get paid loads. I read some of the job cards and they're getting paid stupid amounts of money, some of them are like forty grand.
> JP: Who's getting paid, the prison?
> L: Yeah. When we get big orders, they're getting paid grands and they're paying like two hundred odd pounds a week to the prisoners, because obviously BookSmart pay for all the boxes, all the machines, all the shrink wrapping [I later found that this was not the case as the operations manager of Booksmart informed me that Bridgeville had invested resources in the workshop including one of the shrink wrap machines]

and paper everything in the workshop so the jail don't have to go into their pockets at all. What they've got to pay is for the prisoners, the electric and the officers; they're making so much money this jail.

JP: So who annoys you, the prison or the private contracts or neither?

L: Nah, the private contracts obviously they're alright but [in terms of the prison] it's obviously wrong that they make prisoners work all that time and they do all that work for nothing.

JP: You said obviously the private contracts are fine, why do you say that?

L: Like, if I was a business, I'd have jails, I wouldn't but I- they're making money aren't they. That's all they're about is making money. Obviously it's cheaper to have us doing it than it is to have a warehouse on road so.

JP: So you respect that?

L: Yeah (Lori (24yrs), Workshop 2).

Bill, Jamie and Joe also expressed admiration of the private firms' involvement in prison labour:

> I wish I'd thought of that. Private companies are there to make money, a black and white jail is a not-for profit organisation, so they're there to rehabilitate you and get you out. [Private prisons]- They want to make money (Bill (44yrs), Workshop 3).

> It's pretty cool like. It doesn't bother me. I wish I'd thought of it, I wouldn't be sat here now, I'd be making bloody loads of money (Joe (39yrs), Workshop 1).

> JP: So what about the private company then, do you have any problem with them?
> J: No, because honestly, I'd love my own business making money like that, so fair do's to them, that's what I think (Jamie (22yrs), Workshop 1).

Interestingly, both Bill and Joe were *not-for-profit criminals* and so this admiration for profit was not isolated to *career criminals* and *apprentice criminals*, in fact it applied to almost all forty of those prisoners that I interviewed.

When orange-collar workers believed that the prison *and* the private firms were behaving exploitatively, they were still inclined to admire the private firms and view their use of cheap labour as something they would like to imitate if they were to develop their own business.

> JP: What do you think about privately contracted work?
> L: I think it's alright, If I owned a company I think it would be brilliant because you're paying them, you're getting cheap work… If I owned a company, I'd be straight in here- cheap as chips really.
> JP: But as you're the one having to work for low money what do you think of that?
> L: Because I've worked all my life, I wouldn't do this out there for £25 a week because you couldn't… I think it's exploiting us a little bit really. It said on the news

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yesterday that they think it's exploiting us. It's slave labour and stuff (Luke (21yrs), Workshop 2).

JP: And what about the private companies?
L: Best of luck to them, they're saving a bit of money, I'd do the same if I had a private company, you would wouldn't you? If you can save money and make more money, fair play to them, if they'd done that in a factory, how much would they have to pay then- they're saving hundreds and hundreds of pounds, probably thousands a week (Will (25yrs), Workshop 4).

John from Workshop 2, another *not-for-profit criminal* saw the use of privately contracted work in prison as logical for all involved; it generated money for Bridgeville, the private firms and also occupied prisoners:

If it [privately contracted work] wasn't being done here [Bridgeville], it would be done somewhere else- its work that's got to be done. A lot of people would say its slave labour or they're using us [but] they've got to find something to occupy people's time here, so if work comes from outside and it's got to be done, so be it. Alright, the outside companies are having it done at a lower rate, but if I was a business man, I'd want my stuff done at a lower rate. You're not doing it to punish people, it's just the way business works (John (42yrs) Workshop 2).

This uncritical and seemingly fatalistic acceptance of profit-making, by whatever means necessary, in some ways, mirrors and also legitimises criminal lifestyles. In itself this is an interesting commentary on modern capitalist enterprises – when your cheerleaders include not only the CBI and Tory politicians but also criminals. As explained, it was not only *career criminals* and *apprentice criminals* that admired this operation, this also applied to *precariat criminals* and *not-for-profit criminals*. *Not-for-profit criminals* strongly advocated work ethic, money-making and aspired for economic success and consumer goods, but maybe in a more legitimate sense that the *career criminals* and *apprentice criminals*. The attitudes expressed here suggested to me that prisoners were not necessarily concerned by the rehabilitative elements of orange-collar work; for them, it did not prepare them for the type of work that they aspired to do after prison whether this be legitimate work (starting their own businesses) or illegitimate work (robbery and drug dealing). For *career criminals* and *apprentice criminals*, orange collar work served to reinforce antipathy towards the

mainstream world of work and this may reassure them that re-entering the subterranean labour market is a more attractive option. But for the *not-for-profit criminals*, although they are likely to be less tempted to take on criminality as their full-time job, orange-collar work still does not prepare them for modern, realistic work outside of prison (e.g. the out-dated industry and a culture that may not be accepted in many mainstream jobs). They are likely to face further disappointment when we consider the aspirations that I have presented here; that of material possessions, economic success and business ownership- none of which are promoted or cultivated through orange-collar work.

The prisoners in this research aspire for more than low-skilled, low-paid jobs and orange-collar work does nothing to nurture these attitudes and turn them into something that may be useful for prisoners after release. Legitimate pathways to significant wealth are unattainable for most of the prisoners in my research. In this sense, crime is rational (particularly for *career criminals* and *apprentice criminals*), but unfortunately, the participants of this research have found themselves in prison and for most, this is not their first 'stretch on the inside' - clearly their careers in criminality have not always been successful. They are no more a part of the elite of the criminal world than they are a part of the elite of the legitimate world. Prison work does nothing to change their trajectories in life and prison work fails to present any meaningful alternative.

Furthermore, according to Liebling et al. (2012), with regard to the privatisation of the penal system, private firms have 'a narrow model of offending and its treatment and may blur the boundaries between responsibilisation and punishment. They are uncritical and can be highly mechanical. Many liberal governors think that the Prison Service has moved away from 'doing things that matter for prisoners and that a form of economic rationalism has started to

dominate, where a business case rather than a moral case is made for interventions (and everything else)' (Liebling et al. 2012, p. 22). This is reflected in the statistics of recidivism that illustrate the prisons poor record for reducing reoffending (Prison Reform, 2013)- 47 per cent of adults are reconvicted within 1 year of release and for those serving sentences of less than 12 months this increases to 58 per cent (Ministry of Justice, 2013b). My findings would agree with Liebling et al. (2012); it would seem that, as this work does little in the form of rehabilitation and enhancing prisoners' employability, the 'business case' dominates this intervention.

10.8. Conclusion

> Labour power is the human capacity to work on nature with the use of tools to produce things for the satisfaction of needs and the reproduction of life. Labouring is not a universal tranhistorical changeless human activity. It takes on specific forms and meanings in different societies. The processes through which labour power comes to be subjectively understood and objectively applied and their interrelationships is of profound significance for the type of society which is produced and the particular nature and formation of its classes. These processes help to construct both the identities of particular subjects and also distinctive class forms at the cultural and symbolic level as well as at the economic and structural level' (Willis, 1977, p.2).

Whilst I found many similarities within my own research to what Paul Willis (1977) found amongst the 'lads' in his research, I conclude that orange-collar workers are not 'learning to labour', well at least not in a traditional, legitimate sense. It did not prepare criminals for working class jobs, if anything, for some, I found that it acted as a deterrent from the real world of work. After spending ten months in Bridgeville I concluded that generally speaking, private prison work does very little to encourage or facilitate prisoners in developing skills or an ethos that will be useful for them with regard to legitimate employment after prison. Orange-collar work prepares them for industries that are quickly disappearing from the British labour market and it advocates a workplace culture involving masculinity, crude humour and a social, relaxed working environment all of which are also disappearing from modern work. Thus, orange-collar work only serves to prepare prisoners for conducting

boring, monotonous work. It gives them an insight into the low-skilled, low-paid job market that they are destined to enter if they pursue legitimate options. Several researchers note that this new workforce inside prison ironically also produces competition for these prisoners when they leave prison if they do decide to enter the labour market upon release (as prison workshop take jobs from outside prison and move them in). So, of the limited manufacturing work that is available in the UK much of this is moving inside prisons (Lafer, 1999; Standing, 2013).

However, the difficulties that prisoners will face in the legitimate labour market only apply *if* prisoners decide to enter it at all. I argue that orange-collar work instead epitomises everything that these individuals do not want from life and thus promotes criminality as an alternative career option (in order to take part in the 'unbridled consumerism' that Fleming (2013) refers to). Armed with materialistic ideals, an entrepreneurial spirit and in pursuit of vast sums of money, this work is not sufficient in helping them become 'successful' and part of the embourgeoisement that they so wish to be included in.

This work does perform a purpose for prisoners, the immediate purpose of getting them out of their cells, allowing them to socialise and, as illustrated in chapter 9 (on the prisoner bureaucracy), it can (for some) be empowering and improve the confidence of some prisoners. This thesis calls into question the philosophy of prison privatisation and the involvement of private firms and corporate profit in prison work. Orange-collar work acts as little more than a 'time filler' for prisoners. This thesis displays the exploitation of prisoners as a labour resource and yet the work does little to rehabilitate or train the individuals concerned. Prisoners largely welcome it as a distraction from prison life but this does not make the work worthwhile or valuable and it does not give them a positive vision for their

post-release lives. Prisoners consent to their exploitation because work is an arena for sociability and an alternative to inactivity and boredom. It is prisoners who bear the weight of the moral dilemmas raised by prison work.

11. Conclusion

11.1. Introduction

In this final chapter I will first provide a précis of this thesis referring briefly to the methodological choices but focusing on the findings of the research. This summary will follow with the research's contribution to knowledge. I will then outline the potential implications of the research, particularly with regard to policy, before discussing some suggestions for potential future research that would advance and develop the findings of this thesis. Finally I will provide some concluding thoughts on this research.

11.2. Synopsis of Thesis

This thesis has discussed the ethnography that I conducted between 2012 and 2013 in Bridgeville, a UK based private prison. I have discussed, in detail, the research process and the methodological choices: ten months of ethnographic observations (participant and non-participant) combined with forty semi-structured interviews with prisoners and a handful of interviews with Bridgeville management, Bridgeville workshop instructors and operations managers of two private companies contracting work to Bridgeville. I have discussed how these particular research methods played an integral role within this research and whilst they were incredibly beneficial and proved most suitable to deal with the research aims, it is clear that these methods did not come without flaws. Particular issues resulting from these methods needed to be acknowledged and overcome, for example, the issue of danger and anxiety for the lone female researcher.

The findings chapters within this thesis begin with an overview of Bridgeville and the orange-collar workshops. This chapter provides the details of the environment that I studied

in order to provide context to the research findings and the analysis. This chapter presents Bridgeville, and the wider prison environment in which the orange-collar workers reside. It discusses the procedures and structures of Bridgeville and the variety of work and education available to prisoners. The chapter then looks specifically at the orange-collar workshops detailing the work conducted in each workshop.

The ensuing chapter moves away from the orange-collar workshop and takes a more focused look at the orange-collar workers themselves. The chapter provides details about specific participants to provide some narrative to the individual experiences of orange-collar workers. This chapter explores orange-collar workers' identities and the way that they attempt to distance themselves from the stigmatised identity of 'prisoner' and 'criminal' by drawing on their socially accepted selves of 'father' or 'hard worker'. I explore the way that their identities are not confined and locked inside Bridgeville, rather, their identities permeate the prison walls. The chapter then looks at the different types of orange-collar workers identified inside the workshops: the *career criminal*, the *apprentice criminal*, the *not-for-profit criminal*, the *criminal precariat* and finally, the *pariah criminals*. This categorisation of orange-collar workers is not exhaustive but helps to illustrate the different characters in the workshops and builds an understanding of what brings these particular orange-collar workers to Bridgeville and how they get on with prison work.

The next chapter applies these categorisations to the reasons why prisoners choose to enter the orange-collar workshops which included: normality and routine, time out of their prison cell, financial rewards and the opportunity to socialise. The chapter focuses on the experience of boredom and monotony in the workshop due to the inconsistency of the volume of work available and the unskilled nature of the work. Although this work was considered boring

amongst many orange-collar workers, it was considered less boring than the alternative of being locked in a prison cell: the 'catch 22' of orange-collar work. The chapter also explores, drawing on Roy's (195) 'Banana Time', how prisoners break up the working day and provide themselves with some structure in an attempt to pass time. This chapter attempts to start building a picture of the redundancy of prison work as a rehabilitative tool and illustrate its more useful function as an instrument to help pass time in prison, despite the fact that it often induces additional feelings of boredom.

In the next chapter, chapter 8, this thesis moves towards a more cultural exploration of the orange-collar workshop which provides an understanding of the humour used in the workshop. Humour in the workshop performs many functions, not least a distraction from work and prison and an attempt to pass time as discussed in the previous chapter. Humour was used in the workshop as a coping mechanism, to reduce boredom, to exert masculinity, to challenge authority and to perform the juxtaposing functions of enhancing group conformity as well as status. This chapter demonstrates the usefulness of work in helping to pass prisoners time. Work may not provide much value with regard to post prison employment preparation but it can provide an opportunity to socialise and 'have a laugh'.

I then move to a discussion of the structural make-up of the workshop- the prisoner bureaucracy. I explore the role of quality controllers, technicians and standard orange-collar workers and how the different responsibilities and pay grades effect the workshop environment and can create a hostile working environment for some orange-collar workers. It cannot be assumed that applying a workplace structure that is used in an organisational setting outside prison can be successfully transferred to the prison workshops. Goffman (1961) is used here to illustrate the way in which the work setting inside prison differs greatly

from the workplace outside prison where workers are able to leave their work and their colleagues at the end of the day, where their work, sleep and play are separated. This chapter demonstrates how prison work takes place in a suffocating environment where these three factors of our lives intersect, which can often lead to conflict and tension with little room to escape. The hierarchical roles have implications for all prisoners in the workshop no matter what their status. This chapter demonstrates that the prisoner bureaucracy primarily serves the prison in attempting to ensure work is completed quickly and to a high standard. It does not necessarily help in preparing prisoners for work outside of the total institution.

The final findings chapter, chapter 10, attempts to provide some additional cohesion to chapters 5-9. I illustrate the redundancy of the specific industry in which prisoners are gaining experience- manufacturing. I then draw attention to another possible industry in which prisoners may attempt to gain employment after prison- the service sector (due to its growth). However, the cultural norms of the orange-collar workshops (masculine, crude humour and leisure at work) do not transfer well to the service sector working environment (McDowell, 2013). I note prisoners' pessimism of this work as a form of rehabilitation with the exception of the Waste Management Department where prisoners were more enthusiastic about gaining employment in a related industry outside prison. All of this mostly demonstrates what orange-collar work does *not* do for prisoners. I then move on to discuss what it *does* do- prepare prisoners for low-paid, low-skilled, boring work. However, the participants of this research expressed materialistic values and entrepreneurial spirits and aspirations to become business owners; these desires cannot be fulfilled by low paid, low skilled work. And, given prisoners exposure to criminal activity and illegitimate ways of creating profit, criminality can seem like a more viable option to pursue to achieve their desired lifestyles. Opting for criminality allows prisoners to identify with a consumerist

culture and embody a type of embourgeoisement. Chapter 10 concludes that orange-collar work does little to disrupt the criminal behaviours and does not attempt to direct entrepreneurial attitudes in a positive way. In sum, the rehabilitative purposes of orange-collar work are redundant and this research finds that it only serves the purposes of occupying prisoners and increasing the profits of Bridgeville and the private companies contracting this work.

11.3. Evaluating the Contributions of this research

This research provides a number of original contributions to knowledge which have been organised under three headings- empirical, theoretical and practical. This section outlines the research's contributions to academia and implications for social policy.

11.3.1. Empirical Contributions

- This research provides a detailed ethnography of a feature of prison life that has been ignored by previous prison ethnographies – the role of work in prison life and its use as a form of labour market rehabilitation. This is the first ethnography conducted on privately contracted work in a privatised prison in the UK.

- This is the first study that has provided detailed thick description of the prisoners who carry out contract work on behalf of private companies in a prison-work environment. It provides an understanding of the nuanced culture of prisons – the humour, different types of criminal identities and status hierarchies amongst prisoners. This study, through its ethnographic approach, was able to reveal how the life of a prisoner is shaped both by the experience of being confined within a total institution and also fundamentally informed by criminal, class and local affiliations beyond the prison – thus adapting Goffman's (1961) understanding of total institutions.

- This research provides a journalistic style reportage of how prisoners cope with the demands of being confined within prison and the role of work in this whole process of coping.

- This research contributes to the understanding of how work can (or more accurately cannot) rehabilitate prisoners and encourage them to give up a life of crime.

11.3.2. Theoretical Contributions

- This research utilises an interdisciplinary approach and thus, a key contribution is the bridging of the literature between the sociology of prison and studies of work, particularly the 'New Sociology of Work' (Glucksmann, 1995; Pettinger et al., 2006). There is a notable gap in our understanding of privately contracted work in prison. Prison life has certainly been scrutinised and studied by sociologists but considerations about privately contracted prison work are often subservient to criminological issues of prison life. In effect what this research aims to do is create something of a synthetic disciplinary fusion between the study of work and the study of prison.

- An ethnographic contribution to emerging literature on the mainstreaming of criminal careers. This research builds on the work of Dick Hobbs (2013) who identifies neo-liberal, hedonistic, entrepreneurial attitudes amongst a criminal subculture. I identify these same attitudes amongst many members of the prison population – forming a type of embourgeoisement of the criminal class and I provide an analysis as to how this process reinforces the pull of a criminal rather than legitimate, non-criminal career path.

However, there are implications for this research beyond academia. This research can be utilised to inform current debates around prison work and the involvement of private firms and can subsequently be used to inform policy. I will discuss this in greater detail in the following section.

11.3.3. Practical Contributions

My intention is not to propose specific policies or discourses designed to change or improve practice. More modestly, this thesis aims to provide an insight into modern prison work incorporating prisoners' perspectives of this work which is most often absent from much political and social discussion surrounding prison work, particularly when it involves private firms. More than this though, discussion surrounding prison work does not always involve insider descriptions of the specific nature of this type of privately contracted work. Therefore, it is hoped that this research can open more informed dialogue with regard to policy towards prison work.

This research has posed some difficult questions with regard to the conduct of privately contracted prison work. Whilst the study does not specifically ask the question 'does this work, work?' It does present the type of work that prisoners conduct, what prisoners think of conducting this work and this does allow the researcher to draw on the current changes in the labour market to deduce how prisoners could potentially benefit from this work, or, as the case may be, *not* benefit from this work in a practical sense. This research is qualitative in nature, exploratory and only specific to Bridgeville and thus is not generalizable for all prison work. Nevertheless, this research can still be utilised to inform the development of prison work.

First and foremost, I must echo previous research on prison work (Cooper and King, 1964; Simon, 1999; Piacentini, 2002) and suggest that the purpose of prison labour lacks any clear definition. Previous literature, the rhetoric within government policy and this research highlight the confused and contradictory purpose of prison labour. Without understanding what this work is for, prisoners are left to draw their own conclusions which resulted in the majority of prisoners in this research describing prison work as 'slave labour' or 'something to pass the time'; viewing prison work in a way that is unlikely to develop an environment that can be rehabilitative for prisoners.

Simon (1999b) suggested that the reliance on privately contracted prison work should be reduced to the absolute minimum due to its inefficiency to improve prisoners' skills, rehabilitation and employability. I would go further and suggest that not only is this work not practically helpful but it also does not induce a cultural environment in which prisoners can benefit. They are stuck in a time warp enduring a macho cultural environment with confusing and conflicting hierarchical structures whilst conducting boring, monotonous and largely redundant work.

Simon (1999b) argued that 'prisons should not aim to use inmates' labour primarily for profit, and prison managers should not seek the participation of the private sector in the expectation that gaining it will solve their problems' (Simon, 1999, p. 194). I wholeheartedly agree with Simon's (1999b) recommendations but I cannot help but feel fatalistic about the future of prison work and the direction that it may take given the exceptional growth in the privatisation of prisons in the UK where currently fourteen of the UK's prisons are run by private firms (HM Prison Service, 2014). With this being the case it would be difficult to suggest prison work should not seek to primarily focus on profit as the Deputy Director

explained to me that the majority of Bridgeville's profits were made through prison work and this is increasingly and deplorably becoming the focus of the penal system.

Nevertheless, this is not to say that prison work cannot be utilised to improve prisoners' employability. If used to harness the entrepreneurial attitudes of prisoners that were presented in the previous chapter and/or provide a clear and fluid link between work inside prison and work on the outside, prison work could possibly have a more positive impact and could be used as more than a place for prisoners to pass time.

11.4. Limitations and Recommendations for Further research

As with all research, there are limitations with this thesis, many of which have been outlined and reflected upon in the methodology chapter. This section will outline one further limitation of this research and suggest where we could go from here with regard to further research. One of the main defeats of this thesis was the difficulty in accessing private firms to interview in order to gather a more holistic understanding of privately contracted prison work. This was not the focus of the research and whilst accessing private firms was difficult, it was not impossible, however time spent following this up was time spent away from the prison. I made the decision to focus this research on the prisoners themselves which meant that the private firms and the profit element of prison work became supplementary. Bearing this in mind, there are two key areas in which I think this research could be developed.

Firstly, my initial interest in privately contracted prison labour was the ethical issues regarding profit in the exploitation of prisoners. As this could not be fully tackled in this research, it would be interesting to follow the profit of privately contracted work both in terms of the profit generated by the prison and for the savings achieved by the private contracts. This thesis has concluded that, broadly speaking, the work provided by private

firms does little to rehabilitate prisoners and provide them with better opportunities for work on release.

Therefore, exploring this initiative from the perspective of the private firms would further develop an understanding of this initiative. I was able to interview two private firms but I would suggest that these interviews could be undertaken on a much larger scale and could be the focus of an alternative research project that attempts to understand the financial aspects of privately contracted prison work, the generation of profit and the motives behind this collaboration.

And secondly, the discussions and ideas presented in this research, particularly the final findings chapter 'Learning *Not* to Labour' would naturally lead to further research plans that advance the ideas around attitudes towards work outside of prison and the alternative to legitimate work- criminality. It would be interesting to explore the mainstreaming of crime amongst those individuals within this PhD research. The overwhelming concern of this research has been how prison work prepares individuals for life and work outside prison which I understood to be reinforcing criminality - 'Learning to Labour' in criminality (with the exception of helping prisoners to pass time). This research argues that work in the total institution is of no great benefit to prisoners, instead, it has the ability to reinforce antipathy towards traditional work. As such, I think the most interesting area for further research would be to continue the stories I have presented here once these prisoners have been released. What will happen to prisoners like Jonesy or Nelson? Will Jonesy attempt to return to his community and search for legitimate work, working on the railways as he suggested in order to stay clear of prison for his son? Or will he return to the work in which he has greater experience, greater opportunities to make larger sums of money and connections to ease his

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transition- dealing in stolen goods. Or young prisoners like Luke- with an eager desire to become an entrepreneur. Will he achieve this in the legitimate labour market? Or will he use the contacts that he has made in prison to develop his career in the subterranean labour market/the criminal world? Will they be rejected by the mainstream labour market? And likewise, will they themselves renounce this world too? For me, this PhD only provides a part of their story and these stories are worthy of greater exploration.

Prison life and subsequently prison work is preparing these individuals for an alternative career and it is important to pick up these stories as it will suggest to me (as well as previous researchers such as Dick Hobbs (2013)) that they will be entering a society where, for them, crime is a part of the mainstream labour market- and it's a lucrative one.

11.5. Concluding Thoughts

This PhD research raises some serious questions over the purpose of prison work and highlights that, as it currently stands, it can send individuals out of prison even more disenchanted with the prospect of legitimate work than they were when they entered. The culture and structure of the workshop as well as the very nature of the work does little in equipping prisoners with skills and experience that will be useful for them in terms of future employment and deterring them from crime. This thesis draws attention to the way in which the 'business case' is prioritised over the 'moral case' (Liebling, 2012) as was illustrated candidly by Bill, a prisoner from Workshop 4 who, through handling the paperwork in his workshop, carefully observed just how useful he was to Bridgeville rather than vice versa. The following quote from Bill captures some of the key ideas presented in this thesis about the contradictions and challenges of being an orange-collar worker:

> It's all bullshit. All it is, is for Bridgeville to make money off of it. It's not going to rehabilitate you; it's just to make money off of you…They pay me £15 a week to do a job they charge £43 for- for one pallet… I wish I'd thought of it before I stabbed my

missus….I could have started my own jail, I could be a millionaire by now…I wish I'd thought of it, cracking idea. You've got clients who are always going to come back all the time…there's a quicker turnover than McDonalds here. Boys are let out, they're out and then they come back in, out, back in, longer sentences, longer sentence, it's a money making scheme (Bill (44yrs old), Workshop 4).

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Int	Name	Workshop	Age	Job before prison	Sentence	Previous
1	Neil	1	48	Leisure Maintenance	2 ½ years	0
2	Jamie	1	22	No (prev. labouring)	3 ½ years	6
3	Jake	1	22	Mechanic	4 ½ years	2
4	Nathan	1	26	No (prev. construction)	2 years 8mnths	3
5	Mackenzie	1	18	Tyre Fitting	1 year	0
6	Kane	2	22	No	5 years	0
7	Jermaine	1	18	No	7 years	0
8	Ethan	1	19	No	2 years 4 mnths	1
9	Joe	1	39	Motor Mechanic	2 years 1 mnth	3 or 4
10	Ryan	2	25	No	2 years	17
11	Mark	2	33	No	3 years	7 or 8
12	John	2	42	Demolition	4 years	0
13	Matt	2	20	No	2 ½ years	2
14	Dan	2	30	Carer	2 years	0
15	Lori	2	24	Window Cleaner	3 years 5 mnths	2
16	Brian	2	43	No	3 ½ years	6
17	Jonesy	3	24	No	2 years 2 mnths	16
18	Liam	3	24	No	3 ½ years	10 or 11
19	Alex	3	25	Manufacturing	3 years 4 mnths	15

Appendices

Appendix A: Table of Participants

20	Kyle	3	26	Labouring	3 years 8 mnths	0
21	Gurdeep	3	26	Fruit and Veg seller	3 ½ years	0
22	Gwilym	3	31	No	4 ½ years	3
23	Bobby	3	48	Self-employed	2 ½ years	0
24	Richard	2	56	Self-employed (café)	4 years	1
25	Luke	2	21	Estate agent	5 years	1
26	Roberts	2	31	Labouring (off books)	3 years 9 mnths	0
27	Carl	4	51	unknown	2 ½ years	5
28	Ben	4	27	Supermarket staff	4 years	0
29	Nelson	4	27	No	1 year 4 mnths	5
30	Rhys	4	28	No	IPP. Done 6years	0
31	Michael	4	22	No	3 years	3
32	Will	4	25	No	5 years	8
33	Lewis	WM	48	Construction (agency)	4 years	0
34	Jack	WM	28	Plasterer	2 years 5 mnths	14
35	Anthony	WM	25	No	4 ½ years	5
36	Louis	WM	27	No	1 ½ years	0
37	Aaron	WM	32	No	2 ½ years	20
38	Mo	4	26	Waiter	2 years 5 months	5
39	Bill	3	44	Railway fitter (ex-marine)	8 years	0
40	Adam	WM	28	Recycling	8 years	0

Appendix B: Interview Schedule: Prisoner Participants

Interview Schedule

- Name
- Age
- Wing
- How long is your sentence
- Have you been to prison before? If so, how many times?
- Where do you work in the prison?
- What other jobs have you done inside prison- other prisons? Bridgeville prison?
- Did you work before coming to prison? If so, what did you do?
- What is your pay in prison?
- What do you think of work (generally)?

1. So tell me about the work you do, your role in the workshop? What do you do on a daily basis?

2. What do you think about the work you do, how do you feel about it?

3. Do you like the work? Is there a job you would prefer? Or a job you would particularly not like to do?

4. Rank jobs

5. How did you get this job?

6. What is the atmosphere like in the workshop?

7. Do you have any qualifications

8. Would you rather spend your day in your cell or would you rather work full time? Why?

9. What passes the time most quickly? How do you make time go more quickly during your working hours?

10. What is your relationship with your instructor like? What do you think the other prisoners think of the instructor? Do you think this relationship is important?

11. Do you have QC's and technicians in your workshop? What do you think of them?

12. What do you think of these hierarchies in the workshop? Do you think they are beneficial or problematic?

13. What do you think of your pay?

14. Do you know much about the private contract you work for?

15. What do you think about privately contracted work?

16. Do you think that the work you do in prison will help you get a job on the outside?

17. What would your ideal job be on the outside?

18. Do you plan on working when you leave prison? What are you hoping to do?

Appendix C: Interview Task for Prisoner Participants: Ranking Prison Work and Activities

Ranking

- ➢ Wing Job…………………………………………………….. ☐
- ➢ Enterprise Workshops………………..…………………… ☐
- ➢ Vocational Workshops (Painting and Decorating, Carpentry…) ☐
- ➢ Education……………………………………………………. ☐
- ➢ Outside Job…………………………………………………... ☐
- ➢ Library……………………………………………………….. ☐
- ➢ Waste Management ………………………………………… ☐
- ➢ Laundry……………………………………………………….. ☐
- ➢ Staff Canteen………………………………………………… ☐

Ranking from Enterprise

- ➢ Workshop 2- Crashco…………………… ☐
- ➢ Workshop 3- Booksmart…..…………….. ☐
- ➢ Workshop 4- Pullem…………………. ☐
- ➢ Workshop 5- Flushco and Teapacking... ☐

Appendix D: Consent Forms for Prisoner Participants

CARDIFF BUSINESS SCHOOL
RESEARCH ETHICS

Consent Form –

The aim of this proposed research is to examine prisoners' employment, particularly within private industries.

I understand that my participation in this project will involve the observation of my day to day life whilst living within the prison system, particularly the work that I do. I agree to participate in a semi structured interview and complete a piece of writing in which I will talk about my experience of work in prison.

I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that I am free to ask questions at any time. If for any reason I have second thoughts about my participation in this project, I am free to withdraw.

I understand that the information provided by me will be held confidentially and securely, such that only the researcher can trace this information back to me individually. The information will be retained for up to 1 year and will then be anonymised, deleted or destroyed. I understand that if I withdraw my consent I can ask for the information I have provided to be anonymised/deleted/destroyed in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I, _____(NAME) consent to participate in the study conducted by Jenna Pandeli, PhD student at Cardiff Business School, Cardiff University, under the Supervision of Dr Mike Marinetto

Signed:

Date:

Appendix E: Example Interview Transcript

<u>Interview 17- Jonesy- Workshop 3</u>

Jenna: How long have you been in and how long have you got left?

Interviewee: I've been in 10 months and I've got 3 months left. This is my 16th sentence

J: Coming back Jonesy?

I: Am I fuck. I don't know. When you live that life for so long, I'll never say never but the things I've got in place are gunna put me in good stead for when I get out. But, it's just that one thing, even the smallest thing that can just pull you straight back into that life so I never say never but hopefully I can do right by my kids and stay out. My family, they don't even ask me that question any more cos where I've let them down so much in the past they just say try and stay out of trouble.

I'm no. 1 in there aren't I, so I tells the boys 'you do that, you do that, you do that' and they say 'what are you doing' and I say 'fucking sitting here, drinking coffee'. Nah it's not like that, I do graft in there. Sometimes it is nice to sly off. I can't even use the excuse that I'm going for a fag anymore because I've given up. Say if I'm in the toilet talking to the boys and Glen comes up, I got to turn around and pretend I'm going to the toilet.

J: Have you worked anywhere apart from Workshop 3?

I: No, I've been in there since I come here. I've worked in different places on previous sentences. I was on the server and I've been to education and all that. I've been down there now for 9 months, that's good for me that is. Normally I'm like, 'fuck this, I'm going, I've had enough' but I've done good to stay down there this time. But do you know what it is, because I do work in there and my time flies, I think if I go somewhere else now, my routine is set now, I've been here nearly a year so I don't want to mess it up. Even though I get my days where I feel like smashing the room up and 'fuck this' I just think 'calm down, you'll be out soon, just keep your head down'.

J: What pay are you on?

I: £25

J: And did you have a job before you came to prison?

I: Nah

J: Have you worked before?

I: Yeah, I have in the past. I've worked in a restaurant, I've been a steel fixer

J: What restaurant did you work in?

I: Do you know NAMES RESTAURANT. I was only young, I was about 16. Basically what happened, I got a job in their on the weekend and obviously because I was playing up in

school they were trying to kick me out so I went to the head master and said listen I'll go there and do work experience because I'm already working there but it was good because even though I was on work experience I was still clocking my card in and I was getting paid for a full time. I enjoyed it there but there's 3 main bosses in there and when I was younger I was pure hot headed and they were screaming at me 'do this, do that!' and my own fucking father don't speak to me like that so I launched a load of plates across the kitchen and walked off. I went mad but as I've gotten older I tend to let it go. If it's something that I can't let go then I will fucking say but most of the time. I used to have pure pride when I was younger and I wouldn't walk away but now I think it takes a man to walk away from a fight. I will have a go but it's better to have no commotion than commotion. But I've done loads of work: floor laying, labouring and stuff like that. I've worked for a charity, NSPCC and dogs trust.

J: How long were you unemployed before you came in here?

I: I was only out 5 and a half weeks. 2010 was the last time I was employed, I was in memory lane bakery. I'm gunna go on the railways when I get out. My mate, we were together every day, we chill and that, he works on there and he says he'll lend me the money to do the course and his boss, cos I used to sell stolen goods to his boss, he said there's a job straight away on the crew with him and I've given up smoking so I won't smoke weed and that so I'll pass the drugs test, it's just getting into it. When I work in jail I do it because it makes my time go quick but when I'm out there, it's like I go to work and then I'm like 'I can't be bothered with this' so I need to try and keep that motivation to work. Really, I should have more motivation out there because of my kids and that but when I'm out there I think, I could make this money in half hour, what I would make in a week but I need to lose that mentality. Whenever I come to jai, since I was 15, I write stuff that's my escape, I write poems and verses and I do it every time but this time I've only wrote one piece and it's proper deep. I read it to my ex the other day and she was crying and I'm guna have it tattooed on my arm so that every day I'll see it. When I read it, I feels it in there (points to his chest) and I think 'yeah, fuck all that' and if I do have a tattooed on me and I get into trouble, I'm gunna look like a prick aren't I (laughs).

J: Tell me a bit about the work you do in the workshop?

I: Basically, we get car parts in for land rover and I've got to sort them all out, look through all the paper work- say if I got 10 pallets and there's five pallets of the same job and the other 5 are different, I'll bring in the 5 pallets of the same job and get them all done. What we tend to do is if there's a couple jobs on each pallet, if it's like bolts and that, 10,000 bolts or screws or whatever, because it will take longer, we leave that until the end so I've got to sort it all out, then we've got to label it, then we've got to wrap it then we've got to do the paper work and send it out and that's all we do.

J: What does the paper work involve?

I: You've just got to write what it is, like a bolt, the quantity, the part number on it, you've got a write a few things in the book, basically, you have to send it out properly don't you, there's certain ways on doing it. Say there's 2 jobs on one pallet, they're spare bits of paperwork but the pallet number has to be the same, it took me a while to learn. But I'm starting to teach NAME now as he's guna be the new one soon. Since NAME has gone home, I've been the only QC in there and when NAME was there, he (the instructor) wasn't giving all the boys on straps work but now it's me on my own he's giving like, there's like 4/5

Partpro jobs going on at once and I'm getting swamped with paperwork and I'm like 'wow' and then when he says to me 'come on' I think 'what? You cheeky…I don't see you doing fuck all'

J: Who were the QCs before you?

I: NAME and NAME, they were there for about 2 years, 2 and a half years. I couldn't stay in there for 2 and a half years.

J: What do you think about the work you do in there?

I: It's shit. It's alright, it makes the time go quick, that's the only reason why I stay down there cos my time flies. I do from a Monday to a Friday and the weekend is just chill out time. They go so quick it's unbelievable, that's why I like it down here. If you sit on your ass all day doing nothing, it drags. I tried doing that when I first went down there and when I started grafting then and the time was going like that I thought 'oo ok', whereas before I wouldn't care, I'd rather sit there and it take ages and not do anything but now I'd rather work and the time flies. So, in that respect I think I'm going to be ok when I leave, we'll see.

J: Do you find it boring?

I: Yeah, it's just the same stuff. Even though it's different parts you still take it out, sticker it, make a box up, do all the paperwork it's just, I like a bit of excitement but I wouldn't move from there obviously with the timing situation. Say if I was working in the animal centre, that would be ideal for me because you're doing different stuff and you can interact with the animals and stuff, I'd like that. I swear to god, what day is it today, Monday. We had 33 pallets on Thursday morning, they were all done by yesterday afternoon. When they come in, we do fly them out and that's good that's when your time flies.

J: So what's your job like in comparison to other jobs here?

I: boring

J: More boring than other jobs here?

I: Yeah, I'm not saying every job- I wouldn't like to be smashing up computers and that, that would do my head in, or ripping pages out of books but there are jobs here- like wood work, you're getting something out of it, or staff canteen your cooking things. There's jobs you can do which are good but there's others…but basically I can't go to another job because they won't give me my low risk.

Explains that his young son said he didn't want to go on holiday with his nan. Jonesy rang his son and asked why and his son said it was because he wanted to go with him, with his dad. Jonesy said he cried over this and had to ring his son back. He said he can't keep doing this to his son "I was thinking about myself, you cunt, it's not nice".

J: Would you do this type of work on the outside?

I: Yeah, yeah, at the end of the day, before people would say 'go work in McDonald's' and I used to say 'fuck off, work in McDonald's? Who do you think I am?' but now I think 'why

not?' I'm earning money, my mates aint, they're standing outside the shop. At the end of the day, now I'd do anything, I think where I'm growing up, I'm getting more mature, I just want to do whatever.

JOB RANKING: Workshop 3 was low on the list

I: Cos down there, I'm in my routine aren't I, but this is what I would want to do and if I had the choice I wouldn't stay in there.

J: So for you you'd prefer a job outside, like the farm or the horticulture or something

I: Yeah, yeah. I'd like to come in here (woodwork) and make a little rocking chair for my son, but you're not allowed to do them no more. We don't get enough fresh air in here, I like the fresh air. I can't stand education. This jail is a fucking joke, in Bluetown Jail they do a railway course and all that, all these stupid courses like TSP (thinking skills) they're all bullshit and every other prisoner would say. If they had courses in here, like a proper qualified workshop painting and decorating, like the proper shit though, you'd see a change in offending. I've done my fair share of wing cleaning over the years. I don't like wing jobs anymore, you're constantly on the wing, you're on the wing or in your cell and it gets too much for me sometimes. I don't want to be on the wing all the time, I want to get out and about... The prison extorts prisoners, they do, it's like in that workshop, Partpro and Straps, they probably get paid, well I know they get paid a lot more than they pay us. When you first come in there and you're working part time, it's £5 a week for working 5 mornings, are you taking the piss, that's a pound a morning, fucking hell. You can't do nothing though can you.

J: How did you get your job here?

I: They just put me down here. I put an app in for any job and they just put me in there. Basically I was in education first and when that finished I said put me in any workshop. I was banned from all education so I had to come down here. Basically when I was in the nicking, the governor who was doing the nicking, I've known him for years, I walked in and he started laughing and said 'you're not gunna fuck me around are you?' I said 'nah' I said 'Listen, I would like the opportunity to apologise to the teacher if I was given it. And they took me off the list and I didn't know and I was swapped and put in a different classroom and they said you're not supposed to be in education.

J: What's the mood like in your workshop?

I: the mood? It's alright like, it's not too bad, we don't really have much commotion in there. Like when me and NAME were in there, me and NAME said what goes, to anyone, but now he's gone it's like me, my brother, it's like a handful of us, I'm not going to say we run the workshop but we have the last say

J: Just in terms of work or anything?

I: Anything, everything. If I say something and my boys are behind me, that's it. The officers, they haven't got a say really, well they can because they're officers but they tend to, if anything's happening, we tend to 'fucking sort it out boys'. Like calm in down and that.

J: Like NAME and NAME?

I: Well basically, they were having a fight and NAME was in the middle of them so me and NAME have run down there, NAME gripped the one kid, I've moved him out the way, so it's all drama but they gave us a lot of respect for that I think. They don't always show it but I know deep down, especially NAME, I never used to really like NAME but since that happened, we're alright.

J: Yeah cos NAME didn't get on with NAME either

I: No, but still, he's an old guy, we wouldn't see him try to break up a fight.

J: So how do you guys get last say?

I: Say there's 2 boys kicking off, we'll go over and say 'listen boys, fucking use your heads, there's cameras there, camera's there, use your head and calm down'. Cos it's gunna fuck everything up for us, we'll end up going back to the wing late and they listens to us. When I was first in there, they were cello taping the straps so they were quite hard and launching them and one of them hit me in the head so I fucking just picked up the chair, I ran up to the toilet and I was going 'who was that! I'll smash your head in!' and ever since that day they all think he's fucking nuts. And everyone in that workshop is twice the size of me and I ran there with the chair and put it on all of them and no one said nothing, since then people know. I get my days sometimes and I think fuck this but everyone do don't they.

J: Do you think it helps being told by another boy, rather than an instructor?

I: Yeah, because obviously I'm the same as them, we're all prisoners, we're all serving time aren't we, obviously people in our situation, criminals, we naturally have a problem with authority and NAME and NAME, to us, are authority figures so obviously if I go over, I'll put it in a street way, and then they're like 'yeah, yeah, cool, cool'. NAME and NAME can't do that because they'd just get told to fuck off. At the end of the day, even though we sort of run the workshop and we got last say, really whatever NAME and NAME says, goes, unless you want to get nicked, lose your job or get a warning. We got an understanding and NAME knows, if there's something, I can just go and sort it out. NAME has his days and sometimes I think, fuck off like isn't it, I wouldn't say it to his face though, he's an old guy and I've got respect but NAME, once in s blue moon he'll piss me off, but I get on with NAME.

J: A lot of the boys don't like NAME, but the ones who do are the QCs and that, why do you think that is?

I: I think it's because I'm always in the office and that and I make all our coffees and that. And whatever happens in the workshop, whatever changes, he comes straight to me cos I'm number one. So we're always talking and that so, I wouldn't say we'd struck up a friendship but we understand each other. Whereas the boys, they'll be sat there doing nothing, there's always work on the table, and they won't be doing nothing and when he comes up and starts telling them to work they think 'aw the dick head'. There's work there so work! I went off on him the other day I said me and NAME, we're working our backsides off all day and I said there's boys up there doing nothing, playing hang man and you're on our case to work!' I said 'go and fucking talk to them!' but it's getting a little bit better in there. But I said either tell them or stick your job somewhere else.

J: It's probably easier for him to tell you because you have that good relationship than telling others that don't like him

I: Yeah, I see what you're saying because he knows that me and my boys, he'll tell me and I'll (get it done) if I go and say 'look boys listen, look busy, do a couple, take it slow, you don't have to belt it out just' and it's the boys so they're like 'yeah alright, safe' cos basically I says to the boys it comes back on me and they'll do it then cos they think it comes back on me

J: Is it hard having all that responsibility?

I: Nah, basically, I don't tell them what to do, say they don't know how to do something, I'll go and show them what to do but I'm not like NAME and NAME, I don't say 'do this now! You've got to do this!', I'd just say 'boys do me a favour' like that because at the end of the day, I'm the same as them, I'm a prisoner and I aint getting called fucking certain names by other prisoners like screw boy. There's none of that in my workshop, I've heard it myself (about others) but the way I do things in my workshop, that don't come into the boys minds and because some of them know me on the outside, they just know. Like there's having a joke, like 9 times out of 10 'oi screw boy' that's a joke but it's when prisoners think they've got to act like screws and that's when…I'm never gunna get to that stage and the boys know that. I don't give a fuck, if someone called me a grass, trust me, all my boys would be straight up and telling them because I've done jail for boys that they've done and I've never even been involved in, you just got to keep your mouth closed.

J: Do you think that makes your job easier maybe?

I: Yeah, yeah it does definitely.

J: Do you have any qualifications Jonesy?

I: Just NVQ level 1, maths and English

J: Would you rather spend your day in your cell or down here working?

I: Neither but both really. Like obviously, if I had £30 a week sent in to me, I would stay in my cell, I would stay in my cell all day. But after a while you get bored working, after a while you get bored of bang up but if it came down to it, I would prefer to stay in my cell but the answer I'm going to give is work because I need the money and to keep me busy. That covers me, I don't even spend that all week, I put like £6 on my phone buy a few things and still have a bit left over, but the money I get sent in, I save so sometimes I goes a bit wild and spends over, but that's once in a blue moon, treat myself.

J: What do you think passes the time most quickly while you're working?

I: just gets my head down, I don't focus on nothing else bar my work. Say if I got 20 boxes and there's 20 smaller boxes in those boxes, I got to take them all out, sticker them one by one and I'll focus on everyone, each box at a time, nothing else comes into my head, I just go 'bam bam bam, next one' and when it's done then, I'll have a little break.

J: Do you think having all the boys around helps? Having a laugh?

I: Yeah, that's the biggest part really, you've got to have a, like if you're in a workshop where you don't like no one and no one likes you, it's not good is it. Basically, it's me, my brother, NAME, NAME and NAME, there's a couple of us, we're cliquey but like everyone in the workshop all knows each other and we all have a laugh but even though we sort of stay in certain clicks there's no sort of 'ergh look at them' we're all like 'cool, yes boys'. Even the boys from the valleys, the Bluetown boys, the Jackston boys are like 'ergh you fucking Jack Bastards', 'ergh you Bluetown scum' but we joke about it, it's not malicious or nothing, it's good we can do that and have a laugh.

J: What do you think about technicans and QCs having different pay grades? Do you think it's a good thing?

I: Yeah I do, cos basically if you're all on the same wage but you're doing more work you're going to get pissed aint you. I'd rather do more work and get paid that little bit extra but that's just me like. It's something to work towards.

J: What do you think of your pay?
I: Shit, shit. For the amount of work I do and everyone will say the exact same thing to you. If there's one person saying 'yeah, it's alright' they're lying. Trust me, the pay is shit. And I know they probably get paid 4 or 5 times that amount for one person, I could go on all day about this extortion. They extort us, the canteen is pure expensive, phone credit, even if you're on a house phone, it'll rinse your credit and you're working for peanuts and they just take it off you. I can't wait to go home. I've been coming to this jail since I was 15 and it's always been the same.

J: Who pisses you off is it the companies or the prison?

I: No it's the prison isn't it, they determine the pay, they determine how much we get paid. For the amount we get paid I mean, I sent out 33 pallets in 2 days, in 2 days we did that, and they can't even give us a little drop, fucking hell. That's the only thing that pisses me off

J: So you don't really have a problem with the private companies that come in

I: No, cos no one knows them.

J: Do you know much about Pullem or Partpro?

I: No, not really, I know the straps go on the carts for Tesco and I know Partpro are Landrover parts but I don't know where they go or where they come from.

J: So what do you think about privately contracted work?

I: I don't really know to be honest. Well basically, we can't do nothing. They profit hugely off of us so obviously they could for the boys that do work, give us a little bonus or whatever at the end of the month or a couple of quid at the end of the week. Fuck them.

J: If they weren't here you might not have anything to do all day, would that bother you?

I: Nah it wouldn't, honestly if I could sit in my cell and someone sent me £30 a week I would sit in my cell.

J: Do you think there is anything in the work that could help you get a job on the outside?

I: Nah. That's my opinion, I don't. It's just putting stickers on stuff and sending it out isn't it. It's just to make my time go quicker

J: What type of work do you want to do when you leave?

I: Anything, I don't mind, I just need to provide for my kids so I'll take anything, you can't let your pride get the better of you when you've got two kids, you've got to do what's right for them, not what you desire.

J: If you could pick your ideal job, what would you want to do?

I: Um realistic now? I would like to work abroad on oil rigs cos that's good money or work on the railways or with asbestos cos that's good money all that stuff but really I do want to go on the oil rigs because you do 2 weeks on, 2 weeks off or 1 month on, 1 month off and you get paid, so I'm going to have a look at it when I get out.

J: What do you think you'll be doing when you get out?

I: On the railways. We'll see when we get out. Only time will tell

52 minutes 15 seconds

Appendix F: Email to Private Firms

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Jenna Pandeli and I have a research student at Cardiff Business School. I am currently conducting research within Bridgeville prisons industries department for my PhD thesis.

My research aims to explore prison work and the growth of private firms involvement in this work. I have been observing the workshops for approximately 9 months now and I have conducted 40 interviews with Bridgeville prisoners in order to understand their views on conducting this work.

I would love to include the perspective of the private companies that are pioneering this work, such as yourself a well as a handful of other companies contracting to Bridgeville prison. If you could spare a few moments of your time to answer a few questions I have this would be much appreciated. The questions will ask about your experience of working with these contracts and how you made the decision to become involved in this scheme. This would greatly contribute to academic knowledge and it is hoped that this could go somewhere toward shaping this regime.

I would be happy to discuss this further with you and the questions can either be answered over the phone or I would be happy to come to you and answer these questions in person.

If you would could reply to this email and let me know what would be best for you, that would be great.

Thank you Kindly

Jenna Pandeli
Doctoral Student
Cardiff Business School
Cardiff University
CF10 3EU

Appendix G: Interview Schedule. Private Firms

- Company:
- Person's role in company:
- Date:

1. When did your company start contracting to Bridgeville?

2. How did you come to start contracting to this prison?

3. How have you found the experience so far?

4. What do you think about the quality of the work produced? Is it equivalent to the work that can be done on the outside? Better/worse?

5. Have you visited the workshop? If so, what did you think?

6. What made you decide to contract into the prison?

7. What do you think about working prisoners?

8. Do you think this work is beneficial for the prisoners?

9. What do you think motivates most companies to use prison work?

10. Do you know what the prisoners are paid? Do you have any say in this?

11. Do you think a follow up scheme (providing work for prisoners after prison) would be useful for your company or even possible?

Appendix H: Consent Form- Private Firm

CARDIFF BUSINESS SCHOOL
RESEARCH ETHICS
Consent Form –

The aim of this research is to understand the privately contracted work that is conducted by prisoners. The research aims to understand this phenomenon from the perspective of both the prisoner and the firms involved.

I agree to participate in a semi-structured interview. This will involve answering a handful of questions related to the company's involvement in prison work.

I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that I am free to ask questions at any time. If for any reason I have second thoughts about my participation in this project, I am free to withdraw.

I understand that the information provided by me will be held confidentially and securely, such that only the researcher can trace this information back to me individually. The information will be retained for up to 1 year and will then be anonymised, deleted or destroyed. I understand that if I withdraw my consent I can ask for the information I have provided to be anonymised/deleted/destroyed in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I, _____(NAME) consent to participate in the study conducted by Jenna Pandeli, PhD student at Cardiff Business School, Cardiff University, under the Supervision of Dr Mike Marinetto.

Signed:

Date:

Appendix I: Meeting with Deputy Director and Industries Manager at Bridgeville- notes from the meeting

Bridgeville Questions- Final Matters

1. **How is the smoking ban going?**
   NOT IMPLEMENTED YET. One prisoner actually complained to the government that Bridgeville was breaking the law as they and all other welsh prisons had not implemented a smoking ban when legally they are obliged to. Deputy Director says this should give it a push again.

2. **How many staff members do you currently have?**
   650

3. **How many prisoners do you currently have?**
   1399 (+75 coming next week) soon capacity of 2000

4. **Legislation- what are the rules set by the government with regard to private firms utilising prison labour?**
   There is no actual legislation that says anything about displacing workers on the outside but One3One solutions (the government industries department) does suggest that it is the prisons corporate social responsibility to ensure that they avoid this. They have a social obligation to protect outside workers and industries.

5. **What is the motive here behind prison work? Is the work here based on punishment/ rehabilitation/occupying prisoners/profit/ a mixture or simply just a standard part of prison**
   Rehabilitation. The Deputy Director said that she believed that the workshops were rehabilitative- they provided prisoners with a skill set that they haven't already got and it also provides them with a work ethic- to get out of bed every morning and go to work.

6. **Do you monitor how profitable each workshop is?**
   Yes- monitor costs

7. **Why do you think companies contract here?**
   Struggle to find people outside to do the work as it was so monotonous

8. **How are contract prices agreed?**
   Informally- some companies approach Bridgeville with a suggested price others come and find out what Bridgeville can offer. Contracts are usually arranged informally- often through word of mouth and on a relatively local basis.

9. **How much does each workshop earn? How much does Bridgeville make in the privately contracted work here?**
   NOMS doesn't even know- commercially confidential information so they wouldn't tell me

10. Is work compulsory? What are the consequences of obtaining employment/remaining unemployed? Prisoners I spoke to seemed confused about this
Yes- work is compulsory- prisoners will face a disciplinary if they refuse to work (or participate in education).

11. How quickly after arrival are prisoners put into employment?
Around 2 weeks

12. When prisoners start in the workshop, they usually start off as part time- how long does it usually take before they go fulltime?
It depends how well the worker is doing

13. What are the pay rates currently for each job-they were changing as I left?
Wages didn't change- only enhanced wages went down to £28

14. And do you have a list of the wages of non-workshop jobs such as cleaners etc.?
Cleaners' wages are £12- usually less than industries because they believe that they are not being rehabilitated on the wings and in industries there is the opportunity for rehabilitation

15. How many prisoners work in the industries department?
270

87% of Bridgeville prisoners are in employment- bearing in mind that of the remaining 13%- most are remand prisoners or prisoners who are actually unable to work

Appendix J: Ethical Approval Form

Cardiff Business School *Cardiff University* **Ysgol Fusnes Caerdydd** *Prifysgol Caerdydd*

FULL ETHICAL APPROVAL FORM (STAFF/PhD STUDENTS) or students referring their form for a full ethical review

If your research will involve patients or patient data in the NHS then you should secure approval from the NHS National Research Ethics Service. Online applications are available on http://www.nres.npsa.nhs.uk/applicants/

Name of Lead Researcher : Jenna Pandeli

School: Cardiff Business School

Email: Pandelij@cf.ac.uk

Names of other Researchers:

Email addresses of other Researchers :

Title of Project:

The Employment of Prisoners in Private Industries

Start and Estimated End Date of Project: October 2011- October 2014

Aims and Objectives of the Research Project:

This study aims to explore prisoners' relationship with work and employment, particularly the employment of prisoners by private firms. This will be achieved by gaining access to a number of prisons within the UK that are collaborating with private firms with regard to prison work. The prisoners themselves will be studied to gain an insight into their perspectives on the work that they do. The companies employing them will also be a key focus of the research to gain an understanding of their contribution to this initiative and their perspectives of their participation. Finally, those that manage the working environment of the prisoners (whether this be prison guards of trainee providers from the private firms) will also be key to exploring this initiative.

Please indicate any sources of funding for this project:

ESRC

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1. Describe the methodology to be applied in the project

This research proposes using an exploratory, qualitative approach, allowing inductive theoretical insights that are closely grounded in real experiences. Qualitative research methods are flexible which will be beneficial due to sometimes unstructured lifestyle of the workers in this setting.

Observational methods will be the primary method used and this will be coupled with semi structured interviews and essay writing. The essay writing will supplement the discussion generated from the other research techniques. Unlike discussion, essay writing gives individuals an opportunity to express their conception of given topics in a rather formulated way: when

composing an essay, people usually think before writing. Furthermore, in this research environment discussion cannot be recorded and therefore whilst notes can be taken throughout the research, the essays will provide something more tangible. A mixed method approach will be used to allow each method to complement each other.

The study will involve regular visits to the chosen prisons and private companies over a two year period, this is likely to be around twice a week initially and as the research progresses to the later stages, this will reduce.

2. **Describe the participant sample who will be contacted for this Research Project. You need to consider the number of participants, their age, gender, recruitment methods and exclusion/inclusion criteria**

have been contacted to participate in this research. Three prisons are currently being explored to decipher whether they can be used as the basis of the research. If so, prisoners from within these institutions will be the main participants as well as members of staff from within these prisons and finally, the private companies that are employing them.

Thus far, the prisons that I have explored have tended to be male prisons and so this is likely to make up most, if not all of my participants in terms of the prisoners involved. However, both female and male participants will be utilised in terms of the employers and prison guards.

There is currently no criterion for the participants of this study with regard to age, gender, class e.t.c. The participants' recruitment will be based upon getting access to particular prisons and they will be approached during my visits.

Vulnerability of the participants:

As stated I will be based in the working wing and so my research will mainly explore the work that the prisoners do- they work a 40 hour week on this wing and so this will take up most of their day. I will observe the prisoners whilst they are at work- exploring the jobs they do and the processes and procedures that they follow. There are around 50 prisoners at any one time on this wing. I hope that I will be able to interview the majority of these so long as they are willing to participate. Therefore, it is anticipated that around 50 prisoners will be interviewed, However, this will vary depending on how many are willing to participate (therefore, there could be less). However, this could increase as prisoners may be released during my research and replaced with new prisoners who may be willing to participate. The sample will be determined upon the prisoners that are working, particularly those working in private industries. The interviews will be informal and so will most likely take place at the tables in the centre of the prison and notes will be taken as recording devices are not allowed on the wing.

Many of the participants involved in this research are likely to have poor literacy skills. Therefore, when gaining consent, the consent forms will be orally explained to each participant, ensuring that everyone fully understands what they are consenting to, their involvement in the research and what the aims of the research are. This will ensure that no one is coerced into the research

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and that they are not participating on false pretences. Anonymity is essential for this research to ensure that the participants feel comfortable in speaking to me. Their names will not be present on any of the research notes and pseudonyms will be used throughout the research. Previous studies with prisoners have indicated that prisoners enjoy speaking to people about their lives inside prison (Morris and Morris, 1963; Theroux, 2008) and in many cases found it therapeutic. As a result, many prisoners volunteer to participate in interviews and research to ensure their voice is heard; " "Prisoners began to come to the office in large numbers and an interview waiting list had to be drawn up, sometimes with twenty or thirty names on it" (Morris and Morris, 1963, pg 10).

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3. Describe the method by which you intend to gain consent from participants.

Initially it was decided that consent should be gained by asking participants to read and sign consent forms. However, when taking into consideration the low literacy levels of many of the participants and the need to maintain their anonymity, it is decided that consent will be obtained orally. A briefing document will be made available to all participants- this will outline the research aims, procedures and participants involvement in the research so that they have a clear understanding of their participation.

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4. Please make a clear and concise statement of the ethical and health and safety considerations - http://www.cf.ac.uk/osheu/index.html **- raised by the project and how you intend to deal with them (please use additional sheets where necessary)**

As my research will be funded by the ESRC the ethical guidelines for this study will adhere to the ESRC ethical framework. Clearly, due to the human element of this research there are many ethical issues that must be taken into consideration to ensure that the research conducted is ethically sound. There are key principles of ethical research that the ESRC expects to be addressed. I will ensure that that these issues remain at the core of my research.

- Research will be designed, reviewed and undertaken with the upmost integrity and quality
- The research staff within Cardiff University and my chosen subjects will be informed fully about the purpose, methods and intended possible uses of the research, what their participation in the research entail and what the risks, if any, are involved.
- The confidentiality of information supplied by the research subjects and the anonymity of respondents will be respected and this will be respected and this will be highlighted within the access letter and letters of consent to ensure that all participants are aware of this from the very beginning
- I will ensure that research subjects participate in a voluntary way, free from coercion of any kind

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- Harm to research participants will be explicitly avoided
- The questions within the interview will be explained fully, to ensure that participants have a full understanding with limited bias imposed by myself (the interviewer and observer)
- Whilst it is often customary to provide participants with my contact details, given this particular research, this may be inappropriate considering the safety of the researcher. However, contact details will be provided to certain staff members at the prisons so that they are able to reach me at any time if they have any questions regarding the research.
- The participants will be offered to review my findings after the research process to ensure they are content with the results and analysis

Safety of the researcher

In terms of the safety of the researcher, this will be paramount throughout the research. The prisons that have thus far been explored have strict safety procedures that will ensure that the environment is more than appropriate for conducting research.

I have visited ▮▮▮▮▮▮ and was escorted through the working wing and met several of the prisoners. The wing of the prison that I hope to base my research upon is the working wing. This is a separate wing dedicated to those prisoners within their last ten months of their prison sentence or who have been allocated there due to good behaviour. Therefore, this wing is the safest and least violent area of the prison. There are usually around 50 prisoners on this wing and during my visit there were around 5 prison guards on the wing. The setting was very calm and unthreatening due to the privileges that the prisoners gain for good behaviour. They work a full working week in several jobs throughout the prison, such as cooking, horticulture, book binding as well as several others.

I was thoroughly briefed on conduct in the prison on my first visit and upon acceptance of my research this will be reiterated even more meticulously and carefully. The wing is small enough that I will be visible to prison guards at all time and will not be left alone with prisoners as prison guards and staff members will be present at all times.

Please complete the following in relation to your research project:

		Yes	No	n/a
(a)	Will you describe the main details of the research process to participants in advance, so that they are informed about what to expect?	☒	☐	☐
(b)	Will you tell participants that their participation is voluntary?	☒	☐	☐
(c)	Will you obtain written consent for participation?	☒	☐	☐
(d)	Will you tell participants that they may withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason?	☒	☐	☐
(e)	If you are using a questionnaire, will you give participants the option of omitting questions they do not want to answer?	☐	☐	☒
(f)	Will you tell participants that their data will be treated with full confidentiality and that, if published, it will not be identifiable as theirs?	☒	☐	☐
(g)	Will you offer to send participants findings from the research (e.g. copies of publications arising from the research)?	☒	☐	☐

| (h) | If working with children and young people please confirm that you have given due consideration to University guidance available at: http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/govrn/cocom/resources/2010%20November%20Safeguarding%20Children%20&%20VA's.doc | ☐ | |

PLEASE NOTE:
If you have ticked **No** to any of 5(a) to 5(g), please give an explanation on a separate sheet.
(Note: N/A = not applicable)
There is an obligation on the principal researcher/student to bring to the attention of Cardiff Business School Ethics Committee any issues with ethical implications not clearly covered by the above checklist.

Signed:
(Principal Researcher/Student) JENNA PANDELI
Print Name:

JENNA PANDELI

Date:
13.04.2012

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION (Student researchers only): As the supervisor for this student project I confirm that I believe that all research ethical issues have been dealt with in accordance with University policy and the research ethics guidelines of the relevant professional organisation.

Signed:
MIKE MARINETTO
Print Name:
MIKE MARINETTO
Date:
06.04.2012

TWO copies of this form (and attachments) MUST BE OFFICIALLY STAMPED by
Ms Lainey Clayton, Room F43, Cardiff Business School

STATEMENT OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

This project has been considered using agreed School procedures and is now approved.

Official stamp of approval of the School
Research Ethics Committee:

Date: