

**A Study of In-cell Television in a  
Closed Adult Male Prison: Governing  
Souls with In-cell Television**

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## Abstract

In-cell television is now a permanent feature of prisons in England and Wales, and a key part of the experience of modern incarceration. In-cell television was formally introduced in 1998 and its introduction took twelve years to complete across the prison estate. Its introduction was not informed by research and no formal evaluation of in-cell television in prisons has taken place. This thesis, therefore extends the small body of prisoner audience research with an exclusive focus on capturing the experience of the use of in-cell television.

The research aimed to examine the impact of in-cell television on social relations in prison life in one closed male adult prison. An ethnographic research strategy was adopted and was directly informed by Layder's (2005) theory of 'domains' and his 'adaptive' approach was used to interrogate the data from interviews and from diaries. Data collection was carried out using two methods: semi-structured interviews with nineteen prisoners and nine staff, and nine structured diaries completed by prisoners.

The thesis concluded that in-cell television provides a key therapeutic resource in prisons. The study suggests that this resource is widely adopted and utilised by prisoners, staff and the institution to 'care' for prisoners in line with self-governance techniques and strategies. Television is exploited by prisoners and staff to enable forms of personal and inter-personal control. The thesis extends what current prison policies state about the provision of in-cell television with regard to formal policies on the incentives and privileges system for prisoners and also the interventions to promote and secure safer custody. The placement of television inside prison cells has resulted in significant shifts in the social, temporal and spatial characteristics of prison life and the types of encounters prisoners experience. Social relations within the prison setting are now routinely extended and stretched beyond the confines of the prison space as a consequence of in-cell television. Television normalises the prison cell and thus legitimates this space to hold prisoners for long periods of time, typically without structured activity. As a consequence, television's place in the modern

prison has also come to represent an unanticipated resource in the package of care for prisoners.

The thesis offers a revised perspective on the role of television in prison and significantly contributes to an understanding of emotional responses to incarceration and social relations both inside and outside the prison setting. Principles of governmentality and dimensions of personal and interpersonal control emerge as fundamental to the understanding of in-cell television and the thesis offers new and significant insights into prisoners' emotionality and their experience of what have been referred to as the 'pains' of incarceration (Sykes 1958/1999). This understanding and theorising about prison life was achieved through a theoretical synthesis of Layder's (2005) domains within concepts such as governance and self-regulation, rationalization of emotions, uses and gratifications of media use, domestication of television and reach.



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For

*Professor Brian Williams (1954-2007)*

*Olive Florence Roberts (2006- )*



## Glossary

**Association-** a designated period and space for prisoners to associate with other prisoners at leisure, access showers and use the telephone

**Bang-up- see also lockup-** when prisoners are locked in their cells

**Basic-** lowest tier of privileges for prisoners in line with the Incentives and Earned Privilege system

**Cabbaged-** slang term to become brain-dead and to psychologically deteriorate

**Cell-mate-** the person with whom a prisoner shares their cell

**CSRA-** Cell Sharing Risk Assessment (PSO 2750)

**Double cell-** where a prisoner shares a cell with another prisoner

**Enhanced-** highest tier of privileges for prisoners in line with the Incentives and Earned Privilege system

**Freeview-** the generic term for the free to view digital television channels available through digital receivers or digitally ready television sets in the UK

**IEP-** Incentives and Earned Privilege system based on the PSO 4000

**Lock-up- see also bang-up-** when prisoners are locked in their cells

**PSO-** Prison Service Order, instructions and guidance for prison staff

**Purposeful Activity-** a key performance target to engage prisoners in activity such as work, training, education or exercise.

**Safer Custody-** to assess and manage vulnerable prisoners, especially those at risk of self-harm and suicide (PSO 2700)

**Screw-** slang term for prison officer

**Single cell-** where a prisoner does not share a cell with another prisoner. This is usually based on a risk assessment (*Cell Sharing Risk Assessment- CSRA PSO 2750*). This contributes to the Violence Reduction strategy.

**Slash up-** slang term for self-harm or attack using a knife or sharp instrument

**Standard-** middle tier of privileges for prisoners in line with the Incentives and Earned Privilege system

**Time-shifting-** a term to describe how broadcast media, usually television can be stored or recorded to be consumed outside broadcast time. For example, using a video recorder to record a programme that can be watched at another time.

**Un-lock-** when prisoners are unlocked from their cells to engage in work, training, education, visits, treatments and association.

**Violence Reduction-** a strategy to reduce violence in prisons across England and Wales. The PSO 2750 states: 'To reduce violence, promote a safe and healthy prison environment and foster a culture of non-violence among all staff and prisoners.'







## Chapter 1: Research Foundations

### *In-cell TV*

*Almost every day the same basics on TV  
Mostly boring, but occasionally I'm lucky  
When some strong drama grips the nation  
Entertainment and more conversation  
But a TV's more like a coal fire to me  
Writing letters it's a warmness in periphery  
When it's on it's like someone is there  
Changing channels into different worlds I stare  
Sometimes, like Christmas, it prompts my pain  
Simple adverts shout I'm missing out again and again...  
I try leaving the thing turned off  
It sits there silently but loudly until my will is soft  
The feelings of missing out on life  
Amplified by a TV for which we pay a tithe.  
Before telly in prison was allowed  
The library was regular and attracted more of a crowd  
The brain more exercised reading books  
Boys matured to men and more knowledgeable crooks.  
But now the prison TV is a kind of friend  
Often when it's denied prisoners' rage will ascend  
I used to get through five novels a week  
However now TV seems to provide all I seek.*

Male adult prisoner, 2010.

This study is about the role of in-cell television in a male adult closed prison. Its focus is to capture the experience of television use by prisoners within the prison context.

## 1.1 Introduction and Rationale

### 1.1.1 Research Origins

The impetus for this study arose from work on the consumption of mass communications in a closed male young offenders' institution which I completed in 2001. Around the same time other prisoner audience research was being conducted (Vandebosch 2000; Jewkes 2002a; Gersch 2003). British studies, Jewkes' and my own work came at a time when in-cell televisions were just being introduced to prison cells in England and Wales. The introduction of television in prisoners' cells, following New Labour's announcement by the Home Secretary Jack Straw in 1998, revealed some interesting effects on the prison environment. The British research could not systematically document these effects, as in-cell television at this time was only available to 'privileged' prisoners or in piloted prisons. In-cell television is now firmly fixed into the prison environment. This introduction took twelve years to complete from its official launch to the last prison receiving television in cells in 2010. Installation was not straightforward and many cells had to be modernised to receive electricity. There were, however, approximately 1000 prisoners who benefited from in-cell television from 1991 and this disparity in availability of in-cell television called for an official review (MoJ personal correspondence 2011). The research that was carried out provided a snap-shot of its early introduction and its effects were limited to those prisoners who complied with current behaviour management strategies. The *Incentive and Earned Privilege* (IEP) system, introduced in 1996 (PSO 4000), following a review of disturbances at HMP Strangeways by Lord Justice Woolf in 1990, sought to manage prisoner behaviour much more robustly. Policy makers were tasked with ensuring that prisoners complied with the prison regime. Incentives were needed in order to motivate prisoners and in-cell television became a key incentive to enable prison staff to encourage compliance. Along with other incentives such as access to goods and services, visits from friends and family, time out of cell and access to work and education, the IEP system sought to organise

prisoners based on their compliance and behaviour. Within limits, the more prisoners complied with the prison regime the more access they were allowed to goods and services. Non-compliance could lead to privileges being withdrawn and prisoners placed on a 'basic' regime. The introduction of in-cell television and other privileges received highly contested focus in public discourse, as an index to broader concerns about the penal system going 'soft on' criminals and losing its direction. In defence of this, in-cell television became framed in political rhetoric. In-cell television was therefore positioned as an earnable privilege for 'deserving' prisoners; for example, those who proved to be drug free (Hansard Vol. 314; 1998). The Prison Service employed television to directly manage behaviour; a method which is directly mirrored in many households with children (Silverstone 1999a).

Tracing the introduction of mass communications into British prisons is difficult, as scarce public historical or policy documents report their introduction. Staff and prisoners anecdotally related<sup>1</sup> that early access to mass media was originally through newspapers and magazines. It was common practice for staff to read out news in chapel every week. By 1954 prisoners could directly access radio and newspapers, under supervision. Radio was broadcast onto prison landings, shortly followed by prisoners' opportunity to buy their own transistor sets. Films were sometimes shown in communal areas like the chapels or gyms on a weekly basis. Communal television sets were introduced to 'association' areas where prisoners spent leisure time out of their cells in some prisons from the 1970s, but this was never formally standardized. In these terms I have argued elsewhere that prisons were 'media poor' and also 'communication poor' environments (Knight 2001), with limited opportunity for prisoners to routinely or reliably access a range of communicative outlets.

Only one prison contributed to a formal evaluation of in-cell television (McClymont 1993), which outlined concerns about the decline in prisoners attending association and other activities; a theme also echoed by Jewkes (2002a). It was also noted that in-cell television had an influence on the atmosphere in the pilot prison, where it was observed that prisoners appeared calmer (Jewkes 2002a). Despite claims to 'monitor closely' (Hansard Vol. 314, 1998) its introduction to prisons, no official evaluation has been carried by the Ministry

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<sup>1</sup> Through conversation, interviews and letters received from prisoners in 2000 and 2010.

of Justice (Home Office<sup>2</sup>). This study therefore marks the only independent evaluation of in-cell television since its official introduction.

### *1.1.2 Research Questions and Objectives*

There are a number of questions that have guided and also emerged throughout this study, and these have directed the objectives of this research. The scope of this study was produced as a result of an early review of literature as well as a reflection on my earlier work on mass communication consumption in a closed adult male young offenders' institution.

#### *Research Questions*

This study began by initially asking:

*In what ways do adult prisoners use in-cell television?*

This orientated the initial review of literature and research which also guided the research objectives (see below). The objectives assisted in the execution of the research, as well as establish a research strategy. From here, the research instruments were designed and piloted, and data was collected and analysed. The nature of this ethnography meant that collection of data, analysis and review of theory was iterative because there was a 'weaving back and forth between data and theory' (Bryman 2001:10). This iterative process initiated key questions which played an important role in organising the findings sections of this thesis.

#### *Research Questions*

*Prison has made room for in-cell television, but under what conditions is in-cell television accessed and managed by prisoners?*

*What kinds of transformations can television bring about for the prisoner and the prison?*

*How does TV contribute to the civilizing, decency and purposeful activity agendas in prison?*

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<sup>2</sup> From May 2007 the Ministry of Justice was established, taking responsibility for justice. Previously the Home Office lead this area. Throughout this thesis I will refer to this government organisation as the Ministry of Justice. However where sources and references come from the Home Office this term will be adopted.

*How does television contribute to the ethical management of prisons given the constraints of the environment, its people and political agendas i.e. over-crowding, suicide, cost-savings, harms of incarceration?*

These questions provided the basis for establishing the objectives of the research. Layder's theory of domains and adaptive approach is mobilised through all of these objectives. In order to execute the research the following aim and objectives were secured.

*Aim: To explore prisoners' use of television*

Objectives:

*To explore prisoners' situated and mediated experiences of in-cell television*

*To reflect upon the 'social uses' of television in the context of incarceration*

*To reflect on the role that in-cell television plays in the prison regime*

*Contribute to television audience research methodologies in non-domestic settings*

*Contribute to sociological perspectives of incarceration*

### **1.1.3 Research Foundations**

The sociological perspective underpinning this thesis departs significantly from the recent trend in prison research based on measuring 'what works' agendas and assessments of prisons as 'performing' enterprises (Liebling 2004; Raine and Wilson 1997). The dominance of performance related research has eclipsed the sociology of imprisonment (Waquant 2002; Simon 2000; Liebling 2004). These changes have resulted in the prison culture and its prisoners and staff becoming increasingly lost, even invisible, in managerialist discourse (Liebling 2004:203). Access to prisons to conduct sociological research is difficult, as their resources are locked into key performance targets, as well as managing high numbers of prisoners with limited resources. Furthermore, pressures to reduce reoffending and a move to foreground victims' rights are also evident (Williams 2002). Many offenders come to

prison with a range of complex physiological and psychological needs (Scott and Codd 2010; Prison Reform Trust 2009). In addition, a significant proportion of prisoners return regularly back to prison (Padfield and Maruna 2006). The cost of incarceration, set at £45,000 per year per prisoner, highlights the cost of using prison as a punitive instrument; for some, this is too much for the tax payer to bear (Prison Reform Trust 2010). Prisons are therefore under extreme pressure to perform and the sociological dimensions of prison life are not a priority. The sociological paradigm brings the human experience to the fore and is a mirror image of the policy and strategies that are routinely implemented (Simon 2000:288). As Jewkes (2002a:x) observes, audience research in prison is limited, yet provides a curious site for audience investigation. Gersch (2003:53) highlights the 'uses and gratifications' which can generate peculiar effects in the prison environment,

*The notion of 'escape' gains special meaning in the prison context, where the media are one of only a few links for inmates to the outside world.*

As a result of these kinds of observations, researchers of prisoner audiences have been uncomfortable with the frameworks and typologies of audience behaviour derived largely from research on audiences in domestic settings. One example is Jewkes' modification of the 'uses and gratifications' model defined by McQuail, Blumler and Brown (1972) to account for how the structural features of the prison can impact on prisoner agency and their responses to their incarceration. Here Jewkes reviewed this to capture the 'meanings and motivations' of the male audiences she was investigating, with a view to 'exploring the 'internal' gratifications' (2002a:116). Jewkes argues,

*The combined product of psychological dispositions, sociological factors and situational context that specific uses of media by audience members has thus completely overlooked...In an attempt to embrace a more situated theory of subjectivity that can offer insights into the role of the media in expressing identity, identification and difference.*  
(2002a:10)

Her work moved away from the deterministic typology of uses and gratifications model to highlight how prisoners' *motivations* can capture the role that media has in their lives.

Through conversation she was able to document the ways in which the male prisoners interpreted and made sense of their experience and also of themselves. The *meanings* they reported provided a view of their subjectivity and how it is negotiated within the prison setting. In a similar way, Vandebosch (2000) highlighted that prisoners had 'media related needs' and increased degrees of dependency on media use. A common finding across most of the prison audience, including my earlier research, is that prisoners actively draw upon media resources in powerful and active ways during incarceration. All of the studies challenge the view that prisoners are passive both to the system and to the messages they consume through mass media. As much broader research on audiences has shown, media consumption is an active phenomenon in which audiences negotiate power, meanings and identity (Silverstone 1999a). Media can also transform time and space and provide an insight into how public and private life is negotiated and resisted by audiences (Moore 1995). Prisoner audience research has found that these features take on heightened meanings for people in prison.

My earlier work (2005c) raised some important questions about the role of media consumption in relation to its time passing qualities. Media use helps to fill time with meaningful activity. Broadcast media can help to minimise boredom, and at this stage I interpreted this in relation to the inescapable 'empty' time that prisoners routinely endure especially behind their cell doors. Upon review of prisoner audience studies, boredom and the experience of the prison cell remain underexplored. These studies had not sufficiently mapped time and space in relation to media use or the kinds of 'excursions' (Moore 2006) prisoners were making. In light of over-crowding, prison cells that were once intended for single occupancy are now mostly accommodating two or more prisoners (PSI 2750), these dynamics impact significantly on the management of time and space by prisoners. Other than Gersch's (2003) insight into communal viewing and the hierarchies of access and selection based on race in US prisons, little is known about the dynamics of sharing cells. Therefore, the everyday living arrangements between cell co-occupants remains an enigma and more generally are a relatively unexplored feature of prison life. Cell sharing received much attention when Zahid Murbarek was murdered by his racist cell mate, Robert Stewart, at HMYOI Feltham in 2000. This brought about a policy review to risk assess cell sharing.

Now that all cells in England and Wales have the capacity to have in-cell television as standard, this dynamic deserves attention.

These prisoner audience studies have consistently fallen short of interrogating the feelings engendered by media reception. Jewkes' (2002a) demonstrates how the 'pains' of incarceration are managed (or not) through media use with *implicit* reference to emotion. Vandebosch (2000) also discusses the therapeutic qualities of media use but does not report sufficiently on the nature of media's effects on well-being. Garland's (1991) thesis on the use of punishment highlights that emotionality is central to the ways in which punishment, like imprisonment is both managed and experienced by its stakeholders (see also Crawley 2004). To this effect, emotionality is actively controlled by penal agencies to what he refers to as the 'rationalization' of punishment (1991:177). As Hoschchild (1983) found, organisations or settings demand composure of emotion. These 'feeling rules' are also valid in the prison setting (Crawley 2004). Crawley found that in this context certain feelings are tolerated and accepted and others are not. The 'inmate code' is also thought to be a powerful force on the ways in which prisoners interact and do their time in prison; 'prisonization' or prison socialization (Clemmer 1958). The regulation of emotion is therefore part of socialisation. In a landscape where some, if not most, emotions are purposefully masked, the salience of media, especially broadcast media have been identified as psychologically nourishing. (Zillman 1988) It is claimed that television has 'care-giving' qualities and is a particular site for achieving 'ontological security' (Silverstone 1999a). This begins to indicate that media use stretches beyond pure functional and environmental features (Lull 1990;1989). Silverstone's work has paved the way for a fuller exploration of the kinds of emotive relationships audiences have with television, and prisoner audience research should not be excluded from this. The sociology of imprisonment continually points to the pains and harms of the incarcerating experience and yet these have not been fully developed to account for specific forms of emotionality and how they become, or the extent, to which they are registered as painful. The deprivation models developed by Sykes (1999) and Goffman (1991) are significant, but their models of deprivation do not cater for the emotional dimensions of institutional life. Goffman's (1991) discussion of a 'civic death' on entering an institution is powerful, yet lacks the emotional



vocabulary to deal with how incarceration is felt by inmates. Even alternative models such as prisonization and importation models may also be accused of the same omissions (Clemmer 1958; Irwin and Cressey 1962).

These aspects of prison life, with television firmly rooted within it, present ever pressing challenges for the current coalition government. The Government's recent response to the Green Paper *Breaking the Cycle* (MoJ 2011) sets out a series of aims whereby time in prison should be better spent or 'purposeful'. Historically this has been an aim; with the mission statement to get prisoners to 'lead a good and useful life' (Prison Rule 1), this is now becoming intensified. Achieving purposeful activity has been an instrumental and guiding target for prisons for some time (PS7100, PS4350), yet the current claims to engage all prisoners in work and training are now for the first time going to be linked to the 'payment by results' policy. Here prisons will compete to deliver provision and support for prisoners in order to achieve the aims and objectives set out in the government response. Prisoners' use of time is therefore a renewed issue and scrutiny of their time is about to enter the debate much more fiercely than in the past. As the current Secretary of State for Justice, Kenneth Clarke, adds to this response

*...too many prisoners are able to pass their time in prison in a state of enforced idleness, with little or no constructive activity. Prisons must become places of hard work and training, where prisoners are expected to work a 40 hour week, with money from their earnings deducted to support victims' groups. (MoJ 2011:1)*

This perspective comes at a time when the Prison Service have been criticized for allowing prisoners to 'sleep through their sentences' (London Evening Standard 2011). How in-cell television is framed within these discussions remains uncertain, but it is likely that television viewing by prisoners will be attributed as it has been historically, as a passive and non-productive activity. Yet rhetoric about making prison 'hard' and where prisoners will be expected to make reparation or 'payback' and take up 'treatment' may not necessarily position the current incentives system too favourably. Jewkes (2002a:x) explains that this 'sits awkwardly alongside the prison service's self proclaimed aim to engage prisoners in purposeful activity'. The anxieties about watching television, especially within the prison

environment, hark back to concerns about the 'effects' model. Here viewers, particularly the disenfranchised and vulnerable, are susceptible to the unrelenting enticement and powerful messages that mass communication delivers. Jewkes argues that this perspective 'misses the important point that media resources fulfil a wide range of motivations and gratifications and desires, many of which are felt acutely among the confined' (ibid:xi). As Jewkes and others (Gersch 2003; Vandebosch 2000) have demonstrated, media use by prisoners is an important route to power and control; it is one of the few activities and aspects of their lives where they can make choices for themselves. The purposeful negation of autonomy and choice that prisons actively construct may contradict the current Government's aim to get prisoners active in meaningful ways.

Rose (1999), in his discussion on governance, shows that the state's project to cleanse society of pathological groups requires a 'neo-hygienic strategy' (1999:188). Inculcating the individual in this project 'it is necessary and desirable to educate us in the techniques for governing ourselves' (ibid:221). Therefore the extent to which prisoners are expected and encouraged to self-govern can also be traced within the prison setting (Bosworth 2007; Pryor 2001). If the Government plans for 'payback' are going to be ratified 'vocabularies of the therapeutic...[need to be] deployed in every practice addressed to human problems' (Rose 1999:218). The prison regime, now with in-cell television, currently provides prisoners with an additional site to 'look inwards' (Rose 1999:227). The extent to which forms of self-regulation are mobilized with communication outlets like television remain an unexplored dimension in prisoner audience research.

This study is based on Layder's (2005) theory of 'social domains'. This sociological approach has provided a conceptual framework, a methodological orientation and has guided the process of data analysis, using Layder's 'adaptive approach'. The following section therefore discusses this theoretical underpinning to the study.

## 1.2 Theoretical Underpinnings of the Thesis

Layder's (2006) 'social domain theory' was useful in providing a diagram of social reality which provides a constructive synthesis of structure and agency. Furthermore it also

provides an extension of these dimensions as what he calls 'domains' of structure and agency; *contextual resources, social settings, situated activity* and *psychobiography* (see Fig. 1). His theory therefore enables researchers to interrogate and understand aspects of social life including emotion, that researchers have not been able to approach via other theoretical models. Moreover, his theory has also been influential in shaping this research strategy, scoping and interpreting the fields of study and also providing an 'adaptive' analysis.

The fields of emotion and governance have been enabled by the use of Layder's theory of domains, which have permitted a review of relationships or 'linkages' between these concepts. Rather than condense social life based on either structure or agency, it has been possible to expand upon the 'linkages' between the four domains Layder defines. As a result, this study captures how television use in prison is *felt*, as well as appreciating and acknowledging the broader structural elements of prison life *with* television. The affective qualities of prison life have been routinely documented in sociological commentaries and typically the 'pains' or 'harms', which are in essence shorthand for the emotionality of prison life. Seeking to measure the affective outcomes of watching television in prison would not necessarily capture the impact of the social settings and contextual resources on the feelings and experiences of the temporal and spatial qualities of cultural life with in-cell television in prison. Layder's theory of social reality and contemporary audience ethnography (Moore's 1993a) is adopted in this study to capture these features, using a range of methods and strategies. In Layder's view, to ignore these qualities would result in the presentation of an 'emptied-out vision of the social world'(2004:9).

This section begins with an overview of Layder's theory and defends its appropriateness. Other major theories have also contributed to this thesis and have helped to orientate this study, especially Rose's (1999) theory of governance set out in *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*. These are supplemented at different points in the research along with Garland's (1991) thesis on the 'rationalization' of punishment, and Silverstone's thesis on ontological security, television's contribution to the moral economy of a setting and the care giving qualities of television. Moore's (1995, 1989) extensive research on radio

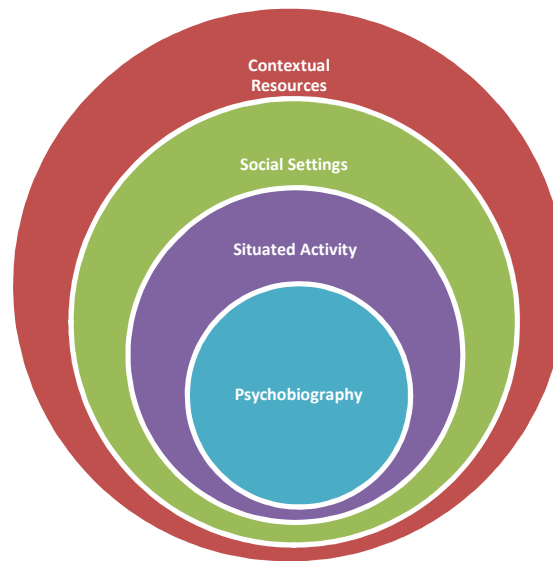
and satellite television has been important in defining this study as ethnographic and more recently his ideas on migration and place were applicable in extrapolating the spatial and temporal effects of viewing television in prison cells (Moore 2006). His work has been influential in assisting a conceptualization of space, place and social relations. Lull's (1990) typology of the social uses of television and Jewkes' (2002a) 'meanings and motivations' of media use have provided important frameworks for interrogating the uses and gratifications of television viewing at the design of research tools and analysis phases of the research. Jewkes (2002a), Liebling (1999a, et al 2001) and Bosworth et al (2005) have also provided essential guidance on conducting research in prison settings and have directed the execution of the research in the field as well as the subsequent handling of the data. Layder's (2004) own work on emotion has also provided additional theoretical resources.

### *1.2.1 Theory of Social Domains: Unpacking Social Reality*

Social domain theory developed by Layder (2006) offers the researcher a model to understand 'social reality as multiple interrelated domains' (2006:272) as well as practical research strategies to adapt both the design of their research and a route to connect their work to social theory. This enables 'ontological variety' as well as 'disciplined epistemological inclusiveness...to incorporate and reconcile the equally valid insights of objectivism and subjectivism' (2006:293). For Layder other theories are limited, as he argues that in-depth approaches fail to grapple sufficiently with social domains (ibid:293). Grounded theory can, however, permit some of this through interrogation of incoming data to yield theory and methodological refinement, yet this can become increasingly restricted to one domain in social life 'neglecting the influence of other domains' (ibid:294). General theory approaches are considered 'inward-looking', which means emergent data is forced through a particular lens. For example, researchers using Marxist theory would interpret their data in line with features relating to social class. Consequently, this narrows the opportunity for the researcher to consider other influences and is then difficult for the researcher to make 'organic connections' between research data and theory (ibid:294). Layder does not reject any of these theories as redundant, instead he welcomes an adaptive, flexible and synthesizing approach, where researchers can draw upon a range of theories at different stages. This approach enables the researcher to escape theoretical

dead ends or forced pre-conceptions. He argues that they 'artificially compact the nature and scope of social reality...[and] complexity is lost' (ibid:273). Overall Layder finds other models of social reality too reductive, as they flatten structure and agency. Layder recommends that researchers need to rethink the structure-agency dualism because 'social behaviour arises in the interplay between the creative inputs of individuals and the pre-existing social resources' (2006:15). He argues that dualism brings about 'singularities' whereas social life, when investigated and explored, can only acknowledge 'single' dimensions of social life (ibid:9).

In resolving this, his model of social reality, shown in Figure 1, outlines four distinctive 'domains'. He identifies 'personal' aspects of social life as 'psycho-biography' and 'situated activity'. These are the components which are directly felt and experienced by individuals. Moving away from the centre of this model are 'social settings' and 'contextual resources', which are impersonal and remote from the individual, yet influence the personal experiences of social agents and vice versa. Layder emphasises that social processes move continually and dynamically, as a result time and space and domains are 'stretched out' (2006:273). Forms of power can also be traced across these domains, for example across social relations and action. Layder asserts that 'power must be construed as an amalgam of influences – individual, interpersonal, positional, discursive- practical, social-structural...and symbolic' (2004:17). Social life is therefore a complex mixture of these forms of power, which social agents are influenced by.



**Figure 1: A Model Outlining Layder's Theory of Social Domains (2004:49)**

### *Psychobiography*

This domain maps a social agent's experience of social reality over time and can account for the ways in which they are socialised or can account for the effects of their 'critical experiences' throughout their life (2006:274). Layder emphasises that individuals have a unique 'trajectory' throughout their life-course and thus responses to social life can be varied and shape psychosocial development. This domain provides an insight into how social agents deal with and manage their everyday life; it also includes how social agents interpret social relations and action. Layder argues that other social theory does not account for difference and variance with respect to the distinctive and creative nature of individual psychobiographies. He wishes to abandon the dominating discourse that appears in social theory and insists that social agents are uniformly socially constructed. He agrees that social structure and discourses are 'influential' on the ways in which social agents respond and behave within and across social relations, but he also supports the notion that social agents are independent of these influences in that we 'exist both 'inside' and 'outside' society' (ibid:274). For Layder the psychobiography 'embraces the unique subjective configuration of emotional-cognitive capacities acquired...during the course of their personal and social development' (2004:10). Expanding upon this he argues that 'we are

emotionally unique beings, not simply rationally self-reflexive agents choosing the most appropriate way of maximising our satisfaction' (2006:275). Emotions, he argues, can therefore be 'disruptive' to social relations and action and can thus powerfully impact on the ways in which the remote aspects of social life, such as settings and contextual resources, are perceived and organised. He also adds that different individuals have different capacities to control their social situations (2004:11). It is the emotionality of individuals for Layder that makes the 'fit between the individual and society...imprecise, imperfect' (2006:275). Emotions are not always visible to the observer and yet they can provide an insight into how individuals respond to a particular experience. Emotions are not always under control either, and at different times individuals have different levels of commitment to a social situation and the broader social enterprise which they inhabit. At the heart of this is a person's 'ontological security'<sup>3</sup> or a person's 'inner psychological security' system. Layder's interpretation of ontological security deviates from Giddens' definition. As Giddens (2009) distinguishes this as,

*...the confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of the surrounding social and material environments of action, A sense of reliability of persons and things, so central to the notion of trust...*  
(2009:92)

Even though Giddens recognises this to be an emotional phenomenon, Layder argues that ontological security cannot be fully attributed to trust in the environment in which a social being is placed or situated. Instead, Layder suggests,

*Ontological security is an ongoing, emergent accomplishment and not a mechanical outcome of everyday routines...It is more accurate to think of it in terms of a partial, fleeting achievement, hewn from the 'chaos' of social interaction...[it] is directly implicated in the same quest for control.* (2004:42-43)

This security, for Layder, is never achieved and is always 'unfinished' (ibid:42). He argues that it is possible to experience anxiety and security and disappointment and trust

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<sup>3</sup> This deviates from Laing's discussion on the contrasts between 'ontologically secure' and 'ontologically insecure' people in his text *The Divided Self* (1990).

simultaneously throughout social relations. Therefore, our feelings are more often than not contradictory. He describes this as one feature of 'inter-personal' control (ibid:13) or 'personal control' (ibid:24). This type of control signals what Layder refers to as 'need claims' (ibid:27). He argues that the self has an 'executive centre' which allows emotions to 'intrude into the flow of awareness', for example to deal with threats to the self (ibid:25). Layder identifies that to accomplish personal control, 'protective devices' are employed to minimise or abolish threats to an individual's well-being. Once the need claims are worked out an individual can then attempt to act upon them and deal with the emotions as if they were in a queue (ibid:27). Layder recognises that social agents therefore have the capacity to transform or have 'psychological resilience' (2006:276); yet the competence and ability to cope with everyday life is not the same for everyone and failures of inter-personal and personal control are also commonplace (2004:89). From this perspective the structuration model of agency fails to acknowledge the transitional nature of personal control and the degrees to which this for some can be fleeting but also permanent. He explains,

*...some people are more than capable of managing their own emotional needs as well as dealing with others in challenging situations. But for many others their 'inner power' is less pronounced and robust. Thus they are much less effective in dealing with challenging circumstances or even dealing with the routine problems and misfortunes of life. The notion of a generic transformative capacity does not register individual variation in emotional intelligence, resilience and subjective power' (2006:276).*

Here, he refers to the power or capacity that social agents have to alter and adapt to their circumstances. This is evident for example in prison settings, where some prisoners are much more able to cope with incarceration than others (Liebling 1999a; Cohen and Taylor 1972). The techniques and adjustments made by some prisoners, for example those sentenced to life in prison, are varied and are not fixed, as they can evolve and change over time (Jones and Schmid 2000; Sapsford 1978). The psychobiography is therefore striving for personal control across social relations; fuelling this, according to Layder, is anxiety (2004:43). The need to have an alert and functioning inner 'basic security' system is



fundamental to how an individual engages in social relations. Imprisonment puts pressure on one's executive centre to find solutions to restore basic security.

### *Situated Activity*

This domain is the 'main gateway' between the psychobiography of a social agent and the domains of settings and contextual resources (Layder 2004:48). This domain can account for the direct relationships individuals have with each other and thus is the 'delivery system of social behaviour' (ibid:21). Unlike psychobiographies which are shaped by unfolding time and based on the accumulation of experiences over a life time, situated activities according to Layder are usually much shorter, they mark the arrivals and departures as encounters in social life (ibid:44). He also argues that they are a 'gathering point' for power which becomes drawn into the activity between and amongst social agents (ibid:50). The encounters or transactions between individuals in this domain of social reality are where 'meaning is created' and brought to life, as argued by theorists like Blumler (1969), Goffman (1990) and Garfinkel (1967) (2006:277). These theorists generally agree that it is the process of interaction in situated activity that can demonstrate the roots of meaning as a form of action, and reject the notion that private and personal constructions of meaning do not influence the ways in which humans interact within this domain. Layder refutes this line of thought and asserts that 'subjective attitudes and feelings' or the 'inner' world (ibid:278) play a vital part in the way meaning is constructed and made sense of in situated activity. Equally 'external' features like gender, ethnicity and class are also influential in the ways in which situated activity is encountered, according to Layder. Therefore meaning needs to be appreciated and interrogated as 'an amalgam of subjective, external and situated influences' (ibid:278).

Power, control and emotion are also significant to situated activity,

*While its outward appearance may be apparently smooth and untoward...rather more is taking place beneath the surface of the encounter...Individuals approach encounters not only with their apparent intentions, objectives and purposes, but also with diffuse emotional needs that must...be*

*catered for...in order that personal identity, security, self-esteem...are affirmed...*  
(ibid:279)

Encounters are not emotionless and some can unsettle and thwart basic security. For some 'avoidance' of situated activity or withdrawal from social encounters can resolve these tensions. Several sociological studies of prisoners show that some prisoners withdraw from prison culture in an attempt to avoid psychological and physical harm (Jewkes 2002a; Sapsford 1978; Cohen and Taylor 1972; Irwin and Cressey 1962). Yet this is not altogether feasible or completely beneficial. Layder describes situated activity as having a 'compelling enticement' (2006:279). An opportunity to gain reward through inclusion, approval and identification can readily be achieved by direct interaction with others. Moreover, situated activity provides opportunity to achieve 'validation and support' of their emotional needs (2004:25). Layder argues that humans can employ control in encounters in three distinct ways; self control; mutual/personal emotional satisfaction; and managing life situation. By self control, Layder refers to the levels of composure during interaction; the area in which 'feeling rules' are learnt by social agents Hochschild (1983). By mutual emotional satisfaction he refers to the degrees to which humans can understand and be sensitive to the needs of others, which is often a 'mixture of altruism...manipulation and self-interest' (2006:280). Finally, a situated activity provides a network which can often mirror their own circumstances and usually involves the kinds of people inculcated into their life situation, for example the family or work place. It is also here where one's and others' life situation is assessed by the self and the degrees to which these can be 'ratified' (Goffman 1990). This domain therefore acts as a filter between the psychobiographical and the impersonal or structural domains.

### **Social Settings**

Settings are the domain in which situated activity directly occurs and they are 'local aggregations of reproduced social relations, positions and practices' (2006:280). Layder describes formal and structured settings like schools or prisons, as highly structured in terms of routine and hierarchies; a feature of what Goffman (1991:15) defines as 'total institutions'. Informal settings are less structured than friendship groups or family networks.

In formal settings, emphasis is placed upon the people within these settings, based on their role and status. As a result, interaction and modes of action are defined by these expected positions; for example a prisoner will wear a different set of clothes from a prison officer, distinguishable by a 'uniform'. Within informal settings these roles are less distinct and observable and coercion to adopt certain roles is not principally organised or formally orchestrated either through reward or punishment. However, convention and ritual which influence the ways in which groups or networks organise and interact with each other are also powerful in informal settings. These influences are drawn from a wide range of resources and are not necessarily reproduced directly within the setting. Not only does social convention influence informal settings, but personal interpretation has more freedom and opportunity to influence this kind of setting. For Layder settings are the closest point to situated activity and can thus influence the ways in which activity is organised and experienced (2004:47).

### *Contextual Resources*

This domain, as illustrated in Figure 1, is the 'most encompassing' featured in Layder's theory (2006:281). He defines two features of this domain; distributional and historical accumulation of cultural resources. By distributional he refers to the material and cultural resources available and accessible to groups based on gender, age, class, ethnicity and status. Instead these are *influencing* but not determining as Marx professes, for example, by the class context of a particular setting. A social agent's ability to access goods and services in a given context is influenced by these factors and can thus shape the ways in which situated activity and the inner self is experienced, endured and managed. Contextual resources are also influenced through the range of cultural resources that have been accumulated over time, such as knowledge, artefacts and representations in the media and popular culture. Layder argues that these are the 'ultimate source of societal values' which allow for dominant and sub-cultural values to manifest themselves, akin to Bourdieu's (1977) theory of habitus. These can directly shape how social settings can be organised and how individuals engage with them. These are the resources that we draw on, to inform us about ourselves and others. They provide a material foundation in which cultural and 'ideological elements rest' (ibid:282). Like settings, contextual resources are not, according

to Layder, entirely subjective; they are enlivened and mobilized by social action through activity. One example is that the aims of imprisonment have historically become relatively independent; it is not until imprisonment is turned into action that its aims are brought to life. This process finally determines the prison as a setting. The ways in which situated activity is organised to punish prisoners for their crimes are, for example, secured by the imposition of deprivation on liberty and autonomy (Sykes 1999; Goffman 1991). Resources therefore provide the fuel or the power to organise the social life of the prison in these ways. Layder (2006:283) argues that each different 'domain embodies a different form of power' and as a result power is both subjective and objective. Media, including television, are an important source of contextual resources, and the ways in which social agents access and subsequently interpret and employ these are an important feature of audience behaviour. The degrees to which audiences can access these resources can influence other domains.

### *1.2.2 Adaptive Theory*

Layder's theory of social domains also provides an important foundation for my research strategy and permits a flexible approach for developing empirical research. His 'adaptive theory' (2005) allows the researcher to design the research as well as execute it and work with emerging empirical data (2005:133). He (2006:294) requires the following stages;

1. Orientate and appreciate that social reality comprises of four social domains.  
Employ these four domains to integrate with relevant theory across the fields of investigation. How does this translate to the field of inquiry?
2. Organise data, discussion of literature and analysis based on the integration of the empirical data and theories relating to the field.
3. Review and consider whether new theories can be generated as empirical evidence is collected and analysed. This is a two-way process: use data to guide theory and theory to guide analysis/data collection.
4. Develop propositions based on the empirical data amalgamated with other theories.  
Review of social reality and 'domain' linkages.

Layder asserts that the adaptive approach should use deductive and inductive procedures within the research strategy. He refers to deduction as making 'inferences from general assumptions to empirically testable propositions' and by induction he means using data to lead 'up to a general conceptual understanding' (2005:136). Layder wishes to exploit the 'influence' that both deduction and induction can have on each other, as he argues 'adaptive theory adapts to unfolding circumstances both in terms of emerging data and theoretical forms of explanation (models, concepts and frameworks)' (ibid:136). This blended approach also extends to theories of knowledge; empiricism and rationalism. As with deduction and induction, Layder asserts that researchers should not cast their epistemological propositions in favour of either empirical or rational thinking (ibid:139). Instead the researcher should find 'linkages' in order to ensure 'that rational forms of proof, demonstration and validity have a continuing role to play in empirical research and in the theorizing that results from, or feeds into empirical (primary data gathering) research' (ibid:139). Therefore adaptive theory can provide the researcher with a middle range, in which rationalism and empiricism can be considered. As described in the previous section, his position on social reality as domains is also dependent on the view that social science should not adopt positivist or interpretivist positions, but seek to reconcile these view points. He explains

*...adaptive theory endorses an epistemological position which incorporates both the 'internal' subjective point of view of social interaction while simultaneously appreciating that such activity always takes place in the context of wider social settings and contextual resources. The latter exist externally...and thus have to be understood from an 'objective observer's' point of view.'* (ibid:140)

This highlights that examination of social phenomena should not be restricted by adopting fixed stances, as he wishes to exploit opportunities for the researcher to be able to access different positions and viewpoints. By unpacking social reality in the shape of his domain theory, different aspects can be interrogated, and thus subjective and objective perspectives can be drawn in. Layder notes that other theorists have rejected objectivism in their work and he is fearful that this does not allow researchers to acknowledge features of

social reality which are distinctive and independent (ibid:141). His view is that of moderate objectivism; thus influencing the ways in which social reality is organised. As a result the researcher begins the empirical exercise realising that social reality is 'complex and dense...formed from the multifarious interconnections between agency and structure' (Ibid:142). Layder's goal is 'to produce an enhanced or more accurate rendering of the nature of social reality under scrutiny....[and] the adequacy of knowledge is reflected in the formulation and presentation of ever-more powerful explanations of social phenomena' (ibid:142). In these ways adaptive theory therefore encourages researchers to consider the links and relationships between structure and agency, and insists that consideration cannot be given exclusively to either the structural *or* subjective features of social reality. Instead, the research can 'disembed' these components and analyse them. As a result adaptive theory is very useful for research concerned with the relationships between social phenomena or domains, such as social setting and contexts, with the more personal aspects of social life such as situated activity and psychobiographies (ibid:144). Unlike Giddens' (2009) theory of structuration which rests on the idea that social reality is shaped fundamentally by the action of its subjects, adaptive theory rejects this wholesale approach. Layder explains that his

*...theory of social domains insists that while there are no pre-given aspects of social reality which are completely independent of human agency, there are major features of society that are reconstituted and historically emergent. These represent ongoing 'external' conditions which confront people in their daily lives. (2005:144)*

Layder suggests that the researcher abandons the tendency to privilege only one aspect (or at least one at a time) of social reality. He believes that Giddens' notion of the 'duality of structure' encourages the privileging of either structure or agency. Instead, Layder wishes to 'facilitate inter-paradigm communication' whereby different positions and perspectives can be *blended* to make best use of theory (ibid:146). In other words he advocates using the most appropriate theory in different stages of the research process, for instance in the analysis and design.

In contrast to some other theoretical approaches, adaptive theory is flexible and can therefore respond to the empirical data as it collected. Thus theory can be aligned to the inquiry as the data is produced, similar to grounded theory. Layder recognises that the onset of research is not neutral of theory. He highlights that theory can provide a 'scaffold' which can also accommodate new and different theories to deal with the incoming information (ibid:150). As a result some theories may be provisional. He explains that theories can act as 'templates against which data can be evaluated' (ibid:152). In some cases the original model may also be challenged by the incoming data or by the analysis phases; in these instances, features of the model may have to be abandoned to allow the next stages to proceed. These theories, however, have played an important role in orientating the development and elaboration of final concepts. Unlike grounded theorists, Layder refutes the notion that general theory should not influence the ordering and design of a research project. Instead theory does influence the direction and orientation of research, but the extent to which these theories transform and move along with the project varies (ibid:153). In reality no single theory or even model can be totally responsive to emerging data. Therefore flexibility and opportunities to be responsive are necessary to accommodate the complexities of social reality in a responsible way.

Overall, adaptive theory can permit the researcher to interrogate a number of relationships and linkages without being tied or bound to particular theoretical models. In beginning with his own view of social reality (domains); all domains are related and connected by time and space in which power is inter-dispersed across the domains. Research can then address the particular problems and questions in their investigation,

*...in which specific activities impact upon and shape social settings (and contexts) and the manner in which these reproduced relations, practices, powers and discourses in turn shape and condition social behaviour and activity. (ibid:158)*

### 1.3 Overview of Thesis

The organisation of this thesis is influenced by Layder's (2006) social domain theory. The research questions and objectives provide the exploratory framework as Layder suggests (2006:150). These do not fit easily with his model of domains, as they are inter-related, yet

his adaptive approach has enabled the generation of further questions during the study. This model of social reality has informed the presentation and ordering of the literature review and has influenced the way the findings have been presented. The concluding chapter assesses the value of this approach as well as reviewing the study based on the research objectives.

Chapter 2 is primarily a conceptual discussion and outlines the major discourses on the use and application of imprisonment and thus presents a discussion of the *contextual resources* which relate directly to the prison. This chapter also reflects on the major policy changes (in England and Wales) that have been influential in shaping the ways in which contemporary prisons have begun to make way for the introduction of in-cell television. As a result of these policy developments, close attention is paid to the ways in which *control* and *care* are delivered in prison and how *emotion* is managed within this setting. This chapter ends by introducing previous research on media access and use in prison. The social, cultural and political landscape of the prison is well documented and in order to delineate the relationships prisoners have with television it is important first to appreciate the ways in which prison is organised, conceptualised and legitimized.

Chapter 3 discusses literature based on prisoners' experience of incarceration and thus focuses on the *psychobiography* domain of social reality. Here key theories based principally on empirical research are discussed to interrogate the ways in which the experience of prison is felt by prisoners. A discussion of the techniques prisoners employ to adapt to and cope with prison life is included. The themes identified in this chapter focus on the ways in which *care* is experienced and the extent to which prisoners are permitted to access and engage in a range of *communicative* opportunities. A review of prisoner audience research is included in this chapter.

Chapter 4 is the final literature review chapter and departs from the prison focus. This chapter reviews sociological and psychological audience reception research and charts the ways in which audiences relate to and engage with television and other media. In doing this, a review of the impact that particularly broadcast media has on everyday life, typically in domestic settings, is presented. This discussion goes on to outline the composition of the



television audience and how media scholars have discussed this phenomenon. This leads to an important review of the uses and gratification models utilized by audience reception researchers. A brief section is included to discussion important psychological research relating to the ways in which television is employed as a mechanism for audiences to manage their daily and emotive lives. The chapter ends by reviewing the small body of prisoner audience research in line with the themes identified in this chapter.

Chapter 5 defines the ethnographic research strategy to include the design of the research instruments. It demonstrates how the study builds on Layder's theory of social domains and adaptive approach presented in the first chapter; it also describes how the research was executed, including access to the local closed male adult prison; recruitment of participants, data collection, analytical framework, the ethical protocols, and research rigour. The chapter ends by documenting the strengths and challenges of the methodological framework.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 present and discuss the major findings in line with the adaptive approach. These chapters include integrative discussions drawing on a range of extant theory. Chapter 6 charts access to, and availability of television, focussing primarily on the accounts that describe the introduction of in-cell television into the prison landscape. This acknowledges the rationale of its introduction, the perceptions of its introduction and the ways in which access to television is sustained. This chapter also includes the findings from 14-day television use diaries completed by nine male prisoners to map television consumption. This discussion provides important contextual detail in relation to the *setting* and provides background to account for *situated* and mediated activity (Layder 2004). This also identifies how access to and use of television in this setting is negotiated across the mechanisms of control in the prison. This chapter sets the scene of the prison with in-cell television, and allows the voices of prisoners and staff to be fully amplified in the subsequent chapters. Without this contextual information the inter-relationships between setting, knowledge and resources, situated (and mediated) encounters and the psychobiographies of prisoners cannot be realised (Layder 2004).

Chapter 7 discusses the ways in which prisoners' use and selections of television serve broadly as a series of 'uses and gratifications' in order to actively manage their own emotions whilst in prison. This chapter exclusively centres on the voices of prisoners throughout and charts the kinds of emotive responses both described and expressed during the interviews. The ways in which television is employed (or not) by prisoners for therapeutic means, signals an important contribution to prisoner audience studies. The ways in which prisoners 'look after themselves' using television, stresses the emotive experiences of the men in prison (Layder 2004). This takes the audience ethnography away from the traditional forms of interpretations based on power i.e. gender, age and class and instead foregrounds the emotional experience of prison and use of television. The sociological interpretations of prison life repeatedly acknowledge the 'harms' and depriving effects of incarceration, and much time has been spent on relating these to the relational and structural features of the prison.

Chapter 8 articulates how in-cell television as both medium and object is inculcated into the enterprise of 'self-regulation' (Rose 1999). This chapter includes data from prisoner and staff interviews. It reviews and considers how emotions in prison are ordered, managed and scrutinised by both staff and the prisoner themselves. It also assesses what Garland (1991:177) refers to as the 'rationalization' of punishment. Contrary to Prison Service agendas, television in prison has a significant and over whelming therapeutic function. It outlines how prisoner respondents in this sample are highly selective in their viewing repertoires. The desires to access educative material through mediated encounters and also to make attempts to remain engaged with public life are, for some, paramount. In-cell television coincides with care and control discourses and these aspects are not easily ratified in the prison environment. The placing of television serves as an important object of control across all domains in the social reality of the modern prison and most saliently control through mechanisms of surveillance can assist in the project of self-governance; television it seems is placed most appropriately in the cell to support this enterprise.

Chapter 9 presents an integrative concluding discussion. It begins by reviewing domain theory recommending that mediated activity is incorporated into this model based on the

findings of this thesis. This chapter goes on to document the major conclusions of the study in showing how in-cell television is at 'work' in the prison context and the impact of in-cell television extending social relations. This chapter also reviews some of the methodological challenges which impact on the epistemological and methodological approaches adopted in this study. **It ends by reflecting on the research process as a whole.**





## Chapter 2- Perspectives on Prison

This chapter documents the different perspectives on prison, and examines how historical, cultural and sociological factors have shaped the modern prison. The material presented, is the result of reading the commentaries thematically, and charts how penal practice is mobilized, with attention to the themes of care and control in line with Garland's (1991:174) 'sensibilities' of punishment. It is no accident that the introduction of in-cell television coincides with major discourses of imprisonment and the effects of television and other mass media are also reviewed here. Rose's theory of governance is helpful in extrapolating the effects of control and regulation and signal prison as a 'psy shaped space' (Rose, 1999:266).

### 2.1 Core Discourses about Prison: What prisons do

Discourses have been placed on the prison; their meanings are culturally bound and these are dependent on different audiences (Wilson 2002). It is sensible to accept that these should be combined in order to interrogate the legitimacy of imprisonment. For example principles of care are not often cited as a core theme of incarceration, rather terms like 'punishment' and 'treatment' are usually assimilated with the purpose of prison. Yet the concept of self-regulation (Rose, 1999) or governance has become increasingly apparent in liberal society, and this too can be applied to the prison (Bosworth 2007). Rose suggests that the human soul has become embroiled in the aims and objectives of the social enterprise. Prisons, therefore, collude with prisoners to take care of themselves by the 'therapeutic expertise in which this work was enmeshed' (1999:275). Therefore key discourses on prison concur with Rose's observations such as the prison being 'a hub of a programme movement for mental hygiene' (ibid:131) and a place where '*moralization as by normalization was medicine*' (ibid:130) and their techniques imply that 'these institutions acted as observing and recording machines, machines for the registration of human differences' (ibid:135). In addition, the wave of preoccupations with *pathology* and *abnormality* in the psy sciences, and consequently social sciences, was taken up by the state in attempts to minimise harm

and attend to reform. This grand project of surveillance has come to dominate the ways in which social agents are controlled (by themselves and also others- Layder 2004).

### 2.1.1 Legitimacy

The Prison Service in England and Wales currently state that 'the purpose of the training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to *encourage and assist them to lead a good and useful life*' (HM Prison Rules, 1991 my emphasis). Sparks (1994:14) captures this in terms of 'legitimacy' and he refers to the 'endlessly recurrent arguments about which philosophical principles animate or justify the imposition of criminal sanctions'. These principles underpin how the state and society have legitimised prison; as acceptable and palatable. Sparks notes with Bottoms (1995) that 'to seek legitimation from prisoners' is regularly overlooked and often hidden from popular consumption. Denying prisoners a voice is clearly an ingredient to this legitimisation, as Sim (1994:265) remarks 'the accountability of prisons within a liberal democracy' is perplexing. Wilson (2002) also adds that the complexity of such discourses can also be attributed to the fact that the audiences of prisons are three-fold 'the public (including politicians and commentators); penal staff and the prisoners themselves' (2002:366). Hence, discourses are endlessly discovered and re-discovered and anxieties about imprisonment result in aspects of care being stifled by the 'legitimacy' agenda' (Liebling 2002:141).

Sparks, Bottoms and Hay (1996) explored the legitimacy concept in their study of two English prisons. Underpinning this exploration was their interrogation of social order; the types of social order and how power is distributed. They found that much of the legitimacy debates were positioned from the perspective that what prisons do to prisoners is 'non-legitimate', in that it is non-consensual and coercive (1996:302). They found that by observing social relations across the two prisons that both state and prisons were sensitive to the legitimacy principle and thus responded to this in different ways. As a result, coercion was not identified as governing principle. Instead the social life of the prison demonstrated how social agents tried to get relationships 'right' (ibid:313). They argue that 'normative order is not any sense intended to imply consensualism...Prisons may certainly (and literally) institutionalize conflict. But it is on the terrain of the prison's legitimacy that such conflicts

are fought out'. They argue that the problem of order in prisons requires certain practices by social agents to prevent conflict and as well documented this is order is not always secured. In avoiding conflict the adoption of what they call 'crime prevention' strategies are employed to maintain order. By fostering techniques to achieve compliance by prisoners, control and order can be achieved if physical safety and psychic security are secured (ibid:327). In their view achieving these to ground the legitimacy of what prisons do to prisoners requires delicate and sensitive handling by both prisoners and staff.

Emphasis on prison reform is also culturally and historically diverse. Synthesis can occur thematically and it is generally agreed that 'traditional goals of the prison have been built around the institution's power to combine punishment, deterrence, prevention, incapacitation and rehabilitation' (Sim 1994: 113). Prisons have not always been an apparatus of the state and the system for dealing with criminals and deviants was managed or administered locally and not nationally (Jewkes and Johnston 2006:2).

Changes began to take place during the mid-nineteenth century where 'increasingly, prisoners became cut off from wider society' (ibid: 2). Foucault's (1991) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, first published in 1977, records that the process of punishment was intentionally removed from public view. The execution of criminals moved from the public gallows to the private enclaves of the prison<sup>4</sup>. Post-war Britain was shaken by the events of the Holocaust in Europe and torture of the body entered the public's imagination as unethical, distasteful and uncivilized (Garland 1991:224). Thus, punishment became what Garland (1991:174) described as rationalized, and the emotionality of punishment became increasingly hidden from view, in part to control and assist with the civilising process that Elias (2010) describes. Emotions such as distress, shame and pleasure come under control, and this process of rationalization tempers emotive responses (Layder 2004:17)

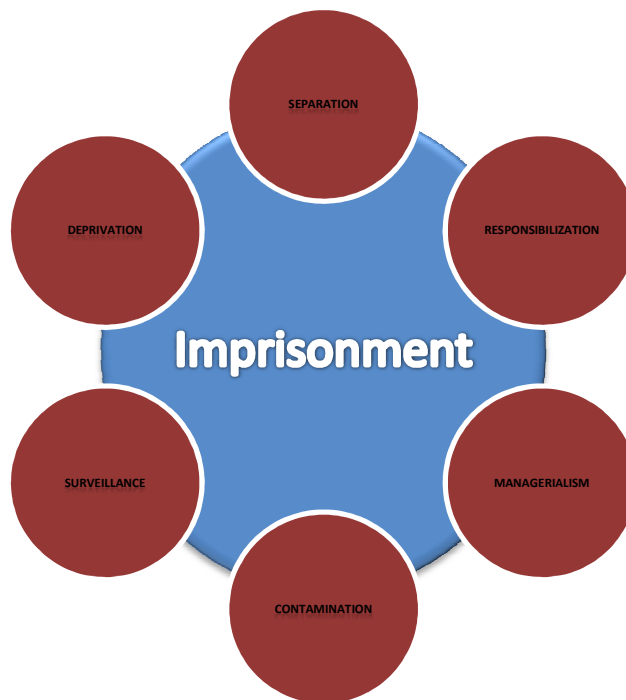
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<sup>4</sup> In Britain the last public execution was in 1868 and the last 'private' execution took place in 1964, followed by the abolition of hanging in 1965. Populist perceptions largely disseminated through the press remarked on the distasteful nature of executions. Most saliently, miscarriages of justice had occurred, and famously Derek Bentley, who was hanged in 1953, signalled a campaign to end punishment of this kind.

Rationalized techniques can be conceptualised across major principles; *separation, contamination, deprivation and surveillance and more recently managerialism and responsabilization*. Figure 2 below highlights how these dogmas are inter-related and are dependent on each other, and highlights this is what a modern penal practitioners needs to *do* to transform social agents into prisoners. These are important in order to understand how prisoners are able to engage in social relations in prison.

**Figure 2: Concepts of Imprisonment**





### 2.1.2 Separation

The principle of *separation* first emerged as a result of the transference of local governance of prisons to the state in 1877 (Wilson 2002). In England, Pentonville was the first prison purpose built by the state with the ‘separate system’ in mind. Pentonville’s routine and regime entailed prisoners being contained in isolated conditions and all of their time being spent away from others. This was peppered with visits to chapel for religious instruction and exercise, where masks and outward facing booths were used to avoid further interaction. This ‘formal’ setting (Layder 2006:280) was highly regulated and structured through narrow outlets such as religious instruction. Forsythe’s (2004:759) historical account of early modern prisons outlines these methods ‘were deliberately designed to restrict rigidly communication between prisoners’. The ‘prohibition of communication’ (ibid) is often an overlooked reality of prison life. Separation was problematic and difficult to manage, and so verbal utterances were strictly prohibited between prisoners and staff, known as the ‘silent’ system,

*The purpose of restricting communication was to deprive the prisoner of solaces and reinforcements of association and ensure that all communication was consistent with the purposes of discipline and reformation. (ibid:760).*

Prisons were therefore in the business of limiting social relations. Foucault's (1991:248) model of imprisonment includes the 'political-moral schema' whereby prisoners are coerced into isolation and subjected to a hierarchy of power and control, limiting autonomy and control over minor aspects of their everyday life, and the prisoner is forced to look inwards. The moral economy of the prison relies on this technique by reducing the interactive and communicative rights of prisoners as forfeiture for their criminal behaviour. It was also believed that preventing and minimising interaction in this environment should reduce the contaminating effects of other people's character and behaviour (section 2.1.3). The communicative rights of prisoners can also be evidenced in research into media use. Although the 'separate system' disappeared, research and policy highlights traces of this technique, and shows that communicative and interactive opportunities are still limited and conditional, such as screened telephone calls, censoring of mail and lock-up. Pratt (1999:282) notes that changes can be traced through changes in the design and architecture of new prisons, and the onset of welfarism brought about 'a shift away from less eligibility' thinking. Balancing penal aims with public attitudes to punishment was a difficult concept to manage; he notes that 'it became necessary to counterbalance this more enlightened form of punishment with assurances that a level of suffering would still be inflicted' (1999:282). Some consider prisoners to be undeserving and thus expected to forfeit a whole range of rights including communicative and also care<sup>5</sup>. A movement towards a 'civilised' experience of imprisonment means that social relations become increasingly regulated and marginalized in the process (Elias 2010).

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<sup>5</sup> The 'growing welfare expectations' (Pratt 1999:283) saw changes and improvements to the quality and quantity of prison food for example and in the same ways prison had 'a duty to provide diet which preserves health' (ibid:283). These improvements did not however marry directly to welfarism experienced in mainstream society, 'reductions in suffering occurred steadily and in a piecemeal manner rather than dramatically' (ibid:283). Within the prison itself the employment of separation can also be traced by the emergence of communal eating (ibid:283) and evidence in the 1950s of use of plates and cutlery first began to appear (ibid:284).

### 2.1.3 Contamination

Separating and disconnecting criminals from public life and then from each other is also synonymous with the concept of *contamination* (Sykes 1999:15). Contamination is readily assimilated with the 'techno-medical model' (Foucault 1991:248) where infection can be spread and cause illness. The removal of undesirable elements i.e. the criminal from mainstream society can reduce contamination or the spread of criminality (the disease) and can be quarantined in the prison. The management of further contamination is sought through using separation techniques and minimising cross contamination<sup>6</sup>. Prisoners are therefore subject to scrutiny and examination with a view to curing, treating and standardising them. Criminality is treated like sickness and constraining the disease of disorder requires technical observation and surveillance (section 2.1.5).

de Viggiani notes that 'penal institutions are generally sick places' (2007:115) and that illness and insanity are commonplace in modern prisons. He highlights that 'some individuals begin their prison sentences with pre-existing health problems that may even precipitate their criminal behaviour...if they have an existing drug problem or personality disorder' (ibid: 119). Sickness is two-fold in prisons. First it can be 'imported' into the prison and prisoners bring with them a range of health and social characteristics (see also Irwin 1962). Second, imprisonment actually harms prisoners, such as the incidence of insanity, (see Forsythe 2004) and is therefore 'indigenous' to the prison. This process is also described by Cohen (2007) as 'iatrogenic', borrowed from Illich's (1985) theory of iatrogenesis where things are made worse by the processes of intervention. The 'deprivation' model of imprisonment, whereby prisoners are deprived of a series of needs or nourishment are experienced as 'pains' (Sykes 1958; Clemmer 1958). The process of denying liberty, goods and services, heterosexual relationships, security and autonomy means that a prisoner's 'inner strength- begins to waver and grow dim' (1958:79). Goffman (1991:26) describes how institutions like prisons achieve control by stripping individuals of personal artefacts and employ a series of deprivations as a mechanism for managing prisoner behaviour. Goffman refers to this as 'trimming' or 'programming' in order 'to be

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<sup>6</sup> For instance the introduction of the contemporary category system in England and Wales by Mountbatten in 1966 could also illustrate this.

shaped and coded into an object that can be fed into the administrative machinery of the establishment, to be worked on smoothly by routine operations' (ibid:26). He also refers to 'interpersonal contamination' (ibid:35), whereby proximity to other people means that the body and mind is always in danger of being contaminated,

*...the inmate undergoes mortification of the self by contaminative exposure of a physical kind, but this must be amplified: when the agency of contamination is another human being, the inmate is in addition contaminated by forced interpersonal contact and, in consequence, a forced social relationship. (ibid:35)*

The metaphor of death, as Goffman suggests, to describe incarceration captures the sensation that prisoners endure and their disappearance from the 'living' world means that separation is total (Jewkes 2010:26). Withdrawal or introversion is therefore not uncommon (Sapsford 1978:138). A retreat into the deep interior (Martel 2006) means that situated activity in prison can be lessened with little or no interaction from prisoners and this minimises disruption. Moreover, the regulation of social relations (situated and mediated) allows the prison to minimise contamination. Restraining and limiting these social relations minimises what is perceived to be harmful and above all enables prison officials to control not only prisoners' bodies but also their minds.

The 'cleansing' of new prisoners is characteristic of reducing contamination upon entry to the institution (Goffman 1991:35). Pratt (1999:285) suggests 'cleanliness was normalised by the 1895 Prison Rule 33 that the prisoner 'shall be required to keep himself clean and decent in his person'. Encouraging self respect and self care began to emerge, with improvements to clothing and laundry facilities. It was not until 1996<sup>7</sup> that 'slopping out' was abolished and in-cell lavatories were fully installed in British prisons and so the 'civilized prison had also become the sanitized prison' (ibid:287). These policy and practice developments coincide with wider structural changes emerging in wider society, as observed by Rose the 'neo-hygienic strategy' (1999:188) sought to clean up society in an attempt to prevent and reduce pathology and abnormality. Furthermore 'techniques of

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<sup>7</sup> Despite the abolishment of slopping out it was reported in 2011 that 2000 prison cells across England and Wales still do not have in-cell sanitation (Guardian 2011)

reformation and remoralization' (ibid: 227) were adjoined to this strategy and 'linked to doctrines of social hygiene and mental hygiene' (ibid:228) whereby individuals were coached into 'techniques of the self', and 'each individual was to become an active agent in the maintenance of a healthy and efficient polity, exercising a reflexive scrutiny over personal, domestic, and familial conduct' (ibid:228). These civilizing techniques acted as a catalyst for the project of self-regulation (Elias 2010).

Pratt (2000) writes that 'appropriate and various tactics of reform, educative and industrial training and rehabilitation would work on 'souls' of prisoners to bring about their normalization' (2000:129). Early modern prisons adopted the view that the mind was in need of disinfecting, and mechanisms like religious teaching were believed to cure deviant behaviour - or moral reform. The prison chaplain played an important role in delivering institutional aims and assisted in treating the mind through religious education<sup>8</sup>. Prisoners were encouraged to look inwards at themselves to achieve reform as Rose suggests 'not underestimate the use of coercive powers to enforce morality' (1999:227) and 'rites of the self-examination bring the soul's moral disorder and danger to bitter consciousness, achieving detachment from sinful inclination' (1999:223). Thus prisons were cautious and restricted 'intervention'. The contaminating effects of outside influences contravened the aims of punishment. Before 1954 prisoners were updated weekly in chapel, when newspapers were read out to the prisoner audience. This was abolished and newspapers and radios were for the first time permitted inside prison in England and Wales (Prison Commission 1954). The concept of contamination was therefore coming under review.

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<sup>8</sup> The memoirs of Reverend John Clay (1861) capture this spirit, 'he is encouraged to review his past life, and to trace to their source his faults and sufferings' (cited in Jewkes and Johnston 2006:23) and that 'after a time of chastening, we see them prepared to occupy a better and happier place in the community, their mental and religious capabilities having been developed in *prison*' (ibid:23). Clay is also a critic of the separate system and believed that meaningful engagement in prayer cannot be achieved when communication and interaction is limited and denied. As a result questions about the value and positioning of communication in prison are also exhibited here. Clay applauds change of character in reformed prisoners he writes, 'Here, then, are such symptoms of reformation as justify the belief that a great change has taken place, in the criminal's heart; and the permanency of such change we have numerous and most satisfactory proofs...' 'I'll take good care I don't come *here* again!' A declaration even like this, shows an immense advance in the science of gaol discipline; and if the promised "care" be really observed, society will profit by it' (ibid:27).

#### 2.1.4 Deprivation

Depriving prisoners of certain liberties is synonymous with imprisonment (Sykes 1999; Goffman 1991) and there is careful attention paid by institutions to restricting and controlling what kinds of access prisoners can have to artefacts, interaction and also treatment,

*...individual's movements are restricted...the anonymity of a uniform and a number rather than a name, the shaven head, the insistence on gestures of respect and subordination when addressing officials...the imprisoned criminal literally suffered civil death...still stripped of many of his civil rights... (Sykes 1999:65-66).*

Of Sykes' list of 'pains' the loss of autonomy is brought about by the serial depletion and denial of making choices for oneself. Instead 'he is subjected to a vast body of rules and commands which are designed to control his behavior in minute detail' (ibid:67). Here 'regulation by a bureaucratic staff is felt far differently than regulation by custom' (ibid:68). Consequently,

*...inmates of a prison does not represent a grant of power freely given by the rules to the rulers for a limited and specific end. Rather, it is total and it is imposed...The nominal objectives of the custodians are not, in general, the objectives of the prisoners ... (ibid:69).*

Tension between prison officials and staff and prisoners are commonplace. Sykes (1999:70) describes that 'custodians' refusal to give reasons for many aspects of their regime can be seen in part as an attempt to avoid such an intolerable situation'. He makes reference to these techniques as a way of re-instating childhood, the prisoner is conditioned to the role of a child in so much that they are dependent on the institution in order to meet their basic needs (ibid:70) and subservient to their carers (see also Bosworth 2007). Goffman (1991:26) notes that 'staff often feel that a recruit's readiness to be appropriately deferential in his initial face-to-face encounters with them is a sign that he will take the role of the routinely pliant inmate'. He also observed the 'initiation' of new inmates (ibid:27) and this process relates to learning one's place in the system. Goffman also expands upon the techniques

staff employ to remind and re-state control, such as controlling possessions (types and volume), moving prisoners to different cells or even establishments, carrying out security searches, perpetuating myth and folklore of prison, maintaining anxiety, medical and security examinations and denying privacy through regular observation, censorship and surveillance.

### **2.1.5 Surveillance**

*Surveillance* is also a mechanism for asserting control and compliance and also for ensuring levels of deprivations are maintained. Foucault's (1991) description of the 'carceral network' explains that surveillance is a feature of moral reform, and this can be extended to other institutions like schools and hospitals. The need to watch over people is a significant feature of governmentality, as Rose (1999:135) states, 'they established a regime of visibility in which the observed was disturbed within a single common plane of sight...regulation of detail'. Surveillance has been continually legitimated and safeguarded in all aspects of the life of a prison, in so much that surveillance becomes normalised and habitual. Privacy is not readily granted and most forms of social action occur publicly. Goffman(1991:17) argues that this 'rational plan' is where 'all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority'. Prison institutions work hard to limit free spaces where inmates can 'engage in a range of tabooed activities with some security...Free places are backstage to the usual performance of staff-inmate relationships' (1991:205). Bentham's 'Panopticon' circa 1785 was designed to guard against free spaces and optimise surveillance<sup>9</sup>. This model was adopted by Foucault as a metaphor for the prison. Following this, Rose suggests everyday life is colonized by a 'delicate matter of the harnessing of micro-fields of power to enable extension of control over space and time- or what I have termed government at a distance' (1999:xxii). Rose supports Foucault's perspective that changes in the punitive world, primarily the prison, are instrumental in shifts of wider governance and social control. Rose recognises that the shift from punishment of the body

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<sup>9</sup> Bentham's philosophy is underpinned by utilitarian principles, achieving good and morality for the greatest number of people. This can only be achieved, according to Bentham's philosophy if the observed know they are being observed. The Panopticon was never realised in Britain.

to the soul has meant that 'the aspirations of government to be articulated in terms of the knowledgeable management of the depths of the human soul' (ibid:7). The administration of control and care relies therefore on degrees of self-regulation,

*Through self-inspection, self-problematization, self-monitoring and confession, we evaluate ourselves according to the criteria provided by others. Through self-reformation, therapy, techniques of body alteration, and the calculated reshaping of speech and emotion, we adjust ourselves by means of the techniques propounded by the experts of the soul. The government of the soul depends upon our recognition of ourselves as ideally and potentially certain sorts of person, the unease generated by a normative judgement of what we are and could become, and the incitement offered to overcome this discrepancy by following the advice of experts in the management of the self (ibid:11).*

Potentially being distracted by oneself or applying focus on the self can help to achieve good order and discipline in prison. Instead of displaying resistance to prison staff and prisoners are encouraged and subsequently rewarded to engage in 'techniques of the self' through mechanisms like worship, education, work, good health, and respecting others. The 'individualizing gaze' (Rose 1999:135) leads the person to themselves and thus allowing prisons to achieve largely controlled and 'settled' environments. The success of a prison achieving reformation of its prisoners in these ways is questionable, given high rates of re-offending. Challenges to maintaining 'civilised' prisons has become increasingly more acute in the last two decades and has crept up the agenda, yet at the same time resurrects key debates about the purpose of imprisonment and ensuring justice is being done. Prison reforms have made prisons more 'publicly accountable; prisoners have been given a number of legally enforced rights' (Pratt 1999:291) and privatisation of service delivery across the contemporary prison sector is commonplace. Hence discourse of incarceration is reignited in public debate, with calls for accountability and desire to 'recreate the distance between prison inmates and the rest of society' (ibid:292). As a result care of prisoners is locked into these paradoxes, as Pratt warns,



*Exhortations to 'take care of ourselves' are likely to break many of the chains of interdependencies that something like a century of welfare thought had firmly put in place: sympathy for and responsibility towards others is eroded by feelings of suspicion and intolerance, particularly of those who are thought to endanger us. (ibid:293).*

### **2.1.6 Managerialism and Accountability**

The management of offenders both in prison and the community is harnessing new technologies (Pratt 2000:132). In addition, shifting emphasis in penalty can be evidenced in the move away from care to the *management* of risk, 'monitoring offenders by means of electronic surveillance begins to take place of care through individualized counselling; and computer based actuarial calculation of risk supersedes clinical diagnosis' (ibid:132). Pratt argues that these changes haven't lessened the harms of punishment, they have been increased, 'while their intervention with offenders has been premised on aspects of 'care'...what we may now be witnessing are more overt forms of surveillance and control' (ibid:135) and according to Garland (1991:186) 'now forms an essential part of the power-knowledge network of penal power'; care then is *control*. Through the deployment of experts, punishment has become a technical occupation (Cohen 2007:164). Achieving success in penal practice is a difficult exercise for penal experts and the practice of tightening up surveillance and control has led to 'narrower projection of what the punishment of offenders can achieve com[ing] into existence' (Pratt 2000:136). Within the contemporary prison 'new managerialism' and 'therapeutic gloss' have appeared (ibid:138). Assessment and supervision of offenders is linked and so 'risk rather than crime comes to play a crucial role' (ibid). Overall punishment is becoming 'rationalized'. Emotions are silenced and by 'keeping a lid' on emotion, as Garland (1991:189) suggests, 'technical relations have tended to displace moral ones, therapies have replaced judgements, and the social sciences have occupied a space that used to be definitively moral and religious' (ibid:189).

Bottoms' (1990) demonstrates that the Prison Rule 1 explains that the aim 'a good and useful life' is limited and unrealistic to achieve, suggesting it was 'too far reaching'

(1990:39). His suggestions to review the aims of imprisonment include secure custody, order, respect, care, hope, encouragement, regimes (ibid:45). The May Committee (1979) debated the concept of 'humane containment' and terms like respect and care were associated with this principle. However, it was felt that this idea was 'an ontologically incomplete concept' (ibid:48). As Pratt (2000) warned, the emphasis on security and risk are fore-grounded in the objectives outlined in the Prison Service's statement of purpose (see Appendix 1). Management of the prison is core to these objectives, with emphasis on treatment of prisoners in humane and decent ways following on. Bottoms' (1990) suggestions of care and respect are absent from such statements. Effectiveness and efficiency are driving forces, which include performance indicators; a legacy of Dunbar's (1985) model. Contemporary policy is therefore measurable and accountable. Hence, achieving outcomes like care, respect and humanity can complicate 'performance'. However, the adoption of Liebling's (2004) *Measuring the Quality of Prison Life* (MQPL) model has sought to address these kinds of gaps; a technique seeking to capture the 'softer' aspects of prison life.

Measurements of success of punishment and rehabilitation are important indicators for uncovering the contemporary position on the purpose and role of prisons today. Pratt argues that recently there are additional themes to penalty, these include *exclusion, shame and incapacitation* (2000:143). Certainly these terms have punitive resonance and achieving these 'new' goals can be evidenced. There are expectations to validate and audit these outcomes of justice. Recidivism and reconviction rates are routinely cited as a measure of success and are often the barometer employed by government and public alike (Pratt 2000:142 see also Martinson 1974). However harms such as self-harm, suicide and racism have more recently risen up the agenda and *accountability* has begun to enter discourses on the use of prison. Foucault (2009) suggests that 'the prison has been a factory for producing criminals; this production is not a mark of its failure but of its success' (2009:13). It is the 'economy of illegalisms' (ibid:13) that transcend all aspects of culture and practice that have normalized the practice and outcomes of the prison, in which control and surveillance have taken hold. He concludes that 'there can be no reform of the prison without the search for a new society' (ibid:24). The challenge to this, as Wacquant (2002:371) highlights, is that

studies of the prison have 'gone into eclipse' with 'social science deserting the scene' (ibid:385). Moreover as Simon (2000:292 see also Dililio 1987) reports, there has been a de-centering of the prison experience in favour of the purposes of prison in preference to assess 'less certainty of failure' or performance. This 'closing off of social science knowledge to the prison' (Simon 2000:292) means that the ethical and moral features of the prison are silenced in favour of managerialist assessments of prison performance, driven largely by economic and political scrutiny.

Liebling (2004) refers to the Woolf Report (1991) as a trigger to the ways in which prisons are now managed. This report instigated an overhaul of management and the use of performance indicators and some changes to the ways in which prisoners were to be treated. The value of these changes, is not, according to her, straightforward and in daily practice complex policy is 'refashioned in shorthand' (Liebling 2004:204) with 'slippery words like 'care' and 'relationships' [that] came to inhabit prison landings' (ibid:2004). Thus, 'fundamental moral mistakes' follow. An increase in time out of cells, for example, saw increased violence, escapes and drug use (Prison Service 1994 in Liebling 2004:204). High profile incidents saw the 'rediscovery of the prisoner' (2004:205) which coincided with political rhetoric and public sentiments on crime. Others, like Carlen (2002) still assert that 'prison is for punishment' (2002:115) and 'is the central material, and persistent metaphorical, symbol of the state's power to punish' (ibid:115).

### **2.1.7 Responsibilization**

Carlen suggests that 'responsibilization strategies which displace from state to prisoner' (ibid:116) are now ensuing, and the prison is 'able to reinvent itself as an instrument of beneficence to prisoners' (ibid:116). Carlen's discussion echoes Rose's (1999) theory of 'self-regulation' that prisons have become 'an opulent shareholder in the modernistic fashioning, retailing and consumption of new therapies and 'psy' sciences' (2002:116). Carlen makes the point that prisons have become successful in the reinvention of its ideologies and this is how prisons continue their 'carceral function' (Foucault, 1991). Now self-governance is part of the prison experience for prisoners (Bosworth 2007; Hannah-Moffat 2001). Bosworth (2007:67) also highlights that this encouragement for 'prisoners to govern themselves' is

fuelled by managerialism. Getting prisoners to self-inspect and look inwards, through the language of responsibility, actually undermines the reality of what imprisonment does; 'recasting inmates as citizens or consumers with all the freedoms such associations imply' (ibid:81)

One such reinvention occurred in 2002 with the *Safer Custody Programme* that sought to place 'care' at the centre of its ethos and thus the 'decency agenda' emerged (Liebling 2004). Prior to this, earlier initiatives by the service to manage increasing numbers of suicides were not sufficiently operationalised and numbers continued to rise<sup>10</sup>. Liebling (2002: 140) explains that there were barriers to effective intervention, and this care by staff was stifled by population, security, privilege and resources. In addition, the era of market testing hung over the service, which fuelled the urgency to 'perform'. Liebling (2002) argues that the service made efforts to 're-insert the language and practice of morality into the complex, sensitive, volatile and morally dangerous environment of the prison' (2002:141). However this 'ethical turn' (Honneth 1995:289) has not had the favourable outcomes it had intended. Liebling notes the 'moral economy' of the prison can struggle (2004:205), with reductions in trust in institutions, 'moral confusion and dissatisfaction with performance measurement' (2004:205). Consequently, performance measurement research marginalized the *feelings* of prison life (2004:206). Liebling notes the disappearance of such explorations 'ceased with the demise of the rehabilitative ideal and the arrival of managerialist concepts of service delivery' (ibid:206) and leaving services with the dilemma to punish and rehabilitate (ibid:209).

Liebling's important work on 'what matters in prison' (2004:207) seeks to understand a range of complex social and moral factors such as respect, trust, fairness, safety, decency, order, support, humanity and wellbeing (ibid:207). Overall she found that 'prisons are high regulation, low trust environments, with deep power differentials and little constructive activity' (ibid:209). However the social and moral factors measure differently in prisons and the interplay between them can result in different sorts of outcomes for things like safety (ibid:210). Measuring and accounting for these kinds of factors can uncover a prison's

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<sup>10</sup> See 'Caring for the Suicidal in Custody', 1994

'dominant cultural pattern' (ibid:210) or 'how morality works' (ibid:213). Yet the emotive aspects of prison life still remain marginalized in such interrogations.

The current decency reforms do not mean prison life for prisoners and staff is 'easy' or achieving its statement of purpose robustly. As Liebling warns 'reform in many ways strengthens the capacity for the prison to punish' (2002:147), since 'increasing prison quality does not justify increasing use of it' (ibid:2002). Many areas of prison life have experienced 'reform' but the use of prison by the wider judiciary has piled enormous pressure on the Prison Service. The insertion of 'care' agendas like safer custody and also decency are exacerbating these demands. Safer custody is difficult to achieve when numbers of prisoners have increased dramatically in the last decade and prisons have become 'overcrowded'. Reforms and re-reforms are an inevitable part of governmentality and as Carlen notes commentaries on reform 'tell a tale of unfinished visionary struggle' (2002:119), and thus reform remains 'unfinished' and incomplete.

More recently racism in prisons has been 'discovered' following the murder of Zahid Mubarek in 2000. The inquiry (House of Commons 2006) listed Feltham YOI's failings to 'care' for the victim and challenge racist behaviour amongst prisoners and staff. Consequently race equality statements and race equality officers have appeared, with outlets for prisoners and staff to record grievances as racially motivated (PSO 2800, 2006). Health has also been subject to scrutiny recently with the delivery of healthcare changing from in-house to the charge of the local Primary Care Trust. Also education for prisoners is contracted out to around 28 different providers delivering education and training (Taylor 2005; Knight and Hine 2009). The extension of mental health and drug and alcohol misuse services has brought about important cultural changes to the overall delivery of service within prisons, with dedicated units to deal with detoxing prisoners. Prison sites are no longer isolated monopolies, charged by one organisation. The concept of 'total institutions' with a 'single rational plan' (Goffman 1991) has disappeared and now a range of agencies deliver service and support to prisoners' needs, often with competing aims and agendas. With this, additional anxieties about the role and purpose of the prison are evolving and locating the delivery of 'care' must acknowledge these current developments. The penal

apparatus is an emotive one and managerialism and responsabilization which professes rational outcomes across the business of the prison silences the emotive experiences of the prison (Garland 1991).

## 2.2 Dichotomies on prison and imprisonment

The first section concluded that a significant strand of governance (self-regulation) has emerged and is gaining momentum. It is necessary to look closer at the features of the prison and its effects in order to examine prison culture. Two themes have been selected in order to highlight how social relations in prison is routinely problematised (Rose 2000; Miller and Rose 2008):

1. *public and private*
2. *harm and healing*

Dichotomies are a constant concurrent feature of the discourses about imprisonment. In addition, aspects of governmentality and control as discussed by Rose (2000) result in tensions about imprisonment being expressed as an array of different claims about the value of the prison apparatus, Rose cites Simon's (1993) concept of a 'post-disciplinary society' and Castel's (1991) idea that risk has replaced dangerousness (2000:321). Moreover the business of control 'practices manifest, at most, a hesitant, incomplete, fragmentary, contradictory and contested metamorphosis' (Ibid:322) and so practitioners and policy makers are also confused. Potential solutions are in abundance and responsibility for control and security is devolved most often to local settings; in this case the prison, the prison staff and also prisoners. The expectations of control agencies like prisons are also far reaching, sometimes contradictory and potentially unrealistic,

*...the prisoner is to be incapacitated, or the prisoner is to be taught life skills and entrepreneurship, or the prisoner is to be stigmatized and made to accept moral culpability, or the prisoner is to be helped to reintegrate into the community. (Rose 2000:322)*

### 2.2.1 Public and Private

Martel's (2006) account of women's experience of segregation in Canadian prisons highlights the dichotomy between public and private spheres within the prison. She explains that consideration for space cannot be divorced from time as 'prison practices are ...heavily scripted spatio-temporally speaking' (2006:595) and the 'carceral schedule' becomes vital for prisoners (ibid:597). Finding safe and meaningful space inside prison is difficult to achieve and thus prisoners can be deprived of 'psychological space' (ibid:600). Many aspects of prison life are performed publicly, yet the prison is often invisible and can go unnoticed by the wider public. The idea of public and private has to be understood from two perspectives; a) the existence of prison *in society*; the exterior b) *inside* the prison; the interior.

Most prisons belong to the social enterprise, they are owned and controlled by the state (achieved by the Prison Act 1877 in the UK) and funded through the public purse; their aims are public<sup>11</sup>. Yet prisons are not open to all as the average citizen cannot freely access the prison space. Physical access to prisons is strictly controlled, regulated and limited to a small sample of people; prisoners, staff, official visitors and family and friends of prisoners under certain strict conditions. The identity of the prison is produced and reproduced by the public. Aspects of prison life are debated and documented in political and cultural spheres<sup>12</sup>. Prison inspections are not new and the outside and expert visitors to prisons have produced a huge volume of official reports throughout history (Stockdale 1983). As Jewkes and Johnston (2006) report, 'political and media institutions invariably lend themselves to a single analysis; on matters of crime they function together, with dominant media representations...then communicated to audiences in such a way as to satisfy public appetites for retribution' (2006:290). They continue to say that 'the grim and frequently

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<sup>11</sup> Some prisons in England and Wales are owned privately, currently this stands at 11 prisons, while 126 prisons belong to the public sector. Prisons were privatized from the early 1990s under the Conservative government. The Government still sets these prisons performance targets and if they fail to meet these, financial penalties are imposed.

<sup>12</sup> i.e. Charles Dickens regularly documented his prison visits in newspapers and periodicals and made reference to this in much of his literature (see Wilson 2002). Moreover prison reformers like John Howard and Elizabeth Fry still capture the imagination of the public today.

inhumane conditions of their incarceration only reach public attention if accompanied by a sound-bite from a statement by Her Majesty's Inspector of Prisons' (ibid:290). The degrees to which the general public can remain informed on issues relating to *their* prisons is limited.

Transactions that occur within the *interior* of the prison are routinely accounted for, documented, measured and subsequently scrutinised by experts in the promise of transparency and performance measures and thus is public. Outputs from this kind of positivist information are routinely made available to wider prison audiences<sup>13</sup>. These serve as a mechanism for transparency, accountability and also legitimacy of prisons themselves, but they also continue to re-assert the tensions and anxieties about prison. In relation to legitimacy many of these documents list endlessly the failings of prisons.

There are few private spaces, privacy is kept to a minimum and is graded according to the social agent's role and function with the prison setting. Surveillance is potentially constant and all forms of social life and situated activity occurs publicly. Discretion is applied in certain situations where privacy can also be upheld, such as medical treatment, legal visits, administration, meetings and record keeping, but in the main privacy is denied and being in the prison means that it is a visible and open experience for all social agents. Prisoners' bodies and minds are subject to public scrutiny by their keepers and this increases prisoners' desire for privacy (Sykes 1999, Goffman 1991, Foucault 1991).

Martel (2006:601) explains that the cell is both public and private, 'yet they take on an intensely heightened private and individualized character', by the use of personal artefacts and opportunities to access 'small-scale temporal operators' such as eating meals or watching television (ibid:596). Privacy is only ever partial in prison. The prevalence of overcrowding now means that most people serve a sentence in co-occupancy with other people. Moreover, security mechanisms like the window hatch on the door do permit staff and prisoners passing by to take a look inside. The cramped nature of imprisonment results

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<sup>13</sup> Current and even daily prison population figures are reproduced by the Prison Service in the UK and are accessible on their website, along with news bulletins, policy documents and prison rules and orders. Other initiatives like Her Majesty's Prison Inspectorate, Ministry of Justice, Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, Independent Monitoring Board all produce 'public' documents that report on the social aspects of prison life.



in most people being able to hear if a noise is made and therefore the notion of surveillance is not just confined to visibility, it is also auditory.

Contact with the outside world is strictly controlled and monitored, for instance contact with family either in person or through telephones or letters. Surveillance is paramount with routine scrutiny and censorship of letters and telephone calls, the regulation of visits from family and friends including high level recording of visitors via personal information and more recently biometric information, as well as the role of CCTV in visit areas, exercise yards and corridors in the prison: these all make prisoners routinely visible. For Rose (1999:221) the scrutiny of everyday life means that 'the distinction between public and private is not a stable analytic tool, but is itself a mobile resource in these systems of knowledge and power'. Here surveillance is paramount for staff to achieve high levels of control.

### **2.2.2 Harm and Healing**

The Prison Service in England and Wales has taken on board the need to reduce harm. The extent to which this extends to minimising personal pain (psychological and physiological) as documented most famously by Sykes (1999), Cohen and Taylor (1972) and Zamble and Porporino (1988) could probably be contested. In the era of managerialism harm reduction is not restricted to the delivery of care in its truest sense, where the major discourses of imprisonment, separation, contamination, deprivation and surveillance are upheld: instead, ensuring prisoners are cared for in a way that does not lay blame at the door of the prison. Global and local literature circulated to prisoners in England and Wales regularly joins up responsibility with care, in that it is the prisoner's job to seek care. Bosworth (2009:175) argues that this version of responsibility 'functions as an aspirational goal and as a means of control...a strategy of governance'.

Mechanisms to minimise self-harm and also suicide, through *Assessment, Care in Custody & Teamwork* (ACCT) policy (PSO 2700,2007) require prison staff to monitor prisoners in such a way that it provides a profile of what actions the staff are performing in order to observe the prisoner. However, the multi-disciplinary approaches adopted here, which include prison, healthcare and mental health teams should result in vulnerable prisoners receiving

appropriate care and in particular 'treatment' for their behaviour, low mood and despondency. Bosworth observed that:

*English prisons have witnessed a resurgence in treatment programs, as prison psychologists and other 'helping professionals' have clawed back some of their previous status and role in prison management (Towl 2005)...much of the personal transformation required of the prisoner is left up to the individual.*  
(ibid:178)

For Bosworth healing is left for the self to attend to. Healing can be closely assimilated in reform and rehabilitation but more specifically this is emphasised as 'self-improvement' (ibid:179). As a site of potential 'self-improvement' prisons do offer opportunities for prisoners such as the provision of education, training and employment, access to healthcare, opportunities for worship and faith, improved fitness and access to a range of cognitive behavioural programmes. Yet less is known about the informal mechanisms adopted in prison to aid transformation. The degrees to which these types of opportunities increase healing and reduce harm remains widely debated, Bosworth for example asserts that,

*...presenting personal transformation in this way also overlooks the manner in which the fundamental qualities of liberty and freedom of choice that are necessary for meaningful individual change and development are deeply compromised by imprisonment. The power of prison officials is always underlined by their monopoly on force and the power to punish* (ibid:179)

The experience of prison denies choice, and for Bosworth, choice is crucial for change and 'self-improvement'; the opportunities in prison are therefore limited and sparse. Most saliently the role that education has 'on' the prisoner experience is often caught up in concerns about recidivism (NOMS 2005) and their post prison experience, rather than transformation. However Hughes (2004) and also Ruess (1999) remark on the relevance of learning in prison as a mechanism for softening the harms of incarceration. However, much of the commentary and research often frames learning in prison as a problem, largely

extended by the features of the prison itself, such as resources, the quality of teaching, overcrowding and relevance (Knight and Hine 2009). Most famously Martinson's (1974) evaluation stated that the range of interventions offered to offenders (including prisoners) means that 'nothing works'. Despite such criticism, prison services continue to frame educative and therapeutic opportunities in prison as a route to healing. Yet the degrees to which prisons are equipped and resourced to address these barriers are problematic, as prisons often struggle to engage prisoners in sustained or meaningful 'purposeful activity' (PS04350, PS7100).

### **2.3. Managing Behaviour and Delivering Care: Making Room for In-cell TV**

Evidence presented in this section captures the dominant available literature and policy<sup>14</sup> with respect to managing behaviour, care and communicative opportunities in contemporary prisons in England and Wales. Bosworth's (2009) analysis of prison policy and prisoner handbooks in England and Wales and the USA employs the governance framework, by observing that the deployment of responsibility and care is left regularly with the prisoner. In an era of rights and responsibility, the prison services across both sides of the Atlantic inculcate this doctrine in their business. Bosworth questions these values, 'is the apparent ongoing commitment to a certain discourse of care and rights at odds with neo-liberal governance, or merely a different manifestation of it?' (2009:182). Her conclusion states that 'care and paternalism may simply make more palatable that which remains a relationship of considerable inequality and suffering' but 'they also mask the near-limitless sovereign power underpinning penal practice'(ibid:183). As a result the 'Decency Agenda' does 'indicate a desire to raise the standard of care' but at best can be interpreted as 'welfare rhetoric' (ibid:182). With these changes, the official introduction of in-cell television from 1998 in England and Wales requires scrutiny alongside these debates.

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<sup>14</sup> Historical public records tracing the introduction and related policy for mass communications is difficult to access. The thirty year rule for public records results in early and key policy documents still being locked into this clause and difficult to access. Significant changes to broadcast media occurred during the late 1970s and 1980s in England and Wales and therefore any policies are unavailable for public consumption. No historical record of mass communication is available.

### **2.3.1 Care and Control- Prison Policy**

The PSO 2700 launched in 2007 seeks to prevent suicide and self-harm in prisons in England Wales. Prior to this single document a range of service instructions in relation this area were administered, and for the first time this policy encompasses an exhaustive account of close management of this kind. Suicide and self-harm are highly sensitive issues, where scrutiny by staff is often inevitable. Liebling's (1991; 1999a) research on suicide and self-harm has helped to raise awareness of best practice with respect to prevention in prison. The *Safer Custody* agenda captures some of Liebling's extensive recommendations, but sadly not all. These include important attention paid to the induction of new prisoners into prison life and an induction programme that assesses and understands prisoner vulnerabilities (PSO0550), the launch of the personal officer scheme to enhance relationships between prison staff and prisoners (PSO 2700), ensuring a multi-agency response to vulnerability, purposeful activity (PS4350, PS7100) and communicative opportunities. In addition the cell sharing risk assessment (CSRA PSO 2750) framed as part of the violence reduction strategy, carefully reviews all prisoners' ability to share cells. According to Bosworth (2009) these kinds of mechanisms are implicitly linked to make the prisoner governable, by reasserting responsibility for their care. In the instance of personal officer schemes, supposedly available to all prisoners as 'someone to turn to for help or advice' (2009:177) and the encouragement of prisoners to engage in purposeful activity, this for Bosworth is not just 'normative' it is 'instrumental' in maintaining order and discipline. These types of governance contribute to the business of prison assuring security and control . These kinds of procedures and practices imply 'that prisoners internalize appropriate behaviour...given that prisoners do not control their designation in the scheme, but rather are continually monitored, the extent to which they internalize rather than display obedience is unclear' (ibid:176).

### **2.3.2 Communicative opportunities for prisoners**

In 1996 the National Framework for the Incentives and Earned Privileges (PSO 4000) was introduced to all prisons in England and Wales, an initiative launched in response to several high profile prison disturbances' in 1990. Access to goods and services is aligned to the prisoner's behavioural performance. This system states that the scheme must function on

at least three tiers: basic, standard and enhanced; as a result this 'scheme places all prisoners under constant monitoring' or surveillance (Bosworth 2009:176). On induction to prison, prisoners are placed on the standard regime which is reviewed within one month of coming to jail. PSO 0550 for Prisoner Induction outlines a range of provisions for new entrants to prison life. With respect to their 'communication needs' (PS00550: 2.3), the prison is directed to establish these, including literacy, disabilities and contact with family and friends, as the Prison Rules state 'special attention shall be paid to the maintenance of such relationships' (Prison Rules 1991: II:4). The order also stipulates that new prisoners are provided with writing materials, postage and also telephone credit to ensure contact with family is made quickly.

The IEP system aims to encourage responsible behaviour, effort and achievement, commitment to sentence planning and to bring about a disciplined, controllable and safer environment for prisoners and staff. If a prisoner acts irresponsibly privileges can be removed. The PSO 4000 outlines the key earnable privileges as:

- Extra and improved visits
- Eligibility to earn higher rates of pay
- Access to in-cell TV
- Opportunity to wear own clothes
- Access to private cash
- Time out of cell for association

The privilege level determines the volume and frequency of the opportunities listed above. With this in mind it is anticipated that prisoners will be motivated to progress up the privilege system (see appendix 2 for example of IEP).

Depending on factors like security and logistics, Governors may introduce other privileges; these are known as local IEP. An example of this is access to quilts rather than standard bedding, an additional gym session, access to films on DVDs and enhanced television choice through *Freeview*. This local IEP system does vary from prison to prison and discretion of the

prison's Governor is permitted. According to Bosworth 'some prisons...allow in-cell TV televisions for everyone on standard (for a fee), while others provide such 'luxuries' only for those on 'enhanced' status...restricted inmates...are often allowed television sets to keep them occupied rather than as a reward' (Bosworth 2009:176). PSO 4000 outlines that in-cell television is made available to 'standard' and 'enhanced' prisoners and that it is 'forfeitable', just like other privileges. Prisoners also have to pay for their in-cell television at £1 per week for each set and these funds support entire provision including the purchase of television sets. Typically two people share a cell and this cost is shared. PSO 4000 stipulates that the availability of television in-cell

*...can be a strong incentive to good behaviour and regime participation, and can aid order and control by occupying prisoners' time and reducing boredom and tension. It also helps to maintain contact with the outside world (PSO 4000:11)*

From the Prison Service's perspective the role of in-cell television has important influence on controlling behaviour, conduct and mood of prisoners. The Service also recognises the value of remaining connected to wider society via mediated outlets,

*Governors have discretion to prohibit the showing of any material they consider unsuitable, taking account of the age of the prisoner and any other local factors. Governors also have the authority to remove sets in individual cases if in-cell TV appears to be damaging a prisoner's treatment or increasing the risk to the public on release. (ibid:16)*

The option of censorship is therefore available and this could suggest that the content of television programming is not suitable in some circumstances. There is however little evidence to confirm that censorship is actually implemented (Knight 2005a). The Service recognises that television is a possible route of contamination or harm, which in turn could upset the smooth running of the prison. However, the order also recognises the therapeutic role that television can have for disabled prisoners 'judged to need the mental stimulus of TV' and also those at 'risk from self-harm/suicide may be considered for in-cell TV irrespective of privilege level' (ibid:16).

The IEP policy outlines that prison establishments are required to make this system fair, consistent and accessible to all prisoners. Forfeiture of television is also applicable, meaning staff have the power to remove in-cell television based on IEP status (basic), as a result of an adjudication, breaching the contract, for security reasons and where it is considered 'detrimental to a prisoner's behaviour or treatment' (ibid:17). In accordance with the Prison Act (1952) the Prison Rules also clearly articulate the power to intercept communicative opportunities (section 35A) and all forms of communication are permanently recorded. This relates specifically to interpersonal communication between prisoners and other people, especially through telephone and letters. The rules do not mention that this is applicable to mass communications, but in theory the prison has the authority to do this if deemed necessary.

Liebling et al (1999) evaluated the IEP system and identified that most prisoners felt it was fair but there were discrepancies in the policy. The evaluation found significant variations in the IEP system, particularly in the definition of 'good' and 'bad' behaviour across different prisons. Prisoners noticed these differences when they were transferred to other prisons, and as a consequence exacerbated perceptions of unfairness amongst prisoners surveyed. The evaluation recommended that the effectiveness of the IEP system could be improved by implementing a 'personal officer' framework. This also needed to be supported by training staff in objective decision making, using prescribed procedures, welcoming contributions from other staff and providing feedback to prisoners. It was however noted that the IEP has improved staff/ prisoner communications and given quieter prisoners more opportunities to be noticed and rewarded.

The introduction of in-cell television was not informed by research; rather it was framed as an incentive to rationalize prisoner behaviour. There was pressure to standardise behaviour management and the kinds of access to goods and services prisoners had across the prison estate. Prisons were acting independently of global policy and hence the IEP system brought about some standardization.

### 2.3.3 Media Use in Prison: Research

This final section introduces prison audience research and reflects on what these studies have found in relation to the dominant discourses as reported in this chapter.

Prison audience research confirms that prisoners' access and use of the media eases *deprivation* endured in prison. As Lindlof (1987:180) reported use of media is 'deemed vital to the inmates' wellbeing'. The effects and influence of media use on easing the direct pains of imprisonment have been noted by Lindlof (1987;1986) and also Vandebosch (2000:529) as 'therapeutic'. As a result, some researchers have found that dependency on media in prison becomes more focused (Lindlof 1986:353, see also Vandebosch 2000; Jewkes 2002a,b; Gersch 2003, 2004). Researchers also found that media use is actively employed to counter different types of deprivation. Knight (2000,2005a), Lindlof (1986,1987) and Vandebosch (2000) agree that media use is a psychological distraction from the regime and its people. Jewkes (2002) also explains that media use provides material to stay psychologically intact and provides a place to withdraw. Vandebosch (2000:539) explains that the pains of imprisonment are accentuated by lack of activity and respondents ranked interactive and communicative activity very highly in prison. Knight (2005b) reported boredom as a significant experience of incarceration exacerbated by minimal activity and a monotonous regime (see also Harrison et al 2004). In achieving autonomy and privacy Jewkes (2000b:218) found that in-cell television began to privatize 'leisure time' and the effects of television assisted 'ontological security' (ibid:222). Gersch (2003) however found that television viewing in US prison dormitories or day rooms meant that her respondents were less motivated to watch television. Instead they turned to other media which permitted increased privacy, such as reading or listening to music. Bonini and Perrotta (2007) also found that the conditions of cell sharing in Italian prisons meant that radio was much more attractive to assist in achieving privacy by using personal headsets.

The need to secure some privacy means that in some instances the points of access and structural organisation of daily life in prison can modify how prisoners are motivated to access certain types of media. However, much of the research also highlights that the deprivation model is not the only motivating feature of the consuming behaviour of



prisoners, as Vandebosch (2000:531) explains prisoners bring their 'media baggage' with them. Overall research suggests that media use in prison is both a direct response to the conditions they endure as well as importing of their own values and tastes.

The effects of *separation* from the outside world can also be eased by media use. All of the research confirms that it provides a direct route to transport themselves outside the prison walls and thus connect and become close to the outside world. Bonini and Perrotta (2007:1991), however note that this concept of 'escape' is not always significant. Instead modifying space and time can enable resistance and survival of the prison as a mechanism to adapt to and cope with incarceration and minimise the disconnection from everyday life and prevent 'cultural jet lag' (see also Gersch 2003, 2007). Moreover Jewkes (2002b) and Lindlof (1987) agree that separation from the outside world is not the only modes of separation that occur. Prisoners deliberately and actively construct their own forms of separation from their immediate setting and media use is instrumental in creating 'distance' from the monotonous regime and the pains of incarceration. Thus through media use prisoners can actively disengage from situated activity by transferring to mediated activity. As Jewkes (2002b:212) describes, this allows prisoners to 'tune-out' of prison life. Vandebosch (2000:531) also reported that prisoners' heavy use of television creates 'presence' in the prison cell thus enabling audiences to feel close to the outside world, as well as distance from other prisoners (see also Knight 2005:28, Bonini and Perrotta 2007:184, Gersch 2007:9). Been able to separate from the direct setting is not always straightforward and the constraints of the environment often mean that control over this is difficult to achieve. Sharing space, particularly the cell with others, means that choice and opportunities to modify time and space according to one's own needs is routinely stifled (Lindlof 1987; Gersch 2003).

Instead of top down *surveillance*, as described by Foucault (1991), prison audiences are also active in modes of surveillance themselves. In countering separation, remaining connected by watching and listening to broadcast media or reading a daily newspaper enables prisoners to engage in public life (Bonini and Perrotta 2007:185). Thus media has a 'panoptical' (ibid:187) quality to extend social relations beyond the confines of the prison

cell. By attuning to their prison circumstances renewed forms of citizenship become apparent through focused viewing of news for example (Jewkes 2002b:214). All of the researchers observed that watching crime documentaries or films were increasingly attractive to many prisoners. Yet as Lindlof (1986:188) found the representations of crime, especially on television, failed to offer or even confirm the reality of the experience. Gersch (2004:14) noted that some genres provided an inward gaze, to observe themselves and thus attempt to establish control of themselves in an environment where control over most aspects of their life is intentionally denied.

In countering deprivation and separation, prison audience research has also identified that these techniques help to avoid or minimise *contamination*. Jewkes (2002a, b) found that prisoners work hard to counter the contaminating effects or harms of incarceration. Media has enhancing benefits for prisoners; for example she found that the respondents routinely selected material, particularly on television and radio, that was educational and informative, such as documentaries and current affairs (2002b:216). However, media use was not always considered beneficial and selection was also framed in some instances as contaminating. The time and space that broadcast media can permit means that prison audiences are 'folding into oneself' (Bonini and Perrotta 2007:189). The introspection or thinking time is complex and often contradictory for the lone prisoner. Vandebosch (2000:533), Knight (2005b:28) and Gersch (2007:10) highlight that the desire to minimise the contaminating effects of imprisonment means that prison audiences become increasingly more attached or dependent on media use. As Knight (2001) described, the communicative poverty that prisoners experience exacerbate the desire to have social relations (situated and mediated). Acts of self-separation using media are also directly related to the need to minimise harm. Harrison et al (2004:13) and Knight (2001) also found that respondents directly attribute media use and access as a safety mechanism; minimising direct harms like self-harm, bullying, violence and even suicide. Yet research on suicide does not associate television as a preventative measure.

Some of the studies reported on the impact and relationship between prisoners' use of media and managing control by staff. Jewkes (2002a, b) and Knight (2001,2005a,c) identify

that the provision of in-cell television and access to funds to purchase other media like radio and print media is based principally on the IEP system. Lindlof's research in the USA also confirmed that provision operated using the same principles. Lindlof (1987:183) noted that this system of behaviour management enabled the institution to 'displace some of its activities' by prisoners' use of television in their cells. Jewkes (2002a,b), along with Knight (2005c) also noted that respondents had witnessed that prisons had become quieter and less disruptive. Harrison et al (2004:15) along with Jewkes highlighted that there was an erosion of interaction between staff and prisoners and staff were becoming fearful that in-cell television was the direct cause of this. Television and other media are framed as conditional based on prisoner performance in line with *managerialist* discourses. Jewkes (2002b:222) suggests this is 'reproducing disadvantage and deprivation', as the status of prisoners based on the degrees of opportunities they are afforded is counterproductive. Knight (2005a:29) also observed that organising prisoners based on their privilege status is a continuation of the forms of control and power that manifest and exist across the prison and providing in-cell television under these terms continues to legitimize imprisonment. For Jewkes this actually normalises control and power, and prisoners become tacitly compliant. The lure and attractive features of television, particularly in this setting, as research has begun to suggest are powerful. With increasing emphasis on managerialism and responsabilization the placing of television into prison cells requires renewed interrogation.

### *Summary*

The overarching aims of imprisonment continue to legitimize the use of prison. This review of research, policy and commentary highlight that prisons control and regulate all aspects of the prisoner experience and exerting these kinds of control continue to deprive, separate, observe, and manage prisoners. Yet recent research have begun to document the prevailing shifts in governmentality, away from direct observation of the state to the individual (Rose 1999). The prisoner is forced to have a relationship with their own self. Through the process of introspection reformation is believed to occur. Punishment has moved beyond the body and is now considered to target the mind or 'soul'. The aims of imprisonment have become normalised, which in turn reasserts its legitimate place in the social enterprise. More recently control is framed, perhaps misleadingly, as care. Foucault (2009) raised important

questions about the continuing use and appropriateness of prison in the social enterprise. It is evident that the aims of imprisonment are often fudged and competing, and now it is not necessarily clear what the social enterprise wants prisoners to be. As a result the ethical and moral perspectives become obscured. Shifting agendas make it difficult to ascertain what aspects of prisoners' lives need to be managed to achieve the ideal prisoner. The IEP, as outlined here, normalizes and perpetuates the aims of imprisonment, especially deprivation and separation. The introduction of in-cell television is also framed along these same lines. Its introduction was not informed by research, but instead deemed a reasonable, palatable and cheap incentive to maintain order and discipline in an era when resources are becoming increasingly restrained. Jewkes' (2002a) influential research found that prisoners' access to mass media helped to minimise deprivation and separation. Prisoners were disappearing from view, to be with television rather than 'in' the prison. As this chapter has outlined the broad and far reaching aims of imprisonment relating to resources and settings (Layder 2006), the next chapter will focus on research and theory relating to the prisoner experience, focusing specifically on the domains of psychobiographies and situated activity.



## 3

## Chapter 3- Prisoner Perspectives

This chapter outlines the prisoner experience which locates the *psychobiography* and dimensions of action in *situated activity* (Layder 2006:274). This chapter begins by describing the ‘pains’ of incarceration, paying particular attention to two key theoretical models; *deprivation* and *importation*. A fuller discussion of the subsequent harms of incarceration is explored focusing on the techniques prisoners adopt to protect their *wellbeing* and sustain their *status and identities* as a series of ‘coping repertoires’ (Adams 1992:281). The final part examines more closely the coping strategies prisoners employ with respect to *social isolation, deterioration, time management and emotion*.

### 3.1 Pains and Deprivations

Sykes (1999) and Goffman (1991), along with others (Clemmer 1958, Cohen and Taylor 1972), have collectively defined a ‘deprivation’ model of imprisonment, whereby the social context (the prison) actively and knowingly deprives prisoners of access to most aspects of social life. Here, the norms and values of the setting in which they are placed determine how the individual will behave and thus adjust (or maladjust). These responses are ‘indigenous’ to the prison setting which sustain cultural codes and convention. Goffman’s (1991:16) reference to the ‘total institution’ asserts that the domains of social reality are contained within the institution. Here a ‘process of assimilation into the inmate community’ (Adams 1992:278) occurs whereby prisoners begin to ‘adopt the normative proscriptions of the prison culture’ (ibid:278) known as ‘prisonisation’ (Clemmer 1958).

#### 3.1.1 Indigenous/ Deprivation Model

Sykes’ (1999) description of pains in his book *The Society of Captives* is a useful benchmark for understanding the kinds of losses prisoners can encounter. In summary, these include deprivations based on *liberty, goods and services, heterosexual relationships, autonomy and security*. These kinds of deprivations are particularly understood as felt experiences, they are psychological and social. For Sykes ‘loss of liberty is a double one – first, by confinement to the institution and second, by confinement within the institution’ (1999: 65) and that

participation in public life is forfeited 'stripped of his civil rights such as the right to vote' (ibid:66) a 'civil death'. Sykes also observed that imprisonment limits prisoners' 'standard of living' based on material ownership and opportunities for consumption of goods and services. Sykes acknowledges that 'basic needs are met' (ibid: 67), yet 'material impoverishment' (ibid:66) is sustained. Hence, poverty is imposed on the inmate and Sykes suggests that this has deep psychological implications, since it is 'one of the most bitter attacks on the individual's self-image that our society has to offer', resulting in 'personal inadequacy (ibid:68). The male prisoner 'is also figuratively castrated by his involuntary celibacy' (ibid:68) and this 'society composed exclusively of men tends to generate anxieties in its members concerning their masculinity' (ibid:69). Prisoners are unable to make choices and the prison tactically thus denies prisoners autonomy. Sykes employs the analogy of a child, like Bosworth (2007), suggesting prisoners are infantilised, characterised by qualities like 'weak, helpless, dependent' (Sykes 1999:71), but for adult prisoners 'who has escaped such helplessness with the passage of years, to be thrust back into childhood's helplessness is even more painful' (ibid:71). The storing of human beings in close proximity amplifies the risk of contamination by exposure to pathological individuals or violence. This threatens one's sense of security which in turn 'arouses acute anxiety' (ibid:78) because the prison is an 'unstable world' (ibid:79) and the unpredictable nature of life in prison challenges 'ontological security' (Layder 2004:42).

Goffman's (1991:16) theory of the 'total institution' from his book *Asylums*, pays close attention to the ways in which prison inculcates the inmate into a way of life within closed settings. In achieving this Goffman argues that 'the barrier that total institutions place between the inmate and the wider world marks the first curtailment of self' and that institutions like prisons 'strip' individuals of their previous roles, in order to transform the individual into an inmate (1991:24). This is achieved by routine techniques like the issue of standard clothing, loss of civic rights, volumetric control of personal artefacts, limiting contact from the outside. Together these bring about withdrawal from 'his home world' (ibid:25). This process results in what Goffman calls 'the mortification of the self' (ibid:26) whereby deep anxieties surface. He argues that 'territories of the self are violated; the

boundary that the individual places between his being and the environment is invaded and the embodiments of self profaned' (ibid:27).

Elsewhere in Goffman's work (1990) social interaction is essentially understood as performative and the employment of a 'mask' is an adaptive response to social situations, essentially part of the 'front stage' selves presented in public situations. Opportunities to revert to the 'back stage' and allow the mask to drop are limited in environments where privacy and intimacy are systematically denied; and anxiety and deterioration can manifest.

Clemmers' (1958) concept of 'prisonization' or the process of becoming immersed in the culture of the prison can, as Thomas (1977) suggests, 'serve as predictors of the types of adaptations the inmates will make to prison life' (1977: 135). Furthermore 'prisonization is less pronounced when a significant level of contact with the larger society is maintained during periods of confinement' (ibid:136), and hence the structural elements of any given institution inter-play with the degrees of pain experienced by prisoners.

Cohen and Taylor's (1972) work in *Psychological Survival* details observations of HMP Durham's high security wing, housing pre-dominantly long-term prisoners. Central to their interpretations is the nature of time experienced by the prisoners in their study. They observed that time is experienced differently because 'time may become an open landscape' (1972: 87) and for prisoners 'it has to be served rather than used' (ibid:89). Prison routines and regimes focus clearly on the prescribed activities of prisoners such as work, education, worship and visits. Thus much of the prison day creates an abundance of unstructured time where prisoners are usually locked in cells. These routines are total and fixed to ensure the institution operates to accommodate staff, workloads and security. A common response is that time is sought to be used and consumed and terms like 'killing time' or 'doing time' describe the process to diminish the abundance of time. In responding to this prisoners seek to own time; 'do your time and not let your time do you' (ibid:90). Cohen and Taylor observe that prisoners 'live for the present' (ibid: 91). Biographical accounts from prisoners document the techniques employed to prevent pains associated with time (Serge 1969), and often report how the past and the future are often imaginatively suspended (Zamble and Porporino 1985). Imprisonment interrupts temporal



relationships by disrupting to one's life-course as trajectories of time are considered broken (Jewkes 2005b; Wahidin 2004; Roth 1963). Techniques to divide, differentiate, mark, speed up and slow down time contribute to the 'survival' of the pains of imprisonment (see Section 3.3).

### **3.1.2 Importation Model**

*Contrary to the traditional structural-functional explanation for inmate organization which focuses on situational variables, this analysis supports...the position that much of what has been termed inmate culture is actually imported from outside prison. (Jacobs 1974:395)*

Irwin and Cressy (1962) observed that prisons were not successful at achieving their institutional remits and aims; to reform and rehabilitate (Maruna and Roy 2007). Despite correctional methods they wondered why the indigenous models of imprisonment were failing to produce compliant, social and moral citizens,

*...if the behaviour of the prisoner can be entirely explained in terms of the institutional environment in which he is placed, the right mix of institutional policies and programs would produce a rehabilitated individual whose favourable disposition toward formal organizational goals would augur well for his later return to the community. (Jacobs 1974:397)*

Schwartz (1971) describes this as 'cultural drift' suggesting that prisonization is not merely a mechanical matter of socialising individuals in a particular direction. Deviation or even prisoner resistance away from the institutional aims and ethos result in prisoners responding in a range of ways to the prison setting.

The pre-prison experience was found to have an impact on adjustment to prison. The ways in which prisoners 'do their time' are linked to the prisoners' outside life. Irwin and Cressey's (1962) study of inmate culture offers a typology of prisoner sub-cultural membership; 'deviant/thief', 'time doer' and 'gleaner'. For the 'deviant' mode, these prisoners continue to subvert and reject the dominant ideologies of control and order. They may find themselves involved in the under-world of the prison and thus continue their

criminal career. These prisoners are likely recidivists who are often at odds with prison rules and regulations and involved with disciplinary procedures. The deviant group do not consider imprisonment painful and their coping strategies are displayed in their regular resistance to the norms and values of the establishment that holds them, thus they find an 'adaptive niche' in the prison subculture (Delisi et al 2004:370). The 'time doer' often adapts to prison life by withdrawing from deviant members in an attempt to avoid infractions. This prisoner seeks out opportunities to minimise his or her pains of imprisonment by occupying their time with work and activities in order to diminish time. Imprisonment for these prisoners is an interruption to their life-course and returning to the outside world is their main focus. This prisoner does not necessarily seek to change his or her pre-prison behaviour and identity, rather incarceration 'freezes' or interrupts his or her life, as a result this prisoner is pre-occupied by marking, using, filling time to preserve his or her own sense of self. The 'gleaner' however takes on board many of the institutional aims and objectives in order to use his or her time productively and thus gain from the opportunities the establishment can offer. This prisoner like the 'time doer' actively seeks out opportunities to fill his or her time, but seeks to change. This prisoner is compliant, often described as a model prisoner, and seeks out others who share the same values. Education or work is an opportunity to construct a post-prison self that is ethical and moral.

Following this typology of prisoners, Crewe's study captured in his book *The Prisoner Society* (2009) examines how social relations operate within the prison. His typology of the prisoner, like Irwin and Cressey's model examines how social interaction interplays with a prisoner's adaptation to prison life. His analysis presents a thorough account of the ways in which prisoners interact with each other, staff and the prison system. Moreover he manages to capture the varying attitudes and practices in relation to friendship, solidarity, trust and identity. Crewe makes distinguishing links between the prison structure in terms of levels of power and control (i.e. IEP system) and the ways in which prisoners respond to this. Like Irwin and Cressey, Crewe is able to note the varying and complex ways different groups of prisoners orientate themselves towards what he calls 'soft power' (2009:109). In particular, distinguishing characteristics identified in his analysis are aligned to prisoners' relationships with drugs, their ethnicity and their local community.

Criticisms of the key models of imprisonment suggest that the experience of prison includes pre-prison and prison variables (Dhami et al 2007:1085). Some studies have acknowledged both models (Crewe 2009, Jewkes 2002, Vandebosch 2000, Thomas 1977, Toch 1977). As Dhami et al suggest, 'both approaches are viewed as compatible because life before prison can help to shape how inmates experience and respond to deprivations' (ibid:1088).

Therefore it is not now uncommon to accept that 'integrated' approaches to understanding the experience of prison offer appreciation for deprivation and the pre-prison experience. This integrative approach thus accepts the influence of the 'domains' of social reality which includes a range of 'resources' that social agents can draw upon and access (Layder 2006:281).

### **3.2 Harms of Imprisonment**

Prison service policy both in Britain and North America have responded to the harms that 'disconnection' from wider society can have. Late-modernity has seen the 'normalisation' of certain activities and methods of communication. Unsurprisingly the introduction of radio and television was in part a response to 'civilising' the prison as well as a mechanism for minimising harm (PSO 2700).

Preventative measures to minimise the separation of prisoners from their families and friends include communicative opportunities for prisoners. Many studies cite this loss as the most painful and also harmful (Liebling and Krarup 1993; Toch & Adams 1986). Prisons are 'communication' or 'media' poor environments (Jewkes 2002a; Knight 2000) and this kind of poverty also impacts on psychological and sociological factors, such as wellbeing and status/identity. Prison audience research has found that media use is instrumental in softening the harms of imprisonment and access to media in prison is tacitly acknowledged by the Prison Service as a mechanism for prisoners to develop strategies to enhance wellbeing and mitigate assaults on identity and status (see PSO 4000- IEP).

#### **3.2.1 Protecting Wellbeing**

Limiting opportunities for interaction with the outside and also inside prison can threaten security and cause distress (Lindquist 2000). From Layder's perspective the lack of control within a given setting means that the self can become disconnected from the wider social

system and impinge on one's self-identity (2004:59). Finding ways to redeem control are fundamental to the healthy functioning of an individual's psychobiography (ibid:92). Layder identifies that a driving factor is the avoidance of helplessness and he argues social agents work hard to control this sensation (ibid:30). Finding ways in a constrained setting to remain 'well' are at the heart of much of the evidence that reports on the techniques prisoners employ to deal with the harms of incarceration and maintain their ontological security. Wooldredge (1999:235), for example found that well-being in prison is enhanced by 'program participation, more frequent visitation, and no experience with victimization'. Greer (2002:117) also found that women prisoners developed techniques to manage their emotions, which include emotional diversions, spiritual pursuits, blocking exercises, self-reflection and humour in order to proactively manage their emotional responses to incarceration.

Jacobs (1962:401) found that membership of gangs for prisoners serves as a network to offer 'psychological support' in order to maintain and preserve a 'positive view of self' (ibid:405). Identification or connection to a social group in prison is therefore beneficial to adaptation, but also a functioning route back to the outside. However, earlier studies, based in the USA, have been criticised for over-simplifying this kind of solidarity amongst prisoners, for example 'the drugs culture that exists in all prisons has created a "dog eat dog' environment in which individuals are unwise and unwilling to put their trust in fellow inmates' (Jewkes and Johnston 2009: 49-50). Crewe (2009:334) found that solidarity was not as pronounced as Jacobs describes, instead he found that 'emotional empathy and sympathy for the plight of others were more common'.

Withdrawal from situated prison life is not uncommon and long-term prisoners often distance themselves from short-termers or remand prisoners (Sparks et al 1996; Sapsford 1978). They often seek out other long-termers in order to share similar timeframes (Cohen and Taylor 1972). It also not uncommon for many long-term prisoners to actively minimise direct contact with family and friends in order to isolate themselves from the outside in which they are unable to participate. Other forms of withdrawal come in response to harms such as the fear of or actual violence, bullying, exposure to sex offenders or strained

relationships with family outside prison (Liebling and Krarup 1993). The active and routine control of communication with the outside world, through use of telephone, visits and letters, is sometimes too painful for prisoners to maintain. Prison policy in England and Wales is therefore responsive to some of these needs and 'maintaining family contact' is a core feature of decency and safer custody agendas. However, these practices still do not replace a sustained and on-going form of interaction and can add additional strain on relationships. Prison staff note that relationship problems are a key signal to distress in prison, knowledge of a 'bad phone call' may alert staff for closer surveillance of a prisoner to ensure his or her well-being is preserved. (Liebling and Krarup 1993).

### **3.2.2 Sustaining Status and Identity**

Incarceration is an assault on prisoners' identity and Jewkes' (2002a) study of media use outlines that the uptake of media by prisoners enables them to actively construct and protect their masculinity. In particular the 'meanings and motivations' (ibid:116) prisoners demonstrated through their selection of specific media content reveals how the fears and anxieties present in prison life can be managed through media use. Some of her observations suggest the effects of access to mass communications 'normalises' the prison environment. In preserving and constructing masculinities, media may serve as a mechanism to sustain what Bourdieu (1977) describes as 'habitus' or a series of references points about one's culture. Media texts offer prisoners a range of resources to draw upon that enable them to actively sustain masculine (as well as other including, class, ethnicity, age, sexuality) identities (2002a:54). Jewkes' interpretation of 'hegemonic masculinity' (ibid:55) highlights

*...the desire to prove one's manhood' which heavily features in the cultural patterns and behaviours of everyday life inside male prisons. The series of deprivations prisoners can encounter is said to be 'enforcing a state of infantilised dependency – attack the very core of hegemonic masculinity which men of all social classes are culturally encouraged to aspire to (ibid:55)*

Criminal hierarchies are evident in prison culture based on criminal and also prisoner identities. For example the 'inmate code' (Irwin and Cressey 1962) is a powerful cultural

resource that sustains such dominant cultural practices. Jewkes argues that this 'is clearly as bound up with aggression and violence as it is on the outside' (2002a:56) and that these kinds of responses assist in prison adaptation and survival.

Jewkes makes it clear that media use and the rejection of it, are significant in managing harm. Broadcast news often allows prisons to remain connected to the outside world, some prisoners however acknowledge 'they could play no part in' (ibid:121) and therefore these prisoners actively distance themselves as citizens from matters that non-prisoner audiences take for granted.

Vandebosch (2000) also identifies, similar to Lindlof (1987), how selection of mediated material is assimilated to criminal identities. She suggests that 'the degree of (subjective) criminal involvement manifests a particularly strong predictive power: persons who feel criminal- which certainly not the case for every prisoner- also display a deviant pattern of media use' (ibid:541) selecting genres such as 'action, police and gangster movies, prison fiction, erotic....heavy metal, punk and hardrock...legal news, disasters and accidents'. She also found that television is consumed at a higher rate, brought about by long periods of lock-up and high levels of noise. Vandebosch frames these findings in relation to the respondents' 'media related needs' which can 'prevent, solve or at least lessen some typical prison problems' (ibid:534). For loss of liberty and separation she suggests they

*...follow news reports to stay in touch with the outside world and feel less isolated; consume exciting media contents to break down the monotony of their daily prison life...providing distraction and reaching themes for wishful thinking and daydreaming. Negative emotions can be suppressed or expressed by media activities and even some physical side-effects of stress (such as insomnia) can be remedied...So non-media-related needs can thus indirectly influence media-related needs.'* (ibid:534)

Jewkes and Vandebosch (also Knight 2005) agree that prisoners' communicative needs are amplified and result in what Vandebosch describes as 'media dependency' and suggest that prisoners have a 'strong television dependency' reflected in their increased intensity of use

and the personal value they place on it (ibid: 541). Lindlof states 'that the configurations, frequency, and gratifications of media use depend on their adaptability to the incentives self-selected by inmates for a sustainable institutional career' (1986:352). Therefore criminal and institutional identities can also shape cultural tastes and these selections help to maintain a self that the prisoner deems beneficial.

Other challenges include cell-sharing and the synergy between inmates 'may hinge partly on the extent to which successful methods for mutual goal attainment in negotiating content and temporal issues of media use are achieved' (ibid:353). Vandebosch (2001) confirms that prisoners who demonstrate a 'higher degree of subjective criminal involvement watch television more because they are bored, want to pass time, have nothing else to do, or want to relax' (ibid:560) and seek out more 'action police and gangster movies, and series, prison movies...and erotic television programs' (ibid:561). In addition 'the preference for informative radio programs decreases as the criminality score rises...stronger preferences for harder and socially disvalued music genres such as heavy metal, punk, and hard rock' (ibid:562). Types of news are also carefully selected by those with increased criminality identification, especially judicial news and also disasters and accidents (ibid:564).

### 3.3 Coping and Surviving Prison

It is the 'styles of coping, and the social life that emerges in the process of coping' (Liebling 1999a:286) that deserves attention. Layder suggests that there are healthy and unhealthy forms of control a person can adopt, and, that this affects the kind of relationship one has with oneself or 'techniques of the self' (2004:26). Lazarus and Folkman (1984:141) explain there are two different forms of coping: *problem-focused coping* (sometimes called approach coping) which seeks to control or transform the stressful situation, and *emotion-focused coping* (sometimes called avoidance coping), which seeks to avoid stressful events or situations. It is suggested that emotion-focused coping is more productive in settings where the individual has little or no control, i.e. the prison (Mohino et al 2004; Gullone and Jones 2000; Rokach 1997). Greer (2002:122) found that incarceration requires women prisoners to modify their 'emotional management techniques' in order to rationalize and

cope with their experience. Four major concepts are developed in this final section to review how prisoners cope in prison ; social isolation, deterioration, time and space, and emotion.

### **3.3.1 Social Isolation**

Responding to enforced social isolation is not uniform for all prisoners. Feelings of social isolation are said to be amplified in the ‘the early period of confinement [which] subjects prisoners to a great deal of stress and a feeling of disorientation’ (Liebling 1999a:286), which increases the risk of suicide and self harm and ‘isolation from relationships or a breakdown in communication’ (1999a:297) could inflame suicidal feelings. In addition those prisoners who attempted suicide are reported to have ‘fewer visits, wrote fewer letters...they had slightly less contact from the probation service...they kept in touch with the outside slightly less and found it marginally harder to keep in touch with the world outside, preferring to forget it’ (ibid:314). Social isolation is said to be amplified for vulnerable groups and they are ‘more likely to spend time in their cells doing nothing; fewer would (could) read or write, or do anything else’ (ibid:315). Hence, Liebling asserts that it is important for services to know and understand how prisoners occupy their time (especially inside their cells), identify their levels of boredom, and offer purposeful activity or ‘methods of occupation and distraction’ (ibid:315-6); ‘inactivity is a central variable’ (ibid:316). This is always a challenge for prison services given limited resources.

The desire to ‘communicate’ is for Vandebosch and confirmed by Knight (2000;2005a) a symptom of the deprivation and pains imposed in prison settings: the kinds of communication poverty experienced heighten the need and desire to communicate. Harrison et al (2004) found that prisoners ‘used television as a part of their coping mechanisms...and the ability to withdraw from other activities was a benefit’ (ibid:13).

The enforced separation or loss of freedom means that ‘these ‘pains’ are aggravated by the deprivation of material goods and services...that media resources – and in particular, television...are a rare pleasure that take on a level of importance which few of us in the outside world can fully appreciate’ (Jewkes 2002a:91). Despite the pleasures media can offer, it can also accentuate the feelings of separation; ‘to be exposed constantly to a place



they could not go and witness scenes of enjoyment in which they could not participate served only to heighten the inmates' sense of separation' (ibid:91). Some of her respondents avoided media consumption for these reasons. Others reported the importance of remaining 'in touch' with the outside world because of their distance from it. She also noted that some prisoners try to re-create the feeling of home, to which television is central (ibid:93). They also used broadcast schedules to establish domestic routines, bringing them closer to social practices of the outside and narrowing the sense of separation (ibid:95). In an environment where sociability is limited and sometimes risky, television especially provides the 'company' of others i.e. personalities and characters.

Forsythe (2004) found that during the early modern era prison regimes were 'designed to restrict rigidly communication between prisoners' (2004:759) and which the 'enforced loneliness rendered the prisoner docile and tractable prone to remorse and amenable to advice, instruction and admonition' (ibid:760). The 'separate' and 'silent' systems (see Chapter 2) were intended to encourage introspection in order to seek repentance and reformation. These systems were subject to criticism, particularly noting the harms that these techniques of control could cause, such as insanity and mental deterioration (ibid:761). Prisoners became restless, suffering from insomnia, verbal outbursts and violence (ibid:762). Prisoners employed 'ingenious methods' (ibid:763) to overcome social isolation and enhance communicative opportunities, such as Morse code on water pipes, talking without moving lips, facial expressions and hand gestures (ibid:763). In the absence of family, prisoners endure a longing for 'contact', and these became intensified at different times such as Christmas (ibid: 765; Jewkes:105). Prison biographies and observations in research also account for prisoners keeping 'pets', usually birds or rodents, that they tame and care for (ibid:767; McConville 1995:478; Jewkes 2002). The appeal of social interaction and intimacy is compelling for prisoners and developing techniques to counter social isolation and loneliness are powerful (Layder 2004:26).

### **3.3.2 Deterioration**

Qualitative accounts of prisoners regularly feature the fear of deterioration, decay and decline. The socialisation into prison culture influences the prisoner in a number of ways

and for some this imposition on their psychological and physiological well-being is difficult to manage especially given that a range of resources and opportunities are not accessible (Greer 2002). Jewkes (2002a) suggests 'prisoners are concerned about being cut off from the outside world...that on release they will be as aliens in an unknown world' (2002:21) and therefore maintaining contact, knowledge and skills means that their transition back into the community will be easier. The fear of losing touch is not just social, it is also psychological. Johnson and Toch (1982) remark on the implications of imprisonment on the self, deteriorating on a cognitive level and not being able to think and process effectively or sustain mental agility, losing independency and becoming passive. Cohen and Taylor (1972) also remark on these elements, noting that any sense of autonomy and subjectivity in action and thought might be lost and thus become 'a dead thing' (1972:109). Zamble and Porporino (1988) use the analogy of a 'deep freeze' to explain how prisoners prevent deterioration, yet their study does not conclude that prisoners actually psychologically deteriorate; instead they work hard to prevent this.

Deterioration is linked to time, and it is especially significant during periods of disruption to one's life course. Like illness, imprisonment interferes with and dislocates the common order and flow of one's life, inducing a sense of disorientation and threat to one's 'ontological security' (Layder 2004:42). For some, illness and imprisonment is short and temporary for others it is long and permanent. These kinds of disruption are for some 'embodied', a 'bodily experience' (Becker 1997:12). As with illness when bodies begin to fail or age, we can feel vulnerable and seek to find explanations within our cultural domain, to validate the disruption. For some prisoners the fear of physical deterioration is often expressed in the need to stay fit and healthy and some aspire to youthfulness, attractiveness and agility. It is no surprise that gyms, especially in male prisons, are sites which are heavily populated and used by prisoners. Prisoners are forced into idleness, as work or activity is rationed, and finding outlets to avoid deterioration have a heightened significance (Gramsci 1971).

The quest for mental stimulation (and even sedation) is also a priority for many prisoners. For mental stimuli some prisoners demonstrate a thirst to 'learn' new skills, and perform

tasks that require mental agility and physical dexterity. Mastering prison crafts like matchstick modelling has become part of the 'archetypal' prison tradition and folklore (Jewkes 2002a:101). Other less legitimate activities like brewing 'hooch', gambling and tattooing are also significant. By overcoming boredom and endless periods of unstructured time through activity and pursuits it 'restores a sense of self-worth' (ibid:101). Boredom is significant in prison and this emotion 'registers an absence of meaning' (Barbalet 1999:631). A bored person needs to find meaning in his or her situation and is thus compelled to overcome the effects. Barbalet (1999:631) suggests that bored people will search out meaning and this often includes risk taking or even conflict. The prevalence of bullying, violence, drug taking and racketeering in prison are potential releases from the boredom prisoners encounter.

Diversions and blocking techniques are considered by some prisoners as a proactive mechanism to sustain personal control (Greer 2002); in particular some types of television programmes are considered more appealing than others, with some preferring quiz shows (Jewkes 2002a:92) or preferring to listen to radio than watch television (ibid:92). Jewkes links this to Cohen and Taylor's study suggesting that television viewing could create 'possible mental and physical deterioration, and feared being reduced to a vegetative state, almost literally a 'couch potato' (ibid:92). She stresses that it is 'more to do with how prisoners *feel* about the possibility of their mental and physical health eroding' rather than it actually deteriorating (ibid:98). Cohen and Taylor (1972:105) remark that prisoners can develop 'obsessive concern with signs of deterioration' as there 'were examples of people who had turned into cabbages'.

Conversely, mental stimulation is not always desired, and some prisoners find ways to escape arousal and seek opportunities to sedate themselves. Cope's (2003) study into young offenders' use of cannabis in prison highlights some of the advantages of sedation through drug use and other means,

*A common way to suspend time was by sleeping, because it forced time which was consciously omnipresent in prison, to become unconscious again...the demand for sleep, a lack of exertion, the noise in prison from inmates' music or their*

*conversations, depression, the stress associated with prison life and lack of space meant getting to sleep was difficult. (2003:167)*

Her respondents found that cannabis helped prisoners to sleep and ‘a way to control, repress and suspend time’ (ibid:168). Other advantages included opportunities to alter realities whilst high; a form of mental escapism (ibid:168) from the harsh environment in which they are placed. In addition the routine and patterns of use in prison also provide inmates with a schedule ‘to demarcate’ time by having an ‘activity’ to focus on. Cope also found that respondents preferred certain drugs over others, suggesting that cannabis and heroin are ‘prison drugs’ (ibid:169). The sedative qualities of these kinds of drugs provide prisoners with a technique to overcome some of the painful experiences such as isolation, especially during the night whilst locked up in their cells. Liebling (1992,1999) suggests that drug and alcohol misuse (before and during prison) are indications that they struggle to cope and that this is a risk factor for suicide and self harm. However Cope finds that drug use in prison was believed to be protective against such harms in prison, a ‘form of self-medication’ or ‘numbing’ (2003:170) and thus asserting ‘their status as a prison copper’ (ibid:170), and resist prison socialisation or ‘prison mentality’ (ibid:172). Paradoxically drug use and supply in prison is fraught with difficulty and a drugs culture has become common in modern prisons (Crewe 2006:348).

In contrast Jewkes (2002a:102) found,

*Like drugs, then, television can provide a refuge from the harsh realities of life, filling large amounts of self-time which otherwise might be given over to introspection. But like any habit-forming substance, it is an object of complex and frequently conflicting emotions.*

There is much debate about the addictive and soporific qualities of television (Alasuutari 1999) and respondents in Jewkes’ study are also aligned to some of these debates. Some of her respondents were fearful of the addictive nature of television and how it may quite easily interfere, distract and disrupt their progress (2002:103- see also Johnson 2006) in prison, yet others welcomed these kinds of outcomes (ibid:129). She also noted how prison

staff were perceptive of the 'plug-in-drug' principle and that 'the increasing reliance by prison authorities and staff on using television to occupy and pacify an otherwise potentially volatile population represents an important change in philosophy and purpose of imprisonment' (ibid:174- see also Crawley 2004:125).

### 3.3.3 Time Management

It is generally agreed that time feels qualitatively *different* in prison (Sykes 1958; Cohen and Taylor 1972; Jewkes 2002a; Wahadin 2004) and this is often experienced as disorientating. Coping with deterioration and social isolation is also impacted by time. Time becomes focused as prisoner experiences are

- Equated to a period of time i.e. their sentence length
- Strictly regulated and organised i.e. routine
- Unstructured i.e. periods of empty time

Cohen and Taylor (1972) note that the qualitative difference of time in prison for long termers is that it is central to punishment, it 'served rather than used' (1972:89). The 'landscape of time, past and the future, and the actual significance of the present moment insistently occupy the mind' (ibid:91). Imprisonment deliberately disrupts one's timeframe and so 'prisoners live for the present...out of necessity' (ibid:91). Long-term prisoners have two options, by 'surrendering himself to this meaningless world as a life project or obsessively thinking about the future- a near certain way of doing hard time' (ibid:92). They also observed that the totality of the regime and routine, that each day and hour is rarely different, prisoners need to find ways to 'mark' time to slice up hours, days, weeks and years spent inside, which they note are not provided for by the institution or the staff. As a result prisoners take on this responsibility, 'to create stages themselves. They build their own subjective clock in order to protect themselves from the terror of the 'misty abyss'' (ibid:95). For example achieving mental or physical progression through learning skills, studying or exercise (ibid:95) and thus 'marking out improvements over time' (ibid:96) whereby the 'external clock may be partially abandoned in favour of such subjective markers as changes in mood or feeling' (ibid:96). They suggest there is a 'lack of a chronology of events' (ibid:96). Instead they argue prisoners create or seek out events and

interruptions or observe the passing of other prisoners through the system. They suggest that some prisoners have surrendered the fight to decline and instead turn their energy towards 'learning how to deteriorate' (ibid:105).

Jewkes' (2002a) work departs from the notion that prison is devoid of any form of chronology, in that mass media brings a defined schedule. In addition media can define what Jewkes calls 'good' and 'bad' times in prison (2002a:98). These 'polarised positions' (ibid:99) bring 'conflicting emotions' (ibid:99), such as weekends, when the atmosphere is more relaxed but there is little structured activity available. In addition night time brings much needed privacy but amplifies isolation and loneliness (Burman 1988:140 cited in Jewkes 2002a)

The juxtaposition of situated and mediated activity provides company and a distraction from oneself in which personal dilemmas and problems can easily enter the mind. Jewkes does not explore this notion of 'introspection' completely in her work. Yet, media like television can therefore both distract and encourage introspection (Rose 1999:270).

#### **3.3.4 Managing Emotions**

Socialisation assists social agents to manage emotion in different settings (Crawley 2004:46). As a result many forms of social interaction requires 'emotional labour' (Hochschild:1983) in settings which 'suppress or re-present' our 'own private emotions to make them appropriate or consistent with a situation' (Crawley 2004:47). Also 'different zones offer different degrees of emotional freedom' (ibid:48), and experiencing environments which limit emotional freedom could mean that people 'become estranged from their own feelings' (ibid:48). Crawley asserts that 'emotions are controlled by those in power defining what is meant by emotionality, and then imposing a pathology on expression of emotions' (ibid:48) brought about by structural pressures. This is particularly relevant in prison settings. Crawley's work on the lives of prison officers outlines the 'emotional labour' involved in this work. Following this model Greer (2002:119) also observed that female prisoners were expected to retain emotional composure; 'individuals become cognizant of definite feeling rules (emotion norms and display rules (expression norms) through their encounters with others'. Thus emotion is controlled to account for the

situated activity in line with a setting's contextual resources (Layder 2004:18). The cultural code of prison is harsh, in that emotion of prisoners and staff is heavily regulated and the freedom and opportunities to display certain types of emotion are limited (Crewe 2009: 334). Critics of Goffman's concept of 'mask' state that the performative nature of interaction overlooks feelings and how emotions are managed (Scheff 1988). As Crawley states prisons are 'emotional places' (2004:130) and this is 'a topic that has largely escaped academic attention' (ibid:130). De Haan and Loader argue that,

*...it is hard to see how the analysis of crime and justice can adequately proceed...without serious attention being paid to the place of emotion in social life.*  
(2002:243)

Crawley argues emotion is central to the everyday work and practice in prisons 'through the day-to-day performance and management of emotion that the prison itself is accomplished' (ibid:130-1). Thus to ignore emotion erases the social reality of everyday life (Layder 2004:24). Crawley explains,

*...they are places in which large numbers of people are held captive against their will. We know that prison is an emotionally painful place for prisoners and prisoners are infantilised in most regimes...attempts by prisoners to ameliorate the pains of imprisonment are often met with hostility and resentment by prison staff...staff-prisoner interactions and relationships are often emotionally charged, not least because the degree of intimacy involved in working with prisoners is relatively high...prison officers are obliged to manage their own emotions as well as those of prisoners.* (ibid:131)

For Crawley, 'the management of prisoners' emotions is attempted at both the level of the institution and at the level of the individual officer' (ibid:132). Garland (1991) observed that the 'privatization of disturbing events' to include punishment contribute to what Elias (2010) defines as the civilizing process. Garland argues that penal practice becomes 'sanitized' and 'rationalized' and it is encouraged for emotions to be concealed from public view or contained to specific activities (1991:235). For example criminal justice

interventions such as cognitive behavioural therapy encourage offenders to 'address' their emotions and behaviours associated with offending. Jefferson's description of 'therapeutic discipline' (2003:55) located in HMP Grendon's therapeutic community describes the 'emotional labour' involved in prisoners participating and benefiting from this kind of approach and prison staff are considered to be key 'therapeutic instruments' (ibid:63). It is well documented that Grendon's regime is not easy for prisoners to endure (Wilson and McCabe 2002; Smart 2001). In this therapeutic context emotions are essentially expected to be displayed and channelled within a therapeutic framework. Consequently, Grendon is a setting in which emotional freedoms are increased and prisoners are encouraged to 'interact in a more reflexive and considered way' (Jefferson 2003:132). Yet this remains the exception. As in Crewe's study of a Category C prison, mechanisms to control and regulate social relations and emotion are 'designed to enhance legitimacy' (2009:113). The process of rationalization is therefore adding further pains to the experience of incarceration by amplifying feelings of 'frustration and fatalism' (ibid:113).

Crawley suggests that prison officers are key to managing 'the emotions that prison generates within *them*' (2004:132), the ways in which officers achieve this are by managing and presenting their own emotions in certain ways. These for Crawley are synonymous with 'machismo' (ibid:132) displaying courage, authority, fearless instead of 'non-masculine' emotions like stress, fear and anxiety (ibid:133), she argues that male officers are careful not to communicate too many 'female' emotions such as care and compassion, conversely female officers rely on these to avoid conflict (ibid:133). Hence there is a landscape or 'emotional map' (Hochschild 1993) that officers and prisoners learn i.e. the inmate code (Irwin and Cressey 1962). Expressing emotions in a prison environment is a risky business, for prisoners showing anger can result in disciplinary action and time in segregation, or if a prisoner is distressed, upset or depressed this can stigmatise the prisoner and make him or her vulnerable to other prisoners (Crawley 2004:139). Like officers, prisoners find 'emotional zones' within the confines of the prison space and these zones are understood to serve an emotional purpose. For example prison gyms are zones to display aggression through the outlet of exercise, prison chapels often witness emotional outbursts like sadness, grief or loss, and visiting areas permit affection. Less is known about the prison cell



as an 'emotional zone', as Martel (2006:600) found, feelings of loneliness are experienced most frequently during locked up periods, we also know that prisoners enjoy and find pleasure in leisure time, accessing media and accomplishing crafts and writing letters home, all of which take place in the prison cell (Jewkes:2002a).

Emotions are relevant in coping, yet the surfacing of emotion in prison settings is routinely framed in much of the literature as not productive. Emotions are considered harmful and destructive, and interfere in the grander project of punishment. Layder (2004:13) highlights that control is widely debated, yet scarce attention is given to personal control. It seems maladjusted and poor copers receive the most attention in prisoner literature; good and ambivalent copers are often ignored, and little attention has been given to 'healthy' forms of personal control. Coping and the emotions that are involved manifest on a continuum and prisoners find themselves adept at coping and also disabled at different stages (Mohino et al 2004; Rokach 1997). It is established that television and other media provide audiences with opportunities to experience, witness and feel a range of emotions and moods (see Chapter 4). Much less is known outside the psychological paradigm however, about how audiences *explicitly* manage or govern and regulate their emotionality with media in everyday life. This omission applies also to the small raft of prison audience research. In accounting for the range of emotions prisoners experience, a more explicit description of this is needed in relation to media use in everyday prison life. As Zamble and Proporino (1988) highlight, prisoners' personal control is likely to involve a range of emotions that require continuing management. With the injection of media and specifically in-cell television into the prison landscape, opportunities to work through the range of threats (or not) towards ontological security are now ever more extended and diverse:

*...some men sink into depression and hopelessness, while others feel comfortable, contented, or even happy. From our results we can say that most fall some here in between, coping day by day and minute by minute, and surviving intact and more or less unchanged... (ibid:15).*

### Summary

Overall, prisoners experience varying degrees of deprivation and employ different protective devices to counter the pains of imprisonment. The limits of interactive encounters in prison amplify the harms of incarceration. Therefore media interaction has a significant role to play as a protective device and is thus valued highly by prisoners. Evidence presented here begins to suggest it assists in problem-focused coping and most significantly in emotion-focused coping (Lazarus and Folkman 1984) to deal with social isolation and deterioration, as well as managing time and emotion. This review has highlighted the linkages and inter-play between the social domains of prison life. A prisoner's psychobiographical status is acutely challenged by the setting in which he or she is placed, and the constraints within prison complicate access to cultural resources. Situated activity is often displaced by mediated activity in the prison setting as a mechanism for coping. Prison audience research has begun to highlight the role of media use in terms of coping and harm minimisation. Yet this review indicates that the field of emotion in the sociology of imprisonment remains under-developed, as Elias states

*Every investigation that considers only the consciousness of men, their 'reason' or 'ideas', while disregarding the structure of drives, the direction and form of human affects and passions, can from the outset be of only limited value.*

(2010:486)

Thus including emotion can provide a more embodied examination of social action and social reality, and this needs further interrogation within prison audience research. There is a danger that the prisoner experience is becoming 'over-rationalized' (Frazier and Meisenhelder 1985) and thus it is timely to introduce the vocabulary of emotion in prisoner audience research. This will enrich and bring prison thinkers and policy makers closer to *what matters* in everyday life. In order to understand more closely the prisoner audience, the next chapter examines the *audience* in more detail, by examining theory and research of television audiences. Building on the themes developed in this chapter, the next chapter considers the role of the audience and how they respond to everyday life, culturally, socially and emotionally with television.



4

## Chapter 4- Audiences of Television

This chapter departs from the previous two chapters and introduces theory and research on the audiences of television. Drawing from sociological studies of mass communication consumption, it also examines significant research on psychological responses to television use. This chapter is wholly focused on what audiences *do* with television rather than what television does to audiences. By considering the kinds of relationships audiences have with television, research evidence can highlight the kinds of journeys audiences are making with television with some understanding of what factors motivate these transactions (Moore 2006). This chapter will outline the impact that television has on the experience of everyday life (Silverstone 1999a), who these audiences are and what research has suggested about the nature and composition of audiences. It will also review how audiences employ television to enable a range of strategies to manage their daily and emotive lives. This chapter ends by reflecting on this literature with respect to the prison setting and reports what research has identified with respect to media use by prisoners: it draws from an extensive literature, yet selects key studies and insights to consider the dimensions of viewing television in non-domestic settings<sup>15</sup>.

### 4.1 Television and Everyday Life

The extensive work of Silverstone and Moore has been significant in providing research based evidence to account for how television enters 'lived cultures' (Moore 1993). In summary their work has been influential in accounting for how the introduction of mass communications, particularly in the home, has had a significant impact on the ways in which social relations have developed across a number of areas in everyday life. By observing the kinds of journeys social agents make with television, it is possible to observe the linkages between social domains, which can reveal the sociological effects of everyday life itself.

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<sup>15</sup> As a result, key debates which appear across media studies are excluded from this section i.e. 'effects' research.

Silverstone and Moores agree that the context in which television is received and consumed cannot be ignored and thus aspects of their work have important significance in understanding the dynamics and inter-play between all social domains. Their epistemological positions have therefore been significant to the design of this study (see Chapter 5).

Silverstone's account in *Television and Everyday Life* (1999a) is a synthesis of empirical studies of television using sociological and psychological traditions. Silverstone asserts that he is 'trying to provide an account of what I have to call the *experience* of television: the experience of television in all its dailiness, in all its factuality' (1999a:2 italics in original text). He articulates that human experiences in modern everyday life are neither straightforward and the

*...palpable integration of television into our daily lives [has] emotional significance, both as disturber and comforter; its cognitive significance as an informer and misinformer; its spatial and temporal significance, ingrained as it is into routines of daily life; its visibility, not just as an object, the box in the corner, but in a multitude of texts...its impact both remembered and forgotten; its political significance as a core institution of the modern state; this integration is both complete and fundamental...* (ibid:3)

These dilemmas transcend all aspects of daily life and Silverstone begins his discussion by proposing that individuals, institutions and society at large are problematised by order. The transformation of the modern world brought about by 'technology-led changes' (ibid:2), as a product of industrialisation, have had social, economic and political consequences. These consequences to social reality include sets of anxieties, and thus television is for Silverstone (see also Moores 2004) a vehicle for securing order and managing anxiety which manifest in everyday life.

Silverstone does not offer an explicit description of these anxieties, but uses Giddens' account of 'ontological security' (2009:92) as a response to how individuals manage their sense of self and social relations. Like Giddens, he acknowledges that ontological security is

learnt. In order for this to be mobilised, humans are required to actively engage with people, places, events and institutions. In essence the actual experience of these interactions permits the development of trust and as a result they realise, albeit unconsciously, tensions, threats and hazards. Giddens argues that 'what is mastered is an extremely sophisticated methodology of practical consciousness, which is a continuing protective device...against the anxieties' (2009:99). He notes that the sites in which ontological security is developed have been modified since technological and economic developments. Giddens' concept of 'time-space distanciation' (ibid:21) is a feature of this, and human experiences have begun to move away from situated or face-to-face encounters to mediated modes of interaction through electronic media such as television and radio. Layder's view of ontological security adds that this is never completed (2004:42).

Mediated relations are risky and according to Giddens are 'not for the most part psychologically satisfying' (1989:279). Silverstone's work extends Giddens' ideas by synthesizing this with psychological approaches; 'objects relations theory, there lies the seed of a potentially powerful explanation for the space that television occupies in culture and in the individual's psyche' (2009:8). It is the symbolic attachments that help individuals to obtain comfort (Winnicott, 1974:116). Comfort and trust are therefore products of social action. Since television provides space for social action and experience, it is also a place for the development of security, trust and comfort which,

*...television will become a transitional object in those circumstances where it is already constantly available or where it is consciously (or semi-consciously) used by the mother-figure as a baby sitter: as her or his own replacement while she cooks...The continuities of sound and image, of voices or music, can be easily appropriated as a comfort and a security, simply because they are there.*

(Silverstone 1999a:15)

Television is thus a care-giver, and this is reinforced by the fact that 'television survives all efforts at its destruction...it is eternal' (ibid:15). The care giving qualities are enhanced because 'television is a cyclical phenomenon. Its programmes are scheduled with consuming regularity. Soap operas, weather reports and news broadcasts provide a framework for the

hours, days and weeks of the year' (ibid:15). Trust and comfort is for Silverstone sustained through the familiar and the predictable' and television can reliably provide these features (ibid:19).

Moore's (2006;2004) more recent work contributes important theory to that of Silverstone. In particular the concept of 'experiencing' television and other media with specific focus to the 'feelings' of living in a mediated world; Moore's foregrounding of emotion here is considerable, yet still remains underdeveloped in the shape of empirical study. Moore considers the 'relationships, meanings and experience' with special attention paid to the 'circumstances of technologically mediated communication' (2004:69). Thompson's (2011) typology of interaction is pivotal to Moore's discussion, and he argues that mediated interaction is not sufficient to explain the unique nature of experiencing media like television. To distinguish these differences the term 'mediated quasi-interaction' (Thompson 2005:33) can be adopted. Thompson's interactional theory claims that non-face-to-face interaction, mediated or quasi-mediated means that interaction has 'different spatial and temporal characteristics' (ibid:32). He explains that these forms of interaction become 'stretched across space...stretched out or compressed in time' (ibid:33). For Thompson mediated interaction relates to contact between people at a distance i.e. through letters or telephone, which require technology to facilitate the dialogue. Unlike direct interaction, mediated interaction means that the scope of cues such as body language becomes restricted. For mediated quasi-interaction he refers to media such as broadcast and print and thus one significant difference is that the dialogue is potentially open and without boundaries; the media's messages have the capacity to reach large and unknown receivers. The opportunity for receivers to respond are also restricted and thus do 'not have the degree of reciprocity and inter-personal specificity' (ibid:33) and thus relationships manifest as what he calls as 'non-reciprocal intimacy at a distance' (ibid:34). The term mediated interaction however is readily adopted to account for all non-face-to-face forms of interaction, in short the absence of direct co-presence and symbolic resources that individuals exchange dialogically. Layder's (2004) account of situated activity emphasises co-presence within this domain, alternatively co-presence at a distance can be viewed as a version of activity that is mediated in which exchange of dialogue is extended or stretched

beyond a direct or intimate encounter; thus mediated activity. Layder does not explore the concept of mediated interaction in his discussions of social relations.

Moore extends the concept of 'mediation' as forms of action; *intimacy, grief, pathologisation, sociability, and doubling*. These facets for Moore are characteristics of mediated quasi-interaction. For 'intimacy at a distance' he relates to Horton and Wohl's (1956) 'para-social interaction', whereby audiences connect and relate to television personalities. Moore reiterates that encounters with television characters are not sporadic but routinized and 'serialised' and audiences build up relationships over time (2004: 75). Audiences have comfort in knowing when they will appear, because they are habitually available. Meyrowitz (1985) claims that 'media friends' are best explained when personas unexpectedly die and that the many 'people may experience a sense of loss...new genre of human grief...the media provide the most ritualized channels of mourning' (1985:120). Grief of this kind can stir emotions of loss, despite the fact that most audiences haven't met the dead persona, yet these emotions for some are real, felt and genuine.

Moore however does identify that the 'bond of intimacy' can also be problematic, particularly for some social groups. Pathologisation outlines how vulnerable groups of people identifying with characters and even events can become obsessive (Horton and Wohl 1956). Moore is cautious about this type of application to social groups and this in itself is a mechanism for labelling deviancy. Pathological audiences are located and described only within certain social groups such as children and women and these typologies are morally and culturally constrained. Compulsive mediated relationships for these groups presents a 'problem' for social order, they challenge the social norm. Sociability, is a defining characteristic of much of Moore's earlier work, also explored by Scannell (1996). Sociability as described by Scannell has specific outcomes for individuals, because 'they seek nothing more than pleasure of each other's company' (1996:22). For audiences elements of pleasure in media consumption can propel their choice; people are not forced to consume mass media. However the construction of certain media texts like news and chat shows offer a mode of address which makes them inherently sociable; meaningful, accessible, familiar and conversational; thus audiences are drawn in. Central to this is what Scannell



describes as the ways in which mediated interactions construct a 'mood of interaction' (ibid: 147), or as Moores describes a 'mood of sociability' (2004:86) and that the construction of moods is not homogenous, particularly for the receiver. Readings of particular texts are framed by a vast range of diverse sociological and psychological biographies of individuals such as gender (see Morley 1997). Moores extends the concept of sociability further in the recognition that media talk is conversational, by use of everyday language.

Moores explains that 'when place gets doubled in practices of electronic media use, it is necessary for us to recognise how social relationships can be pluralised too' (Moores, 2004:99). He describes that this has allowed for 'simultaneous mixing of interactions, in that they allow for a consideration of how physical and mediated proximities intersect, having various relational consequences' (ibid:102). Moores' earlier work expands upon the problem of mediated interaction reflected in a number of studies he conducted. The 'mediated interaction order' (2000:135) encompasses both the dynamics and consequences of mediated interaction. Central to this discussion is the shifting of 'arrangements of time and space' (ibid:136), 'cultural experiences of modernity' (ibid:136) and 'constructions of self-identity and community'. Overall Moores asserts that 'modernity...is characterised by certain sorts of proximity' (ibid:145) and that television, as well as other media, allows individuals to get close to interactions, situations, times and places. With respect to trust and order, television provides a kind of social glue which can regularly provide comfort and distraction from the problem of order. Hobson (1989) noted that television content, like soap operas, provides opportunities for audiences to share experiences. Talking through problems and events can provide an opportunity for individuals to work through their own problems and recheck their moral and emotional positions and practice (see Wood 2009; Gorton 2009). The transformations of social relations as a result of the use of and access to mass communications can also be evidenced in a small body of literature which charts the 'domestication' of technologies (Berker et al 2005). The following section is included to signal important consequences to social relations of the entry of broadcast media to domestic life, which run parallel to the much delayed entry to prison cells (see Chapter 2).

#### 4.1.1 Inserting Television into Everyday Life

Silverstone(1994) and Moores (2004; 2000; 1996; 1988) present rich descriptions of the construct of 'domestic' by offering historical and cultural accounts of communications in the domestic sphere. In addition the work of Spigel (1992) and O'Sullivan (1991) provide important historical accounts of the introduction of television into the home during the post-war periods 1940-1950. The domestic sphere, like television, has its own history and the collision of television with domestic life has resulted in renewed understandings of everyday life. The term domestic encompasses different categories as it

*...subsumes home, family and household, and one which is an expression of the relationship between public and private spheres...The domestic is being seen as increasingly isolated and removed from the mainstream of modern society, and only reachable through technical and heavily mediated forms of communication.*

(Silverstone 1994:50-1)

Spigel (1992), O'Sullivan (1991) and Moores (1988, 1993a,b, 1996) provide empirical accounts of the introduction of broadcast media into the domestic setting. All report the effects that this had on social domestic life, accounting for the impact on social relations and the ways in which the spatial and temporal qualities of everyday life were directly adjusted.

Moores' (1988:31) research on radio describes how this brought about a movement from public life towards the 'interior'. With radio, homes became much more welcoming places; it provided some families with opportunities to come together. Equally Spigel (1992) noted the same outcomes with television's introduction to North American homes. She also reported that interior spaces were deemed by some to improve living conditions and opportunities for some audiences through the educational qualities television was perceived to deliver (1992:113 see also O'Sullivan 1991:166). This research also remarks on the ways in which householders accommodated the object into their living spaces and the extent to which they made room for the radio or television. In the early years of their

introduction, radio and television were perceived as luxurious items and thus treated by householders in largely formal ways. Radio and television consumption were framed as events; typically with families gathering together to tune in (Moore 1988:28; O'Sullivan 1991:163). Both O'Sullivan and Spigel report that within a relatively short period of time a 'television viewing culture [became] established' (O'Sullivan 1991:159) and the uptake of television rapidly increased during the 1950s, gaining momentum during the post-war periods. Television soon became 'naturalised' into the spatial and temporal features of everyday life (O'Sullivan 1991:178).

O'Sullivan observed that television began to colonise domestic time and space, impacting on the ways in which space was used within the home and how leisure time was used (1991:167; see also Moore 1988:38). However, the encroachment of broadcast media's entry into the private sphere raised anxieties. As Spigel observed broadcast media was represented as a 'unifying and divisive force in the home' (1992:9). Despite the attractiveness of radio and television, television particularly was perceived as an intrusion into private family life (Moore 1988:26). O'Sullivan noted that respondents reported feelings of guilt and that television got in the way of other domestic or leisure activities (1991:168). Spigel found that television was often represented across a range of cultural artefacts as a metaphor for disease and that television was considered by some to be contaminating the social body (1992:113).

Spigel and also Moore's work on satellite television (1993) identified how the domestic space became 'a house divided' (Spigel 1992:65), whereby, instead of the unification of householders consuming the same broadcast at the same time, householders were beginning to withdraw into separate private spheres within the home itself (ibid:65), or 'gridding' (Moore 1993b:375). For Spigel, television was framed as the new 'patriarch', adjusting the dynamics of power within households (1992:60). O'Sullivan noted that conflict about the scheduling of television viewing in the household created tensions that had not been experienced before. In particular, householders with children were worried about the seduction of the 'innocent' with fears that their children may become corrupted by broadcast messages (Spigel 1992:50). Hence families began to negotiate how family

members, particularly children, accessed and received television. However, for women, broadcasts provided important companionship and connection to the world beyond (temporally and spatially) the domestic sphere (Moore 1988:33; O'Sullivan 1991:177). Broadcasters set about targeting their audiences and thus modes of address allowed audiences to be directly identified. As Moore found, broadcasters set about encouraging and instructing mothers to adhere to idealised roles of motherhood and to take direct responsibility for their children and family. For Spigel television became an 'instrument of social sanitation', a mechanism to bring social agents under control (1992:111 see also Rose 1999:269). Moreover broadcasters provided children with their own programmes broadcast at a time to coincide with times of the day when their carers were particularly busy, such as the lead up to meal times. The care-giving qualities of television tacitly smoothed television's entrance to the family home and despite anxieties television and radio became accommodated into everyday life (Silverstone 1999a).

A significant theme identified most extensively by Moore is the impact that broadcast media has on human geography. Television audiences can be 'simultaneously staying home and imaginatively going places' (1993b:365). Drawing on Giddens' notion of time-space distancing consuming mediated interaction has a 'disembedding mechanism' (ibid:372) and thus audiences are able to extend their 'reach' and access places and times beyond their immediate private experience. Moore argues 'new formations of community [are] possible' (ibid:371). With the introduction of satellite television in the 1980s, some audiences were beginning to extend their viewing repertoires, which for some provided a refreshing and alternative set of mediated excursions. Hence audiences' identification with cultural life began to transcend local and even national boundaries (ibid:368). Moore highlights how research should continue to review these features, which he recommends to include a consideration of time use by audiences (1993b), space and place (2006), and a consideration for the role that television has in the 'creation of collective identities' (1993b) and more recently the emotive features of everyday life (2006). Indeed Spigel and also O'Sullivan report the emotive facets of the kinds of relationships audiences have with their television sets and programmes and the extent to which this is inter-twined in the daily practices of everyday life. The dynamics of family and private life, through inquiry into

media use, can uncover an often silenced facet to everyday life. This body of work provides important criteria for evaluating the effect of in-cell television's introduction to prisons.

## 4.2 The Television Audience

### 4.2.1 Who are television audiences?

The nature and composition of audiences is complex and routinely described by theorists as problematic (Ang 1991, Silverstone 1999a, Bird 2009, Gorton 2009). In contemporary society everybody is part of an audience, knowingly and unwittingly. Audiences are also difficult to observe as they are not fixed groups since they are plural and diverse in nature (Moore 1993:2 see also Silverstone 1999a:151). Morley (1997:87) explains that,

*It might be best to think of the audience less of an undifferentiated mass of individuals than as a complicated pattern of overlapping sub-groups and sub-cultures, within which individuals are situated.*

This departs from traditional or 'mediation' models of the audience, where an audience is the receiver of messages and is thus subject to the effects of the medium. Silverstone (1999a:134) explains that this model relies on the effects of technology, ideology, culture and text on the audience and some proponents of this model suggest the receiver is inherently passive. Although this model has significance, most audience research located within the sociological paradigm has favoured the 'reception' model (ibid:143). This model characterises the active nature of the individual which accounts for how viewing experiences are inherently social and also takes into account the levels of engagement (see Radway 1987).

Alasuutari (1999) captures the development of the fields of inquiry in audience research and defines three overlapping generations of this work as *interpretive communities*, *reflection on the everyday* and the *ethnographic turn*. These phases are thematically arranged rather than sequenced based on a chronology of research. The first, 'interpretive communities' is the body of work which draws upon post-structuralism or discourse theory (see Foucault). Within this phase Alasuutari includes the influential work of Hall (1980) who defined the model of audience interpretation as encoding/decoding. Hall's theory contributed

significantly to an understanding that audiences are active and the ways in which audiences or viewers relate to texts is associated with the ways in which they make sense of the texts they consume or 'decode'. Here audiences actively position themselves and this directly influences the effect of the message received. Morley's study of audience interpretation; *Nationwide Audience* in 1980 was directly influenced by Hall's model, in which he found relationships between socio-economic status and the decoding positions of different audiences.

The second generation includes a direct progression from Morley's first study to his *Family Television* (1986). This phase focuses on the reflection of the everyday in which this body of research draws heavily on feminist and also fandom theories. The work of Brunson (1981; 1986), Ang (1993; 1991), Gray (1987), Radway (1984) and Hobson (1982) all contributed significant theory to account for the ways in which women in particular negotiate their daily lives where media also features. The third phase, the ethnographic turn, locates research as essentially ethnographic; employing ethnographic research strategies to locate and map the role of mass communications in everyday life in their natural settings. Lull (1990), Moores (1989; 1996), Silverstone (1999a) and Morley (1986) sought to capture the nature of privatized consumption within domestic settings.

All of these bodies of work have provided empirical and theoretical insights to account for the composition of audiences and the conditions under which individuals negotiate their daily lives with and alongside mass communications. Much of the research presents the audience as acutely gendered, in so much as their maleness or femaleness is intertwined within the conditions of media consumption. In locating the role of social identities upon reception, emphasis on context has become increasingly valid to researchers. In order to appreciate for example the role of pleasure in media consumption, Ang (1993:9) emphasizes the need to locate and position viewers subject positions within broader social contexts in order to understand their interpretations. Silverstone (1999a:154) stresses the importance of social context and relations in sites of reception in order to fully appreciate the ways in which television viewing is active. He suggests that 'the relationship between television viewing and social structure is not explained but only mediated by a consideration of

domesticity' (Ibid:157). Morley (1989:38) asserts that research needs to account for the 'domestic complications'.

Overwhelmingly the nature of ethnographic work in this area, which is also subject to criticism, has often dangerously slipped into what Morley (1997) describes as 'essentialism'. Reflecting on his own work Morley (1997) offers a critique of his *Nationwide* project and *Family Television*. Morley recognises how his interpretation of family domestic life with television presents family life and also viewing activity as acutely gendered.

Morley's study of family viewing of television saw the disappearance of text from audience reception work (Silverstone 1999a:150). Morley's focus was to account for the 'natural' viewing context and to document the activity of viewing television rather than audience responses directly to television texts. Alongside Lull's (1990; 1989) work on family viewing (discussed in the next section), Morley explored the significance of power and gender within social relations in domestic settings. Interviewing families (including children) he suggested how men and women use television differently, at this stage he accounted for overlaps and blurring of some of these differences, primarily based on gender. For example he found that men are attentive to television and women watched distractedly. Men, he found, liked to plan their viewing whereas women were less likely to do this. He also found that women prefer fiction and men prefer to select factual based programmes. He also asserted that men and women negotiate time and space within the domestic landscape differently; for example men returned home from work to a site of leisure, whereas the women framed the household as a site of work: thus active television consumption was often described as a guilty pleasure for women (1997:153). These differences were identified directly by Morley at this point as a direct influence of broader social structures based on power such as patriarchy.

Morley (1997:159) refers to Ang and Hermes' (1991) account on the problem of gender essentialism (ibid:160) and acknowledges 'a reductionist form of analysis which takes 'women' as a simple, natural collectivity with a constant identity', as a result gender dominates the discussion. Assuming a gendered consumption of media results in emphasis on relations of power being fore-grounded at the cost of not fully examining features like

everyday routines e.g. in relation to use of time and space. Hermes (1991:6) highlights that these facets are also considerable to relations of power. Morley states that his sample fails to include other variations of 'family' or household units (1991:163). As Lull (1989) discovered in his investigation of family viewing in India, he observed how television was positioned which directly impacted on the seating arrangements of viewers. Moreover, Medrich (1979) and Kubey (1986) found variations amongst disadvantaged (economically and educationally) households' viewing behaviours.

Morley also responds to his work reflecting on the psychological needs of audiences. He briefly acknowledges that his interpretation of gendered consumption relates to the different ways social agents are expected to respond to texts and their act of viewing. Morley fails to extend this discussion beyond the scope of psychoanalytical perspective adopted by screen theorists. His interpretations begin to suggest the kinds of control and constraints different social agents have with emotionality. Hence the ways in which viewers talk about television adhere to the emotive conventions of social life or 'feeling rules' (Hoschchild 1985). Despite his praise for Lemish's (1982) research on television consumption in public places, his self-critique unsuccessfully takes inspiration from the possibilities that viewing of television is not always located within the home.

McCarthy's (2003) analysis of television in public spaces offers insight into the modes of spectatorship. She observes that television in public spaces like shops and bars has a significant impact on how television is consumed and interpreted (see also Lemish 1982). In addition, the small body of research on prison audiences has begun to open up important discussions about the nature of audiences and the conditions in which consumption occurs (Lindlof 1985, Jewkes 2002, Knight 2001, Vandebosch 2000, Gersch 2003, Bonini and Perrotta 2007, Hajjar 1998- on nursing homes).

Silverstone's (1991:132) discussion 'on the audience' is also valuable and highlights the tensions of inquiry in an attempt to guide reception theory towards the 'multiplicity or to measure the extent of its contradictions'. Silverstone is much more assertive in rejecting 'socially defined social groups...[instead] into a set of daily practices and discourses within which the complex act of watching television is placed alongside others' (ibid:133). Central



to Silverstone's thesis is his discussion of 'active' audiences. He is cautious to wholly accept that all audiences are 'active' and the nature of television viewing itself further complicates this term. As Livingstone (1990:193) suggests 'an active viewer need not be alert, attentive and original'. Silverstone's point is that the activity of television viewing can occur in different modes. From a theoretical perspective, he usefully draws upon the relationship between activity, action and agency (1991:152). He highlights that 'the active audience is, minimally, a tautology' (ibid:153). What he means is that audiences have 'psychologically and sociologically defined differences' (ibid). Thus activity of viewing has varying significance and meaningfulness and it is necessary to consider the degrees of difference this makes on the individual (ibid:154). Silverstone refers to Radway's (1984) work on women's consumption of romantic fiction and he highlights consuming action 'does not necessarily lead to greater liberation' (ibid). Silverstone suggests that audience research often overstates the active qualities of viewing and to a degree he argues this can represent audiences as 'free and unfettered' (ibid:155).

Silverstone, Moores and Morley all agree that to understand the audience, ethnographic research strategies are necessary to highlight the 'dynamics' of everyday life, and to account for how social agents 'move in and out of 'the audience'' (Morley 1997:197). Moores (2006:1) has more recently recommended that audiences are conceptualized by their 'habitual movements' in everyday life (including media use). This also acknowledges that this can occur outside the traditional domestic sphere (McCarthy 2003).

#### ***4.2.2 How Television is Used in Everyday Life***

This section highlights some of the ways in which television audiences make sense of their use of television and motivations for its use. As Silverstone (1999a) has highlighted, such use is not always meaningful or even obvious, and the presence of television in daily life permits a number of sociological and psychological functions. The enticement of television is not always an attractive proposition either. This section will introduce two influential typologies which provide an important framework for reviewing the function of television in everyday life.

The first model known commonly as 'uses and gratifications' originates from the work of Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) later refined by McQuail, Blumler and Brown (1972) and has been influential on audience reception theory. This model locates four 'uses and gratifications' of mass communications as:

1. **Diversion**- a form of escape or emotional release from daily pressures
2. **Personal relationships**- companionship via television personalities and characters, and sociability through discussion about television with other people
3. **Personal identity**- the ability to compare one's life with the characters and situations within programmes, and hence explore personal problems and perspectives
4. **Surveillance**- a supply of information about 'what's going on' in the world

According to this model audiences are motivated to use and access media for a range of 'rational and emotional needs' (Silverstone 1999a:143). The uses and gratifications model intimates that selection and consumption of television is acutely conscious and assumes that audiences are complicit in their selection of material. This model combines psychological and sociological qualities. Some critiques suggest it is not sufficiently sociological as it fails to review the context of consumption (Morley 1997:54).

Silverstone notes this model is 'based on the idea of sociability: that the individual was embedded in a network of neighbourhood, community and group relations' (ibid: 144). It provides a range of opportunities for individuals to be social, to interact and engage. Like situated activity, viewing and listening incorporates modes of interaction and exchange, yet it is well documented that mediation and its product, reception, is not the same as face-to-face situated interaction (Thompson 2011; 2005). Personal value in mediated interaction should not go unnoticed and the uses and gratifications model stresses the sociological and psychological resourcefulness of media use.

Lull's (1990) study is a sociological extension of the uses and gratifications model. His ethnographic study located in North American used participant observation and in-depth

interviews with family members. His analysis defined a model to describe the 'social uses' of television within family homes:

**Structural:**

1. *Environmental instrument*: background noise, companionship and entertainment
2. *Regulative*: to punctuate time, create talk patterns and plan activities

**Relational:**

3. *Communication facilitation*: experience illustration, common ground, conversational entrance, anxiety reduction and agenda for talk
4. *Affiliation/ avoidance*: verbal contact, family solidarity, family relaxant, conflict reduction
5. *Social learning*: decision-making, behaviour modelling, problem solving, value transmission, information dissemination, substitute schooling.
6. *Competence/ dominance*: role reinforcement, substitute role portrayal, intellectual validation, authority exercise, gate-keeping and argument facilitation (1990:35)

The 'structural' uses of television explain that individuals employ television as an 'environmental resource' (ibid: 35) and as a companion to the home's routines, offering a background noise. The structural features include television as a 'behavioral regulator' (ibid:36), i.e. punctuating time. He found that people manage their lives around the television schedule, for instance eating, bedtime and chores. It was also observed that conversation may be shaped by these routines and he noted that 'taking part in community projects, recreational activities, or outside entertainment are directly influenced by the scheduling of television programs' (ibid: 36).

For the 'relational' uses, Lull describes how family audiences arrange their social situations around television. The behaviours or responses in relation to this were noted by Lull into

four uses or functions. The first is 'communication facilitation' or a mechanism to create or enter conversation such as permitting children to access to adult conversations. Lull also states that 'conversational discomfort is sometimes reduced when the television is turned on ...also, the program being watched creates an immediate agenda for talk where there may otherwise be none' (ibid: 37). Another function is concerned with 'affiliation/avoidance' which is 'a resource for the construction of desired opportunities for interpersonal contact or avoidance' (ibid: 38). He goes on to say 'television viewing is a convenient family behavior which is accomplished *together*...A feeling of family solidarity is sometimes achieved through television-induced laughter, sorrow, anger, or intellectual stimulation' (ibid:39). As for avoidance, television viewing is considered as a distraction from tension and conflict or 'a kind of social distractor' (ibid:39). Television can provoke certain 'psychological transformation [s]' allowing a space for fantasy and pleasure that can bear on interaction with others, such as intimacy between couples.

Lull identifies 'social learning' function where media can deliver a range of information which can 'provide an agenda for decision-making, actions which have important implications for society, the family unit, and the individual' (ibid:41). Lull argues that 'television provides an abundance of role models which audience members find socially useful' (ibid:41). Parents can use television as a tool to educate their children, especially those that align to values that marry to their own. Moreover for adults, television can be a place to help build opinions and accomplish interactions by 'demonstrating competence' (ibid:41); the function of 'competence/dominance'. Within the family sphere this is regularly displayed; for instance the mediation and control of children's viewing. In addition access to television is dependent on behaviour too and often recruited as a tool for reward and withdrawn as punishment. Decisions about who gets to watch which programmes are a matter of dominance e.g. based on gender. He also added that 'some viewers capitalize on the one-way nature of television by verbally assaulting the characters, newscasters, or commercials' in attempts to exert dominance over content (ibid: 42). Equally 'family members often use television as a validator of contested information, thereby demonstrating intellectual competence' (ibid: 43).

Lull's work is important for recognising the social functions of television, especially within the 'family sphere'. The extent to which either of these models is appropriate for non-domestic settings remains limited. The work of McCarthy (2003) on television in public places and also Hajjar (1998) on television in nursing homes captures some the features of non-domestic use of television. These outline some of the qualities of the uses and gratifications tradition, yet do not offer a typology. More assertively, Jewkes' (2002a:10) study on men in prison directly modifies the uses and gratification model to account for 'motivations sought' and 'meanings desired' (ibid:63).

Her critique of this model includes how the gratification model emphasises agency over structure or context and thus ignores the conditions of reception. Jewkes found that modification was necessary in her study of prisoners in order to also explore 'internal gratifications' much more explicitly (ibid:116). She was able to overcome difficulty in locating 'identity' through their narratives by tracing their self-reflexive accounts of media use in prison. Other criticisms of the gratification approach include the premise that power and interest in media use and access is equal (Elliott 1974:251). Morley accuses this model as being too open and grounded in function rather than meaning (1997:52). Gersch (2003:54) found that such typologies were not necessarily reflective or responsive to the prison audience, due to the conditions and challenges the context brings to prisoners. Ang (1991) is also critical and is cautious to accept that all audiences cannot be as active as these typologies would assert (2000:485). As Jewkes and Gersch already identify, this is particularly salient for prisoner audiences. Yet as Jewkes acknowledges these models are useful 'orienting device[s]' (2002b:206). Hajjar (1998) highlights the fact that the effect of control and regulation in institutional settings (nursing homes) remains underdeveloped in such typologies since many of her sample had little choice to control what programmes were selected, as this was in the hands of their carers (ibid:18).

Vandebosch's (2000) interpretation of the uses and gratifications model focuses on the potential for media use to be 'therapeutic', in prisoner audiences using media to combat the pains of incarceration. As Blumler (1979:22) recognises, too much of the gratification research is framed in terms of 'environmental deprivation' and little has been developed to

describe the nourishing qualities of media use with respect to personal control or the emotive dimensions of everyday life, as these models are principally functionalist (Layder 2004). The next section explores television viewing from a psychological perspective. The inclusion of this material is necessary to illustrate how audiences use television to manage their life situations and emotionality.

### 4.3 Television and Mood Management: Television as Antidote

Lull's (1990) concept of 'social uses' of television provides a useful framework for identifying what audiences do with television, yet such models fail to include how audiences' affective responses to everyday life are implicated in this process. This research has mostly taken place in North America and employs both media theory and psychological theory (social psychology and cognitive behaviour), by making use of psychological assessments in the shape of questionnaires using scaled responses (psychometric tests) by employing quantitative analysis. Hence, little attention is paid to the social and physical conditions in which television is used. This body of research can highlight important relationships and configurations of how individuals respond to material from television. Moreover sociological studies have rarely provided a full account of audiences' emotive responses to everyday life. An explicit description of the affective dimensions of social reality remains underexplored within the sociological paradigm (Gorton 2009).

The term 'mood management' is offered by Zillman (1988) which

*...applies to the selection of any type or genre of communication...as well as to selections within these types of genres...Needless to say it deals with all conceivable moods rather than with a single, specific affective state, such as dissonance... individuals strive to rid themselves of bad moods, or at least seek to diminish the intensity of such mood (1988:328).*

He argues that Festinger's (1957) selective-exposure theory 'posits that exposure to counter-attitudinal messages produces dissonance, an experience that is noxious and that individuals are striving to terminate' (1988:327), similar to what Layder (2004) defines as 'need claims'. The importance of pleasure in media use is widely documented in sociological

audience research (Radway 1984; Ang 1993). The physical, economic and social constraints of daily life mean that television is a medium that can overcome some of these barriers and moving between different or mediated experiences is practical for many audiences.

Zillman offers a typology for mood management theory. First 'mood-impacting characteristics' (ibid:331), which can be understood as 'excitatory potential' relating to the intensity of moods as a result of received messages. He describes how certain stimuli can resolve certain moods, for instance exciting messages might help alleviate boredom and soothing and relaxing messages can help reduce irritation. He also notes the problem of 'absorption potential' of messages and this is realised by gratifications expected by the receiver. Zillman recognises that this is problematic and that there needs to be a 'semantic affinity' between mood and the message. He notes that 'hedonic valence' of messages is important to bring about certain moods, that stressful messages could perpetuate stress. He found, however, that when respondents were placed under pressure and stress they actively selected exciting material over and above relaxing material. Equally respondents who were placed under boring conditions overwhelmingly selected exciting material. Zillman states 'it can be suggested that exciting programs are capable of calming hyperexcited persons because their distraction effect may outweigh opposing forces' (ibid: 335). Where individuals find it difficult to escape dissonance and where social and physical constraints prevent this, the role television can play is important. Gratifications described as 'hedonistic consumption choices' are employed when real life situations cannot be resolved.

Much of the work on mood management that has followed Zillman is summarised as three broad categories; *loneliness and isolation*, *depression and stress* and *anger and irritation*. In addition the role and functionality of television with respect to mood management also links to personality traits such as addiction and provides a mechanism for managing and enhancing quality of life.

#### *4.3.1 Loneliness and Social Isolation*

Studies into loneliness and television use (Perse and Rubin 1990) and social isolation (Finn and Gorr 1988) consider how the 'locus of control' (Rotter 1954) is managed by individuals. It was noted by Rotter that internal control means that an individual believes they can control events that ultimately pay dividends for them, external controls means that others influence outcomes for them. Loneliness can lead to boredom, passivity, helplessness and depression. Withdrawal from social interaction may be an outcome of loneliness due to circumstance such as been housebound, out of work, ill or lacking in social confidence and self-esteem. Research shows that chronic loneliness is not always resolved by media use, as other factors such as age also impact on television use in these circumstances. Perse and Rubin (1990) found that the chronically lonely engage and interact less with friends and family and social activities, and that media use only increased with radio, and that television served to pass the time (1990:47). Finn and Gorr's (1988) study on social isolation and support found that 'once the gratification obtained is identified, it is relatively easy to trace the causal chain to its psychological and social origins' (1988:153). As a result television viewing is deemed as 'social compensation'.

Rubin (1993) examined the effect of individuals' locus of control on communication selection, feelings of anxiety and levels of satisfaction. He found that 'external control signifies ritualistic communication motivation, interaction avoidance, and communication dissatisfaction. Internal control means finding interaction rewarding and satisfying' (1993:168).

Locus of control is therefore instrumental in identifying different kinds of rewards individuals seek from communication outlets. Rubin argues that 'because internals and externals believe differently in the efficacy of one's effort to alter outcomes, communication motivation and levels of anxiety and satisfaction should differ for internals and externals' (ibid:163).



### *4.3.2 Stress and depression*

Anderson et al (1996) found that women showed levels of television addiction in relation to stressful situations. They also found that stress was associated with an increased selection of comedy and the avoidance of news programming. Stressed women watched games shows and men chose action and violent programmes. Stressed men increased the amount of time of overall television consumption. They state that 'people use media to replace thoughts that might produce dysphoric moods and choose media content that induces positive mood states' (1996:257). They argue that, 'TV viewing may be an appropriate and positive coping strategy to temporarily reduce stress and anxiety' (ibid:257). Bryant and Zillman's (1984) study highlights that bored individuals are not necessarily seeking excitement or high levels of arousal (1984:4). This also convenes with Klapp's (1986) thesis that information led societies result in individuals becoming overloaded with material, which can create boredom (see also Anderson 2004).

Potts and Sanchez (1994) examined television viewing in relation to depressive moods and found that selections were made as a route for escaping these feelings. In particular news programmes were found to increase the intensity of depressive moods. They examined 'enduring negative mood state[s]' (1994: 80) in relation to television viewing motives and outcomes. These negative mood states occur in different degrees of intensity, but intensity does not necessarily equate to clinical depression. For negative moods television has been found as a suitable distraction enabling temporary relief. The intensity of depressive moods was also negatively correlated to news viewing, especially for men (1994: 86). They also warn that 'stimuli that could potentially exacerbate those feelings' (ibid:87) and are not helpful for people experiencing intense depressive moods or clinical depression. Instead programme selection is 'more likely [to] represent management of a limited set of mild "everyday" moods and psychological states such as boredom or stress...depression was not related to heavy TV use or increased importance of TV in the lives of persons in this sample' (ibid:88).

### **4.3.3 Anger and Irritation**

Concerns about viewing certain types of material, especially violence, have a long history (see Bandura & Huston 1961) and television can often be demonised as a corruptor of moral values and negative audience behaviours, particularly in relation to groups deemed vulnerable such as children and the poorly educated (Jewkes 2011:15). Atkin et al's (1979) study involved children and their parents and found there was a 'significant relationship...between prior orientations and subsequent program choices' (1979:11). The study emphasises that selection of programmes according to mood overrides the notion of 'viewing-causes- aggression sequence' or effects model (ibid: 11). Age and gender were found to be influential in the types of content preferred and parents limit their children's choices based on their own attitudes and values, rather than their children's own choices (ibid:12).

Peck (1995:59) found that audiences' consumption of television 'talk-shows' which include crisis, conflict and social problems can help audiences to seek routes for conflict resolution. Boyanowsky's (1977) argues (see also Tannenbaum and Gaer 1965; Eyal and Rubin 2003) that the prospect of threat result in some viewers expressing the preference for violent mediated content (1977:134). He found that 'in the low and high threat conditions [they] indicated greater preference than non-aroused controls only for film clips depicting male against male violence' (ibid:140). He concludes that 'overall, subjects in the low threat condition were most affected by the content of all films viewed, as evidenced by significant changes on ten mood scales' (ibid:142).

### **4.3.4 Quality of Life with Television**

Kubey's (1990) study into the quality of family life and television found that television does bring families together. Yet conversation during television viewing can be limited compared to other non-mediated activities (1990: 316- see also Lull 1990). Kubey noted increased states of relaxation compared to situated forms of interaction, however they were less cheerful and less socially interactive (ibid: 317). Watching together was noted as being more positive than watching alone, however interaction away from television was overall recorded more positively. Kubey also acknowledged the diversity of family life and the

dynamic effect this has on reception. For example single, divorced or separated viewers sought companionship and time filling qualities of television, compared to married couples, who sometimes use television to bring together the unit or family or as a mechanism for avoiding conflict or confrontation.

Moskalenko and Heine (2003) found that television viewing is a potential route for 'watching your troubles away' and that television use increased if these problems were not resolved. Self-awareness was identified as a key factor for permitting the success of these kinds of activities (2003:76). In particular they frame their study based on Baumeister's (1991) notion of 'escaping the self' (ibid:76). In particular the desire to seek 'dramatic experience' 'presents an opportunity for people to take on the role of observer instead of being observed' (ibid:77). In summary, being an observer is considered easier than being observed (ibid :78). Television viewing and more specifically positive mood enhancing television content is a distractive mechanism from themselves. This study failed to account for group viewing or acknowledge the context of reception.

Frey et al (2007) considered 'does watching TV make us happy?' and found that 'heavy TV viewers, and in particular those with significant opportunity cost of time, report lower life satisfaction. Long TV hours are also linked to higher material aspirations and anxiety' (2007:283). They found that 'heavy TV viewers report lower satisfaction with their financial situation, place more importance on affluence, feel less safe, trust other people less and think they are involved in less social activities than their peers' (ibid: 302). These characteristics are synonymous with people who have large amounts of time at their disposal such as the elderly, housebound, unemployed and even prisoners. They suggest that lengthy 'TV viewing may indicate imperfect self-control, as well as miscalculation of the long-term costs of TV consumption, reducing individuals' well-being' (ibid:305). People who are time poor might assess their time more closely and strive hard to manage their levels of satisfaction. Thus their television viewing may be less, but the quality of satisfaction is greater than those who watch more. Sirgy et al (1998) examined the perceptions of the quality of life and television viewing and found particularly in the USA that television can

make people unhappy (1998:125). Corneo's (2005) economic analysis of time spent watching television is positively correlated to the amount of time spent at work (2005:100), since television viewing is a 'solitary leisure' activity (ibid: 101). They explain that 'individuals who work a lot have already consumed most of their energy endowment...they thus turn to activities that do not require much individual energy' (ibid: 111). Putnam (2000) however suggests there is a direct decline of civic engagement as a result of television viewing and the proliferation that it has in everyday life.

The prevalence and abundance of television is heavily embroiled in most people's lives. The behaviours and outputs of this kind of affiliation have often raised concerns about the dependency of television for audiences, and it is not unpopular to claim that television viewing and consumption is addictive (McLuhan 1964). For example Kubey (1994) aligns behaviours and responses associated with television viewing with substance dependence and that withdrawal symptoms can be experienced if this is reduced or removed. Kubey and Csikszentmihalyi (1990) account for the relaxing and sedative effects viewers can experience and note that withdrawal and guilt were described. McIlwraith (1998) found in his research that television addiction is not a clinical fact (1998:372). He found that self identified television addicts were conscious of their addiction and 'they were more generally unhappy, anxious, and withdrawn than other viewers...generally more emotionally unstable...have trouble tolerating boredom or idle time and are sensation seekers' (1998:376). He also argues that 'television dependence may be a symptom of, and a way of coping with depression and anxiety rather than a problem in its own right' (ibid:382).

This body of research, although limited in its scope to locate more fully the conditions of the sites of reception provides empirical insight for examining the ways in which social agents' affective circumstances inter-play with the ways in which television is employed. This literature will provide additional insight across the findings chapters of this thesis.

#### 4.4 Putting Television into Prison

The previous chapters have discussed the body of prisoner audience research with respect to prison and prisoner perspectives. All of the research draws upon uses and gratifications approaches. The studies are fundamentally sociological, yet some also employ psychological theory to inform their analysis (Lindlof 1985; Vandebosch 2000). This section will conclude by indicating the gaps in the prisoner audience research.

##### 4.4.1 Impact on Social Relations

The introduction of mass communications to prisons has extended the nature of social relations. The traditional view that prison institutions are effectively quarantined and sealed societies (Goffman 1991) is challenged by the expansion of interactive opportunities. As outlined earlier in this chapter, media use offers audiences alternative routes for social interaction; 'mediated quasi-interaction' (Thompson 2005). This enables individuals to 'reach' or extend their contact beyond their immediate locale (Moore 1996), and has heightened significance for prisoners because it provides legitimate routes to 'escape' the prison. As Bonini and Perrotta (2007:186) and Jewkes (2000a,b) found the use of electronic media permits a legitimate separation from prison life and provides prisoners with some privacy, which is in short supply. Vandebosch (2000:535) found that prisoners use large quantities of television partly due to the lack of activity in prison; yet the compelling features of media use enable prisoners to legitimately disappear into their cells and retreat from the public life of prison (Lindlof 1986:191 see also Harrison et al 2004). Lindlof (1986:353) suggests that relationships and social relations become displaced, or as Jewkes (2000b:212) explains, it permits integration as well as disengagement.

With respect to integration, the theme of surveillance (see chapter 2) is commonly reported across this body of research. Media consumption for many prisoners allows them to remain *connected* to the broader social structures as well as provide material to stay close to local and personal interests. Jewkes (2000b:215) and Lindlof (1985:188) for example found that news (print and broadcast) provides an important role in sustaining citizenship. Jewkes noted that male prisoners were compelled to watch factual programmes, such as wildlife documentaries, in an attempt to improve or enhance their learning. Knight (2000) and

Gersch (2003) found that media use, particularly television and music, enabled prisoners to feel closer to family such as children or friends on the outside. They could re-live domestic scenarios of watching together for example, or provide symbolic material for talk and conversation with family and friends. Media can provide a mechanism for prisoner audiences to transport from the temporal and spatial constraints of the prison setting. This was also found to be important for prisoners to connect to their own sense of self (Jewkes 2002a). Jewkes emphasises that media is a valuable source of empowerment for prisoners. Incarceration deprives prisoners of autonomy, and their ability to make choices is routinely denied. Media use is one of the few opportunities prisoners have to make choices for themselves in order to sustain their identity and ontological security (2002b:211). Gersch (2007:9) corroborates this, but unlike the position in the UK where viewing now occurs inside cells, prisons in North America are organised differently and viewing mainly occurs in groups. Gersch found that individual prisoners were often coerced into viewing material that was not necessarily aligned to their own personal choices (ibid:19). This accentuated and continued to divide prisoners largely based on race and thus the rules of viewing were tacitly governed by different ethnic groups within the prison (2004:11). Like Jewkes (2002a,b), Vandebosch (2000:40) also reported that media use was important for sustaining sub-cultural identities. These of course are broad and diverse, yet for Vandebosch prisoners were motivated to watch crime news or fiction which she aligned with their criminal identities (ibid).

Lindlof (1986:353) found that using television was the best medium for prisoners to displace relationships and withdraw to the privacy of their cells and thus disengage from social relations. Jewkes (2002b:222) found that the introduction of television resulted in a settling effect observed by prisoners and staff; prisons had become much 'quieter' whereby television provides prison staff with a tool to pacify and distract prisoners relatively easily and thus locking prisoners in their cells became effortlessly ratified. Harrison et al (2004) also found that interaction between staff and prisoners became limited and respondents believed this to be directly attributed to the introduction of in-cell television. The negative effects of television use were also noted by prisoners, and according to Jewkes' (2002b:222) they feared passivity and idleness. Yet some prisoner audiences were happy to be distracted

from both the world of the prison and from their own thoughts (Jewkes 2002a:98). If carefully used, media can divert them from 'introspection' (ibid- see also Bonini and Perrotta 2007:189). With respect to selection of mediated material, it has been found that prisoners make choices in order to resist dominant or even pro-prison or anti-criminal agendas. Jewkes (ibid:124) found that some prisoners selected texts that 'highlight injustice or discrimination', which enables a mechanism for resistance (ibid:145). Lindlof (1986, 1985) also found that the choices prisoners make with respect to their inmate career are intrinsically bound up with the ways in which prisoners access, choose and consume media. (see also Knight 2000).

#### **4.4.2 Constructing and Managing Daily Life**

With social relations being stretched and modified, prisoners are also able to both subscribe and disconnect from the temporal and spatial structures of everyday life. The need to escape or survive the physical conditions of incarceration is also an important feature of adaptation (Martel 2006). This section will report what prisoner audience research has documented with respect to *time* and *space*.

##### **Time**

Achieving 'good' times can be enhanced by media use, for example by recreating domestic routines, rituals and social occasions that are punctuated and shaped by media events or markers, particularly in broadcast schedules (Jewkes 2002a:100). As a result pleasure in planning viewing or listening to broadcasts gave prisoners a tangible temporal structure to look forward to. The mundane and repetitive nature of the prison routine is further amplified by the limited opportunity to engage in purposeful activity. This can amplify boredom (Knight 2000; Gersch 2004; Lindlof 1985). Media use therefore enables prisoners to fill time by offering an activity in order to cope with the dichotomies of time -highly structured regime and unstructured time (Jewkes 2002a:111). Prisoners are able to actively 'dissolve the structural shackles and barriers that hold them' by using media (Ibid:114). Bonini and Perrotta (2007:190) found that the use of radio can alter time and accompany other activities; this was also important for securing private times as well as keeping up to date with the broader social structures. This, they found, was important for minimising

'cultural jet-lag'; the fear of losing touch with social and cultural progress (ibid:191). Moreover they found that it helps prisoners to distinguish different parts of the day, week or seasons and thus not become victims of the monotony of time (ibid:190).

However the gains of media use are also undermined. The passing of time for some prisoners is painful, as Jewkes (2002a:98) found the dailiness of broadcasts and print media, although providing important markers, can accentuate separation from the outside world or even slow time down. Jewkes found that prisoners were often frustrated at their inability to contribute to public life that many broadcasts instigate (ibid:108). Moreover their use of media was limited to the 'traditional' or 'chronological' time and prisoners were unable to time-shift using VCRs or other recording equipment (ibid:112). Seasonal markers in the annual calendar such as Christmas were also sometimes painful for prisoners, and some television content amplified the nature of time passing and reinforced their absence. The fear of aging and stagnating whilst in prison was sometimes a dilemma prisoners reported to Jewkes (ibid:98). In managing daily life the introduction of electronic media into cells means that most prisoners cannot independently organise their 'own' routines. The coerced living arrangements of prisoners mean that the organisation of time requires negotiation (Lindlof 1986:353). He argued that television is best suited to single cells, as those that share cells are unable to fully benefit from the positive qualities television can offer. The need to negotiate viewing is often fraught with difficulty and can create conflict based on taste and levels of control (ibid). Media content for prisoners was also viewed by some as boring (Vandebosch 2000:533).

### *Space*

The impact of media use on the temporal features of everyday life in prison is also connected to the spatial features, and similar senses of separation it can enhance or even improve can also be attributed to space. Jewkes (2002a:91) remarked on the distance media use can evoke and in some instances this distancing only served to amplify disconnection from public life. In attempting to achieve control over the space they inhabit, Jewkes and Knight (2000) found that prisoners actively try to recreate a 'sense of home' (Jewkes 2002a:93). The ways in which prisoners negotiate space, as they do with time is



dichotomous. In some instances prisoners wish to create distance between themselves and the prison setting and connect to public and private life beyond the prison. Equally prisoners wish to withdraw and distance themselves from public life; there is a 'declining significance of physically bounded space' as media provide a route for prisoners to travel beyond the confines of the prison space (ibid:108). Bonini and Perrotta (2007:191) explain that this modification is not necessarily 'escape' but a means of survival. Gersch (2007) asserts that television particularly is placed inappropriately into the physical conditions of the prison; it is communal rather than in-cell. Gersch found that the nature of public viewing served to reinforce division amongst prisoners and thus most prisoners were unable to use television in meaningful ways (2007:13). Due to constraints of access defined by the privilege system prisoners' opportunities to fully employ television and other media can enhance 'communication poverty' (Knight 2000). This only serves to remind and reinforce their status as prisoners and hampers their ability to completely transcend time and space through their media use in the same way as non-prisoners audiences are claimed to do.

#### *Care Giving Qualities of Television*

Prisoner audience research captures the significance and amplified value of media use for prisoners. Despite some of the dilemmas prisoners are presented with through using media, the care giving qualities of television are evidenced in this body of work, yet remain underdeveloped. These are related to the 'deprivation' model of incarceration (see Chapter 3) and prisoners are mostly active in the ways in which media use can reduce the pains of imprisonment (Sykes 1999). In relating this to media theory the cognitive and social outcomes of media use in this setting are not dissimilar to non-prisoner audiences. However, prisoners did report that they changed their 'consumption to attune to circumstances' (Jewkes 2002b:213). This does not necessarily mean that their consuming behaviour is distinctly practiced in different ways from non-prison audiences, but modifications and motivations to access certain media texts for example are in direct response to the conditions of the prison.

Making autonomous selections where possible to cope with everyday life is evidenced also in prisoner audiences, for example Harrison et al (2004:13) reported the relaxant qualities of

television, Jewkes (2002b) noted the importance of media use on striving for ontological security. She also found that overcoming deprivation of heterosexual relationships can in part be satisfied by the pleasure and companionship of media personas (ibid:218). Gersch (2004:14) found that some of her female respondents described how certain programmes such as reality shows or dramas enabled the women to look at their own selves in terms of their circumstances and identity. They reported that these programmes facilitated learning about oneself and thus working towards self-improvement. Knight (2000) and Harrison et al (2004) also emphasised the importance of media in enhancing a sense of safety and security. Knight particularly noted that the chronic levels of boredom bring about detrimental assaults to the self and thus respondents frame the provision as an important mechanism for minimising self-harm. As with non-prisoner audiences, the flow of television particularly can assist in reducing social isolation and loneliness (Perse and Rubin 1990; Finn and Gorr 1988). Like parents with children, staff could pacify prisoners reliably since viewers' attachments to television are perceived to be intense and reliable (Silverstone 1999a). The relationship between media use and harm minimization is evidenced but significantly remains underdeveloped in this field of inquiry. Vandebosch (2002:529) describes this relationship as 'therapeutic' but unsuccessfully articulates the nature of this particular function. Gersch's (2003) thesis discusses sensitively the emotive structure of everyday life with mass communications but she underplays the importance of this with respect to the range of social domains i.e. psychobiography, situated activity and contextual resources. The psychological and cognitive strength media use also gives to Jewkes' (2002a) respondents is widely documented in her work, and facets of explicit emotive dimensions such as boredom and frustrations are regularly overlooked. My earlier work (Knight 2000) includes boredom, but falls short of relating this to other emotive states and the direct influence of the material and symbolic conditions of life in prison.

Overall this body of research is extensive and work by Jewkes (2002) and Gersch (2003) provide an in-depth sociological examination of the complex role of mass communications within prison settings. Gersch's examination of the living conditions of prisoners is useful, but these conditions in the USA do not easily contrast with the arrangements in place in the UK; in the USA television is watched communally. In line with broader media theory,

particularly in relation to television studies, prison audience research would benefit from a closer examination of the direct living conditions in which television has now been placed, i.e. the prison cell.

### *Summary*

This final literature review outlined how television has brought about an expansion of social relations (temporal and spatial) by extending the potential reach of its audiences, which is mediated activity. The uses and gratifications model has begun to demonstrate how media can offer nourishing and reparative outlets for audiences. It is evident that domestication of television has focused predominantly on the household as a site of reception. Prisoner audience research has begun to offer additional insights into the nature of viewing, with researchers recommending modification of some media theory to account for the conditions of incarceration.

This review has identified gaps in prisoner audience research, which also corroborate in very similar ways those identified in the previous literature chapters (2 and 3). Across this broad field of study, emotion is largely absent both in discussion of the prison, the prisoner and audience of television. There are also unanswered questions about the place in which television is now placed in prison; the cell. Along with the objectives and what has been presented in these review chapters, the foundations to prepare the methodology are necessary. The next chapter describes this stage.



**5**

## Chapter 5 Methodology

This is a qualitative study which uses an ethnographic research strategy to explore the role of in-cell television in prison. The foundations of this study are informed by Layder's (2005) theory of 'domains' and his 'adaptive' approach. Together these theories have provided a conceptual and practical guide to the research process. This chapter documents the methodological orientation of this research, which includes a discussion of the epistemological and ontological foundations based on Layder's theories. An ethnographic strategy is selected to operationalize the research, which employs television use diaries as well as semi-structured interviews with prisoners and staff. The research was executed in a single prison (local adult male closed) across four phases. Using Layder's adaptive theory with interpretivist techniques, the phased analysis included measures to ensure rigour and quality. The final part of this chapter documents ethical conduct and ends with a reflection on the methodological process, highlighting the strengths and challenges of the process.

### 5.1 Methodological Orientation

#### 5.1.1 Epistemological and Ontological Foundations

As outlined in Chapter 1 the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis are directly influenced by Layder's (2005) model of social reality. This is defined as four distinctive and inter-related 'domains'. Layder's 'adaptive' approach permits the researcher to access different positions across the research process to encourage 'inter-paradigm communication' or the blending of extant theory with emergent data in order to locate relationships between different aspects of social life (2005:146).

The aim of the research is *to explore prisoners' use of in-cell television* and thus this endeavour requires consideration from varying perspectives;

- the social agents- prisoners,
- the object and medium- television,
- the context- the prison, and

- the action- use i.e. viewing.

Hence, a suitable model which permits the researcher to interrogate these components of social life is required. Furthermore, the objectives of this research intensify the focus. For example the objectives require a review of varying aspects of social reality and their relationships. As Layder suggests social reality is a culmination of all these domains and it is therefore not useful to isolate domains as singular and separate entities (Layder 2006:297), as other models may suggest i.e. structuration (Giddens 1990). Capturing social life in research requires synthesis of these spheres, together with an understanding of the associations between them. The following objectives therefore offer a route to exploring domains defined by Layder:

- *To explore prisoners' situated and mediated experiences of in-cell television* – this seeks to record how action, meanings and motivations manifest in distinctive forms of interaction or how television affects everyday encounters. Thus consider the linkages between psychobiography and situated activity domains.
- *To reflect upon the 'social uses' of television in the context of incarceration* – this seeks to record how television is used by prisoner viewers or what the viewers do with television. Thus consider linkages between situated activity, psychobiography and setting domains.
- *To reflect on the role that in-cell television plays in the prison regime* – this seeks to review how television is incorporated into the broader social structures of the prison or how the provision of television is managed by the prison. Thus consider linkages between situated activity, setting and contextual resources domains.

In order to successfully meet these objectives a research strategy needs to consider how evidence can be collected, from which sources, and how the evidence should be analysed. As the objectives above indicate, a range of sources are required to explore the nature of in-cell television in prison. Qualitative sources are required because the perspectives and action of social agents are key to the inquiry. The aim of the study is also broad and exploratory in nature to enable the researcher to refine and become 'progressively more clearly focused on a set of specific research questions' as emergent data is collected and

analysed (Hammersley and Atkinson 2010:3). Moreover depth and intensity of inquiry is valued as a route to exploring experiences in their natural contexts as well as an interpretivist approach to understanding the 'distinctiveness of humans' (Bryman 2001:13). Like Hammersley (1992) and Layder (2005), this research acknowledges that 'an external social reality...can be accessed by the researcher' (Bryman 2001:275), yet what is presented in this thesis is a representation of both single realities and pluralist realities. Instead of the empirical realist position, a 'subtle realist' position is adopted (Hammersley 1992:57). This is a mid-way view of social reality which accepts both subjectivity and objectivity, and is concerned with the personal (micro) as well as impersonal (macro) features of social reality (Layder 2006:296). Together these features correspond with characteristics of ethnography.

### 5.1.2 Research Strategy: Ethnography

Moore (1996) as well as others (Bird 2003; Jewkes 2002a; Gray 1992; Silverstone et al 1991) have adopted ethnographic strategies in their work on audiences of mass communications. Although methods of data collection and immersion in the field may differ from 'traditional' ethnographic strategies, audience reception studies can also share the same intentions (Moore 1993:4). The critical ethnographic approach<sup>16</sup> adopted by Moore (1993) 'is committed to critically analysing culture as well as describing it' (ibid:4). Moore asserts critical ethnography can

*...take extremely seriously the interpretations of the media constructed by consumers in their everyday routines. At the same time, it [ethnography] is not afraid to interrogate and situate their spoken accounts... (ibid:5).*

Interrogating private activities, like watching television and imprisonment, cannot duplicate the traditional ethnography where the ethnographer is immersed within the field of study for extended periods, thus moving beyond its anthropological roots (Hammersley and Atkinson 2010).

Accessing television audiences is difficult for researchers, since the 'private sphere of the household' is physically separated from the public sphere (Moore 1993:4). Lull (1990) and

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<sup>16</sup> Directly influenced by Willis' (1977) ethnography of school leavers' transition from school to the workplace.

Hobson (1980) also report such difficulties, explaining that viewers' consumption of television is also a private activity. Similar challenges are also relevant to prison researchers, as they are often constricted by the nature of the regime and the willingness of social agents to disclose personal and private information. Consequently, there is 'insufficient knowledge about the ordinary world of the prison' (Crewe 2005:349). Moores (2006:3) asserts that media use in everyday life is taken for granted and ethnographic strategies can allow researchers to access social reality in systematic ways (ibid:14). Moores (1993) makes the point that ethnographic strategies allow researchers to interrogate everyday life with television, even though they have spent no more than a couple of hours in a household. In prison environments visiting researchers are also constrained by time.

To overcome these challenges, an ethnographic strategy can be designed to enable the researcher to record meanings, motives, action and feelings of social actors,

*...attending to the meanings produced by social subjects and to daily activities they perform, qualitative researchers have frequently sought to explain those significances and practices by locating them in relation to broader frameworks of interpretation and to structures of power and inequality. (Moores 1993:5)*

In line with the objectives and epistemological foundations of this research, an ethnographic strategy is a valuable approach to adopt, because the ethnographic strategy can, with a mixture of techniques, provide an account for social reality in its natural setting (Hammersley and Atkinson 2010:3). The value of this approach for this particular study is that a critical description of the impact of television on prisoners, prison staff and prison culture can be reproduced. Audience research asserts that private modes of media consumption should fully take into account the context of this activity (Silverstone et al 1991). Adopting Layder's sociological model provides an important platform to ratify the relationships between the domains in everyday life. Television consumption, as research has shown in Chapter 4, is not an isolated activity and encompasses a range of diverse and complex activities and interpretations. In essence an ethnographic approach can allow the researcher to locate the phenomena of inquiry across an intricate web of networks, action and subjectivity, by also paying attention to broader social structures and discourses.



### 5.1.3 The Research Instruments

This ethnography employs two principle research instruments for data collection. The selection of these instruments is informed by the overarching methodological foundations described above. Other factors such as ethical conduct and sensitivity to the prison context have also influenced selection and design. This section reviews the application of 1) television use diaries and 2) semi-structured one-to-one and group interview methods in light of these considerations.

#### *Structured Television Use Diaries*

Television's role in the use of time and routine has waned in recent audience research and 'critical reception' seems to have dominated the audience research (Moore 1996:7). Academic audience research has largely progressed along a qualitative paradigm, and mapping and measuring time (in quantities) in relation to television consumption is largely constrained to the television industry. The quantitative techniques of audience measurement have received criticism, based on the assumption that this will not necessarily provide a clear and precise image of audience behaviour (Moore 1996:5; see also Ang 1991). Silverstone, Hirsch and Morley's (1991) ethnography of householders' use of technology adopted time-use diaries, along with other methods such as interviews, in order to access and record *private* consumption of household members. The authors discuss the difficulty of using this method, yet they deemed this 'essential' as the diaries 'provided an objectification of a week's activities, and one that can be cross-examined – as indeed they were in detailed interviews' (1991:214- see also Zimmerman and Wieder 1977:484). They argue that time-use diaries provided the 'first indication...of the space-time geography of the home' (ibid). They also report that this method enables the researcher to track movements through the domestic landscape and the 'public and the private face of family life began to become visible' especially when coupled with detailed interviews (ibid). This method, as Silverstone et al report, is 'respondent-led', they produce it themselves (ibid:215). Gershuny and Sullivan (1998) also assert that time use diaries can offer researchers a valuable gateway into understanding the sociological features of everyday life.

Prison audience research has not benefited from the same analysis of television that has taken place in traditional 'domestic' settings. Data and information is also available and collated by independent organisations in relation to domestic settings<sup>17</sup>. My earlier work in 2001 employed a time-use diary to capture mass communication consumption, which proved fruitful in understanding the kinds of media selections young male prisoners were making (Knight 2001). Other prison audience studies have documented and analysed media use (Gersch 2003; Jewkes 2002a; Vandebosch 2000; Lindlof 1986). All of these studies remark upon the salience of media use and the qualitative features of time in prison, yet only my earlier work systematically documented the use of prisoners' time and television use. This method raised some interesting questions about the use of time and boredom: due to constraints I was unable to interview diarists, as Silverstone et al (1991) recommend. The ritual use of television has not been explored in prison using this method. As Silverstone et al advise, diaries are not intended to stand alone, rather they are illustrative to the setting's routine, which can be built upon through descriptions made by prisoners based their own viewing repertoires and experience of the prison.

Using this particular method harnesses important theoretical propositions in relation to 'social domain' (Layder2005), in that agency and structure cannot be fully interrogated unless all domains are fully captured (Layder 2004:49). The diaries provide evidence into the *social setting* in which television is consumed and the *situated activity* (or mediated) accounts for times and place of watching television. It is possible to identify points at which television flows into prisoners' lives and 'the kind of 'journeys' that are made' with television (Moore 1993:366). Diaries can account for the kinds of *contextual resources* that diarists are accessing through television, such as types of television programmes selected.

The design of the diary format adheres to what Corti (1993:137) describes as 'structured', where the respondent makes entries and annotations to the format provided by the researcher. Bryman asserts the structure means that the 'diarists can record more or less contemporaneously the amount of time engaged in certain activities' (Bryman 2001:137). The design had to consider respondents' abilities to complete the diary, such as literacy and

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<sup>17</sup> The Broadcast Audience Research Board (BARB) and regulators like Ofcom make audience consumption data available.

ease of completion<sup>18</sup>. The diary was fourteen days long to account for rhythm of viewing and provide an opportunity to explore viewing routines based on weekly and daily patterns. A full example of the diary sheet is included in the Appendices (Appendix 3). However the excerpt below outlines the fragments of data sought from the diarist:

**Figure 3: Data Fragments of the Television Use Diary**

TIME	TV Programme Watched	IN-CELL	OUTSIDE CELL	With Cell Mate?
<b>8am</b>	<b>i.e. BBC Breakfast news</b>	<b>√</b>		<b>√</b>
<b>9am</b>	<b>i.e. GMTV</b>	<b>√</b>		<b>√</b>

Each day of the diary sheet contains 24 separate hourly slots to record the television programme watched according to the time of day. The other fragments allowed the respondent to note where the programme is watched and whether this was in the company of their cell-mate.

#### *Semi-structured interviews*

To build upon the data from the diaries and ‘produce rich, interpretive accounts of consumption’ interviews provided an opportunity ‘to understand situated activities of viewing’ (Moore 1996:6-7). This meant that potential viewers e.g. prisoners, needed to be identified. In light of the objectives and overall research strategy, talking directly with respondents about viewing allowed participants to respond ‘in their own terms...allow for unusual responses...salience of issues for respondents can be explored...useful for exploring new areas...’ (Bryman 2001:143). To account for the ways in which television was accessed, prison staff were also considered important within the remit of this study. The most reasonable method to understand the activity of television consumption to account for ‘meanings and motivations’ (ibid:116) was to directly ask prisoner respondents about their

<sup>18</sup> It is widely documented that the prison population in England and Wales includes a significant number of prisoners with limited basic skills (literacy and numeracy) (Basic Skills Agency 2000)

experiences, rather than observe them. These principles also applied to staff, since they are directly engaged in prison life.

Interviews are co-constructed and the balance of power between the interviewer and interviewee is not equal or neutral. Interviews are based on a complex mix of values, beliefs, agendas and power of researcher and researched. Bird (2003:14) identifies in her ethnography, that interviews are 'power charged verbal encounters' and that participants have different goals. Hammersley and Atkinson (2010:102) advise that

*All accounts must be interpreted in terms of the context in which they are produced. The aim is not to gather 'pure' data that are free from potential bias. There is no such thing. Rather the goal must be to discover the best manner of interpreting whatever data we have, and to collect further data that enable us to develop and check our inferences.*

Commentators have described that the prison and its people are routinely 'silenced' (Waquant 2002, Liebling 1999b). O'Connor (2003) asserts that interviews are incredibly powerful forms of interaction, especially for prisoners. They provide what she calls 'new conversations' and are an 'act of autobiography', whereby the interviewees can take control, to counter the lack of autonomy they routinely suffer, and thus have the capacity to be restorative (see also Liebling 2001:474). In accounting for diversity, Holstien and Gubrium's (1995:117) concept of the 'active interview' acknowledges the shifting and evolving dynamics during these encounters. This suggests that 'identity is never a fixed entity...We present different aspects of ourselves in different contexts. So rather than eliminate multiple voices, we need to examine what voices people use, how they use them and with what consequences...interview participants actively create meaning' (Silverman 2010:226). By adopting this position, subjectivity is favoured. Then the 'subject-positions' of the participants' accounts are directly included into the analysis. Thus the interpretation of data acknowledges that researchers 'are active narrators who weave skilful, appropriately located, stories' (ibid:227). As a result power and partiality can be evaluated and audited.

A semi-structured format was designed for prisoners and staff (see Appendix 4 & 5) to include broad questions about television use and prison life. This was to encourage respondents to provide their own narrative and agendas across the topic. The structure provided a focus, yet allowed the respondents to describe their responses in their own ways based on the topic of in-cell television. This provided an opportunity to seek qualification from their responses as well as introduce additional questions, such as using material from television diaries, directly from policy or observations made during previous visits to the prison (Denscombe 2003:167). Engaging interviewees face-to-face is advantageous with respect to formulating a range of methodological strategies; such as pre-empting further questions for clarification from the respondent; locating categories across the data and reviewing literature, thus beginning interaction between emerging data and extant theory (Layder 2005:166).

## 5.2 Executing the Research Strategy

This section describes how the research strategy was operationalized and includes access to and description of the research site, phased data collection and analysis of the empirical data.

### 5.2.1 Data Collection

#### *Access to the Field*

Gaining access to prisons proved difficult. An Area Prison Service was initially approached to seek permission to access a range of different prisons<sup>19</sup>. Support for the research was granted, however on approaching the prisons (6 in total) directly, access was refused. Prison Governors maintained that their resources were stretched and could not facilitate research visits, despite accepting the value of the research (King and Liebling 2008:436).

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<sup>19</sup> I sought to include different adult male prisons defined by their category (based on levels of security) and also a prison for women. No young offender institutions were sought. Since I was only seeking access in one area, a request did not have to be made at national level via the Prison Service Order 7035. The request at area level included details about the research's aims and objectives, methods and ethical protocols (King and Liebling 2008:435).

I decided to approach the Governor at the local, adult male prison establishment where I volunteer as a member of the Independent Monitoring Board and access was permitted. I was therefore 'embedded' (Harvey 2008:489) in the culture of this particular establishment as a result of making regular visits to monitor the prison<sup>20</sup>. Access to the site was also facilitated by the fact that I have permission to draw keys and I was therefore not a burden to staff. This meant I could enter freely without escort or supervision. A 'come and go as you like' agreement was made after I outlined the research to prison governors and principal staff. I was already security cleared and up to date with security protocol. As a member of the IMB, visiting and behaving responsibly in prison was familiar practice. I continued to be a member of the IMB as well as carrying out the fieldwork. Strategies to manage 'distance' were adopted (see section 5.4).

### *The Research Site*

The research site visited and described in this thesis is a local, adult male category B closed prison with an occupancy of under 1000 prisoners, a relatively small occupancy compared to other local prisons. HMP X's (HMP X from herein) purpose, aside of securing prisoners and protecting the public is to serve the courts in the surrounding area. As a result, many of its prisoners spend time on remand, awaiting sentence. Other prisoners are convicted and often spend most of their sentence serving their stipulated time. Longer term prisoners, including lifers and those on indeterminate sentences also find themselves at this prison, awaiting places at other prisons. Most adult male prisoners will experience a 'local' prison at some stage of their incarceration. The movement of prisoners through this establishment is phenomenal (over 200 per calendar month) compared to other prisons like training and dispersal prisons. HMP X offers limited activity or curricula for prisoners staying here. Opportunities for work were mainly restricted to the maintenance of the prison itself such as cleaning, orderly work, laundry, kitchen work and peer mentoring. This prison provides education both in a designated department and on the prison landings. Many of the prisoners come from the surrounding area and visits therefore are used and accessible to most (but not all) family and friends in a visits centre. This prison also has a healthcare facility (hospital) and some prisoners are able to spend time recuperating in this facility. This

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<sup>20</sup> On average I visited the prison two half days per calendar month to monitor the prison for the IMB.

prison also has a Vulnerable Prisoner Unit, a First Night Centre, a segregation facility, a large kitchen with one serving counter, chapel and multi-faith room, exercise yards, sports pitch, gym, library and specialist centre for prisoners withdrawing from drugs and alcohol. For staff, offices are located on each landing and it has administrative offices, meeting and training rooms, gatehouse and a staff room.

The prison exploits as much space as it can to house and care for prisoners given the limited size and space available and is situated at the edge of a town. When I first entered this prison in 2003 as a member of the IMB, I observed that in-cell electricity was just being completed, therefore television sets could be routinely installed, along with kettles, radios and stereos if desired. Prior to this televisions could only be accessed in a handful of cells or were available in association areas, predominantly on the landings. These communal televisions are still a feature on the landings, although they are rarely switched on.

Apart from healthcare this prison houses all of the prisoners in one wing in which 4 landings or levels are serviced by open stairways. Access to all the cells is along the narrow open landings, apart from sealed and closed sections like segregation. These are closed off and accessible through locked dense doors and not accessible to the general prisoner population. At certain times during unlock general prisoners are free to access the landings, the servery at meal times, library, showers and landing offices. This is however regulated by staff and the prescribed routine and regime of the prison day and there is a system that notes what 'activity' prisoners are assigned to for the day.

Most prisoners in this prison share a cell with another individual and single occupancy cells are only permitted in special circumstances, as a result of a risk assessment (CRSA). The general cells are approximately 7 feet by 12 feet and contain a metal frame bunk bed, toilet (with privacy curtain), sink, a small window with bars and mesh, a wall mounted cupboard, notice board, desk and chair and corner unit with a television set. Many prisoners add their own artefacts including, radio/stereos, food and toiletries, books, letters, CDs, board games, photos, pictures, drawings and prison issue and in some instances personal clothes. The walls between cells are bare brick, usually painted a light green, blue or yellow; natural light is limited and they are dark inside. Electric lights are controlled by the prisoner from inside

and there is a panic alarm which lights up directly outside the cell, which is also linked to the landing office. The cell doors are heavy with a small visibility flap operated from outside the cell door. Prisoners in this establishment eat all of their meals inside the cell and food is collected from the main servery. For those prisoners who can't join the general prisoner population, meals are taken directly to the discrete landings.

### *Phase One- Consultation*

This phase sought to seek guidance from prisoners and staff about the objectives of the research, executing the research strategy and participant recruitment. Informal discussions with senior staff, landing officers and the prison's psychologist provided an opportunity to ratify the aims and purpose of the research as well as take into account their expectations about how the research should be conducted in line with prison protocol. It was made clear at this stage that participation in the research could not include incentives such as payment or goods to prisoners or staff. Instead I gave a donation to the *National Prison Radio* charity at the end of the research study<sup>21</sup>. Staff also arranged an opportunity for direct consultation with a group of four prisoners selected by the prison staff. This discussion took place in a classroom out of earshot of other prisoners and prison staff. This provided an opportunity to describe the research objectives and seek their advice on what issues should be pursued. Through informed consent mechanisms, these participants were satisfied that their comments could also be included in the research. This phase assisted in the preparation of the research tools and prisoners thus helped to review drafted prisoner interview schedules and the television use diary.

### *Phase Two- Structured Television Use Diaries*

A total of thirty diaries were distributed to prisoners. Diarists were recruited in a number of ways. Initially this was opportunistic, where the researcher approached prisoners during unlock periods and invited them to participate. Nine prisoners successfully completed and returned a television diary. Of these nine diarists, six diarists also participated in a single one-to-one semi-structured interviews. The remaining three diarists were unable to or

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<sup>21</sup> National Prison Radio is a charity which broadcasts radio made by and for prisoners. In 2011 it was given permission by the Ministry of Justice to roll out its service to all prisons in England and Wales. <http://www.prisonradioassociation.org/>



refused to take part in an interview. Throughout the fourteen day period visits were made to the prison to check diary progress and offer support to the volunteer diarists. The fourteen page diary and information sheet was provided to each participant along with a freepost return envelope (see Appendix 3 & 5).

### *Phase Three- Interviews with Prisoners*

Recruiting the participants involved a variety of techniques;

- convenience- by approaching individuals directly,
- purposive- seeking out types of prisoners, and
- snowballing- prisoners were introduced by other prisoners or staff (see Denscombe 2003:15-16)

Visits to the prison coincided with unlocked periods to ensure access to prisoners could be guaranteed. Achieving interviews was relatively slow and usually just one interview could be conducted in the morning session *or* the afternoon session. It was also sometimes fruitful to make 'appointments' in advance with prisoners due their work commitments or visits.

A total of nineteen one-to-one interviews were completed with prisoners. All interviewees were asked questions according to a prepared schedule (see Appendix 4). This was to ensure that a full range of topics was covered in all discussions. Alongside informed consent, prisoners' biographical details were obtained including demographic details and their prison circumstances, such as sentence type, number of sentences, privilege status (IEP), employment status, cell-sharing and levels of access to communicative outlets such as television, other media and telephone. This information helped to present a description of the sample and to guide 'purposive' sampling (see Appendix 7 & 8). The sample of interviewees was varied in order to identify and collect a range of responses to include different perspectives and focus, such as interviewing prisoners who share a cell, do not share a cell, and who were on different privilege levels. Six of these interviewees had also completed a television use diary. In these instances the diary was used alongside the interview and these respondents were asked to talk through their viewing selections. Three groups of two 'cell-mates' (six prisoners in total) were included the sample. These

participants were interviewed separately. The purpose of this sampling strategy was to explore the impact of cell-sharing on the use of television. Length of interviews ranged from 1- 2 ½ hours. Twelve interviews were hand written verbatim and seven were digitally recorded<sup>22</sup>. All interviews were transcribed and electronically formatted and stored securely; details relating to names and places were removed from the transcripts. The respondents were given pseudo-names to protect their identity.

#### *Phase Four- Interviews with Staff*

A total of nine staff were interviewed at this research site. This sample was entirely purposive, as staff were selected according to their job role within the establishment. It was also important to include staff with varying degrees of length of service, to enable the study to capture perspectives from staff who had experienced prison work with or without in-cell television. Staff were therefore approached directly by the researcher. My knowledge of the site proved invaluable in order to access key staff, particularly senior management.

As with some prisoners, appointments were made in advance to secure a suitable time for the interviewees. This proved difficult for some staff, particularly officers who work directly on prison landings. Few staff were keen to be interviewed outside working hours, apart from one landing officer who was interviewed on his day off. As with prisoner interviews, all interviews took place in private: in offices, meeting rooms and interview rooms around the prison. A separate interview schedule was prepared for staff, which was informed by emerging concepts from prisoner interviews and with consideration of current policy and agendas (Appendix 5). Informed consent was employed as well as an information sheet about their current role and length of service (see Appendix 9 & 10 for staff sample). All interviews were digitally recorded and subsequently transcribed. Interviewees were given pseudo-names and features related to places and people were anonymised.

Some overlap occurred between phases 2, 3 and 4 and techniques were adopted to assess the incoming data in order to spot data saturation and achieve purposive sampling. The following section on analysis highlights these strategies in more detail.

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<sup>22</sup> Initially the prison Governor declined the use of audio equipment. This was permitted towards the end of phase 3 and authority was given to bring audio equipment into the prison. Some prisoners also declined the use of audio recording for interviews and consented only to a hand written record.

### 5.2.2 Analysis

Layder's (2005) 'adaptive theory' provided guidance on conducting the analysis of the data. Layder's own vision of social reality provided an overarching structure to organising and interrogating the data.

#### *Handling the data*

As described in the section above, transcripts and diaries were anonymised and given identifiers or pseudonyms. All interviews appeared in the same electronic format (A4), with an adjoining column for the researcher's notes and observations that took place during the interview (Denscombe 2003:269). All interviews in their electronic form were imported into *Nvivo* (qualitative data analysis software). Data from the diaries was entered into *Microsoft Excel*.

Boeije (2010:119) highlights that,

*The qualitative research process is characterized by alternating between data collection, data analysis and sampling. These activities cannot be strictly separated, as the researcher jumps backwards and forwards between them.*

This characterized much of the field work stage of the study, whereby gaps of time allowed reflection of the incoming data and opportunity to review the interview questions and sample. Segmenting the data began in the early phases (1,2 & 3) of the research (ibid:77).

#### *Analysis of the Television Use Diaries*

The television use diaries were not analysed in the same way as the interview transcripts. Instead techniques of simple counting to account for time spent watching television each day or week and types of programmes viewed either as cases or as accumulated averages across the sample were used. This information could be further 'segmented' to record groups of time use and viewing according to features like genre, viewing alone or with a cell-mate. As Gershuny and Sullivan (1998:69) suggest, a number of different aspects can be extrapolated from time-use data;

*...the rhythm and sequencing of daily activities; the occurrence of multiple simultaneous activities; the duration of specific activities; the enjoyment of time spent in different activities; and the social context of activities...*

Hence patterns of viewing according to intensity and type were calculated.

### ***Analysis of the Interviews***

This section reports on the phases of analysis and development of concepts

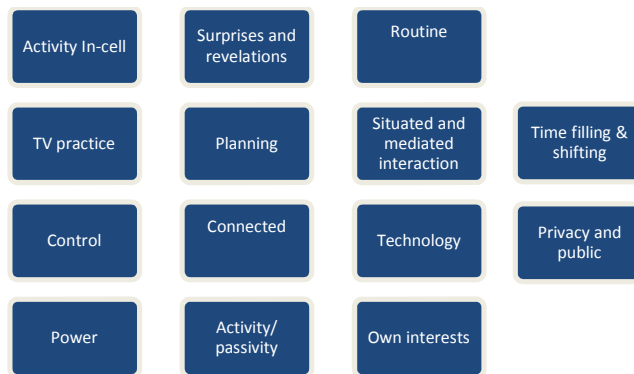
### ***Segmenting the data***

This is a process where parts of the data from the interview transcripts are put into groups. As a result 'topics of relevance' were identified (ibid:77). As Layder (2005:55) asserts, this is the stage which develops concepts.

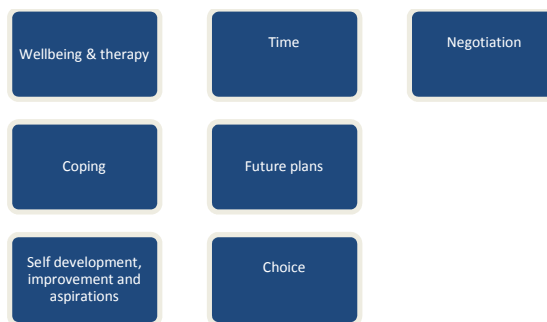
### ***Phase One of Segmenting- Pre-coding***

Similar to open coding, pre-coding (Layder 2005:54) is the researcher's task of 'breaking down...and categorizing the data' (Strauss and Corbin 2007:61). Boeije (2010:96) suggests that codes, which are units of information, 'provide an analytic handle on the data'. The process of pre-coding allows the researcher to develop themes or 'concepts' (Layder 2005:54). Early readings of the prisoner transcripts were categorized according to three broad categories or 'core and satellite codes' (ibid:56); *talking about television, looking after yourself* and *tensions and dilemmas*. For each core code a series of sub-codes were identified. Adopting these initial core codes amplified 'linkages' towards extant theory and also other participants data (ibid:54). The following diagrams highlight the categories initially identified from the prisoner interview phase (3). These three categories and sub-categories were not fixed. As Layder (2005:55) suggests they were 'provisional codes which are subsequently firmed-up and 'validated' by on-going data collection and analysis and may eventually be adopted'.

#### ***1. Talking about Television Concept***



2. *Looking after Yourself* Concept



3. *Tensions and Dilemmas* Concept



These concepts were also initially adopted for the staff transcripts and data fragments from the staff interviews were also attributed to the codes. It was possible to identify from staff transcripts that they were sensitive to *tensions and dilemmas* of television in prison, as well

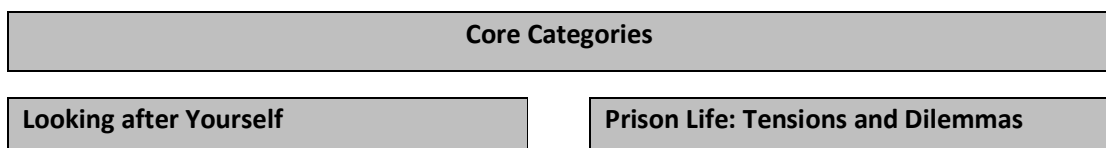
as how television is a mechanism for *looking after yourself*. However there was other material in the staff transcripts that could not be coded using these codes. This is because some of their discussions were heavily focussed on policy and procedures, such as prisoners' access to television, their daily work, and use of policy. At this stage a new category was defined to capture these data fragments.

As fieldwork progressed and more interviews were completed from prisoners, these initial categories were sufficient, as 'newly collected data from comparison cases do not change the outcomes so far' (Boeije 2010:114) A second wave of analysis therefore occurred to refine and review these categories. This phase was a paper exercise and the transition to the *Nvivo* package occurred in the next phase; the development of the code book.

#### ***Phase Two of Segmenting: Axial Coding- Code Book***

This phase refined and extended (or abandoned) the categories as stipulated in the initial segmenting phase. The development of the final categories and codes emerged as a result of intensive reading of the transcripts (prisoners and staff) and re-organisation; 'axial coding' (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Here some of the key literature on prisons and audiences was revisited and new topics were explored. Thus a 'dialogue' between the emerging data and extant theory accelerated and intensified as analysis progressed (Layder 2005:55). In total 232 codes were established to label sections of the transcripts (see Appendix 11 for full code book). All parts of the transcripts received a code and some parts received more than one code. If a code did not exist for a particular fragment, then another code was created to account for the content. Fragments of data were not forced into existing codes.

Five core categories were finalised (Layder 2005:56), which reflect topics that receive more descriptive codes within them. These categories remained independent of each other at this stage and were not hierarchical; relationships between the fragments of data at this stage were not assumed.



**Talking about TV****Emotion****Staff****Participation in the Study**

The three categories from the pre-coding phase continued to be used, and three additional categories were created. In particular, I wanted to explore further why television for some prisoners was considered useful for *looking after themselves* in prison. On closer reading it was evident that their descriptions were related to the ways in which they wished to control their emotionality. Hence, *emotion* was elevated to a category. For the *staff* category, although many of the codes developed for the prisoners were appropriate, another category was needed to reflect reference to policy and prison work such as behaviour management. Prison staff were also instrumental in providing an insight into the introduction of in-cell television, and this also needed to be accounted for. Pre-coding identified these differences in perspectives between prisoners and staff. The final additional category, *study participation* was included for respondents' reference to their views and attitudes to taking part in the study.

Descriptive and also interpretive labels were identified for codes (Miles and Huberman 1994). For example, the emotion category was mostly descriptive and included one interpretive code 'emotional labour' informed by Hochschild's term for managing emotion (1985<sup>23</sup>):

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<sup>23</sup> My selection of the emotions listed here was not straight-forward as opinion is divided as to what constitutes an emotion. Scherer (2005) provided the most accessible model of emotion, taking into account the 'subjective feeling component' (2005:698) as well as the more widely accepted components such as cognition, neurophysical, motivational and motor expression of emotion. Overall emotion is 'expression, bodily symptoms and arousal, and subjective experience' (ibid:698). For the purposes of this study a focus on the subjective and expression as well as self reports on bodily symptoms and arousal, such as crying and laughter are included in this category, as affective responses. Scherer is also one of the few theorists to acknowledge boredom as an emotion (see Barbalet 1999).

<b>Emotion</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Ambivalence</li> <li>-Anger</li> <li>-Boredom</li> <li>-Crying</li> <li>-Excitement</li> <li>-Fear</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Frustration</li> <li>-Happiness and Joy</li> <li>-Laughter</li> <li>-Sadness</li> <li>-Emotional Labour</li> </ul>

Lull's (1990) model of 'social uses of television' was adopted as a set of interpretive codes. This was located within the *Talking About Television* category. Some of these codes borrowed from Lull's typology are listed below:

<b>Talking about Television</b>	
<i>Social Uses of Television</i>	
-	Affiliation and avoidance
--	conflict reduction
-	relaxant
-	routes to verbal
-	solidarity

It was also apparent from the prisoner interviews that they did not only refer exclusively to the role that television had in their lives; other features of daily life and social relations were discussed by participants. To account for these differences, *using TV* and *not using TV* codes were included. For instance, when prisoners and even staff talked about techniques for *self-preservation* or forms of *therapy*, these codes provided a distinguishing marker to file the fragments of data accordingly. At this stage coding was dealt with on a case by case basis and memos were created to build in an 'integrative' process and thus allow a consideration



of relationships across codes as well as cases (Boeiji 2010:124). Portraits of the prisoner respondents were drafted at this stage (see Appendix 7).

At this stage some of the interpretive codes developed from extant theory such as Lull (1990) and Sykes (1999) were insufficient typologies. However Sykes' typology at this stage in the analysis raised important questions about the value of these generic pains. I found it much more productive to code descriptions of pains such as loneliness, sadness, or fear, in other words emotions, rather than the interpretive typology defined by Sykes.

#### *Reassembling the data: Concept-indicator links*

Layder's (2005:80) view of social reality as four related domains highlights the 'layered' nature of social life; as a result making sense of emergent data requires the researcher to examine the relationships across domains. This is what Layder calls 'bridging' or 'mediating' between behavioural and structural aspects of social reality (ibid:80).

Several techniques were employed to develop the final concepts. The volume of data stored in the categories was vast and thus not all of the coded fragments could appear in the final thesis. In order to make these kinds of decisions, a number of inquiries were conducted using *Nvivo* to discover which fragments or codes<sup>24</sup> were related to other codes and the kinds of patterns and anomalies that were present. These included using visuals, or 'code stripes' to see which codes appeared together or close to each other to establish links. Searching and counting were also used to identify salience and intensity of issues disclosed in the interviews (Seale and Silverman 1997). For example, *boredom* was mentioned by *all* of the respondents. Moreover, when boredom was mentioned, this fragment appeared close to descriptions of the prison regime such as *pains of incarceration*, especially *bang-up* (locked in cells) and discussions about how prisoners *looked after* themselves, such as *well-being* or the *fear of deterioration*. It was also noticeable that when respondents talked about boredom, television was useful in *filling or killing* time. Hence bridges between behavioural and structural features of prison life could be identified and this also included data analysed from the television use diaries (Layder 2005:85).

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<sup>24</sup> Codes are referred to as Nodes in *Nvivo*. I shall refer to them as codes here.

Following Miles and Huberman's (1994) advice, a matrix format was employed to observe relationships between an extensive range of codes and also between cases. This was useful for testing ideas and assumptions. Each matrix was stored and labelled. Here the development of concepts from the emergent data began to take shape (Layder 2005:83; Hammersley and Atkinson 2010:162). For example, identifying that relationships with television texts highlighted a form of 'sociability', in particular local news and soap operas. These linkages were checked using a matrix to cross reference fragments of coded data by identifying prison factors under *prison life* category and *relationships with TV texts* and *staying connected*. It was also evident that 'sociability' could not be generalizable in the sense that media theorists report (Moore 2004). Within this same matrix it was also apparent most prisoner respondents were being highly selective in their viewing. This pointed towards the *social learning* category of the *social uses of TV* category. Here a significant number expressed a desire to learn from television. It became apparent that prisoners' desire to learn from television was closely associated or positioned in their discussion near or next to fragments in the *looking after yourself* category, in particular *wellbeing*, *self-preservation* and *fear of psychological deterioration*. This enabled an exploration of the extent to which other uses of television were associated with 'self-regulation' (Rose 1999). This did not feature from staff cases, yet instead concepts to ensure prisoners are cared for such as *safer custody*, *purposeful activity* and *decency* were identified. These techniques were repeated to develop other matrices to also include cases (individuals).

#### ***Final Concept Development- Elaboration***

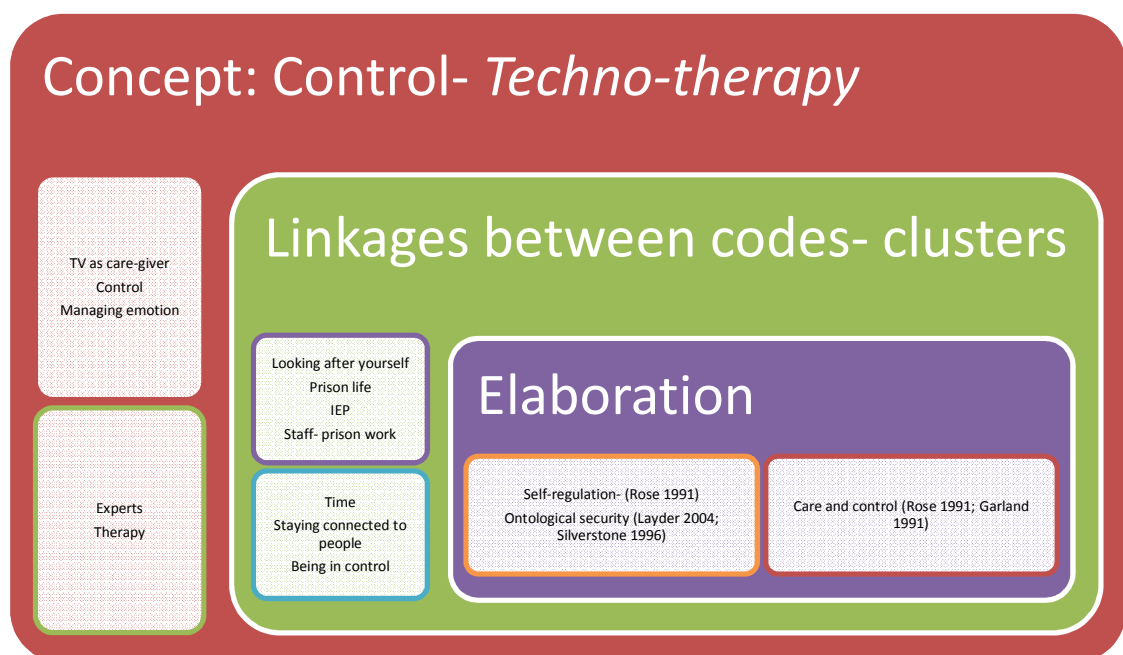
The discovery of patterns and relationships across this data allowed what Layder (2005:116) calls 'theory elaboration'. These 'conceptual frameworks' drew upon extant theory and emergent data. The most significant concept was the topic of 'control' because it was 'bridging' (ibid:92) between different concepts. The ways in which prisoners and staff talked about the role of television in prison outlined three features of control;

- *personal* or control of the self
- *situated* control within and across interaction in social settings

- *mediated* control within and across interaction with television

Therefore the original core concepts such as *emotion* and *talking about television* were used to inform the final concept of control. With respect to *personal control*, Layder's (2004) own thesis on emotion and Rose's (1999) work on 'self-regulation' assisted in elaborating this concept. Fragments of data stored under the *emotion* category were re-listed and aligned to the concept of *personal control*. However these fragments had relationships or 'linkages' to other concepts such as *looking after yourself* and *prison life: tensions and dilemmas*. As Layder (2005:117) recommends the first stage of 'primary elaboration' is to begin developing a concept map, which is 'the centre of a potential web from which others extend outwards'. All the categories (code headings) were listed under this new category, and this was repeated for all three forms of control. By identifying relationships (connections between fragments as well as disconnections) the original codes were sometimes amalgamated and given new interpretive names as a result of these interventions.

Figure 4: Example of the elaboration of *techno-therapy* concept



A process of 'secondary elaboration' (ibid:121) began to demonstrate that substantive categories were also relevant; thus 'clusters' were created to capture a number of related categories. For a cluster to remain in the final concept group there had to be a direct relationship to the over-arching principle of *control*. Where this was not immediately apparent they were stored elsewhere, but not abandoned completely. In conjunction with this process 'tertiary elaboration' assisted in drawing more explicitly from general or extant theory (ibid:122). As Figure 4 shows, relationships between a number of core and sub-codes had to be observed in order to finalise the concept of *techno-therapy*. A review of the fragments of data within these categories was necessary in order to ratify these relationships; to understand explicitly what aspects of *prison life* for example motivated them to *look after themselves*. Adjoining this were responses from staff, who also viewed television in similar ways. Several theories were therefore useful in expanding upon the descriptions offered by staff to 'throw light on the data' (Layder 2005:127) and also produce 'hybrid ideas' (ibid:126). Here literature was drawn upon for elaboration.

This process was repeated until all of the final concepts were developed by the 'conjoint use of empirical research and aspects of general theory' (ibid:129). These concepts provided smaller frameworks to begin full elaboration and they appear as headings and sub-headings across the findings chapters (7 and 8). The development of concepts provided a useful framework for organising the findings chapters and secure the key arguments of this study. Yet in order to understand the context of control, elaboration on the *social setting* and *resources* was necessary to provide a robust account of *psychobiographies* and *situated activity* (Layder 2004). An additional chapter (6) was included to ensure these linkages between concepts and categories were aligned with Layder's theory of domains (2005). The findings chapters therefore include extended discussion in relation to extant theory.

### 5.3 Quality and Rigour

Seale points to the problem of 'quality';

*Quality does matter in qualitative research, but the modernist headings of validity and reliability no longer seem adequate to encapsulate the range of issues that a concern for quality must raise. The constructivist critique of criteriology had*

*led us to see that 'quality' is a somewhat elusive phenomenon that cannot be prespecified by methodological rules, through their reconstitution as 'guidelines' to be followed...(Seale 1999:465)*

The techniques recommended by quantitative and also some qualitative researchers do not always provide seamless guidance to achieve quality. To enhance quality a number of 'checks' were made throughout the life of the project (Denscombe 2003:186). These checks were related to the study's epistemological position (Layder's 'domains' 2005) and also executing the research strategy. These influenced the kinds of decisions made with respect to the design and execution of the research. This study does not 'transcend conventional standards' in accounting for quality or rigour, in the same ways as quantitative research (Seale and Silverman 1997:380). Moreover, avoiding anecdotalism and generalizing about the findings is also a significant departure (Silverman 2010). Instead of *validity*, by finding a single 'truth' of social reality, this study is cautious to accept this position and recognises the potential for multiple realities. For example, that prisoners will use and interpret television in different ways. Accounting for differences and variations in research can enhance *credibility*. Instead of *reliability* relating to the execution and presentation of the research, *trustworthiness* of the research procedures employed ensures confidence that the data was handled and treated consistently and responsibly. The findings are produced as a result of rigorous testing and questioning aligned with the adopted view of social reality (Layder 2005).

### **5.3.1 Credibility**

Following Lincoln and Guba (1985) credibility replaces the principle of validity. The employment of different data sources (diaries and interviews) can enhance this. The production of data from different sources and also from different people can enable cross checking of responses across cases and also different themes, by 'triangulation'

*...different methods can be used to collect data on the same thing. Each can look at the thing from a different angle- from its own distinct perspective...as a means of comparison and contrast...(Denscombe 2003:132)*

Data collected can be 'corroborated or questioned' (ibid:133) to enable confidence in emergent data. For those interviewees who kept a television diary, it was feasible to cross check their inferences about viewing with what was recorded in their diaries. For example a few prisoner respondents said they do not like news broadcasts and avoided them, others did not like soap operas and their diaries supported these statements. This also applied to staff perspectives on prisoners' viewing choices, and in some instances for example their statements contradicted what was recorded in the television use diaries. It was therefore possible to carry out what Hammersley and Atkinson (2010:184) refer to as 'method triangulation' by checking early interpretations of what different respondents were saying or documenting in the diaries. Other sources were drawn upon, such as local and global prison policies. For instance prison regime timetables could be compared to the viewing routines diarists documented to ensure that this analysis 'correctly understood that social world' (Bryman 2001:272).

Additional assurances are reflected in the sampling framework. Relatively quickly, after three or four interviews with prisoners, the sampling framework could be refined to fill gaps, based on identity or prison status such as age, ethnicity and privilege level. Therefore prisoners were approached based on different characteristics or groups of prisoners such as cell sharers and single cell occupants. This 'purposive sampling' (Denscombe 2003:15) framework helped to refine the incoming data to reflect a wide range of different prisoners in different circumstances. This also applied to staff, where 'key players' were targeted (ibid:187). This range of participants meant that individuals could be treated as cases and points shared (or not) across a group and also within groups could be identified. Using early analysis to inform the sampling framework also enabled saturation of categories to be identified and collection could cease (Dyson and Brown 2006:167). Other checks as Seale and Silverman recommend (1997:380) included simple counting to establish how representative certain issues and categories were across the data. These 'internal' checks were employed to enable orientation throughout analysis, which included identification of negative cases in order to depict 'anomalies' and thus provide a thicker description (Geertz 1973) and avoiding anecdotalism (Silverman 2010:222). Contradictions could therefore be reported to account for diversity of perspectives (Angen 2000:384).

### 5.3.2 Trustworthiness

Trust in this study has to be partial as there is a 'chain of interpretations' throughout and beyond the document presented here (Angen 2000:390). In reality there will always be a 'temporary consensus of views about what is considered true' (Seale 1999:468). Hence this account is 'negotiable' (ibid:468). Yet the decisions made are based on the researcher's commitment to responsibly and fairly record participant voices; hence 'ethical validation' (Angen 2000:387) was placed at the heart of this study. In order to amplify these qualities, the use of standard formats for collecting, handling and storing data was employed (Silverman 2010:287). The findings presented include large and extended data fragments to provide access to the context or issues relevant to the topic discussed (ibid:287). Full, instead of partial transcripts of conversations are 'highly reliable' sources (Seale and Silverman 1997:380). Moreover the phased methodology to include standardized instruments and analytical process described earlier included repeated testing of categories or 'repeatability' (Dyson and Brown 2006:113). Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest that the process of data collection and analysis strives to be auditable, yet there are limits to how repeatable this study would be if another researcher were to undertake this work, or researcher effect. Instead, this account is plausible and credible based on the checks described here (Hammersley 1992).

### 5.4 Ethical Conduct

Issues of an ethical nature were considered from the onset and there were four stages of ethical permission:

1. Permission from An Area Psychologist
2. Permission from University Faculty Ethics Committee
3. Local permission from the prison Governor
4. Informed consent from all research participants

Liebling et al's (1999) 'appreciative' approach seeks to resolve the tensions that can arise in prison fieldwork, and can highlight 'both ethical and emotional strengths' (King and Liebling:443). Following Liebling's and other's lead (Jewkes: 2002a; Crawley: 2004, King and Liebling: 2008) sensitivity was paid to *all* aspects of the research from its inception (knowing

the field of inquiry, what others have done and said), designing the methods and research instruments (including how best to speak to people), my behaviour and 'performance' in prison, understanding the dynamics, protocols, prison rules, treatment and handling of data and presentation of the findings.

Television reception studies seek information on a 'private' activity and 'involves making public things that were said or done in private' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007:212). As a result 'making the private public may have undesirable long-term consequences' (ibid). Finding resolutions between gathering responses from participants and handling their privacy can be achieved by what Hammersley and Atkinson suggest 'that people have a right to control information relating to them, and that they must give their permission for particular uses of it by researchers' (2007:213). Informed consent was adopted to highlight the assurances stipulated and uphold (See Appendix 6 & 9). In some instances people declined the invitation, others of course participated. For those who did participate, consent was discussed at the onset and also revisited at the end of participation to review how respondents felt about their participation after disclosure.

The decision not to name the prison featured in this thesis is an ethical one; in part to avoid 'attacks' on the institution directly and to protect the participants in this research. Anonymising prison landing staff and also prisoners was relatively straightforward, but interviews with key staff such as senior managers including the Governor, the deputy governor and chaplain could not so easily be anonymised. Despite their confidence in the ethical assurances, it was important to secure and protect their identities. Powerful and personal disclosures were made by prisoners (and staff) describing fears, emotions, vulnerabilities and aspirations. These encounters required and demanded sensitive handling despite the assurances agreed by informed consent. Harvey (2007) noted that informed consent 'is particularly difficult to ensure in prison' (2007:496) due to pressure to comply, conform to the demands of prison regimes and routine. Compounded by these aspects, Liebling (2004) observed how prisons are 'low trust' settings and therefore the visiting researcher needs to work sensitively. Harvey experienced what he called 'ironic disclosure' whereby prisoner participants stated they had little or no trust for anyone in prison and



beyond, yet the encounters revealed deeply personal descriptions of their life and situations. Like Harvey 'my social remoteness, or independence from the institution, may have enabled individuals to disclose their experiences [because the] embedded researcher manages to be both familiar and distant' (ibid:497). In view of these concerns and in order to protect all participants the decision not to name the prison was the best decision.

#### **5.4.1 Strategies for Managing Distance**

This is not only a matter of process; managing distance between me and the study also has ethical significance. In order to actively manage the appropriate degrees of distance techniques were employed to ensure that the undertaking of the research was accomplished with integrity and without causing harm. Using the 'insider/outsider distinction' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2010:87) different degrees of 'distance' were developed during the course of this study. It was not productive to work at arm's length *all* of the time. Closeness and remoteness were required at different stages, both in and out of the field. Working out this 'distance' is not only a matter for field relations but also a question for methods, sample and subsequent analysis (Liebling 1991:148).

One strategy was 'impression management' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2010:66) and like Jewkes (2002a) I wore clothes that did not attract attention. I modified and tamed my appearance to fit in with the 'professional' standard of dressing set by other staff and visitors in this environment. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2010:73) assert 'no position of genderless neutrality' is ever possible and I did not seek to hide my femininity but to be an 'acceptable marginal member' (ibid:68) that satisfied staff and prisoner expectations. In a couple of instances it was obvious my femaleness was an opportunity for prisoners to rehearse their masculinity. I was a mirror to their maleness which was in relatively short supply in male prisons (Jewkes 2002a:85). In handling the dual or 'embedded' position (Harvey 2008) within the prison as researcher and member of the IMB, I never coupled my research visits with IMB business and vice versa; thus fieldwork was slow, in order to manage these roles carefully. Early analysis was imperative to observe data saturation and leave the field.

Employing sensitivity and empathy was a crucial aspect of the field work and analysis. Like Jewkes (2002a) and Gersch (2003) I was sensitive to the deprivations prisoners and also staff can endure. Most significant was privacy, which was often difficult to resolve. The role of the research is that of observation (Moore 1993:66) and this is especially focused in the prison setting. Thus for example asking prisoners to record their viewing schedules in a diary could be construed as intrusive. None of the diarists reported feelings of intrusion, perhaps in an attempt not to hurt my feelings, but the interviews did reveal some concerns about how I might make judgements based on what they said. Instead of validating their fears I would emphasise the usefulness of their statements, by often repeating what they said, to show that I had registered their concerns and follow on with a question that would amplify the positive role of their statements. Elements of Liebling et al's (1999:78) 'appreciative inquiry' approach signify the importance of not passing judgement.

### 5.5 Evaluating the Research Process

This final section will review the technical and subjective features of the research strategy, and offers an account of the strengths and challenges inherent in the process. Research is a political act and consideration for the effects of the research both immediately on the respondents and the production of this account, are not divorced from the wider body-politic (Dyson and Brown 2006:136).

#### 5.5.1 Strengths

This study has employed a strategy which is firmly located within an epistemological framework to enable the researcher to collect and analyse data efficiently. By embracing Layder's theory of domains and his adaptive approach, the production of a credible, trustworthy and plausible account of television use in prison has been possible. The design and execution of two key methods targeting a diverse and purposive sample, means that this research has been able cross-reference data fragments. These opportunities for triangulation, both within and across cases, have also assisted in the robust development of concepts. Using these techniques, not only is an in-depth description provided but also a critical discussion which directly accesses extant theory. This has resulted in a broad exploration which reflects the complex relationships between the domains of social reality

as defined by Layder. As many media theorists maintain, the nature of the context in which social agents are located plays a significant and powerful role in the modes of consumption (Moore 1996, Silverstone 1999). The analytical process has also offered the researcher an opportunity to review the appropriateness of extant theory and thus begin to suggest how prisoner audiences may deviate for example from domestic audiences. Using these techniques, this research has been able to document how these television audiences are distinctive whilst simultaneously aligning to broader conventions of audience behaviour.

The execution of the research strategy was also enhanced by the role of the researcher and there are important features with respect to the *insider* status. This study has not been the first occasion I have visited and spent time in prison, having worked as a teacher and also researcher in prison settings and broader criminal justice settings and circumstances<sup>25</sup> I have spent lengthy periods of time, particularly in male prisons, as a professional. Prison was therefore not unfamiliar; it was not an alien nor exotic landscape. As a serving member of the Independent Monitoring Board (IMB) at this prison, I have regular access to many aspects of prison life, which my earlier research or teaching could not permit. Consequently, I came to this current study with a deep understanding of this particular site, which helped me understand how things were organised and who I could ask about certain matters. I therefore did not experience the disorientation that some researchers describe (Liebling 1999b:161). This kind of access enabled a more efficient route, for example, to identify groups for the research sample, as well as assisting me to seek local policy relating to prison regime and monitoring. I had a shared experience and history of HMP X albeit small in

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<sup>25</sup> Research Completed: Knight, V (2001) *An Investigation into Mass Communication Consumption in a Closed Young Offenders' Institution*- MA thesis De Montfort University

Knight, V. and Bailey, R. (2003) *An Investigation into Minority Ethnic Prisoners' Perceptions and Knowledge of the Probation and Prison Service in the East of England* Report for NPS (East of England).

Knight, V & Hudson, V. (2009) *Prisoners views on parenting preliminary exploration*-

Work: Teaching Post: Glen Parva YO1, Wigston Leicestershire 2000-2003 and Independent Monitoring Board 2003- Date

comparison to prison staff and prisoners. As a member of the IMB I had observed the 'good' and 'bad' times and have a degree of personal and emotional investment in the prison I had visited voluntarily for many years. As Liebling (1999b:158) suggests, this is useful in addressing power in the prison setting.

The balance of power in prisons is uneven, disproportionate and culturally sensitive. As an insider, regularly visiting to monitor the prison and thus carrying keys, I accentuate my non-prisoner status and thus power: I am free to leave and make choices for myself. This is in stark contrast to prisoners and in some cases to staff. Yet as a researcher I am not 'marginal' because of the associations I have with this prison. Reflecting on the interview transcripts with staff and prisoners, I noted that I used prison argot (Sykes 1999). I would routinely use phrases like 'bang-up' instead of lock-up; 'doing bird' instead of time and confidently use acronyms like IEP, ACCT and CSRA. I also felt comfortable, for example, entering a prisoner's cell. This provided legitimate mechanisms to observe respondents in the exact setting in which they receive and use television. In these instances, prisoner respondents were able to explain much about their physical living arrangements, and how they operate the television and to show personal effects like photographs, cards, music, magazines, television guide (often for reference) and books. On occasion we also watched television together and talked informally about the programme. By demonstrating this level of confidence and trust in social relations, respondents could acknowledge that I understood what prison is like and how things work. The use of argot, for example was not a deliberate and conscious attempt by me to 'impress' participants. I did not notice that I was talking in these ways until I listened back and transcribed the recordings. Prison had become 'normal' for me. As Liebling (1999b:162) suggests, 'going native' can undermine the integrity of the research, yet some contamination or socialisation in any given culture will influence the outside visitor over a sustained period of time, and in my case this was not just as a result of doing this particular research, rather a culmination of my prison experiences.

At different points in the study I experienced different emotions as a result of the direct experience with the prison and the respondents' narratives. Intensive interviewing required intensive listening and was at times draining and often gaps between interviews were

necessary. This allowed for reflection and repair to my own emotions where I felt sadness and even guilt. Respondent interviews were not always emotionally draining and on many occasions banter and joking were also commonplace. Even though I am an experienced visitor to prisons, the environment can be claustrophobic and oppressive. Guilt was an unanticipated emotive response during this study; this especially resonated when I carried out intensive analysis away from the field. How should I handle the data fragments with integrity as well as scrutiny? Decisions to anonymize the prison site were partly motivated by guilt. I also wanted to get the details right (Liebling 1999b:163) and spent time ratifying accounts across cases and groups as well as extant theory. These feelings directed the pursuit to produce a credible and trustworthy account. Without these checks, largely prompted by emotion, the assessment of quality may not have been as focused. Liebling (ibid:151) asks 'what role does experience (and emotion) play in the formulation of knowledge?' Emotion and experience have guided analysis, with a moral concern for the people who took part in the study.

### *5.5.2 Challenges*

This is a single case study and it is thus necessary to acknowledge that what is documented here is a set of interpretations of one single prison establishment. The checks employed to enhance quality and rigour seek to eliminate error and anecdotalism. This, however, is not without its constraints. The subjective nature of qualitative research which employs an interpretivist position means that the final findings reported here are produced as a result of a long chain of interventions made directly by the researcher at every stage of the process.

The value of time-use diaries, as Silverstone et al (1991) recommend, is that they provide an important platform for dialogue with respondents. However, securing commitment to complete this exercise proved challenging: attrition was high and therefore incentivizing participation could have increased the sample. Despite this small sample, triangulation was feasible and the role of the television activity diaries increased in significance as analysis developed, especially by understanding the prison routine and the time prisoners spent in their cells. It is recommended that this technique should not be used in isolation, but that

other methods should be designed and executed to fully interrogate the sociological use of time (Gershuny and Sullivan 1998). The television use diaries required commitment and were labour intensive, with some participants losing interest or moving out of the prison. Even though the diarists reported the activity as purposeful, remembering to complete it required focus. None of the diarists admitted to modifying their viewing as a result of the activity. However, as Bryman (2001:137) argues, the completion of diaries can be 'more intrusive than answering a questionnaire and it could be argued that it causes changes in behaviour'. In managing modification of behaviour the diary recruits were encouraged to avoid changing their viewing routines. Other methods like participant observation were not suitable since the activity of viewing television is doubly private. Private in the sense that it is a private activity, and secondly I could not physically access the site of consumption – the cell- reliably or for sustained periods. Direct forms of observation would be intrusive and modification would occur (see Walkerdine 1997:67). It was therefore fruitful to ask prisoners to document their viewing in my absence. Permitting respondents to document their own selections via a mechanism like the diary provides some distance between the researcher and researched, and this can minimise (but not eliminate) the direct or immediate effect of surveillance. It is, however, reasonable to accept that mild modifications would have taken place.

Other data collection techniques and opportunities may have provided more context detail, especially in relation to time-space relations. For example in reviewing Silverstone et al's (1991:215) ethnography of family television, participants could have drawn 'household maps' during discussions with the researcher, to delineate 'internal time-space relations' denoting their movement through the spaces they encounter within the prison. The significance of the prison cell might have benefited from expanding discussions with prisoners with respect to their attitudes to this space. Other 'space-time orientated methodologies' might have included 'network diagrams' (ibid:216) to document more robustly the kinds of connections prisoners have across social relations and to account for distance and forms of intimacy. This might also be a useful activity for staff, in order to understand the levels of social relations across their work and thus expand upon their testimonies e.g. their relationships with prisoners. Adding such methodologies is resource

intensive and time spent with participants is limited to times that cells are unlocked, or for staff time between work commitments.

The salience of emotion in this thesis has required me to address certain questions about my own motivations to interpret prisoner and staff accounts in the ways that I have. Silverstone et al (1991:211) consider the effects of gender in the field and point towards an idea that all accounts of research are gendered. Therefore is my account gendered? Did I tease out or select certain aspects of the data, like emotion, because I am a woman? This is partially true. However, I have struggled to 'read' gender, or more accurately to confidently spot traces or indicators of masculinity in the data, after all the study is about *men* in prison. Jewkes (2002a:82) claimed similar difficulties in tracing aspects of identity construction in narratives from male prisoners. Instead the description and expression of emotion across the narratives collected was significantly more visible. My susceptibility to emotion is social, political and psychobiographical, and as Williams suggests 'women traditionally...have borne the brunt of emotional labour' (2001: 97). The impact of these 'traditions' means that the respondents in this study have learnt to expect women to effortlessly can take on board emotions and thus were possibly more comfortable in expressing these to a woman rather than a man. As Hochschild (1995) suggests, emotions and the presentation of them can be exploited as 'emotional labour', and my femaleness could have permitted this exploitation. However, I could have chosen to interpret their descriptions in different ways, but I did not. I could have aligned emotion, as many investigators have, along the 'deprivation' or 'pains' paradigm asserted by important studies by Sykes (1999) and Goffman (1991). This could have been sufficient, but like Layder (2004:5) I felt that the mechanics of emotion played an important role in how social reality is ratified by the individual. Concurrent to this, my psychobiography had undergone intensive transformation during the course of this study; becoming a mother for the first time brought to the surface a range of emotions that challenged my 'ontological security', and which demanded intensive work to establish 'healthy control' (Layder 2004:42). This introspection required me to engage with emotion much more intensively than I had previously done. Liebling (2001) suggests that 'empathy is important' and the surfacing of emotion in research is itself a 'source of valuable data' (Liebling 1999b:147).

Accessing historical policy documents in the UK that pre-date the current policy arrangements has proved to be difficult. At the time of writing, in-cell television was officially introduced thirteen years ago, therefore policy documents are protected by the thirty year rule. Instead this thesis has relied on personal testimonies from staff, prisoners and civil servants currently in post at the Ministry of Justice, as well as other research evidence and commentaries (Jewkes 2002a, Knight 2005). Although the aim of this study was not historical in focus, television's introduction to prison has featured as a significant part of the context and affects research participants' reports. In addition, the significance of policy within the findings, particularly the IEP, cannot be reliably traced back in time to account for the accumulation of contextual resources.

### Summary

This ethnography was conducted in a single adult male prison to explore the nature of in-cell television in prison. Layder's model of social reality as four domains was used to guide the exploration and his 'adaptive' approach was used to execute the research. Data was collected and analysis occurred in phases employing two key methods; television use diaries and semi-structured interviews. Using an interpretivist approach for interrogating the data, concepts were developed to secure final elaboration in line with the 'domain' model of social reality. A number of checks were used to enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of the research process, and to prevent harm to participants. The epistemological and ontological foundations of this study highlight both strengths and challenges to this process.

The next three chapters report on the findings with an integrative discussion, based on the methods described in this methodology. The development of concepts and final elaboration techniques used in this process are brought together by these three inter-related chapters. The findings chapters are elaborated throughout using extant theory presented in the literature review chapters.





## 6

## Chapter 6- Making Room for In-cell Television: Access, availability and points of use

This first data analysis chapter provides contextual background to the introduction of in-cell television to prison. This discussion draws upon data from interviews with prisoners and staff together with data from the television use diaries. The first part of this chapter charts how in-cell television is accessed and made available to prisoners in line with the behaviour management policy framed fundamentally by the IEP system: the final part reports on the habitual use of television recorded in the television diaries collected from prisoners.

### 6.1 Access and Availability of In-cell Television

*And then what you can do is providing on you being how you are as a person they use the TV as a carrot. It's a known fact, they use the TV and your regime as a carrot, but the main carrot out of it all is the TV. (Ned- prisoner)*

As Ned suggests, television in prison is regulated; its provision is conditional and not without constraint or cost; emotional, social, psychological and economic. The prison apparatus operates on a timetable where policy provides prison staff with the 'contextual resources' to control and regulate this environment (Layder 2004). This section maps the introduction of in-cell television, the ways in which television access is secured through a contractual agreement and the extent to which in-cell television is incentivized.

#### 6.1.1 The Birth of Television in Prison

*Routine events such as television viewing are part of the often invisible history of everyday life, a history that was not recorded by the people who lived it at the time (Spigel 1992:2)*

Spigel highlights that television use goes unnoticed. The cultural impact of television's introduction to prison cells captures personal insights and provides indications of how the

environment of the prison began to welcome (and resist) television. As a result, social relations and the ways in which control manifests itself have transformed the culture of the prison. Theories of punishment readily remark on transformations of control within the penal system (Garland, 1991; Foucault 1991), equally media scholars account for the adjustments of cultural life as a result of the omnipresence of television in domestic life (Spigel 1992; Silverstone 1999a, Moores 1988, 1996). The concept and practice of control in prison extends beyond what Layder (2004) defines as ‘situated’ to include ‘mediated’ interactions. This section and those that follow present the experiences of these interactions as they are remembered, and how they continue to feature as a negotiation within and across these types of interactions within the prison.

Television was not initially introduced to individual cells but to ‘association’ spaces, where prisoners could spend leisure time playing games like pool, interacting and watching television in this communal area (Gersch 2003). Communal television became available in the 1970s, but this provision was patchy<sup>26</sup>. Before this time films were periodically aired to large groups of prisoners in prison chapels. Like the national television broadcast service, its availability was initially uneven and rollout occurred relatively slowly (Spigel 1992:32; O’Sullivan 1991) There are no national statistics available to outline the reception of television in prisons in England and Wales, but this transition did not occur in line with national household uptake of television (BARB 2011).

Respondents report that access to television was in the past strictly controlled and limited in terms of location. Times were often dedicated in the regime to viewing (Gersch 2003; Knight 2001). Paul described what media access was like;

*A long time ago, many years ago, prisoners’ access to any form of media was on a Saturday morning where they used to attend the chapel for a video. And the video would be played and then you’d bring them back and that would be the only thing they had, they had in cell radios and that was it. So the onset of the televisions as we brought televisions into association areas and accessed Sky at the*

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<sup>26</sup> Personal contact was made with Offender Safety, Rights & Responsibilities Group at the Ministry of Justice who lead and co-ordinate in-cell TV as part of their remit.

*time, which was not so long ago, maybe in the last 10 years or so. (Paul – senior prison officer)*

Visual forms of media were therefore initially scarce and served as a formal activity (Ellis 2000; Silverstone 1999a); it is something prisoners were offered to *do*,

*But going back to days when you had film shows and big TV screens where everybody sat watching Top of the Pops or Coronation Street or whatever, it was the highlight of their week to be able to do that. Obviously now things have moved on. (Tony- senior management)*

Physically ‘going to’ television was the only way provision could be made. As Silverstone (1999a) reports, television was initially placed within the formal and most public space in households; the ‘front room’ where guests were received. At this point television had begun its transformation into what Silverstone (1999a:98) defines as ‘domesticated’ or ‘bringing things under control’ (see also Berker et al 2006:2). However, drawing on Silverstone’s analysis of the family and also Spigel’s (1992) commentary on the emergence of domestic television in the US, insights into forms of control can be evidenced i.e. paternalism. In much the same way, television enables primary care givers an opportunity to continue with domestic chores whilst their children are occupied with watching. The provision of television in prison also sought to occupy prisoners in similar ways. These parallels provide important evidence of the forms of control television assisted with in its earliest form within prison and the kinds of political positioning of prisoners that the uses of punishment ultimately seek to achieve (Bosworth 2007).

One important transition is that television found ‘a place within the moral economy’ in prison (Silverstone 1999a:129; 1993); the routine in prison became intertwined with broadcasting. Television began to have currency and value in the prison culture; time and space was made for television. The regime and requirements for staff to ensure prisoners adhered to the strict prison timetable and routine, often resulted in communal viewing being disrupted. Tim recalls these kinds of tensions,

*Sport events were generally, would always be on. So if you were going through a major football championships, the FA cup or something like that, then yes, it would be football on. What I would say is, the problem we had is, at that time if there was a football match on, generally association would finish half way through the game or half an hour before the end of the game, so we had major problems getting prisoners away. Everybody would come out, so association would be full, nobody wanted to go back in, so it was a real problem time. Half the other landing wouldn't be watching the television but they would want to watch it so it had to be taped and then we'd have the next day going through the whole scenario again of watching the identical football match and having the identical issues of trying to get the prisoners away. (Tim- prisoner officer)*

This highlights the value placed on the medium of television by its viewers and the meanings and attachments prisoners have with television (Vandebosch 2000). Acknowledging these attachments and possibly for the sake of order and control, the prison officers saw to it that desired television events like football were made available. Using a VCR to accommodate these requests was not an uncommon method of managing the broadcast schedules. Fran recalls how this was also the case in a women's prison she worked at,

*It was all Coronation Street or Eastenders and they never clashed. And you all sat down...and that was their only access. The orderly, the cleaner, would then put the tape on to tape the things that the girls wanted to watch later on because they didn't have access to it... then they would watch them the next night. (Fran-prison officer)*

In effect, these prisoners Fran refers to never watched their selected programmes in broadcast time. Instead, time-shifting accommodated the taste of these audiences.

Eventually the prospect of in-cell television was raised on policy agendas and the era of scarcity was waning (see Chapter 2). Staff talked about the dilemmas of deciding who should receive television in their cells first and how could they maintain a functioning prison amidst the disruption of major re-wiring. Tim remembers what happened,

*I mean the staff had a long time to get used to it. The in-cell electric programme took the best part of 18 months to 2 years and they did a quarter of a landing at a time, so they perhaps did 15 cells at a time. So there was a lot of work, so if you imagine that the televisions were drip fed into the prison, so by the time that we'd finished doing the project, they were used to it because it was 18 months down the line. But initially, it did cause a few concerns with the staff and the prisoners, in respect of who's going to be the first to get the televisions. (Tim- prison officer)*

At this site, 'enhanced' prisoners were the first to enjoy in-cell television<sup>27</sup>. This programme slowly extended to 'standard' prisoners and in this establishment, all cells were able to receive in-cell television by 2004, six years after its official introduction in 1998. Tim also observed the effect that television had on a prisoner's status,

*...enhanced prisoners were the only ones with televisions. Enhanced status appeared to have a lot more status, if you like, prisoners were more keen to get on to enhanced because there was a perception that there was more to offer on enhanced than standard or basic. (Tim- prison officer)*

This meant that there was a flurry of applications from standard prisoners to achieve enhanced status, as the prospect of in-cell television for prisoners was attractive. As Will describes, enhanced status not only offers additional goods and services but also an important label or a heightened status,

*The IEP regime does affect me I can access everything. I feel trusted. I've earned the trust though. (Will- prisoner)*

Carlton was also keen to do well in prison,

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<sup>27</sup> Despite political rhetoric during 1998 that this would be 'closely monitored' (Parliament 1998) no formal evaluations commissioned by the Home Office or Ministry of Justice of the in-cell television programme have taken place to date. However a small evaluation at HMP Stocken by McClymont (1993) began to suggest that in-cell television might impact on prisoners' willingness to come out of their cells, limit staff and prisoner relationships and impact on regimes such as increased lock-up periods.

*I think what I've got to do to get my life back in order...to live comfortably and try and get through, doing prison time, get things sorted. Give things priorities.*

(Carlton- prisoner)

The novelty and 'luxury' of in-cell television brought about increased motivation from some prisoners to comply and benefit from access to in-cell television. Thus, in many instances the intended effects of the in-cell television project were actually working. Some of the prisoners described their motivation to have an in-cell television,

*Your TV can be took off you in here and the kettle can go too. That is another reason to keep your nose clean- you can lose out on everything.* (Malcolm-prisoner)

Malcolm and Will represent themselves as high status prisoners, although Malcolm was a 'standard' prisoner when interviewed, identifiable by what Irwin (1970) defined as 'gleaners'. Both respondents were looking to glean as much from their incarceration as possible and comply with prison rules in order to minimize the risk of further deprivation. Lindlof (1986:344) highlights that gleaners are highly motivated media consumers, in pursuit of the educative and moral material. If the introduction of in-cell television saw an increase in 'gleaners' who benefit from the privileged ownership of television, then new tacit forms of control emerge in the form of self-governance and regulation (Rose 1999; Bosworth 2009) to sustain access.

Controlling prisoners and essentially creating an environment in which prisoners are willing to progress towards a 'gleaner' status caused some staff to become anxious of these kinds of effects. These anxieties were also captured with the introduction to television in national households; as Spigel (1992:3) reports there were mixed feelings about television coming into the home,

*Utopian statements that idealized the new medium as an ultimate expression of technological and social progress were met by equally dystopian discourses that warned of television's devastating effects on family relationships and the efficient functioning of the household.*

Brian explains why this made staff anxious,

*I think the staff were suspicious at the start, me included. I think it was a way, we believed it was a way of cutting back on staff because obviously if prisoners got in-cell television. I mean it was a massive, massive step, so staff thought that they could keep them locked up longer, they'd be happy because they had a television. But then obviously they wouldn't need as many prison staff because it was a way of cutting back. I still think, you know, I think that's what happened. I think they got used to it and realising that it was actually a good thing because it reduced a lot of problems. (Brian- prison officer)*

Staff were fearful that television would replace the work that they do with prisoners if control was achieved by a technological medium, rather than through direct contact. A panoptic goal to achieve control via surveillance is modified; instead control is achieved through prisoners watching television and their 'work' is replaced by a machine (Spigel 1992). In particular the erosion of social enterprises and pursuits meant that some worried about the moral decline of social values, cohesion, and sacred family life (Spigel 1992). These fears relate to concerns about the intrusion of mediated forms of interaction which some respondents (prisoners and staff) describe (Jewkes 2002b).

These changes to social relations were also noted by Jewkes (2002b). Television could operate, as Silverstone (1999a) suggests, as 'care-giver' or technological parent to occupy prisoners and minimize problematic behaviour. Paul recognised that prior to the introduction of mass communications like television, he functioned as a source of knowledge, as informant or teacher to the prisoners in his care,

*[in] local jails where you grow up with the population, over a period of time you get to know them as well as your own family in some ways. And so conversations are like everyday conversations, what's going on out there, we've heard on the radio that this has happened, we've heard on the radio that's happened. So you fill in on the news, yes there was an incident here, there was bad weather there or whatever. You are joining the dots for them, they have a*



*communication process, i.e. the radio or visits or whatever, so you're filling in the dots and making the picture for them. And more as television has come in and the access to television and phones has come in then we don't have to fill in the dots so much. (Paul – senior prison officer)*

For Stuart, the availability of in-cell television brought about interesting effects on the ways prisoners conversed with each other. He refers to his viewing of soap operas, something which he observes as peculiar to his prison experience,

*I get into the story lines that becomes part of your life, you hear lads on the landings talking about it. You wouldn't think lads would watch these things, I wouldn't on the out, it is the last thing I would watch. (Stuart- prisoner)*

These shifts in forms of interaction and dialogue mean that situated activity, especially between prisoners and staff may have become distanced and fragmented. The introduction of television had allowed different forms of sociability to become feasible, based on mediated encounters (Jewkes 2002a:222). Some of the staff appeared sad at the interactive losses in-cell television has brought about. In-cell television has helped to tame resistance from prisoners, by occupying them (Berker et al 2006). Prisoners were also attuned to this prospect,

*TV are in pads because it makes life easier for staff. In this day and age there is more trouble in prison. So if they are behind their doors and say can't read and write, bored they are going to fight. I suppose it is a privilege. On basic it is taken off you, on standard you've got telly. If it wasn't what is the point of basic. Going behind your door is basically go and watch your telly. It is classed as control I suppose, a bit harsh. A chap in healthcare was offered telly, he said he doesn't watch telly, so he put himself on basic, he must have had a reason, was he in control? He has just done their job. (Pete –prisoner)*

For Pete, television helps staff to help prisoners manage their 'life situation' (Layder 2006). Tim confirms that managing prisoners has become easier,

*I think the main difference for staff with prisoners having their own in cell televisions, they're a lot easier to put away behind the doors. They appear to be happier behind the doors because they're occupied. And because they're occupied, they're far less likely to be on the cell bells requesting telephone calls or for any other reason that they may want to be coming out their cells. Funnily enough, if there's something important on the television that they want to watch, they generally don't come out to association. If there's football on television, they'll not come out on association. So the management of prisoners, particularly on the evening, is far, far easier. (Tim- prison officer)*

The differences in interaction present a dilemma for prison staff. Prisoners are choosing to stay in their cells and not interacting in prison life. This kind of withdrawal from the immediate public life in prison is like the changes Silverstone (1999a:54) charts with the centering of television in private domestic life. In-cell television, like television within the home 'became fundamentally dependent on a whole network of technologically derived services' and consequently the processes and cultural practices within these spheres adapt to embrace the control technologies demand, as well as how social agents can exploit control (Layder 2004). The positioning of television in the cell has contributed to the process of entering the moral economy. Others suggest that communal television placed in the exterior (communal settings) of the prison have not essentially permitted entrance into the moral economy; it didn't fit well here (Lindlof 1987; Gersch 2003). Claire noticed how the public spheres within the prison environment such as association areas were accessed and used less frequently,

*Certainly when I first worked here, when I was an officer up on the landing, at association everybody came out and there was a big television on and they all sat and watched the television. And now they don't do that, they really come out for their phone calls; some of them will play pool and do a bit of interaction. (Claire-Governor)*

One benefit of this is that overall the establishment became more ‘settled’, a term routinely used by staff respondents. This outcome echoed the original rationale of in-cell television’s introduction, ‘as a means of contributing to good order in a prison’ (Hansard 1998). A less chaotic environment is much easier to manage and the inclusion of in-cell television into the privilege system can ensure much more compliance (Liebling et al 1999). The calming effects of in-cell television have contributed to a decrease in problems related to disorder. Overall, television has provided a technological mechanism for sustaining control and order,

*The purpose, I know we said the original purpose was to keep the prisoner in the cell, but to me the purpose to having it in cell is appeasement more than anything else. And also its what people are used to. (Paul- senior prison officer)*

As in-cell television became embedded into the routine practice of everyday life at this prison, all ‘standard’ prisoners began to expect a television in their cells. Television has therefore been scaled down the privilege system from enhanced to standard, and ‘normalisation’ of its provision ‘is entirely consistent with normal life’ (Jewkes 2002a:172). In keeping with the notion of incentivizing prisoners, prison establishments were therefore looking to add additional incentives. These have over time, but not exclusively, included DVD players, Freeview boxes, Sky television (for a very short time), toasters, more time out of cells, wearing own clothes instead of prison issue etc.<sup>28</sup> Brian explains

*Enhanced, which it won’t be long now before everybody gets a DVD because it started off for enhanced with TVs anyway and now everybody gets TVs, so the feeling is that that’s the way it will go. (Brian- prison officer)*

Attempts to maintain a level of deprivation of goods and services (Sykes 1999) is therefore perceived important in establishing control. By not providing certain goods and services wholesale, prisoners are kept deprived. In escaping deprivation, prisoners are required to

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<sup>28</sup> Personal correspondence with the Ministry of Justice (2011) confirms that there are restrictions on the provision of digital technologies including Freeview, satellite TV. The digital switchover has enabled service through in-cell TV revenue has up-dated prisons to receive nine Freeview channels. This project is due to be completed by the end of 2011 to comply with national switchover. Prisons Minister Maria Eagle in 2009 announced that satellite TV was available in-cell to a small raft of contracted prisons, which permitted approximately 4070 prisoners to access this additional facility in line with IEP targets. At present the MoJ confirm this provision is no longer permitted.

focus on their own behaviour in an attempt to ‘glean’ access to goods like television. By exploiting deprivations, prisoners are directed towards a form of compliance and dependence of the institution much like a child is dependent on its care-givers (Sykes 1999; Silverstone 1999a). This type of control relies on a concept which Layder refers to as ‘positional appeals’ where rules have to be learnt and there are consequences or sanctions if these are rejected (2004:31). This is neither straightforward nor entirely effective. Some prisoners, as we will see in Chapter 7 are certain that deprivation in prison is not necessarily that difficult to bear, particularly in relation to in-cell television. Being a prisoner, in essence has traditionally been conceptualized by levels of deprivation and the kinds of methods prisoners employ to adapt to and cope with prison life (Cohen and Taylor 1972, Jewkes 2002a). The potential to withhold and control access to television and other technologies is a defining feature of the domestication of television in prison.

#### **6.1.2 Signing the Contract: Incentivizing Television**

*TV is a privilege, they can take them away from you if you get a nicking.*

(Ryan- prisoner)

*It is necessary and desirable to educate us in the techniques for governing ourselves*

(Rose 1999:221)

As outlined in Chapter 2, in-cell television is provided as a basis of standard care in prison. On entering prison, a prisoner is identified as a ‘standard’ prisoner and with that package comes an in-cell television. Upon reception and induction to the prison the rules and regulations are delivered to prisoners; included in this process is a contract outlining the provision of an in-cell television, hence as Rose suggests prisoners are co-opted into self-inspection. This ‘contract’ stipulates that the prison owns the television and it can be withdrawn at the discretion of prison staff. The payment for hire was something prisoner respondents were keen to explain; they thought that the public’s perception of prisoners’ access to television was that it was essentially free for prisoners and provided at the expense of the taxpayer. As Simon explains

*I pay £1 per week for the TV, I've paid for that, over 10 years that is a hell of a lot of money. (Simon- prisoner)*

Joshua also added,

*We're paying for it. There have been times where, alright then, there's been times where I've been in my cell for a month but like I said then I've gone to the seg, that one pound is still coming off my money while I'm down the seg and I ain't got a telly. So it all differs. If they were giving it us without us paying for it then I suppose they could say, yes, it's a privilege, but at the moment I don't think it is. I think it's something we're paying for and therefore we should have a right for it. (Joshua-prisoner)*

Contrary to Joshua's insistence that it should be a 'right' the Home Affairs Committee in 1997 stipulated that 'the availability of television in this way is clearly an earned privilege rather than a right' (Hansard 1998). It is rare to find a prisoner who refuses to have an in-cell television<sup>29</sup>. However, Mick talked about how he had witnessed some prisoners return their television sets,

*...no one would say TV is crap in here. It can do your bird for you. There's a lot of bang up here. Now TV is here it is quiet. TV is all about control. If you did an experiment and took the TV away for 2 hours it wouldn't last. I've seen people give their TVs back, young one's wouldn't do it. Some people tell lies and say they would. It is more the older types that give it back. (Mick- prisoner)*

Mick believes that most prisoners are dependent on television and existing and enduring large amounts of bang-up would be unbearable without it. Wanting to accomplish personal control could explain why some, according to Mick's testimony, hand their sets back to the prison. Ned however talked about his experience in another prison at the time when televisions were not yet standard provision and were exclusive to enhanced prisoners,

*I didn't have a TV when I was in jail in 2001- 2002; even though there were*

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<sup>29</sup> All the prisoners I spoke to have an in-cell television, except Shaun and Lee who were on the 'basic' regime as a result of poor conduct, a breach of prison rules and the contract.

*wings with TVs I opted to stay on a wing without a TV because staff seemed to use it as a carrot, as a privilege to take away from you. So I opted to stay on the wing, it might sound a bit silly, but I stayed on the wing where they couldn't take it off you. And then basically you knew where you stood so I stayed on... (Ned- prisoner)*

Ned actively resisted engaging in the 'game' (McDermott and King 1988). Refusing to enter the contract meant that Ned did not have to engage in IEP system. By his refusal to have television, Ned had some semblance of control, and by choosing this he avoided threats to his basic security and refusing to have his emotionality traded by the prison (Layder 2004:32). Imposing self deprivation, as in Ned's case, is a powerful statement and also evidence of self-directed restraint and resistance.

In-cell television is constantly under threat of removal. Will for example talked about a situation he found himself in with a cell mate and he was fearful of the consequences it would have for him. This perpetual fear of getting into trouble and having your access to goods and services limited and controlled must make ontological security difficult to achieve,

*No-one is a true friend, you have to be self-orientated and you can easily be guilty by association. Like drugs and phones. One time a bloke took something [drugs]. I was going to ring the bell, but I don't want to be perceived as that kind of person. It was scary.... He was tempted to ring the bell, jail doesn't allow you to do that- what should I do? They see him laid out [on his bed] and they say it is alright. (Will- prisoner)*

For Will, becoming embroiled in 'incidents' such as he describes means that he becomes the focus of scrutiny and observation by prison staff. Scrutiny adversely means that his character and conduct may be called into question and privileges like television could be removed and curtailed.

In contrast to the standard regime, basic equates to a loss of privileges. Overall, this means that basic prisoners spent a large amount of time in their cells. Steve describes at length the principles of the basic regime,

*They know the process because if they get 3 behavioural warnings then they do get IEP regime reviews. And they are warned when they are given the first behavioural, if you get another two of these you are on basic and you explain to them what a basic prisoner is. And to some people that's a shock enough, others its two fingers up at the system and they think they can flaunt and win the system. You tend to find a lot of these young ones, the ones that have just come from [other] establishments, they think they can beat the system. Whereas if you talk to the lifers, the ones that have been in the system for a long time they know you can't beat the system, you will probably win the odd battle but you will never win the war. So going back to it, yes you do inform them that you could potentially lose your television, you will lose your kettle, you will lose a lot of what you are entitled to. Yes you are entitled to go to the gym but you will only go to the gym once, whereas at the moment you get two or three times a day a week, so you will lose that facility. You only get to use the library once a week. But everything has to be done by application so it's a real strict regime for them. And when they get onto basic they are the last one who are fed. And if they don't follow the protocols of the basic regime like putting applications in they will get nothing. It usually takes a couple of weeks, especially for the young ones, to realise well hold on a second I'm not getting anything, and then they start toeing the line, they are thinking well yes I need this. Television is a good bargaining chip but sometimes when they have got the stereo they don't use the television. (Steve- prison officer)*

Basic prisoners are heavily monitored and their status is systematically reviewed by officers. They require extra input and monitoring and some staff commented on both the value of the basic regime and its influence on behaviour, and the overall effectiveness of the IEP system altogether (Liebling et al 2011). The system encourages these basic prisoners to understand principles of conformity and this requires them to take responsibility for governing themselves (Rose 1999). It is not until they can display forms of control that can they be promoted from basic status. The IEP framework shapes the work of staff and lives of prisoners, and the provision of and access to television is inherent in this form of governance.

## 6.2 Valuing Television: Mechanisms for Control

For Rose (1999:240) 'the principles of reward and punishment become integrated into the very fabric of the institution' and the purpose and outcome of these principles educates the prisoner, 'in the means of self-inspection...systematic self-monitoring' (ibid:241). Incentives like television therefore require the individual to examine and scrutinize themselves, and this is routinely assisted by staff as facilitators and experts in self-help; Shaun, a prisoner for example said 'I'm constantly analyzing myself'. The IEP system offers staff a method to work consistently as Liebling et al (2011:105) suggest, Paul believes this facilitates *fairness*,

*I genuinely think it's the fair application of the basic process. I think the way staff on our floor deal with prisoners is consistent, I think the way the prisoners perception of how they are dealt with is consistent. I think the IEP application is consistent. And I think the prisoners suddenly realise well basic isn't as good as it's cracked up to be, they don't need to be the hard man who can run the jail or cause uproar because they are actually losing out. And the families are getting affected as well; they're not seeing their children, they are not seeing their families who are restricted to visits. So I think right across the board the application of the IEP process is consistent and that demonstrates to the prisoners that their standard of behaviour is needed. (Paul- senior prison officer)*

Operationalizing the IEP system through consistency brings a framework that is essentially *transparent* to staff and supposedly for prisoners (Liebling et al 2011:107). Prisoner respondents were knowledgeable about the system and readily offered lists of their entitlements. Staff were sensitive to the deprivation prisoners experience and were able to emotionally connect to the losses prisoners can experience. As Paul described these losses extend beyond the prisoner and can affect the ways in which the prisoner can routinely connect with his family for example. Paul continued to explain that,

*...so although we talk about in cell television that has in effect on IEP. That has an effect on prisoners behaviour because if we take that facility away it's a*



*punishment, and therefore it's a punishment that they will struggle with.* (Paul-senior prison officer)

Other staff recognised the potential losses prisoners could experience without television, and staff recognised that this can make prisoners vulnerable, and thus difficult to manage. The paradox of care and control is evident here, as officers act as both carers and controllers. Brian explains that in-cell television can help to prevent problems arising and be used as leverage to explain the consequences of their actions,

*So it can be used to control the problems that you have and if you've got a circle of violence or a circle of, you know, misbehaviour, then you can actually stop that. And you can say to them, look, you know, you've gone three weeks now without getting into trouble, isn't it much better?* (Brian- prison officer)

Claire noticed a difference that in-cell television had made since leaving the establishment as a prison officer and returning as Governor,

*There is a marked difference I think, I left X [prison] 10 years ago and I came back; when I left it had no in-cell TV and obviously since having the in-cell TV the prison is cleaner because there are no t-shirts hanging out the windows. They used to spend a lot of their time at windows shouting out windows, throwing stuff out windows* (Claire- Governor)

Claire's observations show an important feature in the ways prisoners interact. Before in-cell television, situated forms of communication, i.e. shouting out of windows, seemed to occupy periods of bang-up. The introduction of in-cell television, for Claire has seen a reduction in this form of interaction, which has been displaced by mediated forms of interaction. The decline in situated interaction has therefore brought about significant 'improvements' in the ways prisoners occupy the time spent in their cells. Mediated interaction has enabled the establishment to function in a controlled fashion (Layder 2004). These kinds of constraint, as stated earlier, contribute to what Silverstone (1999a) described as 'domestication' of private life, and the introduction of television has served to cultivate

prisoners' obedience. The civilizing effects of in-cell television are related to the curtailment and containment of emotive responses and its outcomes (Elias 2010). The moral and visible hygiene of the prison has, as Claire identifies, changed since the introduction of in-cell television.

The staff also showed extensive understanding of the kinds of attachments prisoners and audiences generally have with television; therefore the rationale to incentivize television is based on 'transitional' attachments that individuals have with television (Silverstone 1999a:14),

*I think in general people like television, they like watching it, they like their football or their soaps or This Morning with Fern and whatever, all that. I think it is a motivator for prisoners because I think they feel quite lost without it. (Claire-Governor)*

Staff also recognised the implications of boredom in prison settings acknowledging it as a potentially dangerous emotive state,

*...prisoners can become very bored, and when they become bored they become mischievous. So by installing in-cell television and television within the establishment I believe it prevents a lot of that mischievousness, it's allowed them to be less bored. (Paul- senior prison officer)*

By introducing television into this controlled environment, staff are able to manage some emotive dissonance with almost instantaneous effect. Managing increasingly large numbers of individuals is made possible by its introduction. In Paul's view, in-cell television reduces problematic behaviour. Fran also noticed that prisoners who are punished and have their privileges removed are visible to other prisoners,

*...you are all being constantly observed by each other. If somebody is in need and they look desperate they know that everyone else can see them looking desperate or needing help. Of if they are not coming out of their cell people can visibly see that they are not coming out of their cell. (Fran- prison officer)*

The witnessing of punishment serves as an important reminder of the deprivations the prison can impose, and can function as a stark reminder to prisoners. Stigma and shame operate here and compliance can follow (Scheff 1988; Garland 1991; Pratt 2000). Maintaining order is not necessarily straightforward, as accounts from prisoners in this study suggest, with some admitting to creating or witnessing violence, bullying and extortion. Steve explains that despite the mechanisms to maintain order, these are constantly challenged in their everyday work and forms of resistance routinely manifest (Liebling et al 2011:122),

*You get the innocent ones, but then you get the ones that are at it, and no matter which way you do it they will get passed from cell to cell to cell. And when you have got 110 prisoners and 3 officers on a landing you can only police so much. And it's a shame but it gets into the prisons, you get mobile phones coming, you get contraband brought in... yes we know phones are in there at some point but its catching them.... And it's the same with the drugs, we've had a load that's come over the walls but you can only stop so much. People will try to flout the system and try their best and some get away with it and some don't, but it's a game. (Steve –prison officer)*

The occupying nature of in-cell television allows staff to manage a large volume of prisoners as Steve describes. McDermott and King (1988: 360) explain that games are 'to gain control over the meaning of a situation...they are competitions about power'. Alan suggests,

*It is a luxury item, the regime tries to get you in on it. But then it gives you some borderline for you. . (Alan- prisoner)*

Alan suggests that prisoners are encouraged to participate in the IEP regime as long as the rules to this 'game' are understood by its participants. The day to day work for officers working on prison landings predominantly involves dealing with the domestic upkeep of the prison and its prisoners. Steve, for example, disclosed precise details of his daily routine at work and was able to define almost every minute of his working day. Steve stressed how

much of his time is taken up with dealing with requests from prisoners, which are recorded through a formal and written application process. McDermott and King highlight this kind of work is not dissimilar to childcare or parenting: successful parenting requires control, but also discretion (Liebling et al 2011:121). The discretion of the officer is based on power and it is not surprising that ‘tit for tat’ games evolve in a competition for power. However, as Liebling et al highlight, organizational policy is sometimes confusing and disorientating (2011:125) and the prison service has been criticized for being ‘vague’ (Bottoms 1989). Tony also explained that the in-cell electrics could be turned off if required. Tony did not intend this to mean that this was done in reality, but hypothetically they have the power to turn off the in-cell electricity, and hence televisions could be turned off. Staff hold a significant level of power to control what prisoners do and when they do it, as Liebling et al (2011:126) suggest ‘discretion...is inevitable... Wherever there are rules, there will be discretion. In the prison context, this is especially true’.

Despite the incentives, disorder still arises. One of the challenges staff respondents discussed was that they thought that television did not carry as much value or weight to motivate prisoners as it did when it was first introduced. This decrease in value presents a threat to the IEP system that frames so much of their work. This can weaken the control that staff are regularly trying to achieve and ‘weaken this already fractured monolith of power’ (Liebling et al 2011:131). Being able to ‘disconnect’ prisoners from mediated forms of interaction is a powerful act, as Tim describes,

*I mean for an example, if a prisoner is, at the moment if he attracts an IEP review, we can take his television off him. So, bearing in mind that they don’t have any other forms of communication anymore in respect of newspapers, prisoners used to have stage papers where we used to give papers out, now the televisions are there, their contact with the outside world and news and all the rest of it can only be achieved through the television. So they’re not quite so isolated with the television. Once the television’s withdrawn, then their contact with the outside world becomes withdrawn, other than their normal royal mail to friends and family. (Tim- prison officer)*

As Tim continued to assert, television is an important tool in prison-craft, ‘another piece of the jigsaw that we can use to control the prisoner’. Challenges to these levels of control are continually evolving, Brian is critical of the value in-cell television now has,

*...it's easier. At the start it could be used as an incentive, so we will take that off them. That's dried up now because we don't take it off them no matter what, and we've moved on to another level whereas the in cell television was something that was great at the start and the prisoners thought that once you give them something then that's it, it became the norm and that was expected. So then Freeview and then DVD, well actually DVDs then Freeview. (Brian- prison officer)*

Tim also noticed this decrease in value, ‘once the televisions got bedded in ...the novelty had worn off’. In effect, the control staff initially had with television positioned as a luxury item was in their view decreasing, as it has in wider society (Ellis 2000). The additional challenge to maintain control has meant that supplementary television related hardware like DVD players and Freeview were added to the privilege list and rolled out as incentives under the discretion of the Governor, in the same way that that in-cell television was initially introduced. For now these are exclusive items intended for enhanced prisoners, yet some staff predict that this will also become standard issue, just like television. Tony and Paul considered how the advancements in technology and the inevitable digital switchover would require television provision to align with these advancements. Tony was worried that current provision appeared ‘old fashioned’, and that the challenge for bringing the establishment’s provision in line with the digital revolution would need addressing. As O’Sullivan (1991:166) reports, television can symbolize ‘a sign of progress’ and discourses on consumption regularly return to this theme (Moore 1993:89, Spigel 1992). This again would entail additional investment and expenditure and likely disruption to the current service provision<sup>30</sup>. Owing to the evolving nature of technology, the prison service is also seeking to maintain television as a ‘leading object’ across the prison culture (Silverstone 1999a).

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<sup>30</sup> Digital regeneration was occurring at the time of the write of this thesis and the MoJ are set to complete this 2011.

### 6.3 Mediated Routines: Television Use Diaries

The final part of this chapter documents the findings from nine 14-day television use diaries completed by prisoner participants. In order to appreciate the viewing experiences of prisoners and what these audiences *do* with television it was necessary to record and observe the ways in which television is watched and how prisoners are able to do this (see Chapter 5). In order to get closer to the ‘meanings and motivations’ of prisoners (Jewkes 2002a) viewing television, it is necessary to locate this audience within the prison context. The routine of prison life collides with broadcast life. The trends mapped provide temporal and spatial features relating to use of television. These can also begin to outline the kind of movements prisoners make between mediated and situated ‘places’ (Moore 2006) and review how prisoners are ‘anchored’ to time (Martel 2006:606).

#### 6.3.1 Time Use and Television

Periods of un-lock and lock-up (bang-up) are significant factors which can influence television viewing. The periods of lock-up are potentially where prisoners consolidate most of their viewing, and conversely periods of un-lock influence a reduction in television viewing since prisoners have opportunities to work, receive visits, attend treatments (medical) and attend to domestic needs. Time and space are therefore ‘heavily scripted’ for prisoners (ibid:595). Table 1 below captures these periods in this particular site.

**Table 1: The Routine: Typical Periods of Lock-up and Un-lock in Prison Site for Weekdays and Weekends<sup>31</sup>**

	7am	8am	9am	10am	11am	12pm	1pm	2pm	3pm	4pm	5pm	6pm	7pm	8pm-6am
<b>Weekday (Mon-Fri)</b>		Work, education, gym, visits, treatments						Work, education, gym, visits, treatments				Association <sup>32</sup>		
<b>Weekend (Sat –Sun)</b>			Visits, exercise, treatments, worship (Sun)					Visits, treatments <sup>33</sup>						



The sample of diarists included in this study do not necessarily represent the typical prisoner population, since six (out of nine) of the diarists were on enhanced privilege status and three were on standard status. These differences are relevant for achieving access to employment, goods and services<sup>34</sup> and time out of cell such as association, visits and leisure opportunities. Enhanced prisoners will experience less ‘bang-up’ time than standard and basic prisoners and are therefore unlocked more. Standard prisoners would experience less time out of cells than enhanced, particularly for leisure opportunities such as association. These factors influence the amounts of time prisoners are in cells. Overall, this sample typically over-represents the enhanced status group<sup>35</sup>.

According to the Broadcast Audience Research Board (BARB; 2011), the national average viewing times for UK households for the same period as diary completion in 2008 were

<sup>31</sup> Deviations from this are very rare. If this does change it is usually associated with general alarms as a result of incidents or staffing detail. This often means prisoners are locked-up whilst situations are resolved. Un-lock periods are never extended

<sup>32</sup> Not all prisoners are entitled to association everyday and this is organised according to their IEP status. Basic prisoners will have 1-2 association sessions, standard prisoners will have 3 and enhanced prisoners can have 5-6 association sessions per week.

<sup>33</sup> Prisoners will only be unlocked if they have a planned visit or are entitled to association for this period at weekends. If this is not applicable they are expected to remain in their cells and be locked behind their doors.

<sup>34</sup> Freeview and DVD players are predominantly an incentive, at no extra cost for enhanced prisoners only.

<sup>35</sup> At the time of data collection proportions of status are typically 60% standard, 30% enhanced and 10% were basic. As a result the findings here may actually under estimate the amount of time spent viewing television.

26.63 per week; an average of 3.8 hours per day<sup>36</sup>. Prisoners watch on average 61.39 hours of television (see Appendix 12) over the course of one week (7 days Mon-Sun) equating to 8.77 per day. During the weekend this increases slightly to 9.1 hours per day or 18.2 hours over the course of a weekend. This is more than reported by Vandebosch (2000) in her study in Flemish prisons at 6.6 hours per day at the weekend. Periods of unlock and opportunities to leave their cells are generally much more limited during weekends. Most forms of paid employment, visits, education and gym for prisoners operate on a Monday-Friday schedule: these are significantly reduced during the weekend. However this pattern of viewing is also a feature of television audience behaviour across the UK, with weekends seeing an increase in numbers of people watching, but also increases in the numbers watching earlier on the day (Ofcom 2010). Opportunities to access broadcast media in non-linear ways are limited to what is available through Freeview channels i.e. repeated programmes at different times<sup>37</sup>. Prisoners are therefore unable to record or download (time-shift) material for television or other formats<sup>38</sup> and the audiences in this site are locked into broadcast schedules or the linear flow of television.

Variation in viewing times across this sample does occur. For example Diarist G (highest in the sample) watches 100.5 hours of television per week and Diarist C (lowest in the sample) watches 16.5 hours per week. Their cases explain this:

**Diarist G** (interviewee-Malcolm) completed his diary whilst spending time in the healthcare facility (prison hospital) and was therefore temporarily unemployed during this period. As a standard (IEP) prisoner Malcolm's viewing generally commenced from 7am and generally

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<sup>36</sup> During this year seasonal variations occurred with the range of viewing hours varying from 22.5 hours (lowest) to 30.72 (highest) (BARB 2011). Demographic variations across the UK are also evident with older people (65+) beginning to watch more broadcast television than ever before and younger people (16-24) are watching less broadcast television as well as less listening to radio. All prisoners in this sample are classed as adults at 21 years or older. Younger people are however consuming more diverse interactive media particularly non-linear content like downloads and using on-demand facilities (Ofcom 2009; 2010; BARB 2009) and other media hardware like hand-held devices and computers. However, these are not permitted in prison.

<sup>37</sup> Freeview was made available to enhanced prisoners when I started the fieldwork. However this was withdrawn from the prison during the time I was carrying out the study. In 2010 the prison switched to digital and some Freeview channels were made available. I had completed data collection by this time.

<sup>38</sup> There is some discrepancy here with some staff describing to me that material was often recorded using a VCR prior to the provision of in-cell television and played during evening association periods in the communal television areas.



continued until 11pm with few and minimal gaps or blank entries in his diary. Where they did occur this was usually between 9am and 11am or between 2pm to 4pm. These coincide with times of unlock for association, visits etc. Malcolm watched the most television on Fridays with entries totalling 11 and 13 hours. Malcolm shared a cell during these 14 days and watched some of the programmes with his cell mate. Overall he viewed 61% of his total television consumption with his cell mate and 39% alone. Access to DVD players and Freeview in the healthcare is a standard facility, despite them being only available to enhanced prisoners on normal location.<sup>39</sup>

**Diarist C** is an enhanced prisoner employed in the prison serving a 10 year IPP sentence. As well as access to in-cell TV he also had an in-cell radio, DVD and CD player. On three of the days Diarist C did not watch any television (0 hours). On the first occasion, which was a weekday, he was transferred to another prison. The second and third occasions were Saturdays. On Sundays the same and only entry was made for the same period, *Countryfile* at 11am for 1 hour. He completed the diary in the study site for three days before being transferred to a Category B closed training prison<sup>40</sup>. (See Appendix 13).

This participant watched 57% of the programmes with his cell mate and 43% alone; for example he watched a film on his own, *The Island on Bird Street* broadcast at 11am on a weekday. Upon transfer his viewing hours significantly reduced from 6-7 hours per day to 2 hours. For every single day apart from weekends he watched BBC1 news in the morning for 2 hours and no other programmes were entered in the diary. Settling into a new prison does demand more time of prisoners such as induction to the prison and screening and assessments. Training prisons normally have more opportunities available to work and be engaged in purposeful activity compared to local prisons, and the 'core' day or periods of un-lock should be longer.

<sup>39</sup> There is a limited regime in this part of the prison site and as a result prisoners are compensated by the provision of DVD players and Freeview in some instances.

<sup>40</sup> Training prisons are different from local prisons and are generally intended to serve medium to long-term prisoners and offer a variety of rehabilitative programmes. Time out of cells in training prisons is generally more than in local closed prisons.

These variations are important and the differences between the two prisons as outlined in Diarist C's case are something that is commonly observed. Prisoners are able to note differences in routines across different prisons. However, it is difficult to measure the impact of these differences and much of the prison literature generally asserts that the impact of incarceration is homogenously painful and the core aims of imprisonment like separation, deprivation, incapacitation are universal, no matter what kind of regime is experienced. Adjustments to time out of cell and bang-up for instance can impact on the intensity of these pains. Experiencing 'hard' or 'easy' jail time could be directly influenced by these factors (Wacquant 2002).

### **6.3.2 Viewing with Other Prisoners**

None of the diarists indicated that they watched television outside their cells, and all entries indicate they were viewed *inside* prison cells. Communal and association areas do have televisions and they are sometimes switched on. Diarist B is the only prisoner in this diary sample who inhabited a cell alone. The rest of the diarists shared a cell with another prisoner. From the entries made, most of the viewing occurs with a prisoner's cell mate at a sample average of 75% of all viewing. The remaining proportion at 25% is where respondents declared they either viewed television either alone or that their cell mate was not watching. Based on this detail there is reduced opportunity to view television alone.

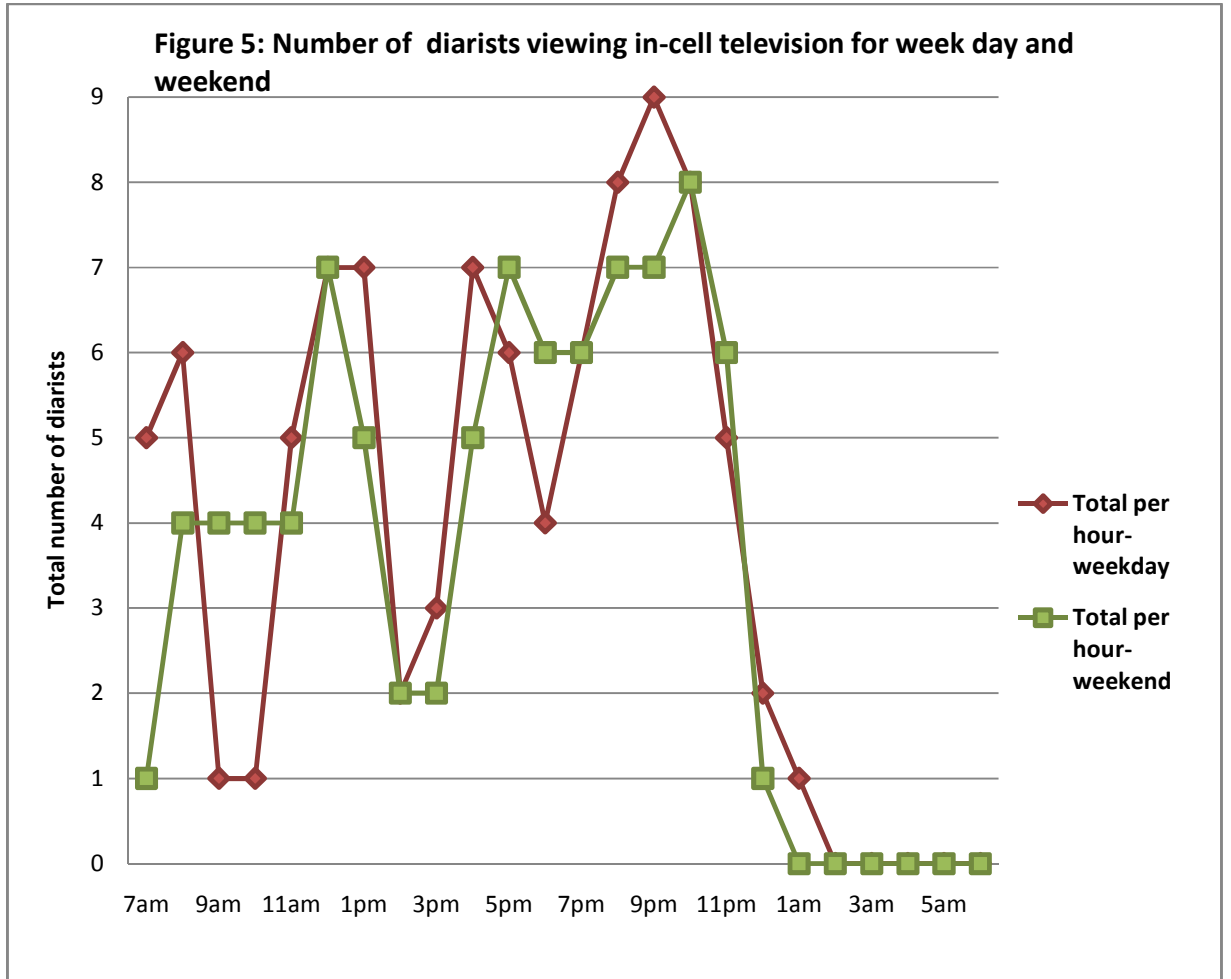
Diarists A, F and I viewed all of their television over the 14 day period with their cell mate. Diarists D (93%) and E (84%) watched the majority of in-cell television with their cell mates. Diarist D watched 7% alone and diarist E watched 16% alone. Diarists C and G watched the most television alone; for diarist C this constitutes 43% of their viewing and for diarist G 39%. Most prisoners in England and Wales today are required to share a cell with another prisoner, unless there are identified risks based on the Cell Sharing Risk Assessments (CSRA) procedure.

### **6.3.3 Prison Routine**

Prison routines are considered all encompassing or 'total' (Goffman 1991). As outlined earlier in this section, the business of prison operates predominantly on a strict and regimented timetable. Equally, broadcasting is also framed within a timetable (Scannell

1996). By observing the entries in the television diaries it is possible to identify how the prison routine impacts on the viewing routines of prisoners, but also how the routine of broadcasting impacts on shaping everyday patterns of time in prison. Despite the fixed routine of both prison and broadcasting, prisoners *are* regularly negotiating between the two timetables; as Layder (2004:15) describes, there is an ‘interplay between the creative inputs of individuals and the pre-existing social resources they draw upon to help formulate their behaviour’. Given the limitations of the prison environment and opportunities to spend time out of cell and/or be in ‘purposeful activity’, television and its content can evolve into the prisoner’s ‘own’ timetable; no single diary entry is the same across this sample. Differences occur in length of time spent watching (or not) and the types of content selected. Opportunities to view alone are more restricted due to the likelihood of double occupancy of cells. This could also impact on the kinds of selections made by prisoners (Lull 1990) as they require negotiation, compromise and bargaining with others sharing the cell (see Chapter 7).

Figure 5: Number of diarists viewing in-cell television for weekday and weekend (Saturday):



The viewing routines remain reasonably similar with one visible contrast between the weekday and weekend. Fewer prisoners in this sample watch in-cell TV between 9 and 11 am during weekdays. This is a period when prisoners are typically unlocked to attend work and education or exercise. At the weekends however prisoners remain locked in their cells during this time, unless they have visits booked, treatments or exercise. Four prisoners recorded that they spend the entire morning viewing during the weekend and more begin their viewing later, 8am rather than 7am. Eight of the prisoners in this sample are employed in the prison and one is unemployed. Therefore during weekdays most prisoners in this

sample are not watching TV during 9am-11am due to their work or training obligations. One prisoner who was unemployed at the time of reporting continues to watch through the morning. Viewing increases for weekdays and weekends during the lunch period. Lunch is served and collected by prisoners between 11.45-12.15pm, after which they are locked into their cells to eat their meals. This time also coincides with the broadcast of national and local news on television, considered one of the peak viewing times during weekdays (Ofcom 2010). A sharp decrease coincides with unlock between 2-4pm on weekdays and weekends, usually for work or education on weekdays and association at weekends. From 4pm a sharp increase in viewing occurs especially during weekdays, this increase occurs later, at weekends (5pm). For weekdays, a small reduction in viewing occurs at 6pm, a typical time for association and using the gym. However four prisoners continue to view during these times. This time also coincides with peak national TV viewing periods for weekday evenings, when popular broadcasts like news, soaps and dramas are routinely broadcast<sup>41</sup>.

### Summary

Television's entrance into the deep 'interior' of the prison cell has brought about transformations to social relations in prison. Television now fixed in its place means that television and the act of watching television is away from public view, and this has become for many prisoners a habitual activity. Unlike communal viewing, in-cell viewing means that television has entered (sometimes haphazardly and not without effect) the moral economy. Permitting television into the deep interior of prison life has seen a shift not only in the ways prisoners can spend their time locked up in their cells, but also the kinds of choices they make with respect to engaging with prison life. Making room for television has meant time and space has also been carved out to welcome it. This shift from scarcity to plenty (Ellis

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<sup>41</sup> There were no diary entries made after 1am in this sample, although some interviewees talked about staying up to watch TV late into the night, with some preferring to do this and sleep in the day as a mechanism for avoiding the prison routine and its people. All but one of the diarists were employed and were generally expected to work, which meant that late night viewing was not necessarily a feasible option. Achieving enhanced status requires prisoners to work during the day and standard prisoners are encouraged to work. The unemployed prisoner consistently watched television later than most other respondents, but only usually by 1 hour per day. The other prisoners were potentially moderating late viewing of television in order to incorporate sleep and rest into their routines.

2000) is not neutral and its impact, according to respondents, is that prisoners now interact between situated and mediated forms. The prison institution has deliberately taken television and used it to tame and 'domesticate' prisoners. By adopting a paternal approach to behaviour management (IEP), prison organisations are looking for ways to control by occupation. Deserving prisoners are rewarded with access to television as long as compliance is sustained. As Lindlof (1987) found, those who 'glean' their time in prison modify and adopt their behaviour to achieve and sustain access. The IEP framework signals an important progression towards self-inspection. Rose (1999:127) suggests that the process of governmentality exploits privacy, and that the social enterprise 'used this privacy as the justification for its non-intervention'. The object now strategically placed in the prison cell is a symbolic indication of the very privacy that legitimizes a distancing between prisoner and traditional forms of control.

Overwhelmingly all of the staff respondents did not consider television as a privilege despite the fact the IEP system dictates and professes this, and yet they work mostly without question within this framework. Staff continually stress that television is a significant instrument for care. Instead of disconnecting prisoners from television, enabling connection is an important priority to facilitate care and control. As a result, there is a shift in emphasis away from the incentivizing of television to it being a normalizing (Jewkes 2002a, Gersch 2003) feature, and this is especially grounded by staff respondents' perceptions noting improvements to the moral and visible or material hygiene of the prison. Television is the 'leading object' (Silverstone 1999a), yet this for the most part is invisible across large sections of policy. A recent technology review by NOMS (2008) fails to mention television at all. As this chapter has begun to show, television plays a significant and even leading role as a feature of control, impacting on forms of interaction and engagement with prison life. Chapters 7 and 8 will provide a more detailed description of the varying types of control.





## Chapter 7- Personal Control: Television, Emotion and Prison Life

*emotion underlies control...control underlies emotion* (Layder 2004:24)

As outlined in Chapter 6, television has had a taming effect on prisoners, with implications for social relations within the prison. This chapter outlines the precarious and sensitive relationship prisoners have with television; it focuses exclusively on the voices of male prisoners to identify how they relate to television. By foregrounding emotion in this section, a closer examination of the forms of control at work in the prison setting can be illuminated, and the ways in which television may or may not serve as a 'protective device' (Layder 2004:26). Layder's discussion on 'the need for personal control' signifies how social agents are continually attempting 'to cater for emotional needs and desires...while maintaining good mental health' (ibid:34). This chapter foregrounds those emotions which feature most forcefully in the data; boredom, frustration, ambivalence, happiness and joy. The evidence presented here outlines how 'care and maintenance of the social self' is accomplished with television (Layder ibid:19). The chapter ends by examining the participants' fears of watching television in prison.

### 7.1 Boredom & Television

*Boredom is poisonous, it is mental poison. You can easily get distressed and suicidal in here. TV keeps you occupied. Even just changing the channels using the remote, it keeps you focused.* (Leon- prisoner)

Boredom is considered a feature of everyday life in prison which can in some circumstances develop and evolve into deep anxiety and disorientation for some serving prisoners (Vandebosch 2001; Liebling 1999a). No studies have been developed focusing on boredom in prison. However, boredom is routinely cited as a causal feature in offending behaviour and crime (Ferrell 2004). Most studies on boredom more generally have been led by psychologists in either laboratory conditions or working environments, particularly industrial and manual labour settings (Geitwitz 1966; McBain 1970). Several characteristics of boredom have been identified, such as the experience of monotony, the lack of novelty,



the absence of meaning and constraint which lead to sleepiness, restlessness, anxiety and hostility to the environment (Barbalet 1999; Smith 1981). Others have noted that differences occur across different groups: for example those most prone to boredom are men (Zuckerman 1979), people with lower intelligence (Robinson 1975), those with poor mental health (Caplan et al 1975) and extroverts (Kagan & Rosman 1964). Most importantly boredom is considered unpleasant and unsettling and emotive responses like frustration and anger often follow (O'Hanlon 1981). Levin and Brown (1975) also found that prisoners experience more boredom than prison staff. Furthermore dissatisfaction with their circumstances has been correlated with boredom leading to pervasive attitudes towards the establishment or institution in which they are constrained, such as workplace or school (ibid). Given these characteristics, it is probably no surprise that boredom was an aspect of the prisoners' experiences documented in the interviews, in fact all of them mentioned this.

Alleviating boredom was repeatedly related to their direct use of television. The strict prison routine brings no opportunities for prisoners to experience deviations from the routine shaped by the timetabling of un-lock and bang-up with activities restricted to work, education, gym, and visits. Given these contextual constraints, boredom and the fear of it has an important impact on how television consumption is managed by the individual. Equally boredom itself was not just a situational outcome of the immediate prison experience, but was also described as a product of prisoners' mediated encounters; watching television for some was also considered boring (Jewkes 2002a, Klapp 1986).

The findings from the television diaries (see Chapter 6) outline how prisoners regularly negotiate between the schedules of the prison and broadcasting, with many prisoners watching large quantities of television each week. Only a small proportion of the prison day is potentially 'occupied' with activity, with most of the day spent locked behind their cell doors as Simon described,

*Nowadays they keep you locked up longer, now the workshops have gone, that cured some boredom (Simon- prisoner)*

The freedom to access activity inside prison cells is extremely limited. Prisoners report that time spent locked up in their cells is increasing. Even when activity is available, such as work or education, prisoners also report the tedious nature of the kinds of activities they are allowed to do, which therefore feature as meaningless and monotonous (Hughes 2004; Cohen and Taylor 1972). Consequently, prisoners are further challenged in their quest to avoid 'helplessness' (Layder 2004:30). Boredom is not necessarily an exclusive feature of 'bang-up', for some it can be a permanent and 'total' experience; 'hyper-boredom' (Healy 1984). Bang-up is a hot-spot for boredom to manifest, hence becoming mindful of boredom is a consequence of options available to Ned,

*...when I am sat in my cell there is either three things I can do, you can either watch TV or listen to a CD or something like that, or I could exercise or I could be reading or writing, there are three different things you could do in your cell. There is nothing much really you can do in a cell. (Ned- prisoner)*

As in many accounts of boredom, Ned identifies that constraint and opportunities for arousal remain constantly and perpetually limited. As Barbalet (1999:631) asserts, boredom 'emotionally registers an absence of meaning', and seeking out television highlights his need to find something meaningful. To achieve this Barbalet suggests that 'meaning both requires and constitutes sociality' (ibid). Mediated encounters can supply intimacy to a world beyond one's own immediate spatial context (Moore 1993). Been able to stretch and reach social relations and interaction via television may have important positive effects on well-being and improved mental health (Seeman 1996). Moore (1996:49) suggests that television provides a "permeable' external boundary', which otherwise would be closed off from the outside world. The public world is permitted to enter via technologies like television, radio and, under more controlled conditions, the telephone and letters. As Moore (ibid: 54) continues to suggest, 'viewers remain physically rooted in the domestic [prison] realm...these 'excursions' are acts of imagination...provides a 'technological extension' of human reach across situational boundaries'. This enabling feature of television provides prisoner audiences with the psychological capacity to 'escape' from their harsh conditions and seek out social relations in order to counter debilitating emotions like boredom.

Moreover, attempts to make the cell their 'own' place can also be ratified when taking these movements through television (Moore 2006).

Cell sharing also brings its challenges and adds further constraints to the ability to make their own kinds of choices and seek out activity or material that *they* find meaningful. All the prisoners in this sample were mindful of boredom and most associate it with a series of harms or risks such as depression, self-harm, suicide and stress (Liebling 1999a). Boredom, for them, is therefore dangerous, and ways are sought to resolve the onset of boredom or to avoid the sensation of being bored: therefore their relationship with television becomes a viable route to minimise this emotive response (Zillman 1988). Television, amongst other things, (like sleep and time out of cells and drug use) is desired to counter boredom. The interviews also highlight that boredom accentuates other unpleasant emotions and feelings, such as frustration, fear and sadness. In these instances television use helps them to achieve 'personal control' (Layder 2004). It can serve as an antidote to boredom and its associated consequences, as Carlton describes,

*It feeds your brain, just a little. It is occupying boredom. (Carlton- prisoner)*

The need to stay mentally agile and alert was commonly associated with the potential role that television has in the prison context (Zamble and Porporino 1985; Cohen and Taylor 1972; Johnson and Toch 1982). Stuart, for example, was increasingly fearful of psychological deterioration related to boredom, explaining to me that 'you become *cabbaged* here with the boredom and depression'. He talked about the dangers of boredom,

*I find that if I'm left alone, that's when I get bored my mind goes, it is why I am in here, it pisses me off it gets me thinking and that is not a good thing to do (Stuart- prisoner)*

Being incapacitated by boredom brought on by isolation and loneliness and lack of activity can act as a trigger for 'thinking time', something some of the respondents were actively trying to avoid. These moments are not necessarily boring, but the amplification of thinking about one's self, circumstances and people within their immediate surroundings can manifest itself as distress. This is considered dangerous, as Ned explains that watching

television serves as an activity that offers a useful distraction from thinking and focusing on the conditions of incarceration,

*I would say that the TV would help you cope with boredom because you get to watch something to take your mind off. Because when you're watching something you tend to focus on what you're doing. It's like when you're writing a letter you tend to focus on things that you want to talk about, a conversation. And when you're watching the TV you're not thinking about your toilet being near you, or you're not thinking about being locked in that room for the time being. You are channeled on watching a programme. So if it's exciting I think you forget about all those things. Whereas probably it's not as exciting for you, you probably wouldn't, you wouldn't relax as much. (Ned- prisoner)*

For Ned, excitement through television content is purposeful (Zillman 1988). Others describe the relaxant qualities of television in this context. In particular some associated relaxing as a break from their immediate spatial encounters,

*...helps me to chill out and relax. It does help boredom and aggression. I let steam off through nature programmes, I've got to watch it in an evening. Nature is soothing, a calming programme. You feel you are there with them, it is relaxing and chilled and you forget where you are. (Malcolm- prisoner)*

Other mechanisms to aid relaxation were reported by the significance of sleep, as Ryan explains 'I get bored and go to sleep. I sleep my sentence away' and Simon describes sleep as a 'bird killer' (Cope 2003; Jewkes 2002a). Television for some was considered to have soporific qualities as Stuart says 'I watch DVDs, they put me to sleep'. Yet Malcolm observes,

*I think TV can take your life over. It is necessary to stop the boredom. I do a lot of sitting watching TV and playing cards sometimes. Some sleep their sentences away and don't come out of their cells (Malcolm-prisoner)*

The ways in which prisoners manage their time and the kinds of values they express about their time in prison are diverse. The experiences of time in prison have been previously

reported as different from time experienced outside prison (Sykes 1958; Cohen and Taylor 1972; Jewkes 2002a; Cope 2003), and invariably time in prison is routinely 'problematised' or 'alienating' (Martel 2006:596). In relation to boredom the accounts from the interviewees highlight two aspects of spending time in prison. First, prisoners experience a routine which is essentially fixed and rigid, which they have no power to change within the prison itself (situated). Broadcasting schedules (mediated) also operate on a timetable (Scannell 1996, Silverstone 1993; 1999a). Second, they experience unstructured and empty time. The sensation of boredom can make 'time appear to stand still' (Barbalet 1999:637), or as Anderson describes a 'stilling and slowing' can be experienced (2004:743). Television can fill this void and lessen the stillness boredom can reproduce. The television use diaries highlight that time is regularly filled with television programmes, but this does not mean that television itself can lessen the stillness of time and boredom. Filling time with television also has its costs and risks. Klapp (1986:3), for example, takes the view that information society brings about degradation resulting in boredom. Exposure to information at high speed means that the 'slow horse of meaning is unable to keep up with the fast horse of mere information'. Thus, meaning can be lost and the information consumed can become redundant and dilute into 'noise', resulting in what Klapp terms 'banalization' of modern life (ibid:2). There is little said about the impact of space on boredom, yet the data here suggests that the 'excursions' through television are not only important to bend time, but also to alter space in attempts to find a place in which boredom doesn't feature.

Feeling disorientated was also common. Mick was unemployed and in a single cell and television provided him with a structure. Planned and unexpected television events can sharpen his mood,

*Here I have no structure or routine and I get bored, so I get in bed and fall asleep. But then no sleep all night. On Tuesdays there is nothing on, but oh there is Shameless which is brilliant, then there is soaps oh and that Holloway thing [prison documentary]. (Mick- prisoner)*

Mick found he was watching a lot of television, especially at night, and his routine began to move away from the routine established in the prison and was instead directed by

broadcasting schedule. He began to distance himself from the prison schedule. Unlike many of the respondents. Mick felt he didn't need to plan and organize his viewing,

*I watch that much I don't need a TV mag. On BBC there is always a film at 11.10pm, it is on and is predictable. Basically I know what the schedule is. I know what they are and it bores you. It plans it for you. It is a break from the routine when I'm not watching. You get set in your ways, being like this in jail, it breaks up routine. A routine round the TV routine. (Mick-prisoner)*

Mick suggests that broadcast schedules can be monotonous and this is especially heightened by imprisonment. Television viewing becomes habitual, which soon can be translated into feelings of boredom. The 'rituals' (Scannell 1996) of broadcasting therefore generate unconstructive emotive responses and in particular predictability reinforces these sentiments. This subverts Silverstone's (1999a) premise that ontological security is in part secured by the ritual nature of broadcasting and everyday life. Instead predictability is considered a risk of television viewing,

Bill- *On an evening I won't watch soaps. I am not a soap man. I didn't watch it before prison and I'm not watching it now. They are boring and predictable. But I do watch The Bill, Casualty and Holby City.*

VK- *Aren't they soaps?*

Bill- *They are but they are not, there is not always a follow on, it is separate for each episode. Follow ons are predictable which makes them boring.*

In overcoming predictability, Bill avoids certain types of programming. Furthermore, predictability may still be a feature but as long as a programme can deliver antidotes to boredom through entertainment, excitement and relaxant qualities, prisoners may still chose to watch these types of programmes, because they can introduce meaning into an otherwise meaningless situation. Pete talks about these paradoxes in relation to the popular game show *Deal or No Deal*,

*I can do without it but it is on, it does get monotonous, same old thing but there is entertainment value (Pete- prisoner)*

The lack of novelty for Pete is tempered by the entertaining value this programme can offer him. Accessing novelty is a way of reducing boredom (Klapp 1986), in particular the evolving conditions of leisure, work and domesticity have according to some changed the emotional landscape with respect to boredom (Anderson 2004; Klapp 1986). However boredom can arise in encounters of over-stimulation, where meanings can become disordered. The quest for excitement in viewing is also important, but this is unreliable,

*Television can be boring sometimes, like I said Saturday nights are swings and roundabouts sometimes it is really exciting. Sometimes I watch X-Factor and it drives me crazy and I think that's crap but that's just my personal opinion (Ned-prisoner)*

For Ned, exposure to large doses of television in the hope of finding novelty is symptomatic of his need to overcome boredom. His dissatisfaction with Saturday night viewing occurs despite his persistence in watching with hope of experiencing novelty. As Anderson (2004) suggests, 'listening-to-get-through' (2004:748) or watching in the hope that television can deliver, allows viewers to comprehend and make sense of unfolding time. They acknowledge that events within prison will largely remain the same, but having a meaningful mediated encounter can make this prospect more bearable. Excitement is also identifiable in respondents' references to soap operas and sport. For soaps the use of cliff-hangers was important for arousing excitement,

*Soaps and prison go well together. There is something to look forward to until the next time, like the cliff hangers (Pete-prisoner)*

The diaries show that soaps are regularly consumed, and in large quantities. The interviewees were able to offer intricate descriptions of the soap story lines and characters. Soaps provide substance and material for chat and conversation with fellow prisoners, staff and their friends and family (Lull 1990),

*I get very excited and say to my family 'did you see?' (Sunny- prisoner)*

These 'did you see' moments provide meaning to the act of watching television. Soaps and sport were also reported as helpful in minimizing isolation and providing content of talk (Wood 2009:57). The temporal and spatial qualities of mediated content helped create a sense of intimacy by bringing people close (Horton and Wohl 1956), also an opportunity to witness events that others are also witnessing at the same time (Meyrowitz 1985). These effects can be important for increasing excitement. For example if a 'big' soap storyline is resolved or an important high profile football match is being broadcast, there will often be verbal and physical outbursts such as shouting and banging on doors (Gersch 2004; 2003).

Overall, like other emotions boredom signals and triggers the need for action. As Layder (2004:27) describes emotions appear in a queue and a social agent's 'need claims' orders how these should be dealt with. Techniques cited as useful ways of dissipating boredom include indulging in fantasy, play and also conflict (Barbalet 2004; Roy 1960) because they can help to locate meaning. By cross referencing the accounts of boredom in this data set it can be identified that television is used in similar ways. Television serves important para-social interactive opportunities (Horton and Wohl 1956; Meyrowitz 1985) or 'sociability' (Scannell 1996) and the textual content of television provides substance for its regulative uses (Lull 1990) such as talk and interaction. Furthermore, other correlations appear in relation to the deprivation effect of incarceration, with boredom signaling the desire for activity (Layder 2004). For example, the use of DVDs by enhanced prisoners can offer additional choice and variety, providing respite from broadcasting schedules. Boredom can also amplify other emotive responses.

## 7.2 Frustration and Television

*It is hard been locked up in a cell, bloody hard- (Ned- prisoner)*

Like boredom, frustration is an unpleasant sensation and leads to emotions like anger and fear. Irwin and Owen (2005:104) describe the 'arbitrary' and disorientating nature of prison rules and frustration and expressions of anger as well as acts of violence are densely



populated in accounts of penal research (Snacken 2005:306). Frustration can evolve from boredom and again signals the need for action (Layder 2004). Observations of frustration indicate that incarceration manifests deep anxiety brought on by deprivation, particularly related to the restriction of autonomy (Irwin & Owen 2005; Sykes 1999). Television use, therefore, can serve as an outlet to channel frustration, but in some instances can also be the cause of it. The demands on a person's internal locus of control (Rotter 1954) can be assisted through watching television, especially given the kinds of long term 'transitional' attachments (Silverstone 1999a) these individuals would have formed with television. Going to television to receive 'care' is a method to soothe their angst. When television fails to offer a resolution to these feelings they can be compounded (Layder 2004). Fear of violence in prison is common (Snacken 2005; Sykes 1999). 'Keeping your head down' is common argot amongst prisoners and was repeatedly used by the interviewees. This is a way of explaining the social and psychological techniques required to govern themselves to avoid unwanted risks. Television viewing can sometimes provide essential respite and restoration from disorientating and debilitating circumstances. Viewing can provide a legitimate withdrawal into the privacy of one's cell and thus reduce the risk of contamination from prison culture (Bonini and Perrotta 2007; Crewe 2006; Jewkes 2002a).

Some respondents were clear about the 'therapeutic' role television can have for reducing frustration. They acknowledged that life in prison without television would probably increase their frustrations. For Carlton it would be 'long and frustrating. I've never not had TV...In Gambia I didn't watch TV, but I had chance to walk around in the sun'. In contrast his outside experiences permit other options. Television can provide a space to eliminate frustration and find 'security' (Moore 1996:48; Silverstone 1999a:19). Carlton continued to explain that 'you dispose your frustrations through TV. It occupies the mind enough to take away bad feelings as well'. These 'bad feelings' were regularly reported and respondents recognised the danger they could pose,

*But if they take that away from you boredom will drive you to do things that you wouldn't even consider doing. (Ned- prisoner)*

Conflict can be a consequence of boredom and thus risk taking behaviour can generate meaning (Barbalet 2004; Roy 1960). Yet these can be particularly dangerous, especially in a volatile context like prison. Ned continued to explain that,

*I won't let myself get in that state. I'll go and say something to someone, some people don't there is a lot of pent up frustration (Ned- prisoner)*

For Ned, taking responsibility for his emotions and well-being was important for staying in control, yet he was unable to accomplish 'inter-personal control' (Layder 2004:13) of other people in the same way. Taking responsibility for one's own emotional needs demonstrates the 'regulative technology of expertise' and the 'tightening of ego controls over inner conflict' (Rose 1999:220). Stuart also exhibits this expertise to achieve 'some sort of psychic peace' (Rose 1999:219),

*Mind you if you didn't have TV I'd find it stressful. I'd be plotting and it would lead to depression. I now see why they say this now- without TV we'd all just be plotting and they'd be saying I'm gonna do this (Stuart- prisoner)*

The value of television is attributed here to the role it has in reducing stress (Anderson et al 1996). Finding a rational rather than emotional route is something that men in particular are expected to conform to, as Williams (2001:96) notes there are 'cultural prescriptions concerning the emotional 'styles of both men and women' and men in particular are expected to have 'mastery of unruly bodily passions and 'irrational corporeal impulses' and adhere to 'feeling rules' (Hoschchild 1983). The examples suggest that men are attempting to find a rational way through their experience, perhaps in line with Williams' observations. Paradoxically, these disclosures also signalled degrees of reflexivity. They acknowledge their emotions and find ways (sometimes with television) to heal the harmful effects of emotions like frustration, anger and fear. As Williams (2001:109) notes, this kind of reflexivity could be interpreted as a 'so-called 'crisis' of masculinity'. The disclosures of stress were also commonplace and respondents described how they avoided certain mediated encounters, for example Ned and Shaun are news avoiders;

*I find news rather boring, I do personally, but other people watch the news to find out what's going on in the world and I have got more things on my plate... (Ned- prisoner)*

*I don't watch news, who wants to listen to news? I don't care what's going on out there, I just don't care. I sometimes read a newspaper like [local], Inside Time is better for in here. Like the Michael Jackson death, it is a big thing in the media and on the front cover of the newspapers, so my girlfriend tells me. I am in a way disconnected and media still allows me to interact, or not as the case maybe at the minute. But I don't care at present, as soon as you come through those gates the world has ended. (Shaun- prisoner)*

Other research has also indicated that people who are stressed and depressed avoid news to evade conflict (Anderson et al 1996). Carlton explains why he doesn't like soap operas, yet likes to watch spin-off sports programmes about fighting and boxing. He also avoids watching television news,

Carlton- *So sad all the time, always conflict in them. I think to myself if I watch it affects the way I see things. It affects you, all the conflict. It sounds bad cos I watch all the fighting (laughs)...*

VK- *Yes I was going to ask you about that...*

Carlton- *It's the fighting instead of looking at it, it is the tension release, it's not going to affect my life the same way.*

VK- *So what about TV news?*

Carlton- *Yeah they tell you all the bad stuff in the world.*

Making the right television selections is therefore an opportunity for respondents to manage their emotions, by directly avoiding or extracting what they consider to be the nourishing qualities of television broadcasts. For Carlton watching conflict through sport rather than news enables personal control. As Zillman (1988) found, people who experience

stressful situations are more likely to seek out 'exciting' material from television. Sunny stated that he recommends television to other prisoners as a therapeutic mechanism for resolving distress,

*... if it is their first time experience it can be very hard for them. I tell them not to worry and watch TV to help them be distracted. (Sunny- prisoner)*

Rose (1999:218) suggests that therapy 'has become the staple fare of mass media communication'. The inculcation of the psy sciences into everyday life can be extended to mediated texts in which many types of programmes, like talk and lifestyle shows, that profess the 'rites of...self-examination bring the soul's moral disorder and danger to bitter consciousness, achieving detachment from sinful inclination' (ibid:223). Therefore self-regulation appears along a continuum and the negotiation between mediated and situated encounters induces personal scrutiny and observation which are key qualities to therapy.

Frustration was also expressed towards the provision of television. During the fieldwork stages of the research, Freeview boxes were made available to enhanced prisoners as an additional reward for their compliance and good behaviour. I witnessed the removal of these boxes for all prisoners on an occasion when I visited to carry out an interview. Officers walked down the landing, entering the cells, filling black bin-liners with the digital boxes as I and prisoners looked on. Some prisoners questioned the officers, but most remained quiet and acquiesced. The rationale provided at the time was related to 'security' in that the boxes were considered unfit to maintain a secure prison<sup>42</sup>. Questions around fairness appeared in some of the interviews with prisoners, most expressing frustration at the ways in which television and its associated products like Freeview are provided or not (Irwin and Owen 2005). Leon, who had also witnessed this incident at the same time, described that television,

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<sup>42</sup> Freeview was therefore withdrawn but eighteen months later the prison switched to digital reception and this meant that a selection of Freeview channels were reintroduced as 'standard' provision for to all television sets in the prison. This features as part of the MoJ digital regeneration programme (2011).

*...solves loads of problems. They cost £50 say and it saves you hundreds more such as staff, paperwork, suicides. It is a well meaningful privilege. It is better to be proactive than reactive. People just don't realise. All the people involved in helping people it saves money from all angles. It is integral and essential, there is a large amount of good for prison and inmates. The IEP system here is rubbish, there is no incentive to be enhanced here, look at what happened today. I've been to HMP X and HMP Y, they gave you incentives. There are so many fights, bells ringing, people on roofs, suicide attempts. I was listening to a chap on FNC [first night centre] and what I realised was he didn't have a TV. I couldn't believe it, how could they do that to someone who just came in. So I spoke to the officer to try and get him a TV. How ridiculous is it? (Leon- prisoner)*

Discrepancies and reliability of broadcast services made available were also mentioned; Stuart was irritated with the bad reception and Alan, Pete and Will couldn't always tune in to terrestrial channels either;

*I am blessed for our BBC1 is tuned in, we pay 50p for a TV each week, but you rarely get BBC1 and 2 in here. All they need to do is press the reset button to change it. Just get someone to fix it. It's fuck you jack, I'll watch TV. (Will- prisoner)*

Frustration mounts for these individuals as a consequence of not been able to resolve the problem themselves; they are not permitted to do this, but instead have to rely on staff to resolve technical issues. As frustration mounts, so does hostility towards their keepers, particularly when discrepancies arise. The desire to take control of these kinds of situations reminds these individuals of the constraints in which they are placed. The extent to which prisoners can achieve personal control is regularly denied. In these instances where access to television is limited by technical difficulties, emotional responses such as anger and frustration cannot necessarily help with coping with prison life.

### **7.2.1 Cell-sharing: Modus Vivendi**

The diaries suggest that most television in prison is viewed with another prisoner and as a result scope for carving out their own viewing schedules is limited. Little is known about the

cell-sharing experience and this is an unexplored feature of prison life. Most spoke about compromise or the need to accommodate viewing preferences, which often meant that not all of their viewing needs were met. Instead, a *modus Vivendi* evolves in order for life to go on and avoid a stalemate situation. Some talked about conflict over viewing schedules and the ways in which these differences are resolved (Gersch 2003). Barry and Will, who shared a cell together (interviewed separately<sup>43</sup>), disclosed their frustration with each other over viewing preferences and their domestic habits. Barry was not as keen as Will on sporting events. Will did not like Barry's choice of action movies and the lead actors in them, thus as Hobson (1980:109) describes, they operate in this confined area in largely 'two worlds'; separated by their different tastes in television. Both disclosures outline an insight into their living arrangements:

Barry- *I've been having rows with pad mate cos the athletics is on, he's not bad but don't tell him. It was on all day yesterday. Last week I watched what I wanted with a view to him watching the athletics and Match of the Day. I don't want to watch it, especially after 5 hours, I'm climbing the walls. He ain't bothered though. He hates Steven Segal and Jean Claude van Damm, he hates it I know it winds him up. I leave the toilet seat up too. We get on alright. I know him from in here, we also like the same curry house.*

Barry suggests they have little in common and their tastes are mostly different. Within this confined space two separate cultures evolve and do not always nestle well together. The few things they share are the experiences of being in prison. Learning to compromise and be tolerant of each other requires personal control and a willingness to ratify a treaty or surrender. Layder's (2004) application of Goffman's 'interaction order' can account for how individuals find ways to look after their 'social self' and dealing with problems in social life results in 'mutual moral obligations' (2004:18) in this context being readily fore-grounded and omnipresent. Will confirms what Barry states about their planned viewing and that

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<sup>43</sup> Barry was interviewed first and whilst I was in his cell Will came in. We arranged another time to meet as he wanted to be interviewed too. Will left the cell to allow Barry to continue with the interview in private.

occasionally viewing together is achieved. Will's interest in sport enabled a sustained sacrifice of his viewing preferences in order to 'bank' television time with his cell mate,

Will- *Like in the last 2 weeks I told him to watch what he wanted cos I knew sport was on. He enjoys football I think, he does get into it. We have a cup of tea and sit on the bed and watch it.*

Barry describes how planning together helps to establish a shared television routine in which a rhythm of mutual viewing can evolve. This assists in cohesion or *modus Vivendi*,

Barry- *I plan TV and mark it down, we also plan it together. He is the DVD orderly, I tell him what I fancy and he brings it. We have as many as we like really. Tonight we've got Shooting Gallery. We'll watch a DVD at bang up between 12-2pm and on Saturdays and Sundays we can do 3 DVDs back to back.*

By having a shared ritual they develop their own social rules, and these become ratified as time spent with each other in these circumstances goes on (Layder 2004:18). However this is not always a seamless or innocent negotiation. Will admits that he will deliberately select programmes which challenges Barry's taste,

Will- *Sometimes I do the opposite to him. I can't stand Jean Claude Van Dam and Steven Segal or crime and The Bill. I like Panorama, Dispatches, News on ITV, but not regional. The Bill is most frustrating, it is police orientated, a warped perspective of what police do.*

The game-playing (McDermot and King 1988; Gersch 2003) can in part help to temper their own frustrations and manage a situation which most find intolerable. Moreover in a climate in which boredom is commonplace, conflict can emerge as a response to these conditions (Barbalet 1999). Furthermore, finding and sustaining power within the cell requires focus, and the playful nature they describe underlies their attempts to sustain personal control (Layder 2004:17). On the surface Barry and Will wanted to present an egalitarian version of their domestic circumstances, yet Barry's description describes how his own power could not be fully realized with Will, due to a prisoner code (Sykes 1999; Crewe 2005),

Barry- *We have a remote each now, we normally pass it to each other. My pad mate was in his cell before me so it is his pad, when he moves out it then becomes mine. Mind you I moved into a cell and there was a young lad and I told him to shift. I didn't bully him, I just told him. I don't like to associate with people in here some are nasty, but I know who is good. My pad mate is not bad but he is never wrong. He has a way of saying stuff. We like Star Trek, when we were kids, our era. We just like it. You see things in Star Trek and Star Wars.*

Finding common ground and the ability to relax in these awkward circumstances is important to make the situation bearable and meaningful. Sharing and liking programmes that they both enjoy provides respite from potential tension and conflict. In maintaining the 'self as a finely tuned security system' (Layder:2004), they can function with less effort as they become united (Kubey 1990),

Will- *My pad mate's choice Big, Bigger and Biggest, I enjoy that. He sometimes says 'that's amazing' but we don't normally talk, that is a sign of a good pad mate. If you can sit in silence. I remember this chap, one of the bully boys, like making demands, I think it was a lack of education to deal with problems, there are arguments sometimes. Like my pad mate we have arguments sometimes, his hygiene levels, he smokes and the toilet. You have got to respect each other and he snores. TV is great for your mental health, but you need ear plugs for your sanity, but it is more to do with his snoring. In daytime I might watch Countdown or sports. My pad mate watches Murder She Wrote and Heartbeat! I'd murder that Angela Lansbury. Curtain twitchers watch that stuff, it reminds me of my Nan.*

Will explains that television provides an escape from his environment and the people within it. Will may worry about the potential risk his pad mate could pose, as he knows about the way the prison had managed Barry as a high risk prisoner. This must mean Will would need to tread carefully. Barry described the violent crime he was involved in and the prison will have assessed this as a factor of significant risk. Inadvertently, these kinds of actuarial assessments can highlight and perhaps inflame the pathological label. Will therefore may be



worried about the contaminating effects Barry could have on him, and experiencing large quantities of time in a confined space with a ‘dangerous’ prisoner can induce fear. Television, if handled and negotiated properly, can provide respite from these tensions. Striving for ontological security using television can offer protective factors against unsettling and distressing emotions like frustration or fear.

Will- *In the evenings TV is separation from my pad mate I get head space from him. I think he was single cell and high risk, so I need head space from him. I’m a private person. I enjoy my own company. My pad mate is a big kid- it is frustrating. In here sometimes you are forced into violent situations. It is divide and conquer with other prisoners, it is much easier to control and we become products of our environment.*

Their relationship requires ‘a rational plan’ in order for them to co-exist in the same cell without conflict (Layder 2004:27). Planning television viewing and bargaining are techniques which help to maintain an amicable relationship, sharing the remote control for example and Will providing Barry with DVDs are ways in which help to temper conflict. Will has clear distaste for Barry’s television choices and Barry finds Will’s love of sport tedious; both manifesting as frustration. Despite these differences some common ground was achievable and Barry’s testimony in relation to sci-fi was an opportunity for these individuals to identify a bond or intimacy via television, which can bring them together (Lull 1990).

### **7.3 Happiness and Joy**

*I get great pleasure from watching wildlife (Joshua- prisoner)*

The salience of emotive responses like happiness and joy rarely feature in the published literature on prison life. I did not therefore expect to come across expressions or descriptions of happiness and joy during this investigation<sup>44</sup>. Despite the condition and experience of incarceration as painful, moments and periods of serving time in prison are

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<sup>44</sup> My experiences in the field were diverse, and I can recall many instances of laughter within and outside the interviews with prisoners and also staff. I routinely observed ‘banter’ within the prison and often found that this lifted the mood. On other occasions the atmosphere could be austere and tense.

sometimes flooded with contentment. Above all, the ways in which the respondents here do their best to avoid ‘helplessness’ or the sensation of boredom, frustration, anger and fear in striving for ontological security can help to galvanise this further. Achieving happiness, albeit momentarily, could indicate moments when security and assurance are accomplished and identifying these across the data adds value towards understanding the self-directed techniques prisoners adopt to cope and adapt to life in prison. Achieving happiness and joy in these circumstances can be aligned to Layder’s theory of personal control,

*Personal control is the means through which you make a difference to your world and have some say in the decisions and actions that shape your future life experiences...(2004:34)*

This can also be combined with Csikszentmihalyi’s (1999) theory of ‘flow’, which can assist in the describing how happiness is accomplished. For him this is achieved by self-direction towards this feeling (1999:824). Ritual activities can allow ‘flow’ to occur. The act of watching television is ritualized and ‘one has to be in control of the activity to experience it [flow]’ (ibid:825). The gratification and security one can accomplish from watching television may result in the immediate feedback the activity permits.

With a focus on television, expressions of happiness associated with particular kinds of viewing feature in the data. Unlike the other kinds of emotions described in this chapter happiness is rarely associated with reference to the experience of incarceration. Instead, fondness for programmes provided a route for identifying happiness. For example Bill relished a surprising discovery,

*Like last night there was a big game on, Chelsea, but it wasn’t in the TV Times, one of the lads told me, I was really pleased...it was a nice surprise, I was very happy about that (Bill- prisoner)*

Bill was also surprised and relieved to discover that,

*When I first came I was pleasantly surprised that we got TVs and a kettle and a toilet that flushes*

This was Bill's first time in prison and he knew little about it. Bill received a lengthy sentence and now in the later stages of his life and struggling with ill health, the likelihood of leaving prison alive looks bleak. The role of relief and surprise in this context means that his basic needs could actually be accommodated. Bill realises that television can provide him with a familiar activity, which also relates to his pre-prison circumstances.

Finding ways through incarceration and adapting to prison life and its routine is essentially softened by the kinds of choices prisoners can make by consuming television. 'Good' times are identifiable in the prisoner narratives, as Joshua describes,

*I've watched one documentary on one channel, switched it over, Panorama's on, switched it over, Dispatches is on. That's a great night for me, it's like going to a club. Do you understand what I'm saying? (Joshua- prisoner)*

Joshua's comparison to television viewing with a night of clubbing relates to the kinds of social and emotional outcomes this situated activity can evoke, such as sociability, intimacy, thrill, excitement, fantasy and joy. As Moores (2006:7) suggests, 'place gets pluralised' brought about by 'habitual movements' or migrations using media (Ibid:16) Shaun, who at the time of interview didn't have an in-cell television, talked about the same kinds of pleasures derived from reading *Harry Potter* books,

*It takes you away from your cell, she is so descriptive, so brilliant- with twists and turns...Books create a TV inside your head. (Shaun- prisoner)*

Also for Sunny the same kind of effects can be achieved through television,

*I am not addicted to TV, but sometimes I don't feel like I'm in prison when I'm watching. (Sunny- prisoner)*

Being able to travel without actually physically moving (Moores 1996:54) is a powerful psychological outcome; with the body constrained, the mind can be given an important

outlet or 'mind-scape' (Cohen and Taylor 1976), in which the sense of deprivation can at least be postponed. Accessing and finding meaningful television content arouses happiness and sensations for some,

*I like X-Factor to watch the singers develop. Like that girl who sang Hallelujah. It was beautiful; it was music I could relate to. (Bill- prisoner)*

For Bill, the emotive responses this event creates allow him to access emotions that are not frequently available to him, nor are expected to be displayed (Crawley 2004, Hoschchild 1983). For Leon, some programmes allow a form of intimacy enabling him to remain socially and emotionally connected to his family. Moores (2006:6) explains that 'at-homeness [can] be modified and multiplied'. For example, Leon explained that children's television and family films help him stay close to his family, despite how painful it is being away from them. The conversation soon turns to the memories of his family

*He likes 'Thomas' and 'In the Night Garden' so we talk about those programmes. We watch them on the out. After I have finished cooking we all curl up on the couch with our son, then we might watch a movie. You see there is not much on to watch and film wise it varies, so sometimes it is refreshing when something does come on. I have the same sort of interest about films as I do other things- family stuff. (Leon- prison)*

Recalling these types of moments was common among the respondents, and that the habitual nature of viewing in domestic settings brings a sense of intimacy that can affirm contentment and the comfort that life is still ongoing outside. However, some respondents were cautious about how much of this kind of activity could be useful to them in this environment, and were careful to note how these kinds of pleasures from television should be handled. Happiness can soon turn sour and lead to frustration, anger and sadness. Being close to others through the facilitative effect of television is welcome respite from negative emotional states such as boredom and frustration. The danger of doing this though, is that it also makes some mindful of isolation and separation from the outside world. By delaying gratification, despite the pains it may bring in the short term, avoiding certain television content can defer a monopoly of pathological emotions (Csikszentmihayli 1999:821).

Mastery over all emotions does not necessarily mean that happiness is the ultimate panacea. Williams (2001:118) suggests that 'to manage our emotional life with *intelligence*' or the 'application of expertise' (Rose 1999:258) can define the feeling rules for one's own self and maintain control, so happiness may have to be stifled.

Ron described his fondness of sport, particularly boxing, cage fighting and football. Searching out and consuming sports programmes serves important references in terms of his own identity. Ron was coming to the end of a long sentence. Finding ways to prepare for his release and re-entry into the community means that his only access to his preferred resources, i.e. cage fighting and boxing, is through television and occasionally through friends and family on the telephone. Unable to participate, as he used to before prison, television intermittently provides him with important routes to affirm his identity. This provides Ron with contentment but also some frustration that he can't access more cage fighting through television,

*...it sort of came on for a couple of weeks and then it stopped. This is over the last couple of months, it came on and there was me thinking, I would sit there and watch that every week quite happily. (Ron- prisoner)*

In order for Ron to sustain his expertise in this area, he spends time combing newspapers for information. Others also reported fandom in similar ways, by making adjustments to their viewing routines to fulfill their interests whilst in prison. For example, Joshua takes radical action to watch the documentary, *FBI Files*,

Joshua- *That's on Channel 5. I may sound a bit of a saddo here but it comes on here, usually it comes on at about 11 o'clock at night but recently it's been starting to come on, they've been starting to put it on at 4 o'clock in the morning.*

VK- *So what have you done?*

Joshua- *So I wake up at 4 o'clock in the morning to watch it.*

Unable to time-shift using other forms of technology like VCRs and downloads, results in adjustments to viewing. Striving for pleasure by using television is a powerful technique to manage his life situation and Joshua's adjustment to satisfy these needs is a stark example of this (Layder 2006:29).

Similarly, outlets for laughter provide an important cathartic response to the restrictions placed on the individual. Crawley (2004) observed that humour and laughter play an important role in facilitating communication and uniting people in particular circumstances, especially those that present threat or danger (2004:50). She also observed that humour plays a significant role in adapting to difficult circumstances by providing a mechanism of defense against distress and disorientation (ibid:87). Laughter and humour therefore are preferred to crying and breaking down, which can be considered weaknesses. The 'feeling rules' professed by Crawley (2004) and Hoschchild (1983) emphasises how certain emotions receive more credence than others.

Comedy programmes and comic features of some programmes provide meaningful benefits to counter deterioration of the self. Leon explained that much of his viewing included comedy because they 'bring you laughter, that makes you younger'. Leon dedicated much of his time in his cell to his own strict timetable, punctuated and marked by television viewing. Leon described an extensive exercise regime that he followed each day whilst watching situation comedies during the lunchtime bang-up period. Attention to his physical well-being was important for Leon to cope with prison life and securing a healthy lifestyle would help him to see himself through his long sentence. The physiological sensations of fitness and laughter have important outcomes for self-directing and governing Leon's mood,

*...like exercise it releases endorphins, like hormones, and TV does that for you sometimes too. It releases your mind. Like the gym it does three things, physical release, looking good gives you gratification and a mental release. TV is working you out mentally, it stops letting the memories get to you. With TV I am in another world. It is mental torture in here, so you need somewhere else to escape, to cope*

*and not breakdown. If you don't have TV in these cells the walls talk to you, we need external input we are social beings, we need this. Leon- prisoner*

Leon, as Rose (1999) suggests, knows what is good for himself, he is an 'expert' on himself and by acting upon his own needs television can provide a route for him to stay healthy. This form of self-governance is also echoed by Malcolm,

*I like comedy and have a good laugh, it does you good and sets you up for the next day to face the next hurdle. (Malcolm-prisoner)*

Satire allows some respondents to take on 'oppositional' readings (Hall 1980) of mediated texts and position themselves against established and dominant agendas. Drawing on Irwin's (1970) typology of prisoners' adaptation; the 'deviant' may resist certain ideologies through mediated routes and thus enjoy these kinds of pleasures (Lindlof 1987). In addition, laughing *at* events on television as opposed to *with* the narrative can bring small pockets of power to these kinds of audiences, this was especially pertinent in relation to talk shows like *Jeremy Kyle* and *Trisha*. Malcolm enjoyed the *Simpsons* because he liked the ways in which 'they take the mickey out of them [characters]'. Finding subversive or deviant routes through television texts could be considered destructive, yet principles of 'flow' (Csikszentmihayli 1999) can still evolve. Enjoyment of tragedy and other people's demise is also relevant and akin to the kinds of pleasure Ang's (1993:6) female viewers of the soap *Dallas* described as the 'tragic structure of feeling', in which happiness can only ever be fleeting and witnessing problems becomes pleasurable. Soaps and reality television were useful for prisoners to engage with tragedy. As Malcolm explained he enjoyed the 'bitchiness of the contestants' in *Dragon's Den* and the hardships of the participants in *Wife Swap*. Male characters in soaps were often addressed with fondness, particularly the central villain or rogue,

*I like Phil Mitchell the way he carries himself all the wheeling and dealing. (Mick-prisoner)*

*I've always watched 'Hollyoaks', it is a soap for my era. It relates to things I know about. Like Warren he's a local gangster, he's upset people and he murdered someone, his wife's ex-boyfriend. And then he killed her on their wedding day, he was standing at the altar and she didn't turn up- he'd killed her! But everything came back to haunt him. Claire then killed him, there was blackmail and more.*  
(Shaun- prisoner)

*The Bill is realistic there is something going on there are a few storylines in one episode, but it is not a soap. There's cops and basically not Eastenders there is more things happening. I have no favourite characters, but I want all crims to get away with. But a rapist got caught and then was dead. But mostly I wouldn't want them to get caught.* (Lee- prisoner)

Personal identification and fondness of criminal characters and crime fiction through television provides direct access to contextual resources (Layder 2004). These audiences are able to draw on cultural references and knowledge which help to confirm their own social positions. For Lee taking an oppositional reading to the police soap/drama is important for his own identity as a criminal and prisoner. Taking on the dominant reading of *The Bill* and being in support of the successes of the police could, in his view, be seen as being disloyal to the criminal community. Adopting this code means that some prisoners may orientate themselves towards values of a criminal hierarchy (Crewe 2006; Irwin and Cressey 1962; Clemmer 1958).

#### **7.4 Ambivalence and Coping**

The range and spread of emotions described by the respondents also presents conflict and mixtures of feelings towards television in prison. These may appear as contradictions in the prisoner narratives, but on closer reading the interviewees describe ambivalence and this helps them to acquiesce to imprisonment. Ambivalence can highlight how resolving and tending to the emotional well-being can also be a disorientating experience. Moreover, it can also begin to highlight that individuals' emotional lives are not necessarily permanently polarized by traditional positive or negative emotions i.e. happiness or sadness.



Ambivalence, although considered by some (Harreveld et al 2009) as unpleasant, features for these respondents as a middle-ground where individuals can 'keep their head down'. Ambivalence also helps to identify moments of resignation to their incarceration but at the same time resistance,

*It [TV] helps some things, some people can't do it, some people can. There are the strong minded and the weak. Some are copers and some are strong minded. You are still in jail, if they take the telly it doesn't matter. If you are sat in your cell with no TV it is the same as the day before, exactly the same as yesterday. Days, weeks and months go by, they are taken. It does for me sometimes, it depends what's on. (Alan- prisoner)*

Despite expressions concerning the therapeutic role television can play, some also expressed ambivalence towards it. For Alan, prison time will always be there and if television were taken away it would make little difference to the fact that he has to serve time. The 'carceral schedule' is vital for prisoners to sustain access to goods and services, yet at the same time is frustrating (Martel 2006: 5). To hold these conflicting views helps prisoners cope. Bill talked about how he couldn't be 'bothered' anymore and yet was passionate about media events. Despite his ability to talk enthusiastically about television in prison and also his love of radio and music, he had become ambivalent,

*The digi-box has a radio. But I have this music thing now, which I ordered in August. I can't be bothered with it now...When I think about what I miss, TV isn't one of them (Bill- prisoner)*

Letting go of consumables was also a common response amongst the prisoners as Bill and Mick describe,

*I've never missed a canteen [prison shop] but I did last week. I didn't need anything, material things aren't important. (Bill- prisoner)*

*I will and do help others in here. This morning I gave my last fag away. I can do without it. I get used to it (Mick- prisoner)*

Mick also said 'I can do bird without TV. Don't bother me. Course it is easy with TV'. He went on to explain that he had experienced prison before in-cell televisions were introduced and like others he believed time would pass quicker without television,

*I have experienced jail with and without TV. Time went quicker without TV, we were tucked up in bed early. Now we are up all night and it is doubling our sentence. (Simon-prisoner)*

*In the 1990s there were no TVs and it was 23 hour bang up, it seems to fly quicker then than it does now. (Ryan- prisoner)*

These respondents wish to present themselves as prison copers. The ability to project these kinds of attitudes towards prison conditions can highlight 'hegemonic masculinity' (Karp 2010; Jewkes 2002a, 2005). Being able to cope with the pains of incarceration establishes a shared kudos among male prisoners. Experiencing 'hard' jail as opposed to 'easy' jail is considered important argot and to register ambivalent descriptions of this kind asserts and presents a number of social and cultural characteristics like power, control and knowledge. Here the 'feeling rules' towards incarceration are maintained and upheld by some,

*This is a little holiday in here, long enough though, but it is not exactly hard. I suppose you can do without TV for a few weeks (Alan- prisoner)*

Ambivalence is also useful for justifying their own values and personal circumstances and at the same time ward off frustration and anger. Pete, an enhanced prisoner, would have been entitled to Freeview television at the time of interview, but due to his location in the prison this was not feasible,

*I don't miss it down here, there are lots of repeats, there are films on but it is no chore. There are music channels, good for young people, but I'm not a music person, it didn't bother me. (Pete- prisoner)*

Ambivalence provides Pete with a way to make sense of the discrepancies in the provision of television in this particular prison. By suggesting that there is no hardship to him he is maintaining important control over his emotional well-being. Getting too frustrated and angry is dangerous and being completely resigned to the situation could signal surrender. By holding these opposing feelings Pete maintains personal control, even though it might be unpleasant.

Ambivalence is an important emotional state to facilitate the ongoing coping and adapting journey through prison. It also permits individuals to strive for ontological security and conform to the demands of the public stage in prison life (Goffman 1990). Ambivalence is therefore an important defense and operates within the suffocating 'hegemonic social order' of the prison (Martel 2006:608). This is a mechanism to ensure that other emotions do not monopolize the soul, which 'creates relative order out of the potential chaos of feeling responses that threaten to swamp action...' (Layder 2004:27). These techniques can enable 'successful implementation of action plans [which] has the effect of draining tension...' (ibid).

### 7.5 Fears of Watching Television in Prison

*I watch TV sometimes and wonder what an earth I'm watching (Stuart- prisoner)*

As already suggested, prisoners' relationships with television are not always objective, and encounters with television in prison do lead prisoners to concerns about their own well-being. Despite the reflective benefits of television in managing emotion, the lure of television can be met with suspicion, guilt and also shame. Becoming lazy and as some suggest 'addicted' to television whilst in prison is not considered a healthy route to choose. Avoiding laziness or 'addiction' requires personal control to prevent psychological and physiological deterioration. Some respondents can restrain their viewing, whereas some remain resigned to the dominance of television in their daily life and are apprehensive of it (Jewkes 2002a). Resistance to the 'hegemonic social order' emerges in diverse forms.

The restrictive nature of prison is such that the availability and choice of activity remains perpetually limited, especially during bang-up. Simon believes ‘all you can do is make three cups of tea, so you are gonna watch TV’ and Pete explains ‘I have to [watch TV], there is nothing to do’. The desire to do other things with their time was also salient,

*TV can take your life over, but there is nothing to do- sometimes I'd like to do other things. (Malcolm –prisoner)*

It is here where respondents began to realise and understand the gravity of television whilst in prison and the dominance television exerts over their everyday lives. By contrast, not watching any television for some would be unbearable, and so there is a paradox. Carlton described himself as a controlled viewer and could find other activities to do such as writing or listening to music, much like Bill who would switch off. Sunny, however, felt compelled to watch most of the time and was unable to find other ways to occupy his time. Sunny's diary entries showed that he watched an average of 44.25 hours of television per week or 6.3 hours per day, and said that he wanted to reduce this. Some were able to describe with pride that they considered their viewing to be healthy, whereas others aspired a healthier relationship with television. Thus, personal control of television use is variable and diverse, and discrepancies between healthy and unhealthy forms of control exist amongst prisoner audiences' perceptions (Layder 2004:87).

Carlton, for example, watched an average of 5.25<sup>45</sup> hours of television each day and described,

*...some pad mates I have had religiously watch five hours of telly in a row like Hollyoaks, Emmerdale and all that rubbish. I do a lot of writing instead. (Carlton-prisoner)*

Carlton's diary does confirm that he does not watch television in large continuous blocks, as he asserts. His viewing is interspersed with listening to music (which he entered) and empty

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<sup>45</sup> With variation from 1 to 12 hours per day across the 14 day period. This is over 3 hours less than the overall average of the diary sample at 8.77 hours per day

slots in the diary. Carlton developed 'strategies to control time' (Cope 2003:159) by using a range of media and activity. Despite this, he planned to adjust his viewing,

*But I can tell you when I am getting out I won't be watching that much...I'm staying away from TV, but I will play my console X-Box (Carlton- prisoner)*

This was not uncommon, and Shaun and Lee (who both shared a cell) talked about their plans for a television 'diet' when their set would be returned. Once they had behaved in line with the IEP, a television could be returned to their cell. At the time of interview Shaun and Lee were subject to basic conditions and had had their television removed for bad behaviour. This meant that time out of cell, visits and access to goods and services were limited, resulting in extended periods of bang-up. In the absence of television, Shaun found he read and wrote more, something he got great pleasure from. Lee enjoyed dance music, which Shaun also liked. Unlike Barry and Will, described earlier in this chapter, Shaun and Lee's relationship appeared more settled; they shared similar taste in music, shared a past before prison and also liked crime novels and similar programmes. Shaun's taste appeared more diverse than Lee's; he also liked wildlife programmes, rock and pop music. Both were very familiar with popular soap storylines and characters. They were concerned about boredom and the impact that certain kinds of broadcasts would have on their well-being,

Lee- *My typical day is in a morning if I had TV I'd turn on 'Jeremy Kyle' then get lunch and sit there all day until dinner. I get bored of watching it, it is the same everyday. It makes time drag with telly. You know how long they are on for and then it is dinner time. It is one big time game here. Time flies with me and him [Shaun]. We get up and clean pad and we jump up and do something. But cos TV might be on you're just lying on your bed. I go to sleep at lunch and we have a messy pad. I clean in evenings all the time.*

Shaun- *There is crap on TV. TV in your cell is ok like if you weren't working and nothing to do. But in the day it is rubbish like 'Build a House in the Country', 'Trisha', 'Wright Stuff'- crappy, shitty, rubbish. But then TV is something to look at, something to stare at. Day time fries your head, scrambled brain, it makes people anti-social, no one talks when the telly is on. You talk, but it is not a conversation, like saying 'Oh she's fit', 'yeah' it is not a*

*proper conversation. There is no danger with TV in prison, it entertains people, keeps people quiet, good for reducing suicides, but it gives people a lot of power, even the prisoners. Like some folks can't read, folks haven't got a stereo, so TV helps. But without it for me it is easy, I can read and write.*

Given their attitude towards the dominance that television can have in their lives in prison, their current experience on the basic regime without television has begun to highlight how getting by and doing their time can essentially be experienced more positively. Shaun especially felt more motivated and compelled to read and write,

Shaun- *I've been 3 weeks without TV cos I am on basic. It is much better, I feel more motivated to do things such as cell work-outs, read books, write more like poetry, a book. If I had TV I'd only just be starting... But I don't miss them. I suppose if I had a TV that magically came on and then switched off that would be good- but it is too tempting to leave on and then you become a bed spud- it becomes the be all and end all of your life in here. If my pad mate watches 'Emmerdale', I'll write a letter.*

They also show 'sensitivity to spatiality' which is accentuated by their segregation from the standard regime (Martel 2006:600). Television, for Shaun, is a distraction, something that gets in the way of what he considers to be more purposeful. Shaun realises that reading and writing was something that was out of his focus, until he encountered prison without television. Shaun does recognise the pleasures of television, but like many respondents finds it hard to switch off and regulate viewing quantities. Lee is less confident about the absence of television. For Lee music (which is permitted on basic regime) can provide sufficient stimulation, but he struggles more than Shaun with bang-up time,

Lee- *Music makes you think about other things so you can go behind your door and get away and stay behind your door. I'm alright to talk but it does wind you up also behind your door... it deads my head in this shit. I just cope with it really, but it does wind me up. It is a joke with the staff. My cell mate helps.*

Tolerance of isolation and exposure to unstructured time can differ, and coping and adaptation to the conditions of incarceration is variable. Their friendship helps Lee handle

these conditions. Under the basic regime, contact with others would be minimal and therefore interaction between themselves in their cells becomes increasingly significant. Lee and Shaun share a common-ground, which can make their experience easier. The solidarity they have can be evidenced in how they plan to manage television once it is re-introduced,

Lee- *We've planned a routine with telly it was his [Shaun] idea, I ain't bothered. I'm getting lazy just lying in bed watching TV all night. I don't like been lazy. I like to get up and be out there and be busy. But here I don't want to do anything, it is a waste of time doing nothing.*

Shaun fears idleness and the intrusion of the outside world once television enters his life again,

Shaun- *Prison is depressing, nothing happens and to have the outside shoved in your face is hard. I don't want to think about it whilst I am here. I'm in my cell all day. I need a certain level of exercise, it lets off steam and you are then not thinking and things playing on your mind. I manage to block it out all day and then it all just hits you all before you go to sleep. I struggle with sleep in here and suppose TV can help with that. Like when I couldn't get to sleep and find myself watching Big Brother and then lay in bed until 11am the next morning.*

Despite the benefits Shaun describes, contact with the outside world is too painful. Withdrawal from public life is not an uncommon response amongst prisoners, especially long-termers (Cohen and Taylor 1972, Sapsford 1978). Shaun was a remand prisoner and explained he was probably going to get a life sentence for his crime. Being able to comprehend, witness and be intimate with a world in which he cannot participate may explain his need to disconnect. This is the same world that has confined him to prison and put him in social care as a child. The visual qualities of television for Shaun are an intrusion into his life (Spigel 1992) and therefore do not suit Shaun's needs at this time. He is grateful to spend time without television and escape the punctuated nature of broadcasts (Scannell 1996),

Shaun- *I thank them for putting me on basic, I love it. I don't want my TV back, but I do want visits and associations. They don't like that, that I don't want a TV. I'm not in cell crying. I have a choice you see. Time goes quicker this way, I suppose you analyse yourself. I like TV on at certain times and not having a clock. Like the adverts, they come on roughly every 15 minutes and so on, so you get the time all the time. Without a stereo it is hard. You have a 45 minute tape I suppose, but there isn't a constant tab on time. I don't want to know what time it is.*

Lee on the other hand imagines a routine in which television would feature in his 'own' schedule rather than he being dominated by television all of the time (Silverstone 1993:304). Lee also described how he had struggled to overcome drug addiction, and finding techniques to control his drug use could also be extended to his use of television,

Lee- *...the punishment doesn't bother me. I just take it. I could leave the TV on the doorstep when they move me to level 2. They are winding me up saying I could have a telly. If they offered me a telly I'd turn on in the morning for the news then keep it off. I'd have it on in the lunch hour and in the afternoon it would be off. It would be on in the evening for the soaps. Then I would do a pad work out to music, switch it back on to fall asleep.*

Television helps Lee to punctuate his daily life in prison and he actively aligns television to certain activities. The combination of imprisonment and television accentuates the fears of becoming idle, akin to addiction (Jewkes 2002a). Becoming dependent on television is something the respondents were conscious of and where media dependency (Vandebosch 2000) reaches a level that they considered to be unhealthy, television could become dissatisfactory. This draining effect of television steals important energy and by becoming lazy prisoners' attempts to remain ontologically secure can be thwarted. As Rubin (1993) found, those individuals with internal locus of control were less likely to be susceptible to these kinds of effects, whereas individuals with an external locus of control and are more likely to take up more television are more likely to be dissatisfied with the activity. Taking responsibility for their viewing is a mechanism for resolving pervasive attitudes, which can be destructive. Avoiding the 'docile' (Foucault 1991) aspect of incarceration serves to ensure that their personal control remains functioning. Losing control by becoming docile can



weaken their ability to govern themselves and thus they may become susceptible to subordination of the situated or mediated encounters. The techniques outlined by Shaun and Lee enabled them to secure meaning and control in their disorientating circumstances. The re-introduction of television presents a threat to the equilibrium they have managed to achieve in its absence.

### Summary

Taking 'excursions' with television can provide a 'protective device' (Layder 2004:26) against the emotive responses of prison life. The dominant and hegemonic prison culture perpetuates the feeling rules (Hochschild 1983) which magnify emotional resonance. Prisoners are caught between a rock and a hard place, and alleviating unwanted feelings requires constant self-inspection. Fear of psychological deterioration is paramount and boredom especially is over-bearing. Mediated encounters are risky and productive. Prisoners demonstrate competence in self-governance with respect to the selective nature of their viewing. Prisoners' attempts to re-create and establish a place that can bring comfort and security are reliably satisfied by television. The problem is not just of *time* as much of the literature purports, but also of *place*. Ontological security requires time and place to be controlled in order for the prisoner to achieve personal control, and television can provide a safe place. The act of watching can itself reproduce 'at-homeness' (Moore 2006).

Yet the environment presents challenges to sustaining personal control. Cell-sharing is one challenge and finding your own time and space with another prisoner is not achieved without effort. Broadcasts also disappoint some prisoners by failing to deliver much needed emotive responses like happiness; other prisoners, however manage to achieve emotional satisfaction. Layder's (2004:27) notion of the 'emotion queue' reminds the prisoner to achieve personal control. Prisoners in the sample are active in working on their emotive 'need claims' (ibid:27). Television can in some instances assist in prisoners' quests to stay psychologically agile. If they fail to do so, emotions cannot be successfully handled and dealt with as they appear. Part of adapting to the pains of incarceration is learning to look inwards and self-inspect and develop techniques with or without television to minimize

harm (Rose 1999). Conversely restoration and respite from the situated culture means that some prisoners are highly selective in their viewing; for example avoiding news broadcasts. Others use television to legitimize their retreat from the public face of prison life. The act of viewing itself is also beneficial in allowing an activity in which 'flow' can be re-produced and being able to draw people closer brings important comfort.

This chapter has provided an extended discussion of the range of emotions prisoners experience in direct response to the harms of incarceration. The ways in which the respondents described and expressed their emotional lives and the strategies they develop point towards forms of governance. Yet governance is fragile and not always achieved. Prison life is not empty of emotion and prisoners are active in their responses towards themselves. Yet what does the prison, its staff and prisoners do with these emotions? Chapter 8 will address this and highlight the techniques and strategies developed within the situated and mediated environments by prisoners and staff to attempt to bring under control the emotional lives of prisoners.



# 8

## Chapter 8: Situated and Mediated Control: Managing Souls with In-cell Television

This chapter will continue to report the voices of prisoners, but will also reintroduce staff perspectives, in order to present three concepts relating to in-cell television; *therapy and rationalization*, the *civilizing effects of television* and *watching and surveillance*. These concepts are amplified in the discussion using Rose's (1999) theory of governance and Garland's (1991) insight into rationalization.

### 8.1 Managing Souls with In-cell Television

*...a plethora of less expensive and less intensive therapeutic techniques have been constructed through which individuals may seek a resolution of their inner distress (Rose, 1999:217)*

As reported in Chapter 6, in-cell television has become part of the 'moral economy', and its provision 'does not come neutral' (Silverstone 1999a:79). The projects of rationalization (Garland1991) and governmentality (Rose 1999) have collided with the social structures of the prison, and stakeholders have become 'technicians' of the soul. Concurrent to the practice, the mediated landscape has also become a 'psy shaped space' (Rose:266) in which access to experts, narratives and disclosures are considered to dominate broadcasts (Rose,1999: 261; Wood 2005; Shattuc 1997). This section examines how staff use television in their practice of prisoner management.

#### 8.1.1 Techno-therapy

*...the choice of rehabilitation or reform has become the individual prisoner's sole responsibility. The prison is merely expected to provide the arena for such personal decisions while warehousing inmates securely...administrators seek to co-opt prisoners themselves into maintaining order and discipline. (Bosworth 2007:68)*

The provision of television is also inculcated into the project Bosworth describes: it therefore extends the remit of behaviour management (IEP) and is a mechanism for assisting therapeutic care. Therapy is the process which seeks to change the conditions of maladaptive behaviour. Indeed some prisons establish 'therapeutic communities', whereby the work conducted by staff is 'treatment orientated' (Genders and Players 1995). Rose (1999) suggests that the 'gaze of the psychologist' has been instrumental in the discourse of therapy, whereby experts are 'grasping and calibrating the sickness of the soul'(1999:138) in order to govern the individual. Rose observed that governmentality has evolved as 'vocabularies of the therapeutic are increasingly deployed in every practice addressed to human problems' (ibid:218). This can, as Rose suggests, also be traced across prison policy.

The current PSO 4000 (IEP 2006) stipulates that in-cell television is an 'earnable privilege', yet the needs of a prisoner can permit extended provision of in-cell television, particularly for those at risk of self-harm and suicide (2006:16). Staff were keen to emphasize that safer custody remits took priority when managing prisoners, and were inclined to take this position in favour of the privilege status that was formerly awarded to television. This resulted from the sensitivity of staff respondents to the degradations experienced by prisoners (Crewe 2009): however, it may not entirely be neutral. Garland (1991:182) highlights that criminal justice professionals are keen to 'represent themselves in a positive, utilitarian way...carrying out a useful social task...as technicians of reform, as social work professionals'. This does not necessarily mean that their sentiments are inauthentic. The culture of punishment has become extensively embroiled in actuarial and target driven outcomes, and the ethos of care has become standardized or 'rationalized' (Garland 1991). Moreover, as Sparks et al (1996) observed the 'problem of order' impacts on the ways in which staff, particularly implement and manage control in prison settings. The employment of discretion and ways in which control is practiced means that the provision of material goods like television contribute to what they call 'soft policing' (1996:108). The provision of television therefore symbolically represents care. As Silverstone (1999a) suggests, television is a care-giver, and staff talked about this function of television,

*Prisoners who have got issues around self-harm, distressed, vulnerable, isolation, keeping awake at night, we all know the worst place in the world when you are awake at night and you can't sleep and you have got all this stuff going round in your head, at least they have got a television and can watch something.*  
(Claire- Governor)

Positioning television as 'care giver' (Silverstone 1999a) instead of reward marks an important shift in the rhetoric about in-cell television, as Fran explains,

*People get upset because they have mental health issues and it's beyond their control. People get upset because they have issues and concerns out of the establishment, people get upset for lots of different reasons. And if the only thing that is going to keep you calm is to engage with a TV event, or having a hot drink, why should those things be taken away?* (Fran –prison officer)

In these kinds of circumstances staff perceive television as a form of therapy. Television is actively 'prescribed' in order to manage and control adverse situations. Prescribing television as an antidote or even as 'medicine' can help to sedate and control emotions and people's actions,

*I think it's a good distraction technique, a television. I think if a prisoner who is particularly feeling low or perhaps has self-harmed in the past, I think a television can be used to occupy his time. It's about keeping him busy and keeping his mind active.* (Tim- prison officer)

Tim suggests television is a form of stimulation which conveniently fills unstructured time. As Jewkes highlights, the metaphor of drug use has similarities with media use and the

*...presence of television can normalize or readjust time...Like drugs...television can provide refuge from the harsh realities of life, filling large amounts of self-time which otherwise might be given over to introspection.*  
(2002:102).

Staff also understand that television can provide respite from prisoners' experience of prison, as reported in Chapter 7. Even when television is rejected by prisoners, some staff would be concerned about the challenges this may bring to the prison. As Claire questioned, 'hang on a minute don't you think this might be useful, and maybe suggesting certain times they use it'. The prescribing of television is therefore a viable and accustomed ritual in their practice. Moreover the kinds of expertise the respondents may be demonstrating here relate to what Rose (1999:233) defines as a therapist. These experts stress to individuals, 'their potential for enhancing skills of 'self-management' and helping clients gain control of their feelings'. The staff also reiterate these characteristics in their descriptions of their contact with prisoners (Bosworth 2007). Ann was very clear how the content she watched on television assisted her in her practice as chaplain. She explained that she watched popular television shows like *Strictly Come Dancing*, *X Factor*, *Big Brother* and news to enable her to get closer to her ministry at the prison: 'that helps in the pastoral care of prisoners and sometimes opens up doors that you wouldn't have'. She recognised and reflected on how her own viewing had changed since working in prison to enable her to find connections or 'reach' to prisoners,

*It allows prisoners to engage with a chaplain on a human level...I think it enable some realness. And when you are playing pool with a prisoner, or when you're just sat chatting if they start talking about a TV programme and you just say oh yes, it brings a connection at a different level, still a professional level, but different from the chaplain/prisoner level...it is a very human conversation, and therefore quite helpful. And you can draw analogies from how people are feeling with experiences they have seen which enable them to understand themselves in a different way because you provided a different insight (Ann- chaplain)*

These comments are not unusual and most staff commented on how mediated events and narratives serve an important function in establishing healthy and meaningful situated forms of interaction (Lull 1990). Paul explained how interacting with prisoners was an important aspect of their work and this for them was the most 'technical' part of their job,

*But what we do make a difference in is we take people who are severely damaged and make them more socially acceptable in as much as you talk to them, you can sit down and make them understand, you can change their views on the way the prison service staff work with prisoners (Paul- senior officer)*

Rose (1999:251) suggests ‘with the aid of experts, [prisoners] can act upon their bodies, their emotions, their beliefs, and their forms of conduct in order to transform themselves, in order to achieve autonomous selfhood’ which is pertinent to Paul’s approach. Steve also described a situation where two prisoners under his care could not read or write. They explained they didn’t like going on association and preferred to stay in their cells. Another prisoner offered to help them to read and write and Steve, with support from his line-manager, arranged for the three prisoners to spend time in one cell. Steve saw to it that weekends and evenings could be spent learning; ‘I put him in there...and they actually started to read and write...to them it was such a big step...they used their time in there very wisely’. Steve deviated from normal standards to facilitate this outcome; he took a risk and employed discretion (Liebling et al 2011). Steve did not ‘suspend moral judgment’ in carrying out his duties (Garland, 1991:183), as he emotionally connected to the situation by employing empathy. Enabling transformation is a feature of control and commanding expertise and intervention, as Steve described (Crewe 2009:138). Control, as Layder (2004:17) suggests, is not devoid of emotion, and is a ‘constant companion to power’. In the absence of formal routes to therapy, the expert comes to represent a form of psychic control as Rose (1999:144) argues: ‘a science of the soul [has] combined with a strategy for the government of the individual’.

### **8.1.2 Rationalization and Disconnection**

*Values...and emotional attitudes which lie behind them- may be muted and displaced by bureaucratic institutions, but they do not disappear (Garland 1991:189)*

*...it brings everybody together. Like I said it just melts the ice with everyone so you’ve got something to talk about with everyone and you can get on well with everyone. (Maalik- prisoner)*



The management of emotion is tacit and yet the enterprise of punishment is in itself emotive (Crawley 2004; Garland 1991). Therapeutic control contributes silently to the rationalization project and this endeavour is paradoxical. Staff are sensitive to the deprivations experienced in prison and the effects of these on prisoners; this in itself requires an emotive connection with people in their care. The provision of television as an antidote to manage risk related emotions such as boredom and anger has shifted the kinds of relationships and interactions staff have with prisoners (see Chapter 6). Spigel (1992:65) reports there were similar impacts reported within the home, 'television threatened to drive a wedge between family members and as a result a 'discourse on divided spaces' (ibid:67) developed in relation to television in the home. Harmony and unity of household or family togetherness was therefore challenged and spaces within households became distinctive for different household members. For prison staff this resulted in their grasp and understanding of the prisoners in their care being compromised because of television, and has given prisoners the opportunity to vanish from their view into the deep interior; the cell. Conversely, Moores (1988:25) observed that families were adopting radio to discourage movement in exterior spaces and bring people into the interior; people were coming under control. Yet staff believe, with fewer interactive encounters, their ability to assist in the inter-personal control of prisoners is potentially weakened. Despite the controlling effects of prisoners viewing television, the ability of staff to fully control prisoners is not entirely determined by the work that they do; it relies on 'psychological power' (Crewe 2009:121) . Instead, time spent watching television results in control being split across these two spaces. To some extent this legitimizes a disconnection from situated interaction,

*It is quite important that you get interaction in prison if you really want to tackle re-offending because a prison officer's job should be that you'll sit talking and sit and say, this is not the way to go, there is a different way of life, there is this, you can do that, you know and I don't think we do that, I don't think we do that at all. I think it's reduced it down to virtually nil, if I'm honest (Brian – prison officer)*

Fran also believes, 'I think it's removed staff from prisoners...I think we conversed more before in-cell television. I think prisoners were probably more eager to engage with staff

without in-cell TV'. These changes have not necessarily relieved staff of their duties, as some believed it might have done when in-cell televisions were first introduced. As Fran highlighted, their work has shifted away from direct face-to-face work with prisoners towards an administrative role; 'we are more office based'. Paul is also concerned about these changes are having directly on the prisoners and the ways he now works with his colleagues,

*I think that the art of communication has been taken away from us...you will desensitize or dehumanize prisoners because they won't know how to talk to people...they don't have the social skills. So I think technology isn't always the best thing (Paul- senior prison officer)*

With this kind of distancing and the increase in administrative tasks, the mission for staff to fully enable rehabilitation is stifled (Crewe 2009:111). Will, a prisoner was also attuned to these effects and he noticed that

*...my diction has changed, it is more forceful. They shout at each other rather than listen. There is lots of repetition, my pad mate tells the same jokes. (Will – prisoner)*

Brian also felt that the separating effect generated by television has brought about a reduction in the kinds of surveillance prison officers are encouraged to achieve,

*Dynamic security is prison officers walking around, talking and listening, listening to what happens ...now what we do is as soon as somebody says, I'm gonna kill myself or they self harm, we fill one of these forms in and we spend so long filling in this form in...we should go and talk to prisoners, sod the paperwork. (Brian- prison officer)*

Tim, however, believes that interaction with prisoners can be assisted by television's role of providing routes into conversation and agenda for talk (Lull 1990),

*...prisoners will talk about what they watched on television last night and I think it's important for the staff to interact with that and pick up on what they are saying, you know, on a wider security issue, it does build up dynamic security. It's*

*important the staff are talking to the prisoners to see what's going on because by having a two way conversation with the prisoners, it's rapport building and then prisoners start giving you information, it links to other things (Tim- prison officer)*

The authenticity of these conversations serves to sustain control in prison. These 'innocent' conversations condition prisoners to trust staff and make headway in relationships between staff and prisoners (Liebling et al 2010; Sparks et al 1996). Brian however, does not acknowledge that these conversations about television are genuine,

*...conversation is OK when you're talking about what happened on the TV but realistically that's not a conversation that is aimed towards rehabilitating somebody, it's just passing comments. (Brian prison officer)*

Prisoners were also attuned to these television orientated conversations,

*TV is important here, it is a topic of conversation, we relate to and share things. Like 90% people here watch Eastenders and football, we can chat about it. Like Big Brother it gives people stuff to converse about. (Stuart- prisoner)*

These conversations amongst prisoners provide a safe 'script' (Cohen and Taylor 1975; Goffman 1990) in which utterances about cultural life can be framed (Lull 1990; Wood 2009). For Stuart, the purpose of television allows for valid connections and sharing of experiences. However, Leon offers a different perspective,

*There are two types of personalities in prison, those that mingle and chat and those that don't engage and get involved in the unnecessary bits of prison life. What have you gotta talk about in here? I suppose TV is a good socializing factor like someone might say 'you looked like that geezer on..' Ha, ha, ha. But it is nothing productive really, it is more productive to learn not that this geezer did this crime etc. I learn more from TV than from folks in here, it is more accessible. (Leon-prisoner)*

For Leon, the outcomes of social relations cannot compete with mediated encounters. Leon is looking to 'glean' from his prison experience and his interview is full of examples that

assert dedication to his family and enhancing his opportunities for resettlement. Furthermore, the risk of contamination from other prisoners is reduced.

Ron is contemplative about the effects of incarceration on his ability to interact. His time in prison has potentially repressed his ability to interact in day-to-day situations. The disconnection and separation that incarceration brings about doesn't allow him to rehearse situated encounters or have an opportunity to carry out 'impression management' (Layder 2004; Goffman 1990). Ron fears he is not prepared for situated activity for his transition into the community,

*I do wonder how I will be around my kids and my wife when I go home because I have spent so long away from them. It does worry me a little bit, will I be alright. I think I need to go away to another country and sort my head out for a month or so, try and get used to having people around me. (Ron- prisoner)*

Mediated encounters are probably the most trustworthy interactions that exist for many of these respondents. Silverstone (1999a:16) stresses 'the creation of trust – which over-determines television as a transitional object, particularly for adult viewers'. Accounts from staff and prisoners highlight a complex picture of the forms of interaction taking place in prison. Staff are anxious about the depletion of situated activity, especially between staff and prisoners. Yet it seems prisoners are happy and trusting of mediated encounters and retreat to their cells. This distancing creates a partial disconnection from situated forms of interaction and mediated forms of interaction proceed. Rationalization is therefore even more achievable and with the help of in-cell television the emotional life of prisoners become invisible and hidden (Martel 2006). As outlined in Chapter 7, the emotional lives of prisoners are been ratified and articulated with in-cell television. Thus emotions are still there, yet largely hidden from view. Staff, therefore, struggle to reach prisoners. However television is not the sole cause of the decline in situated forms of interaction; rationalization, and attempts to restrain the emotive character of social agents has been tempered across the social enterprise since the onset of modernity (Garland 1991). Studies

like Crewe's (2009) and Sparks et al's (1996) acknowledge in detail the ways in which social relations manifest in prison setting, however forms of mediated interaction are absent in both of these important studies. As a result staff's anxieties, which are also supported in both Crewe and Sparks et al's work, are based on ideological frameworks and the losses they fear were never actually there in the first place.

### 8.2 A Civilized Medium

*...other aspects of the civilizing process – such as the privatization and the institutionalization of punishment- tend to undermine the operation of sympathy by cutting offenders from contact with the general public, and thereby heightening the alienation and marginalization of offenders, limiting public knowledge about their circumstances, and inhibiting the extension of sympathy and identification. (Garland 1991:236)*

This analysis provides evidence to support the contribution of television to wider discussions about the 'civilized' status of modern prisons. According to Elias (2010), a 'civilized' society is fundamentally coalesced by features of self-regulation and the forms of control (see also Rose 1999). Moreover the ways in which prisoners and staff have described television's role also links with this insight. The data presented in this section demonstrate how prisoners attempt to make best use of television. Interpreting television as 'purposeful' described some of the ways prisoners framed their relationship with television. As outlined in Chapter 7, prisoner respondents were cautious about their viewing and actively sought out programmes that they considered valuable for their well-being. Conversely, staff were less clear about the usefulness of television, especially in line with policy such as 'purposeful activity' targets<sup>46</sup>. This section will distinguish three concepts; *learning from television, engaging in public life* and *organising daily life* which further extrapolates the civilizing processes.

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<sup>46</sup> Purposeful activity refers to PSO 7101 which can include up to 27 different activities e.g. education, work opportunities, tackling substance misuse, maintaining family ties, Offending Behaviour Programmes and other resettlement activities.

### 8.2.1 Learning from television

As described in Chapter 4, uses and gratification models can exemplify prisoners' motivations to consume television (Jewkes 2002a). All of the prisoners in this sample made reference to television's potential to provide them with opportunities to learn. Their motivations to learn from television whilst in prison were directly related to fears of psychological deterioration (Cohen and Taylor 1972; Porporino and Zamble 1985) or becoming 'cabbaged'. In order to diminish these fears, self-inspection encourages social agents to seek out improvements (Rose 1999). This coincides with rehabilitative agendas such as the seven pathways out of crime, which includes an educative strand (NOMS 2005). Therefore prisons are expected to exploit as many opportunities as they can to enhance the learning and skills of prisoners in their care. This however is, problematic as prisons struggle to deliver meaningful education, training and employment (Knight and Hine 2009). Evidence in this study shows that many prisoners watch television with intentions to learn. The ways in which prisoners describe these experiences do not coincide with formal learning remits. This is because learning through television in their circumstances assists in wider social and psychological outcomes. The television use diaries confirmed that documentaries, quiz shows and in some cases news programmes were watched frequently and in large quantities<sup>47</sup>. Carlton craved more access to opportunities to learn through television,

*There's a lot of things you can learn. I like to watch nature documentaries, you can learn from them... I suppose if you are going to watch it have it teach you something... In my view prisons should have TV but they should play more documentaries to learn things, like university programmes, give them something to learn from, an opportunity. They used to play DVDs at night, put on documentaries or even quizzes. That's what I think. (Carlton- prisoner)*

Maalik had just come to prison for the first time and he spoke about how many of his preconceptions of prison and the justice system had been ratified but also challenged. Maalik demonstrated how his adaption to prison life was still evolving and essentially he was continuing to learn how to be a prisoner (Jones and Schmid 2000). Television helped

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<sup>47</sup> Whannel's (1995:187) definition of game or quiz shows relates to this idea with demands on knowledge, winning prizes, playing games and the featuring of ordinary people in these programmes.

him to orientate and make sense of prison life. By engaging with material, especially through documentaries, Maalik had points of reference with the wider social world. This provided him with some semblance of normalcy and justification for his punitive experience,

*For me it's more knowledge. It's more knowledgeable because stuff which you experience out there, once you watch it and then you understand it better. Because I've never had a time on my own to watch a documentary out there but once you're in here you've got so much time where you can sit and watch that documentary and understand that documentary... There's a lot of knowledge that has concerned me because when I was out there I knew of things but it didn't happen to me so I wasn't taking any notice of it but now because I read about it and watch it and I've experienced it myself personally so it has actually affected me a lot.*  
(Maalik- prisoner)

Carlton also identified how the experience of prison combined with watching certain material on television revealed some important lessons about social life; 'TV shows people's differences to stop bullying. I didn't know this before I came to prison.' This was also noted by staff,

*A more informed prisoner is a less volatile prisoner because they are making informed choices then. So when they contact partners and the partner says look we are really struggling for money, because he is saying he wants money sent in, they can see through the media exactly how bad its effected families. So it's about a window to the world that they can access freely.* (Paul- senior prison officer)

Acquiring knowledge and being 'informed' assists in the control of prisoners. Furthermore, television provides resources for staff to carry out their work. Brian highlights that the medium of television can assist those prisoners that struggle with literacy,

*It can be used for prisoners to be educated, we've got prisoners who can't read and write and television can be used for educational purposes* (Brian- prison officer)

Pete also recognised the potential effects that different types of programmes would have on the diverse prison population,

*I like Countdown that is educational, like quiz shows. It is good for people who can't read and write, got to put something in their brain, it is teaching them, like the Weakest Link. I suppose you can learn from soaps sometimes, like not to do things, so I suppose it is educational. I learnt they serve water in the Rover's Return!! (Pete- prisoner)*

The 'meanings and motivations' (Jewkes 2002a:116) described by prisoners show that they are compelled to acquire knowledge from their experiences of watching television. Like Carlton, some were frustrated at the limited availability of documentaries available on broadcast television and craved access to more documentary programmes and quiz shows. Prisoners appreciate the cognitive benefits of such material,

*Other things I watch religiously is 'Dragon's Den', it is good TV, I'm interested in other people's ideas and how to make money, if you see something and you think that would be handy! It gets your mind active. (Stuart- prisoner)*

Pete, Sunny and Bill also spoke extensively about their personal interests and enjoyed the process of being informed;

*I only watch nature in here too. There was one about Yellowstone. I take much more notice of it in here. I wouldn't watch them on the out. I just get into it in here. I'd flick over out there. If there is nothing else on I start watching, it is interesting. There was one called the 'Hottest Place on Earth' I think, it was a geology programme, they visited the desert, the place was horrendous. Loads of volcanic rock and a guy went down and did a gas test, it was fascinating to watch. I can concentrate on them in here. (Pete-prisoner)*



*I like things like with Michael Palin, like travel programmes and like the faith programmes on at the minute. There is one on tonight I think about Muslim religion, I find it fascinating. (Bill- prisoner)*

*I like documentaries especially on BBC 1 & 2. I like global things like global warming and sometimes I like travel, especially all over the world. (Sunny- prisoner)*

Here, watching television extends their immediate surroundings and access to information that is unavailable to them in prison; television permits reach (Moore 2006; Silverstone 1999a; Meyrowitz 1985). However, this concept of 'escape' from prison was not entirely ratified by Pete. He was quite clear that this was not directly related to loss of freedom; 'I don't want to fly away like a bird if that is what you mean'. For him the ability to focus on the detail in the broadcasts was an influencing factor, because prison has few distractions compared to his life on the outside.

In addition choice of crime documentaries was popular as Jewkes explains,

*...whatever gratifications we seek from media content they are not divorced from our environment...It is therefore unsurprising that it is very often violent or criminal media figures that provide identification for prisoners. (2002a:144)*

For Barry, documentaries about crime were a source of important information. The process of becoming informed and up-to-date with latest forensic technologies enabled him to make assessments about potential future offending. Barry had been in prison a few times before and offending was a significant part of his lifestyle outside prison,

*NCIS is a crime thing insight into forensic technology what crimes are really about, soon it will be impossible to commit a crime. It won't affect me; you can't beat a bit of fraud, so you don't have to hurt. Panorama is good for scams, which*

*I've been involved in. That Crimewatch, there is a lot of scary people (Barry-prisoner)*

The ways in which Barry lists the purpose of the programmes enable him to establish 'expert' status in relation to crime. Simon also acknowledges the purpose of these kinds of programmes,

*I learn from them programmes, it is the criminology, not to leave DNA, all the forensics, so I watch that. (Simon-prisoner)*

Barry and Simon subvert the 'gleaner' mode and favour the 'jailing' mode (Irwin 1970). They are not necessarily looking to change their behaviour as they are active in sustaining their criminal identities and television offers them access to contextual resources (Jewkes 2002:144). Prison is a disruption in their offender lifestyle. Equally, accessing these kinds of programmes provides them with authentic material to inform their criminal occupations and classify themselves as 'experts'. Others, although they watched similar material were less likely to assert the same kinds of identification with these programmes.

Instead, crime documentaries offer prisoners forms of identification that are not necessarily related to their criminal identities, but their prisoner identities. Jewkes (2002:211) adds that these selections allow prisoners to 'engage with the public side of prison', especially hegemonic and dominant aspects of prison culture. As prisoners they all have a shared experience of crime and prison brings them together; the experience of their incarceration defines their current position within a given culture, yet at the same time widening and bringing close the 'imagined community' (Moore 1988; Williams 1974) of the criminal world. It also provides a direct reference point to the kinds of individuals prisoners are likely to come across in their time in prison. Prisoners are unsurprisingly compelled to learn about the kinds of people they could experience prison with. Therefore, learning about criminal cultures assists individuals in being able to participate, when necessary in the public life of the prison (Crewe 2009). These technological reference points mark a form of power

that enables prisoners to be equipped with knowledge about their immediate community's experience. These are not proportionate either, and the authenticity and value of mediated material of this kind may only serve to perpetuate fears of contamination and brutality from other prisoners. In much the same way, the media are considered to contribute to the fear of crime (Jewkes 2011:155). As many theorists have argued the mass effects of mediated messages serve as important mechanisms for control and order (ibid:10). There is a range of learning that television can facilitate, most prominently the men in this study are eager to seek out material that enables satisfactory cognitive functioning, others seek to pursue personal interests and some use television to sustain deviant forms of identification.

### 8.2.2 Engaging in public life

*It takes you to different places like jungles and deserts. I'll never be able to go, TV is the next best thing. (Shaun- prisoner)*

It is difficult to suggest that television in prison permits full and extensive access to the 'public sphere' as Habermas (1964) imagined, far from this. But as Shaun suggests, television offers a pragmatic avenue to take imaginative excursions. As commentators like Moores (1988), Spigel (1992) and Silverstone (1999a) suggest, the introduction of technologies essentially transport the 'public' world into the private sphere of the home, bringing the exterior to the interior. To an extent this is duplicated in the prison setting, but there are also peculiarities and departures from these views. The prison space is an unusual construct, essentially private and closed off from community life. Inside the prison however, enclaves of privacy are essentially difficult to come by<sup>48</sup>. The experience of prison is therefore a public one: it is only since the introduction of mass media that public life has become extended or stretched beyond the confines of the prison. Television and radio have transformed the communicative reach in prisons. This ability to reach however does not permit liberated participation in public life, and due to the constraints of imprisonment is

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<sup>48</sup> As a visitor I was aware I was in constant view of both prisoners and staff, even when I interviewed prisoners in their cells I was completely aware that this space was not wholly private and interruptions occurred all of the time from staff and prisoners. Surveillance is not necessarily constant but it is tacit. Prison cells are therefore not excluded from this and I witnessed on occasion the liberated access staff had to prison cells.

partial. As described in the previous section, mediated encounters are useful in providing access to contextual resources in order to operate within their immediate community; the prison (Layder 2005).

Ned provided an example of how his own experience of prison and his connections to the wider community through television present a series of challenges for him,

*...for prisoners they charge us £2.09 for a Radox, a shower gel. Now if you watch the TV, because TVs tell you about what is going on, it's 69p in Morrison's. So we earn in jail £8. I am a cleaner and you get £8 a week, but because I have got my qualifications, because I am qualified in industrial cleaning and maintenance, I get an extra £2 because I am qualified, so I get £10 a week. So what I am trying to say is the TV will let us know, you might watch TV to put a complaint in, because I complained about that. Because why should we be paying £2.09 when you can go to Morrison's and pay 69p. And plus then you have got to think about the prisons are buying everything in bulk, so you can buy one for 69p how many could you buy if you bought £3000 worth, I know about these things because I run businesses. Its things like that that can drive you crazy and makes you end up losing your TV because you say something that will get you into bother (Ned- prisoner)*

As Ned highlights, the direct access to public life via television inspired him to try and resolve the market forces at work within the context of the prison. The frustration Ned expresses here relates to his immediate experience as a prisoner. The disparity in prices and the income he receives from his work remind him of his deprivations in prison and the exploitation he encounters. Ned sought to follow formal routes and it is unlikely this disparity would have been resolved<sup>49</sup>. Participating in public life is not just constrained in economic terms but also in cultural terms. Will is a football fan and enjoys accessing football

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<sup>49</sup> In fact prisoners continue to campaign against the costs of goods and services they are permitted to access, for example the rate of telephone calls (BBC 2008). Also prisoners in England and Wales do not have the right to vote, although the European Court of Human Rights have indicated prisoners have a right to vote, politicians to date have voted against this idea and are still deliberating about how to satisfy this court ruling (BBC 2011).

through television. He acknowledges that television allows him to continue supporting his team, Liverpool FC. For him his fandom can only be partial as he is not allowed to have a football shirt, as these are considered as a potential trigger for antagonism between prisoners,

*I always wait for Match of the Day on TV, I'm a Liverpool fan. When I go to Liverpool it feels like home. Scousers get a bad rep. We are not allowed football shirts in here. We could get them brought in but it might be an issue. (Will- prisoner)*

Local news was also considered an important source of information as Maalik describes,

*Yes, everybody watches the local news because what it is you tend to know what's happening as well and plus you know people that's come in, in the local news. It's just a thing of prison that everyone watches the local news because they all know what's going to happen and who's here.... And the local prison newspapers, because you hear stories from other prisoners themselves, so watching documentaries, you know, it reflects a lot so you understand it more better. (Maalik-prisoner)*

Maalik draws attention to the connection between local news and its relevance to the people in prison. Local news features crime related stories and subsequent outcomes of justice. In these ways television news provides a route for acquiring up-to-date knowledge of convictions. In the same way Barry wants to scour television items to find people he knows (Gersch 2003). Barry wants to witness events that may directly impact on the setting in which he is placed,

*I'll watch 'Car Crime UK' on ITV to see if I know anyone... There was that 'Panorama' about bent officers, name and shame them, they were gonna knock it off. I've been in before when they bang it off. This bloke molested someone with kids and the [local newspaper] wasn't allowed in. Like scandals with female officers... (Barry- prisoner)*

Barry realizes that this information is a particular challenge for the establishment and protecting high profile cases such as prisoners or staff could challenge security.

Respondents draw on their own context not only to manage not only their viewing but also to determine how they interpret these choices. Some of the sample described their desire to engage in wider social affairs that are not necessarily prison/crime related. Sunny, for example described how certain social, economic and political events presented through television help him to remain connected to the discourses perpetuated across wider culture;

*It gives me fresh words say through news such as 'credit crunch'. This is very helpful. (Sunny- prisoner)*

Sunny's fear of losing touch with current social affairs and cultural discourses motivated his selections significantly. As an enhanced prisoner he was able to access DVDs from the library and he selected Indian 'Bollywood' movies. He explained that this was to attempt to stay up-to-date with the cultural practices in his community. He was also pleased to witness via television the opening of a shopping centre in his local community. Mick also described how, when he left prison on a previous sentence, he was given a mobile phone. He described that 'I didn't know how to send texts'. Ann, the prison's chaplain was also sensitive to the technological deprivations prisoners can encounter and made reference to the absence of light switches in prison cells. Access to technology helps to minimize 'cultural jet-lag' (Bonini and Perrotta 2007).

Bill finds that some television programmes help him to duplicate his pre-prison role,

*However I do like things like 'Deal or No Deal', 'Who Wants to be a Millionaire'. I like learning you see, I don't think you are ever too old. You see lots of different people from lots of different backgrounds on these programmes, I like to see this. You see it is what I used to do, I employed 1000s of people. I suppose I'm*

*following this on in prison, by keeping up with lots of people through television. (Bill-prisoner)*

The exposure to people in this mediated form allows Bill to establish social relations or 'para-social interaction' (Horton and Wohl 1954). Thus television permits him to replicate some of these social practices. Bill also described how he works as an *Insider*, a peer mentor for prisoners whom he advises and guides with their induction to prison life. His imprisonment has prevented him from continuing with his management role, yet Bill has sought outlets through which he can continue to interact with people both through television and in his work at the prison. As Crewe (2009:348) also found, finding connection with prison life and its people was important for some prisoners' modes of adaptation.

Television provides an additional route to experience social relations,

*We move between public and private spaces. Between local and global ones. We move from sacred to secular spaces from real to fiction to virtual spaces, and back again. (Silverstone 1999b:7)*

### **8.2.3 Organising daily life**

*...for most of us most of the time, everyday life does go on, and it is sustained through the ordered continuities of language, routine, habit, the taken for granted but essential structures that, in all their contradictions sustain the grounds for our security in our daily lives...Ontological security is sustained through the familiar and the predictable. (Silverstone, 1999a:19)*

Imprisonment disrupts time and place (Matthews 1999). Prisoners experience a temporary loss of 'home' and their routines are 'heavily scripted' by the prison (Martel 2006:595). Their forced separation from their own 'home' can be experienced as loss and be disorientating. This forced migration causes prisoners to attempt to attach meanings to places they are confined to and television enables them to develop this sense of place (Moore 2006:10). Prisoners in this sample are 'housebound' and fixed to one place. The role that television has in this kind of situation relates to Meyrowitz's (1985) thesis on home

and reach. Here, audiences can not only reach different spaces, but can come together and be united in a temporal and spatial sense. Joshua explained,

*My partner obviously I've been with from school and I've got three kids and basically my partner's kind of like me, we're both Pisces and she likes wildlife a lot, documentaries, but she's more into soaps than I am. So of a night time I will talk to my partner on the phone and she will say what are you watching tonight and I will say I'm watching this and she will watch it at the same time. In a way I feel like I'm with her if you get what I'm saying. I know that sounds a bit strange but telepathically I feel like I'm with her (Joshua- prisoner)*

In order to emulate this closeness, Joshua was prepared to adjust his viewing preferences to align with the television viewing of his partner. The intimacy that Joshua and his partner can achieve is a valid mechanism. The mediated encounters that Joshua and his partner self-select highlight how 'broadcasting mediates *between* these two sites' (Scannell 1996:76); the broadcast event and the place where it is watched. The outcome for Joshua is that broadcasts provide 'a common sociable topical resource' (ibid:159) in both sense of time and also place.

Broadcasts were also evidenced as a mechanism for punctuating or filling time,

*Most of it is shit, but half hour gone, it is passing the time so you watch it. I'll watch Emmerdale sometimes and always Enders, that is two hours done. Mondays you have 'Gadget Show' at 8pm, I might miss first half hour because of 'Eastenders'. I like the 'Gadget Show'. (Barry- prisoner)*

Ryan, like Barry, highlighted how he actively used broadcast time to mark his time spent in prison,

*You sail through with telly. There is always a new series. Like 'Prison Break' that is 6 months gone, a 6 month break and then it is on again. Then there is all season 'Top*



*Gear', then Formula 1. There is always something new starting. I like 'Top Gear'. It is something to look forward to. I go to the F1 as well, I love it, nothing else really. So once a week there is 'Prison Break' for 6 months, a 1 hour episode. I just see it advertised. Oh then there is the 'Sheild', I've seen all of them, all of them inside. Thurs night is 'Prison Break' on 4, Friday is 'The Shield' on 5 and Sunday 'Top Gear' on 2. Then Monday to Friday you've got 'Emmerdale', 'Corrie' and 'Eastenders'. (Ryan-prisoner)*

Ryan conceptualizes time using television broadcasts, not just based on times of day but according to broadcast seasons or series (typically weekly broadcasts over a three month period). Ryan looks forward to new series starting. He has trust and confidence that his programmes are there for him and are there even though he might not need them (Scannell 1996:149). Essentially Ryan's television diet fills the weeks and his evenings spent in his cell are fundamentally framed by television. The role that technology plays in this is crucial, as broadcasts provide him with a reliable calendar thus facilitating a meaningful way for him to do prison time. The serialization of broadcasts reminds these viewers that life goes on and that time is moving on by providing a 'bio-narrative' to their time and place (Martel 2006:602). This is in stark contrast to common analogies that time in prison is experienced as 'frozen' (Porporino and Zamble 1985). Broadcasts can therefore liven the self. Ryan's selection of dramas, soaps, sport and special interest programmes like *Top Gear* give him access to narratives that are not cyclical, they are linear in their narrative form. This is a contrast to the experience of prison routine, which is endlessly cyclical. Pete remarked that 'the serials every week help. Soaps are very big in prison'. Seeking out narratives that punctuate time but also provide some sense of time passing can, of course, bring important comfort, especially from boredom and frustration. Scannell's (1996:149) notion of 'dailiness' suggests that 'our sense of days is always already in part determined by the ways in which media contribute to the shaping of our sense of days.'

Malcolm, Mick and Ron all illustrate this concept,

*At 10pm I watch the general news- it keeps me up to date. It is important because it affects us when we do get out or even whilst we are in here, like the trouble with telephone calls in prison it made the news. (Malcolm- prisoner)*

*It doesn't, it tells you the time, you know what time it is like Eastenders is on at 8pm and 7.30pm- it tells you the time. (Mick- prisoner)*

VK: So after you have done your morning shift, back to your pad.

Ron: I put the telly straight on

Television therefore marks, time or as Scannell refers to, 'zoning' (ibid:150). This is the breaking up of parts of daily life, within which broadcasting operates, and is attuned to 'what people are doing and when' (ibid). The life of prison also operates within a domestic framework, with usual activities like work assigned during the day, eating times, and leisure time during the evening. There are, however, many prisoners who for many reasons fail to access work and other purposeful activity, and are without situated events to zone and mark their daily lives. Broadcast schedules assist in the zoning or carving up of daily, weekly and seasonal life into meaningful chunks that might otherwise might be empty. For Ron television serves as a marker, the end or break from work and the transition to leisure is secured by putting on the television. Malcolm exploits the television hardware; 'I set the TV as an alarm in here and it comes on ITV in the morning'. Will explains that he doesn't watch much television in the day, due to his work and other commitments,

*Not through the days, it's the evenings. I'm busy in the day such as job, gym, physio and visits. It goes quick when something is on. Ten minutes can feel like an eternity or the weeks can go fast. It is like yesterday was the first day I was here, it is time done. (Will- prisoner)*

Will assigns his evenings as a period to unwind from work,

*TV does help pass time a bit, it is human psychology, it helps to break the day down, morning, afternoon and evening. If something is good on it is another hour gone, it is chewing gum for the eyes. (Will- prisoner)*

Will relies on television to differentiate parts of his daily life in prison. He also seeks reassurance that television will deliver him comfort, and he therefore trusts its provision. Claire is also sensitive to the 'zoning' effect,

*I think television is in blocks isn't it and you know the news is on until 9 o'clock, and I don't know I don't do day time television but whatever is on for half an hour chunks. And therefore I can imagine that that means its ... I studied philosophy once and I remember very clearly them saying if we didn't have watches we wouldn't know how long time was. And if sometimes 10 minutes feels like an hour and sometimes an hour feels like 10 minutes. If you didn't have a watch it would be whatever it felt like, and I guess that's the same for prisoners. (Claire- Governor)*

As Jewkes (2002a) found, 'good' and 'bad' times can also be marked by television. Stuart for example believes that his life is improved at certain times,

*It is better in the football season. (Stuart- prisoner)*

The seasonal changes in broadcasting bring him valuable mediated content. Equally his sense of time is shaped by what is fundamentally a culturally constructed and mediated time-frame. The faith and trust Stuart achieves through the broadcasting calendar helps him to look forward to 'better times'. Lee was also frustrated at television,

*My typical day is in a morning if I had TV I'd turn on Jeremy Kyle then get lunch and sit there all day until dinner. I get bored of watching it; it is the same every*

*day. It makes time drag with telly. You know how long they are on for and then it is dinner time. It is one big time game here. (Lee- prisoner)*

This dailiness is not helpful for Lee and he finds it slows down his time and ‘shows up as a mild form of dread’ (Scannell 1996:173). The stilling effect (Anderson 2004) that Lee experiences is not unusual, and therefore the ability to take control and find broadcasts which can speed up time and counter the totality of the prison routine is essential. Klapp (1986:71) also proposes that ‘overload’ of mediated information can bring about the redundancy of time and result in boredom. From Klapp’s position, mediated encounters as Lee described here are reduced to ‘noise’ (ibid:81). Lee, conversely preferred music to television and found this suited his well-being much better than television. Television is redundant for Lee as it fails in its provision as care-giver, his attachment to television is not necessarily secure. As Tester (1998:88) argues the relevance of mediated forms of communication is ‘important only in relation to other things which have happened today’. Maalik observed that prison brings about viewing adjustments,

*I used to watch it at home but it’s just in prison I put it in a different way. I know some people and I talk to people they never used to watch Eastenders, they started watching it here because everybody at that time is locked up and everybody at that time watches Eastenders because you know if something happens in Eastenders everyone bangs their doors. (Maalik- prisoner)*

Both Silverstone (1999a) and Scannell (1996) remark on the ‘eventfulness’ of television which as Maalik describes brings audiences together. Staff were also attuned to this effect and Claire saw this as a positive outcome,

*...we would also try and do if possible is to get big screens and still do that. Because there is a sense of community isn’t it? I for example can sit and watch the football in the house or I go to the pub and watch it with a group of people which is preferable. That would be the same, you can watch it in your cell but actually we*

*will put it on the big screen and get you out and have you out watching it as a group, and that's more of a sense of community. (Claire- Governor)*

This sense of community is not always necessarily ratified in the ways that Claire imagines, and some prisoners are sometimes reluctant to engage in public events in prison (Crewe 2009). Some prisoners like to take control of the ways in which their time and space is organized, and their use of broadcasting in these ways allows them to take respite and disconnect from prison routines. Broadcasts help them to reach time and place outside prison, as Scannell (1996:167) describes '[the] world in its availability is within the range of 'my' concerns'. Time is therefore organized technologically, allowing prisoners to absorb themselves in the ordering and flow of everyday life beyond the walls of the prison. As Fiddler (2010:6) suggests, prisoners strive to intervene with time and space to 'bend it to their own purpose'. The types of encounters and methods for organizing their time are acutely defined by broadcast schedules and this is essentially technological. Technology permits 'my' time, which Scannell (1996:152) refers to as 'experiential time'. This can make prisoners' existence meaningful by defining and ordering everyday life in prison. It also provides a sense of moving through time and alongside timeframes that continue outside prison or '[broadcasting], whose medium is time, articulates our sense of time' (ibid:152).

### 8.3 Watching

*...surveillance is a posh word for spying. (Barry- prisoner)*

*...the household was to be designed and cathected as an inward-looking domestic space enjoining moral and social obligations upon its inhabitants...to act as a moral economy. The surveillance and normalization...acted as a powerful incentive to good behaviour... (Rose 1999:227)*

Observation is a fundamental characteristic of prison (Foucault 1991). It is also, as Rose suggests, a fundamental feature of control. The act of surveillance is also a compelling feature of media use (Jewkes 2002a; Lull 1990). Moreover the 'gaze' of the audience satisfies deep psychological needs or scopophilia (Mulvey 1975). The act of watching

either via situated or mediated environments means that scrutiny and inspection of other people and the self is a function of control. This section presents two concepts of watching; *the spectacle* and *the panoptic*. This section will argue that the act of watching contributes to the restraint of sensibilities in order to rein in emotive affects and established a rationalized experience of everyday life.

### 8.3.1 *The Spectacle of Television in Prison*

*The spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images* (Debord 1970,2010:2)

The act of watching has become a benign feature of everyday life; as Jewkes (2011:228) highlights, voyeurism has itself become entertainment and 'surveillance has been consistently viewed' by large numbers of audiences. The act of watching television by prisoners is also framed as a spectacle; staff in particular notice the act of watching television and believe is worthy of assessment and scrutiny. Television viewing assists in the monitoring of prisoners. Conversely the prison is subject to observation by prisoner audiences and watching 'their' environments has become part of their own viewing repertoires. This 'bottom-up surveillance' (ibid:230) in the context of the prison is enabled by the television and 'surveillance technologies have inevitably been turned inwards' (ibid:228).

Many of the respondents watched crime documentaries, reality programmes and dramas. Fuelling these motivations is the acquisition of knowledge, to learn more about the environment they are placed in and the people they could potentially come into contact with. The prison becomes a 'spectacle' in which television transforms the prison into an event. The recording and representation of the prison makes the prison public; it belongs to the world and it has its place in the world. It brings the inside to the outside and validates their existence to a wider non-prisoner audience. Prisoners attempt to reject and refute their 'civic death' (Jewkes 2010:26). Mick was frustrated that a programme about a women's prison,

*...that Holloway thing. It is realistic but it is not showing you a fraction of it, so yeah right. I've seen slash ups and they walk away. It is like kindergarten sometimes and they get away with the brutality. You get thrown off a landing. (Mick- prisoner)*

Leon also liked a programme about a celebrity who went into a prison to 'uncover' the harms of incarceration. Leon believed that the prison experience in this programme was not sufficient and that it failed to complete the spectacle of the prison; he believed it did not capture the difficulties of incarceration,

*The public can't judge us though, they should educate people on the outside, people don't understand. Let them come in here. Like that programme that took kids inside prison and they were shown what prison was like. Anyone can do 3 days though, they need the real impact- that once you are here there is no way out. I don't know how long I am here for. (Leon- prisoner)*

Leon reflects on his own experience and the 'real impact' cannot be reproduced in a television programme. The entertainment values of these programmes override the authenticity of the prison experience. Leon, on this occasion, was frustrated by the missed opportunity for broadcasts like this to educate wider audiences about imprisonment.

Stuart also actively assesses his own experience of programmes about prison, 'Banged Up Abroad is quite interesting, I compare it to here'. He went on to say that the prison experiences of British citizens in other countries certainly make his experience of prison seem much easier. He reported how distasteful mechanisms of punishment in other cultures were and that his own experience of prison failed to be a 'spectacle'.

Dramatization of prison and crime enabled Ryan for example to access the spectacle,

*The Shield is about a bent copper and Prison Break is a US drama about prison. It is gripping, seeing what's next and then it finishes so you tune in the next week, it works! I sit there rocking. (Ryan- prisoner)*

Unlike the authentic and 'real' representations of prison as reported by Stuart and Leon, the dramas Ryan refers to do not represent law enforcement in ideological terms. Jewkes' (2011:162) discussion of mediated representations of policing outlines how the portrayal of police has moved away from the archetypal *Dixon of Dock Green* police officer to a much grittier and problematic police role; 'with all the human flaws and vices that any other section of the population would have'. The appeal of the *Shield* for Ryan he says is that it features a corrupt police officer.

Ron also talked extensively about the US drama *The Wire* and was suspicious how many crime dramas were essentially making crime a 'spectacle'. Ron felt that this was having an effect on real crime and the ways in which crime was being committed by contemporary offenders. He identified himself as belonging to an old breed of criminals, working to a strict code of criminal conduct. Ron identified that the younger criminals in *The Wire* adopted different values,

*I am a bit older but these young guys now I think they are totally different, they glorify all the bad stuff that comes up. (Ron- prisoner)*

Ron felt the programme displayed these articulations sensitively and he was able to use *The Wire's* narrative to highlight these tensions. Making these kinds of assertions about their own criminal identity can also be extended to the ways in which they chose to represent their prisoner identities. Malcolm, for example, was a fan of *Big Brother*. He suggests that watching a social construction of a form of incarceration is appealing because of the voyeuristic qualities. As Jewkes (2011:226) suggests 'the postmodern quest for the hyper-real, the desire to be part of the 'action' may be satisfied by the ability to see it played out as it was caught on camera'. This programme for Malcolm is a cultural analogy to his own experience of prison, and he draws parallels to the kinds of conditions experienced by the 'contestants' on this programme,



*Big Brother- everybody watches that here- I like to watch the characters and see how they get on. They are banged up without TV, music- it is a case of survival. We get more here, they can't get out but they can ask to come out. I have favourite characters- the funny ones. I remember there was an aggressive girl, she had to take courses when she got out. (Malcolm- prisoner)*

Malcolm went on to say that because of his experience of prison he would be able to withstand the conditions in which the *Big Brother* participants endured. He was also attracted to the prospect of being an active participant in the spectacle itself. Like the contestants, Malcolm's life is under observation in prison and his need to have this ratified is exemplified by this programme. Other prisoners however found this kind of participation in the spectacle distasteful, as Alan for example remarks,

*There is some right numpties on here [Jeremy Kyle]. How can they humiliate themselves? (Alan- prisoner)*

The confessions and disclosures of ordinary people in these programmes parade human suffering, misery and conflict for audiences to witness. Suffering is commodified and access to suffering through mediated forms is uncomplicated (Gersch 2007:14) Despite Alan's distaste for the ways in which these programmes catapult humanity as a form of spectacle, he feels compelled to watch. Alan did not switch off the television during the interview and the broadcasts provided him with points of reference for discussion (Wood 2009). The act of watching and being the voyeur on people's lives provides some semblance of power. *Jeremy Kyle* is also too authentic or close to the realities of the prison experienced by Alan on a daily basis. The degradations Alan faces as a prisoner and his exposure to vulnerable and pathological people demonstrates how precarious viewing this kind of programme can be. The spectacle of suffering is sometimes too much to stomach and avoiding programmes is necessary for personal control.

High profile crime cases result in prisons having to deal with 'famous' or newsworthy inmates. Staff in this study were sensitive to the effects a high profile prisoner can create for the running of the establishment. Handling these kinds of prisoners requires specialist intervention and often these prisoners are encouraged, or at least given the option, to be segregated from the main prison population<sup>50</sup>. As Tim describes,

*...if we've got a prisoner that's got quite a high profile, quite a high media interest, there was one yesterday that was on Sky News that's in here, then yes it is a concern because it reflects obviously on his own personal safety, his own self harm issues if he has got any because something might tip him over the edge...He may not be aware that he's been on television, so we'll speak to him and say, look, you know, you managed to make the headlines yesterday. (Tim- prison officer)*

The staff are required to temper the spectacle that some prisoners bring to this environment and some talked about handling notoriety of high profile criminals. As Sparks et al note maintaining order in prison is a 'matter of concern and debate among staff' (1996:146). The presence and subsequent consumption of television and other media entails the use of additional work and resources when handling the public nature of offenders' lives.

### **8.3.2 Panoptic**

*When we get there first thing in the morning we have the usual morning briefing in the officers' mess. That gives us any details of what things we need to keep an eye on, whether we have got problems... So it's so we have got a full outlook. (Steve- prison officer)*

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<sup>50</sup> Prison Rule 45 is intended to segregate prisoners from mainstream populations in order to protect them and others in the prison establishment. As a result these prisoners are prevented from associating with mainstream populations and are often housed in separate and discrete units, wings or landings. The prisoner or the prison may request removal from association for their protection.

The techniques of observation, surveillance, scrutiny and assessment all lead to forms of governance associated with disciplinary and therapeutic control. Television in prison enables all social agents in prison to observe (Bonini and Perrotta 2007:87). Television plays an important role in surveillance, as it supplements the 'inspection [that] functions ceaselessly. The gaze is alert everywhere' (Foucault 1991:195) and now with television in its place it ensures that the 'individual is fixed in his place' (ibid) even more.

In its traditional form the panopticon, as Foucault (1991) describes, is intended to keep subjects under perpetual observation, as Stuart acknowledges,

*...they want you to play on landing, but we are not allowed to take furniture out, they want us to break the rules and play on pool table [cards] but it creates problems. (Stuart- prisoner)*

Like many prisoners, Stuart wants to retreat to his cell when he can, even during association time, he prefers to withdraw to his cell to socialize with some of his peers. He explains how he is encouraged to be in full view of staff, rather than outside their view and so 'visibility is a trap' (Foucault 1991:200). If Stuart retreats to a cell to play card games with other prisoners, the panoptic principle is broken: being out of view of staff results in observation becoming obscured. Sparks et al (1996:322) add that

*...how 'situational dimensions of the prison environment could be adapted to reduce opportunities for control problems, without destroying the legitimacy of social relations and trust [are] necessary for effective social control.*

Permitting such minor infractions are therefore important to maintaining overall control.

The effect of this kind of panoptic surveillance is wide reaching and in the case of television, many prisoners and staff reported that television can singularly confine activity of prisoners. Sporting events, soaps and quiz shows are popular for creating collective experiences. This form of sociability (Scannell 1996:24) within the prison has the effect that 'broadcasting is a sociable occasion' and the act of watching is amplified to an event. Audiences come

together in one single moment, yet at the same time are physically separated; this is panoptic. The following section of transcription from an interview with Maalik reiterates how this is played out within the prison routine,

Maalik: *Then everyone watches Coach Trip.*

VK: *Oh right, that's Channel 4 is it?*

Maalik: *That's Channel 4 as well, that's just started, Coach Trip, so everyone talks about Coach Trip. Everyone says this person should be off, that person should be off.*

VK: *And it's about people going on a holiday is it?*

Maalik: *Yes on a coach trip and then they get red carded off.*

VK: *For what reason.*

Maalik: *Because the people don't like them. So the group don't like them so that means the prison don't like them so the prison says they should be off.*

VK: *So you really tune into the fact that whatever's on, the prison's watching it and so are you?*

Maalik: *Yes, everybody tends to watch the same thing and it's always talked about afterwards.*

Maalik suggests that 'everyone' is watching the same programmes, but although the television use diaries highlight immense diversity of viewing, some programmes remain popular. Foucault's description of the design and purpose of the panopticon illustrates how television as an object can be compared here,

*By the effect of backlighting, one can observe from the tower, standing out precisely against the light, the small captive shadows in the cells of the periphery. They are like so many cages, so many small theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible. The panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately*  
(1991:200)

The physical qualities of television, such as the glow and the sound, do light up the darkened cells. Bill, Mick and Malcolm all reported that they liked to sit close to the television. This would mean they would be in direct view of observers looking through the cell door hatch rather than lying on the bed which is off centre view. The light from television enhances observation, as Foucault describes. As Tim and Steve observe,

*...they'll all be watching the same programme, they'll all be watching Jeremy Kyle.* (Tim- prison officer)

*Eastenders is one of the many soaps they do watch and when the channel is down, which has happened in the past, it causes an uproar which then makes it more interesting to work on the landing.* (Steve- prison officer)

The television inside the cell faces inwards and, it is therefore not possible to see the content of the programme when looking through cell hatches, without physically entering the cell. Given the diversity of the viewing by the small sample of prisoners who completed television diaries, it is misleading to make assumptions about the range and scope of viewing.

Tim described a scenario in which a circle of observation occurred. A staff-prisoner-television cycle of watching took place in the segregation unit. This prisoner was placed on

'constant watch'<sup>51</sup>. This means the staff have to sit outside a specially designed cell which is made of bars with covering strengthened plastic instead of a solid door. The staff are required to record the prisoner's behaviour to enable assessments and interventions. In this instance the staff member was watching the prisoner, who was watching television,

*It's only the other day we had a prisoner on a constant watch and he was afforded all these luxuries that they're entitled to upstairs, although it was a bit bizarre because he had the officer watching him watching telly but it's a means to an end isn't it? The main thing is getting him off his constant watch and getting him in mainstream population and over his concerns and worries. (Tim- prison officer)*

In an attempt to 'normalise' the prisoner, television is employed to provide staff with a structured activity they can observe and make subsequent assessments. Television cannot watch the audience, yet most significantly the audience can peek into the lives of others and directly observe representations of social life without fear of violating others' privacy.

Surveillance also applies to staff. Maintaining control in prison is the nature of their work. Steve explains why it is important to have a coherent and attentive team,

*Fortunately I would say on the [wing] we have got a good group of officers up there because everybody works in a uniform style so everybody knows what everybody else is doing. (Steve- prison officer)*

Monitoring requires transparency of everybody's actions and, as Jewkes' (2011:230) remarks, 'that the powerful are [not] exempt from the watchful gaze and...that power does not entirely reside in the hands of those near the top of social and occupational hierarchies'. Everybody is watching somebody and this form of technological surveillance extends beyond the situated landscape of the prison, it is also mediated. Prisoners too are watching

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<sup>51</sup> Constant watches are when a prisoner is observed continually by a member of staff. This is a culmination of safer custody procedures including ACCT where senior managers and health professionals agree that this prisoner will benefit from constant observation to ensure that the prisoner does not harm themselves.

each other and staff, and this is often through television. For example, Simon is an active observer, he scrutinises and watches everyone and makes assessments, in this case based on their choice of viewing,

*I'm the alpha male here though, I have the bottom bunk. If he wants to watch something I do let him. But it is my remote and my telly, if you don't like it then get out. There has been loads of arguments, but not with current pad mate. I remember a man wanted to watch a cartoon, I ain't watching that 'Winnie the Pooh'. He got ejected from here. I refuse to live with them... Got to be flexible, like the odd football match, which I'm not bothered about. I let them watch what they want. If I get an awkward pad mate I get him to move out. (Simon- prisoner)*

Simon was aware that he was also subject to observation, and finds ways to avoid this intrusion; 'I disappear and visit my friends' when the cells are unlocked. He was also curious of my level of observation and he worked hard to undermine the interview and purpose of the research. Instead, I became his subject of observation and he wanted to experiment with his 'observer' status. The interview broke down and he interviewed me. Compounded with this, his power within the prison was evident. Many prisoners kept coming into the cell and he continued his interview with me in front of an audience of four prisoners. This reinforced his powerful status. I was being watched, assessed and scrutinised. The visit turned out for him and also myself as an 'event'. Simon's thirst for information, especially related to the prison and its people was insatiable,

*...but you get news first hand in here, what is going on, all the criminals are in here, they are all my neighbours. (Simon- prisoner)*

In maintaining his status, observation of staff was also important in order for him to achieve his own ends,

*I've been around hard people, even the staff are hard. When I came to prison I had to survive and learn the hard way, you can select officers out, if you*

*want something. I can't stand anyone, it is human nature In here, calling them boss and gov is all a game. Some are ok, but 90% are here to pay their bills and some take this work personally, they were probably bullied at school, they couldn't get in the police so they become prison officers.*(Simon- prisoner)

Simon admitted to bullying people to get what he wants, and not just in prison. By identifying the 'right' staff, punitive responses to his manipulative behaviour could probably be minimised.

Achieving levels of situated control within this environment is fragile and the claims associated with observation are also brittle. Malcolm had a remote control in his possession, and he suggested it was contraband and therefore a secret from staff; however other prisoners knew about this. The prohibited exchange of goods among prisoners demands acute surveillance because tiers of power manifest routinely across the illegitimate economy in prison (Crewe 2005). The tightening up of observation of prisoners is prized very highly by staff and also prisoners. Prisons today are challenged with over-crowding, cost-savings and increasingly more vulnerable prisoners coming in to the establishment; as a result techniques of observation are needing to adapt and change to counter these barriers. The panoptic process is therefore left to the prisoner, and the effects of being watched in order to guarantee control, in part relies on this process of self-inspection (Crewe 2009; Bosworth 2007; Rose 1999). Television is embedded predominantly across all individuals' lives and therefore surveillance through these means is continued into the prison landscape, and the principles of subjectivity are 'imported' (Irwin and Cressey 1962) into the prison. The continuity of viewing television from the community to the prison and back to the community is today unlikely to be disrupted. This is because television in this environment enables visibility, which is an important feature of situated and mediated control. These forms of control culminate in personal control,

*He who is subjected to a field of visibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power in relation....he becomes the principle of his own subjection. (Foucault 1991:202)*



### Summary

The analysis indicates that television is employed as a *package of care* which co-opts prisoners into a therapeutic relationship with television. This is *rationalized* through mechanisms like the IEP process, but also prisoners' active selection of television programmes. Television is *prescribed* (by staff and prisoners) to actively distract and minimize the harms of incarceration. Together staff and prisoners employ television to control social relations and the psychobiographies of prisoners. The situated culture of the prison has witnessed a shift in the ways social relations operate, with many prisoners preferring to stay behind their cell doors. As an instrument of control, television allows staff to deliver what they frame as caring practice. With few other resources to engage prisoners in purposeful activity, the care giving features of television are routinely exploited, in particular providing time and space for prisoners to self-govern their own emotional lives (Crewe 2009; Bosworth 2007). Prisoners are vanishing from view and retreating into the most private enclaves of the prison, especially where television is. The paradox is that prisoners' behaviour has according to many accounts improved, yet this retreat to the cell means that staff fear that prisoners are increasingly disconnected from situated culture. Control is therefore beginning to transform and this is shared between staff, prisoner and television; it is therefore drawn from different 'contextual resources' (Layder 2004). The panoptic features of prison with in-cell television are benign but also acute. As a form of governance, the gaze is 'turned inwards' and also outwards with television (Jewkes 2005). Self-therapy is inculcated with television now in its place. The prison with television in place can fix and guarantee self-inspection, relinquishing and even limiting the need for direct and coercive inter-personal control. The next and final chapter brings together the data analysis chapters by outlining the key conclusions, signaling the significance of these highlighting the strengths and challenges of the study.

## 9

## Chapter 9 Concluding Discussion

### 9.1. Introduction

This thesis has explored the introduction of in-cell television in one male adult prison in England. An ethnographic research strategy was informed by Layder's (2005) theory of 'domains' and his 'adaptive' approach, to interrogate the data from interviews with male prisoners and staff, and from television use diaries. It is argued that in-cell television has impacted on the social relations of prison life in several key ways. Principles of governmentality and dimensions of control are a binding feature in the conclusions of this investigation. This chapter brings together the data analysis detailed in Chapters, 6, 7 and 8, discusses the analysis presented there in the context of key theoretical approaches and concepts and presents a revised perspective on the role of television in prison to include its influence on emotional responses to incarceration and social relations. The argument includes a consideration of the theory of domains (Layder 2005), governance and self-regulation (Rose 1999; Bosworth 2007), rationalization (Garland 1991), uses and gratifications approaches (Jewkes 2002a; Lull 1990), domestication (Silverstone 1999a; Berker et al 2006), emotion (Layder 2004) and reach (Moore 2004). Following this integrative discussion, the chapter ends by reflecting on the research process.

The relevance of this research, using a unique body of data, has identified significant additions to prisoner audience research. This study has, by focusing on in-cell television, provided a unique perspective on the social relations within the prison setting. The analysis has identified that forms of governance (Rose 1999) and Layder's (2004) model of control (personal and inter-personal) provide a specific interpretation of the kinds of relationships prisoners have with television, between social agents and with the institution of the prison. There is a danger of viewing the role of television through a functionalist lens, and a risk of over-emphasizing the qualities and direct impact of television in these ways: for example the relationship between achieving personal control of emotion and watching television; that television is a functional constant in the control of emotion. The problem of

'essentialism' as discussed by Morley (1997) is not easy to avoid and repeatedly throughout this thesis, the functionality of television for these audiences and this environment cannot be distinguishable from forms of control. Moreover uses and gratification models such as Lull's theory of the social uses of television (1990) have been validated and instrumental throughout the analysis. Oversimplifying this relationship, however, can also negate the diversity, richness, emotionality and complexity of everyday life in prison with television. This simplification can also lead to a fragmented view of social reality, resulting in a distancing between the personal (psychobiography and situated activity) and the impersonal (settings and contextual resources). This concluding chapter will report the key conclusions of the study, paying close attention to the complexities of television in this environment, by acknowledging the challenges of the ethnographic strategy, analytical process and theoretical approaches adopted.

The dominant outcome of this research is that television is co-opted by prisoners in attempts to self-regulate and control their emotive responses to prison life. Neo-liberalist agendas have brought about governance of the social enterprise at a distance. This has culminated in prisoners taking care and control of themselves; hence viewing television enables prisoners, where possible, to achieve quasi-therapeutic control, as described by Rose (2000). This chapter will defend this position using the epistemological foundations (Layder's (2005) domain theory) of these conclusions and synthesize the theory of governance developed by Rose (1999). In so doing, this final chapter reviews the introduction of television to prison cells by outlining how television in this particular setting directly assists prison services in caring for prisoners: television is a resource 'working' for the establishment and its people.

The analysis has identified that television is adopted by prisoners as a quasi-therapeutic tool for assisting them with their pursuits to adapt and cope with incarceration. This is compounded and reinforced by staff, who perceive television in very similar ways to prisoners. Inadvertently, television is therefore contributing to the efforts to maintain control and assist in the delivery of care - television is put to work and thus contributes to what Crewe (2011) defines as a mechanism for 'soft-power', enabling services to govern at a

distance. The introduction of 'in-cell' television has brought about additional opportunities for prisoners to interact with the social world which stretch beyond the direct setting of the prison. These changes to social relations are complex and contentious, where prisoners are, according to the testimonies that appear in this thesis, compelled to stay close to television inside their cells. Television has normalised the experience of the cell, in part replicating the comforting aspects of domestic life which result in legitimating the power structures which operate at a distance. The following section signals the theoretical contributions made by this thesis using Layder's (2005) adaptive approach.

### **9.1.1 Domain Theory: Inserting Mediated Action**

The employment of Layder's (2006; 2004) theory of domains has enabled this study to explore the social uses of television in relation to prisoner emotion and governance. Layder's theory has provided the study with a renewed and important vocabulary to enable it to explore the emotionality of prisoner audiences and build upon the widely reported 'pains' of imprisonment (Sykes 1999). His theory of domains has been useful in demonstrating the kinds of 'psychological resilience' (2006:276) prisoners strive for (or fail at) by negotiating situated activity, the formal and informal mores of social settings, and accessing and utilising a range of contextual resources, in this case via television. By employing Layder's view of social reality as four inter-related domains, a consideration of the linkages between and across the domains has been achieved using the concept of control. This is not to claim that control is always achievable; it is often precarious and sometimes lost. The psychobiographies of prisoners influence and are influenced by the setting and contextual resources that operate across the prison and the broader social enterprise. With television, prisoners are much more able to access a wider range of contextual resources in order to manage their emotionality. As this thesis has shown, accessing contextual resources via television can provide important respite from a range of harms that incarceration can bring about to prisoners' basic security system. Television is a 'gathering point' (Layder 2004:50) where prisoners can access settings (formal and informal) and contextual resources which are not solely restricted to the prison, they are stretched and extended (Moore 1995). Social relations occur outside the setting in which they are placed, which is not fully extrapolated in Layder's theory. His model of situated activity also

needs to acknowledge that social relations are also extended beyond face-to-face interaction. The value that prisoners place on avoiding situated activity and welcoming mediated activity outlines important features of control and his theory has allowed for interrogation of different levels and types of control:

- *personal* control or control of the self
- *situated* control within and across interaction in social settings
- *mediated* control within and across interaction with television

Most saliently, control from Layder's perspective on 'managing life situations' (2006) has amplified the dominant discourses in relation to the aims of incarceration; separation, deprivation, contamination and surveillance. In achieving personal control, prisoners demonstrate repeatedly that television is a significant medium in which they can accomplish self-regulation (Rose 1999). This includes the securing of content which enables opportunities for self-improvement, mechanisms to sustain their transition or reintegration back into society and maintaining social bonds, particularly with family. It is also pertinent that some prisoners exert or successfully accomplish 'self-control' with respect to their emotions. For others, these accomplishments of self-control either remain aspirational or are a source of anxiety; with some prisoner respondents reporting conflict and fear of their relationships with television. These responses are reinforced by the prison landscape encouraging and asserting emotional composure or 'feeling rules' (Hoschchild 1983). Becoming a prisoner results in social agents learning which feelings are acceptable, which are reinforced by the formal and informal codes in the prison setting. Equally these rules of feelings also extend to watching television, where some respondents are sensitive to wider stigmas of watching too much television or programmes perceived as poor quality. Watching television is therefore conflicted, and for prisoner audiences this is accentuated by the process of incarceration. Staff are also significant in this enterprise, as they are instrumental in administering the aims of imprisonment. For example, using the IEP system staff directly reward prisoners with communicative opportunities, such as in-cell television, visits, association, and use of the telephone to bring about control and order within the establishment. All stakeholders are therefore implicit in the project of 'rationalization'

(Garland 1991). The process of emotional composure is an underlying feature across all social domains and television assists in this endeavour, whether this is favourable or not.

Domain theory has provided an important framework to incorporate other significant theoretical insights. By adopting Layder's vision of social reality, this thesis was able to explore a range of theoretical perspectives. For example, Rose's theory of governance and Garland's theory of punishment provide an important framework which can be aligned with the structural features of social reality, such as setting and contextual resources. Layder's domain framework has enabled this research to trace Rose and Garland's ideas through the sites of agency such as psychobiographies and situated activity. As a result of this, connections and linkages have been identified between personal and inter-personal control. This highlights that Rose's theory of governmentality can be further illustrated from the perspective of social agents, an approach which he does not fully explore in his own work. This study has identified that staff adopted therapeutic roles by administering television as part of a package of care. Staff therefore used television to normalize the prison experience, as well as to standardize the treatment of prisoners. In essence, staff are instrumental in promoting self-governance in line with control, correction and regulation of social agents in their care (Rose 1999:188). Hence, prisoners and staff internalize the value and need for 'self-scrutiny' in order to fulfil mechanisms of rational control. Indeed, Garland's discussion of the rationalization of punishment has facilitated a review of control, in particular the impact of the 'construction of sensibilities' to include perspectives from prisoners and staff (1991:213). In short, this thesis has provided important insights into what stakeholders do with emotion, and how rationalization is actually practiced. Using the example of access to television in this setting, it was possible to address these concepts of governance and rationalization from the elaboration of a range of concepts within domains, all of which are implicitly linked to techniques of control.

Alongside this, concepts of ontological security (Silverstone 1999a) and attachments to television have enabled the research to document more closely the nature of prisoners' relationships with television. The 'looking after yourself' category developed in the analysis (see Chapter 5) used these categories to review how television can provide respite and

restoration for these audiences. As Silverstone asserts, this thesis has also outlined the position of television in the prison with respect to achieving privacy and operating as part of a wider structure of control. Similar to the role of television in domestic households, in-cell television has rapidly become part of the prison's 'moral economy'. Here, television is highly valued by all stakeholders, and since it is framed under conditions of compliance and constraint, television has come to represent a reliable source of trust and security among prisoner audiences. Television's capacity to enable prisoners to 'reach' networks in a constrained environment further increases their reliance on television – it is dependable. Developing this, Moores' (1995; 1993a) work has also been significant in providing helpful frameworks for considering mediated interaction in terms of reach, intimacy and the 'journeys' prisoners make with television. The thesis has enabled an understanding of the significance of emotionality and self-governance with respect to media use. These engagements with television are embodied since they are felt by the viewer. Locating viewing within this context of the prison has amplified and ratified these interpretations. The following sections focus more closely on these conclusions.

#### 9.1.2 In-cell television at 'work'

*While there is an increasing monopolization of the legitimate use of force to constrain by the state machinery, there is a decreasing need to utilize such control as it becomes internalized within the structure of personality in the form of self-control...inducing self-scrutiny... (Rose 1999:225)*

Rose makes it clear that the advent of neo-liberalist practices and discourses can be traced in the shifting exercise of types of control and regulation. To control or to govern requires some intervention of the internal, personal and local features of mentality or psychobiography (Layder 2005). As the analysis in Chapter 7 argues, in-cell television is directly sought to assist in this enterprise. Prisoners' access to television, albeit conditional, allows them to access contextual resources, which can facilitate opportunities for self-regulation. Hence, television provides the prison with a resource which unwittingly distracts and occupies the prisoner in a number of ways. So much so, that other opportunities have either been removed or declined in popularity. The removal of 'stage' newspapers (free daily newspapers for prisoners) from prisons in 2005 has been attributed by some

commentators to the introduction of in-cell television (Erwin 2005). Before its introduction, policy makers and politicians made reasonable judgements of the value of in-cell television by anticipating its impact on calming or 'settling' of prisoners, assisting with loneliness and boredom and above all achieving control of the setting and its people. The findings of this study, as well as that of others (Jewkes 2002a; Gersch 2003; Vandebosch 2000) support what policy makers anticipated were reasonably close to the findings from research. The placing of television in the cell, however, means that these 'benefits' have wider and diverse ramifications on prisoners and the prison and thus actually extend beyond the original aims of introducing in-cell television.

A major outcome in prisons has been the regulation of the 'emotional economy' (Rose 1999:225). As argued by Pratt (1999) and Garland (1991), the regulation of emotion has enabled and accompanied increased control of prisoner behaviour. The analysis in Chapters 7 and 8 argues that prisoners and staff are both encouraged and coerced into achieving emotional composure in line with prison's 'feeling rules' (Crawley 2004; Hochschild 1983). On the surface, emotions can become sanitized, constrained and even invisible. Sociological literature which reports in detail the 'pains' of imprisonment repeatedly fails in its efforts to record how these harms are felt or even managed by social agents. Thus these same influences of 'rationalization' are also reflected in sociological discourses where social scientists are also complicit in the need to rein in emotive structures to everyday life. By including emotionality, a richer interpretation of everyday life can assist in the expansion of key debates in this field e.g. pains of imprisonment and social uses of television. Chapter 7 forcefully argues that everyday life in prison is not rational; the interviews with prisoners were rich with description and expression of emotion. Television plays a crucial role in prisoners being able to actively manage their emotional lives by providing a platform to explore their emotionality. For some prisoners, television helps them to achieve a more rational or balanced experience; by countering frustration, tempering boredom and minimizing fear. On other occasions television can assist some prisoners to access and reach emotions like happiness and joy, but these outcomes are not always successfully achieved. Most prisoners want to achieve personal control and some staff want to help them achieve this.



Staff are tasked with maintaining good order and therefore their motivations to assist prisoners with personal control are not wholly altruistic. Television is actively used by staff to facilitate control, and as Rose suggests, objects such as television can help to 'direct all those emotional interests that would normally be directed towards their parents [the prison staff]' (1999:164). The theme of 'neo-paternalism' is increasing in relevance in current debates about staff-prisoner relationships (Crewe 2011). With the goal to make prisoners responsible for themselves, prisoners are routinely denied opportunities to take full control of their life situation. Television is therefore one of the few outlets for prisoners to direct and manage their emotionality with less direct contact from their keepers and thus not breach the culture's feelings rules. Television's place across social relations contributes to 'neo-paternalistic' agendas, where television is used to foster control either personal or inter-personal, with less direct intervention from staff.

If television did not deliver 'care-giving' qualities, prisoner audiences would be reluctant to use it (Silverstone 1999a). Given the deprivations prisoners endure, television has become an object which they regularly turn to in order to get through their daily lives. Being able to make object-relations or attachments is imperative in the exercise of governmentality (Rose 1999:168). This analysis (see Chapter 6) highlighted significant levels of attachment to television, which were ratified by their intensity of use, their television routines and selection of programmes i.e. the diary entries showed that prisoners in this sample consumed over half the national average of weekly television consumption. It was evident from the television diaries and the testimonies received from prisoners that television has become an integral and embedded feature of their everyday lives. The entrenched nature of television in this setting can point towards a 'dependent' relationship with television, whereby television becomes increasingly needed by prisoners (Vandebosch 2001). The uses and gratification tradition, informed by Lull (1990) and Jewkes (2002a), indicates that prisoners' motivations to consume television are adjusted to account for the conditions of incarceration. The impact of deprivation, separation, and restricted autonomy results in television becoming increasingly trusted; thus this trust reinforces its presence in prisoners' coping repertoires. In particular, television can provide for some a route for emotion-focused coping (Harreveld et al 2007). Incarceration demands, even for the most adjusted

prison ‘coper’, constant attention to his ‘need claims’. Consequently, prisoners are in relentless dialogue with their psychobiographical status (Layder 2004). As Chapter 7 shows, boredom is experienced and feared by all the prisoner respondents. Television can often provide reliable emotional respite or ‘meaning’ (Barbalet 1999:637). However, it does not always deliver the ‘nourishment’ they seek, which can then lead to frustration, fear, or anger. This raises important questions about the framing of television as ‘care-giver’, as suggested by Silverstone (1999). There is a problem of ‘care’ in prison settings, which results in care being mostly self-directed and television is one functional mechanism to assist in this. It is observable that there is a dichotomous relationship between care and control. As Silverstone suggests, the experience of television is secured by attachments to it in the promise of achieving basic or ontological security. Instead, control, in both personal and inter-personal forms resembles care, most significantly care of the self. Tait (2011) has recently attempted to capture the nature and typologies of care among prison officers. The ambiguity of care is accentuated by the prevalence of control and this may result in care being difficult. Instead it is suggested that television is not necessarily ‘care giving’, it is ‘care enabling’ and that this is enabled by personal and inter-personal control.

The majority of prisoners become adept at using television (see Chapter 8) in ways that benefit them and often seek to get the best they can from it, such as learning, sustaining citizenship and managing time. These also include guilty pleasures and resistant forms of engagement with television programmes, such as soaps, crime dramas and documentaries. Among the responses from prisoners, many directly attributed personal improvement to viewing television. For example, as shown in Chapter 8, some were keen to learn about new topics and issues, some also felt that this supported their links with public and political life; in other instances viewing provided important temporal structures which helped them to psychologically manage their time. Some prisoners, however, struggle to trust what broadcasts offer, and are suspicious of its place in prison and the effects it has on themselves and other prisoners. For these prisoners, television is co-opted as a site for resistance and they seek to access contextual resources through television and other routes which help them to sustain their resistance, such as crime dramas and documentaries. Overall, television use can, in different ways, preserve their basic and ontological security;

television is routinely co-opted as a 'protective device' (Layder 2004; Silverstone 1999a); as comforter, displacer or as a site for resistance.

Chapter 7 argues that the ways in which these respondents talked about these features are intensely related to their need to achieve psychological and physical well-being and resist deterioration (Cohen and Taylor 1972). Television assists directly in personal control, with some prisoners more able to demonstrate self-knowledge than others (Rimke: 68). As we saw in Chapter 8, all prisoner respondents remarked on how they carefully selected programmes which they thought could help to get them through daily life. These features, correlate with what Rose describes as the proliferation 'psy' sciences across the social enterprise, have lead to therapeutic forms of control. These are both inter-personal *and* personal, and thus the self becomes the 'object of knowledge'. Many prisoner respondents talked explicitly about how they had adopted techniques of self scrutiny, where they review their ability to cope with prison and more broadly with their life situation. As Rose suggests, these techniques help to regulate and even modify behaviour in line with norms relating to responsibility and self-fulfilment (1998:182). The thesis therefore shows how television, in this context, belongs to a range of 'civilizing technologies' which aim to manage risk and dangerousness (Vrecko 2010; Hannah-Moffat 1999). Such mechanisms represent forms of 'quasi-therapy' (Rose 1998:182), and television is not divorced from these representations, with staff and prisoners actively turning to television to achieve inter-personal and personal control. Chapter 8 reported that television is adopted as 'techno-therapy', not necessarily to replace provision of limited and costly formal therapeutic interventions (such as cognitive behaviour therapy programmes or medical interventions), but to normalise the experience of prison and attempt to make the cell, especially, more palatable and attractive. According to Rose television and other media regularly communicate 'psychologized images of ourselves' (ibid:182) which profess self-care and responsibility (Rose 1999:188). Prisoners' exposure to these neo-hygienic discourses compound and reinforce the need for social agents to work on their psychobiographies or life situation. Television is therefore placed in the cell with unanticipated outcomes for therapeutic control, and inadvertently television is exploited to achieve personal and inter-personal control. This extends the remit originally intended by policy makers at the introduction of in-cell television to prison.

### 9.1.3 Extending Social Relations

Early prisoner research had observed changing dynamics of social relations since the introduction of mass communications, particularly broadcast media, to prison contexts (Bonini and Perrotta 2007; Gersch 2003; Jewkes 2002a). This research can corroborate these changes and offers significant additional insights relating to the impact of television on social relations in prison. Chapter 6 argued that the placing of television directly inside the prison cell has brought about a significant retreat from situated activity (i.e. face-to-face interaction) by prisoners. Earlier research by Jewkes (2002a) and Knight (2001) were unable to observe the medium to long term impact of the introduction of in-cell television and thus did not offer an extended discussion of these dimensions. Rose (1999) says little about the role of situated activity or day to day relationships and the encounters individuals have with each other in relation to his thesis on governmentality. The following commentary, therefore, provides evidence to demonstrate how social relations are impacted by neo-liberalist agendas of governance.

The thesis has shown that viewing television in the prison cell has not replaced situated activity but it has extended social relations; the kinds of interactions, relationships and encounters prisoners have with each other across media (Moore 2004). By including mediated activity in the process of interaction within the domains model, a richer appreciation of social relations can be included. The inclusion of this type of interaction using television use diaries and interviews with male prisoners and staff has made it possible to trace the temporal and spatial movements of prisoners. Chapter 6 observed that even when prisoners do not have to be in their cells, some prisoners preferred to stay behind their doors. This withdrawal has been facilitated, in part, by the presence of television inside the cell. With television, the prison cell can bring about 'at-homeness'; a closeness to features and routines that are familiar and private (Moore 2006:16). The benefits to the prisoner are wide reaching and the analysis, documented in Chapters 7 and 8, found that viewing enabled prisoners to personally manage their time and space, by offering additional temporal and spatial features which transcend their direct experiences. For example, prisoners could create their own temporal framework to mark and fill time, enable virtual movement away from the prison space and 'reach' encounters, particularly

those that nourish their social ties and bring about mental stimulation (Moore 1995:330). These motivations were reported by prisoners because television provides opportunities to move out of prison time, such as the routine and their immediate spatial conditions. The prison cell, for example, is unattractive and can be claustrophobic, especially when most prisoners share a cell; television viewing can therefore help prisoners to connect to other places that have personal significance: for example, watching programmes that they know their family are also watching. These kinds of features can also provide valuable meaning to the prison experience, by bringing opportunities to extend social relations beyond their immediate setting. The analysis, therefore, highlighted that these actions with television have emotive dimensions in preventing boredom and frustration relating to their inability to make their own choices and escape their incarceration. Television can offer important emotional respite with the benefits of providing purpose to social relations. However, the thesis has argued that this is not always productive and fulfilling. In some instances, broadcasts can accentuate feelings of isolation, boredom and deprivation and thus some prisoners actively avoid some types of television. News programmes, for example, remind them of their loss of citizenship and of the punctuating nature of time, something to which prisoners are often acutely sensitive (Scannell 1996). Broadcast time provides material and shared experience of time, and that time is passing, yet prisoners feel that they are unable to move along with time in the same ways: thus their own subjective time or 'inside' time becomes challenged and disrupted. The discussion, in Chapter 8, shows how some prisoners consider broadcast time to be counterproductive, as they feel 'frozen' in time (Zamble and Porporino 1988). However, some programmes help to soothe these losses without necessarily amplifying isolation or deprivation; wildlife programmes and some documentaries, for example, were considered psychologically nourishing to counter psychological deterioration. These types of programme provide material to improve learning, increase knowledge and work towards self-improvement.

These factors can be aligned with some of Rose's thesis, in that social agents can achieve or at least strive for the 'good life' by the 'negotiation of a private life of personal relations rather than participation in a public life' (1999:220). This thesis argues that television enables a withdrawal from day-to-day situated encounters, thus securing privacy, and that

engaging in public life becomes ancillary to the comfort of privacy. In the prison environment, privacy is in scarce supply, yet television permits, even in close proximity to others, a psychological and social disconnection from the prison and its people. This, for some, has the added benefit of working towards ontological security and providing a safer place to spend their time. As a consequence, these shifting patterns of social relations can assist in securing control of social agents. While prisoners are occupied with television in their cells, with some attempting to benefit from their viewing, certain guarantees of interpersonal control are protected: for example minimizing conflict and disorder, which is advantageous to managing secure prisons. When prisoners are occupied with television and have reduced contact with others, opportunities for conflict to manifest are reduced. This is not always effective and disruption and disorder still occur. Moreover, for those prisoners who struggle to cope, self-harm or attempt or commit suicide, television cannot always protect or direct them away from these vulnerabilities.

Prisoner and staff respondents in this study have repeatedly claimed that television has the capacity to provide therapeutic qualities. As argued in Chapter 2, the early modern prison relied heavily on the capacity of faith to bring about control of the soul. The proliferation of 'psy' discourses in line with neo-liberalist agendas has therefore seen therapy as a replacement for these more spiritual doctrines. As Rose suggests, therapy 'is a method of learning how to endure the loneliness of a culture without faith' (ibid:220). Television, for these male prisoners, is a resource they can reliably (under constraint) access to normalize their retreat into privacy and exercise 'reflexive scrutiny' in order to manage their own time and cope with prison deprivation; this permits prisons to manage prisoners at a distance. Techniques and technologies are adopted to control and subsequently care for prisoners. Television use in prison is distinguishable from the domestic sphere. Prisoners are more isolated than broader audiences and watching television can compensate for and also normalize the alienating experience of incarceration; these prisoner audiences adopt television in their lives to nourish and recompense these losses.

These viewing encounters are not, however, entirely neutral or without personal cost. As suggested in Chapter 7, prisoners are not entirely at liberty to make active and independent

viewing selections (Silverstone 1999a). A large proportion of prisoners are expected to share a cell, and at this research site it is the expected norm; unless risks have been identified through the cell sharing risk assessment (CRSA). As wider ethnographic studies of family viewing have shown, dynamics of power based on age and gender feature as a significant factor in the ways in which family viewers are able to negotiate and experience their viewing. Using a case of cell-sharers, this research has offered insight into the modes of television consumption which takes into account cell-sharers' living arrangements. Few studies have provided insight into the social or even psychological impact of cell sharing or the ways in which this space is experienced. This is methodologically challenging, as securing access to private space and private modes of consumption is a constant challenge for researchers. But as this research has shown, qualitative accounts from prisoners can illuminate the experience of the cell. For example, it has shown that television can assist and also hinder the ways in which cell-sharers relate to each other. The nature of television makes an individual's choices and modes of consumption public to their cell mate and thus the visible and audible features of television make their private tastes public. As we saw in Chapter 7, their viewing choices do not always gain approval from fellow cell-sharers, and this can increase frustration and fear. However, even where tastes of television differ, some prisoners come to accept that compromise is necessary to secure their own 'basic security' (Layder 2004). Acts of resistance were commonplace amongst this sample of prisoners; in attempting to be 'entrepreneurs of themselves, shaping their own lives through the choices they make among the forms of life available to them' (Rose 1999:230), prisoners used television as much as they could to exercise choice and autonomy, even more so in conditions of claustrophobic incarceration.

One such example is that many of the prisoner respondents chose to watch crime and justice related programmes (factual and fiction). Identification with their offender identities was significant, as Jewkes (2002a) and Vandebosch (2003) also found. However, this study identified that this was also attributed to their status as a prisoner. Their role as a prisoner resulted in their motivation to use television to explore this identity and the context of their role across the social enterprise. In particular, their withdrawal from the public life of the prison in attempts to minimise harm, particularly from the threats of contamination by

other prisoners and staff, did not mean their personal and direct experience of prison disappeared or was limited- in fact it was for some prisoners enhanced by television. Instead prisoners used television as a form of surveillance in order to keep abreast of crime and prison related issues that they considered to be valuable to their current life situation. Viewing programmes that featured criminal justice issues, especially those that featured prison, resulted in their ability to participate in the public life of the prison community, which extended beyond their immediate setting. In Chapter 8 for example, this thesis discusses how some viewers actually 'reached' the prison through television. Television enabled access to contextual resources about prisons to enable them to ratify their own prisoner status. Moreover, the broadcast of these programmes, amongst other popular 'exciting' broadcasts like soaps and sports events, brought prisoners together as an audience. These shared events capture a sense of community, but this is limited. As Rose (2004:335) suggests, 'citizenship becomes conditional' and in the context of the prison setting this is dependent upon good and appropriate conduct.

The discussion presented in Chapters 6 and 8 highlights that the IEP system reasserts and disseminates a model of conduct which prisoners are expected to comply with, which is largely driven by incentives. To a degree prisoners need to engage with the prison community to forge relations which in turn supply their basic needs. Other authors have suggested that technologies become entrenched in the 'moral economy' of households. Prisons, like households, have embraced television to establish and secure 'codes and expectations of behaviour coherent with their own values and those they wish to preserve' (Silverstone 2006:236). Television is therefore employed to secure prisoner compliance, in much the same ways that parents employ television to manage their own children. Staff cannot directly control what prisoners watch, yet national prison policy has determined that that standard provision is now limited to pre-selected free-to-view television as a result of the digital switchover in 2011. Adult prisoners are free to select what they watch, taking account of cell sharing, within the range of nine channels agreed by the Ministry of Justice. These processes of paternalism clearly limit the ways in which prisoners can sustain an 'active' relationship with television. Access to television is never permanent or unconditional, as prisoners need to satisfy their keepers that their behaviour is acceptable,



in order to be rewarded by the services and opportunities entrenched in the IEP policy. Their access to television ratifies them as compliant prisoners. Given this conditional offer of television, the relief from boredom, frustration, isolation and sadness they may achieve from television viewing is at most temporary. While prisoners are occupied with television and focused on sustaining access to it, the prison is able to 'minimize the riskiness of the most risky' through mechanisms of surveillance, incapacitation and deprivation to achieve quasi-therapeutic control (Rose 1998:189). As Bosworth (2009:183) suggests, paternalism and care make deprivation and separation much 'more palatable', normal and less distasteful. Thus the benefits of placing television inside the cell have resulted in a system in which knowledge of the prisoner can be regulated and observed, without too much resistance from prisoners.

As mentioned earlier in this final chapter, most prisoners and staff are embroiled in a process of emotional composure or the process of 'rationalization'. The benefits of this enable prison institutions to work towards a range of policy directives which align to neo-liberalist principles such as decency, safer custody and violence reduction, and thereby execute 'soft' rather than 'hard' power, which is a more palatable and less distasteful approach to imprisonment and punishment (Crewe 2011). Television allows prisoners to 'get on with' their time in prison without much direct intervention from prison staff. Prisoners become increasingly used to accessing the contextual resources television can offer, rather than seeking those made available through other mechanisms, such as use of libraries for information, seeking advice from staff and other prisoners. As Elias (2010:7) observed, these male prisoners had learnt how to 'exploit lifeless materials' to work on personal and inter-personal control. As rationalization takes effect, social relations are directly modified to enable agents to deal with their emotionality away from public view: this withdrawal helps to disguise the abundance of emotions constantly evolving through one's life situation which in turn allows them to uphold rules of feeling. As a result there is an increasing danger that relations are no longer 'social', and as Garland (1991:187) suggests 'have become increasingly technical and professional', particularly in the landscape of punishment. The deployment of experts, systems and technologies to harness control are partly assisted by the prisoner watching television inside the cell. The television performs

these tasks on behalf of the prison and often the prisoner is reasonably or reluctantly compliant with this process. The outcome is that many prisoners can ‘conceal their emotional distress’ (Garland 1991:242), which continues to qualify punishment discourses that are absent from the human- emotive experience. At the same time the harms of imprisonment also become hidden, until such time that distress and vulnerabilities appear as a complete loss of personal control. In-cell television has inadvertently perpetuated the disguise of emotions of everyday life, yet paradoxically it has also enabled prisoner viewers to manage access and stay in touch with emotions. Prisoners are encouraged to disregard their emotions and abandon them in favour of rationalist approaches. If emotions in this context are hidden, ethical and meaningful care of prisoners cannot be achieved. Punishment, in modern terms, now disguises valuable features of humanity. Television in prison assists the social enterprise in governance of souls, which would actually benefit from a system that is emotionally literate. In the meantime, television delivers care to large numbers of prisoner audiences at low cost. This form of care provides a mechanism for the prisoner to deal with themselves and social relations in the prison.

This research has contributed to a new understanding of the impact of in cell television in the prison setting, achieved by capturing the voices of prisoners and prison staff and by analysis of television use diaries by prisoners. The next section reflections on the research process highlighting the implications and value of this study.

## **9.2. Reflections on the Research Process: Implications and Value**

Although Chapter 5 of this thesis outlined the challenges encountered throughout the research process it is valuable at the conclusion of the study to reflect on, to summarise and draw together the key challenges and lessons learned from the research overall. The outcomes of the research have indicated a number of areas for continuing research and development of policy and practice, and a number of recommendations are contained in Appendix 14. On reflection there are six issues that are worth acknowledging here.

First, this study is based on one single adult male closed prison. Given that different prisons have different cultures based on the types of prisoners, physical space and living conditions and staff (Liebling et al 1999), national prison policy can be interpreted differently.

Consequently policy such as the IEP can be delivered and experienced by prisoners in varying ways. This may be seen to limit the transferability of the findings to other prison contexts. However, the use of qualitative strategies has resulted in a richness of data and depth of study which could not have been achieved by researching a combination of prison sites, within the confines of a PhD study. The rich qualitative nature of this study has provided novel insights into social relations, the experience of the prison cell and insights on prisoner emotion.

Second this study captures male responses to television reception in prison. However, literature suggests that the emotive responses by male and female prisoners to incarceration vary (Carlen 2002 Gelsthorpe and Morris 2002) and audience reception has also indicated the gendered differences of television viewing (Morley 1997; Ang and Hermes 1991). Despite that all the UK based prisoner audience studies relate only to men (Jewkes 2002; Knight 2001; Harrison et al 2004), this study has valuably extended the depth of understanding of male responses to prison culture. As I demonstrated in Chapter 5 managing the gender dynamics within this study were also implicated in this process. My role as a female researcher has meant that the male prisoner respondents opened up to me in specific ways, for example describing their emotional responses to prison life. The value of this has permitted a significant contribution to further understanding the pains of incarceration.

Third: access to prison sites to conduct research is notoriously difficult and this study was no exception. Moreover, managing research within the prison context is also problematic. This research adopted certain strategies to counter these issues such as employing checks and assurances to enhance the quality of this research. This included adopting an ethnographic strategy which included a combination of methods (diaries and interviews) and sampling techniques to include prisoners and staff. This strategy provided in-depth accounts which captured the diversity of television reception and prison experience.

Fourth; given these access difficulties, my role as a member of the Independent Monitoring Board helped to achieve permission to conduct this study in this prison site. As a result I had to manage dual roles and this required me to overcome conflict between official prison

visitor and researcher. Strategies to manage distance throughout the process were adopted to maintain the integrity of both of my roles within this prison site. This meant that as an established visitor, my visits did not demand extra resources from the prison. This 'insider' status is also of benefit because relationships with staff and some prisoners were already established. This assisted with sampling, access to information relating to routine and privileges and being able to bring wider knowledge about prison policy to the research. From the onset of this study, understandings of the day to day operations of the research site were established. Furthermore, undertaking this study has also benefited my role as an official prison visitor. This study has increased my understanding of the nature of incarceration and has enhanced my ability to work effectively and sensitively in prison settings.

Fifth; the inter-disciplinary nature of this study presented challenges. The breadth and depth of the range of literature from sociology, criminology, psychology and social policy meant that orientating the research was not straightforward. Given these challenges this work has been immeasurably assisted by the adoption of appropriate epistemological and ontological frameworks. The adoption of Layder's 'domain' and adaptive theories has helped to coordinate and orientate this work. This is primarily because this model of social reality and framework for methodological application enabled an appropriate theorisation of the relationship between structure and agency. As a result the analysis has enabled the researcher to describe and interrogate emotion with significant depth and insight.

Finally, this research has made significant contributions to knowledge. The focus on the uses of television in the prison setting has generated additional material and novel insights relating to the nature of social relations in prison settings; understanding of the experience of the prison cell; describing the experience of boredom in prison and exploring the personal and inter-personal techniques to manage prisoner emotion.

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Associates

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Statement of Purpose HM Prison Service

#### Statement of Purpose

Her Majesty's Prison Service serves the public by keeping in custody those committed by the courts. Our duty is to look after them with humanity and help them lead law-abiding and useful lives in custody and after release.

#### Our Vision

To provide the very best prison services so that we are the provider of choice

To work towards this vision by securing the following key objectives.

#### Objectives

To protect the public and provide what commissioners want to purchase by:

Holding prisoners securely

Reducing the risk of prisoners re-offending

Providing safe and well-ordered establishments in which we treat prisoners humanely, decently and lawfully.

In securing these objectives we adhere to the following principles:

#### Our Principles



In carrying out our work we:

Work in close partnership with our commissioners and others in the Criminal Justice System to achieve common objectives

Obtain best value from the resources available using research to ensure effective correctional practice

Promote diversity, equality of opportunity and combat unlawful discrimination, and

Ensure our staff have the right leadership, organisation, support and preparation to carry out their work effectively.

<http://www.hmprisonservice.gov.uk/abouttheservice/statementofpurpose/>

Appendix 2: IEP Privileges for Prisoners at the Research Site

Privilege Level	Entitlements
Basic	<p>1x 1 hour association per week</p> <p>1 x 30 minute visit every 14 days (convicted)</p> <p>2 x 30 minute visits per week (remanded)</p> <p>1 x gym session per week</p> <p>1 x library visit per week</p> <p>£3.00 spending allowance per week (convicted) or £18 spending allowance per week (remanded)</p> <p>Limited and restricted use of the phone</p>
Standard	<p>Alternate evening and 1 session at the weekend association</p> <p>2 x gym sessions per week</p> <p>2 x library visits per week</p> <p>2 x kit changes per week</p> <p>1 x 2 hour visit every 14 days (convicted)</p> <p>3 x 2 hour visits per week (remanded)</p> <p>Free access to phone during association</p> <p>£12.50 spending allowance per week (convicted)</p> <p>£37.50 spending allowance per week (remanded)</p> <p>In-cell TV</p>

Enhanced	Association every evening  Permission to have own duvet and bedding  In-cell TV  Access to computer consoles and DVDs  Same visits as standard prisoners plus one extra visits per month  £20.00 spending allowance per week (convicted)  £40.00 spending allowance per week (remanded)
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Appendix 3: Television Use Diary Sheet

Time	Activity	In-cell	Outside cell
0700			
0800			
0900			
1000			
1100			
1200			
1300			
1400			
1500			
1600			
1700			
1800			
1900			
2000			
2100			
2200			
2300			
0000			

0100			
0200			
0300			
0400			
0500			
0600			

How to use the Television Use Diary

Thank you for keeping a television diary for my research into prisoners' use of television.

Here are some guidelines to help you complete the diary:

You have been given a diary which contains 14 pages. Each page is for a separate day and you need to circle which day of the week it is by circling:

Mon    Tue    Wed    Thurs    Fri    Sat    Sun

It does not really matter what day you start your activity diary as long as you keep this for 14 continuous days or 2 whole weeks.

Here is an example of what your diary might look like:

Time	Television programme watched	In-cell	Watched with cell mate	Outside cell
0700	GMTV on ITV	√	√	
0800	GMTV on ITV	√	√	
0900	<b>Wright Stuff on C5</b>	√		

Do not worry if you do not watch television this information is also important

Try to fill in your diary each day or as you go along. If you leave it for a couple of days you might forget what you watched on television.

At the end of the activity diary is a section about you. You do not have to complete this section if you do not want to. However I would like to approach you after you have completed this to ask you if you would like to talk about your diary with me and information about yourself will help this discussion.

If you leave this prison establishment during the time you are keeping your diary or I miss you on my return visit you can send your completed diary to me using the reply envelope I have given you.

You will have signed a consent form that confirms you agree to take part in this study. You will have a copy to keep for yourself and it has details of where you can contact me.

You are free to withdraw from this research. You can do this at anytime up until the end of the project which will be 2010. At this point you can request a copy of the research findings.

Thank you very much for filling in this diary for me.

I hope you enjoy this activity and look forward to meeting you again.

Victoria Knight



Information about Me

Name.....

Prison number.....

Name of prison: HMP.....

Male  Female

What is your ethnic origin?

I am White of	I am of 'mixed race' dual heritage	I am Asian or Asian British of
British origin <input type="checkbox"/>	White and Black Caribbean <input type="checkbox"/>	Indian origin <input type="checkbox"/>
Irish origin <input type="checkbox"/>	White and Black African <input type="checkbox"/>	Pakistani origin <input type="checkbox"/>
Other origin <input type="checkbox"/>	White and Asian <input type="checkbox"/>	Bangladeshi origin <input type="checkbox"/>
	Other <input type="checkbox"/>	Other origin <input type="checkbox"/>

I am Black or Black British of	I am Chinese or of another ethnic group
--------------------------------	---

Caribbean origin <input type="checkbox"/>	Chinese <input type="checkbox"/>
African origin <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>
Other origin <input type="checkbox"/>	

Do you share a cell with anybody at the moment?

Yes

No

In this prison are you currently:

Employed  Unemployed

What Incentive and Earned Privilege regime are you on at the moment?

Basic  Standard  Enhanced

Are you:

Remanded

Sentenced

How long is your sentence?

.....

Including this term in prison, how many times have you been in prison?

.....

Do you currently have:

In-cell TV

In-cell radio

DVD

CD player

Games console

Do you buy your own:

Magazines

Newspapers

Phone credits [ ]

Postage stamps [ ]

Thank you for this information

Your name and personal details will not be recorded in the research or available to anybody except me.

Victoria Knight

De Montfort University

Appendix 4: Prisoner Interview Schedule

Managing prison time and space-

1. How does television help you to manage your time in prison?

What kinds of activities do you do whilst watching television?

Tell me about your favourite programmes

2. Structuring of time and space in prison-

How does the prison routine affect your use of in-cell television?

How does television help you to structure/ escape time?

What sorts of programmes help you to do this?

Does television bore you whilst you are here? Give examples

3. Pleasures and pains of prison time and space- how do you use television in prison?

How do you get access to television in prison?

How do you decide what to watch on television?

How might this work with a cell mate?

How important is television to you in prison? You might want to rate it out of 10

What are your views on the provision of television to prisoners? Is it a privilege?

Appendix 5: Staff Interview Schedule

Name:.....

Establishment.....

Length of service.....

Current position.....

Summary of duties

.....  
 .....  
 .....

Gender.....

Ethnicity

I am White of	I am of 'mixed race' dual heritage	I am Asian or Asian British of
British origin <input type="checkbox"/>	White and Black Caribbean <input type="checkbox"/>	Indian origin <input type="checkbox"/>
Irish origin <input type="checkbox"/>	White and Black African <input type="checkbox"/>	Pakistani origin <input type="checkbox"/>
Other origin <input type="checkbox"/>	White and Asian <input type="checkbox"/>	Bangladeshi origin <input type="checkbox"/>
	Other <input type="checkbox"/>	Other origin <input type="checkbox"/>
I am Black or Black British of		I am Chinese or of another ethnic group

Caribbean origin	<input type="checkbox"/>	Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/>
African origin	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other origin	<input type="checkbox"/>		

In your experience what effect do you think in-cell TV has had on:

Prison staff

Prisoners

Running of this prison establishment

In your experience what is the purpose of having in-cell TV in prisons?

In your view how effective is the IEP system in relation to in-cell TV?

What are your views on censoring and restricting TV viewing for prisoners?

What are your views on the provision of in-cell TV for prisoners?

Appendix 6: Prisoner Consent and Biographical Detail

Dear .....

Thank you for taking time to speak to me today about your experiences of in-cell television. It is really important that I get your views about this.

Before I start the discussion/activity I do need your consent to:

- take part in the interview/ television diary
- use some of what you may say in my research report

What I will agree to do is:

- protect your identity- you will not be named in the report
- only use this information for this research
- destroy all material collected after the research is finished
- answer any questions about the research
- accept your request to withdraw from the research. You can contact me at the address noted below. You can withdraw from the research up to the end of the project which will be January 2011. At this point you can request a copy of the research findings.

Also, I would like to tape record the interview to make sure I do not miss anything. I am the only person who will have access to this recording and it will be destroyed upon completion of the research.



Tape recorded:            Yes            No

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Information about Me

Name.....

Prison number.....

Name of prison: HMP.....

Male  Female

What is your ethnic origin?

I am White of	I am of 'mixed race' dual heritage	I am Asian or Asian British of
British origin <input type="checkbox"/>	White and Black Caribbean <input type="checkbox"/>	Indian origin <input type="checkbox"/>
Irish origin <input type="checkbox"/>	White and Black African <input type="checkbox"/>	Pakistani origin <input type="checkbox"/>
Other origin <input type="checkbox"/>	White and Asian <input type="checkbox"/>	Bangladeshi origin <input type="checkbox"/>
	Other <input type="checkbox"/>	Other origin <input type="checkbox"/>

I am Black or Black British of	I am Chinese or of another ethnic group
Caribbean origin <input type="checkbox"/>	Chinese <input type="checkbox"/>
African origin <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>
Other origin <input type="checkbox"/>	

Do you share a cell with anybody at the moment?

Yes  No

In this prison are you currently:

Employed  Unemployed

What Incentive and Earned Privilege regime are you on at the moment?

Basic  Standard  Enhanced

Are you:

Remanded  Sentenced

How long is your sentence?

.....

Including this term in prison, how many times have you been in prison?

.....

Do you currently have:

In-cell TV

In-cell radio

DVD

CD player

Games console

Do you buy your own:

Magazines [ ]

Newspapers [ ]

Phone credits [ ]

Postage stamps [ ]

Thank you for this information

Your names and personal details will not be recorded in the research or available to anybody except me.

Victoria Knight

De Montfort University

## Appendix 7: Prisoner Interview Respondent Portraits

Carlton aged 32 years when I met him and of White and Black Caribbean origin. He worked full time in the prison as a cleaner and was on Enhanced IEP status when I met him. He was sentenced to two and half years and this was his first experience of prison. He shared a cell and they both had in-cell TV and Freeview and he owned a radio and CD player. He regularly bought phone credits and stamps for letters. Carlton completed a TV diary before I interviewed him. He was coming to the end of his sentence and he told me of his plans to get back into work and provide for his family. I had met Carlton several times through the work I do for the IMB. He enjoyed Reggae and dancehall music and his current cell mate introduced him to Spanish Reggae called Reggaeton, which he enjoyed. He also enjoyed sport and spin off sports programmes. Carlton avoided watching news.

Sunny of Indian origin and was employed in the prison and was on Enhanced IEP status. He was sentenced to eight years and this was his first sentence. He shared a cell where they had and in-cell TV, Freeview, a DVD player and in-cell radio. Sunny bought phone credits and postage stamps. Sunny completed a TV diary after I interviewed him. He enjoyed news and documentaries

Stuart of White British origin was employed and was on Enhanced IEP status. Stuart was sentenced to one year and he thinks this was approximately his seventh prison sentence. He shared a cell where they had TV with Freeview and a DVD player. Stuart enjoyed accessing radio via the Freeview facility. He didn't bother with phone credits as he didn't really have anybody to contact, instead he relied on buying stamps for letters and enjoyed swapping newspapers with other prisoners. He also enjoyed using the library and watching wildlife documentaries. He completed a TV diary after I interviewed him. Stuart was not looking forward to being transferred out to another prison, which he had been to before. I happened to visit this prison on IMB business and bumped in to him on one of their landings, he looked down and explained he had too much unstructured time, he preferred the regime at the prison where I first met him.

Malcolm 63 years old and of White British origin. He was employed as a cleaner and was on Standard IEP status. He was sentenced to three years, but this was his second time in prison on the same sentence, he was released and then recalled; he said he was happier to see his sentence through in prison rather than in the community. I had met Malcolm several times through IMB business and he was curious about the diaries I was trying to get completed. He offered to fill one in. At the time of interview Malcolm lived on a vulnerable prisoner unit where prisoners are kept separate from mainstream prisoners in order to offer them protection. I interviewed him in his cell where I enjoyed several cups of tea and the opportunity to watch some day time television with him. Malcolm had completed the TV diary before interview while he was housed in the healthcare section of the prison recovering from ill health. Malcolm was a sociable person and everyone on his unit knew him. He shared his cell and at the time of interview only had in-cell TV. He liked to access free newspapers and buy phone credits and stamps. Malcolm was the proud owner of a remote control and he showed me where he hid it. He insisted that they were contraband in the prison and he found that other prisoners would offer him tobacco for a loan of the remote for an evening.

Bill 66 years old of White British origin was employed and was on Enhanced IEP status. This was his first sentence and was serving a 'long time'. Bill was experiencing ill health and lived permanently in the healthcare facility in the prison. He didn't share a cell with anybody else. Bill tried to complete the TV diary but his health meant that it proved too difficult. He was however happy to be interviewed. Bill benefitted from access to in-cell TV, Freeview, a DVD player and CD player. He bought lots of magazines and newspapers as well as phone credits and stamps. I interviewed Bill in his cell and spent several hours talking with him off the record. When I arrived another prisoner was with him watching television, he explained who I was and how much he was looking forward to the interview. Bill turned off the television. He missed his family and found prison a big shock. He explained how he became involved in Christian worship and believed this gave him strength. Bill described himself as a caring individual and was employed as a mentor to assist new prisoners with their induction to prison life. Bill was also keen to learn and wanted to find time to improve his spelling. He

especially enjoyed history and political programmes and also enjoyed sport, particularly football.

Mick 37 years old of White British origin, he was unemployed and was Standard IEP status. Mick was in a single cell due to his 'high risk' status. He was sentenced to six years and he estimated that this was his eighth prison sentence. Mick has in-cell TV, Freeview and a CD player and bought phone credits and postage stamps. He didn't complete a TV diary. Mick talked a lot about the kinds of crimes he had committed, mostly fraud and robbery and the neighbourhood in which he lived. He had experienced prison without in-cell televisions.

Pete 43 years old White British origin he was employed as a cleaner on the First Night Centre and was also a Listener. This meant he shared a cell with another Listener and they enjoyed a large cell, with nice furniture including a settee. The Listener cells were intended to be welcoming and this is where I interviewed him. He was on Enhanced IEP status and sentenced to life. This was his fourth time in prison, with three 'short' sentences and this 'long' sentence. He was due to be released on licence but wasn't looking forward to this, because he didn't know how he would cope with a bail hostel. I saw Pete a few months later returning to prison after a short time in the community. Pete's cell was well equipped with media, TV, DVD, CD and radio players. Due to the location Freeview reception was not achievable. He bought phone credits and stamps to stay in contact with his family. Pete had experienced prison without in-cell television many years ago. He completed his diary before the interview.

Shaun was 22 years old of White British origin. He was unemployed and was on Basic IEP status, because he received three 'strikes'. The last strike was for calling an officer a 'nob'. He shared a cell with another interviewee, Lee who he knew from coming to jail, also from out in the community. Shaun was currently remanded in custody and was likely to receive a life sentence. This was his fourth time in prison beginning his first prison term when he was 16 years old. Shaun was in care from a very young age and was in and out of foster homes and residential care homes most of his life. He devoured books and was a keen learner, on every occasion I bumped into him in the prison he was eager to share with me what he had read. On one occasion he showed me a psychology text book he was reading and we talked



about the famous 'Stanford Prison Experiment'. Shaun completed a TV diary some time after our interview, at which point he had managed to secure Enhanced IEP status. At the time of interview Shaun and Lee didn't have an in-cell TV as a consequence of their bad behaviour. They had a stereo with a radio and Shaun liked to buy phone credits and stamps.

Lee was 22 years old of White British origin. He was unemployed and was on Basic IEP status due to an incident at another prison involving barricading and flooding a cell. He also explained that he had problems controlling his temper. Lee was sentenced to two years and this was his twenty-second sentence, first coming to prison at the age of 15. Lee shares a cell with Shaun and therefore has no in-cell television, but they do have a stereo. He buys phone credits and postage stamps. Lee explained he was trying to overcome drug addiction.

Leon was 30 years old and of mixed race. He was employed in the prison and also was a Listener. He was Enhanced IEP status and currently in a single cell. He was sentenced to seven and a half years on IPP, so his release date was unknown. This was Leon's first time in prison and he was just at the beginning of his sentence. He was trying to appeal his sentence and we talked extensively off the record about his case. I was with Leon when the Freeview boxes were removed from the landing. He had a TV and DVD player. I interviewed Leon in his cell where he shared his family photographs and also certificates for various courses he attended in prison. He also showed me a hand-written exercise schedule he mounted on the wall, which he followed every day either at the prison's gym or in his cell. Leon missed his family and was keen to show to them he was doing well and saw prison as an opportunity to enhance his skills and CV. Leon liked to buy music magazines, phone credits and stamps.

Alan was 28 years old of White British origin and employed in the prison as a cleaner. He was Standard IEP status and remanded in custody. This was his twelfth time in prison. He shared a cell with Ryan, another interviewee. I interviewed Alan in his cell whilst the television was on and we watched a bit of *Jeremy Kyle* broadcast on ITV1. Alan wouldn't sit down for the interview and kept moving around while I sat a small desk and table in his cell. Ryan kept coming in and then leaving during the interview. They both just had a TV in their

cell. The interview was relatively short, probably because of interruptions and the distraction of the television.

Ryan age was not disclosed and is White British and employed in the prison. He was Standard IEP status and sentenced to thirteen years in prison. This was his fifth time in prison. Ryan shared a cell with Alan and they just had a television. Ryan lay on his bed for the interview watching ITV1 and Alan left the cell, but nipped in occasionally. Ryan likes to buy phone credits and postage stamps. This was a short interview as bang-up time was approaching and I had to leave the cell before that time.

Simon was 42 years old of Black Caribbean origin. He was currently unemployed and on Standard IEP status. Simon was currently remanded but had served eight prison sentences. He explained that he had spent most of his adult life in prison, with only small periods of time in the community during this time. I was introduced to Simon via the officers on the landing. He was in prison when his mother died and explained he had only spent one birthday with his daughter, she was 19 years old when this occurred. It appeared that Simon had just had his cell searched and the officers were still removing items as I entered his cell. The television was on but Simon turned the sound down. Simon shared a cell and his cell mate popped in from time to time. He had a TV but officially nothing else, he hinted he might have other things but wasn't prepared to divulge. Simon seemed irritable and continued to challenge the purpose of the interview and also the consent form and process. In justification of my credentials I offered to bring him one of my published articles on in-cell TV. When I returned to the prison some days later I slipped the article in a sealed envelope under his cell door, with a short note thanking him for his time. He was, however, very willing to tell me what he thought and agreed for me to record (hand written) the interview. Eventually the interview broke down and he began to interview me, towards the end his cell mate and other prisoners filed into the cell and I began to feel uncomfortable. He became increasingly more vocal as an audience began to gather. Simon was obviously very well known and 'respected' by other prisoners as they continued to pay Simon lots of compliments. Officers came to the door and said I was needed elsewhere. I took this opportunity to leave.

Barry was 36 years old and of White British origin. He was unemployed but unusually was still Enhanced Status, he explained he was 'between' jobs for the moment. He was currently remanded for a violent crime which he suggested I looked up on the internet when I got home. I refrained from doing this. He had previously been in prison for one previous sentence and during that sentence was recalled to prison to serve his sentence there rather than in the community. I interviewed Barry in his cell where he explained his television had broken, the sound had 'gone'. Soon into the interview an officer brought a replacement with a remote control. Barry shared a cell with Will, whom I also met and agreed to interview at another time. With their TV they also had a DVD player, in-cell radio and CD player. He liked to buy a newspaper at the weekend for the TV guide and also bought phone credits and postage stamps. He explained he spoke to his mother every day. Barry showed me lots of photos of his family and several girlfriends. He also talked about how he got on well with staff, and offered opinions about female staff in other prisons he had been to.

Will was 25 years old of White British origin. He was enhanced IEP status and had been remanded for five months at the point I had met him. This was his third time in prison. He shared a cell with Barry where I met him. We arranged an interview for another day and he explained where he would be. He worked as a DVD orderly, booking out DVDs to other enhanced prisoners. I interviewed him in the office where he worked; there were no interruptions. Will had access to a TV, DVD player and CD player. He enjoyed bringing back several DVD movies each day from his job. Will liked to buy broadsheet newspapers and magazines and also phone credits and stamps. He was worried about his relationship with his partner and step-children as a result of his incarceration, he hinted that his crime was related to them. Will was also a big sports fan and enjoyed watching this on television. At this time an athletics championship was being broadcast as well as football and cricket. After getting their new television and remote control, Will explained they had two remote controls, which he considered to be a luxury.

Ned is of White Black Caribbean origin, employed and was currently Enhanced IEP status. He was currently remanded and had been in prison for the last five months when I met him. This was his third time in prison and he had been to other prisons. Ned was in a single cell,

not sharing with anybody; he had a TV and DVD player (Freeview had been removed) by the time I met him. Ned had been in prison before in-cell TVs were introduced. He really enjoys wildlife documentaries and reading true life stories. He was also worried about his heavily pregnant partner. I interviewed Ned on the landing where he was working, in a small but private interview room. The conversation was tape recorded.

Ron is of Caribbean origin and currently employed on the same landing as Ned. He was Standard IEP status and currently coming to the end of a seven year sentence. Throughout this time he had been in many jails and moved around the estate quite a lot. This was Ron's third time in prison and he was currently a single cell prisoner. In his cell he had a TV and CD player with a radio. He liked to buy phone credits and postage stamps. He also liked to access newspapers to follow sport, but never bought these. He spoke at length about his love for sport. The interview was tape recorded.

Joshua age was not disclosed and is of Caribbean origin and currently employed in the prison. He was Enhanced IEP status and currently serving an eleven and a half year sentence. This was his third time in prison. He only had a TV in his cell, which he did not currently share with anyone. He liked to buy magazines and newspapers as well as phone credits and stamps. I interviewed Joshua in an interview room that was located on the landing where he worked. The interview was tape recorded. He had experienced prison before the introduction of in-cell televisions. Joshua enjoys watching news and documentaries including crime related and wildlife programmes. Joshua spoke about his family a lot and how he maintains relationships with them. The interview was tape recorded.

Maalik was 28 years old and is of Indian origin. He was employed as a race relations representative and worked in the staff tea room and was also a Listener. He was Enhanced IEP status and shared a cell with another Listener. Maalik was on remand and awaiting sentence; this was his first time in prison. I was introduced to Maalik through the Race Relations Officer, Fran whom I also interviewed. Maalik and I enjoyed a hot drink in Fran's office whilst the interview took place. Fran was not in the room and we had no interruptions. Maalik liked to keep himself busy and enjoyed the benefits of in-cell television

and also watching Indian films on the DVD player. Sometime after our interview I met Maalik again in the prison and he told me he had set up a prison magazine with support from staff. He told me that this was as a result of the interview he had with me, and he explained that the topic of media in prison had ignited this idea. Maalik invited me to write a small contribution about my research for their publication. The interview was tape recorded.

## Appendix 8: Prisoner Interview Sample

Interviewee	Age	Ethnicity	Cell share?	Employment?	IEP status	Sentenced?	Media hardware in cell	Buy?
Carlton	32	White and Black Caribbean	Yes	Yes	Enhanced	2.5 years, 1 <sup>st</sup> time in prison	TV, DVD, radio and CD player	Phone credits and postage stamps
Sunny	n/k	Indian	Yes	Yes	Enhanced	8 years	TV, DVD, radio	Phone credits and postage stamps
Stuart	n/k	White British	Yes	Yes	Enhanced	Sentenced, 7 <sup>th</sup> time in prison	TV, DVD, Freeview with radio	Postage stamps, swaps newspapers, uses library
Malcolm	63	White British	Yes	Yes	Standard	Sentenced, 4 <sup>th</sup> time in jail	TV, stereo, DVD	Phone credits and postage stamps
Bill	66	White British	No	Yes	Standard	Sentenced for 1 <sup>st</sup> time	TV, radio, Freeview CD player	Phone credits and postage stamps
Mick	37	White British	No	No	Standard	6 years, approximately 8 <sup>th</sup> time in	TV, radio, Freeview CD	Phone credits and postage stamp

						prison	player	
Pete	43	White British	Yes	Yes	Enhanced	Life, 4 <sup>th</sup> time in prison	TV, stereo, DVD	Phone credits and postage stamp
Shaun	22	White British	Yes with Lee	No	Basic	Life, 4 <sup>th</sup> time in prison	Stereo and radio	Phone credits and postage stamp
Lee	22	White British	Yes with Shaun	No	Basic	Life, 22 <sup>nd</sup> time in prison	Stereo and radio	Phone credits and postage stamp
Leon	30	Mixed- other	No	Yes	Enhanced	IPP 7.5 years, 1 <sup>st</sup> time in jail	TV, DVD, freeview <sup>52</sup>	Phone credits, magazines and postage stamp
Alan	28	White British	Yes	Yes	Standard	Remanded, 12 <sup>th</sup> time in prison	TV	Phone credits and postage stamp
Ryan	n/k	White British	Yes	Yes	Standard	13 years, 5 <sup>th</sup> time in prison	TV	Phone credits and postage stamp
Simon	42	Black Caribbean	Yes	No	Standard	Remanded	TV	Phone credits and postage stamp

<sup>52</sup> Freeview box was removed from prisoner's cell during our interview; this applied to the whole prison, which I witnessed during my visit

Barry	36	White British	Yes shares with Will	No	Enhanced	Remanded, 3 <sup>rd</sup> time in prison	TV, DVD, stereo	Phone credits and postage stamp, newspaper
Will	25	White British	Yes with Barry	Yes	Enhanced	Remanded, 3 <sup>rd</sup> time in prison	TV, DVD, stereo	Phone credits and postage stamp, newspaper, magazines
Ned	n/k	White and Black Caribbean	No	Yes	Enhanced	Remanded, 3 <sup>rd</sup> time in prison	TV and DVD	Phone credits and postage stamp
Ron	n/k	Caribbean	No	Yes	Standard	Sentenced to 7 years, 3 <sup>rd</sup> time in prison	TV, DVD, stereo	Phone credits and postage stamp
Joshua	n/k	Caribbean	No	Yes	Standard	Sentenced to 11.5 years- 3 times in prison	TV	Phone credits and postage stamp,  Newspapers and magazines
Maalik	28 year s	Indian	yes	yes	Enhanced	Remanded- 1 <sup>st</sup> time	TV, DVD	Phone credits and postage stamp, Sunday newspapers





Appendix 9: Staff Consent Form:

Dear .....

Thank you for taking time to speak to me today. I really appreciate you giving me your views about this.

Before I start the discussion I do need your consent to:

take part in the interview

use some of what you may say in my research report

What I will agree to do is:

protect your identity- you will not be named in the report

only use this information for this research

destroy all material collected after the research is finished

answer any questions about the research

accept your request to withdraw from the research. You can contact me at the address noted below. You can withdraw from the research up to the end of the project which will be January 2011.

I will send you a copy of the findings of the project if you would like this.

Also, I would like to tape record the interview to make sure I do not miss anything important that you might say. I am the only person who will have access to this recording and it will be destroyed upon completion of the research.

Tape recorded:            Yes            No

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

If you have any questions about this interview or the research you can contact:

Victoria Knight

Senior Research Fellow

Community and Criminal Justice Research Centre

Faculty of Health and Life Sciences

Hawthorn 0.15b

De Montfort University

Leicester

LE1 9BH

0116 2577720

[vknight@dmu.ac.uk](mailto:vknight@dmu.ac.uk)

Alternatively you can contact my supervisor if you have any complaints or queries:

Professor Lorraine Culley

Faculty of Health and Life Sciences

De Montfort University

Leicester

LE1 9BH

0116 2577898

I appreciate your valuable input.

Kind regards

Victoria Knight

Community and Criminal Justice Research Centre

Appendix 10 : Staff Interview Sample

Interviewee	Length of Service	Current Position	Duties	Gender	Ethnicity
Paul	22 yrs	Residential PO	Manage SMU, VPU, L3 &L4 Staff 4 SO and 30 Staff	male	White British
Claire	14 years	The Governor	Leadership and management of local prison, accountable to Dom	female	White British
Tony	30 years	Deputy Governor	Operational running of jail, security, residential, safer custody	male	White British
Fran	20 years	REO and landing officer	Promoting and implementing race equality	female	White Irish
Ann	3.5 years	Co-ordinating Chaplain	Pastoral care of prisoners and staff	female	White British
Steve	2 years	Residential officer-landing	Constant contact with prisoners- personal officer- well being of prisoners	male	White British
Tim	13 years	Segregation and landing officer	Residential care of prisoners- discipline	male	White British
Brian	17 years	Senior officer	Orderly officer	male	White British

Appendix 11: Code Book

Emotion:
<b>Ambivalence</b>
<b>Anger</b>
<b>Boredom</b>
<b>Crying</b>
<b>Emotional labour</b>
<b>Frustration</b>
<b>Happiness &amp; Joy</b>
<b>Laughter</b>
<b>Fear</b>
<b>Excitement</b>

Looking after Yourself
<b>Aspirations for the future</b>
<b>Education and skills</b>
<b>Health</b>
<b>Lifestyle</b>
<b>Offending and crime</b>
<b>Relationships</b>
<b>TV viewing</b>
<b>Fear of deterioration:</b>
<b>Psychological</b>
<b>Physiological</b>
<b>Making assessments</b>
<b>Of others</b>
<b>Of self</b>

<p><b>Self preservation</b></p> <p>Not using TV</p> <p>Using TV</p>
<p><b>Therapy</b></p> <p>Not using TV</p> <p>Using TV</p>
<p><b>Well-being</b></p> <p>Adapting</p> <p>Coping</p> <p>Depression</p> <p>Keeping safe</p> <p>Self-harm</p> <p>Stress</p> <p>Suicide</p>

<p>Talking about TV</p>
<p><b>Planning viewing</b></p> <p>No need to</p> <p>Planned</p> <p>Unplanned</p>
<p><b>Hardware and technology</b></p> <p>Digital and interactive</p> <p>DVD</p> <p>Flicking programmes</p> <p>Freeview</p> <p>Games console</p> <p>Internet</p> <p>Music</p> <p>Phones and mobile phones</p>

<p><b>Picture and reception quality</b></p> <p><b>Radio</b></p> <p><b>Remote control</b></p> <p><b>Satellite TV</b></p> <p><b>TV sets/screens</b></p>
<p><b>Relationships with TV texts</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Educational</li> <li>- Escapism</li> <li>- Fandom</li> <li>- Fantasy</li> <li>- memory</li> <li>- Places</li> <li>- Privacy</li> <li>- Public</li> <li>- TV programmes</li> <li>-TV characters and personalities</li> </ul>
<p><b>TV events</b></p> <p><b>Global</b></p> <p><b>Local</b></p> <p><b>National</b></p>
<p><b>In-cell activity</b></p> <p><b>Attentive to TV</b></p> <p><b>Chores</b></p> <p><b>Leisure activities</b></p> <p><b>Passive to TV</b></p> <p><b>Privacy</b></p> <p><b>Reading</b></p> <p><b>Sound down</b></p> <p><b>Switching off</b></p>



<b>Writing</b>
<b>Staying connected</b> <b>Broadcast time</b> <b>Connected to community</b> <b>Connected to people</b>
<b>Time-shifting</b> <b>DVDs</b> <b>Non- TV methods</b> <b>Remote control</b> <b>Using freeview</b>
<b>Privilege</b> <b>Forfeited right to TV</b> <b>IEP policy and agenda</b> <b>Privilege item</b> <b>Right to TV</b>
<b>Luxury</b> <b>Cost to hire TV</b> <b>Public perception</b>
<b>Valuing TV</b> <b>Highly</b> <b>Moderately</b> <b>Not at all</b>
<b>Fears about TV</b> <b>Addicted</b> <b>Lazy</b> <b>No choice</b> <b>Propaganda</b> <b>Quality of TV</b> <b>Too much choice</b> <b>Watching too much</b>

Social uses
<b>-Environmental instrument:</b> <b>-background noise</b> <b>-companionship</b> <b>-entertainment</b>
<b>Regulative:</b> <b>create talk patterns</b> <b>plan activities</b> <b>to punctuate time</b>
<b>Communication facilitation:</b> <b>agenda for talk</b> <b>-anxiety reduction</b> <b>-common ground</b> <b>-conversational entrance</b> <b>-experience illustration</b>
<b>Affiliation/ avoidance:</b> <b>routes to verbal contact</b> <b>-conflict reduction</b> <b>-relaxant</b> <b>-solidarity</b>
<b>Social learning:</b> <b>behaviour modelling</b> <b>decision-making</b> <b>education</b> <b>information dissemination</b> <b>problem solving</b>

<b>sharing values</b>
<b>Dominance and power</b>
<b>argument facilitation</b>
<b>authority exercise</b>
<b>gate keeping</b>
<b>intellectual validation</b>
<b>role reinforcement</b>
<b>substitute role portrayal</b>

Prison Life: Tension and Dilemmas
<b>Prisoners</b>
<b>Being in control</b>
<b>Friendships</b>
<b>Losing control</b>
<b>Playing games</b>
<b>Relationships with others</b>
<b>Relationships with prisoners</b>
<b>Retaining power</b>
<b>Prisoners' Perceptions of Staff</b>
<b>Being in control</b>
<b>Losing control</b>
<b>Order and discipline</b>
<b>Playing games</b>
<b>Relationships with others</b>
<b>Relationships with prisoners</b>
<b>Retaining power</b>

<b>Purpose of Prison</b> Incapacitate Private Public Punish Rehab Welfare
<b>Violence and Threats</b> Actual Avoiding Bullying Corruption Extortion Grassing Threats of Tolerance of Watching
<b>Time</b> Avoiding Bang-up Easy Time Filling Hard time Jargon/argot Killing Making decisions about Routines Shifting Time out of cell

<p><b>Pains of imprisonment</b></p> <p><b>Deprivation of heterosexual relationships</b></p> <p><b>Isolation</b></p> <p><b>Lack of Autonomy</b></p> <p><b>Lack of privacy</b></p> <p><b>Limited access to goods, services and opportunities</b></p> <p><b>Loneliness</b></p> <p><b>Security</b></p>
<p><b>IEP</b></p> <p><b>Basic</b></p> <p><b>Enhanced</b></p> <p><b>Fairness</b></p> <p><b>Poverty</b></p> <p><b>Richness</b></p> <p><b>Standard</b></p>
<p><b>Care</b></p> <p><b>Allowed to</b></p> <p><b>Provision</b></p>

<p><b>Study Participation</b></p>
<p><b>Diaries</b></p> <p><b>Interviews</b></p> <p><b>Motivation</b></p> <p><b>Purpose of research</b></p> <p><b>Suggestions</b></p> <p><b>Taking part</b></p>

Staff Views
<b>Attitudes towards provision</b>
<b>Behaviour management</b>
<b>Decency</b>
<b>Doing prison work</b>
<b>Effects of TV</b>
<b>History of TV in prison</b>
<b>Isolation</b>
<b>Provision</b>
<b>Punishment</b>
<b>Purposeful</b>
<b>Safer custody</b>
<b>Staff emotion</b>
<b>Working with staff- relationships</b>

Appendix 12:

**Table 2: Comparison of Average Television Viewing for Prison Site and UK National Average (BARB)**

Total hours of TV	Prison Site	Total hours of TV	UK National Average Source: BARB 2008
61.39	Overall Average per week (Mon-Sun)	26.63	Average weekly viewing in UK Households
8.77	Overall Average per week day (Mon- Fri)	3.8	Average per day viewing in UK Households
9.1	Overall average per day at weekends (Sat & Sun)		
18.22	Overall average per weekend (Sat & Sun)		

## Appendix 13:

**Table 3: Example of number of hours of television watched each day for Diarist C**

Diarist C	Diary Day													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Hours of TV per Day	7	6	7	0	2	0	1	2	2	2	2	2	0	1
Location	Research prison site- Local Category B			Transferred out	Category B closed training prison									



#### Appendix 14: Recommendations

This section makes a number of recommendations for further research, development of methods and also for prison policy and practice.

##### *Recommendations for Further Research*

First, prisoner audience research in the UK remains limited to male prisoners. The degrees to which gender, age, race and conditions (closed, open, and therapeutic) of the prison impact on the relationships that different prisoners have with television. Using the lessons from this single case study, research should be extended to women prisoners, young offenders and different categories of male prisoners, including those who are located in therapeutic communities.

Second, this study has demonstrated the significance of boredom to prison life, and other research has also indicated its impact on challenging aspects of prison life; self-harm and suicide (Liebling 2002), drug misuse and distribution (Cope 2003; Crewe 2006), violence and bullying (Irwin and Cressey 1962). Further studies to explore the causes, consequences and impact of boredom in prison would be a valuable addition to the literature. These could also include a more systematic exploration of the use of time and space by prisoners, and could include a longitudinal study of different types of prisoners, tracing them through prison and back into the community, thus providing an opportunity to evaluate the longer-term effects of boredom experienced in prison on resettlement and even recidivism and/or desistance.

Third, the concept of self-regulation is well documented in this study. However techniques employed for self-regulation extend beyond prisoners as audiences of television. It is recommended that research should explore the role of self-regulation of prisoners in a number of different areas, while also continuing to acknowledge mediated activity. Suggestions include an exploration of the influence of contextual resources on the prisoner (such as rules and regulations- see Bosworth 2007); a consideration of the role of staff as experts of governance, e.g. the circumstances they use and the effectiveness of this; a more systematic examination of the techniques in which prisoners feel able (or not) to self-regulate and the effectiveness of their efforts in managing their incarceration.

Fourth, mapping 'community' and citizenship in prison using a combination of approaches would provide more evidence to illuminate how social relations (situated and mediated) manifest: in particular, an exploration of cultural capital to identify how social relations are sustained in order to provide a review of social cohesion within the prison. This would require the inclusion of prisoners, staff, external visitors and prisoners' families. As this study has suggested, social relations have become extended with respect to mediated action, resulting in limited situated interaction. Geographical techniques to account for how space (including mediated) is employed in social relations could enhance inquiry. Exploring the source of social networks and the conditions under which they manifest would provide a better understanding of cultural and social life (Silverstone et al 1991).

Fifth, the transition from prison to the community with respect to media use remains unexplored. Nothing is known about the relationship between the use of television (or other mass media) in prison and in the outside world. Little is known about the impact of television on resettlement into the community. The respondents in this study described the value of remaining connected as a mechanism for preparing for re-entry to society, whilst others wanted to disconnect from the outside world. The relationships prisoners have with mass communications whilst inside prison offer an opportunity to cope with prison life. The extent to which these adopted approaches enable successful transition and resettlement is an important feature of 'what works' agendas.

#### *Recommendations for Methodological Development*

This research has provided insight into the living arrangements of cohabitating prisoners. However, little is understood about the nature of the prison cell as social, psychological and emotional space. Using geographical methods and perspectives as suggested by Moores (2006), the prison cell could be explored to reveal how prisoners negotiate and *feel* space. The dynamics of interaction in the prison cell are underplayed in prisoner research, yet the cell is materially and symbolically powerful in the direct embodied experience of prison. This study confirms that social isolation and deprivation is a common experience among prisoners. The effects of physical deprivation, such as lack of natural light and air and being subjected to high levels of noise, and in some instances disturbing scenes such as violence,

self-harm and suicide, are compounded by the cell space. This could also be expanded to consider staff's use of space and how they personally and strategically legitimize use of the prison cell. Such explorations might also offer important evidence for understanding how decency and safer custody agendas are actually being experienced.

The engagement of prisoners' interactions with texts and discourses remains underexplored. As this study has highlighted, mediated events provide much substance for talk amongst social agents, yet prisoners and staff have diverse opinions on the value of this. The significance of para-social relationships, as discussed by Moores (1993a) would also benefit from more extended inquiry, especially given the features of social isolation and loneliness amongst the corrosive elements of incarceration. The interpretations prisoners have with mediated texts would provide further exploration of social domains, especially in relation to contextual resources (Layder 2004). Adopting different methodologies (such as decoding, see Hall 1980) to explore these relationships would provide an important contribution to prisoner audience research in order to expand upon the interaction between text and context.

#### *Recommendations for Policy and Practice*

The introduction of in-cell television to prisons was not informed by research. This study has identified that these provisions fit reasonably well with policy that reflects the benefits that in-cell television can provide for the prisoner and the running of the prison. Less is understood by policy makers. In particular the debilitating features, such as boredom of television content and frustration exacerbated by isolation and inability to engage in public life are ignored in policy documents. This study is also critical of how some policies, such as purposeful activity and safer custody agendas, combined with pressure for prisons to run at lower costs, results in everyday life for prisoners being continually degrading and debilitating. This research has raised important questions about the purposefulness of television. Some prisoners report that television viewing is purposeful and some of this is in line with policy aims. For example, some prisoners crave more access to informative programmes such as documentaries and current affairs to enhance learning, knowledge and self-improvement: this is continually challenged. In this single establishment for example,

prisoners are spending large amounts of each day behind their doors without any purposeful activity. Television is therefore defined by prisoners and staff as essential and meaningful because of these complexities. In the round of policy development this thesis can offer important evidence to account for time management of prisoners, the value of compliance by prisoners, the nature of cell-sharing and the mechanisms adopted by stakeholders to enhance prisoner well-being.

This research has highlighted that the IEP policy would benefit from further review: the incentives currently offered are at a precarious stage. Staff are committed to this policy, yet at the same time are fearful that the weight of control that this policy once had is beginning to fade. A full review to include the voices of staff and observations of practice and performance figures might help policy makers and practitioners to provide a meaningful and motivating system of behaviour management. As it currently stands, it relies on paternal characteristics to ensure compliance, or as Bottoms argues 'habitual compliance' (2001:94).

At the time of writing, most prisons in England and Wales have had to be updated to receive digital television as opposed to analogue transmission. These technical modifications have resulted in the provision of free-to-view broadcasts. The free-to-view channels have been pre-selected by the Ministry of Justice, and Governors have some discretion to modify the provision of nine channels. As this study has shown, documentaries, current affairs, sports and soaps are popular and in some instances 'purposeful' choices are made by prisoners in this single establishment. It is suggested that in order to make this provision beneficial, prison staff seek to consult with prisoners about their viewing and also take on board the findings reported in this thesis.

The prevalence of boredom is both dangerous and debilitating for prisoners' wellbeing. In overcoming the chronic nature of boredom and associated responses such as frustration, conflict, violence, self-harm and even suicide, in-cell television serves as a protective factor. However, increased amounts of bang-up are not helpful: in-cell activities or even work and study may help prisoners to use time more constructively. As other research has shown, activities like learning can enable personal and positive transformations (Hughes 2004; Ruess 1999). Prisons need to find creative ways to inject meaning and purpose into the

prison routine, and one such example would be to exploit the attractive qualities of television. As reported in this study, prisoners crave educative and informative programmes, and learning through television (t-learning- see Knight and Hine 2009) could accommodate these needs. Moreover, developing technologies and associated television hardware such as interactive functions (iDTV) would encourage viewers to actively engage with content. One such development includes *KickstartTV*, a basic skills platform in which learning materials can be uploaded and learners can work through learning material in privacy, and thereby increase their self-esteem (see Taylor et al 2006). This is currently being trialled and introduced to a few prison establishments as part of the Learning and Skills remit. Other services like the *Life Channel* provides television content on a wealth of public and social health matters. The channel has been successful in entering a number of prison establishments across the estate, yet funds remain limited to enable a more robust provision. If prisons are to continue keeping prisoners behind their cell doors, this investment could enable prisoners to structure more purposeful time with television. The technological features of iDTV formats enable prison staff to record use and submit these figures to purposeful activity targets, a radical shift from the current policy position. These platforms can also include a wealth of prison and offender related information, such as access to prison rules, prison news, services and advice, thus enhancing prison's communication strategies. The potential to exploit television in these ways is still understated and underdeveloped. Investment is required from services to enable these provisions and to contribute to narrowing the Digital Divide (DCMS 2008). Meaningful content also includes material that addresses the prisoner, it speaks to them and is about them; some respondents in this study felt disconnected from many mainstream broadcasts. User-led provisions are slowly evolving and one such excellent example is the *National Prison Radio* service. This award winning radio station has been given permission by the Ministry of Justice in 2011 to broadcast across the whole prison estate in England and Wales. It broadcasts from HMP Brixton and trains prisoners to help produce this service, with many learning new skills and gaining increased confidence (Wilkinson and Davidson 2009; 2008). With interesting and challenging activity for prisoners, boredom can potentially

be eased and time out of cell made much more meaningful. The need to inject meaning and purpose into daily prison life is paramount for the ethical care of prisoners.

This research has identified that emotions are not necessarily centred in prison practice, but instead rationalist approaches to prison life are favoured. There is scant trace of policy actually acknowledging that prison life is emotive in character for both prisoners and staff. In order to deliver ethical and meaningful care, policy and practice should reflect and be sensitive to the emotional journeys that prisoners and staff work through in their daily lives. Centering rather than tempering emotion could enhance relationships. Moreover staff also need extended consideration in prison based reviews and assessments like the *Measuring the Quality of Prison Life* (MQPL) frameworks. The performance led culture further distances emotion from the actual material and subjective features of everyday life. The extent to which the centering of emotion would enhance care needs careful consideration, but to acknowledge and register service users' and providers' emotions, rather than totally rationalize the conditions of the prison and incarceration would improve the quality of prison life.