



Schliehe, Anna Katharina (2017) *Tracing outsideness: young women's institutional journeys and the geographies of closed space*. PhD thesis.

<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/7795/>

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Glasgow Theses Service

<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/>  
theses@gla.ac.uk

**TRACING OUTSIDENESS**  
**YOUNG WOMEN'S INSTITUTIONAL JOURNEYS AND THE GEOGRAPHIES**  
**OF CLOSED SPACE**

**ANNA KATHARINA SCHLIEHE**



**THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**SCHOOL OF GEOGRAPHICAL AND EARTH SCIENCES**  
**UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW**

**JULY 2016**

## ABSTRACT

Understanding confinement and its complex workings between individuals and society has been the stated aim of carceral geography and wider studies on detention. This project contributes ethnographic insights from multiple sites of incarceration, working with an under-researched group within confined populations. Focussing on young female detainees in Scotland, this project seeks to understand their experiences of different types of ‘closed’ space. Secure care, prison and closed psychiatric facilities all impact on the complex geographies of these young women’s lives. The fluid but always situated relations of control and care provide the backdrop for their journeys in/out and beyond institutional spaces. Understanding institutional journeys with reference to age and gender allows an insight into the highly mobile, often precarious, and unfamiliar lives of these young women who live on the margins.

This thesis employs a mixed-method qualitative approach and explores what Goffman calls the ‘tissue and fabric’ of detention as a complex multi-institutional practice. In order to be able to understand the young women’s gendered, emotional and often repetitive experiences of confinement, analysis of the constitution of ‘closed space’ represents a first step for inquiry. The underlying nature of inner regimes, rules and discipline in closed spaces, provide the background on which confinement is lived, perceived and processed. The second part of the analysis is the exploration of individual experiences ‘on the inside’, ranging from young women’s views on entering a closed institution, the ways in which they adapt or resist the regime, and how they cope with embodied aspects of detention. The third and final step considers the wider context of incarceration by recovering the young women’s journeys through different types of institutional spaces and beyond. The exploration of these journeys challenges and re-develops understandings of mobility and inertia by engaging the relative power of carceral archipelagos and the figure of femina sacra.

This project sits comfortably within the field of carceral geography while also pushing at its boundaries. On a conceptual level, a re-engagement with Goffman’s micro-analysis challenges current carceral-geographic theory development. Perhaps more importantly, this project pushes for an engagement with different institutions under the umbrella of carceral geography, thus creating new dialogues on issues like ‘care’ and ‘control’. Finally, an engagement with young women addresses an under-represented population within carceral geography in ways that raise distinctly problematic concerns for academic research and penal policy. Overall, this project aims to show the value of fine grained micro-level research in institutional geographies for extending thinking and understanding about society’s responses to a group of people who live on the margins of social and legal norms.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>AUTHOR'S DECLARATION.....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....</b>	<b>11</b>
 <b>Chapter 1 Introduction.....</b>	 <b>13</b>
 <b>Chapter 2 Contextualising Carceral Geography .....</b>	 <b>20</b>
2.1 Emerging Carceral Geographies .....	20
2.2 Particular Enquiries Into Carceral Geographies.....	23
Closed Spaces .....	23
Experiencing 'the Carceral' .....	26
Carceral Journeys and Systemic Entrapment.....	28
2.3 Theoretical Encounters .....	31
Re-engaging with Goffman.....	31
Foucault's Disciplinary Lens .....	33
Agamben's Exceptional Spaces .....	35
'Other' Concepts.....	37
2.4 Towards a Feminist Carceral Geography?.....	38
Learning from Feminist Criminology .....	39
Researching Young Women in a Carceral-geographic Context .....	41
2.5 Reflection.....	44
 <b>Chapter 3 Conceptualisations of Care and Control in Closed Institutions and Beyond .....</b>	 <b>46</b>
3.1 Introduction to Key Theorists .....	46
3.2 The Constitution of Closed Institutions – Complete, Austere and Total? .....	51
3.3 A Carceral Geography of the Social Situation of Detainees .....	56
The Inmate's World .....	57
Cracks in the Wall of the Institution – Inmate Agency and its Limits.....	63
3.4 From Individual Journeys to Carceral Archipelagos .....	66
A Carceral System – with Notes on Permeability.....	67
3.5 Geographies of Abandonment and the Figure of <i>Femina Sacra</i> .....	70
3.6 Conceptual Applicability – Exercises in Mapping Across .....	74
 <b>Chapter 4 A Methodological Note: Researching Locked Environments.....</b>	 <b>76</b>
4.1 Ethics of Doing Research with Vulnerable Young People .....	79
4.2 Positionality and My Role as the Researcher.....	83
4.3 Fieldwork .....	86

Interviewing .....	87
Ethnographic Observation.....	90
Mental Mapping.....	94
File Data.....	96
4.4 Organising and Analysing.....	98
4.5 The Art of Relational and Reflexive Researching .....	99
<b>Chapter 5 Mapping Out the Institutional Landscape .....</b>	<b>102</b>
5.1 Young Female Detainees in Scotland .....	102
5.2 A Short Overview of the Scottish Criminal Justice System .....	104
5.3 ‘Relevant’ Numbers and Figures .....	106
5.4 Short Overview of Policy Development in Scotland .....	108
5.5 The Nature of Closed Institutions - What is There and Why?.....	111
Secure Care Units .....	111
Prison and Custody .....	113
Psychiatric In-Patient Units .....	116
5.6 Conclusion .....	118
<b>Chapter 6 The Constitution and Inner Workings of Closed Spaces .....</b>	<b>120</b>
6.1 Secure Care .....	120
Managing Secured Populations.....	121
Exploring Geographies of ‘life space’ .....	121
Organising Time in Daily Routines .....	121
Codifying Rules and Regulations: the Unit Regime .....	132
Connectivity – on Closed yet Semi-permeable Institutions .....	135
6.2 Prison .....	138
Population Management and Carceral Rationalisation .....	138
Spaces of Order and Security.....	144
Timetabling ‘Order’ in the Block.....	148
Meticulous Regulation in a Block Regime .....	151
Semi-Permeability and Connectivity Beyond the Prison Walls.....	155
6.3 Reviewing Institutional Constitutions.....	157
<b>Chapter 7 Of Meaningful Social Worlds: Individual Experiences of Confinement .....</b>	<b>162</b>
7.1 Secure Care .....	163
Getting Secured: Entry and Initial Stripping.....	163
Living the Enforced Collective: Entangled Relationships, Social Encounters .....	165
Controlling Embodied Practices .....	169
The Importance of Place and Young Women’s Spatial Awareness.....	173
<i>It’s my way or nae way</i> – Young Women’s Agency.....	176

7.2 Prison .....	178
Being YO'd – Prison Entry .....	179
Jail Relationships .....	181
Embodied Experiences of Prison Life .....	184
<i>Soul-destroying</i> Closed Spaces .....	189
Agency in Confinement: Prison Underlife.....	192
7.4 Conclusive Thoughts .....	195
<b>Chapter 8 Of Moving Stories and Young Women's Journeying.....</b>	<b>199</b>
8.1 Entangled Journeys <i>here, there, everywhere</i> .....	200
8.2 From Pillar to Post: Mapping Across Young Female Mobility .....	204
8.3 Black Box 'Community' .....	213
8.4 Carrying Institutions and the Hope for a Carefree Life .....	221
Secure Care in Retrospect.....	223
Looking Back on Prison.....	224
8.5 Young Female Geographies of Abandonment.....	226
<b>Chapter 9 Conclusion .....</b>	<b>232</b>
<b>References.....</b>	<b>249</b>
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>272</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Goffman Textbox 1 .....	58
Table 2: Goffman Textbox 2 .....	59
Table 3: Goffman Textbox 3 .....	60
Table 4: Goffman Textbox 4 .....	60
Table 5: Goffman Textbox 5 .....	61
Table 6: Goffman Textbox 6 .....	62
Table 7: Goffman Textbox 7 .....	62
Table 8: Levels of Secondary Adjustments .....	64
Table 9: Relationship Types in Institutions .....	65
Table 10: Effects of the Carceral Archipelago .....	67
Table 11: Overview Interviewees .....	90
Table 12: Age Range Young Female Interviewees .....	90
Table 13: Youth Justice Phases Scotland .....	105
Table 14: Secure Care Self-Assessment .....	123
Table 15: Secure Care Individual Assessment .....	124
Table 16: Secure Care Timetable .....	130
Table 17: Secure Care Reminders for Shift .....	130
Table 18: Prison Routine .....	150
Table 19: Prisoner Pay .....	153
Table 20: Prison Rules Extract .....	154
Table 21: Comparison of Institutional Constitution .....	159
Table 22: Exemplary Moves .....	201
Table 23: Mental Maps .....	207

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: What Constitutes a Closed Institution .....	56
Figure 2: A Young Women's Drawing.....	91
Figure 3: Example Field Notes SC .....	92
Figure 4: Example Field Notes SC .....	93
Figure 5: Example Field Notes TfC .....	93
Figure 6: Example Field Notes TfC .....	93
Figure 7: Record of Prison Field Notes .....	94
Figure 8: Fieldwork Map .....	95
Figure 9: Note of 'Orderly Room'/PR .....	97
Figure 10: Record of First File Sheet .....	97
Figure 11: Admission SC .....	98
Figure 12: Entry Checklist .....	98
Figure 13: Showcasing of Scottish Secure Care Facilities.....	113
Figure 14: Cornton Vale and Grampian Entrance.....	114
Figure 15: Cornton Vale from Outside .....	115
Figure 16: Skye Unit Outside.....	118
Figure 17: Outline of the Quiet Room .....	127
Figure 18: Bedroom Plan View .....	128
Figure 19: Bedroom Seen From Corridor .....	128
Figure 20: Secure Care Extract of Rules.....	133
Figure 21: Block Narrative Emily.....	142
Figure 22: Block Narrative Jaime .....	142
Figure 23: Block Narrative Tamara .....	143
Figure 24: Block Narrative Kara.....	143
Figure 25: Sketch of Cell Plan View.....	147
Figure 26: Sketch of Cell from Corridor.....	147
Figure 27: Mental Map Extract.....	208
Figure 28: Mental Map 1.....	210
Figure 29: Mental Map 2.....	211
Figure 30: Mental Map 3.....	212
Figure 31: Mental Map 4.....	212



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The list of thanks is long:

First many thanks to the Urban Studies Foundation for making this research possible and supporting me financially over the last four years.

Thank you to everyone in GES for support and advice – it has been a pleasure to work alongside such great researchers. A particular thanks to my supervisors Chris and Hester for unwavering support, kindness, and encouragement. A big thank you to Cheryl, Dave, Emma and Hannah for guidance and support throughout my teaching; to Ian and Angela for your kind support with publications; and Gesa for advice, scholarly and otherwise.

Thank you also to everyone at the SCCJR for much support, advice and always making me feel welcome at Ivy Lodge. Particular thanks to Susan and Sarah for years of helping me out with practical and academic advice.

Many thanks also to Dominique, Tom and Jen – for being so accommodating and enthusiastic – it has been a pleasure to work with you! Thanks also to Colin and Ellie for making me feel so welcome in Birmingham.

A particular thanks goes to all the people at Up-2-Us for years of supporting my work and much guidance and help along the way. Olive and Gail for comments on my work, many chats and support; Hayley, Carly, Emma, Sandy and Ross for many drives and making so many interviews possible. Many thanks also to Mike and Norman!

A big thank you to everyone at the prison – staff and prisoners and SPS – for making this research possible and being so accommodating and welcoming.

Many thanks to all the staff and young people at the secure unit, particularly everyone I interviewed for explaining their world, many cups of tea and integrating me into the routine.

A big thank you also to my friends, here, in Germany and further afield for putting up with me the last couple of years and providing much needed distraction, particularly Laura for introducing me to kindred spirits and reading so much of my work, Annie for providing a home when it was most needed and many comments on my work, Javier for friendship, long chats and in-depth Foucault; Hazel for years of friendship and flat-sharing; and also: Fabian, Katrin, Senka, Lydia, Kirsten, Marion, Kirsten, Feli, Caitlin, Rebecca, Morven, Sarah, Leena, Zujaja...

Last but not least a heartfelt thank you to my family, living and dead, related and chosen; particularly: Rosey and Mike for making me feel part of the family, Arzu for years of nurturing and warmth; Johannes for always having my back; Jenna for caring from far away; Uli for lifelong support, teaching me about good music and adopting me as a godchild; Katrin for all her kind support; Ferdi for reminding me of the family heritage of social research and so much interest in my work; Ruth for support and much kindness; Jörg and Elke for reading my work and lively discussions; John and Erdmute my Scottish, turned English family; and last but not least Alex for endless support, love and being there in my darkest hours; Mama for all the love, kindness, strength, patience, and being such a wonderful example; and Papa – this is for you.

This is for Mike and Georg – one for inspiring this project and encouraging me right to the end; and the other for inspiring me and teaching me a deep interest in the world and always reminding me of the importance of critical thought, emancipation and kindness.

## AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Anna Katharina Schliehe

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANT – Actor Network Theory

ASBO – Anti Social Behaviour Order

BOSS – Body Orifice Security Scanner

CAMHS – Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service

CBT – Cognitive Behavioural Therapy

CCTV – Closed-Circuit Television

CG – Carceral Geography

CHS – Children’s Hearing System

CJS – Criminal Justice System

CYCJ – Centre for Youth and Criminal Justice

DP – Discipline and Punish (Foucault 1991)

EI – Early and Effective Intervention

ESRC – Economic and Social Research Council

F – Following (one page)

FCAMHS – Forensic Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services

FF – Following (several pages)

GIRFEC – Getting It Right For Every Child (Scottish Government Initiative)

HMP – Her Majesty’s Prison

IBID – Ibidem (in the same place)

ICPR – Institute for Criminal Policy Research

IPCU – Intensive Psychiatric Care Unit

ISMS – Intensive Support and Monitoring Service

NHS – National Health Service

OED – Oxford English Dictionary

OOO – Object Oriented Ontology

PR – Prison

PRh – Prison Staff in Healthcare

PRm – Prison Staff in Management

PRr – Prison Residential Staff (Block)

PSPO – Public Space Protection Order

PVG – Protecting Vulnerable Groups Scheme (Disclosure Scotland)

PYOI – The Prisons and Young Offenders Institutions Rules

RAEC – SPS Research Ethics

RRP – Reducing Reoffending Programme

SC – Secure Care Unit

SCe – Secure Care Staff in Education

SCh – Secure Care Staff in Health

SCm – Secure Care Staff in Management  
SCr – Secure Care Residential Staff (Unit)  
SCp – Secure Care Staff in Programmes  
SCCJR – Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research  
SIRCC – Scottish Institute for Residential Childcare  
SJM – Scottish Justice Matters (journal)  
SPS – Scottish Prison Service

TfC – Time for Change (Up-2-Us Project)  
TfCm – Time for Change Staff in Management  
TfCw – Time for Change Staff (Individual Case Worker)

Up-2-Us – Third Sector Organisation (see Appendix 3)  
UK – United Kingdom

WGSG – Women and Geography Study Group  
WSA – Whole-Systems Approach

YOI – Young Offenders Institution  
YW – Young Woman  
YWC – Young Women’s Centre

(...) – Text omitted  
(pause) – pause in interview  
{\*\*\*} – name omitted

# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

This is a project about young women, their experiences of incarceration and the ways in which these carceral ‘closed’ spaces are constituted. While many different service providers are involved in ‘caring’ and ‘controlling’, relatively little is known of the actual social worlds that these young female detainees inhabit and move between. They constitute a minority group within institutions as well as in wider society; and, while they are seen in categories of high risk, high need, and extreme behaviour, they also figure in a number of loaded discourses around morality, sexuality and gender norms. Previous Scottish studies have focussed on specific themes such as young women and violence (Batchelor 2005) or youth and transition (Barry 2006). Building on these, this project aims to shed light on the different social worlds that these young women occupy, ranging from secure care units, prisons and closed psychiatric facilities, to their life on the ‘outside’. This thesis aims to understand their journeys which are situated in a force field between control and care.

After briefly introducing the main group of young research participants, all between 14 and 21 years of age, I want to tell a story that I encountered during my fieldwork.<sup>1</sup> When I reflect on this project, one of the images that comes to mind is about how ‘outsideness’ gets created: it is lunchtime and we are in a dining room with a window that opened on to fields and a grey sky. I say ‘open up’, but in fact this window, like all other windows in the building, does not actually open. I am sitting and eating with two young women (Lisa and Amber) and one staff member (Erin). The atmosphere is a little strained because Amber is a new arrival and does not yet fit in with the other young people in the unit. Erin tries hard to keep a conversation going, but that is not easy. Two other young people are missing from the group because they misbehaved and had just been sent to their room. Eventually a conversation is started by Lisa, who sits with her back to the window:

Lisa exclaims loudly: ‘Staff deprive me of my outsideness.’

Erin replies: ‘I don’t know what you’re saying. You are talking in your weird voice, your weird accent. You are not separating words, what do you mean?’

Lisa repeats (getting slightly annoyed): ‘Staff deprive me of my outsideness!’

Erin (unfriendly): ‘What?’

Amber chips in: ‘Staff deprive me of my outsideness’

Erin (in a mocking voice): ‘No wonder I have no clue what you are saying, outsidedness isn’t even a word!’

Lisa (now shouting): ‘Outsideness, not outsidedness!’

Erin: ‘I don’t know that, that is not a word.’

Lisa: ‘It is in my dictionary!’

Erin: ‘You can go to the courtyard, so you can go outside!’

Lisa smashes her cutlery on the plate with a bang and points outside the window, shouting: ‘Outside there I mean!’

---

<sup>1</sup> All recorded in SC, field notes, 05/14; all names changed – not corresponding with pseudonyms used in Chapter 4.

While just a mundane institutional encounter, it is quite remarkable on different levels. First and foremost it shows how aware the young women are of their geographical location and the nature of their confinement. What is more is how Lisa seemed to have thought through where she was, inventing the word ‘outsideness’ to express what she cannot have and where she cannot be. While this topic seemed to erupt unexpectedly, the spatiality of confinement, with its added rules and regulations, is a constant undercurrent in the young women’s everyday lives. The young women’s outsideness, of which they are deprived, could be interpreted simply as ‘being outside’ or being ‘free’; but, having talked to many of them over the course of my fieldwork, I would like to add two alternative possibilities. One is the imaginary ‘outside’ to high levels of control and care more generally, and another is that many of them long to be able to reach a state of ‘outsideness’ that they describe as a ‘normal’ life. The creation of Lisa’s ‘outsideness’ will follow us through the coming chapters.

Burman and Batchelor (2009) note that ‘young women offenders’ have been overlooked, marginalised and ignored by policy, practice and research. There is, however, a small but growing number of in-depth studies on certain aspects of young women’s detention in Scotland (Roesch-Marsh 2014; McKellar and Kendrick 2013; Burman and Batchelor 2009), the UK (Sharpe 2012; Gelsthorpe and Worrall 2009; Goldson 2002) and in similar settings in other countries (Chesney-Lind and Shelden 2014; Andershed 2013; Alder 2001). These studies have inspired this project and provided guidance on working in confined environments and with young women. Due to its focus on youth, this project touches on wider debates about increasing securitisation of childhoods and criminalisation of young people (Valentine 1995; Barry and McNeill 2009; Muncie 2008). While there is a comprehensive literature on the historic and contemporary effects of the securitisation of youth (Morgan 2009; Brown 2005; Collins and Kearns 2001), a lot less is known of the institutional geographies and journeys through locked environments. Within this discourse on young people, extensive debates have been fought over the inherent paradox of ‘care versus control’ (Goldson 2002; Bullock, Little and Spencer 1998; Harris and Timms 1993), and these provide an important common thread throughout the following conceptual and empirical materials.

Considering not just the implications of age, but also of gender, these young women seemingly challenge the codes of hegemonic femininity and are often portrayed as being difficult, unmanageable and needy (Burman 2008). The majority of young women who experience detention are characterised in the literature as defining social exclusion (Loucks 2004). In a wider context of poverty and social injustice, young women’s marginalisation is connected to all life spheres, exacerbating underachievement and low self-esteem (Stephenson 2007). Women, and especially young women, have been presented as a ‘particular problem’ in Scotland’s penal discourse since the late-1980s (Burman and Batchelor 2009). This view has developed alongside changing perceptions of young women’s behavior, including a rising moral panic over girls’ violence. The blurring boundaries between rule-breaking and law-breaking, as well as between public and private

spheres, increase the ‘disciplinisation’ beyond the confines of institutions. Control is no longer just a matter of criminal justice, for discipline and normalisation are increasingly exerted on the ‘outside’. This fact is important insofar as it redefines the boundaries of control that might formerly have been associated distinctly with closed institutions.

Delving further into the constitution of closed institutions, this study is positioned within the sub-field of carceral geography, with links to other fields, such as young people’s and mental health geographies, as well as criminology. While geographical studies of young people and crime are not new<sup>2</sup>, carceral geography has mostly focussed on adult prison populations. The potential of spaces of incarceration for geographical enquiry has been highlighted by carceral geographers like Moran (2015: 2), who points out the three main interconnected strands: (1) the nature of carceral spaces and experiences within them; (2) spatial geographies of carceral systems; and (3) the relationship between the carceral and a punitive state. While this project mainly reflects the first point with an in-depth analysis of the constitution of carceral space and specifically gendered and aged experiences within it, it moves beyond the immediate institution towards larger carceral systems. Understanding the young women’s journeys as a vignette of the ‘carceral’, situates their experiences in a wider context of security geographies (Philo 2012) which entails a contemporary global and individual reality shaped by increasing securitisation. At a time of mass incarceration unprecedented in many parts of the English speaking world and beyond, we see a level of imprisonment which confines not only individuals, but systematically detains whole groups (Garland 2001). The penalisation of poverty sits within a ‘self-perpetuating cycle of social and legal marginality with devastating personal and social consequences’ (Wacquant 2000: 384). While incarceration levels in Scotland do not nearly match their US-American counterparts<sup>3</sup>, individual carceral journeys and notions of systemic entrapment seem to correlate, raising the need for an in-depth understanding of wider penal landscapes.

Conceptually, this project mainly relies on Goffman’s micro-analytical approach, closely followed by Foucault’s account of disciplinary power. In order to theorise control and care and uncover the breadth and depth of ‘closed space’, their more abstract constructs are analysed and later mapped across and applied to the empirical realm. Much of their work is regarded here as complementary – while acknowledging that both academics come from different research traditions. The exploration of their works is complemented by references to Agamben’s concept of ‘exception’ and the production of *homines sacri*. Further, this thesis takes an underlying feminist approach which runs through all sections as a common thread. While the theoretical discussion rarely mentions women, the authors were read with ‘young women’ in mind. I chose not to base this research only on explicitly feminist theory as I believe it important not to make ‘gender’ the overriding category of analysis. It is rather

---

<sup>2</sup> See Evans’ (1980) book on juvenile delinquents – albeit with a quantitative focus on mapping crime.

<sup>3</sup> At the time of writing Scotland had a prison population rate of 143 (per 100,000 of national population) (data referring to 02/2016), whereas the US in comparison has a rate of 698 (data referring to 12/2013). Within Europe, however, the Scottish prison population rate is high, compared to Sweden (rate of 55), Germany (rate of 76), and France (rate of 99) (Source: all ICPR 2016).



an inherent thought intertwining with conceptualisations of institutions, individual experiences and young women's journeys. Finding the right balance, between the distinctiveness of the young women's voices and superimposing gender as the main frame for their experiences, was not without challenge. Re-reading my first two findings chapters, I was surprised to encounter so little material on overtly gendered aspects of confinement, underlining the importance of reading *all* of the young women's experiences as 'gendered'. Here, a feminist lens is directly applied to Agamben and his adapted figure of *femina sacra* – theorising and shining a light on underlying forms of abandonment. Being confronted with trauma, violence and death, the young women's stories illustrate how the singularity of their situation can be found in the seemingly 'mundane', situated at the fringes of a society, a society which practices abandonment *in* upholding care and control.

Before detailing the objectives of the thesis, I want to relay my motivations to take on this subject in the first place. My initial contact with this area of research dates back six years, when I moved to Scotland after the completion of my *Diplom*<sup>4</sup> in geography in Germany. At the time I held a number of different jobs, one of which was on a small research project to do with young people and mental health. By chance, one of the other people on the project was a forensic psychiatrist who had worked in Scotland's prisons and psychiatric facilities for many years. Speaking to him, and then to other practitioners and policy-makers, sparked my interest in issues around young women and incarceration. They drew my attention to the high levels of mobility, often chaotic lives, low levels of engagement with services, education, and jobs, and exposure to trauma, violence and loss. Moreover, they also pointed to the problematic nature of current policy responses and the consequent requirement for repeated stays in 'locked' institutions for many of these young women. Through this small research project, I was also introduced to Up-2-Us.<sup>5</sup> This organisation runs its own project for girls and young women called Time for Change – the only project of its kind in Scotland.

A year later, I decided to write my MRes dissertation about young women and the criminal justice system.<sup>6</sup> I began to look into geographical studies on the topic and came across carceral geography. I used the MRes to talk more widely to policy-makers and practitioners, and to interview young women with previous experience of closed institutions. During my time working with Up-2-Us, I learned some of the young women's histories, how they had ended up in custody and how they negotiated their way through institutions and community. These life histories affected me profoundly, motivating me to explore the situation of these young women further, marking the starting point for this PhD thesis.

### *Aims*

Throughout the thesis, I have sought to demonstrate how experiences of 'closed' institutions and inequalities across a wide range of scales come together as a form of abandonment that,

---

<sup>4</sup> Equivalent to Masters-level in the UK.

<sup>5</sup> See extended description in Appendix 3.

<sup>6</sup> The MRes was part of a 1+3 option to do PhD research and provided me with the opportunity to run a 'pilot' study for the PhD.

in turn, is both embedded in close control and care and embodied in the young women's personal experiences and journeys. The challenge of the thesis was, therefore, to traverse scales, to move between institutional, individual and more abstract forms of young women's mobility. By listening to the young women's experiences, I aimed to personalise the anonymous and bureaucratic organisational structures of carceral institutions. Interrogating aspects of care and control within the confinement of closed institutions, this thesis seeks to conceptualise institutional regimes and the people within, while acknowledging that this can only ever be done in a fragmentary way by approximation to 'inside' lifeworlds. The project seeks to combine the personal and mundane aspects of institutional life with wider issues of securitisation, disciplinisation and societal responses to people on the margins. It does so through a series of distinct chapters, each offering diverse perspectives, threaded together with themes of control and care, to illuminate the immediate social situation of the young women. I have also included 'professional' voices to capture dilemmas and ambiguities of providing care while exercising extreme levels of control. Specifically, I worked with three broad research themes in both my empirical and theoretical work:

- ❖ The first is concerned with the constitution of 'closed space' in order to understand the underlying regime based on architecture, design, rules and block regulations;
- ❖ The second analyses individual experiences of confinement, including young women's views on entering a closed institution, ways they adapt or resist the regime, and how they cope with embodied aspects of detention;
- ❖ The third connects the 'institution' and the 'individual' through looking at young women's journeys and their high levels of mobility through different institutional spaces and beyond.

This story of their relationship with 'closed spaces' and high mobility develops over the following eight chapters addressing the main aim of the thesis which is to understand the tissue and fabric of confinement through these young women's eyes.

**Chapter 2** provides an overview of the relevant literatures in human geography. Grounding the research in carceral geography in particular, other key sources stem from children's geography and mental health geography. A wider social science focus considers criminological literature on young women and criminal justice. This chapter draws on carceral-geographic writing that touches on the three research frames, referring to the nature of 'closed spaces' of confinement, individual (particularly female) experiences, and broader carceral systems and mobility. At this stage, carceral geography's theory development is introduced, with a particular focus on Goffman and Foucault, which leads on to **Chapter 3** in which my own theoretical analysis focuses first and foremost on Goffman's conceptual framework for a micro-level understanding of institutional spaces and interaction. This focus is further abstracted (to a meso-level) by my analysis of Foucault's work on disciplinary power and surveillance, tracing the complex workings of power in and beyond closed institutions. With a final macro-level of abstraction, I also consider Agamben and his work on the exception and the production of *homines sacri*, to make sense of the wider societal

implications of this most coercive form of institutional control. After a short introduction of the three theorists and their wider work, I again focus the theoretical analysis on the three research frames in order to mirror, and allow for a mapping-across to, the later empirical findings. In order to apply and re-direct the focus to young women, I close the theoretical account by thinking through conceptual implications for young female detainees and the suitability of a potential representational figure of *femina sacra*.

**Chapter 4** provides an overview of the methodological considerations, including questions of positionality, ethical implications of working with young interviewees in locked settings, and an introduction to all research participants. A description of the research process clarifies the inherently ‘messy’ and complicated nature of researching ‘closed’ environments. Reflections on my feminist research approach are aided by criminological examples in similar settings. Recognising the advantages, challenges, and limits to doing research with young women in these particular settings is essential to evaluate and understand the findings. As a short introduction to the institutional landscape in Scotland, **Chapter 5** draws on policy and practice around secure care units, prisons, and closed psychiatric facilities. While the individual institutions cannot be named for reasons of confidentiality, the secure care estate, women’s prisons and the range of psychiatric facilities are connected with important policy developments. Critically, this chapter highlights broader institutional geographies.

The following three chapters consider the empirical findings, mirroring again the three initial research frames. **Chapter 6** explores the institutional constitution of ‘closed space’ and the inner geographies of regimes, timetables, and regulations – all in the light of a balancing of control and care. The institutional aims of inclusion and rehabilitation are confronted with the institutional routine of constant surveillance, measuring and evaluation of the detainees’ minds and bodies. The conceptual frame is mapped across from Chapter 3 allowing an in-depth analysis of secure care and prison assemblages. **Chapter 7** relays the young women’s own experiences of ‘closed’ institutions, particularly focussing on confinement as an embodied, emotional and repetitive practice. Goffman’s conceptual lens on processes of adaption, resistance and general coping mechanisms in institutional spaces helps to unpack the young women’s descriptions. His work on primary and secondary adjustments and detailed geographies of ‘closed’ space’ serve to uncover underlying agency and feelings of powerlessness. Combining the institutional and the individual sphere, **Chapter 8** builds on the first two findings chapters to understand young women’s social situation beyond the institution, proceeding from Foucault’s carceral archipelago and Agamben’s adapted figure of *femina sacra*. In following the young women’s journeys in/through/out/beyond the institutional sphere, care and control can be understood in their wider situated contexts of extreme mobility. By focussing on the concept of ‘journey’ and wider implications of securitisation, the tracing of young female mobility allows for the development of a dialectical frame of ‘abandonment’ which seems to collide and intertwine with the young women’s description of states of ‘outsideness’.

**Chapter 9** marks the conclusion of the thesis and summarises the main conceptual, methodological and empirical findings. By mapping across from previous carceral-geographical findings, this chapter notes how the project contributes to the sub-field, while also pushing at its boundaries. By focussing on gender and age specific characteristics in institutional ‘locked’ environments, the thesis provides both theoretical and empirical contributions and addresses a current gap in human geography. Pointing towards the need for further, more in-depth inquiries, the thesis concludes with reflections on the wider significance for our understanding of care and control in institutional contexts and beyond.

# CHAPTER 2

## Contextualising Carceral Geography

As a relatively novel and fast-developing sub-discipline, carceral geography provides a valuable, spatially informed view on confinement and closed spaces, while at the same time attempting to make efforts towards social change. While the focus of the chapter lies with carceral geography, ‘other’ related geographies are referred to throughout, in order to position this project within wider human geographic research. Carceral geography, partly due to its novel description and appearing at first as ‘rather niche’ (Moran 2015: 149), has made continuous attempts to position itself as a field with interdisciplinary links to other areas of carceral study. This chapter introduces emerging carceral geographies,<sup>7</sup> before enquiries particularly relevant for this project are summarised and critiqued. Mirroring the organisational structure of empirical results (Chapter 6-8), the next section engages with the carceral-geographic notion of the constitution of closed space before looking into how experiences of the ‘carceral’ are conceptualised in previous carceral-geographic accounts. The exploration of carceral journeys and notions of systemic entrapment recall other attempts at capturing a wider sense of how confinement affects lives beyond detention, as well as the ways in which penal systems work as interlinkages of containment.

In ‘theoretical encounters’, a carceral-geographic engagement with more abstract concepts focuses mainly on three theorists: Goffman, and the contested nature of carceral-geographic engagement with his work; Foucault, and his widely used but also contested lens of disciplinary control; and, Agamben, in an account of how carceral geographers engage with his theory of ‘exception’. Other concepts, such as TimeSpace and liminality, are also noted as drivers for theory. Critiquing an absence of women in theoretical work, but also engaging with the rich empirical scholarship on women within carceral geography, the following section asks about the possibility for a feminist carceral geography – also contextualising similar movements in wider penal studies. Closing in on the primary focus of this project, this section concludes with reflections on young women and their position in a carceral context.

### 2.1 Emerging Carceral Geographies

While individual geographical studies on prisons and other closed institutions go back to the nineteenth century and the work of Kropotkin<sup>8</sup> on Russian and French Prisons (1887), the field of carceral geographies has only emerged relatively recently.<sup>9</sup> Although there are a few

---

<sup>7</sup> At times ‘carceral geography’ is pluralised here to underline the different foci and theoretical orientations within the sub-field.

<sup>8</sup> Kropotkin as an ‘anarchist’ geographer wrote at various points from prison as well as choosing to write about the Russian and French penal systems as social studies of closed institutions and exile colonies.

<sup>9</sup> This refers to the Anglo-American academic world. Researchers like Dirsuweit (1999: 71) claim that carceral environments have for a long time been in the centre of geographical research. There is, however, little mention of a distinct field of carceral geography before the early 2000s – again referring to the (linguistically limited) Anglo-American (and German) scholarship with which I am familiar. According to Moran (2015: 9) there is substantial

earlier unpublished studies by geographers (Ferrant 1997; Marshall 1997), Valentine's and Longstaff's (1998) study on the negotiation of power relations within prison through food distribution and Dirsuweit's (1999) case study on carceral spaces in a women's prison in South Africa, mark the first publications of empirical research that can retrospectively be positioned within the field of carceral geography. In an attempt to conceptualise carceral geography, Philo (2012: 4) described the subfield as one of three strands of geographical security studies dealing with 'the spaces set aside for 'securing' – detaining, locking up/away – problematic populations of one kind or another'.

Carceral-geographic research spans across criminal justice as well as migrant detention and touches upon broader issues such as gender (Moran et al. 2009), mobility (Gill 2013; Michalon 2013) and labour (Nowakowski 2013), as well as popular culture (Turner 2013) and art (Turner forthcoming); but also wider societal discussions on security (Morin 2013) and state power (Martin and Mitchelson 2009).<sup>10</sup> Conceptual underpinnings used include Foucault, Agamben and Goffman, but also de Certeau and the concept of liminality or TimeSpace. While most theoretical material has been used 'on the side'<sup>11</sup> to support empirical material, more in-depth discussions on theoretical concepts are growing (see Schliehe 2016). Carceral geography provides a new angle on wider human-geographical debates, in that closed spaces arguably show broad societal issues with a heightened intensity, providing a background for discussions on issues of security, safety and surveillance. While most studies in carceral geography have solely focused on prisons, rather than examining different types of closed institutions<sup>12</sup> under the umbrella of carceral geography, this project argues for the inclusion of other closed institutions. Looking at secure care units or closed psychiatric units alongside prisons offers a multi-layered understanding of the carceral experience and nature of incarceration. To discuss different types of institutions may be challenging, but offers the potential for addressing concepts of care and control, engaging with individual experiences and tracing inter-locking institutions on a societal level.

As a separate but related field, mental health geography, also sometimes referred to as asylum and post-asylum geography, is well established within human geography and explores the importance of physical and social environments for mental well-being, as well as for the treatment of illness. From historical analysis of mental asylums (Philo 2004; Ross 2014; Morrison 2014) to questions about the architecture and design of future facilities (Curtis et al. 2007), mental health geography is in many ways a role model and forerunner for institutional analyses in carceral geography.<sup>13</sup> Broadly speaking, psychoanalytic work

---

French scholarship in carceral geography. The dual-language (English/French) conference on prison research in Bordeaux (2013) provided a rare opportunity to collaborate across language barriers.

<sup>10</sup> See also work on historical perspectives on confinement, like Morin and Moran 2015.

<sup>11</sup> Meaning that 'theory' has been worn lightly as explanations of empirical material without seeming to make a big difference to the empirical material at hand.

<sup>12</sup> There are related bodies of literature like institutional geographies or mental health geographies that have been addressed and combined with carceral geographic agendas at the 'Troubling Institutions' conference at Glasgow in December 2014.

<sup>13</sup> For this study, mental health geography and particularly the PhD students at Glasgow and Durham, as well as the asylum and post-asylum conference exchange between the two departments, has provided me with a firm grounding in

(see Kingsbury and Pile 2014; Bondi 2005; *Social and Cultural Geography* Issue 2003 4(3)) also falls under geographies of mental health, giving new conceptual ideas to carceral geography at a time when psychologically informed environments are used in the planning of carceral architecture. Wolch and Philo (2000) argue that the field of mental health geography has significantly shifted from concentrating on the locations of institutions and people with mental illness to a more critical discussion about the role of spatial processes in marginalisation. Under the heading of mental health geography, early advances into issues like embodiment (see Butler and Parr 1999) or discussions on aspects of ‘learning disabilities’ and ‘impairment’ (Philo and Metzel 2005) provide contributions that are relevant for carceral-geographic research.<sup>14</sup> With a substantive corpus of work since the early 1970s, mental health geography is firmly rooted in conceptual discussions, including Foucauldian interpretations, and has provided inspiration and theoretical grounding for the exploration of ‘other’ institutional spaces from orphanages (Disney 2015a) and schools (Gallagher 2010) to secure care units (Schliehe 2015).

There are a substantial number of studies on particular spaces of confinement like the mental asylum (see, for example, Moon et al. 2005; *Health and Place* 2000; Alderman 1997; Philo 1997a). These perspectives on closed institutions have valuable insights to offer to carceral geography, for example regarding architectural aspects of confinement or physical and emotional responses to incarceration. In practice, the lines between psychiatric and criminal justice institutions are often blurred – this is also true for the fields of mental health and carceral geography. Certainly for this project, the incorporation of closed psychiatric spaces under the umbrella of carceral institutions has provided methodological and conceptual challenges (see Chapter 4) but has transpired out of empirical necessity, since for many individuals the spheres of mental health and criminal justice are conjoined in their everyday experiences. Borrowing Parr’s (2008: 2) terminology, their ‘spacings, uncertainties, constructions and experienced subjectivities’ necessitate traffic between these closely related fields of study.

As a field within sociology, criminology provides another main ‘starting point’ for carceral geographers (Wacquant 2008, 2002; Simon 2007; Garland 2001). While criminology previously focussed chiefly on the temporal aspects of imprisonment, Moran (2015) argues that a ‘spatial turn’ in prison studies has recently occurred. There are indeed many papers on ‘geographical’/‘spatial’ aspects of the carceral, like prison architecture (Hancock and Jewkes 2011) or landscapes of control and transcarceral spaces (Allspach 2010) that could easily figure in pages of geographical rather than sociological research. Crewe et al.’s (2014) work on the emotional geographies of prison life, for example, introduces geographical debates

---

historical and contemporary studies of ‘closed spaces’. From walks around Glasgow’s Gartnavel asylum, to introductions to particular psychiatrists like R.D. Laing, and learning about the history of confinement that is so intimately linked to prisons and other institutions, these exchanges have majorly contributed to shaping this project.

<sup>14</sup> There is very little material on ‘learning disabilities’ in prison. For further information in the Scottish context and a nuanced discussion on wider issues of terminology as well as lived realities, see Gormley (forthcoming).

into criminology. Increasingly, collaborations between geographers and criminologists (see Moran et al. 2011; Schliehe and Crowley 2016) are common in the field of carceral studies.

## **2.2 Particular Enquiries into Carceral Geographies**

Carceral geographies span and synthesise three main areas of research: (1) the nature and experience of carceral spaces; (2) spatial and distributional characteristics of carceral systems; and (3) the relationship between the carceral system and an increasingly punitive state (Moran and Keinänen 2013: 63). These areas within carceral geography overlap with other geographies of security, namely research on landscapes of defence and critical geopolitics (Philo 2012: 4). These areas within ‘geographies of security’ are often closely related, if not indistinguishable (Cook and Whowell 2011; Mitchelson 2012). One example is Gregory’s (2006, 2008) work on carceral spaces like Guantanamo Bay and the ‘space of exception’ that effectively combines a carceral geography with critical geopolitics.<sup>15</sup> Especially when entering a more general debate on ‘the carceral’ and its global expansion, other geographical areas like the study of surveillance (like Graham 2009; Shaw 2012, 2013) and its embeddedness in geopolitics reveal the closeness of the three sub-strands in geographies of security. The following enquiries show different angles of carceral-geographical research, highlighting a dynamic field that in many ways faces up to a contemporary global and individual reality as shaped by increasing securitisation.

### ***Closed Spaces***

As early as 1887 Kropotkin published a comprehensive study on Russian and French prisons, providing plans of the St. Petersburg Fortress with detailed accounts of prison spaces and exiles in Siberia and Sakhalin. He also raised concerns about young people’s detention in Mettray and the reformatory colony of Porquerolles (Ibid: 382). Since this descriptive and detailed account of penal environments and tales of prisoners’ experiences, different forms of categorisation of ‘closed’ space have emerged. Ferrant (1997) organises institutional or ‘closed’ space into four different sub-groups: namely material, social, symbolic and contextual spaces. These will be used in the categorisation of spaces in this project’s findings (see Chapter 6-8). Ferrant describes the material spaces – referring to buildings, landings, blocks and cells – as the very fabric of the prison, with high significance for both prisoners and staff. These spaces are recognised as those most openly seen and used strategically by authorities to exercise control. Social spaces, on the other hand, are more ambiguous in that they provide a stage for interaction and confrontation through which social relations are played out.<sup>16</sup> These material and social spaces overlap with symbolic space, which means that certain areas are assigned a heightened meaning, as in the process of carving out personal space within a cell or groups of people claiming a place as ‘theirs’. Ferrant explains how she

---

<sup>15</sup> See also Master’s work on the war on terror and the role of women, including accounts of Abu Graib (2009).

<sup>16</sup> ‘These arise when groups of people within the share particular sets of meanings by occupying and moving through different material spaces. Intricate processes are operating within these spaces as different groups attempt to ‘lay claim’ to certain parts of the prison in a more informal manner’ (Ferrant 1997: 14).



sees tangible spaces of the institution imbued with intangible meanings that are connected to an individual or group identity. Contextual spaces, therefore, take the spatial element onto a different level, referring to the geographical location of a prison but also how prisons are situated in relation to each other.<sup>17</sup> Ferrant (1997: 23) provides a detailed account of prison as a microcosm that is ‘produced by the social relations operating through the spaces of the prison’, analysing a sophisticated regime that controls through long-term planning of sentences as well as changing prisoner identities. Her aim is to specify the importance of space and spatial strategies for the study of criminal justice and better to understand the ‘crisis’ situation in Scottish prisons (Ibid: 268). She analyses the manner in which the prison regime manipulates prisoners’ lives and how prisoners themselves use strategies of legitimating their role and identities through pushing for personal control over their spaces and lives (Ibid: 274). With terms like ‘spatiality of self’, she captures underlying social structures at play in prison establishments that provide an excellent analytical frame for this project’s empirical material.

In Dirsuweit’s (1999) account of South African carceral spaces, the normative function of the prison is linked to its spatial organisation. Maintaining a Foucauldian terminology, she describes the prison environment as a space of omni-disciplinary control that is nonetheless subject to (limited) resistance and a ‘reclaiming of space’ (Ibid: 82). Her display of maps of the insides of the prison shows how carceral space is situated and resituated as a ‘landscape’, invoking shifting individual and communal identities that provide a ‘complex and changing tapestry of culturally defined spaces’ (Ibid: 83). This sense of prison space as fluid and dynamic is taken up in Parr and Philo’s (2000: 513) account of ‘institutional geographies’, widening the bricks-and-mortar environments that ‘seek to restrain, control, treat, ‘design’ and ‘produce’ particular and supposedly improved versions of human minds and bodies’. They divide the geographical study of institutions into two strands: the ‘geography of institutions’, seeing the closed environment as a container or marker of difference relative to the enviroing community; and the ‘geography in institutions’, dealing with the interior spaces that are at times especially designed to achieve normalisation (Ibid: 514).<sup>18</sup>

Tying in with wider research on the geography of buildings, carceral spaces are linked to modalities of power and affect which is conceptualised by Adey (2008) as a form of control. This idea is further developed by Adey et al. (2013) when exploring ambience and atmosphere in spaces of surveillance. They refer to geographies of ‘affective atmospheres’ (Anderson 2009; Bissell 2010) as encompassing practices deeply rooted in technologies that have direct connections to the organisation of space and surveillance within closed institutions. In the exploration of the constitution of carceral environments, researchers draw

---

<sup>17</sup> The ‘differences, peculiarities, and anomalies’ of a prison within a wider network of prisons mirrors wider control mechanisms in the development of the penal system (Ibid: 15).

<sup>18</sup> Parr and Philo describe Boden’s (1994) view on institutions not as pre-given entities, but as non-incidental ‘accomplishments’ linking both temporal and spatial features as mattering to institutional decision-making and action (Ibid: 519f.). Offering a view of institutions as ‘distinctly geographical accomplishments’ (Ibid: 519), Boden links this theme to everyday rationalities and local readings of institutional life – pre-empting later carceral geographic discussions on institutional spaces (like TimeSpace or liminality). Parr and Philo point towards the connections to Actor Network Theory (ANT) and Latourian notions (Ibid: 518).

on geographies of architecture (see Kraftl 2010; Jacobs and Merriman 2011) and the multi-sensory conceptualisations of buildings. One theory about built space and the politics behind architecture as ‘code-making’, including less obvious forms of symbolism, is termed by Kraftl and Adey (2008: 214) ‘affect in design’. Accounting for ways in which buildings are ‘dwelt in and performed’ (Ibid: 228) includes the bricks-and-mortar of closed institutions as the ‘architecture of incarceration’. Research on buildings and spaces of incarceration is an interdisciplinary, joint criminological/geographical venture that assesses the aesthetics of penal environments, but also asks how urban design has incorporated features of the carceral (see Hancock and Jewkes 2011; Moran 2015). Reviewing a new generation of prisons and prison plans, but also the global spread of particular (prototype) prison architectures and the global economic forces driving institutional design, helpful sources can be found in geographies of architecture and mental health geographies (on therapeutic landscapes, see: Laws 2009; Curtis et al. 2007).<sup>19</sup>

Philo’s (2001: 476) account of Kantrowitz’s work provides an example of how the simplification of the prison space and time regime is an essential task in order to control and to intervene in the prison’s ‘ecology’ and basic geography. Far from describing a ‘static geography’, Philo points towards Kantrowitz’s focus on mobility within prison space of ‘streaming, straggling, shuffling’ around (Ibid: 477). The prison regime (or ‘body count system’ (Ibid: 478)), at the same time, relies on prisoners being ‘in place’, to be accountable to/by any ‘body’ at any time, thus creating a particular institutional geography of constrained motion. Looking at very detailed spatial features of the prison, Baer (2005) writes about his experience of the decorations in prison cells, providing an example of how, through small changes in material spaces, social and symbolic meanings can change people’s perception. These ‘visual imprints’ achieve personalisation through creating new meanings for individuals, as well as conveying social status and a symbolic ownership through certain marking of territory (Baer 2005: 215). This form of production of space is further developed by Sibley and van Hoven in their 2009 paper on boundary construction in prison and the contamination of personal space. Focussing on the ‘interpersonal relations’ of prisoners and their ‘horizontal’ interactions, they introduce the American philosopher Alford who argued that the distinctive internal geographies significantly affect prisoners and staff (Ibid: 200).

In the first carceral-geographic monograph on the development of the field, Moran (2015) highlights the connections between the production of prison space and perceived constant surveillance, stressing a specific understanding of space which is simultaneously ‘more than surface’ in being ‘medium’ and ‘outcome’ (Ibid: 17) and spatiality as ‘lived’ and ‘experienced’ (Ibid: 28). As in wider human geography, the terms ‘space’ and ‘place’ continue to be contested; but they do very much ‘matter’, observed on the level of everyday, emotional experiences, for ‘space and place are concepts that refer not to dead coordinates, but to living, lively sets of relations that never hold still’ (Horton and Kraftl 2014: 288).

---

<sup>19</sup> Also see Morin (2013) on intentions behind the refurbishment and new-built prison environment, with the example of a US penitentiary and the country’s first Special Management Unit for the most ‘difficult’ prisoners.

These conceptualisations of closed space provide a frame for analysing the constitution of institutions (see Chapter 6) that take into account wider spatial arrangements of penal infrastructures as well as inner workings of control and institutional regimes. While this institutional frame of reference with its contextual spaces might seem rather abstract at this juncture, it is directly related to individual perceptions of what it is like to live in locked environments and how individual journeys through closed spaces are experienced.

### *Experiencing ‘the Carceral’*

To capture experiences of carceral environments, the following section will consider how carceral geographers have covered social geographies and issues such as identity, agency and culture. Valentine and Longstaff (1998: 137) focus on food as a major influence on the prison experience in that it is ‘a basic raw material of the body’, causing direct regime inscriptions on the prisoner’s bodies. The importance that is placed on food is associated with its connection to a sense of home and identity, generally symbolising a (dis)juncture to the ‘outside’ (Ibid: 139). It does, however, also offer opportunities to resist the institutional containment of identity through purchasing extras or, in the case of Ugelvik’s (2011) criminological study, through hidden food-making with makeshift equipment. Much of the carceral-geographic literature on experiences of closed space centres around adaption and resistance to institutional life.<sup>20</sup> Dirsuweit (1999) states that prisoners do not necessarily conform to ideals of rehabilitation or normalisation, but rather resist changes to their identity through the reclamation of space and the assertion of identity. She argues that a ‘vibrant culture’ exists despite a controlling prison regime (Ibid: 75).<sup>21</sup>

Van Hoven and Sibley (2008: 1002) place similar weight on prisoners’ agency, highlighting its importance in the production of prison space. By exploring the role of vision and prisoners ‘looking at each other’ and ‘being looked at’, they identify an important part of daily prison routine and a means of survival (Ibid: 1012) embedded in prisoners’ knowledge of formal and informal structures and adaptive strategies – ‘looking’ allows them to explore how much they can stretch boundaries and where they can find blind spots for minor transgressions (Ibid: 1014). This notion is extended in their 2009 paper to issues of contamination. Anxiety about contamination (social and physical) is concerned with maintaining cleanliness and avoiding contagion of body and personal space (Sibley and van Hoven 2009: 203). Spaces like the shower room or the laundry are highlighted as particularly ‘boundary-less’ and ‘dangerous’, with clear connections to excrement, diseases, body fluids and sexuality (Ibid: 204). Spending precious money on having laundry washed separately to get it back cleaner and without risk of contagion seems a common practice, while potential contamination of

---

<sup>20</sup> See Crewe’s (2009) in-depth analysis on adaption, compliance and resistance in an English all-male prison. In the chapter on everyday social life and culture, Crewe describes complex interpersonal dynamics that are structured by the regime with ‘atomised’ everyday social worlds infused with moral codes and judgments and complicated webs of casual cruelty, as well as by routine kindness among prisoners (Ibid: 445).

<sup>21</sup> Dirsuweit (1999: 76) underlines strong counter-discourses that challenge prison authorities on issues like work or curtailment of communication.

the dormitory presents as a source of anxiety for many that is difficult to avoid, leading to tactical calculations to maintain boundaries.

Wider research on emotional geographies and affect is helpful in conceptualising carceral experiences. As Moran (2015: 29) points out, 'expressing emotion as 'felt intensity' in prison is a highly charged activity' (see Crewe et al. 2014). Horton and Kraftl (2014: 224) indicate that human geographers previously engaged with 'emotion' in their work on environmental aspects, like landscapes, but identify a wide 'emotional turn' in the discipline. Davidson and Milligan's (2004) approach to emotional geography insists that 'emotions matter' and have tangible effects on a sense of space and time (Ibid: 524). They directly refer to emotional geographies of institutional spaces and carceral-geographic work, arguing that they show how emotions are 'dynamically related to place' (Ibid: 526). Analyses of coping with restrictive spatiality, they propose, must include feeling and fantasy as much as more robust measures of closed space.<sup>22</sup> Bondi's (2005) article<sup>23</sup> refers to Merleau-Ponty's work on perception and the importance of including conceptualisations of 'emotion' when focusing on 'troubled and often 'othered' subjective experiences' that are also routinely included in carceral-geographic literature (Ibid: 437).

Thrift (2004) focusses on what he calls 'spatial politics of affect' and, while noting that there is no stable definition of affect, sees it as different from emotion or feeling (Ibid: 59). He refers to different translations of affect<sup>24</sup> that are in similar ways taken up by Anderson in his 2006 paper (see also Kraftl 2008). He conceptualises 'hope' as being 'entangled in the circulation, and displacement, of other affects and emotions' (Ibid: 747) and thus makes an extremely relevant (but so far unacknowledged) contribution to carceral-geographic research. In the empirical analysis 'hope' routinely comes across as a significant underlying concept of institutional care and control (see secure care in particular: Chapter 6). 'Hope' stands not only for an emotion that might be felt by individual inmates or staff, but also as a consciously utilised 'aim' and 'standard' against which progress is measured and mental stability is assessed on the inside. Affect has been linked to concepts of spatial control in which affect is connected to ideas of performance, 'closely aligned with unforeseen events and random processes known as emergence' (Adey 2008: 447). Even though affective atmospheres of closed institutions might here seem to be far removed from young women's experiences, Chapter 6-8 show how an approach that takes 'affect' into account helps to expose the nexus of care and control.

---

<sup>22</sup> They are relating to Koskella's (1997) work on restrictive spatiality and emotion, and also Rowles' (1978) much earlier book *Prisoners of Space* (Ibid: 526) on the elderly.

<sup>23</sup> In her article Bondi (2005: 441) connects feminist, emotional and psychoanalytic geographies, pivoting around the core idea of a 'centrality of relationship'. She suggests a psychoanalytically-grounded approach for a different understanding of emotion, seeing it both relationally and personally. See also Davidson's (2003) work on agoraphobia.

<sup>24</sup> The first translation of affect sets it out as embodied practices that produce visible conduct (tracing it to the phenomenological tradition, including social interactionism and hermeneutics) (Thrift 2004: 60); the second translation refers to affect as based on psychoanalytic frames and a notion of drive (like desire, libido, sexuality) (Ibid: 61); the third translation is naturalistic in reference to Spinoza and Deleuze with an emphasis on relations and encounters – interaction as a form of emergence (Ibid: 61ff.); the fourth and last translation he calls 'Darwinian' as physiological change (Ibid: 63).

Raising similar points, Milhaud and Moran (2013) explore the affectual constitution of privacy in penal space. The lack of space (and being alone in it) is highlighted alongside experiences of dispossession. Constant noise is raised as a major source of stress, and prisoners report different strategies to get away from forced exposure to others, as well as forced spectatorship (Ibid: 173): identifying actual spaces to be alone, creating private space in the public realm, and retreating into the self when surrounded by others. The complicated merging of forced social encounters and shared living space with potentially long periods of separation and isolation – both without sensed privacy – underline the ambiguous and conflicted experiences that prisoners encounter on the inside. The ‘public’ (out of the public eye) and the ‘private’ (achieved through careful adaption and planning) overlap and co-exist. As can be seen in Chapter 7, the delicate balance between public and private spheres is a contentious issue for the young incarcerated women. Many talk about their everyday struggles that touch on the maintenance of privacy and agency, striving to preserve their identity and sense of self. In this way the affect and emotion of prison is embodied.

In her 2013 paper on teeth and transcarceral spaces, Moran considers the inscription of stigma on prisoners’ bodies beyond imprisonment. Moran highlights that this corporeal inscription on incarcerated bodies does not equate to prisoners being passive recipients, for they can reassert agency ‘over the project of their bodies and prioritise their re-inscription (...) minimising the extension of carceral control’ beyond the prison walls (Ibid: 14). This focus on an external gaze on leaving prisoners, and on their body as a space for reintegration, is in some accounts taken over by prison authorities in effects to normalise and rehabilitate before reintegration.<sup>25</sup> Taking a different approach and broadening the optic on incarcerated experiences means that understanding the nature and experiences of carceral environments ‘does not stop at the human’ (Ibid: 649).<sup>26</sup> Further extending the exploration of non-human entities to objects is another path of enquiry into carceral experience (see also Schliehe 2016b). The mobility of objects and detainees’ possessions in confined space is a largely overlooked dynamic in the prison context that does nonetheless permeate individual accounts of prison life (see Chapter 7).

### *Carceral Journeys and Systemic Entrapment*

A third line of enquiry into carceral geography concerns the wider societal embeddedness of individual closed institutions. Here, individual carceral journeys and a notion of systemic entrapment come into view, alongside understandings of penal landscapes and geographies

---

<sup>25</sup> This notion of returning to the outside with all its implications is not a lived reality for all prisoners. Turner (2013) briefly touches upon the most serious implication for prisoner’s bodies with the death penalty, in reference to Pratt’s (2011) sociological paper on the civilising process in penal practice. While there is more extensive literature on supermax prisons and death penalty in sociology, carceral-geographic accounts are scarce. However, a Herzog documentary on Death Row is debated on carceral-geographic online media (‘Most people do not know when and how they will die. Death Row inmates do. They are told the exact day, hour and minute of their death, including all the precise details, procedures and rituals of their execution’ (CG 2015)).

<sup>26</sup> Moran (2015a) focusses on human-animal interactions. Extending current carceral-geographic scholarship to nonhuman entities provides a chance to understand agency and spatial relations differently. Touching on both prison animals as ‘pests’ and (different) animals in prison as rehabilitative ‘entities’ allows a new dialogue about inhabitation of prisons by non-humans having a strong effect on human prison experiences.

of securityscapes. Peck's mapping of the penal state (2003: 222) analyses the neoliberal state that 'has demonstrated a capacity to morph into a variety of institutional forms', with the frontiers of social control clear in its most evident form: the prison complex, as an 'epicentral' institution in this neo-liberalised era. In this context the intensity of state involvement is increasing, and institutions like prisons perform a profoundly active role far from some peripheral presence on the edges of society (Ibid: 227).<sup>27</sup> Peck sees the USA as the principal exporter of policy ideology in the post-welfarist social and penal field, but, citing Wacquant, he views Britain as 'the land of welcome and acclimatisation chamber for these policies on their way to the conquest of Europe' (Peck 2003: 228). Similarly coming from a US perspective, Gilmore's (2007) analysis of prisons in California, *Golden Gulag*, concerns the extreme growth of state prisons in California in the last decades. In her initial outline she asks 'Why prisons? Why now? Why for so many people – especially people of colour?' (Ibid: 6). She sets out to answer these questions in her study, which is the first detailed explanation of this complex array of factors shaping the penal state. She argues that 'prisons are partial geographical solutions to political economic crisis, organised by the state, which is itself in crisis' (Ibid: 26). Her connections to everyday activism 'on the ground' thereby provide a valuable research basis but also underline how activists can work towards social change and organise social movements (Ibid: 28f.).<sup>28</sup>

Martin and Mitchelson (2009) offer a fundamental piece of carceral-geographic work on the differentiation between prisons and detention centres<sup>29</sup> hinting towards non-criminal detention, especially of migrant/asylum populations, but also the detention of 'suspects' under 'new' anti-terror rules in so called 'camps'.<sup>30</sup> Martin's and Mitchelson's main contribution is to highlight the impact of geographical work for research on confinement and incarceration as an assemblage of spatial practices. The effect of contextual spatial arrangements<sup>31</sup> on prisoners is also highlighted in Hiemstra's (2013) chapter on the chaotic geographies of migrant detention and deportation, where she highlights how penal practices and border enforcement are experienced as uneven and chaotic. Thinking about carceral space and the geographies behind confinement might therefore call for a changing or dismantling of given structures (Ibid: 72). Thinking through mobility and inertia in the context of institutional space offers a new lens for human geography when considering prison structures (Hiemstra 2013; Michalon 2013; Moran et al. 2013), but also inner-institutional movement (Schliehe 2016b).

---

<sup>27</sup> Indeed, in many ways the intensity of the state's involvement seems to be increasing, as rising moral panics around 'law and order', urban unrest, immigration and homelessness, and 'welfare dependency' license new forms of microsocial intervention and new modes of exploratory statecraft in policy fields like welfare reinvention, social-service delivery, the regulation of immigration, urban programming, crime control and job training (Peck 2003: 227).

<sup>28</sup> The mixture between academic analysis, personal narrative and appeal to social movements, and at the same time a great eye for detail in gendered, racial and general 'outsider' realities, makes this book a carceral-geographic milestone of empirical, conceptual and activist dimensions.

<sup>29</sup> For more information on asylum detention and refugee geographies, also see Gill (2010) and Mountz et al. (2012).

<sup>30</sup> Immediately suggesting the relevance of Agamben's work (see also Minca 2005 on the return of the camp).

<sup>31</sup> An important (criminological) account of the politics of places of confinement deals with the island of Hawai'i's 'Obhana Ho'opakele' by Brown and Marusek (2012), referring to Lefebvre's notion of space as a social product and alternatives to the current carceral diaspora of Hawaiian prisoners. They underline the connection to land and place as a healing element that should be foregrounded in decision-making on locations of prisons.

As important as focusing on fixed points of the carceral, geographical mobilities research has been identified as an important inspiration for geographic studies of confinement. Mobility is by now an established area of interest in carceral geography (Philo 2014; Mountz 2013; Gill 2013). Whereas geographies of mobility are mostly concerned with different forms of human movement (Adey 2006; Cresswell 2010; Cresswell and Merriman 2011), mobilities in confinement play out in an environment of restricted mobility that partly rests on hidden mobility and practices of disguise. As Urry (2007: 7) points out, mobility is ‘a property of things and people’, and moving ‘can be a source of status and power’ (Ibid: 9) whereas the coercion of movement is linked to social deprivation in exclusion. This issue is certainly a common denominator of prison environments, augmenting questions about the connection between inhibition of movement and setting of boundaries. Urry (2007: 290) notes how ‘securing’ mobilities means ‘securing’ people within ‘multiple panoptic environments’ which seems to suggest the spreading of disciplinary power into society overall. Mobilities on the small scale of the carceral, however, reveal a complex picture where mobile and inertial practices can both stand for the display of status and power as well as being a diagnostic of deprivation and disempowerment. This matter has been tackled at the larger scale of carceral movements by Gill (2013) and Michalon (2013), who question the association between mobility and freedom, and propose that much confinement can be found in spaces of mobility (just as mobility can be found in spaces of confinement).

Often geographical isolation plays an important role in the set-up of the ‘paradoxical logics juxtaposing mobility and confinement’ (Ibid: 8). A real sense of carceral journeys and borders then arises in Martin’s (2013) work on the US immigration system. Being detained in different facilities with continuing phases of release, detention and deportation decisions is displayed in flowcharts (Ibid: 156) that are also mirrored in individual pathway maps in Hiemstra’s work (2013). Individuals’ ‘arbitrary transfers, solitary confinement, indefinite detention stays, and detention’s remoteness’ (Martin 2013: 158) all reflect notions of systemic entrapment and complicated carceral journeys.

Philo’s (2012) paper on security geographies helps to put these developments of the penal state and securitisation<sup>32</sup> into a wider context that includes landscapes of defence (see also Shaw and Akhter 2014) and global (in)security (Dalby 2011), increasing surveillance and policing (Cook and Whowell 2011), and increasing border enforcement (Pickering 2014) and punitive assemblages (Gregory 2004; 2007); which Minca (in Mountz 2015: 638) calls a ‘spatial ontology of power with (...) permanent state of exception ‘a new nomos on global politics’’.<sup>33</sup> Mountz et al.’s (2012) article on detention and mobility, containment, bordering and exclusion fits into these wider security issues on migrant detention.<sup>34</sup> Capturing these

---

<sup>32</sup> Hallsworth and Lea (2011) provide a criminological account of a drift towards a security state.

<sup>33</sup> This is mirrored in Glück’s (2015) paper on the production of security spaces around piracy in Eastern Africa, with a real sense of the global movement of a security/penal apparatus merging with warfare and militarisation which directly impacts on global prison landscapes.

<sup>34</sup> Detention is described as a function to regulate mobility through technologies of exclusion that is seen as a ‘global disciplinary strategy attempting to differentially shape migrant mobility’ (Ibid: 5). They argue that the generation of ‘detainable subjects’ with suspicions of criminality and illegality justifies migrants’ confinement (Ibid: 6).

geographies of carceral systems, with a view to both distributional geographies of wider penal structures and individual movements in and out of detention, is key to the understanding of global security developments. Experiencing distance, displacement and disconnection is a prominent feature of a mobile penal machine that is most prevalent in the extreme ranges of Russian carceral geographies (Moran et al. 2011), but also arises in the disciplined mobilities of more proximate Scottish institutions (Schliehe 2014). The idea of individual journeys and more systemic penal landscapes raises uncomfortable questions at both the micro and macro scales of security and containment. Seeing closed institutions as ‘epicentral’ in the depiction of wider political and economic crises creates a deeper understanding of individual experiences of confinement. While academics ponder over developments of the penal state, the young women of Chapter 8 underline the structural difficulties that go far beyond their containment. Their states of ‘mobile entrapment’ and structural abandonment particularly come to the fore in this analysis of their ‘journeys’. Sitting at the interface of criminal/non-criminal detention, their stories expose the need to ask further questions about ‘offending’, ‘criminality’ and ‘pathways’.

These three threads of enquiries into carceral-geographic research only show part of the overall scholarship in the field, underlining particularly relevant scholarship for the framing of young women’s experiences of different closed institutions in Scotland. The three levels of (1) the nature of carceral institutions, (2) individual experiences of confinement, and (3) connecting carceral journeys to wider penal structures reflect the empirical materials presented below (see Chapter 6-8) and sets them in relational context to other carceral-geographic work. The following section on theoretical carceral geography similarly refers to relevant conceptual arguments.

### **2.3 Theoretical Encounters**

In line with Chapter 3, this introduction to carceral geography’s use of conceptual frameworks mainly touches on the work of Goffman (1991) and ‘total’ institutions, of Foucault (1991) and power, surveillance, control and the production of ‘docile bodies’, and of Agamben (1998, 2005) and the ‘spaces of exception’ and a state of ‘bare life’. Below, the consideration of theoretical concepts in carceral geography is mainly narrowed to the immediate applicability to empirical findings in what follows below, rather than affording an in-depth analysis of the concepts and their surrounding theoretical fields, which is the task instead for Chapter 3.

#### ***Re-engaging with Goffman***

Recent conceptual debates within carceral geography about spaces of detention have largely dismissed Goffman’s micro-level analysis of closed spaces and interaction, notably referring to his book *Asylums* (Goffman 1991). Baer and Ravneberg (2008) were the first to oppose Goffman’s concept of so-called ‘total institutions’ and dismiss it on the grounds that the



‘total institution’ is seen as ‘“totally” set apart from other spaces’ (...) [which] postulates an isolated world’ (Ibid: 205).<sup>35</sup> Their work is based on their own personal observations of entering and leaving prisons. Of Goffman they write: ‘his idea was that total institutions have an ‘encompassing or total character’ and that there are binary distinctions between staff and inmate, and inside and outside’ (Ibid). They argue that Goffman operates with an ‘overly simplistic dichotomy between inside and outside’ (Ibid: 213), which leads to carceral geographers being ‘tempted’ to see prisons in dualistic terms that ‘emphasise separateness and sharp contrasts from life on the outside’ (Ibid: 214). Their call to ‘challenge Goffman and the concept of total institutions’ (Ibid) is echoed by Moran and others, who adopt this standpoint in recent papers and chapters on carceral geography and thus reproducing this critique of Goffman’s work (Moran et al. 2013; Gill et al. 2013; McWatters 2013).

Moran and Keinänen’s (2013) most extensive examination of Goffman’s work on ‘total institutions’ is set against the context of Finnish *furloughs*.<sup>36</sup> They adopt Baer and Ravneberg’s critique in assessing their empirical material (Ibid: 72), while at the same time referring to Farrington (1992). Writing as a sociologist, Farrington problematises the concept of ‘total institutions’ but chooses to extend and develop the original idea, arguing that prisons were more structurally interconnected (Ibid: 16) and permeable than the concept of ‘totality’ in Goffman’s theory would have us believe. He therefore proposes the theoretical construct of ‘a ‘somewhat-less-than-total’ institution’ with an ‘identifiable-yet-permeable membrane of structures, mechanisms and policies’ (Ibid: 6). However, his interpretation and extension can already be anticipated in Goffman’s own text. The fixation on the term ‘total’, rather than on underlying analysis and results, seem to drive many critiques of Goffman in the carceral context.<sup>37</sup> Other work by Moran (2013a, 2013b, 2013d) entrenches her critique of Goffman and further challenges the concept of the ‘total institution’. In her 2013a paper she argues that many of the recent contributions to carceral geography<sup>38</sup> ‘extend critiques of the “total institution”’, and suggests that the ‘carceral’ is something more than merely the spaces in which individuals are confined’ (Ibid: 176). In her rich paper on feminist viewpoints in carceral geography, she argues – actively contesting Goffman – that prison walls are permeable and ‘trans-carceral spaces exist alongside and perhaps also in combination with an embodied sense of the ‘carceral’ which is similarly mobile beyond the prison wall through the corporeality of released prisoners’ (Moran, 2013b: 3).

These critiques arguably do not engage with Goffman’s own detailed inquiry into the openness and closedness of ‘total institutions’, successive inmate stages and their ‘moral career’ (pre-patient, in-patient, ex-patient phase; see also Goffman 1990, Scott 2011) and also inter-personal staff-inmate relationships, and hence are reductive of the original

<sup>35</sup> They propose Foucault’s notion of ‘heterotopia’ as a ‘fitting’ counter-theory that suits their empirical observations ‘especially well’ (Ibid: 208). For a more in-depth analysis see Schliehe 2016.

<sup>36</sup> Analysing *furloughs*, or home visits for prisoners, is part of a wider body of work within criminology, prison sociology and more recently also carceral geography (Moran and Keinänen 2013).

<sup>37</sup> See Jenkin’s (2008) work on Goffman as a theorist of power and the significance of his later work that helps to frame the ‘normal, diffuse ubiquity of power’ (Ibid: 157) (see also Chapter 3).

<sup>38</sup> Including Che (2005); Bonds (2006, 2009); Glasmeier and Farrigan (2007); Moran, et al. (2011); Moran et al. (2012); Baumer, et al. (2009); Hartman (2000); Allspach (2010) (Ibid: 2ff.).

complexity in *Asylums* (see Chapter 3). This view is not meant as a denunciation of studies done by either Baer and Ravneberg or Moran and co-workers; far from it, as these studies possess their own exciting conceptual manoeuvres and substantive inquiry drawn from across the globe. However, an objection is raised that they prematurely foreclose on a fuller engagement with Goffman's potential input to carceral-geographical research. His work on different lines/strategies of adaption helps to conceptualise individual experiences, but also to map the institution and wider societal structures, as has been shown by de Dardel (2013) in relation to tactics of the body in the 'underlife' of the 'total institution' (other examples are given by Crewe et al. 2014; Quirk et al. 2006). Goffman's later work on performance-based contributions is used by carceral geographers like Moran (2012b, 2013c) to explore micro-level interaction and stigma in the prison context.<sup>39</sup> Moran (2015) points out that mapping front stage/back stage terminology onto specific prison spaces proves problematic, and instead proposes the terms public and private space to capture similar socio-spatial contexts.<sup>40</sup> Despite much critique, I argue that Goffman's acute eye for detail in social interaction provides a lens on systems of confinement that contemporary carceral geography should not dismiss (see Chapter 3, also Schliehe 2016). His description of these intricate social worlds is therefore used extensively in Chapter 7.

### ***Foucault's Disciplinary Lens***

Many analyses in carceral geography use Foucauldian conceptualisations. However, rather than seeing his *oeuvre* as a whole, the impression is that he is used with a 'pick and choose' mentality in which certain concepts (like the panopticon, heterotopia or governmentality) are taken out and used 'in isolation'.<sup>41</sup> Dirsuweit's (1999) paper works with the concept of 'panopticism' in which the prison is seen as a 'complete and austere' institution (Ibid: 71). Foucault's (1991) work in *Discipline and Punish* (DP), particularly his spatialised accounts of mechanisms of power and discipline leading to the production of docile bodies, is recounted by Dirsuweit – although she makes clear that Foucault used the Panopticon (in the Benthamite sense) as a model or diagram for understanding power more broadly with its subtle, pervasive and constant characteristics (Ibid: 73). Throughout her paper, Foucault's concepts are used to understand prison 'as a space of omni-disciplinary control' (Ibid: 82). Baer and Ravneberg (2008) also use Foucault's work, but they focus on 'heterotopias' as 'other places' (see Foucault 1998). Subsequently they go through Foucault's six principles of heterotopias to prove that prisons fit into this category of 'otherness' (Ibid: 208). They regard 'heterotopias' as useful in understanding carceral spaces and see the concept of heterotopia in direct juxtaposition to Goffman's concept of 'total institutions'. The blurred

---

<sup>39</sup> Concepts like frontstage and backstage have also been used in criminological scholarship for example by Crewe et al. 2014 derived from Goffman (1990) and Giddens (1984). As Crewe et al. point out this terminology is used as it mirrors prisoners' own descriptions of 'fronting' to describe how they use certain strategies to present themselves to others (see also Moran 2015: 30).

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, Ugelvik's (criminological) engagement with Goffman in his work on prison food pointing out prisoner's 'performative identity work' (2011: 48).

<sup>41</sup> In human geography more widely there is a comprehensive and wide-ranging debate on Foucault's *oeuvre* (see Philo (2001); Elden (2001); Driver (1995) among others) including concepts of surveillance and disciplinary mechanisms.

distinction between inside and outside of prisons is, they follow on, best represented with this concept of heterotopia that helps to understand the social construction of these boundaries (Ibid: 214; Schliehe 2016).

Sibley and van Hoven's papers on boundary construction (2009) and the role of vision in the production of prison spaces (2008) provide a strong critique of Foucault's ideas regarding the production of docile bodies, complaining about Foucault's dismissal of individual agency (2009: 199; 2008: 1003) and questioning the assertion of 'absolute transparency' through the disciplinary gaze (2009: 205; 2008: 1004). They insist that, in the attempt to understand how prison works and how institutional spaces are produced and resisted, more empirical work is needed, rather than abstract theorising (in a Foucauldian way, one might add) (2009: 205).

Martin and Mitchelson (2008), while acknowledging other conceptual frameworks like Goffman's, propose to connect with Foucault's idea of governmentality as a bundle of practices that 'often shift out of the formal sites and practices of a given government, with the intention of also addressing the social relations that produce such governments in the first place, and the subjects over which they govern' (Ibid: 464). Their idea of connecting the spatial practice of incarceration with governmentality is based on the observation that citizenship and inclusion are nowadays seen as a process of 'othering' and exclusion at national borders (Ibid: 465). On a similar note, Conlon (2013) refers to Foucault's notions of governmentality and counter-conduct, with which she positions 'critical attitude' as different to 'resistance', standing for progressiveness (leading to an outcome) and improvement, whereas 'counter-conducts cannot prescribe ahead of time what results of questioning and critique will be' (Ibid: 142). Conlon argues that there has been limited attention to counter-conduct in the context of confinement, with scope to use this particular lens in further research on detention practices.

With much relevance to carceral geography, the field of 'surveillance studies' has grown rapidly and is intimately linked to carceral geography. Surveillance studies rely heavily on Foucault's work on the Panopticon, with contemporary ideas like the 'participatory panopticon' and 'panopticommodity' (Lyon 2009). The 'post-panoptics' like Deleuze, Hardt and Negri or Agamben, however, see other factors influencing the scope of surveillance with new technologies and new political regimes. Lyon argues that 'even these lack attention to crucial dimensions such as socio-economic class, gender, and ethnicity which today must be applied in areas of literal (CCTV) as well as literary (data-mining) 'watching'; not to mention 'watch lists' (Lyon 2009: 9). Others like Haggerty (2009) see the need to abolish the panopticon and with it the whole idea of panopticism and rather adopt another one of Foucault's terms 'governmentality', as a frame for surveillance studies. Bigo (2009), drawing upon Haggerty's interpretation of Foucault, connects it to Agamben's notion of the 'ban'. His alternative is the 'banopticon' – the governmentality of uncertainty and fear that is driven by 'exceptional' practices that have now, paradoxically, been 'normalised',

including detention of asylums-seekers or new ‘anti-terror’ legislation. In ‘contrasting the cases of the super-max and reality TV’, surveillance studies and their conceptual and empirical research form an important segment in the geographies of security and the carceral (Ibid: 47). Alongside this criminological scholarship, Foucault is ever-present in contemporary human geography overall (see Chapter 3; also Philo 2012a; Hannah 1997, and others) and particularly so in carceral-geographic accounts. Despite criticism, his concepts have overwhelming relevance for conceptualising confinement and experiences of closed spaces.

### *Agamben’s Exceptional Spaces*

While Agamben appears to be viewed as an important conceptual source – he is cited in almost every paper on carceral geography – there is limited deeper engagement with his work.<sup>42</sup> When mentioned, his concepts of *homo sacer* and politics of ‘exception’ are referenced, but mostly briefly. Agamben’s work has been used to uncover many different aspects and phenomena covered by wider human-geographical discourse, but two domains have been particularly prominent: namely, the current development of ‘security’ and the situation of refugees and detainees (Ek 2006: 370). Agamben (2001: 1) himself declares that ‘nothing is (...) more important than a revision of the concept of security as the basic principle of state politics’. This new paradigm of security can be witnessed in politics as well as in everyday life, and is intimately linked with penology and studies of criminal justice. The emergence of security is visible in increasing domestic hegemony of some states over their citizens, as well as in ‘the return of the camp’ (Minca 2005; Diken and Bagge Laustsen 2006) as the ‘public face of exceptionalism’ (Ek 2006: 370).

While explicitly *excluding* prisons in this respect, Agamben mentions other kinds of camps in their production of *homines sacri*,<sup>43</sup> such as the detention camps of captured Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Agamben 2005: 3). This line of thought is complemented by the work of geographers like Minca (2005, 2006, 2007) and Gregory (2006, 2008), who engage with Guantanamo as a ‘space of exception’, a ‘third space between life and death’ (Minca 2005: 407) and an ‘iconic example of (...) paradoxical space’ (Gregory 2006: 405). Spaces like these underline Agamben’s argument that the state of exception is likely to maintain itself as a permanent ‘arrangement’, and that it also needs to transform itself spatially ‘on the ground’ – the state of exception thus produces spaces of exception as its permanent and material manifestation (Minca 2005).<sup>44</sup> In his teleological approach, Agamben ‘suggests that [the camps’] operations have been unfurled to such a degree that today, through the multiplication of the camp as a carceral archipelago, the state of exception has ‘reached its maximum worldwide deployment’ (Gregory 2006: 406). This means that sovereign power has produced both an ‘intensification and a proliferation of bare life’ (Ibid). Even though

---

<sup>42</sup> A notable exception is the work by Mountz on detention.

<sup>43</sup> Tracing their genealogy back to Auschwitz and other Nazi concentration camps (Agamben 2005a).

<sup>44</sup> See also Belcher et al. (2008) on spatialising Agamben’s work and its topology.

Guantanamo has become the ‘face’ of the new global war prison and ‘space of exception’, other prisons like Bagram (Gregory 2006) or Abu Ghraib (Gregory 2007) also form part of this ‘carceral archipelago’. Not just clearly confined spaces like war prisons, but also whole areas have been analysed in the light of geopolitical/biopolitical struggle.

In carceral geography, Mountz et al.’s (2012) work on detention camps and borders opens the scope of carceral research to a more Agambenesque notion of contemporary politics. Detention is conceptualised as a space ‘where citizenship is constructed through its denial, a process akin to Agamben’s (1998) idea that *homo sacer* is included in the juridical order through exclusion’ (Ibid: 12). Another example is de Dardel’s (2013) engagement with the concept of ‘bare life’.<sup>45</sup> Claiming that Agamben’s conceptualisation of the camp provides an illuminating framework for carceral-geographic analysis, she refers to Columbian prison camps as ‘biopolitical’ spaces challenged by acts of resistance (Ibid: 188/196). This view is both interesting in its application and questionable in terms of its reduction of Agamben’s *oeuvre*. His inherent connection of ‘bare life’ and threat of immanent death – and the production of *homines sacri* in a state of bordering non-humanness – cannot easily be transferred to prison environments. As argued in Chapter 3, more of relevance to carceral geography can perhaps be taken from his writing on abandonment and the application of his work to other ‘outsider’ groupings like the figure of *femina sacra*.

While there are no comprehensive in-depth critiques of his work in carceral geography, wider social science has provided numerous papers on Agamben with varying amounts of critique (Ek 2006: 371ff.).<sup>46</sup> He has been criticised for his neglect of ‘gender’ in his analysis as much as for his deficient reading of Foucault, his romanticising of the refugee as a figure of ‘bare life’ *par excellence*, the lack of an account of different forces and interests in the figure of the sovereign, and so on. An in-depth and comprehensive critique comes from Laclau (2007), starting with a general claim that Agamben’s discourse ‘remains uneasily undecided between genealogical and structural explanations’ (Ibid: 11). He refers to Fanon (1968) and the different characters that stand outside the ‘law of the city’, like unemployed, petty criminals, pimps and hooligans as well as under-paid maids or prostitutes.<sup>47</sup> Despite critique, however, Agamben’s theory provides an important ‘new’ perspective that needs to be taken into account when researching ‘outsiders’ in general and ‘obscure’ closed institutions in particular.

---

<sup>45</sup> She suggests putting Agamben into conversation with Goffman’s use of secondary adjustments to capture Agamben’s notion of an institutional imposition of ‘bare life’ with Goffman’s take on prisoners’ resistance (Ibid: 189).

<sup>46</sup> See also Hegarty (2010: 14ff.), who describes Agamben as a ‘major inspiration’ in combining a critique of biopolitical institutions and a phenomenological deconstruction, yet he criticises him for his ‘sketchy reading’ of philosophers and the misinterpretation of their ideas ‘to better make his point’ (Ibid: 26).

<sup>47</sup> Laclau sees the ‘idea of an uninscribable exteriority’ as the main synthesis of ‘the ban’ which is defined much wider than *homo sacer* and therefore criticises Agamben for not seeing ‘the problem of the inscribable/uninscribable, of inside/outside, in its true universality’ (Ibid: 15). Laclau rejects Agamben’s claim that the concentration camp is the *nomos*/fundamental biopolitical paradigm of the West as ‘a naive teleogism’. He claims that the process of state-building has involved ‘a far more complex dialectic between homogeneity and heterogeneity than the one that Agamben’s “camp-based” paradigm reflects’ (Ibid: 22).

## *‘Other’ Concepts*

The use of ‘other’ theories in carceral geographic literature is still relatively perfunctory. In wider prison studies, Marxist or Durkheimian conceptualisations are common but they rarely feature in carceral geography (as yet). Sykes’ (1958) work on the ‘pains of imprisonment’ is a routinely referenced concept, but not used in depth. Baer (2005: 209) proposes to use de Certeau’s idea of tactics in the understanding of social relations and social practice in prisons, tactics being taken as non-constant and always in flux ‘in response to the opportunities of a situation, moment and place’ (Ibid: 211). Baer observes that most tactics in prison are not noticed/noticeable and hard to identify, especially in social practices like dialogue/conversation.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, he uses the idea of tactics for spatial (physical) arrangements, for example within prison cells. This idea of tactics is again referenced – albeit in a more Goffmanesque sense – in Chapter 7 in the analysis of resistance and agency.

Moran (2013a), in her paper on the spatialities of prison visiting, engages the concept of liminality, which is close to Baer and Ravneberg’s work on ‘heterotopias’, to broaden the understanding of inside and outside. Moran calls them spaces of ‘betweenness and indistinction’ and stresses that, ‘by drawing on a geographical engagement with liminality, carceral geography can enhance understandings of the experience of visiting spaces’ (Ibid: 15). Her explanation of characteristics as in-between and indistinctive recalls Agamben’s work and the crucial importance of ‘indistinctiveness’. The idea of ‘Liminal TransCarceral Space’ is further developed in Moran et al.’s (2013d) work on prison transportation. Theorising liminal space, they foreground experiences of transition and transgression, evoking a state of ‘in-between-ness’ (Ibid: 112) that underlines ‘a more complex and nuanced notion of the ‘carceral’, as mobile, embodied and transformative’ (Ibid: 121). Another of Moran’s (2012b) concepts ‘TimeSpace’ is also a valuable contribution to carceral geography, not only because prison has many inherent connections to time and ‘doing time’ but as a conceptual tool for advancing and understanding of confinement (Moran 2015).

There is a limited but growing engagement with other human geographical concepts, like ANT or Object Oriented Ontology (OOO) (see Schliehe 2016b). While a focus on mobility is already on the carceral geographic agenda, the importance of considering objects and their importance for the production of self and status, as well as for the smooth running of organisational institutional structures, presents a relatively under-researched area of geographic research on confinement (Schliehe 2016b). Conceptually involving carceral research in ANT-OOO philosophy would be an important future task. There is scope here to develop strong empirical and conceptual arguments around object mobility.

There are other conceptual frameworks that are used, like Wacquant’s (2000) account of economic factors in the understanding of the carceral machinery (see Gilmore 2007; Peck

---

<sup>48</sup> ‘Tactics’ here have to be seen in distinction to ‘strategies’ (de Certeau’s sense of how dominating power works); essentially the same distinction as Goffman makes between ‘surveilled spaces’- ‘free spaces’ and obviously the same complex can be found in Foucault (even though he says less about the latter in, say, DP and it becomes necessary to rework DP in light of what he argues elsewhere about counter conduct).

2003), or Hannah's (1997) suggestion of Deleuze and his work on 'Societies of Control' with a transition from disciplinary societies, where control is exercised through spatial enclosure, to a new regime in which control is flexibilised (Ibid: 179). Generally, though, Foucault, Goffman and Agamben still seem to be the main sources of conceptual contribution to a carceral debate. What is striking in disputes over this trio is how close alternative concepts like Baer's tactics are to Goffman's work on interaction, and how this closeness is brushed over in the following damning critique of his concept of 'total institutions'. Most of the empirical work in carceral geography resonates well with Goffman (on the micro level), Foucault (on the meso level) and Agamben (on a macro-level account of security states). Their legacy is considered in more depth in Chapter 3, in the course of which more precise conceptual framings are proposed for this project.

## **2.4 Towards a Feminist Carceral Geography?**

Feminist perspectives on elements of gender, identity and female incarceration are diverse and complicated in their own right as well as in combination. This section connects carceral geography with a feminist perspective to add a more conceptual, gender-aware direction to the inquiry that follows. Sketching the empirical material (see Chapter 6-8) both in respect of female inmates as well their (often) female researchers (see also Chapter 4) will open up new opportunities for understanding the particular situation of female inmates experiencing incarceration and closed space. Other related disciplines like criminology have for some time pointed towards the importance, or indeed lack of, a feminist perspective on crime and justice, but what is remarkable about the development of carceral geography, however, is that from the outset empirical research on women *has* held a prominent position.

One of the first carceral-geographic papers raised issues around sexuality and transgression in a women's prison with a discussion of gender roles and normalising institutional power at play. As already noted, Dirsuweit's (1999) article on South African prisons for women is one of the first contemporary carceral-geographic articles, and it also raises many different aspects of identity, agency, culture and sexuality. Claiming that the prison 'breaks down the identity of the criminal and maps out a suitably feminised and law abiding identity' for prisoners, she shows how architecture and internal regimes both work towards normalisation (Ibid: 73). Her accounts of these mechanisms of 'normalisation', which tie in with gender stereotypes of 'appropriate' behaviour (rehabilitation through learning about childcare, sewing, heterosexual relationships, beauty pageants) and occupation (doll making, hairdressing, cooking), are similar to what other researchers have found in other prison settings. She elaborates on sexuality and gendered space by analysing multiple lesbian identities as transgressions of the feminised and heterosexual identity enforced by the prison regime. These multiple identities, as in butch-femme roles, play out differently in confrontation with the prison regime that works towards maintaining microscopic knowledge of lesbian prisoners (especially butch) as sexual delinquents (Ibid: 81). Her description of the alienation of 'other' sexual identities, including the use of spatial design

and discipline to control these ‘other’ bodies in particular ways, shows the significance of gendered identities in an analysis of closed institutions.<sup>49</sup> These issues return in Chapter 6 and 7 when staff and young women describe their at times incompatible ideas on identity, sexuality and gender.

Moran et al. (2009) analyse many different facets of women’s incarceration and conceptualise femininity as a disciplining power, emphasising the female body as a particular target of disciplinary power and social control (Ibid: 705). Moran and her colleagues draw on scholarship in feminist geography showing how embodied subjectivities and identities are bound up with assumptions about gender and class, as well as being place-contingent. This work conceptualises the lived experience of incarceration as inherently embodied, and argues that these trans-carceral spaces exist not just as physical locales, but also through the ‘inscription’ of incarceration upon the body. Inscriptions of incarceration thus become corporeal markers of imprisonment, blurring the boundary between ‘outside’ and ‘inside’ the prison, extending carceral control through the stigmatisation of previously imprisoned individuals.<sup>50</sup>

The feminist perspective on space and place, with the particularities of both within a ‘closed’ or ‘total’ context of prison, secure care or psychiatry, point the researcher towards issues that make up the main reason for researching closed spaces. One of the key functions of prison space, writes Dirsuweit (2005: 350), is the ‘normalisation’ of aberrant behaviour in which the body has a special role, as has the training of the mind (in feminisation of female prisoners to push them towards the accepted gendered norms). The closed institution hence needs to be examined as to how it defines and normalises gendered identity, as well as to how institutionalised female prisoners actually live and potentially resist such attempts. In order to set a possible feminist carceral geography into context, feminist geography<sup>51</sup> and feminist criminology are vital to capture an environment which is the scene of a constant struggle with prescribed, normalised and resistant being (see Schliehe 2016c).

### ***Learning from Feminist Criminology***

Within criminological literature, gender (as both social structure and social process) and forms of social control are nothing new, but it is challenging to conceptualise the multiple

---

<sup>49</sup> In a different context of highly mobile female tramps and hobos, Cresswell (1999) analyses similar structures of exclusion, resistance and emancipation. He shows that the gendered and embodied politics of mobility mirror those in confinement, which becomes highly relevant when assessing the complex geographies of institutional inertia and ‘outside’ mobility for young women in Scotland (see Chapter 8).

<sup>50</sup> Another (criminological) example is Pickering’s (2014) article on ‘floating’ carceral spaces and gender in relation to border enforcement on the high seas, where she examines the enactment of gender in maritime carceral spaces relating to paradigms of enforcement (masculine) and rescue (feminine) and the feminisation of an otherwise hyper-masculine task (Ibid: 192).

<sup>51</sup> Turning the lens ‘back’ on to feminist geography re-engages with a form of writing human geography that challenges traditional representations. The wide-ranging criticisms of geography as a discipline that have developed under the heading of feminist geography (Horton and Kraftl 2014: 135) aid how carceral geography forms and informs itself in more than one way. Neither feminist geography nor feminism can be adequately summed up in their diversity and dynamism, but many aspects can be applied to the analysis of closed institutions and in the understanding of the experiences of incarcerated young women. Feminist geography’s take on authoritative structures, contesting dominance through thinking (creatively and critically) and writing (and representing) differently, but also on ways of being heard and being read, offers a compelling conduit for carceral geography. See: Nelson and Seager (2005); McDowell (1993, 2003); Rose (1993); Gibson-Graham (1996); WGSG (1984); among others.



processes affecting femininity and masculinity (and the many other gendered identities in between/beyond this dualism) in their construction and contestation (Moran et al. 2009). Chesney-Lind and Eliason (2006) identify how the feminist movement and thought on women's crime are interconnected. Feminist criminology as a 'mature theoretical orientation' (Burgess-Proctor 2006) is described as a field that recognises interlocking inequalities in relation to criminal justice that include race, class and gender, but also age or physical and mental ability. Similar to feminist geography, feminist criminology developed different schools of thought (debating sameness, difference) and aligned with different waves of feminism more generally. Burgess-Proctor arrives at an intersectional approach to using a race/class/gender framework which provides important underpinnings for feminist carceral-geographic research as well. In theory, practice and methodology, feminist criminology has made advances on issues like power, privilege and oppression. However, as Chesney-Lind (2006) points out, feminist criminology has been increasingly characterised by politics of backlash.<sup>52</sup>

There are many examples of feminist criminological scholarship that are extremely relevant to carceral geography. Stoller's (2003) paper on space, place and movement in relation to health care in women's prisons, for example, theorises prison as a 'place' through combining Foucault's disciplinary lens with Casey's notion of 'anti-place', and thus understanding multiple connotations/inscriptions of prison space as fragile constructs. Her heart-wrenching account of a prisoner's death and its intimate connection to prison space and distance/boundaries sits right at the intersection of carceral-geographic and criminological research. She also addresses a particular feminist perspective in her analysis of the prison as an environment that understands 'women in general as emotional, irrational overseers of health care' (Ibid: 2273). Rowe's (2011) work on self and identity in women's prisons similarly highlights the significance and threat to (spoiling/mortification) identity in the prison's micro-politics.<sup>53</sup> Discursive repositioning and resistance by challenging normative femininity and body image can be seen both as 'coping' and as 'resistance' (Ibid: 585). The complicated negotiations of 'identity capital' by the institution and individual prisoners are conceptualised by Rowe as resisting and redefining meanings to the self and status in diverse ways (Ibid: 587). As important work merging both gender and age, Wahidin (2004) has researched the embodied experience of old women in prison and the related challenges for carceral environments, but also, and more importantly, for the women themselves and their struggles with body image and ageing.

As a more established subfield within criminology, feminist research has attempted comparative studies (see Kruttschnitt et al. 2013) and highlighted the absence of women in general comparative work within criminology. Larger punitive structures and their direct

---

<sup>52</sup> As pointed out by Carrington (2013), feminism is often mentioned as a cause for increases in (young) women's offending and use of violence. For further discussion, see also Chesney-Lind (2006).

<sup>53</sup> See also Rowe (2015) on tactics, agency and power in women's prisons, where she offers ways of mapping the 'feel and flow of power in prisons at the level of lived experience' and the lens of discipline, which she claims resides more the perception of women's higher vulnerability and therefore more intense monitoring (Ibid: 13).

impact on women's lives are also addressed by Carlton and Segrave's (2011) paper on women's survival post-confinement, which confronts prison research that ends 'at the gate' and questions post-release research that sees prison, rather than post-prison, life as traumatic (Ibid: 551). By analysing a continuity of trauma and risk, they point towards future directions for critical-feminist and prison research that resonates with carceral geography. Overall, feminist criminology provides an important means of reference to carceral geography and is already invested in interdisciplinary research (Schliehe 2016c). In order to narrow down the focus and apply the carceral/criminological feminist input to my own research project, I will now look into how it could be applied to research with young women.

### ***Researching Young Women in a Carceral-geographic Context***

Beauvoir (1997: 13) opens *The Second Sex* by asking the question 'Is there a problem? And if so, what is it? Are there women, really?'. Attempting to do research with young women in and on carceral environments throws up similarly fundamental questions in discussing problems of age, gender and confinement. A lot of the preceding carceral and feminist research has directly and indirectly informed this project, which provides a new focus for carceral geography both conceptually and empirically. Introducing a doubly under-researched group of detainees to the carceral-geographic debate – being both young and female<sup>54</sup> – attempts to tap into wider research on young people, and particularly young women in the criminal justice system. Speaking to the young women and the people who work with them resulted in re-thinking the category of carceral environments and stretching the 'mainstream' carceral geographic understanding of prison. Much of the conceptual inspiration to include 'other' carceral environments came from both research on migrant detention and asylum/post-asylum geographies. Listening to young women's stories, it transpired that their experiences of being 'locked-up' extended to facilities like secure care units and closed psychiatric facilities, as well as to prisons. This, however, means that 'new' aspects of detention, not just under the 'punishment' category but also under headlines like 'care' and 'health', have to be considered and integrated into current carceral-geographic debates.

In placing such an emphasis on young women, the project engages with and draws on the field of children's geographies. Valentine (1995: 596) offers a comprehensive overview of the different accounts of childhood and youth that have been reproduced and constructed over the last three centuries – drawing on the portrayal of children as either 'angels' (innocent) or 'devils' (dangerous and out of control). The disruption of the moral order and panic about 'dangerous children', calling for their greater spatial control, is summarised as a process of marginalisation (Ibid: 597) that has taken specific shape in secure care. Her questioning of the status of children as 'human becomings' rather than equal agents is taken up by Philo (1997: 2; also Philo 1992), who argues that 'the otherness of children and their

---

<sup>54</sup> Here relating to sexual as well as chosen identity as a woman.

geographies is itself a justification for opening of a new field of geographical inquiry'. In an attempt to situate young teenagers in geographies of children and youth, Weller (2006) focuses on the labels of being 'at risk', 'in trouble' or 'in need' that are so readily applied to teenagers (Ibid: 104), which shows how this group of young adults is often constructed through negative imagery and demonisation. The development of conceptually informed 'critical youthful geographies' (see Kraftl et al. 2012; Horton and Kraftl 2008) has focused on issues such as restrictions on children's spatial freedom and moral panics surrounding teenagers.

Such themes are highly relevant when assessing closed environments set up for children and young adults (Collins and Kearns 2001). Discussing geographies of children and young people's bodies, Colls and Hörschelmann (2009: 4) emphasise the importance of small, sometimes banal matters, and the position of the child's body as 'unruly, in need of control and/or intervention'. Looking at the transition from childhood to adulthood, Valentine (2003) refers to the 'liminal period of youth' as a time of complex and fluid transitions. The reflexivity of this period can be seen in the different lifestyles, sub-cultures and identities that young people adopt, but Valentine (2003: 40) recognises a simultaneous increase of risk 'in the form of guilt or blame if they end up on the margins of society as a result of their own choices'. This recognition must be particularly applicable to children and young people who are detained in secure accommodation,<sup>55</sup> for they are placed out of the eye of the public in order to attempt 'normalisation'. In referring to experiences of 'home', Valentine (2003: 44) draws connections between unstable, fragmented and turbulent 'care careers' and subsequent homeless and prison populations. Dependency can also 'diminish an individual's sense of identity and reproduce relationships of inequality between these young people and adults they encounter in other aspects of life' (Ibid). Although referring to parents and their children, this claim could be transferred to institutions<sup>56</sup> and their detained young population. The 'hidden' war between adults and children over the designation and utilisation of 'social spaces' (Philo 1997: 11), taking place outside in the 'streets', also takes place inside closed institutions. Resistance and agency are recognisable and constantly on show (like young people 'kicking off') – but are often designated a back-seat when confronted with the increased control mechanisms of the closed institution.<sup>57</sup> While the term 'youth' can be seen as bridge between childhood and adulthood, Barry (2006: 25) described it as more than a liminal phase as it involves several transitional periods. Many young people experience discrimination in social, legal and economic terms as a result of their age. Brown (2005)

---

<sup>55</sup> There are many criminological studies on secure care and young people and crime. Brown (2005), for example, conceptualises young people who are deemed 'unmanageable' as a marginal societal group that she calls 'non-persons' due to binary and exclusionary views on young people in the criminal justice system. For more information, see: Barry (2006); Whyte (2007).

<sup>56</sup> A relevant account of institutions of childhood is provided by Disney (2015), who adopts a Foucauldian standpoint with a particular focus on the work on Mettray (1991), for his analysis of Russian orphanages. Disney's description of the spaces of orphan care and the control mechanisms in place echo this project's institutions.

<sup>57</sup> A different take on detained young people and their street-life on the 'outside' is provided by van Blerk (2011) and Fraser (2013).

raises a similar point about the exclusion of youth, underlining the marginal position of the young women in this study.

This project on the nature and experience of closed spaces for young women in Scotland is based on their 'journeys' through spaces of incarceration and their life beyond detention. A critical engagement with the metaphor of 'journey' (see Chapter 3 and 8) was needed to engage adequately with their experiences, and it has proven a continuing challenge to address matters of representation and giving voice to people who are rarely heard. The use of closed institutions as a response to 'deviant', 'unmanageable' and 'disorderly' behaviour of young people, and the ways in which these social, material and symbolic spaces are then utilised by them, sits squarely with a critical, feminist-informed carceral geography, while also pushing its boundaries in different directions.

In Scottish criminology, this group of young women has received some attention by Burman and Batchelor (2009), who analyse the broader context of the politicisation of youth crime and youth justice policy in Scotland with the 'emergence of the 'problem' of violent and disorderly young female offenders' (Ibid: 270). They explore the paradox of young women 'falling between two stools' of policy responses mainly designed for young men and policy responses to female offenders that do not distinguish in age (see also Chapter 5). Young female offenders, they argue, constitute an invisible minority with a largely undocumented and unaddressed set of needs, and with variable pathways into and through the criminal justice system.

The focus on gender and age specific characteristics, together with physical and spatial features, reveals the processes of being 'locked up', as well as the perceptions and emotional responses to confinement. Young women's own accounts of their incarceration are seldom heard in discourses on crime and punishment, and can provide an insight into these otherwise enclosed spaces. Considering the geography of three carceral systems, this study extends beyond physical detainment and works towards an understanding of the carceral experience as an emplaced, gendered, embodied, emotional and often repetitive practice. The young women's testimonies (see Chapter 7) show how being 'out of control' generally leads to confinement in one or more closed institutions. Much of the carceral-geographic literature mentioned above has been helpful in the analysis of female inmates' situation. Yet, prisons and other closed institutions would benefit from further examination as to how they define and normalise gendered and aged identity, as well as to how institutionalised female prisoners actually live and potentially resist or undermine such attempts. The embodiment and discursive structures in a carceral context offer new and important sources for thinking through the relationships of subjectivity, the body, the penal system and femininity (or other concepts of identity for that matter). To focus on women means to have a different perspective on closed spaces and practices of incarceration. There are often particular 'feminised' details to architecture and design of women's prisons or detention facilities, supposedly made more 'pleasant' for their female inmates. Many issues that come up in a

prison context, like health, mental health or ageing, hold relevance for males and females alike and help to uncover the gendered politics of containment more generally. Other issues are solely women-related, such as child birth behind bars. Conceptualising the embodied experience of imprisonment means to analyse how the trans-carceral<sup>58</sup> takes form not just spatially, but also through the stigmatising, intersectional and gendered effect of the bodily inscription of incarceration.

## 2.5 Reflection

The increasing wealth of material produced by and interest in carceral geography, and the international and inter-disciplinary scope of the research, shows that it has grown into a field in its own right, while at the same time being closely connected to other areas of human geographical and carceral studies. With great scope in empirical research, carceral-geographic researchers often have to tackle particular ethical hurdles and overcome distinctive fieldwork challenges that are quite specific to the analysis of closed institutions (see Chapter 4). It is the work on the ground, though, that often makes a big difference in facilitating change.

Broadly, this chapter signposts several important carceral-geographic ideas, that will reappear in following chapters. Relating to both the geography *of* institutions and geography *in* institutions (Parr and Philo 2000: 514), the empirical material of Chapters 6-8 describes and analyses many issues sitting at the nexus of care and control. In the conceptualisation of closed institutions, Ferrant's (1997) structure of material, social, symbolic and contextual space is utilised to understand how prisons and secure units function and what regimes operate in these different spatial spheres. Complicated notions of institutional surveillance and 'public'/'private' transgressive spaces on the 'inside' are connected to contextual spatial arrangements of the overarching penal system. Individual 'transfer paths' (Moran 2015) or detainees' journeys beyond detainment in different closed institutions are entangled with what Foucault terms a 'carceral archipelago'. Looking beyond the institution and seeing young women's wider 'lived-in' and experienced environment reveals that 'the water between the islands' also needs to be seen as an essential disciplinary tool (Armstrong 2015: 11).

With a further analysis of the prison regime (see Chapter 6), issues like mobility and accountability, contamination and institutional power structures will be looked at in more detail. When delving further into the lived experience of closed environments (Chapter 7), previous work on the inner 'atomised' social worlds that are 'infused with moral codes' (Crewe 2009) help to uncover detainee's reclamation of space and assertion of identity, as well as struggles with social and physical contamination. The difficulties of maintaining boundaries and the utilised practices of adaption and resistance coincide with notions of

---

<sup>58</sup> Trans-carceral is here referring to the inside/outside dichotomy and contested prison boundaries (Moran 2015: 92ff.).

abandonment and felt stigma or inscription of incarceration on bodies. The young women's tales of desired 'normalisation' and rehabilitation clash with their lived realities of institutional return. These notions of systemic entrapment, then, can be mapped out only by looking beyond the gates of closed establishments (see Chapter 8) and understanding these 'epicentral' institutions' as geographical solutions to wider political and economic crises. In the coalescence of individual journeys and the penal state, wider notions of security geographies and inter-linkages with geographies on borders, warfare, militarisation and social exclusion are not at all far-fetched.

The brief overview of carceral geographers' responses to Goffman, Foucault and Agamben shows how important concepts of control, surveillance and exclusion are for untangling the empirical results. Despite at times heavy criticism, Goffman's concepts will be thoroughly deployed in the analysis of individual experiences, given how he engages explicitly with closed spaces as intricate and complicated social worlds. His micro-level approach addresses many levels of adaption and resistance that help to conceptualise locked environments as more than mere spaces confinement. Foucault's approach to omni-disciplinary control, as well as to 'othering' and exclusion, is used for uncovering empirical meso-structures around institutional constitutions, addressing power gradients and surveillance on the 'inside'. Agamben's notion of exceptional spaces, and particularly his scholarship on abandonment, has been developed further by geographers like Pratt (2005), who underlines the complex topological relationship between exclusion and abandonment. All theorists are extensively referenced and at the same time challenged, not least by this project itself on account of their missing of female perspectives.

Claiming that women are subject to particular forms of disciplinary power connected to popular ideas of womanhood – including different forms of 'docility', embodied subjectivity and 'normalisation' – it becomes clear that, while women are in a prominent empirical position in carceral geography, they are rather neglected conceptually (Schliehe 2016c). The criminological and carceral-geographic accounts of other ways to interpret female detainees' agency, identity, sexuality, culture and work, are taken up again in Chapter 6-8. Wrapped into the nexus of care and control – and taking into account disciplinary approaches from other human-geographical subfields – these institutional spaces and individual experiences will be analysed further in the coming chapters. Both the 'islands' of the carceral archipelago and the 'space' that surrounds it will feature conceptually and empirically.

# CHAPTER 3

## Conceptualisations of Care and Control in Closed Institutions and Beyond

Care and control, while in some ways diametrically opposed, seem to converge, intertwine and reach a state of ‘betwixt and between’ in closed institutions. In the following, I want to further explore affiliated ideas of discipline, adaption and abandonment that find their translation into the empirical realm in Chapters 6-8. Here, I want to focus on the more abstract constructs that are later mapped across to concrete settings, regimes and individual experiences. I aim to uncover the breadth and depth of conceptual materials available for thinking through the phenomenon of ‘closed space’.<sup>59</sup>

In line with Goffman’s plea to consider underlying theoretical concepts without dogmatism<sup>60</sup> and Foucault’s way of utilising concepts like an analytical toolbox<sup>61</sup>, this chapter – although mainly focussing on Goffman’s *Asylums* (1991 [1961]) and Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish* (1991 [1971]) – branches out beyond the two theorists to conceptualise closed institutions and life within. Much of their work is regarded as complementary, combining Foucault’s analysis of disciplinary power and the carceral archipelago with Goffman’s microcosmic account of power structures and regimes in particular closed institution. This approach makes sense for this particular study on institutional mechanisms of care and control, while recognising that both academics come from different traditions of research and deserve individual attention with regards to their extensive oeuvres. Both work from different angles and thus provide today’s carceral geographers with an array of research frames, tools and analytical results. Other theorists like Agamben, with his work on spaces of exception and the production of *homines sacri*, will also be touched on in this chapter in order to examine concepts like exclusion and abandonment. All three theorists, while not actively excluding women, mainly speak about men and use male examples. It is therefore important to look beyond their individual concepts and extend them so as to respond to female detention. While most conceptual structures on institutions could be seen as gender neutral, there are particular issues to be raised when it comes to women’s imprisonment and deviancy.

### 3.1 Introduction to Key Theorists

I believe it is helpful to consider the theorists themselves and briefly explore their wider work. To reflect their importance for the empirical analysis, I will discuss the theorists in order of priority. Starting with Goffman and his work on institutional micro-worlds, he will be given the lengthiest treatment in this chapter as he is the principal guide for what follows.

---

<sup>59</sup> The following macro-level conceptual issues concern what constitutes closed space and how care and control play out in this particular realm (see also earlier human geographical work on ‘closed spaces’ by Wolpert (1976)).

<sup>60</sup> ‘Better, perhaps, different coats to clothe the children well than a single splendid tent in which they all shiver’ (Goffman 1991: 11).

<sup>61</sup> Foucault in his dialogue with Trombadori 1978 (Foucault 2008: 1586).

I continue with Foucault, whose work on discipline and control is of major importance – he is, however, a supplementary guide for the thesis and hence will be given a shorter treatment. I close with Agamben, whose ideas of abandonment and exceptionalism are also valuable – but he too is a supplementary guide given a shorter treatment.

**Erving Goffman** was one of the major North-American sociologists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and his work is filled with insights into the process of human interaction.<sup>62</sup> He was particularly interested in the self as a social product and chose the same method of micro-analysis for all of his ethnographic research. Each of his works deals with different aspects of human behaviour, introducing new terminology that is vital to an understanding of his theoretical<sup>63</sup> contribution (Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz 2013; Scheff 2003). While Goffman's research is focused on the micro-level, he suggests generalised findings that help to understand institutions and their inner workings on a broader level. Goffman (1971), writing about ethnographic research, points at the derivation of individual 'properties' from observable situated activity on the micro-level. His basic method was to deconstruct the assumptive reality of society and most prominently 'his attack on the social institution of the self-contained individual', thus apposing 'any perspective that isolates individuals from the social matrix in which they are embedded' (Scheff 2003: 54f.). While this all seems quite formal, in his focus on the "grammar of interaction" he always remained interested in capturing 'moments' (Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz 2013: 33). Throughout his work he maintained a deep sense of social justice, focusing on 'outsiders' – remote rural communities, inmates and, more generally, stigmatised people (Ibid).

In broader terms, Goffman deconstructed the 'self' and perceived 'social reality', and analysed power and control as integral parts of social interaction (Jenkins 2008; Smith 2006). Goffman's writing 'shatters the calm surface of everyday life' and 'therefore challenges the sanctity of daily life by implying that it, like any other social institution, is constructed' (Scheff 2003: 61). His deconstruction of social organisations inherently challenges 'brick and mortar' institutions like prisons or psychiatric institutions. That said, Goffman has been criticised from different angles.<sup>64</sup> In some critiques, he is described as an 'artful conman' and a 'theorist *malgré lui*', in that his conclusions are 'masterful efforts at evasion and disclaimer': 'He uses all his wit and subtlety to convince us that he is not trying to be comprehensive, not taking a particular theoretical position, not adopting unquestioningly a

---

<sup>62</sup> Originally from Canada, Goffman spent most of his adult life in the US. Although not directly associated with the Chicago school, he later considered it his 'heritage' and at times worked closely with key sociologists of the school (Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz 2013: 19ff.). He was also majorly influenced by the work of Durkheim, Parsons and Freud among others (Ibid).

<sup>63</sup> Goffman's writing style of emphasising description over theory makes it appear unusually accessible, but that is deceptive. Attentive reading is necessary to uncover the theory that is hidden in the descriptions. He developed extensive taxonomies for underlying structures of interaction and his publications all explored a set of key topics: 1. Unravelling of complexities of face-to-face interaction; 2. Pleading the cause of the powerless; 3. Framing reality (Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz 2013: 7).

<sup>64</sup> A detailed and multifaceted critique is Gouldner's analysis (1970), in which he argues that Goffman failed to treat the interrelationship between power, hierarchy and status in everyday life. He claims that Goffman's 'actors' are disengaged from social structures and that Goffman develops an 'asocial theory that dwells on the episodic and sees life only as it is lived in a narrow interpersonal circumference, ahistorical and non-institutional, an existence beyond history and society' (Gouldner in Rogers 1980: 100). Goffman's 'inattention to power' is another point of critique that shows Gouldner perceiving Goffman's work as missing fundamental dimensions in the analysis of the social.



number of theoretical assumptions, not trying to be consistent' (Psathas 1996: 384).<sup>65</sup> Despite criticism, Goffman is used in many disciplines from performance to surveillance studies (Lyon 2009; Klauser 2008). Bock (1988: 17) states that Goffman's work is majorly important as 'it tries to escape from invalid assumptions about the uniformity and continuity of human behaviour, as it attempts to understand the public character of emotion and affect, and as it searches for more effective ways to relate the abstractions of social structure to real persons acting out their relationships in concrete situations'.<sup>66</sup> Goffman's in-depth work on closed institutions, his work on social interaction and his early but little known consideration of gender relations all offer surprising insights that are too easily lost in a fragmentary reading of his work.

**Michel Foucault**, a French philosopher, had an enormous influence on a wide range of disciplines from social science to queer studies, history and medicine. Defert (2013) describes Foucault's life as driven and troubled – both intellectually and personally.<sup>67</sup> Foucault's work has been subject to continual re-reading and interpretation as well as to substantial differences of opinion and critique. Having said that, he was one of the leading thinkers of the 20th century (Hubbard et al. 2002: 104). In his individual publications, he combined analyses of different types of closed institutions with an analysis of society as a whole. His exploration of 'normality' and 'deviant' behaviour was based on the thought that underlying disciplinary discourses shape society and, with it, the body and mind of the individual. Yet, 'rather than reducing discourses and practices to simple essences or fundamentals, he wanted to explore their heterogeneity. As he mischievously observed in 1982, 'nothing is fundamental. That is what is interesting in the analysis of society' (Driver 1995: 115). His *oeuvre*, according to Ruoff (2009), can be divided into three main terms which are discourse, power and ethics of the self. An overarching thread that is running through all of his work is the history of subjectivity as a precondition of modern (Western) modes of existence (Ibid: 14).<sup>68</sup>

In human geography, Foucault's conceptualisation of space and 'spatial history' which characterises all of his work is of particular relevance (Crampton 2013). In a lecture in 1967, Foucault speaks of the present era as an 'age of space' (Crampton and Elden 2007). Philo (1992: 139) notes that Foucault's 'spatial metaphors' provide a new route into particular fields of study and that his thinking 'spills over from the realm of the metaphor to embrace the empirical spaces and places existing in such messy abundance in, through and around substantive matters tackled in his historical works from *Madness and Civilisation* onwards'.

---

<sup>65</sup> See Psathas (1996); Burns (1992); Fine and Manning (2003); MacSuibhne (2011) for more detailed critiques. For a carceral geographic critique of Goffman see Chapter 2.

<sup>66</sup> See also Goffman's influence on public relations research (Johansson 2007) or Davidson (2003) on agoraphobia.

<sup>67</sup> This substantial and detailed intellectual biography, written by his life-partner after his death, avoids the worst excesses of some of Foucault's earlier biographers, providing an austere yet personal insight into the intertwining of Foucault's personal, political and scholarly trajectory (Falzon et al. 2013: 2). See Eribon (1992) for other biography.

<sup>68</sup> Others argue that his earlier archaeological phase is followed by the later genealogical phase using more non-discursive elements (Johnson 2008: 612). However, views on this are divided and some other scholars see these two approaches as complementary or as 'crisscrossing all his work' ('there is no pre- and post-archaeology or genealogy in Foucault') (Ibid). On one occasion, Foucault himself commented on DP as one of his earlier studies (Foucault and Sennett in Smart 2003: 223).

Driver (1995: 115) argues that space is indeed central for Foucault, but geography is not. He claims that Foucault uses spatial perspectives as part of his historical inquiry and not as an alternative, which in connection with the *dispositif* highlights 'relations of connection rather than of causation, simultaneity rather than succession' (Ibid: 116).

The connections between body (and control over it) and power are more intuitively accessible through spatial concepts. While Foucault's wider work on subjectivity and his further development of power (biopower to governmentality) are acknowledged, the main focus here centres on disciplinary power with its main publication *Discipline and Punish* (DP). Foucault's work on the birth of the prison provides an important perspective on the development and rise of institutionalisation. With an incredible eye for detail, he still offers a more 'top-down' view on closed institutions and the spread of disciplinary techniques into society as a whole. There are numerous scholars (with an uncountable number of written works) that have attempted to critique and/or extend Foucault's work. There are the more famous contentions with Foucault's work during his lifetime, for example by Habermas, and the maybe less famous but numerous critiques from a large number of disciplines ranging from surveillance studies, geography to history or psychiatry. Deleuze,<sup>69</sup> in his essay *Postscript on the Societies of Control* (1992), offers a different approach, a kind of extension of Foucault's disciplinary society with his proposition that, since Foucault, a move towards 'societies of control' has taken place (Ibid). Despite extensive critique and some attempts to adapt Foucault's elaboration on discipline, many scholars keep using his concepts and extending their knowledge about his work (see Philo 2012a). The main 'problem' with Foucault and his concepts is that they are often taken out of context, hastily generalised and maybe 'over-used'. Here, his work on disciplinisation and changing forms of power is relevant to interpretations of the empirical material and particularly institutional regimes (Chapter 6-8). Rather than applying his 'analytical results' to contemporary situations, his detailed way of working is used to detect the 'latest' forms, channels and outcomes of power relations.

The third of the main theorists discussed here, **Giorgio Agamben**, is the most contemporary: he is an Italian philosopher and his *oeuvre* is characterised by deconstructing the divisive powers of language, law and the potentiality of literature and philosophy (Clemens et al. 2008). Agamben's philosophy does not reside in one school of thought, but his work can be seen as part of contemporary critical theory. It is related to 'French' theory in its deconstructive approach, but it also rests upon Schmitt, Heidegger, Arendt, Benjamin, Kant and Hegel, while acknowledging Aristotle and other more 'classical' sources. Referring to

---

<sup>69</sup> 'In a society of control, the corporation has replaced the factory' and schools have been replaced by perpetual learning (Ibid: 5). Contrary to Foucault's disciplinary society, Deleuze proposes that the society of control lives with one that is 'never finished' (education, the corporation etc.). In this society individuals become 'dividuals', part of a continuous network of 'new' machines and different modes of production and markets. He argues that 'man is no longer man enclosed, but man in debt (...) with three quarters of humanity, too poor for debt, too numerous for confinement' (Ibid: 6). Deleuze's argument rings partly true, but might be challenged when considering rocketing individual debt levels and hyper-incarceration (see Chapter 2). His prognosis that disciplinary institutions (hospitals, prisons etc.) are finished surprises when considering the ever-increasing numbers of prisoners in Britain or the US (see also Murakami Wood 2009 on related references).

this heterodox group of thinkers, it also utilises sketches of classical, medieval and early modern law to develop arguments around sovereignty and the ‘state of exception’ (Gregory 2006). Agamben’s earlier work focused on aesthetics, literature and experience of language, later being complemented by political theory (Ek 2006). In human geography and particularly in studies that are concerned with ‘outsiders’, the *homo sacer* ‘trilogy’ [*Homo Sacer* 1998; *State of Exception* 2005; *Remnants of Auschwitz* 2005a] forms the core of Agamben’s theory. Starting with the logic and paradox of sovereignty, it introduces the figure of *homo sacer* which derives from an old Roman juridical phenomenon.<sup>70</sup> *Homo sacer* is a figure that is banned from civilisation and reduced to ‘bare life’ – a life that can be taken by anyone without repercussions, a figure that can be killed but not sacrificed (see below).

Ultimately, Agamben’s work focuses on what it means to be human and ‘not-anymore human’ or non-human and how specific sovereign structures have continued to shape the political as well as individual life through ‘bare life’ and the use of the ‘ban’, directly or subtly. A main part of his argument relates to the emergence of the ‘camp’, which he approaches by intertwining Foucault’s theory of biopower with Arendt’s work on totalitarianism and the concentration camp. In so doing, Agamben identifies the ‘camp’ (Auschwitz in particular) as the biopolitical/geopolitical tool of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and beyond. Particularly in his later writing, Agamben carries a distinctive political message which concludes in his warnings about an advancing biopolitical catastrophe. By many Agamben is described as an inspiration in combining biopolitics and a phenomenological deconstruction, yet there are varying critiques as well: he has been criticised for his neglect of the concrete integration of ‘gender’ in his analysis as much as on his reading of Foucault, his romanticising of the refugee as a figure of bare life *par excellence*, the lack of an account of different forces and interests in the figure of the sovereign, and so on (Ek 2006: 371ff.).<sup>71</sup>

Below, Agamben is mainly used as an ‘outer’ conceptual frame that extends the view of the individual institution and detainee to wider complexes of exceptionalism and abandonment. Abandonment as a construct goes back to *Homo Sacer*: Agamben refers to the ‘bare life’ of the sacred man, who ‘may be killed and yet not sacrificed’ and who, according to Agamben (1998: 8), has an essential function in modern politics. In his analysis, he merges his conception of the ‘state of exception’ and the idea of ‘bare life’, characterising the ‘bare life of the citizen’ as the ‘new biopolitical body of humanity’ (Ibid: 9).<sup>72</sup> Agamben sees an inner solidarity between modern totalitarianism and democracy’s society of ‘mass hedonism and consumerism’, and he criticises anarchist and Marxist views on the state precisely because of a lack of understanding for this matter of ‘bare life’ (Ibid: 12). While there is no space in

<sup>70</sup> This terminology is based on the Greek concept of human life which is defined by *bios* (the form of life proper to an individual or group like political life) and *zoe* (living as common to all living beings).

<sup>71</sup> One very detailed critique comes from Laclau (2007); see Chapter 2.

<sup>72</sup> In his last part of *homo sacer* ‘the camp as the biopolitical paradigm of the modern’, Agamben refers to the politicisation of life and critiques Foucault for not including 20th century totalitarian regimes in his analysis of biopolitics. Agamben sees Foucault’s inquiry into the *grand enfermement* as incomplete as it dismisses an analysis of the concentration camp (1998: 119). Agamben also refers to Arendt, who analysed totalitarian regimes and the concentration camp but did not contemplate the overall idea of ‘biopower’. Agamben therefore merges Foucault’s biopower and Arendt’s structure of totalitarian states in his elaboration on the camp and *homines sacri*.

this project to incorporate a thorough analysis of Agamben's political messages and wider philosophy,<sup>73</sup> his work is re-interpreted and contextualised for the particular case of the abandonment of women.

### **3.2 The Constitution of Closed Institutions – Complete, Austere and Total?**

In the following I will look further into the constitution of closed institutions – mainly following Goffman and Foucault in their analysis of different types of institutions that fall under Goffman's description of 'total' and Foucault's term of 'complete and austere' institutions. Three institutions have been singled out in their analyses and will also play a major role here: the prison, the asylum and the correctional home for young people. The carceral geographies of these closed spaces, with their particular features of constraint and regulation, play out in different spatial spheres. While these institutions differ in their levels of care and control, they share many defining features and will be discussed here alongside each other. It is not purely the material spaces that define confined environments, although carceral materiality provides the backbone of control through buildings, blocks, corridors, cells, work places, education or dining facilities that make up the structure of the institution. It is this material fabric that also affects what Ferrant (1997) calls social and symbolic spaces – ways in which groups of staff or inmates tend to apply meaning to and move through different spaces within the institution, constituting a more informal access to these arenas of interaction. Written within the space of fifteen years, both Goffman's and Foucault's description of 'total' and 'complete or austere' institutions disclose the underlying dynamics that create a particular kind of institutional life. Both Goffman and Foucault chose one particular type of institution, the closed psychiatric unit and prison, respectively, that they analyse in great detail while also associating them with a larger pool of closed institutions that make up the group of total and complete/austere establishments. Their findings on the nature of closed institutions are later mapped across to Chapter 6.

Goffman's analysis focuses upon life and interaction on the inside, dealing with the inmate's situation, while also conceptualising total institutions as an entity that is more than the sum of micro-worlds that can be found on the inside. His exploration of 'total institutions' was indeed more than an ethnography of one asylum; it was rather an ethnography of *the concept* of total institutions. His book provides little information about the hospital itself (no floor plans, descriptions of personnel, or accounts of a typical day) and therefore stands as an ethnographic analysis that exceeds the character of a singular descriptive case study (Ibid: 49).

Goffman offers no *precise* definition of total institutions; all he says is that 'what is distinctive about total institutions is that each exhibits to an intense degree many items in this family of attributes', and then he adds that 'none of the elements I will describe seems peculiar to total institutions, and none seems to be shared by every one of them' (Goffman

---

<sup>73</sup> See Esposito 2008 for more in-depth discussion.

1991: 16). Burns (1996: 145) argues that there are more than a dozen distinguishable features of mental hospitals ‘in their total institution guise’ but that the first three count most: (1) Closure, even though total institutions are not completely ‘sealed off’ from the outside world, ‘social intercourse between those inside and people outside is restricted – severely so, for most of those inside’ with a barrier to social interaction ‘often built right into the physical plant’ (Ibid). This closure is not to be understood in the general sense of the term (which would apply to all sorts of buildings) but in the sense of *moral* closure; (2) Rationalisation, the reconstruction of everyday life in all life spheres (work, play, sleep) within the same institution, with a pre-determined plan behind it, in which people on the inside cannot choose freely to move around (Ibid); (3) Bureaucratic organisation, with a clear distinction between staff and inmates as a ‘line of demarcation’ (Ibid).

Goffman’s concept of total institutions provides a conceptual framework for understanding places of imprisonment and setting them into a wider societal context. In the first chapter of the first essay in *Asylums*, he argues that every institution has encompassing tendencies, but that some encompass these to a ‘discontinuously greater’ degree than others (Goffman 1991: 15). For Goffman,<sup>74</sup> total institutions include institutions of *care* like orphanages or old-people homes; institutions of *care and control* like asylums or leprosaria; institutions of *control* like prisons or concentration camps; institutions for *work-like tasks* like army barracks or residential schools; and institutions of a *religious nature* like monasteries or convents (Ibid: 16). However, ‘this classification of total institutions is not neat, exhaustive, (...) but it does provide (...) a concrete starting point’ (Ibid.). Such institutions are characterised by physical and social barriers that control both communication with the ‘outside’ and the ingress/departure of inmates, staff and visitors.

These common characteristics include the breakdown of barriers that ordinarily separate the spheres of sleeping, playing and working. Each is conducted in the same place, under the same single authority and carried out in the immediate company of others (an enforced collective) who are all treated alike. All phases of the day are part of a schedule controlled from ‘above’ by systematic rules. A number of enforced activities are combined into a ‘rational plan’ to fulfill the ‘official aims of the institution’. Individually, these characteristics can be found in places other than total institutions, but the bureaucratic organisation and management of whole blocks of people, with the basic split between a large managed group (inmates) and a small supervisory group are a main factor of total institutions. Typically, inmates live in the institution and have restricted contact with the outside world, whereas staff generally operate in shifts and are socially integrated into the outside world. Social mobility is restricted and social distance is great between the two groups (Ibid: 18ff.).

---

<sup>74</sup> Diverting from Goffman’s framework, a different outlook on care and control is used in this thesis where all institutions are analysed assuming differing but existing assemblages of both care and control.

Goffman describes the total institution as a ‘social hybrid’, ‘part residential community, part formal organisation’ (Ibid: 22).<sup>75</sup> Varying permeability of boundaries influences the ‘dynamic relationships between a total institution and the wider society that supports it or tolerates it’ (Ibid: 111). While some impermeability is necessary to maintain a closed institution, ‘partial’ permeability is established through links with the ‘environing society’ (Ibid: 111, 113). Thus, total institutions are part of the overall social order in society, with a ‘fluid’ but tangible distinction between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’. These common characteristics show an underlying structural design common to total institutions in general which can be used to understand social life in prisons as well as in secure care units or closed psychiatric wards. All are characterised by more or less semi-permeable boundaries of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ spaces, and hence the misleading denunciations of Goffman’s ‘totality’ accounts (of truly closed spaces) by carceral geographers (see Chapter 2).

Another important factor in Goffman’s description of total institutions is surveillance, described as a process of social control, which can be highly detailed and closely restrictive (Ibid: 43). It is part of the daily routine as ‘minute segments of a person’s line of activity may be subjected to regulations and judgments by staff; the inmate’s life is penetrated by constant sanctioning interaction from above’ (Ibid: 43). This ‘enveloping tissue of constraint’ is strictly enforced by regulations, often leading to ‘chronic anxiety about breaking the rules and the consequences of breaking them’ (Ibid: 46). The second chapter of the first essay analyses the ‘staff world’ (Ibid: 73-88) that describes the contradiction between what the institution actually does (‘merely a storage dump for inmates’) and what its officials and staff must say it does (‘present themselves to the public as rational organisations’) (Ibid: 73). Goffman describes the ‘humane standards’ that are part of the staff’s responsibility and the dilemmas that these humane standards of treatment entail. The degrees of social distance between staff and inmates are a particular concern that is linked to the ‘involvement cycle’ and the imbalance of the staff member’s moral world (Ibid: 79).

Goffman goes on to analyse the general objectives of total institutions and how they ‘typically fall considerably short of their official aims’ (Ibid: 80). It is less acknowledged, however, that each of these official objectives ‘seems admirably suited to provide a key to meaning – a language of explanation that the staff, and sometimes the inmates, can bring to every crevice of action in the institution’ (Ibid). This danger is exemplified by the ‘phantom of ‘security’ in prisons and the staff actions justified in its name’ (Ibid: 81). The automatic identification of inmates (‘one must be the kind of person the institution was set up to handle’) is subsequently identified as the basic scheme of social control that is exercised in total institutions (‘Normality is never recognised (...) in a milieu where abnormality is the normal experience’: Ibid). In reference to prisons, Goffman mentions the ongoing conflict between the psychiatric and moral-weakness theories of crime and their influence on the

---

<sup>75</sup> As Burns (1992: 143) points out, the ‘slightly melodramatic flavour’ of the term total institutions ‘invites misuse’, and he further reports that Goffman used the term ‘total institutions’ because it fitted his purpose too well to pass it over; ‘so, while he would have preferred to call them ‘social establishments’ – the label he had previously adopted – he took over the term total institution, in what he called its ‘everyday sense’ (Ibid).

running of prisons (Ibid: 85). The ongoing contradictory task that staff have to manage in a total institution highlights the general paradoxes connected to closed spaces. Goffman sees their total or encompassing tendencies fortified by spatial features like locked doors, high walls, barbed wire and geographical locations like cliffs, water, forests or moors (Ibid: 15f.), but he is much more interested in the underlying structures of their organisation and how they function in a wider societal context.

With less focus on the institutional micro-worlds and more observation of technical detail and the precise design of closed institutions, Foucault (1991) describes the prison as an essential element in the modern punitive panopticon<sup>76</sup> that is made up of different forms of closed institutions. It is a 'self-evident' construct that is based on capitalised/quantified time management, deprivation of liberty and its role as a transformer of people (Ibid: 232f.). Calling the prison a 'complete and austere institution', it is seen as an 'exhaustive disciplinary apparatus that takes control of and assumes responsibility for all aspects of the individual and is therefore 'omni-disciplinary'' (Ibid: 236). Importantly, Foucault shows that the prison is very different from mere deprivation of liberty in a juridical sense, but rather a powerful machinery for imposing reform and accounting for every time-slot and movement of each individual prisoner (Ibid: 236). The aim of carceral transformation is achieved with a balancing act of isolation and work, where work does not stand for profit or skilful labour but an 'empty economic form, a schema of individual submission and of adjustment to a production apparatus' (Ibid: 243). The prison is beyond mere detention and shows widespread panoptic features that include deeper knowledge about prisoners and their state of mind. Panoptic features have become an idealised form of prison architecture, with many adopted in a less concentrated form than the original. The control of prisoners and staff with a system of individual and permanent documentation involves a permanent gaze with a particular focus on the 'dangerous population'.

The uniform machinery of the prison was established as a universal penalty for all kinds of crimes and all kinds of criminals (Foucault 1991: 115f.).<sup>77</sup> The prisoner's mind and soul were the main focus for early reformatories and the prison was 'a machine for altering minds' (Ibid: 125). Three technologies of power (law, institutions, morality) were extracted from the archival records by Foucault as modalities of exercising punishment (Ibid: 130). To understand better these technologies of power, Foucault introduces different types of 'discipline'. He analyses how discipline produces subjugated, practised bodies that subsequently can be found in different disciplinary institutions, particularly (but not only) in enclosed spaces. The production of knowledge and the making of a new social 'reality' is

---

<sup>76</sup> Foucault's analysis obviously covers a long-term historical sweep from 'sovereign' to 'disciplinary power'; from 'gruesome'/bloody violence and publicly showcasing punishment to a subtle calculus of power.

<sup>77</sup> Imprisonment as punishment only had a limited/marginal position as a penalty before and it was established as a substitute for people who could not serve in the galleys. The first remotely modern-looking 'prisons' were the *Rasphuis* in Amsterdam (from 1596) and the *maison de force* in Ghent (from 1749) (Foucault 1991: 120ff.). The 'Philadelphia' model as well as the 'New York' model served as models for 'reformatories' in which the offender was under constant observation (Foucault 1991: 126f.).

the final outcome of this machination of discipline that gains its enormous scope from ‘panopticism’.

Foucault’s description of Bentham’s Panopticon<sup>78</sup> is the ‘bricks and mortar’ image of total disciplinary and institutional power with seemingly permanent surveillance/constant observation of the individual that includes characterisation and classification, ‘with the analytical arrangement of space’ (Ibid: 203). In its ‘pure architecture’, the Panopticon therefore provides the space for ‘experiments on men’ that can be implemented in the context of punishment, care, education or work. Through its arrangement of architecture and geometry, it ‘acts directly on individuals; it gives ‘power of mind over mind’’ (Foucault 1991: 206) without needing any physical exercise of power. The Panopticon is the physical embodiment of ‘panopticism’, a general spread of disciplinary power through society as a whole, an indefinitely generalisable mechanism.<sup>79</sup> The prison as the ‘complete and austere’ space of penalty is introduced as a closed institution that is a ‘new thing’ at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, but based on disciplinary measures that had been ‘already elaborated elsewhere’ (Ibid: 231). Confinement as the loss of liberty meant an ‘equal’ and ‘egalitarian’ punishment deeply rooted in both the capitalist notion of time (‘to serve one’s time’) and individualist notions of liberty as a good that has the same value to everyone (‘to pay one’s debt’). The prison works on the basis of factors that make it quantifiable and ‘civilised’ (Ibid: 232f.).

Three main principles are identified that work towards the achievement of reform/normalisation: (1) Isolation, to achieve coercive individualisation that eliminates any relation that is not authorised by the prison (Ibid: 236-239); (2) Strict daily routine, including compulsory work to achieve carceral transformation (Ibid: 239-244); and (3) Modulation of the penalty that divides the total time of the penalty into different phases to exceed mere detention and achieve normalisation (Ibid: 244-248). The disciplinary machinery of the prison was to be realised by widespread panoptic features: ‘the theme of the Panopticon – at once surveillance and observation, security and knowledge, individualisation and totalisation, isolation and transparency – found in the prison its privileged locus of realisation’ (Ibid: 249). The necessary panoptic features (even if not in the pure form of the Benthamite plans) provided the ground for permanent documentation of the individual prisoners (and staff), creating a pool of knowledge about offenders and their ‘criminal’ character. The prison as the ‘darkest region in the apparatus of justice is the place where the power to punish, which no longer dares to manifest itself openly, silently organises a field of objectivity in which punishment will be able to function openly as treatment and the

---

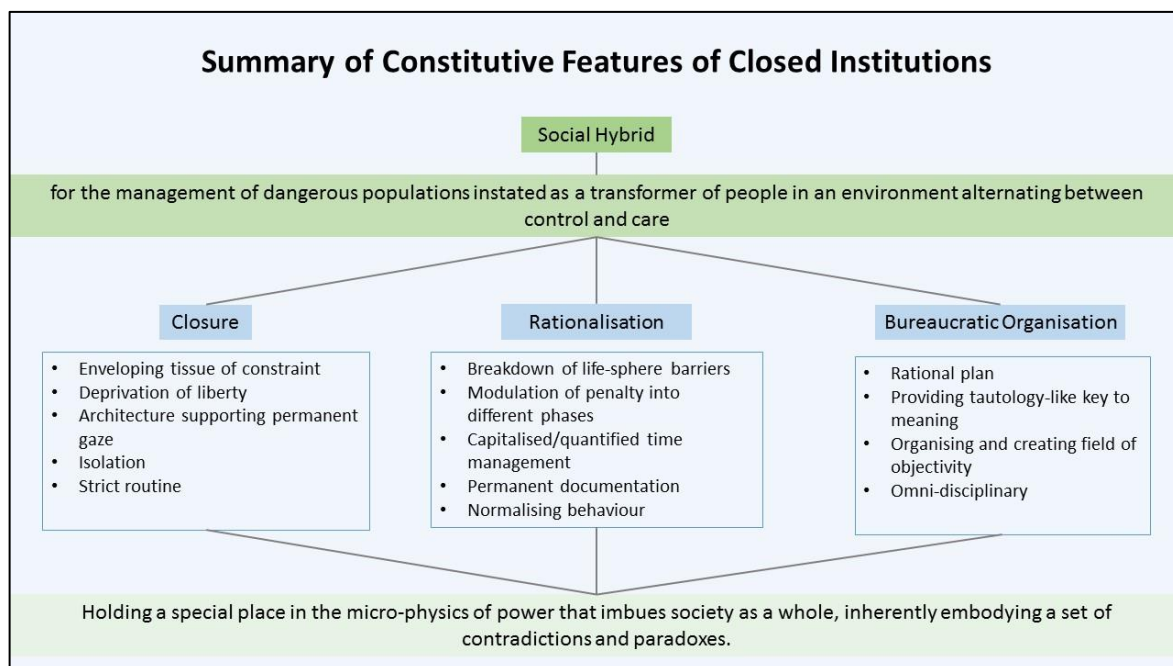
<sup>78</sup> The English philosopher and social scientist Jeremy Bentham (late-18th and early-19th century) developed plans for a circular penitentiary that allows all detainees to be observed by one or a few guards. The observation of the detainees was supposed to turn from external (by guards) to internal (controlling themselves) because they would never know when they were being watched. No prison has ever been built exactly according to Bentham’s plans, but many show features of surveillance mirroring his design. Foucault’s ‘panopticism’ is informed by the principles of Bentham’s model but not to be confounded with it.

<sup>79</sup> For discussions on the Panopticon and panopticism, see Hannnah (1997); Philo (2001); Wood (2003); Elden (2003); Lianos (2003); Hier (2003); Murakami Wood (2009).



sentence be inscribed among the discourses of knowledge’ (Ibid: 256). Writing about prisons historically, Foucault identifies questions that are still relevant in the present day.<sup>80</sup>

The carceral system could be considered an overall dispositif<sup>81</sup> as it consists of ‘discourses and architectures, coercive regulations and scientific propositions, real social effects and invincible utopias, programs for correcting delinquents and mechanisms that reinforce delinquency’ (Foucault 1991: 271). Despite the failures to achieve its maxims of good conditions, prison has been remarkably successful in its perseverance as *the* penal institution; and yet it only forms one part of the ‘carceral archipelago’ that consisted of different types of closed institutions, educational<sup>82</sup>, medical or occupational.



**Figure 1: What Constitutes a Closed Institution (own graphic)**

Through different ways of working, both Foucault and Goffman picture the constitution of institutions that are spatially separate from, but at the same time sit at the heart of, society. There is no comprehensive list of features that would fit each and every case of a closed institution, but it is nonetheless helpful to bear in mind what is commonly shared by most of them. These establishments have a particular hold on the very basic underlying structures of modes of life like time (and a very particular time management) and space (where closure stands for physical as well as moral or symbolic entities). Figure 1 below summarises the main features in reference to both Goffman (1991) and Foucault (1991).<sup>83</sup> The entangled

<sup>80</sup> About: how prison cannot fail to produce offenders; who are the prison wardens; how conditions in prison evoke recidivism; and how prisons affect the inmates’ families and cause destitution. There is a distinctly Western focus of Foucault’s analysis in DP; albeit many features of modern prisons can be found elsewhere in the world and prison models like the ‘Supermax’ have been exported to and built in other countries (Ross 2013).

<sup>81</sup> According to Foucault, the dispositif is a heterogenous entirety that could be seen as a web spanning between different elements like discourses, institutions, moral and philosophical principles and more (Ruoff 2009: 101). These various physical and institutional mechanisms produce and maintain forms of power.

<sup>82</sup> Foucault distinctly mentions the merging of education and punishment in his discussion of Mettray which was a penal reformatory for boys near Tours (France) in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. In DP Mettray provides a ‘key’ hinge in Foucault’s elaboration on the ‘panopticon’ principle being found in many different institutions/spaces which include ones that bear little resemblance to Bentham’s ideal penitentiary (see also Driver 1990).

<sup>83</sup> It must be noted that Agamben also provides descriptions on the constitution of closed spaces when he refers to the ‘camp’ – although these will not be further reviewed here (this is partly due to the fact that he himself differentiated

dynamics of power and social control that weave through institutional life in their spatial and social practice comprise complex disciplinary-scapes that overturn first expectations about ‘the carceral’.

### **3.3 A Carceral Geography of the Social Situation of Detainees**

In order to analyse the social situation of detainees and their individual experiences of confinement, implications for the formation of self within a carceral context must be considered. Foucault proposes that ‘dangerous’ populations are institutional products shaped by and deeply connected to the institutions set up to separate and to ‘normalise’ them. Living on the inside of a closed space has particular implications for detainees with regards to their emotional life, their contacts to the outside and their bodies and minds – as individual entities and identities, as well as being canvases for institutional and societal ‘normalisation’. This mapping of personal carceral experiences will mainly follow Goffman’s detailed descriptions of the social situation for detainees, his findings on their ways of adapting to institutional routines and their possibilities of deviation from rules and regulations. Implications for the self like boundary transgression, inherent in the context of institutional group living, are central to understanding identity changes and tactics used to deflect the encompassing nature of locked environments. A conceptual framework for drawing up of these processes will be part of a detailed mapping across to the empirical analysis.

#### ***The Inmate’s World***

In *Asylums*, Goffman delves into institutional micro-worlds, considering the effects of incarceration and the social relationships that are played out on the institutional stage. In what follows now the most relevant points are deliberately accentuated in the following Goffman-textboxes, spotlighting the matters to be brought into close contact with the empirical material in Chapter 7. Talking about the ‘moral career’ of inmates in closed institutions, and that of the ‘mental patient’ in particular, Goffman explains how the term ‘career’ has two sides to it: one being the internal concept that is linked to one’s own identity and image of self, and the other an official position and public display. Status transition and the moral aspects of career are analysed by Goffman as an ‘exercise in the institutional approach to the study of self’ (Ibid: 119). Rather than excluding closed institutional living as a ‘bizarre’ exception, Goffman focusses on these places as meaningful social worlds which he divides into three phases, pre-patient, in-patient and ex-patient, while the picture is, he admits, complicated slightly by readmissions on what he calls the ‘re-patient’ phase (Ibid: 122).

---

prisons and camps and saw prisons not in the realm of ‘exception’, but more so due to constraints on space for further elaborations) – which can be seen as an important account of institutional regimes with regards to concentration camps. Here his concepts will be used in connection with securitisation and notions of abandonment rather than closed institutions.

The description of the different phases only partly transfers from considering mental health patients to other detainees, like in prisons or secure units.<sup>84</sup> The description of entering a closed institution may still be transferred to all inmates: it is described as a process that can sometimes bring relief as part of a transformation in social structures of daily life, but more often, people enter by force and experience feelings of abandonment, disloyalty and embitterment (Ibid: 125). The passage from person to inmate is described by Goffman as ‘stripping’ because many rights, liberties and satisfactions are effectively stripped away when entering a closed institution (Ibid: 130).

The initial phase when entering a closed environment is described as ‘settling down’ by staff, adjusting to spending life in the same closed grounds with a strict regime and in the immediate company of a group with her/his own institutional status. Likened to a ‘neophyte’, the new inmate finds herself deprived of the usual defences and subjected to many mortifying experiences like restrictions of free movement, communal living and the diffuse authority of a whole echelon of people (Ibid: 137). Facing a strict institutional system of rewards and punishments provides a radically different social setting to previous life ‘outside’ (Ibid: 138). Living under conditions of imminent exposure means having one’s past mistakes and present progress under constant moral review (Ibid: 151). The rigid and intense social control therefore has not only an effect on circumstances of everyday life, but on the sense of self of every individual inmate.

The process of entrance into a closed institution is described by Goffman as an experience of loss and ‘mortification’. Staff are engaged with what he calls admission procedures or ‘trimming’ and ‘programming’, which includes practices like ‘taking a life history, photographing, weighing, fingerprinting, assigning numbers, searching, listing personal possessions for storage, undressing, bathing, disinfecting, haircutting, issuing institutional clothing, instructing as to rules and assigning to quarters’ (Ibid: 25f.) – partly practices of care as well as control. Property dispossession takes many forms from personal items to one’s full name, and the institution offers replacements for certain objects which Goffman calls an ‘identity kit’ – usually marked as belonging to the institution.

Textbox 1: Encountering the Entrance to a Total Institution (Goffman 1991: 25-30)
Upon entrance the inmate is stripped of support formerly provided by certain stable social arrangements
Admission procedures are ‘trimming’ or ‘programming’ (shaped and coded into an object that can be fed into administrative machinery)
Inmates stripped of possessions which maintain usual appearance and may lead to suffering personal defacement
Bodily comforts significant to individual lost on entrance
The ‘identity kit’ provided by the institution in substitution for her/his possessions may be clearly marked like clothes/uniform for all inmates

**Table 1: Goffman Textbox 1**

<sup>84</sup> Especially in the study of the self and implications of ‘losing one’s mind’ or ‘losing control of oneself’, which in extreme cases is likened to a ‘failure at being human’, is a quite different predisposition to being convicted for crime – which can nonetheless carry its own meanings of loss of control or ceasing to be considered fully human.

Detainees arrive with a certain ‘way of life’ that is taken for granted until admitted to a closed institution. What Goffman calls ‘presenting culture’ means experiences that allow a tolerable conception of self (Ibid: 23). This individual conception of self is derived from a ‘home world’ of certain social fixtures; and, when describing the importance of individual home worlds, Goffman already refers to what happens if/when inpatients leave total institutions, as some aspects for this home world can be retrieved while other losses are irrevocable. This form of permanent dispossession is called ‘civic death’, referring to being unable at a later stage in life to get job advancements or further education or contest divorce or adoption proceedings – the barrier that separates inmates from the outside world may be carried over to post-release environments and suggests that Goffman does indeed see institutional life and boundaries as fluid (Ibid: 25).

Textbox 2: The Implications of Coming in with a ‘presenting culture’ (Goffman 1991: 23-25).
Inmates come in with a ‘presenting culture’ from a ‘home world’ which is dismantled upon admission, creating additional (moral) barriers to ‘outside’ and conflicts with own sense of self
Creation of tension between home world and institution used as a strategic leverage of management

**Table 2: Goffman Textbox 2**

The loss of identity equipment like certain clothes, washing products or being called by one’s name prevents inmates from displaying their usual image of their outer appearance to others around them. Goffman explains that there are other ways that the self-image is attacked, leading to the experience of the mortification of self (Goffman 1991: 30). Being commanded to suffer physical and verbal indignities like holding the body in a humiliating pose (as when restrained), or receiving humiliating responses as well as having to ask permission for things formerly well within one’s control, are all common. Other kinds of mortification include contaminative exposure when one’s own territory is violated and ‘the boundary that the individual places between his [her] being and the environment is invaded and the embodiment of self profaned’ (Ibid: 32). Physical mortification often goes along with unwanted interpersonal contact, which works as a forced social relationship to either staff (through searches) or fellow inmates (through group living). The exposure of one’s relationships through arranged confessions, discussions in group meetings or witnessing assaults upon someone close can all lead to permanent mortification (Ibid: 38f.).

Textbox 3: Underlying Mortifying Circumstances in a Closed Institution (Goffman 1991: 31-51)
The inmate never fully alone, always within sight and/or earshot
Physical contamination common (food, rooms, hygiene)
Penetration of private reserve (searching of belongings or person itself)
Public character of visits from the ‘outside’/ communication with the outside may be read and censored
Constant sanctioning interaction ‘from above’ (regulation and judgment)
Loss of bodily comforts (like quietness at night)
Psychological stress through loss of sleep, insufficient food, or protracted decision making

Interpersonal contamination (forced interpersonal contact)
Experiential mortification through exposure of one's relationships

**Table 3: Goffman Textbox 3**

All of these instances of social control have major implication for the inmate's sense of self. Some assaults upon the self are quite direct, notably various forms of defilement and a disruption of personal safety and territory, but there are other implications that are less tangible in their effect; and Goffman describes one of them as 'a disruption of usual relationship between an individual actor and his acts' (Ibid: 41). In the form of 'looping', this disruption is felt as a breakdown of usual defence mechanisms that are experienced as more severe because institutional spheres of life are desegregated. Goffman stresses that this form of social control is at work in society as a whole, but that it is particularly restrictive and detailed in closed settings (Ibid: 43). Two factors are especially prominent: (1) the ways in which one's economy of action is disrupted like having to request permission or supplies for minor activities (smoking, shaving, going to the toilet); and (2) constant judgement of a multitude of conducts and items (dress, manners, achievements). Staying out of trouble in a closed environment with a strict 'echolon-style'<sup>85</sup> enforcement of rules and regulations requires persistent conscious effort. In summary, total institutions especially disrupt or defile those actions that express the actor's command on her world: self-determination, autonomy and freedom of action (Ibid: 47). Mortification can be complemented by self-mortification, which means that inmates might internalise restrictions. In many instances mortifications<sup>86</sup> are institutionally rationalised on grounds like sanitation or security (Ibid: 49). These rationalisations occur as a by-product of managing a large number of people in a restrictive space with low expenditure of resources (Ibid: 50).

Textbox 4: Implications for Inmates (Goffman 1991: 30-51)
Loss of sense of personal safety common
Assaults upon 'self'/ territory of the 'self' is violated – the boundary that the individual places between her/his being and the environment is invaded and embodiments of self is profaned
Elementary and direct assaults upon the self, like defilement or disfigurement
Disruption of the usual relationship between individual actor and her/his acts ('Looping effect'= acts sanctioned, reviews and surveilled constantly)
Chronic anxiety about breaking the rules/the consequences of breaking them
Violation of individuality through sanctions and regulations

**Table 4: Goffman Textbox 4**

Overlaying the process of mortification are formal and informal instructions in what Goffman names the privilege system (Ibid: 51). While the stripping processes work at the

<sup>85</sup> Any member of staff has certain rights to rule over any inmate, thereby increasing the probability of sanction (Goffman 1991: 46).

<sup>86</sup> Other factors like high levels of stress can also severely influence inmates, such as loss of sleep, insufficient food, or proscribed decision-making. The high levels of anxiety might greatly increase the psychological effect of the violation of boundaries for the self, although they are technically set apart from mortification or self-mortification (Goffman 1991: 51).

dis-assemblage of the inmate’s previous (civilian) self, the consequence and reward system provides a framework for personal and moral *reorganisation* (Ibid: 51). This system is based on three sets of rules and regimes, the first one being the official house rules to which the inmate is introduced upon entry to the institution. The second is how the system relies on rewards that are handed out for good behaviour, often gratifications that were previously taken for granted. Under closed conditions, ‘the building of a world around these minor privileges is perhaps the most important feature of inmate culture’ (Ibid: 52). The third element entails the consequences or punishments for breaking rules. These can be temporary or permanent withdrawals of privileges, normally more severe than any that can be encountered in the home world (or those normally only applied to children and animals) (Ibid: 53). Furthermore, the question of release can be intimately linked to the privilege system, often influencing length of stay. Due to the unity of all life spheres, punishments have the tendency to spill over into spheres that were formerly completely separated, like work and sleep. One distinct aspect of total institutions is summarised by Goffman as ‘the inmates are moved, the system is not’ (Ibid: 54), leading to ‘spatial specialisation’ within and certain places known for their punishing characteristics. This simple system is in many ways extended by particular structures for ‘staging’ inmates (grading them according to their privilege status), with an ‘institutional lingo’ developing to reflect inmates’ experiences in this system and to describe their particular world (Ibid: 55).

Textbox 5: Frameworks for Working with Inmates in Closed Institutions (Goffman 1991: 51-60)		
Privilege system provides framework for personal reorganization		
‘House rules’ provide formal guidelines for expected conduct and consequences for breaching rules	‘Minor privileges’: Clearly defined rewards in exchange for obedience to staff	Punishment through temporary or permanent withdrawal of privileges, status and added constraints on living conditions (privileges here not indulgences but merely absence of deprivation)

**Table 5: Goffman Textbox 5**

While the privilege system is the official framework for ‘re-assembly of the self’ (Ibid: 57), there are other factors leading by different routes in the same direction – including secondary adjustments as the facilitator of the institutional ‘underlife’. Goffman analyses other lines of adaption to institutional life that help inmates to cope with the closed environment. Speaking of connections between the institutional and home worlds, Goffman realises that, while tensions get played out, under some circumstances the home world functions as an ‘immunisation’ to institutional living (Ibid: 65). Inmates who have experienced many different forms of institutions (orphanages, reformatories) tend to see total institutions ‘as just another (...) institution to which they can apply the adaptive techniques learned and perfected in similar institutions’ (Ibid: 65).



Textbox 6: Tendencies of Alignments to the Institution (Goffman 1991: 60-65)
Disinvolvement also described as ‘prison psychosis’, situational withdrawal/regression/acute de-personalisation
Intransigent line: inmate intentionally challenges institution
Colonisation (‘never having had it so good’/ ‘messaging up’ to continue incarceration)
Conversion (acting out the perfect inmate)
‘Playing it cool’ – keeping out of trouble
(Limited) ‘sorosisation’ among all inmates with smaller units of ‘cliques’, sexual ties and ‘buddy formation’

**Table 6: Goffman Textbox 6**

After discussing mortification processes, systems of reorganisation and lines of adaption, Goffman briefly comments on processes that occur upon release. Release is often connected to feelings of anxiety about possible return and ones’ reasoning about it. While rehabilitation is one of the main aims of the institution, Goffman claims that change is seldom realised (or not the one intended by the institution) (Ibid: 69). One of the paradoxes of the institution, according to Goffman, is that shortly after release, the sense of injustice, bitterness and alienation felt by inmates on the inside seems to weaken and ex-inmates idealise structure and organisation within (Ibid: 70).<sup>87</sup> An important kind of leverage for staff is the management of discharge that may increase or decrease stigmatisation, which shows how the lines of the total institution are fluid and certain aspects carried to the outside upon release.

Textbox 7: Implications of Release (Goffman 69-72)
Anxiety about release (Can I make it?)
Release binge fantasy based on scarcity of minor privileges
‘Disculturation’ may occur/‘untraining’ (temporarily incapable of managing features of every-day life)
Stigmatisation: social position not the same as prior to entrance (may not be able to take up education/job)
Inmates may leave with some limits to freedom (formal parole)
Leaving may mean ‘moving from the top of a small world to the bottom of a large one’

**Table 7: Goffman Textbox 7**

An inmate’s career through the different stages within the institution as well as in the community (with possible re-admission) shows how Goffman considers total institutions as fluid and semi-permeable. Life on the inside – while being dramatically different to life in the community – is connected to life on the outside through many channels, from visitors and to inmates’ own emotional attachments and senses of self. The detailed description of the internal systems that change *persons* into *inmates*, requiring a form of self-abandonment,<sup>88</sup> paint an intricate picture of life on the inside. The different modes of

<sup>87</sup> Which one could argue, can be seen as a success of the constitution of ‘docile bodies’, deliberately here to deploy a Foucauldian phrase.

<sup>88</sup> Goffman’s reference to self-abandonment can in some ways be linked to the later Agambenesque version.

adaption and the implications for the inmate's self show the institutional characteristics that create a sense of 'totality' and 'austerity'. Goffman, however, not only considers institutional conformities but analyses what happens beyond the institutional gaze.

### ***Cracks in the Wall of the Institution – Inmate Agency and its Limits***

Goffman is concerned with the attachment that inmates develop to the institutional lifestyle, but also with how inmates may manage to distance themselves from these expectations. In terms of individual identity and self-definition, he assesses how inmates exhibit their engagement with institutional activities. On the institutional level certain measures are designed to ensure conformity: (1) certain standards of welfare (care), (2) cooperation due to joint values, (3) incentives, and/or (4) threats, punishment or penalties (Ibid: 163f.). Underlying these strictures are unspoken assumptions to which individuals are subtly exposed, like the acceptance of privileges (such as art materials or outdoor exercise) which in turn means the acceptance, at least in part, of the captors' view of oneself as the captive (Ibid: 165).<sup>89</sup> While every organisation involves a disciplining of activity, Goffman establishes that such organisations also involve a 'discipline of being – an obligation to be of a given character and to dwell in a given world' (and one might add: under the banner of care) (Ibid: 171). The institutional underlife – a resistance to these norms – therefore thrives as a kind of 'absenteeism' that originates in deviating from prescribed being.

Speaking of primary and secondary adjustments to the institution, Goffman portrays an inmate's integration into institutional routines resting on her/his transformation into a co-operator (primary) or standing apart from assigned role and self by employing unauthorised means or obtaining unauthorised (or secondary) ends (Ibid: 172). The practices of secondary adjustments comprise what Goffman indeed names the 'underlife of the institution', dividing inmates into 'disruptive' (attempting major structural changes and rupture) and 'contained' (fitting into existing institutional structures) secondary adjustments (Ibid: 180). Here, only inmates' secondary adjustments will be considered, although Goffman describes both staff and inmate adjustments.<sup>90</sup> Analysing the disciplinary frame of reference, Goffman analyses secondary adjustments on a practical level, albeit acknowledging complex practices. Secondary adjustments recall Foucault's elaboration of counter-conduct (concepts of governmentality) and individual examples of contestation.<sup>91</sup> Goffman separates two

---

<sup>89</sup> The conception of the person that is incarcerated can thus be derived from action taken by the management or staff. Goffman claims that, by focussing mainly on questions of security and the prevention of disorder and escape, the prison management assumes the prisoners' definition of their character – suggesting that 'a very great amount of conflict and hostility between management and inmates is therefore consistent with agreement concerning some aspects of the latter's nature' (Ibid: 169).

<sup>90</sup> Goffman uses the term secondary adjustment, but at the same time calls it into question as 'clumsy' and dependent on the point of view as, for instance, psychiatric doctrine does not accept secondary adjustments as possible for patients due to their definition as mentally ill (Ibid: 186).

<sup>91</sup> Foucault discusses *conduct* and *counter-conduct* in the 1<sup>st</sup> March 1978 lecture of *Security, Territory, Population* in which he explains his use of counter conduct (although 'badly constructed') meaning active struggle against the 'processes implemented for conducting' oneself or others (as opposed to misconduct which is more passive) (Foucault 2007: 201). Directly relating counter-conduct to 'mad' people and delinquents, he underlines that it works as a description of 'dissidence' without the underlying sanctification or heroisation.



different levels of secondary adjustments in what he calls ‘make-dos’ and ‘working the system’.

Make-dos	Usage of available artefacts in a manner not officially intended thereby modifying the conditions of life programmed for these individuals [very little involvement in and orientation to the official world of the establishment needed].
Working the system	Practices and means profiting the actor who must have intimate knowledge of the system and be attuned to institutional rules – e.g. playing up to engage staff in social interaction however disciplinarian (189); elaborate practices of getting food or reading material (190/191), using institution to sober up (194); obtaining workable assignments (197). Engaging in practices of ‘working the system’ usually offer improvements in life conditions which could be likened to ‘tactics’ (also see de Certeau 1984).

**Table 8: Levels of Secondary Adjustments**

Interestingly for geographers, Goffman dedicates a whole section to ‘places’ and the question of the setting with regards to underlife activities. He separates institutional space into three categories: (1) space that is off-limits or out of bounds; (2) surveillance space; (3) a third space ruled by less than usual staff authority (Ibid: 204). Particularly focussing on the latter, Goffman describes how these regions, which he calls ‘free places’, are characterised by bounded physical space with reduced levels of restriction and surveillance where in detainees find opportunities to engage in a range of forbidden activities with a degree of security: ‘License, in short, has a geography’ (Ibid: 205).

Goffman analyses this geography of free places that functions as a ‘backstage’ to the usual performance of staff-inmate relationships, already initialising his later research on performance and performativity.<sup>92</sup> While noticing that free places often provide the scene for illicit activity, he also observes that they are used far more mundanely just to get away from staff and other inmates. This mundane use of space is nonetheless distinct, a rare condition of privacy and control that needs to be seen against the backdrop of the usual control exercised in closed institutions. Recognising these free places as physical spaces with specific characteristics, Goffman also detects their symbolic meaning when referring to their importance in the ‘mythology’ of the institution (1961: 208). This kind of third space described by Goffman (1991: 209) is intimately linked with the social structure and institutional constitution, which can be seen in the changing spatial perception for inmates whose status determines their spatial reach and access. Free places<sup>93</sup> are transient and often connected to ever-changing inmate structures and territories, like so that places off-limit for larger groups might still be free places for a select few or particular groups, leading to the informal designation of group territories and the concept of territoriality (Ibid: 213). Obtaining personal territories, connected to some comforts, rights and control, can range from perceiving places as a genuine ‘home’ to a mere ‘refuge’ – the inmate’s bedroom being the most obvious to be turned into own ‘territory’, albeit with limitations. Territory formation, intimately connected to identity and self-formation, is linked to space in which one has ‘some margin of control’ (Ibid: 219).

<sup>92</sup> See also his later work on performance and the *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Goffman 1959).

<sup>93</sup> Reminding of Foucault’s heterotopias; for a more in-depth discussion see Schliehe 2016.

Considering social structures in closed institutions, Goffman describes many complex routes of social control used for secondary adjustments. One way is ‘unrationalised force’ or private coercion that is commonly found in many different forms (Goffman 1991: 234). Another is economic exchange involving trade of objects or favours, one of the more widespread involving tobacco (snout) or lighters (matches), and others might be selling of liquor or other contraband, bartering prizes won at bingo (Ibid: 238) or other mediums of exchange like cigarettes. Gambling is a common undercover source of goods. Sale, barter and exchange are elements of social organisation through which ‘use-of-the-other occurred among inmates’ in an important but unofficial way (Ibid: 242). There is another important means of exchange that Goffman calls ‘social exchange’, through which signs and symbols of concern for another are reciprocated in a two-way transfer. This form of social payment is used as a measure of appreciation or a relationship (Ibid: 244).<sup>94</sup>

Private and Official Relationships in a Closed Institution (Goffman 1991: 245f.)	
Buddy relationship	Two individuals exhibit what is felt to be a non-sexual relationship to each other, identifying to some degree with the other’s concerns
Dating relationship	Two people sustain a special kind of sexually tinged mutual concern
Clique relationship	Three or more people, or two or more couples exhibit preference for one another’s company and exchange mutual aid
Categoric relationship	Any two inmates, by virtue of knowing one another to be inmates, exhibit certain signs of mutual regard
Patron relationship	Extending from staff person to inmate whom he/she employed

**Table 9: Relationship Types in Institutions**

Goffman explains that the three arrangements through which one individual can make use of objects or services of another (private coercion, economic exchange and social exchange) are all simplified analytical categories. In practice, several of them are often simultaneously and routinely used (Goffman 1991: 258). Thus, a description of institutional underlife provides a ‘biased picture’. Depending on the degree that inmates stick to primary adjustments, underlife may be unrepresented or even unimportant (Ibid: 262). In any case, however, it is important to observe how a particular institution is worked, and how institutions in general might be worked, which can be done through analysing social control and bond formation. Social control, for Goffman, can work both ways: inmate control of staff often takes traditional forms (like arranging accidents to occur to staff; massed rejection; slowing down work; sabotaging plumbing, lighting and communication systems; collective or individual teasing; ritual insubordination when obeying rules, strikes, riots) whereas inmate control of other inmates is more difficult to characterise (Ibid: 263f.). Unlike

<sup>94</sup> Social exchanges – sustained by all different types of relationships – are characterised by little resources available in the ‘reduced circumstances’ of institutional living, which is why some of the secondary adjustments are practised to develop or deliver ‘ritual supplies’ (like Valentine or Christmas cards, but also food, tobacco and other objects). (Goffman 1991: 247f.). The exchange of these ritual supplies happens between inmates, between inmates and staff as well as between inmates and visitors, the latter proving the semi-permeable nature of the institution (Ibid: 250). At times, Goffman observes intricate chains of contact to transport and deliver ritual supplies (Ibid: 251). This form of thwarting authoritative structures, according to Goffman, means psychological survival in which information and knowledge of the system become crucial goods. In this culture, then, ‘wising each other up’ becomes part of inmate relationships (Goffman 1991: 252).

the group of staff members who seem to ‘stick together’, inmates are reported to have weak informal social organisation and little reactive solidarity that reaches beyond relationships in smaller groups (Ibid: 265). Nonetheless, Goffman speaks of inmates as a ‘community’ that, for those in it, seems natural, even if it is unwanted; and so life on the inside provides one example of human association not so different from others on the outside (Ibid: 266).

According to Goffman (1991: 268), the study of underlife in closed institutions is of particular interest because, ‘when existence is cut to the bone, we can learn what people do to flesh out their lives’. Conceptually, considering inmate’s secondary adjustments is difficult, as any sign of disaffiliation with the closed institution can be read as a sign of the inmates’ proper affiliation, like violence against staff or interior property – the more an inmate rejects the institution through inadequate means, the more the management feels justified in assigning the inmate to the institution. Goffman suggests that secondary adjustments are only possible in total institutions because they operate semi-officially on an assumption that, despite the inmate’s predisposition, she ought to act in a manageable way. He claims that alienating acts can be seen as world-building for the person caught up in them, which leads to a temporary displacement of the institution (Ibid: 271). Like other kinds of ritual insubordination, Goffman defines these secondary adjustments as ‘essential constituent(s) of the self’ (Ibid: 279). These undercover adaptations serve as an example of how it is *against* something that the self can emerge: ‘our sense of selfhood can arise through the little ways in which we resist the pull. Our status is backed by the solid buildings of the world, while our sense of personal identity often resides in the cracks’ (Ibid: 280). Detainees’ agency and their effort to build an identity separate from the institutional doctrine is mainly played out in the spaces of secondary adjustments – thus creating a (limited) space for agency and the (re-) imagination of self.

### **3.4 From Individual Journeys to Carceral Archipelagos**

Journeying and the idea of movement through and beyond institutions is an important aspect of this project following on from an understanding of inner regimes and individual experiences. So far, I have tried to conceptualise the constitution of closed institutions from architecture to inner regimes and emergent affect, as well as understanding the detainee’s world and approaching important details of individual experiences. I want now to join these two foci by looking beyond the institution, exploring their permeability and widening the view of the carceral: I will do this by excavating individual journeys to understand how they sit within a wider institutional landscape. Within the familiar framework, I first analyse the closed institution and its position in what Foucault terms the carceral archipelago, highlighting every institution’s semi-permeable condition. Institutions are not solitary and completely closed systems, but rather deploy their disciplinary features of care and control in a delicate balance of constantly shifting openness and closedness. To widen the focus to see the individual institution in the context of a carceral system allows a different view on issues like abandonment and exclusion. To engage with individual narratives on these

different scales, and in part to summarise them as ‘journeys’, is as necessary as it is problematic. To explore the inherent issues and pitfalls of using such a metaphor calls for an engagement with how individual stories are used as means of understanding and interpreting their wider meaning.

### ***A Carceral System – with Notes on Permeability***

While speaking mainly of prison, Foucault widens the institutional circle in his discussion about ‘carcerality’. In his description of Mettray, where ‘the disciplinary form is at its most extreme’ and, where undisciplined and dangerous children are ‘normalised’, Foucault (1991: 297) derives the term ‘carceral archipelago’. As a penal institution,<sup>95</sup> Mettray contained young people sentenced by the courts but also young people held there as an alternative to parental correction. Mettray – with its interesting overlaps to today’s secure care institutions – belongs to this constitution of a carceral continuum that spreads disparate penitentiary techniques into other disciplines: ‘a subtle, graduated carceral net, with compact institutions, but also separate and diffused methods’ (Ibid: 297). This carceral network reaches though society as a whole: while the prison means the spread of penitentiary techniques, the carceral archipelago transports this technique into the entire societal body (Ibid: 298). In turn, this means that there is no outside to the carceral network in a panoptic society. The delinquent is thus anchored *in the law* and essential to the mechanisms that turn people from deviation to offence. This transformation of society as a whole and the spread of disciplinary and punitive techniques is summarised by Foucault with six main results:

The Carceral Archipelago and Its Effects (Foucault 1991: 298ff.)	
1	A continuity of punitive criteria with a continuous and imperceptible graduation from disorder to offence and back (from correction of irregularity to punishment of crime)
2	The carceral with its far-reaching networks allows and establishes ‘disciplinary careers’ – the delinquent is an institutional product
3	The carceral system naturalises and legitimises the power to punish and to discipline and lowers the threshold of tolerance for penalty
4	The carceral permits the emergence of a new form of power: the norm/normalising power as a major function in society
5	The carceral texture of society works for the capture of the body and its perpetual observation and leads to an ‘examinatory’ justice system
6	The prison as a societal function is very solid and transformation met with great inertia

**Table 10: Effects of the Carceral Archipelago**

Foucault’s terminology of a carceral system and archipelago set the stage for analysing different closed institutions under the umbrella of carcerality and institutionalisation. To repeat, Foucault argues that this ‘great carceral network reaches all the disciplinary mechanisms that function throughout society’ and therefore affects the entire social body

<sup>95</sup> Despite being a penal colony for young people, it was not ‘closed’ but was described as the ‘colony without walls’ which at the time was a potent symbol to counter conventional models of confinement. The cultivation of ‘moral agency’ was seen as the key to the reformation of juvenile delinquents which entailed that ‘spaces of liberty and of discipline were no longer distinct’ (Driver 1990: 276). According to Driver (1990: 279), Foucault highlighted Mettray as having perfected the ‘art of disciplinary punishment’ with no external walls and set in a seemingly more benign spatial form than Bentham’s Panopticon.

(Ibid: 298). This means that there is no ‘outside’, just an ‘inside’ to the disciplinary system. Foucault ends the book with a reference to the ‘carceral city’, a metaphor that turns the gaze towards expanding territorial manifestation of the disciplinary archipelago. With its ‘imaginary geopolitics’, it resembles the disciplined society in bricks and mortar, and provides an image for the power of ‘normalisation’ and the formation of knowledge.<sup>96</sup> DP shows, like no other of Foucault’s books, the paradox inherent within the emergence of individual liberties and the simultaneous development of a disciplinary society where the prison holds a special place in the microphysics of power. The carceral system is a complex ensemble that is based on the institution itself, but reaches far beyond the inner walls of this disciplinary system: ‘The carceral system combines in a single figure discourses and architectures, coercive regulations and scientific propositions, real social effects and invincible utopias, programmes for correcting delinquents and mechanisms to reinforce delinquency’ (Foucault 1991: 271). Discussing the prison system and its ‘failures’ that have not been corrected, despite many attempts at reform, Foucault claims that it is curiously successful at producing delinquency and creating a certain kind of social *milieu* that fits into the societal disciplinary discourses.

In Goffman’s work on total institutions the analysis of different types of institutions, with varying levels of control and care, underlines a similar point. Fluid understandings of seemingly fixed terms are transported subtly. As Hacking (2004: 293) points out, the subtitle of *Asylums* has ‘(as is often the case with Goffman’s asides) its own ironic implications’ as ‘essays on *the social situation of mental patients and other inmates*’ is meant to encompass staff among the confined. Immediately, the sense is of these institutions as an ‘open field’, a loose empirical domain, a range of possibilities – very different from how his concept of ‘totality’ is often understood (see Chapter 2). While the carceral system – a Foucauldian term – that implies a partial permeability of carceral characteristics is less obvious in Goffman’s work on closed institutions, it is nonetheless detectable. Goffman discusses permeability directly as a feature of total institutions: varying permeability of boundaries influences the ‘dynamic relationships between a total institution and the wider society that supports it or tolerates it’ (Goffman 1991: 111). While some impermeability is necessary to maintain a closed institution, ‘partial’ permeability is established through links with the ‘environing society’ (Ibid: 111, 113). Thus, total institutions are part of the overall social order in society, with a fluid relationship but clearly tangible distinction between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’. *Semi-permeability* needs to be underlined, as Goffman never envisaged the hermetically sealed closed spaces reflected in the caricature of his position.<sup>97</sup>

---

<sup>96</sup> In addition to writing about prisons and the disciplinary society, he also initiated the politically activist study group ‘groupe de’information sur les prisons’ (Eribon 1991: 318ff.).

<sup>97</sup> This claim is supported by Quirk et al.’s (2006) paper on permeable institutions and the application of a continuum of permeability. They acknowledge that Goffman included permeability as a feature of total institutions but argue that he focussed his attention more on the impermeable aspects. They remind that Goffman constructed an ‘ideal type – a conceptual device to be used as a tool for examining formal organisations’ which does not correspond with any single case (Ibid: 2107).

Foucault's widening of the carceral sphere across society as a whole, and Goffman's description of the semi-permeable nature of and across different types of 'closed' institutions, is central to the later description of young women's journeys through institutional spaces and beyond.<sup>98</sup> Agamben, meanwhile, provides a thought-provoking (amended) continuation of Foucault's carceral archipelago: while Agamben clearly distinguishes between the camp and the prison, which makes it difficult to use his theory in the context of closed institutions that are part of the established prison system, his concepts are clearly aimed at an encompassing network of 'spaces of exception'. 'The camp – and not the prison – is the space that corresponds to this originary structure of the *nomos*' (Agamben 1998: 20) ('the hidden matrix': Ibid: 166).<sup>99</sup> While the camp is situated outside the law and normal order ('martial law and state of siege'), prison law is part of the juridical order. Agamben classifies the camp as the 'absolute space of exception' that is topologically different to spaces of confinement. The emergence of the camp as a *site* of exception stands for the localisation of the *state* of exception and determines a crisis of distinction between inside and outside and exception and rule (Ibid: 25).<sup>100</sup>

Agamben (2005: 3) himself mentions other kinds of camps in the production of *homines sacri*, like the detention camps of captured Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan. This line of thought is complemented by the work of geographers like Minca (2005, 2006, 2007) and Gregory (2006, 2008), who engage with Guantanamo as a space of exception, a 'third space between life and death' (Minca 2005: 407) and an 'iconic example of (...) paradoxical space' (Gregory 2006: 405). Spaces like this underline Agamben's argument that the state of exception is likely to maintain itself as a permanent 'arrangement', and that it also needs to transform itself spatially 'on the ground' – the *state* of exception thus produces *spaces* of exception as its permanent and material manifestation (Minca 2005). In his teleological approach, Agamben 'suggests that [the camps'] operations have been unfurled to such a degree that today, through the multiplication of the camp as a carceral archipelago, the state of exception has reached its maximum worldwide deployment' (Gregory 2006: 406). This means that sovereign power has produced both an 'intensification and a proliferation of bare life' (Ibid). Even though Guantanamo has become the 'face' of the new global war prison and 'space of exception', other prisons like Bagram (Gregory 2006) or Abu Ghraib (Gregory and Pred 2007) also form part of this 'carceral archipelago'. Not just clearly confined spaces like war prisons, but also whole areas have been analysed in the light of

---

<sup>98</sup> It also must be noted here that by subsuming different types of total institutions under this one heading, Goffman clearly anticipates what Foucault describes in more detail: the spread of control over different societal spectrums.

<sup>99</sup> Even though Agamben actively excludes the prison from the spaces of exception or the camp, he later concludes that everyone is a potential *homo sacer*, which could include the prisoners. His elaboration on the subject is slightly diffuse and unclear and the different spheres (as in the territorial space of the camp and the subjectivated space of the individual body (*homo sacer*) as well as the more abstract version of 'bare life') are not clearly defined: they are rather merged and intertwined (as potentially in real life) which causes particular confusion when trying to utilise his ideas in a specific context (like prison).

<sup>100</sup> The physical exclusion in the form of the 'ban' in Roman law can be transferred to the camp, but Agamben questions this relation/connection of exclusion and inclusion in the law (Ibid: 29). He sees the 'ban' as the tie between sovereign/power and 'bare life', the 'force of simultaneous attraction and repulsion that ties together the two poles of the sovereign exception' (Ibid: 110). In this respect, Laclau (2007: 12) refers to sovereignty being at the source of the ban, but territory being equally important in its application. This complex relationship between 'inside and outside' is therefore at the heart of the concept.

geopolitical/biopolitical struggle, and as spaces of exception in which the control over populations and over bodies is exercised (Gregory 2008). In the light of wider carceral systems, then, Agamben shows how the ‘modern’ camp is at the same time a continuation and superelevation of the spread of the ‘carceral’. Within the wider discourse on security geographies, the Scottish institutions might only represent a small fraction of ‘carcerality’, but nonetheless they encircle similarly abandoned and marginalised populations.

In the discussion on carceral systems and their levels of permeability and definitions of inside and outside, Agamben’s theory needs to be acknowledged, despite its inherent question of practical applicability in the particular context of mainstream prisons and other closed institutions in the UK. In a more straightforward way, both Foucault and Goffman underline the importance of probing carceral worlds that – to different degrees – reach into societal consciousness. Speaking of a carceral archipelago facilitates a comprehensive analysis of carceral features that span across different institutions and into the whole social body. A better understanding of the constitution of closed institutions, with their distinct features, provides the ground for exploring the social situation of detainees on a more in-depth level. Going back to discussions in Chapter 2, these carceral landscapes of different institutions – in Foucault’s terminology, as a carceral archipelago – can be defined as contextual spaces within the geographical situation and wider spatial context of confinement (Ferrant 1997). The development of ‘internal’ and ‘external’ spaces of confinement in the different regimes of health, social care and criminal justice affect social and spatial decision-making. Where inmates are sent, in turn, then, shapes the symbolic attachments of meaning and adaption of identity in the constitution of confinement, while at the same time stressing the converging of different institutions within ‘individual journeys’ as well as the merging of carceral institutions into archipelagos and manifestations of abandonment *within* spaces of control and care.

### **3.5 Geographies of Abandonment and the Figure of *femina sacra***

Women do not feature much in the conceptual literature considered here, which is quite obviously at odds with the overall thesis topic. If they are mentioned as a separate group, it is mainly in connection with specificities of their bodies (like more slender builds: Goffman 1991: 73) or their moral conduct (young female offenders imprisoned because of their immorality: Foucault 1991: 297f.). These ‘footnotes’ show how women are positioned as part of the male-orientated language and research where women were either thought as marginal or as included in the overall group of men. Even though Foucault does not exclude women from his analyses directly, most of his examples use men, and the reader is subtly but automatically tempted to picture men or boys when thinking about ‘docile bodies’: (male) soldiers, (male) pupils in boy’s schools, (male) prisoners, and madmen. Possible differences between the experiences of women compared to their male counterparts are never addressed.

Although Goffman never explicitly developed a gender conscious standpoint in his book on asylums, other political themes can be found in his metaphors; for example, concentration camps in *Asylums* or race relations in *Stigma* (Fine and Manning 2003: 41). Other areas of his research contributed to wider political debates on gender, however, with resonance in feminist perspectives (West 1996; Goffmann 1990; Wedel 1978). It needs to be underlined here that, in terms of a particular perspective on women, Goffman arguably has more to offer than Foucault<sup>101</sup> or Agamben<sup>102</sup> (to date). He supported feminist research in his department, and among his doctoral students were quite a few feminists.

Goffman's legacy to this field, then, is twofold: an appreciation of how power works in spoken interaction between women and men, and an appreciation of mundane conversation as the means of discovering this. He deserves much of the credit for our realisation that the exercise of power is perhaps most effective when it is muted, if not euphemised (West 1996: 360f.).

As the paper by West (1996) shows, Goffman (1990, 1977a/b) had an impact on feminist theory, even though his work never appeared in feminist journals, he is generally not cited in feminist literature and only two of his published works specifically deal with sex and gender. West (1996: 354) nonetheless argues that Goffman's contributions to feminist theory 'were far more generous than publicly acknowledged', with elements of his work entering into 'the universe of feminist discourse' almost unnoticed (Ibid: 355).<sup>103</sup> Goffman's sociological understanding of 'spoken interaction' laid the ground for feminist work on the relationship between gender and spoken interaction (West 1996), and West sees his analysis of face-to-face interaction as the first step to inquiries into both 'doing' power' and 'doing' gender'.

While neither Goffman nor Foucault lend themselves to coining phrases in describing a female agent, Agamben's concept of 'homo sacer' has been adapted to do just that. While there are other groups of people who have been categorised as *homines sacri*, one group has not been discussed in any detail by either Agamben or by other analysts like Minca and Gregory – namely 'women' or *feminae sacrae*. Several feminist academics have discussed the figure of *femina sacra*, however, with attention paid to sex workers, domestic workers, victims of murder, female camp detainees and women in the 'war on terror' (Fluri 2012 Masters 2009; Plonowska Ziarek 2008; Lentin 2006; Pratt 2005; Sanchez 2004). Sanchez proposes a 'different' reading of Agamben's *homo sacer* as an originary figure of *displacement* whereas the prostitute is an originary figure of *exclusion*. Marginalised women, like sex workers, 'must remain a figure of exclusion to mark the outer limit of society, the subject to which *homo sacer* is approximated' (Sanchez 2004: 862). The female 'limit

<sup>101</sup> His concepts, and particularly his later work on biopower, have informed a lot of feminist and gender research, which has sparked re-interpretation and discussion (like Taylor 2008; Deveau 1994; McNay 1992; Butler 1990).

<sup>102</sup> His work, although not to the same extent as Foucault's, has also been subject to re-interpretation by feminist scholars (see below). Many note, though, that he is 'not at all sensitive to the gendered dimension' (Mills 2004: 58), which is surprising in light of his focus on biopower.

<sup>103</sup> Among Goffman's doctoral students were many feminists, Goffman's last doctoral student being Carol Brooks Gardner. She conducted systematic empirical research on street-talk and the 'disciplining' of women in public space through street remarks (West 1996: 356f.).



concept' marks the feminine as an 'excluded exclusion' whereas the (masculine) *homo sacer* is an included exclusion, 'through which the masculine figure of the outlaw is imagined and both displaced to and recovered from the outside' (Ibid: 863). Sanchez argues for the centrality of the feminine outlaw as a social figure of assurance: 'that there is always an (other) figure outside, she makes it possible for criminal man to move back and forth across the threshold of the social' (Ibid: 864). Sanchez argues that:

*Homo sacer* is included in the constitution of the social because he must be accounted for. He is a subject of possibility who occupies a position of prior or potential entitlement in contrast to the feminine outlaw or the racialised or hybrid subject. Indeed, *homo sacer* is already within the cultural consciousness as opposed to the 'alien' or 'other' – that is, the subject who is outside and insignificant and who therefore does not count, or who is outside and threatening and who therefore is repressed. (Sanchez, 2004: 866).

Pratt (2005: 1058) continues Sanchez's work on prostitutes and complements it with domestic helpers who are positioned at provocative extremes within gender norms, 'that of the public whore and domesticated mother'. Considering the 'legal abandonment' of such women, she uses Agamben's claim that exception to and suspension of law has become a dominant paradigm in that it allows the possibility of eliminating 'citizens who for some reason cannot be integrated into the political system' (Ibid: 1054). Pratt focuses particularly on 'abandonment', which, unlike exclusion, is a relational process in which the abandoned are still connected to processes of order and power. Pratt develops her argument on abandoned women with Agamben's work in which he distinguishes between public and private categories that are subsequently mapped onto categories of political and biological life (bios and zoe; see above). She is perplexed at the missing gendered analysis in his work, considering feminist scholarship on the gendered nature of public and private spheres: both gendered private space and women's difficulty to uphold a border between public and private, are key resources for her argument about women's legal abandonment (Ibid: 1056).

Lentin, in her work on *femina sacra*, returns to 'Agamben's site' of the concentration camp and argues that the role of the *femina sacra* is different to that of *homo sacer* because 'the body of woman creates and contains birth-nations and demarcates territories': 'she who can be killed but also impregnated, yet who cannot be sacrificed due to her impurity' (Lentin 2006: 465). Lentin (2006: 471) argues that women's strategic position as the bearers of communal honour and shame changes 'bare life' and pushes 'her' to the very extreme of the indistinction between violence and law, inside and outside. Masters takes Lentin's argument forward and analyses women's bare life in the 'war on terror' on both sides of the continuum (as soldiers and as 'natives'). In her view, the war on terror, with all its implications, has 'served both to make women (in general) absent as bare life and, at the same time, to reproduce a violent sovereign masculine subjectivity' (Masters 2009: 45). The discussion about *feminae sacrae* and their status as the doubly excluded can be applied to female detainees when discussing their position as gendered subjects and their deviation from 'respectable femininity' (Sharpe 2012: 4). This reinterpretation of the concept of

abandonment and the 'excluded exclusion' provides a vital frame for the empirical material below (Chapter 6-8).

Locked-up girls and women are subjected to the same institutional machinery as men within the same carceral environment. While many aspects of their confinement are similarly applicable, like primary and secondary adjustments to the institution, underlying societal norms and expectations, as well as a different view on their deviation from acceptable behaviour, create a situation that all three theorists fail to highlight. Without creating a skewed view on female detainees based mainly on their gender, their different roles inside and outside of closed institutions must be acknowledged. Women's deviation from acceptable female behaviour is closely linked to their confinement, as they often fall into categories of being 'mad', 'bad' or both in the process. The breaching of gender-appropriate behaviour and gender stereotypical roles is tied to definitions of offending, representing a risk and subsequent institutionalisation (Appignanesi 2009: 7).

The often extreme situation that women face in prison or other closed institutions shows general societal problems (as analysed by feminists) on a heightened scale. Due to the complexity and totality of the spatial and social surrounding, as well as the personal history of most incarcerated women (exposure to violence, poverty, meagre education, mental health problems), general societal problems are magnified. Overall feminist issues like equality of the sexes or disadvantaged social, legal and economic situations of women are particularly pressing when considering incarcerated female populations. Gender stereotypes that are promoted in closed institutions lag behind feminist points of view: consider, for example, the educational qualification choices available to young women in prison or everyday activities in secure care institutions for young women. While these stereotypes might be perpetuated by the institutions, some prison researchers like Rowe (2011, 2015) highlight that they remain just as common within a research tradition disproportionately influenced by particular assertions about women and their particular gender 'troubles'. The prison regime of surveillance, normalising judgment and examination, is, while presenting as less punitive, actually more visible for women through links to ideas about women's inability to cope with prison (Rowe 2011: 572). The institutional regime places particular pressures on female bodies, as through difficulties of maintaining body images and the subsequent creation of particular forms of self-mortification, or via special difficulties related to health or pregnancy. These empirical observations 'jump out' as 'other' experiences to what have been conceptualised by Foucault, Goffman or Agamben. One of the key functions of prison space, writes Dirsuweit (2005: 350ff.), is the 'normalisation' of aberrant behaviour in which the body has a special role, as has the training of the mind. This calls for a special examination of closed institutions in relation to how they produce women's abandonment, how they define and 'normalise' gendered identity, as well as to how institutionalised females actually live and potentially resist or undermine such attempts. The embodiment and discursive structures in a carceral context offer new and important additions to the relevant

theories on confinement, control and discipline and their micro-level characteristics, creating an opportunity for applying these established theories in a unique context.

### **3.6 Conceptual Applicability – Exercises in Mapping Across**

This chapter explored concepts making sense of the complex cultures and meaningful worlds of closed institutions, as well as disentangling the institutional constitution, processes and pressures that work on individual detainees. Returning to the duality of thinking through care and control, all aspects covered in this chapter inform the framing of the thesis overall. Through a close reading of Goffman's work on asylums and Foucault's work on prisons, as well as re-reading of Agamben's notion of abandonment, a conceptual approximation towards a better understanding of the empirical material can be achieved. The connections between individuals and broader institutional structures – between embodied experiences and wider societal meanings – become clearer through a complementary reading of Goffman and Foucault, whose analyses, despite not commenting on female perspectives, are particularly relevant to women's experiences of closed institutions. Foucault's attention to structural power relations and Goffman's detailed account of individual agency, together aid an understanding of how institutional characteristics shape women's responses to and experiences of confinement. It is a challenge, however, to find the right balance between stressing distinct female voices while at the same time refraining from superimposing gender essentialisms.

Overall, the concepts discussed in this chapter help to encompass the defining characteristics of closed institutions at the nexus of care and control. Foucault and Goffman in particular provide such rich accounts of life on the 'inside'. They capture the ambiguous nature and entangled structures of institutional life, going beyond simple accounts of inner regimes to painting an intricate picture of affective atmospheres in confinement. The conceptual window on detainees' representations of self and identity create an important window through which empirical results can be assessed. Extracting the 'meaning' behind detainees' lived experience is crucial for understanding the worlds of systemic power, the micro-level negotiations of resistance, agency and its limits. Capturing the locked worlds of closed institutions, their opaque nature becomes apparent – balancing care and control, and providing extremely solid and at the same time fluid environments of disciplinary power.

Finally, the metaphor of 'journey' (see Chapter 8) and the understanding of broader societal (and indeed global) structures of security and detention open up the thesis to realms beyond the individual institution, addressing 'space' in between the islands of the carceral archipelago. Mapping and re-tracing the young women's steps becomes at the same time a complex task of challenging 'abandonment' through 'rendering-visible', while also noting the inherent pitfalls that come with the method. While it certainly cannot be methodologically uncontested, the casting of these women through the figure of *femina sacra* and its state of abandonment potentially illuminates their descriptions of everyday life.

Being confronted with trauma, violence and death, the young women's stories show how the singularity of their situation can be found in the seemingly 'mundane', situated at the fringes of a society, a society which practices abandonment *in* upholding care and control.

# CHAPTER 4

## A Methodological Note: Researching Locked Environments

In this research project, I investigate young women's views and experiences of closed institutions by placing them within the context of their everyday lives. Following other research on young women and criminal justice (Chesney-Lind and Sheldon 2014; Burman and Batchelor 2009; Burman et al. 2003), I explore the material, social and gendered settings of their lives, and how they live and make sense of their lifeworlds, by drawing on their personal accounts – what Burman et al. (2003) call 'a view from the girls'. Using a range of methods including in-depth interviews with young women and staff, ethnographic observation, analysis of file data, and mental maps, I have approached the research in a diverse and hopefully creative way. There are many difficulties in entering closed settings, as well as when researching with young people. Every field site had its own particular characteristics, set of security rules and access negotiations. No fieldwork day was ever the same – there were new encounters, friendly chats and helpful staff, as much as hostile receptions, refusals and open distrust. I encountered restraints, lock-downs and violent behaviour, but in hindsight found the quieter forms of distress, disclosures of personal tragedies and numbly withdrawn behaviour at least as challenging. Doing fieldwork in locked environments and with young women in the community was as enriching as it was personally tough and at times isolating. My mental picture of these young women, is not only one of personal tragedy and suffering, though, but mainly one of lively chats, much shared laughter and kindness.

From early on, this project has been enthused by Goffman's way of working 'ethnography' and Foucault's detailed accounts of power. Goffman's approach<sup>104</sup> to uncovering social worlds and detecting subtle norms of interaction has been inspiring. Working towards an uncovering of 'meaningful' social worlds and attending to the micro-level of interaction is paramount to his ethnography:

Any group of persons (...) develop a life of their own that becomes meaningful, reasonable and normal once you get close to it, and (...) a good way to learn about any of these worlds is to submit oneself in the company of the members to the daily round of petty contingencies to which they are subject (Goffman 1991: 7).

Asking uncomfortable questions about the way 'society operates, the workings of power and even our own role as social scientists' (Cooper 2001: 7) is clearly connected to Foucault's way of writing. The latter's detailed account of monitoring, regulating and controlling certain populations and society as a whole opened my 'field-working' eye to undercurrents

---

<sup>104</sup> His method of in-depth participant observation and a long-term ethnography - what he called 'deep familiarity' - have been extremely helpful in planning, and also revisiting, my own fieldwork practice. However, this does not mean that I systematically stuck with this way of working. Goffman did not use interviews, whereas I have done. I could also not spend as much time 'in the field' as Goffman suggested suitable for *extended* participant observation ('I think you should spend at least a year in the field. Otherwise you don't get the random sample, you don't get a range of unanticipated events, you don't get deep familiarity. It's deep familiarity that is the rationale - that, plus getting material on a tissue of events - that gives the justification and warrant for such an apparently "loose" thing as fieldwork' (Goffman in: Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz 2013: 103).

and wider implications of institutional life. While reading methodological literature before I set out doing fieldwork, I related to Foucault's description of how, when starting a new project, he does not know which method he will use and that methodology will largely emerge through reflection: 'every one of my books has its own way of outlining a topic and finding a method for its analysis'. Methods for Foucault are likened to 'scaffolding' – not definitely valid and generalisable – but rather used like a toolbox.<sup>105</sup> One of the most defining features of Foucault's way of working relayed in Chapter 3 as well as in the mapping across to the empirical material (Chapter 6-8) is that, even though DP ends around 1830 (Foucault 2008: 1590), it is generally read as an account of the present – his way of writing allows for a transmission of experiences that changes the way we perceive ourselves and the world (and therefore our relation to knowledge). Using Goffman and Foucault in a complementary way is not common, but has been done before in social science projects, like Scott (2011), who merged Foucault's disciplinary power with Strauss's 'negotiated order' and Goffman's 'interaction order'. In methodological terms, both Goffman and Foucault have helped my research practice in shaping my way of 'viewing' and 'observing', which in time has trickled down to inform my way of coding and analysing.

It has not just been the major theorists<sup>106</sup> that informed my research practice, but a multitude of 'other' sources, including feminist research methodologies. I studied a variety of approaches in detail, starting with de Beauvoir, Kristeva and Butler, but intersecting and adding many other accounts along the way. Lather (2003) writes on 'empowering research methodologies' and provides an inspiring account of feminist research practice. Seeing 'gender' as an inherent and basic organising principle, are profoundly shaping all our lives, helps to include it into the research agenda without falling victim to a constraining account of gender as a separate category. The overt goal, Lather (2003: 152) writes, is 'to correct both the invisibility and distortion of female experience'.

The challenge of feminist emancipatory and reflexive work runs up against particular barriers in closed environments. On many levels positive social change is a stated goal of much prison research and feminist research alike, but this is extremely challenging to put into practice. Lather (2003: 161) indicates how 'the pressing need to turn critical thought into emancipatory action' is a struggle. While the social change imperative is addressed, but unresolved, many other aspects of feminist thinking have entered the project to create a more reflexive and critical research practice. One important consideration in much feminist geographical research is the concealed asymmetry between 'private' and 'public' stories, and then in the attached representations of fieldwork material. Kasper (2003: 170) argues that women in particular 'encounter varying life experiences in which the rupture occurs and where the distinctions between culturally-imposed themes and personal meaning become

<sup>105</sup> Author's translation (German-English) of Foucault's interview with Trombadori (Foucault 2008: 1586).

<sup>106</sup> For reasons of continuity, it should be mentioned here that Agamben can be seen as a combination of micro-level (*Remnants of Auschwitz*) and more abstract ways of working (*State of Exception*) depending on which book is consulted. His approach to methods has not played a major role for this project as Agamben's work is mostly abstract and his focus often global, although he does provide contemporary examples that are applicable to today's state of securitisation (see Chapter 3).

particularly clear'. Young women in the interviews often pointed towards how their view of themselves does not match social assumptions that define 'young women'. While some saw this asymmetry arising from gender norms quite clearly, others did not 'abstract' their feelings of alienation and confusion to this point.

One way of adopting a feminist approach is the fundamental assumption throughout this work that every young woman encountered is the 'expert' on her life, its meanings and her beliefs.<sup>107</sup> This assumption is important, but by no means straightforward in an environment where there are many different accounts of behaviour, descriptions of meaning and portrayals of young women who can 'present' very differently every day. It was a challenge to retain this assumption when talking to staff members, psychologists, teachers, guards and social workers. The young women in question easily become multi-dimensionally passive, and it was an active effort to allow them to be experts on their lives.<sup>108</sup> To summarise the feminist approach taken here, the data analysis aimed to explain young women's experiences by building on their own interpretation of meaning, as far as possible preserving the integrity of their own voices.

Doing research with 'confined' female interviewees raises additional issues and methodological questions. Walklate (1995) mentions a number of difficulties in relation to the sole focus on women, crime and confinement; one being that such a focus might lead to the replacement of the biological category woman – often used as an explanation for misbehaving – with the socio-cultural category of gender [replacing biologically rooted explanations (sex) with societally rooted ones (gender) and thus hinting at essentialism] (Ibid: 14). Burman and Batchelor (2009) similarly point out that the focus with female offenders<sup>109</sup> is often on the multiple deprivations that female offenders tend to take with them into closed institutions, which can result in the medicalisation/pathologisation of their person and their role within policy and practice discourse. This in turn can lead to the image of the female offender as 'hapless and dependent' – far from how young women in the criminal justice system are perceived to be – which might contribute to their image as 'intractable', 'awkward' and 'too difficult to work with' (Ibid). Working with a feminist agenda hence requires a particular alertness to gender while avoiding labelling. In their 2001 article, Burman et al. characterise their work as 'feminist' on the basis of their epistemological positioning and also in regard to the methodological decisions that were made before commencing the study. The key imperative here is seen in the production of knowledge that provides an understanding of women's experiences, as well as due to a method of interpretation based on feminist concepts (Ibid: 446). Adopting this methodology,

---

<sup>107</sup> Kasper (2003: 173) presents this as 'simple truth', but one that is often ignored in social science research where the researcher is assumed to be the 'expert' – this does not mean that the researcher should not be an 'informed' researcher.

<sup>108</sup> Again referring to Kasper (2003: 177), she makes clear that this means to assume that 'no one can know as much as closely and as deeply about a life as the person who lives it' and going by this statement 'each women's ability to analyse complex social situations, to reveal power of conventional belief in her life, and interpret the relationship of personal experience' must be honoured by assuming that each woman is being as honest and open as she can.

<sup>109</sup> While not all interviewees in this study are confined for offending behaviour, I would argue that similar considerations still apply to them.

then, means to be aware of the importance of remaining flexible, recognising too that own (personal and theoretical) assumptions and beliefs need to be carefully dissected and explicated in terms of their effect on the research process (Ibid: 451).

Research in closed environments raises other issues, one of which is empathy (Liebling 2001). The capacity to relate plays an important role in the interview process. The researcher has to be affectively present to achieve a 'subjective understanding of situated meanings and emotions' (Liebling 2001: 474). In closed environments like prisons, the researcher faces a (continually changing) dilemma of dividing 'appreciative'<sup>110</sup> understanding between the institution, the 'locked-up' and those who manage them. To balance these competing 'appreciations' is a continual challenge which can only be addressed in imperfect ways, often with 'high emotional drainage along the way' (Liebling 2001: 480). The researcher has to find a way to live with complexities and dilemmas that are particular to closed environments, like politics of access, over-identification with research subjects, exceptions to confidentiality, and permission clauses. Significant ethical questions and uncomfortable realities also arise when reflecting on the larger role of the researcher within the secure estate or when considering direct involvement in individual cases (Moore and Scraton 2013).

Finally, research with *young* people is also not straightforward, but raises ethical issues in addition to the demands of good practice (Burman et al. 2001). Awareness of the complexities of closed institutions and the sensitivity of a research topic is key to achieving good research practice, which must be embedded in an understanding of the imbalance of power between researcher and young people. Implications are relating to personal, emotional and potentially traumatic effects of disclosing experiences of being locked up (Burman et al. 2001: 447). Accessing young people in prison involves gaining consent from the institution (managerial prison staff) as well as from the young person. This is problematic to achieve in an environment that allows young interviewees to make their decision to participate in a way that ensures confidentiality, understanding of the context in which the research sits and, most importantly, choosing 'freely' to take part. As a 'captive audience', they are subject to institutional constraints as well as encouragement by staff and observation/judgment by other young people. In participating, most of the young people entered 'unfamiliar territory', not sure of what was required of them, and so the research had to be explained, albeit without 'pre-defining' characteristics or leading them to give responses that they thought were anticipated.

#### **4.1 Ethics of Doing Research with Vulnerable Young People**

Bulmer (2001) defines ethics as a 'matter of principled sensitivity to the rights of others' and with it respect for human dignity. In doing research in 'locked' conditions and with deemed 'vulnerable' young women between the ages of 14 to 21 years raises particular ethical issues

---

<sup>110</sup> Here loosely referring to 'appreciative inquiry' (see for example Liebling et al. 1999) in which an 'appreciative stance' is understood to permit emotional space and encourage 'positive as well as negative projections' in an environment that is often perceived as particularly judgmental and contested (Ibid: 76).



such as informed consent. Consent is described by Bulmer (2001: 49) as voluntary consent from a human being who has the legal capacity to give consent which is by ‘free power of choice, without the intervention of any element of force, fraud, deceit, duress, overreaching or any other ulterior form of constraint or conversion,’ but also involving sufficient knowledge of what is entailed in taking part, including potential negative effects.<sup>111</sup> When it comes to young people, especially if they are under the age of 16, their ‘legal’ capacity to consent can be questioned. Even though my approach took this matter into account by supplying information sheets and consent forms (without ‘jargon’), as well as consulting with their workers and social workers, this is still a matter of contention. The issue of informed consent is further complicated by the geographical setting and social relations in closed spaces, as just noticed, where young people did have a choice to say yes/no but were clearly influenced by institutional constraints. Throughout the fieldwork period I therefore made an effort to spend as much time ‘being around’ and approachable for any questions as possible. This, however, was a lot easier in secure care and prison than ‘outside’ where I had to fit into the TfC workers’ schedule.

Considering ethics includes finding answers to questions of respect for privacy (including control by an individual about their information), safeguarding the confidentiality of data, harm to subjects and researchers, and attending to the consequences of appearing in an academic publication (Crang and Cook 2007: 26ff.; Bulmer 2001). Most, if not all of these, come with additional implications for doing fieldwork with young people who are simultaneously ‘captive’ audiences/participants. In choosing appropriate approaches, I took time to consider what Lee (2000) calls ‘unobtrusive methods’. While reading on these methods provided inspiration, I often felt that in the field these approaches remained unachieved ideals. In terms of interviewing techniques, I found Liebling’s ‘appreciative’ approach useful in negotiating and bridging staff/inmate encounters.

The ethics applications process was complicated and it took a long time to go through all the different stages of approval. Prior to any ethics application, personal contact had to be established with the individual institutions. When planning the fieldwork initially, three closed institutions (secure care unit, prison, closed psychiatric facility) and one organisation outside (Up-2-Us) were approached via email, phone calls and in person. My previous ‘pilot’ MRes research helped insofar as I had already established links via professional interviews with one secure care unit worker, with Up-2-Us and with policy officers working across Scotland. The application<sup>112</sup> process to the University’s Ethics Committee was done in two<sup>113</sup> stages. The first one was a separate application to work with Up-2-Us<sup>114</sup> in the

---

<sup>111</sup> For practical guide on ethics see Flick (2015: 31-42) (published in German in 2009 under the title ‘Sozialforschung’). For particular considerations of closed settings see Davies et al. (2011); Kendrick et al. (2008a); Barry (2006); Brown (2005); Curtis et al. (2003).

<sup>112</sup> Two separate applications to the University’s Ethics Committee approved: (1) Research in the community (Applications number: ETHICS-CSE01201; granted by Ethics committee on 25/02/2013); (2) Research in prison and secure care unit (Application number: ETHICS-CSE01296; granted by Ethics committee on 23/09/2013); (3) Ethics application to the NHS completed, but not submitted because link to psychiatric facilities could not be established.

<sup>113</sup> Initially planned as three stages, but one was abandoned.

<sup>114</sup> Submitted ethics form that mirrored the university’s ethics form; approval granted in meeting in 05/2013.

community, which was processed earlier due to existing links to the organisation and less complicated ethical considerations. The second one combined the secure care unit<sup>115</sup> and the Scottish prison service<sup>116</sup>. I applied for PVG membership to work with Up-2-Us and had an enhanced disclosure check done for working in the other two institutions.<sup>117</sup> The ethics application was completed in accord with the ESRC framework for research ethics and responded to all ethical issues involved including anonymity and potential effects on the participants. The design of the research was described in three separate steps: (1) interviews with professionals; (2) interviews with young women; (3) mapping institutional journeys (including potential map production and access to file data). Throughout all names of participants have been changed (where applicable names were chosen by participants) and professionals have their professional identity (like prison management or secure care residential staff) only attached if this does not breach confidentiality. Each organisation had their own set of information sheets (young women and staff separate) and consent forms, information sheets for parents/carers where applicable and separate consent forms for access to file data in prison. The application form also included interview schedules for both groups (see Appendix 2) and contact information about all three organisations.

My first contact with Up-2-Us for the PhD research was a personal meeting in December 2012 (having done several staff/young women interviews for the MRes) to discuss timescales, ethics and research design. After receiving ethics approval, I started ‘shadowing’ TfC workers and going out with them to meet young women in early summer 2013. The first proper staff interview took place in August 2013 and the first interviews with young women in November 2013. While some of the first interviews with young women were follow-ups of interviews I had done for the MRes, others were completely new to me. The initial period of ‘shadowing’ helped to get a feel for the ‘field’ and pick up on how to best conduct interviews and helped me to learn about the TfC way of working. The age of interviewees had to be 16 or over which meant that I met young women while on fieldwork who I could not interview.

My first contact with psychiatrists regarding potential access to a closed unit for adolescents was done via email and phone in July 2013 and I was referred to different people within the NHS (the closed unit, FCAMHS/CAMHS teams) to talk about my project between July and September 2013. Reluctance to engage with a project that involved criminal justice and major difficulties in arranging meetings in person resulted in finally abandoning the pursuit of closed psychiatric units as an ‘active’ research site in late 2013. This was reviewed again

---

<sup>115</sup> Submitted ethics form that mirrored the university’s ethics form; formal approval granted in meeting in 01/2014.

<sup>116</sup> Used SPS-specific ethics form; SPS ethics approval emailed on 15/01/2014; RAEC granted on 24/01/2014 subject to SPS ethics regulations (access regulations); further approval by individual prison sought and granted on 11/02/2014 by the governor; further approval by block/YOI manager sought and granted after meeting in 2/2014.

<sup>117</sup> PVG is the ‘Protecting Vulnerable Groups’ Scheme which is run by Disclosure Scotland to check that there is no objection (convictions, cautions, police information etc.) to working with children and/or vulnerable adults. The PVG scheme is subject to ongoing monitoring and is continuously updated. I received my PVG scheme membership on the 25/04/2012 [120425899305-0313]. Additionally, I applied for an enhanced disclosure for the research and received it on the 22/11/2013 (No: 20000000194-9949).

after consulting with mental health professionals from the secure unit in 2014, but by then not put into practice due to time constraints.

My first contact with the secure care unit regarding my PhD research was established with an individual known through my MRes pilot (May 2013). I agreed a meeting to discuss if and how I could gain access for conducting research, which took place two months later in July 2013. We discussed the next steps involved, which included detailed talks about the young women's age: given consent issues, I had initially planned to interview 16-18 year olds, but was told that this would narrow the range of available interviewees<sup>118</sup> down too much, and so agreed to change my ethics approval to include 14 and 15 year olds. Two more meetings followed in August 2013, one including all individual unit managers, in which I had to answer questions and explain my research framework. Access was granted in January 2014 after submitting my PVG form. Particular ethics issues in secure care arose when I started my fieldwork as it transpired that I had to seek consent from the young women as well as from their parents and/or social workers. Consent had to be granted individually for each young woman by the main unit manager (which was already included on the consent form). Establishing links with the young women's parents was considered impossible in many ways (difficult/inexistent contact) which is why we agreed to seek consent from the young women's social workers, as well as handing out information sheets for the parents who we could contact. This meant that I had to seek three separate signatures to conduct one interview – creating a lot of extra work for the unit staff as they had to phone social workers for me, explain my research and hand the phone over to me. This meant that I started interviewing staff and spending regular days in secure care in January, but only did my first proper interview with a young woman in March 2014.

My initial contact with the prison was established via links with the criminology department, SCCJR, University of Glasgow. My first meeting at the prison itself was in July 2013 at which I discussed my plans, was shown around the different parts of the prison and had a chance to chat informally to staff and prisoners. This personal meeting helped me to understand the process of access approval involved and to provide contact details for the 'gatekeepers' in question. From this point onwards it took six months to receive ethics approval, having to hand in a separate SPS ethics form and having to adhere to particular regulations to be allowed to conduct research inside the prison. The official approval only meant that I was allowed to ask for formal access to the individual prison<sup>119</sup> (via the governor/deputy governor) and in a next step access to the individual block (via the unit manager). This process involved many emails, phone calls and several personal meetings with the respective prison officials. While access was officially granted and ethics approved in January 2014, I only started doing interviews with staff in March 2014 and prisoners in May 2014. I did, however, spend varying amounts of time inside to get acquainted with the

---

<sup>118</sup> Most young people in secure care are under 16.

<sup>119</sup> The prison management granted access under the premise that I would not disclose the prison's name – I subsequently adopted the same rule for the secure unit.

blocks and had further informal chats with residential staff and prisoners before starting official interviews. Particular ethics issues in the field were caused by my 'naïve' assumption, that because I had official ethics approval (including recording), I could bring a voice recorder into prison; however, I was put right by the unit manager who was extremely concerned about my breach of security. Two weeks later I had my written consent which was kept in an extra file by the entrance and which staff had to check each time I entered the prison, and I had learned a lesson in how to negotiate prison rules and what was allowed where in different prison spaces. Before I was allowed to start interviewing prisoners, I had to undergo physical break-away training in which I learned self-defence and other practical knowledge about how to deal with prisoners and their conduct. Having completed this security training, I was allowed to walk around the prison grounds on my own (I was not allowed keys or suchlike), whereas before I had to be accompanied by prison staff at all times. During the summer, the opportunity arose to conduct additional research into prisoners' files, which meant seeking additional consent from the SPS.<sup>120</sup> While the access to files was part of the university's ethics form and therefore approved from that side, the implications of accessing prison files had to be negotiated separately with additional consent forms that could only be sought from prisoners still present in August 2014.

Overall, the ethics process for this project was long and complicated, involving a lot of networking in negotiating terms and times of access. While many ethical considerations could be dealt with before entering the field, some only emerged while on site. Throughout, the three organisations involved were extremely helpful and many members of staff put in extra time to accommodate my research, answer questions and provide all kinds of advice and links. Without their commitment, this research could certainly not have been completed.

## **4.2 Positionality and My Role as the Researcher**

Writing reflections on our own positionality relative to our research participants has long been debated in critical human geography, acknowledging that our position as well as the 'knowledge' we produce are limited and partial (Rose 1997: 307). Sitting at the intersection of academic knowledge and power (for example, in that the researcher has the final power of interpretation), the relationship between the researcher and the researched should be open to debate. Rose (1997: 311) argues that, if this process is about making visible certain processes, this is also about particular spatiality and situated 'transparent reflexivity'. At the same time as describing these reflected power relations as a kind of 'landscape', Rose (1997: 311-313) acknowledges that the search for positionality is 'bound to fail' as there is 'no space for understanding across difference'.<sup>121</sup> If we accept that doing research is a messy business, we have to work with the 'worry that [our] work may exclude or erase' and that

---

<sup>120</sup> This was sought on 18/07/2014 and granted by the SPS via email on 22/07/2014 (including separate consent form) and by the individual prison on 15/08/2014 in personal meeting with unit manager.

<sup>121</sup> The relationship between the researcher and the researched tends to cast as one of difference (more central or marginal, higher, lower, having more or less power, being insider/outsider) or of sameness (researcher and researched in the same position). Rose suggests that the latter is impossible and the former unacceptable (Ibid: 313).

we cannot easily control its effects (Ibid: 318). The negotiation of research relationships, including the similarities and differences between researcher and researched, requires particular consideration, not least as a way of enriching rather than debilitating reflective research (Bondi 2003). In drawing on psychoanalytic and object relations theory, Bondi develops relational ‘understanding’ by emphatically engaging while creating room to recognise simultaneously space for ‘affinities and similarities’ as well as for ‘retaining a sense of difference and distance’ (Bondi 2003: 73). The issue of representation and the concern of ‘writing with’ rather than ‘writing about’ is taken up by Sultana (2007) when addressing fieldwork practice and concerns about marginalisation and differences in representation. A reflexive approach, she argues, does not only rest on fieldwork process, but also on content through writing, including being willing to ‘relive discomforting experiences, to look awkward and feel ill at ease’ (Sultana 2007: 376).

Feeling ill at ease and looking awkward are certainly not unknown to me in my fieldwork practice. My position could be described as that of a privileged, white, non-Scottish, non-native speaker (thus clearly not sharing a similar identity to most young women or staff) who, in the context of researching young women, was clearly older and, in the context of confinement, clearly not an inmate; but this description does not resonate with how I *felt* in the field. Doing interviews ‘outside’, field observations and interviewing were regularly disrupted by no-shows, waiting for young women to turn up and struggling to engage them in chats. I often felt out of my depth and unknowledgeable, clearly not the powerful researcher ‘holding the strings’ and producing knowledge. Working *inside* institutions, however, particularly revealed my in-between status (not staff, not inmate) and contradictions in my positionality which I felt was constantly unstable, fluid and needed work. I went through innumerable instances of inner tension, discomfort, ambivalence and consciousness of the unsteadiness of my subjective position. This unease is not unfamiliar in literature on ethnographic and wider qualitative work. Fielding (2001: 148) suggests that ethnographic ways of working involves ‘becoming part of the ‘natural setting’’, choosing a role which is not too distant to make the encounter superficial nor too close to ‘become part of the group’ entirely. It raises issues of marginality – ‘the idea that the ethnographer is in this social world, but not of it’ (Ibid: 151). Bridging this marginality was challenging in the field, although I sought to blend in as much as possible (choosing clothes that were practical and not too different from what inmates were wearing). My way of speaking, different from ‘native’ English, or indeed Scottish, was at the same time a way of starting a conversation (I was asked countless times to teach certain German words, particularly swearwords) and at the same time made me an object of scrutiny, fun and friendly banter. I felt that this obvious denominator of difference helped in the individual interview settings with young women, as they did not expect me to know certain things and I could ask ‘stupid’ questions, but that it was also an obstacle at times in interactions with staff.<sup>122</sup> Apart from my obvious cultural

---

<sup>122</sup> Although I could understand most of what was said, I sometimes encountered difficulties in understanding staff lingo and especially picking up subtle undercurrents in group settings – again, this was not much of an issue in one-on-one settings, but certainly was while quietly observing or being involved in informal conversation. I also did not

differences, I was also clearly different and difficult to ‘place’ in relation to the usual hierarchy of staff members and inmates. I constantly had to explain what I was doing, which was often met with unease (would I report on them?), disinterest (researcher did not mean anything in this ‘world’) and curiosity (would I be able to do something for them?).

Despite this, young women and staff were by and large incredibly willing to let me ‘in’, to have a chat or just sit quietly and ‘be there’. I was often met with warmth and hospitality, being offered food, tea and biscuits, being invited to card games, being asked to paint nails innumerable times or help with crafts or play bingo. While it was incredibly helpful to share meals, and I often felt it offensive to refuse this, I had constantly to negotiate my position through mundane acts like how and where to sit (who I sat with in the prison dining room determined who would be willing to speak to me; if I sat in the staff office for too long, it was difficult to recover my position with the young women) and what to eat (being a vegetarian was seen as suspicious and could not easily refuse to eat what some of them cooked or baked in their courses). Even who said ‘hello’ to me when I arrived determined my success with interviews or even just having a chat. Some days I was ignored and not given the time of day, while other days I was literally taken by the hand to be shown around, invited into cells (which I was not allowed to do) or offered to sit at a table during exercise and offered cigarettes. My position, in relation to security and safety was always ‘betwixt and between’, negotiated through staff’s concern and young women’s views. I did not have keys which helped a great deal to engage with young people and unsettle my ‘positioning’ – the fact that I had to ask to be taken to the toilet or let out helped me to ‘fit in’. At the same time, spending long hours ‘locked up’, not knowing when staff would find the time<sup>123</sup> to let me out, taught me in small ways about the effects of confinement – the often unspoken and mundane realities of being extremely dependent on others.

While, for the most part, spending time in the field was met by openness and kindness on part of both inmates and staff, I also at times felt ‘othered’ by people encountered. On a mostly subtle but sometimes rather obvious level, the inner institutional life can be ‘macho’ and patriarchal. In this sense it did not always help that I was a female researcher, and worse, a student, sometimes leading to condescension (towards me and ‘research’ in general), guardedness, rushed interviews and occasional sexist remarks.<sup>124</sup> These responses particularly came from older male staff in higher positions, at time pointing out to me the uselessness of my research (for example, it being far too slow to help deliver change). Being put on the spot and having to adapt to being made to feel ‘unknowledgeable’ and ‘daft’ was, I feel, quite closely tied into my position as a *female* research student. While this made me

---

exhibit the usual social gestures and mimicry that help in making ‘small talk’ easier, resulting occasionally in uncomfortable situations where staff were not quite sure to what degree they could integrate me (one instance arose where staff invited me along to the pub on a break but then clearly felt ill at ease to continue usual conversations). With staff, my role as a researcher was also much more prone to be interpreted as a ‘risk’.

<sup>123</sup> In one instance, I had to wait several hours to be let out because of an incident in the evening – resulting in me getting back quite late. In many instances, staff were too busy to take me to the toilet which meant I had to wait sometimes for a quite a while. Equally, staff would not always wait for me outside the toilet which meant I sometimes had to wait to be let into the living area, as I had no means to open doors.

<sup>124</sup> In one instance, combining general condescension, sexism and cultural ‘othering’, I was asked in a friendly/humorous way, about the sexual openness and quality of sex shops ‘where I am from’.

feel uncomfortable, I learned to listen and steer the conversation back to my research questions. As such power relations, pointed out by Sultana (2007: 380), can work both ways, and one can learn to respond diplomatically or with humour. During the fieldwork process the authority of academic knowledge and its value might be put into question, not only by self-conscious positioning, but also by research participants and encounters in the field. The negotiation of my own positionality in the field was continuously adapting and changing – continually renegotiated between staff, inmates, researcher and the fieldwork environment. Being both spatially and temporally fluid, feeling ‘out of sorts’ or rather powerless in the field can change into feeling uneasiness about the delicate balance between writing ‘too critical’ or ‘not critically enough’, and even confusing roles of research/activism/impact and personal engagement (Chapter 9). Reflecting back on reflexive geographical practice (Al-Hindi and Kawabata 2002) and the practicalities of negotiating sameness and difference (Valentine 2002) in the field, has helped me to make sense of my own encounters. Nonetheless, ‘subjectivities, identities, positionalities and situated knowledges’ (Cloke et al. 2004: 367) still remain obscure and complex and vague.

### **4.3 Fieldwork**

The preparation of fieldwork,<sup>125</sup> as described above, went hand-in-hand with starting different phases of actual work in the field. The practical ‘data gathering’ methods ranged from participant and space<sup>126</sup> observation, in-depth interviews, drawing mental maps, writing field diaries (including sketching documents like timetables, personal file data and the encountered spaces). The different methods all worked in their own way across the different field sites. None of the methods described can be seen as wholly separate, as all were based on extensive communication, and all used in triangulation – co-mingling in the field as well as in the following analysis. While most methods were ‘tested’ during the MRes fieldwork, I made an effort to rethink and adjust fieldwork practice on an on-going basis. The outlook of the project changed shape several times during the field-working phase due to constraints of security regimes, unavailability of data and other twists and turns. The major focus of the institutional constitution, for example, only emerged when I found myself in the field, trying to make sense of this alien environment and slowly realising how the institution is put to work, how it is organised in similar ways across different spaces. Also, the more interviews undertaken, the more I started to discard the interview schedule, having memorised the important points and instead really focussing on the conversation and engagement with the young people. I found it much easier to relate and reflect during the interview without the artificial barrier of sheets of paper in front of me. The mental maps, on the other hand, were almost ruled out as a method when I found it extremely difficult to apply it in secure care due to security concerns (I was not supposed to bring in pens or

---

<sup>125</sup> For more information about access to closed settings generally, Bryman (2008: 405ff); and about conducting research in juvenile and criminal justice settings, see Vaughn et al. (2012).

<sup>126</sup> This is not a standard term in methodological literature but it basically just means observation of inner institutional spaces in relation to security and regime (see Chapter 6).

paperclips or any such objects). In the end the maps that were produced, however, told their own story and added an important aspect to my overall reasoning; so that I re-thought and re-introduced this part of the data (see Chapter 8). Overall, I spent a lot of time in the field, ‘just being there’<sup>127</sup> without actively noting information, although often scribbling notes afterwards about these ‘idling’ hours. I spent a year field-working (September 2013–September 2014) with core time March 2014 to September 2014 in which I worked in all three field sites, spending about a day a week (with exceptions) in each location. The interviewees were not randomly pre-selected, but contact emerged organically while spending time in the field. Sometimes young women were asked by their workers prior to being asked again by myself, but generally initial contact was established through my repeated presence in institutional spaces.

### *Interviewing*

It was useful to engage with literature on in-depth and life history interviews (Cavan 2003; Faraday and Plummer 2003; Hollway and Jefferson 2003) before going into the field, leading me to think through how I could ask potentially detailed questions (for example on the ‘feel’ of particular places), find alternatives to yes/no answers, and remain close to the young women’s experiences (learning to ask ‘what’ questions). Reading about how interviews can easily go wrong was at the same time helpful and daunting.<sup>128</sup> When interviewing young women, my intention was to be flexibly responsive to their preferred way of talking, letting them choose their own way into what they considered to be important (see also Barry 2006: 172 ff.) while at the same sticking to some broad research themes or questions (see interview schedules in Appendix 1). The style of interviewing could be described as semi-structured, touching on important questions around space, experiences and personal ‘journeys’, but at the same time ‘going with the flow’ of the conversation and letting the young women elaborate on their stories (for interview practice, see: Cloke et al. 2004: 152ff.; Crang and Cook 2007: 60ff.; Bryman 2008: 435ff.; Legard et al. 2003: 139ff.; Davies et al. 2011).

Before any interview, I went through the information sheet to discuss potential questions and also the consent form with its different elements (separate boxes to tick for audio recording, file data, mental maps, a ‘pseudonym’ to choose and so on). This procedure was generally the same for staff and young women, but I took more time to explain what I wanted to do, why and how to go about it with the young women. Interviewing young women was in some ways a lot more challenging in that I did want to know, for example, why they were in secure care or prison, but did not want to make them feel uncomfortable. Generally, I

---

<sup>127</sup> Working with TfC, this meant that I spent a lot of time in project workers’ cars being taken from/to see different young women or just shadowing for the day; in secure care, this meant spending much time in the unit from morning till evening and speaking to young people and staff informally, sharing meals or ‘just sitting’; in prison, this meant spending much time in the block, sitting in the staff office or common room, chatting to staff and young women, spending time at ‘drop-ins’ or standing outside cells chatting to prisoners and going outside with them for their hour of recreation.

<sup>128</sup> Exploring issues like ‘countertransference’ (Hollway and Jefferson 2003: 90ff.) and the different levels of communication that happen in an interview at the same time are important when going into the field, but take totally different forms and turns in every interview encounter.



found that it was really hard work to engage some of them in any conversation because they were shy, or thought that they did not have to say much. In some instances, I attempted to meet with the young women several times<sup>129</sup> to make them more comfortable (as the second time they already knew me a little) and make it less intense to talk about potentially difficult issues (for more information on ‘slow’ serial interviewing, see Crang and Cook 2007: 73ff.). Most interviews were recorded (once the recorder failed; a couple of times interviewees did not want me to record) which helped tremendously for later analysis and meant that I did not have to scribble notes all the way through the interview (although I did write notes afterwards to record impressions and important points).

During my fieldwork phase, I completed a total of 48 interviews with young women between 14 and 21 years of age (see Tables 11 and 12). I interviewed 24 young women in prison,<sup>130</sup> eleven young women in secure care<sup>131</sup> (one just notes), and ten young women outside,<sup>132</sup> plus seven young women interviewed for the MRes (two with follow up interviews for the PhD research). The number of interviews was higher as many interviews had to be split or were followed up. The length of interview recordings varied between 15 minutes and 65 minutes in any one sitting and at times included the drawing and discussion of the mental map. While the interviews in secure care were all done and recorded in the ‘quiet room’ usually used for visits, the prison interviews had to be conducted in the common room as I was not allowed to be in individual cells for security reasons.<sup>133</sup> ‘Outside’, I conducted interviews with young women wherever possible, with sites ranging from cafes to cars, parks, the TfC office and the young women’s own home. These latter interviews were normally accompanied by their TfC worker, who either left to do paperwork for that time or stayed if the young women wanted them there for support. Often their workers were consulted when it came to drawing the maps and coming up with timelines.

The staff interviews were more structured by comparison, but often more constrained with regards to timing. Staff in the units/blocks had to squeeze in time for me between all of their other tasks and had generally to be vigilant and responsive to potential issues at the same time: it was therefore normal to re-start an interview two or three times or not get the chance to finish it at all. During my fieldwork phase, I completed a total of 43 staff members and other professional interviews (see Table 11). I interviewed twelve staff members in prison, including residential (block) staff, programme staff (like Barnardos), health staff (mainly

---

<sup>129</sup> This was not always possible because it was generally not easy to get hold of them ‘outside’ because of ‘chaotic’ lifestyles and frequent moves; while in secure care or prison, they might have been released or moved to a different unit/block or they might be engaged otherwise (work, visits, court appearances).

<sup>130</sup> The management of the prison population is divided into two main groups which are prisoners on remand (untried) and convicted prisoners. Both populations have to be kept separate. Untried prisoners have different rights and a different set of rules to abide by, which also means two different regimes for staff. The difference between remand and convicted prisoners is also visible, as remand prisoners are allowed to wear their ‘normal’ clothes.

<sup>131</sup> The route of admission to secure care is either through the Children’s Hearing System or through the courts (see Chapter 5). The applied criteria are based on harm to the *self* or to *others* (SC, field notes, 01/14). The criteria of admission allow for two potentially quite different groups of young people to be detained together.

<sup>132</sup> With the help of TfC (Up-2-Us).

<sup>133</sup> This meant that other people could walk in at any time, which happened frequently and made it challenging always to react appropriately (like when a young woman got upset). While I could not record them, I also did a couple of walk-and-talk interviews (field diary) that happened naturally when young women took me around the whole block, explaining how things work, who is in what room and how they use the spaces.

mental health) and management staff. In secure care, I completed 24 staff interviews (22 recorded, one recording failed, one chose notes only), including residential staff (unit), educational staff, health staff (physical, mental health), programme staff and management staff. ‘Outside’, I interviewed seven TfC staff members (project workers and management staff).<sup>134</sup> Most of the interviews were conducted in the professionals’ ‘usual’ work environment (offices, occasionally cars or cafes).

<b>YW Name</b>		<b>Staff Name</b>	<b>Job description</b>
Charlotte		John	PRm
Annie		Nadine	PRp
Isla		Heather	PRr
Daisy		Alice	PRr
Diane		Emma	PRr
Emily		Stevie	PRr
Emma		Aileen	PRr
Grace		Kimberley	PRh
Holly		Katie	PRh
Louise		William	PRm
Jess		Geraldine	PRr
Julia		Jennifer	PRr
Kayleigh		<b>Staff-PR TOTAL: 12</b>	
Olivia		Nadine	SCr
Sophia		Tina	SCr
Bianca		Tim	SCe
Flo		Jim	SCr
Jaime		Laura	SCr
Jenna		David	SCr
Kara		Julia	SCr
Keira		Ruth	SCr
Kim		Linda	SCr
Nicki		Sebastian	SCr
Tamara		Rachel	SCr
<b>YW-PR TOTAL: 24</b>		Sarah	SCr
Mia		Clara	SCr
Gina		Maurette	SCh
Maggie		Theo	SCe
Mona		Amanda	SCr
Nora		Alex	SCr
Pam		Lisa	SCp
Phoebe		Rhiannon	SCp
Rhiannon		Jack	SCr
Suzi		Jess	SCh
Ava		Rupert	SCm
Lacey		Lara	SCm
<b>YW-SC TOTAL: 11</b>		Michael	SCm
Louise		<b>Staff-SC TOTAL: 24</b>	
Lara		Hannah	TfCw
Gemma		Malcolm	TfCm
Carrie		Nicolas	TfCm
Ruth		Rafael	TfCw
Freddie		Cindy	TfCw
Jenna		Ellie	TfCw
Sarah		Ariana	TfCm
Hannah		<b>Staff-TfC TOTAL: 7</b>	

<sup>134</sup> An additional number of eight interviews were conducted with other professionals in the field, ranging from policy officers to researchers and the prison inspectorate (see Schliehe 2012) – these were part of the fieldwork process, but later partly excluded in the findings chapter because the material was narrowed down.

Kendra		<b>TOTAL: 43<sup>135</sup></b>
Kirstie		
Joanne		
Liz		
Hazel		
Dorothy		
<b>YW-TfC TOTAL: 15</b>		
<b>TOTAL: 50<sup>136</sup></b>		

**Table 11: Overview Interviewees**

<b>Prison</b>	<b>Average age : 19</b> 10=20yrs 7=19yrs 4=18yrs 3=17yrs
<b>SC</b>	<b>Average age: 15</b> 1=16yrs 8=15yrs 2=14yrs
<b>TfC</b>	<b>Average Age: 18</b> 1=21yrs 3=20yrs 4=19yrs 2=18yrs 2=17yrs 3=16yrs

**Table 12: Age Range Young Female Interviewees**

### ***Ethnographic Observation***

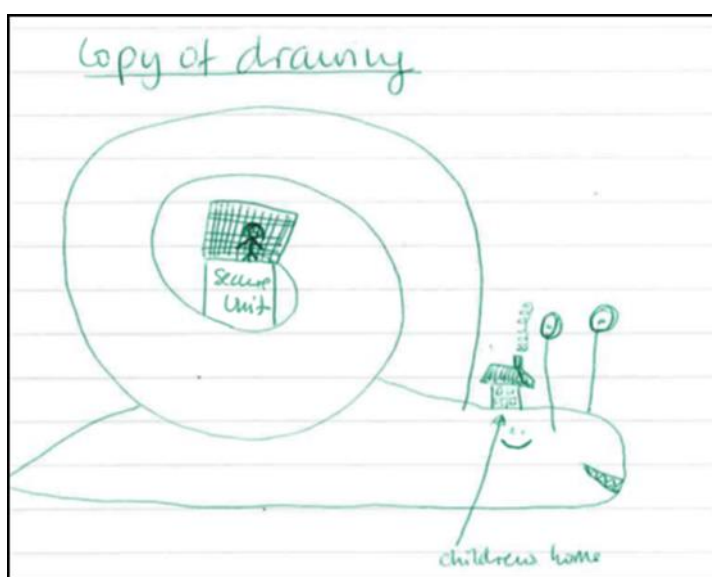
Ethnographic observation – in this case meaning participant and space observation – goes hand in hand with the other methods used in the field. Due to the security restrictions and having to fit in with staff shifts, unit regimes and other events, I could not observe institutional or community life to the extent that Crang and Cook (2007: 37) describe as ‘deep hanging out’. I did, however, manage a continuous spatial and participant observation that could be described as ‘taking part’ in the daily life of the prison block, the secure unit or the daily work practice of TfC workers in the community. The recording of field notes in these environments varied widely. In some settings it was impossible to carry notebook and pens, while in others I could sit in the corner and scribble away. Generally, I tried to record my observations and thoughts in field diaries that held drawings (see copy of young woman’s drawing in Figure 2) and at times leaflets or parts of young women’s files. As I spent only on average one day a week in one site (for about six months), I could not become completely ‘immersed’ in the space under study (Crang and Cook 2007). Nonetheless, I did seek to spend whole days in one place to get a chance to acquaint myself with new members of staff, new inmates and to take part in the everyday life and timetable patterns. The initial note

<sup>135</sup> 43 staff interviewed in the three organisations, plus eight interviews with professionals working in other policy and practice jobs in youth/criminal justice in Scotland, makes 51 interviews with professionals in total.

<sup>136</sup> Of those 50, two were interviewed in two different settings, so the actual number of young women interviewed is 48.

takes were mostly sketchy (see Figures 3-7), but I tried to supplement my records with more details at the end of the day. What the notes show really well is the many different things going on at the same time – the many different issues to which staff had to respond immediately and the nature of conversations (see TfC notes of chat while shadowing worker). Many notes about young women's files also included how workers tried to address their needs like the focus on 'hope' as a reoccurring theme, especially in secure care. I found this aspect fascinating and took extensive notes on 'hope' while in the field.<sup>137</sup> This method also allowed me to observe changes in file keeping across institutions, like the stark difference between secure care, with a focus on trauma and neglect, to prison, where the main focus was on offences: resulting in the same young women being seen through different lenses.

I regularly tried to spend evenings in institutional settings as I felt life was quite different at



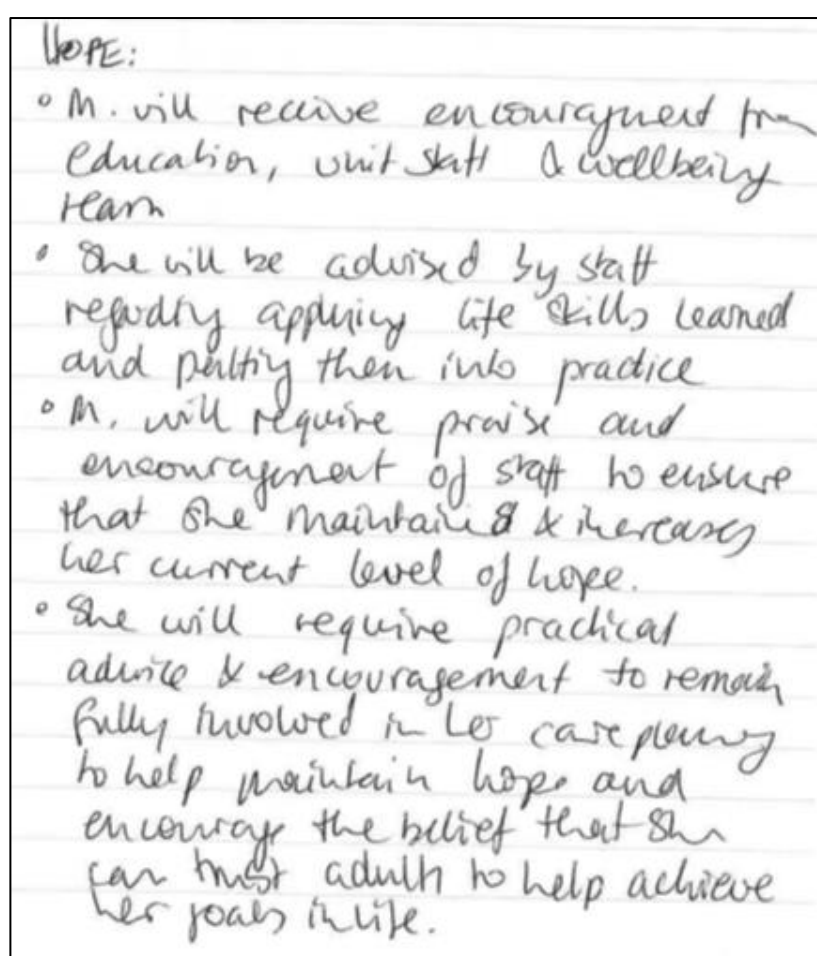
**Figure 2: A young woman's drawing (TfC field notes 08/14)**

the end of the day. I was not allowed to stay overnight, but leaving with the last shift (when the night shift took over) gave me the chance to have dinner, spend evening recreation time and observe staff routines at the end of the day. I could not do this every week as my presence did mean a lot of extra work for staff (looking after my 'welfare', taking time to talk to me, helping me with access). One aspect worth noting about my observational research

practice is that, through this method, I met with a lot more young people (both male and female) and members of staff than the ones interviewed. I had a chance to chat informally, take part in group activities and observe daily lives far beyond the limited scope of the other methods. This expanded field gave me the opportunity to reflect on the depth of different methods. While I certainly held most information (file data, interview accounts, mental maps, observational data) on the young women interviewed, I also felt that the people observed without additional information often led me to see them in a different light. This might not be an altogether surprising finding, but it helped me to reflect critically on my field 'evidence': for example, just chatting with young women provided me with accounts of their lively, boisterous and thoughtful characters underlining their agency and strength; whereas the file data (Figures 3-7) had the opposite effect, creating a sense of extreme victimisation and suffering. I often struggled to bring the two 'realities' together.

<sup>137</sup> Many such themes that I pursued in the field could not be included in much detail here, but present opportunities for potential further inquiry.

There is great complexity in the role-playing and relationship-forming integrated to ethnographic observation, meaning that the researcher has to be 'willing and able to become a more reflexive and sociable version of him or herself in order to learn something meaningful about other people's lives' (Cloke et al. 2004: 170). While certainly true, I have found that sometimes quietly 'taking part' goes a long way in understanding what is going on in a place as alien to me as these locked environments. Observational methods also include frustrating experiences and go through phases of more or less focus with occasional 'striking flashes of insight' (Cloke et al. 2004: 179). While I found many flashes of insight along the way, this was as often met with uncertainty about my own interpretations, and if I understood, recorded or analysed a situation in the right way and could do justice to the many encounters.



HOPE:

- ° M. will receive encouragement from Education, Unit Staff & Wellbeing Team
- ° She will be advised by staff regarding applying life skills learned and putting them into practice
- ° M. will require praise and encouragement of staff to ensure that she maintains & increases her current level of hope.
- ° She will require practical advice & encouragement to remain fully involved in her care planning to help maintain hope and encourage the belief that she can trust adults to help achieve her goals in life.

Figure 3: Example Field Notes (SC 07/14)

Fl. absolutely disgusting today  
 'I am so raging  
 normal blood all over  
 bed → she has to clean this  
 up  
 "one went missing till the  
 morning  
 → one lying on railway lines  
 → inbricated & meeting older  
~~men who are mobile~~  
 → I got pit (what to do with it!)  
 1. review [redacted] before lunch  
 still  
 talking to police, social  
 work, for stat. it's a  
 part of the office

Figure 4: Example Field notes (SC 05/14)

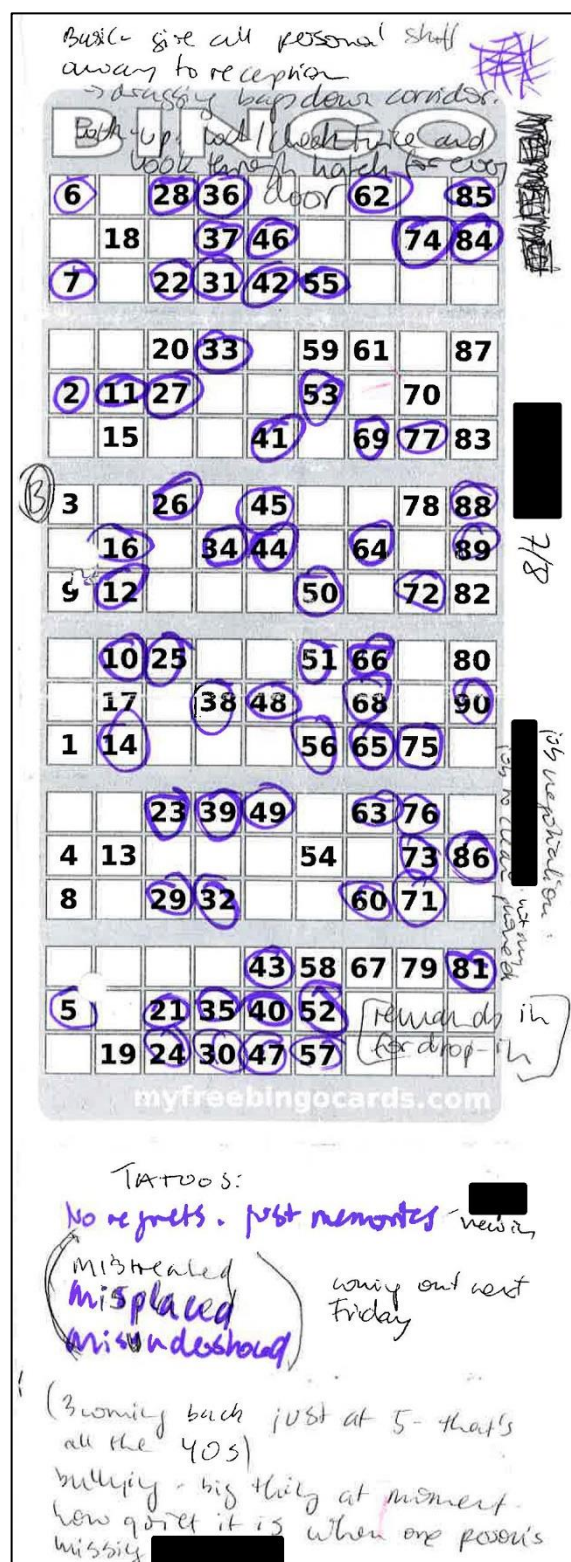
- three interviews  
 - heavy chat with [redacted]  
 about working with  
 young people  
 → family issues  
 → prison design  
 → how to work  
 individually  
 → personal / professional  
 boundaries  
 → dealing with dump  
 → different levels  
 [redacted] & social work  
 local authorities  
 girls stories  
 → just out of prison  
 → problems with  
 boundaries (people  
 privacy way)  
 → consequences  
 standard movies around

Figure 5: Example Field Notes (TfC 03/14)

grooming  
 20 → hard job } [redacted]  
 30 → blow job }  
 → calling her whore  
 she wants affection  
 wants to please  
 doesn't understand  
 that in family it is  
 work to ask for  
 sexual favours  
 → others: sex with mates  
 (don't understand  
 relationships)  
 → but they are my  
 mates \*  
 → homeless accommodation  
 prison, secure  
 → mental health  
 suicide attempt

Figure 6: Example Field Notes (TfC 03/14)





## Mental Mapping

The use of mental maps<sup>138</sup> as a geographical method to trace particular representations of places is by no means new (Gould and White 1974). More recent uses, for example in the area of children's geographies and youth research, focus on story-telling processes of growing up (Leonard 2006) or attachment to place (White and Green 2011), in order to uncover the spatial imaginings of young people. White and Green argue that mental maps can be used to add considerable depth and clarity to research with young people. I first gained the idea of mental mapping when I came across some of the work that TfC did with young women to recover biographical and identity-related memories. Many young women drew maps of where they had lived (looking a lot like my replicated map,<sup>139</sup> see Figure 8). I was struck by the sheer number of moves and became interested in their accounts of biographical and spatial journeys. Mental maps, I hoped, would add to my understanding of the relationships that these young women hold to space and place. I felt that simple textual descriptions of where they had been did not adequately capture the sensual lived experience of these different environments (see Nash (1994) for 'remapping' in a different context). I wanted to access a different description of their locations within lived geographical space, in order to grasp the relational connections between identity, body and journeys. In the

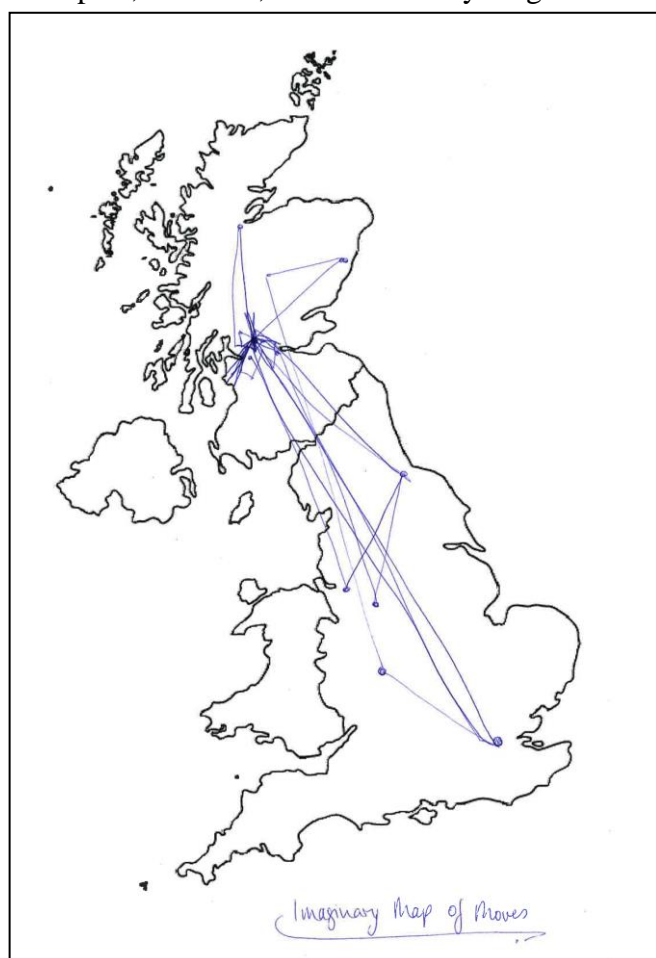
Figure 7: Record of Prison Field Notes (PR 07/14)

field, however, I met many different challenges that complicated this plan and led to very different outcomes from what I had imagined. I generally asked young women to draw me

<sup>138</sup> In much of the literature 'mental map' and 'cognitive map' are used interchangeably (Soini 2011; Kitchen 1994 and others), considering both as 'abstractions of a person's spatial environment' (White and Green 2011: 59).

<sup>139</sup> I decided not to use maps of Britain in the background because the young women had very different scales of moving and because I was concerned about confidentiality. While some did indeed move all across Britain, others mainly moved around the Central Belt of Scotland or even within Glasgow. Leaving the format open and to the imagination of the young women was also less restrictive and more accommodating of their individual styles.

a mental map and talk me through it after the interview. Anticipating a wide spectrum of artistic ability and inclination (see also White and Green 2011: 67), I stressed (after agreeing separate consent) that this was not an art exercise, but that I was interested in the ‘content’ and their description of journeys and different places they inhabited. What I did not anticipate, however, was that most young women had a huge reluctance to write, and even



**Figure 8: Fieldwork Map (as initially planned)**

more to draw, with pen and paper.<sup>140</sup> While a couple of young women enjoyed expressing themselves through writing/drawing, carefully and purposefully choosing different colours and at times drawing across different sheets of paper because their timeline was so long, others found it hugely challenging to think differently about what they had told me already. In the secure unit, an added difficulty was the fact that I was not allowed to bring in/use pens and paper with certain young people and had to be extra careful to make sure all pens were still there (including caps) after the interview. This frustration with not being able to make a ‘map’ look as they intended was quite high, and some young women subsequently withdrew maps because they were not happy with the outcome. Others

declined from the start because they did not feel skilled enough to draw or claimed they had nothing to say. In the end, I had 26 mental maps from all three field sites (see Chapter 8). While being in the field, I was not sure if and how I would be able to use the maps: but, reflecting later on both outcome and method, I found that the maps acted as a highly visual tool of reinforcing my other findings. The young women’s powerful connections in relation to places, mobility and their own identity became a lot clearer.

Reflecting on the map-making process, and also the usual production and application of maps in geographical and criminological contexts,<sup>141</sup> this more imaginative practice might challenge more ‘authoritative’ approaches to mapping. In some ways, these personal

<sup>140</sup> Many, I found out this way, had general difficulties with writing and counting because they had not attended school for very long; and most did not write by hand in their everyday life at all.

<sup>141</sup> See Kindynis (2014) and his account of criminological uses of maps and suggestions of more critical and activist usages of maps in the area of ‘crime mapping’. The mapping for (and against) social justice takes many forms from mapping ‘hyper-regulated’ everyday spaces in London, to prison mapping in the US, and ‘Dronestagram’ to account for drone strikes (Ibid: 236).



accounts reframe images of both ‘inmates’ as stationary and young women as mainly ‘passive’. While these pictures might not disrupt the mapping of social and criminal justice (see Kindynis 2014) in a major and overturning way, they may challenge underlying assumptions and common representations in quieter, but nonetheless personal, emotionally-charged and critical ways. These maps capture an only incomplete but disturbing snapshot of the young women’s extreme levels of mobility and entanglement in a whole number of levels of control and care, while also providing an account of agency, determination and the fact that their experiences are anchored across specific spaces.

### ***File Data***

Access to file data provided a completely different perspective on the young women’s lives and journeys than the previously mentioned methods. Relatively late on in the fieldwork phase, the option arose to access file data held on prisoners. I could access files on secure care detainees after personal consent (see above), ranging across many different sets of data (see Chapter 6); as well as files held by Up-2-Us on young women interviewed who had given their consent. Most documents that I managed to see were institutionally public (accessed by a wide range of professionals), but with much private information – revealing a totally new sphere of surrounding circumstances, institutional record-keeping and insights into the minutely nature of recording. As Macdonald (2001: 203) points out, many issues with documentary research pertain to evaluating material (according to authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning). With regards to authenticity, all documents (like social work histories of young women’s previous lives) had to be assumed authentic, if not necessarily providing an account with which the young women would have necessarily agreed. Credibility refers to a similar point, in that it can obviously be affected by the interest of the author: in this analysis, though, this issue is secondary in that file data was used to access *how* the young women’s lives were recorded. In terms of representativeness, the materials had to be assumed representative, although it must be acknowledged that these files were a work in progress, only representing an account at one particular point in time. As to the last point of meaning, there is, on the one hand, a ‘literal’ meaning, and on the other, a deeper interpretive meaning of what this form of recording means on a more abstract level. Macdonald’s call for ‘triangulation’ between documents was possible only by triangulating with interview data and mental maps from the young women. The file data therefore needs to be approached with certain hesitations regarding their state of completeness (to very different levels<sup>142</sup> in the different organisations).

Due to the very different layout and content of the young women’s files, these accounts were pre-selected (according to my own sense of importance) and hand-written, copying sometimes entire pages, sometimes only certain sentences. The data can therefore not be

---

<sup>142</sup> The secure care data was by far the most complete (regarding accounts from social work data sometimes going back as far as the young women’s birth); with TfC data in the middle, often lacking biographical data on earlier life, but instead providing detailed accounts of working with the young women; and prison providing sketchy accounts of biographical data as most sources only related to offence-based accounts and previous sentences.

treated as separate documents, analysed in their own right, but rather as part of my field diary. The (handwritten) copying process aimed at closely approximating the original, but, due to the sheer amount of data available and the limits to time, this method of data collection could not always include all levels of detail. There were two main objectives, though, when collecting this information. The first one was a view on how institutions collect and manage data (see Chapter 6) and the second was to re-map and re-trace the young women's journeys and their difficulties encountered in the wider community (see Chapter 8). The extracts from field notes (see Figure 9-12) show the diverse ranges of information recorded. The tables (see Appendix 3) showing the numbers of moves and stays in different institutions could be derived from file data and by triangulation with interviews, maps and workers' accounts.

Pleads not guilty  
 "I was out for no more than a minute trying to get a lighter. The guy came on the intercom saying I had been out for 7 min. That is wrong. I went straight back to my room when we found that the lighter would not go under the door."  
 Prisoner gave conflicting statements regards being instructed to return to her room. "He called me a fucking asshole, or something like that."  
 → 14 Rec, 14 TV; suspended for 1 month

Figure 9: Note of 'orderly room' accusation (PR field notes 09/14)

✱ First Sheet:


Prisoner			
Prisoner No	Surname	Forenames	DOB
Sentence yrs   mths   Days			
Number	Supervision level	Establishment	Hall
Cell	Confirmed EDL		
Photo			Status indicator ACT Sex offender Court disposals Risks & conditions MAPPA
Retained	Recorded	Date	Recorded by (date)

Figure 10: Record of first file sheet (PR field notes 09/14)

Seave Admission Record  
Physical description

- > Height
- > Hair colour
- > Eye colour
- > Weight
- > Birth marks
- > Scars / Tattoos
- > Left / right handed
- Complexion
- Religion

Criteria:

- That child has previously absconded and is likely to abscond again and if the child were to abscond, it is likely that the child's physical, mental or moral welfare would be at risk
- That child is likely to engage in self-harming conduct
- That the child is likely to cause injury to another person

Figures 11: Admission (SC field notes 03/14)

Jan 14  
97

- > first night in custody checklist
- > laundry disclaimer
  1. All items are sent at my own risk
  2. I have checked the wash instructions
  3. I accept total responsibility for the items
  4. The establishment accepts no responsibility for any loss or damage to my laundry
- > In cell television contract
- > Prisoner complaint form PCF 1
- > Untried admission information
- > Untried prisoner / YO admission interview
- > Cell checklist

Item:	Working condition	Comments
Door / Fitting		
Chair		
Ward		
Bed		
Walls		
Window		
Mirror		
TV & Pencil		
Cell door		
Kettle		
Bin		

- hereby declare agree to keep the fixtures, fitting and cell walls in the condition that they were on my admission to this cell, and agree to report any defect or breakage to the staff within the hall. I accept and agree that any defect or damages caused while my location in the above cell will be the responsibility of those located in this cell. - 9.5 - 9.2

Figure 12: Entry Checklist (PR field notes 09/14)

#### 4.4 Organising and Analysing

The organising and coding of data was a process commenced while in field. The interviews were all transcribed<sup>143</sup> word-for-word, focussing on content, not on phonetics. Interjections and other distinct features were noted where it was important for the content, and I made the deliberate decision to transcribe the young women's interviews using their particular 'lingo'. I wanted to preserve their Scottish way of speaking as I felt it an important identity marker.<sup>144</sup> The staff interviews were transcribed into 'standard' English (not taking note of their particular way of speaking as I did not consider it important in the context of this project). All interviews were standardised with acronyms<sup>145</sup> to protect anonymity. All interview transcripts, field notes<sup>146</sup> and file data<sup>147</sup> were fed into NVivo for coding.

Fielding (2001: 154) describes the coding processes as: field notes/transcripts → search for categories and patterns (themes) → mark up or cut up data → construct outline (re-

<sup>143</sup> Some interviews were transcribed by an external professional transcription company due to the amount of recorded material. The person doing the transcription signed a confidentiality agreement prior to commencing the work.

<sup>144</sup> An effort was made to retain the original terms and pronunciation in relation to the young women's interview transcript. The ethnic composition of the 'sample' was mainly white, working class Scottish, hence many terms used in the interviews underline the centrality of the Scottish identity with varying dialects.

<sup>145</sup> While staff members were given pseudonyms and an identifier of their institution and job description (e.g. PRm meaning PR=prison and m=management), the young women were given pseudonyms (as much as possible I tried to accommodate their wishes for names as stated on their consent form) and the organisation in which they were interviewed (TfC, SC, PR). All staff job descriptions and institutional identifiers can be found in abbreviations.

<sup>146</sup> Field notes from my three field diaries (one per organisation) were typed up and organised by month (e.g. field diary TfC 07/2014).

<sup>147</sup> File data was equally typed up into three different documents and organised by month (e.g. file data SC 06/2014).

sequence). I followed this broad sequencing and initially came up with reoccurring patterns, intersecting interview material and using the structure of the interview schedule. Thematic coding of the qualitative data was undertaken for all types of empirical material using NViVo as well as paper-based versions of the material. Very loosely following Strauss's three stages of coding<sup>148</sup> (see also Fielding 2001: 246ff; Flick 2015: 178ff.; Ritchie et al. 2003: 219ff.), the researcher starts with open coding (marking essential information in empirical material); and then moves to axial coding (concentrating on relationships between categories and subcategories found in open coding); with the final stage of coding perhaps described as selective coding in which the data is selected to illustrate major themes or important 'quotable' material derived from stages one and two (Ibid: 248).

While starting to identify main themes (Crang and Cook 2007: 140ff.), I also typed up individual profiles for each young woman in order to be able to understand biographical and institutional particularities (not included here for reasons of confidentiality). This helped me later when trying to establish mobility patterns and number of moves. When I finished the coding (NViVo Coding Sheet, see Appendix 2), I went back over paper copies of the interviews to re-examine patterns and categories. The second step (axial coding) meant a more in-depth interpretation of data content within the separate coding categories as correlated with outlines of my findings chapters, in order to set different interview and field diary data into relation and to create a story line (assessing commonalities and differences). The third step (selective coding) was then the fine-tuning of selecting 'quotable' sections in keeping with concepts and individual biographies and institutional processes. All data was analysed descriptively to unpack the content of what was said, observed and noted during the fieldwork phase. All findings chapters display a culmination of explanatory concepts, empirical material and enveloping theoretical frameworks.

#### **4.5 The Art of Relational and Reflexive Researching**

By the end of the fieldwork period, I was left with what seemed huge amounts of data, loosely connected with my initial framework, but also quite often diverting from these in all kinds of directions. While this data collection provided me with critical and personal testimonies and large number of documents that seemed to 'make up' institutional living, I felt quite troubled by it. This data, despite its complexity, could not adequately reflect or convey 'reality' in its many forms. In essence, I felt that the material was hugely contingent, raising concerns of adequate representation. The result of my struggles with data, concepts and theoretical frameworks in Chapters 6-8 is therefore a compromise. Loosely relating my own methodology to Goffman's way of working, I did not work with a previously determined system, but rather included a large variety of data into one analysis that pursues patterns across multiple contexts. In keeping with how Williams (1988: 86) and Winkin and Leeds-Hurwitz (2013: 111) have evaluated Goffman's methodology, I hope that this project

---

<sup>148</sup> Grounded theory is here acknowledged here as a loose framework, but not as a close guide to data analysis.

can succeed ‘not *despite* its vulnerabilities but *because* of them’. Despite limits to both method and application, the empirical material shows underlying structural similarities across a variety of settings – coming together in the young women’s journeys.

Combining an emic and etic approach in the field and subsequent analysis meant to try and combine viewpoints of the subject and the observer. Understanding how the young women and staff perceived, categorised, imagined and explained ‘their’ own worlds, combined with my own ‘ethnographic’ impressions, was crystallised in the form of stories. According to Cameron (2011: 573), the concept of story draws attention to the relation between experience, expression and broader contexts within which stories are performed, interpreted and disciplined. What I am trying to convey in the findings chapters (6-8) is a positioning of the ‘smaller’ individual stories (see also Lorimer 2003, 2008) in relation to ‘larger’ conceptual narratives, and thereby to understand how various material traces and personal recollections fit in with institutional constitutions.<sup>149</sup> Through the medium of story-telling, in the process of both data collection (‘Can you tell me a story on ...?’) and data analysis, affective, emotional and embodied dimensions of relationality can be achieved that go beyond representation, hoping that the narratives presented ‘produce contradictory and ambivalent emotions – emotions that provoke analysis and critique, rather than replace it’ (Pratt 2009: 17). While this sensibility certainly plays a part here by trying to address and rethink metanarratives (see Cloke et al. 1991), it is not without contradiction, as stories become part of control and care through entering discourse and troubling established interpretations. Reflecting this practice does not render these stories ‘unusable’, but rather helps to reframe and renegotiate the use of ordinary experience and fieldwork interaction (see also Bondi 2003).

Considering alternative approaches in the field aided me in making sense of the varied encounters. One such intriguing account of the researcher’s positionality and importance of reflexivity is given by Doane (2003), who describes her own experiences of powerlessness as well as the power of ‘relational presence’. Reflexivity as presence might ‘enhance our involvement in deeper and wider realms of knowing’ which encompasses close attention. As a contentious but at the same time central concept in qualitative research, reflexivity allows for an acknowledgment of discursive and unconscious dimensions in research encounters (Nicolson 2003). How methodology is approached in the field is very much part of the later outcome of research findings: contextualising meanings of place and spatialising the constitution of identity (see Moss 2002) means attempting to understand and to situate power and knowledge in practice. A reflexive approach meant asking uncomfortable questions about the research process which in turn helped to make sense of emotionally challenging fieldwork and analysis. Reflecting the ‘messy’ fieldwork practice, where I found myself

---

<sup>149</sup> According to Cameron’s (2011: 7) account, stories and their interpretation work to recuperate an intellectual context ‘within which stories can be apprehended as particular and specific, and not immediately and necessarily exemplary of structural, ideological or general processes’. Reflecting here briefly on another dimension of control and care, then, would be to turn attention to ‘crafting a story that ‘makes us care’, leading to shifts in the socio-spatial landscape (Ibid).

continually chasing my tail and having to adapt, re-think and re-affirm my position, clarified what I did and why, under these circumstances (see also Cloke et al. 2004). Writing ‘hidden voices’ into our research practice (Rose 1997), including the voice of the researcher’s own self (Wakeman 2014; Bingham 2003: 152f.), is not unproblematic, but still necessary. In a reflexive and relational process, ‘ambiguities, contradictions, and paradoxes emerge alongside relative certainties, congruencies and consistencies’ (Moss 2002: 6) – all of which permeate throughout the findings chapters, acknowledging limits, but at the same time advocating voices and stories that unsettle the *status quo*.

# CHAPTER 5

## Mapping Out the Institutional Landscape

The young female detainees<sup>150</sup> whose voices appear in Chapters 6-8 encounter an institutional landscape that is far removed from mainstream public perception. The closed nature of these spaces creates an ambience of seclusion and opaqueness, while they are at the same time closely tied to public policy and practice. In order to grasp the micro-geographies of these closed institutions in both physical and psychological senses (through symbolism, representation and social interaction), it is important to acknowledge their macro-geographies in terms of locations, types of population detained, wider policy implications and overall institutional frameworks. This chapter introduces such macro-geographies and the context in which this institutional landscape exists. While the common denominator of ‘closedness’ creates a certain clasp around these institutions, in practice they exist very much in their own separate fields and are only woven together into an institutional environment – and the journeys – through the threads that are the young women’s lives.

### 5.1 Young Female Detainees in Scotland

Challenging the codes of hegemonic femininity, young female detainees (or more specifically inmates in prisons, secure care and closed psychiatric units with a history of challenging and offending behaviour) are often portrayed as an ‘aberration (masculinised, pathologised) or redefined as part of the feminine condition (adolescent girls as emotional, irrational and out of control)’ (Burman 2008: 20; Sharpe 2012; Batchelor 2005).<sup>151</sup> Burman and Batchelor (2009) argue that young women are largely overlooked, marginalised and ignored by policy, practice and research because female offenders are mainly seen as a homogenous group. Women and especially young women have been presented as a ‘particular problem’ in Scotland’s penal discourse since the late 1980s (Burman and Batchelor 2009: 275). Despite this, specific services and effective working with young female offenders across the criminal justice system remain under-developed. Their low numbers and invisibility are one reason for the limited numbers of programmes or projects that take into account both gender and age. Gelsthorpe and Sharpe (2015: 47) argue that the regulation of accepted gender role behaviour has remained an enduring feature of the Criminal Justice System’s (CJS) response to young female offending.<sup>152</sup> This regulation has developed alongside changing perceptions of young women’s behaviour and their social regulation, including a rising moral panic over involvement in alcohol abuse and violence.

---

<sup>150</sup> This term of the ‘young female detainee’ lends itself to be used in this context (and is still used subsequently, in absence of a better term), but it must be seen as problematic because not all of the young women featuring in the empirical material are detainees at the point of the interviews and not all young women in closed institutions are offenders (some are detained under the Mental Health Act; some are detained in secure care for their own safety). The correct but rather long term would be ‘young women who have experience of closed institutions and detention due to their risky/at risk behaviour’.

<sup>151</sup> See also Morton and Lesley (2005); Chesney-Lind and Belknap (2004); Hudson (2002); among others.

<sup>152</sup> See also Gelsthorpe and Sharpe (2015); Gelsthorpe and Worrall (2009); Chesney-Lind (2004).

The blurring boundaries between rule-breaking and law-breaking, as well as between public and private spheres, increase the ‘disciplinisation’ of communities. Control is no longer just a matter of criminal justice but is exerted by community organisations, local authorities and housing agencies. The process of control therefore ‘penetrates the family, school and neighbourhood, all of which are employed in discipline and normalisation’ (Brown in Burman et al. 2004: 204). This fact is important insofar as it redefines the boundaries of control that might formerly have been associated distinctly with closed institutions.<sup>153</sup>

The majority of women who experience detention are characterised in the literature by addiction, mental health problems, mental distress, a history of abuse, poverty and unemployment (Loucks 2004: 142). For young women, factors like absconding from placements, contact with ‘unsuitable’ people, excessive drug and alcohol use, behaviour which increases risk of sexual exploitation and self-harming, including overdosing, often play a major part in their contact with the CJS and Children’s Hearing System<sup>154</sup> (CHS). For many detained women, exposure to violence is an everyday reality, and their own offending could be seen as a ‘reasoned response and a necessary means to establish respect, to protect against and pre-empt victimisation and preserve self-integrity’ (Scottish Government 2011a: 22). Evidence also suggests that girls display higher rates of mental health problems, with a prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder, depression and low self-esteem. Coping mechanisms range from self-blame, self-harm to risky sexual behaviour (Scottish Government 2011a). The connections between adverse experiences (including a history of crime exposure or by-standing), lifestyle factors, young women’s agency and pathways into crime are still under-theorised (Sharpe and Gelsthorpe 2015: 54). Recent figures show an increase in women’s, and especially young women’s, offending. It remains unclear, though, whether such changes can be attributed to actual crime rates or to changes in responses to girls’ behaviour (Ibid: 55; Batchelor and Burman 2004; McIvor and Burman 2011).

In academic discussions there has indeed been a tendency to present offending/detained women as a homogenous group, overlooking the age-specific needs and deeds of girls and young women. Despite limited research, there is little evidence disputing that many girls and women within the justice system have experienced a range of traumatic social and individual circumstances (Rigby et al. 2011).<sup>155</sup> It is not clear, however, if these experiences can be seen as ‘risk factors’ at a younger age to predict future offending behaviour. While this ‘risk-factor’-paradigm has been much favoured by policy makers and managers, it has been challenged in other areas as effectively ‘criminalising’ pathways for young women who are ‘vulnerable’ but not necessarily ‘risky’ (Gelsthorpe and Sharpe 2015). The terminology of

---

<sup>153</sup> There are a number of older studies on young women and detention (like Giallombardo 1974); young people in locked institutions (like Kelly 1992) that have informed this project.

<sup>154</sup> For more information on youth justice, see Whyte 2007; on the Children’s Hearing System, see Waterhouse (2007) and Batchelor and Burman (2010).

<sup>155</sup> For more information on trauma and young women, see Oudekerk et al. (2012); Ariga et al. (2007); Dixon et al. (2004) among others.



‘risk factors’ is now widely used in service practice, but the notion of ‘risk(y) processes’ is under-emphasised (Rigby et al. 2011).

Many young women go through the ‘machinery’ of different institutions and institutional services, with different types of closed institutions among them. In Scotland, the *Vulnerable Girls and Young Women Champions Group* (CYCJ 2013) sought to identify the numbers of young females who may be ‘vulnerable’, ‘risky’ and ‘needy’, including those who were involved in offending behaviour. Only twelve of the 32 Scottish local authorities responded to the inquiry, categorising 406 girls and young women as having identified needs in one or more areas (76 were considered highly vulnerable with needs in five or more areas). 104 girls and young women were in contact with *Intensive Services* (ISMS), 26 in *Secure Care* and 90 in *Residential Placements* (Scottish Government 2008b). A total of 104 girls and young women between 12 and 17 years of age were involved in serious/persistent offending (CJSW 2011). The relevance of age and gender is highly significant when young women’s needs are considered. Young women often react by actively seeking risky behaviour, and therefore typically do not fit into the common female stereotype of the ‘dependent victim’. Rather, they are seen as intractable, awkward and difficult (‘impossible to treat/work with’). These perceptions make them less ‘workable’ for public policy and intervention, resulting in a very limited support provision (Burman and Batchelor 2009: 279ff). Burman and Batchelor underline that there is little doubt that incarceration ‘exacerbates the social, emotional and health problems which led many young women there in the first place’ (Ibid: 281).<sup>156</sup> Bodily, mental and societal factors have always – albeit in different ways – contributed to the ‘making’ of the female detainee: body practices and states of minds determine the way women behave, view themselves and others, and also how they commit crimes (or are perceived as such in the process). It is important to remember, though, that crime and what is deemed as ‘offending’ is fluid in nature. This fluidity exists despite the relative stable nature of institutions in the criminal justice systems. Keeping this perspective of fluidity and changing patterns in mind eases the connection between theory and practice, serving to focus not just on the immediate situation but beyond to more abstract notions of what constitutes institutional life as well as individually lived confinement.

## 5.2 A Short Overview of the Scottish Criminal Justice System

Institutions for young detainees in Scotland only emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the form of reformatories and industrial schools.<sup>157</sup> The formal separation into an adult and juvenile

---

<sup>156</sup> When Cornton Vale Prison was built in Scotland in 1971, it was similarly based on a psychiatric model (Ibid: 110); the only women’s prison in Scotland, it was set up with a psychiatric model/family unit. In Cornton Vale, like Holloway, high incidences of psychiatric disorder among its inmates were reported alongside a proposed regime that was able to respond to their psychiatric needs (see Dobash et al. 1986 for detailed discussion). In the years since, most women’s prisons in Britain have been designed to look more physically attractive than men’s, typically with lower security requirements. However, such institutions have tended to be placed in remote, inaccessible locations (Ibid: 116), and they have ‘somewhat paradoxically [been] described as notoriously difficult to run (...) [and] characterised by tension, hysteria and assaults’ (Ibid: 121). This echoes the ‘mad and bad’ label that so often seems to be applied to women and young women who come in contact with the criminal justice system.

<sup>157</sup> Specific Scottish institutions include Dr Guthrie’s Ragged Schools for the poor and destitute in 1847, William Quarrier’s children’s homes for children with special educational/behavioural needs in 1878, and Canon Jupp’s

justice system happened in 1908, but it was not until the 1930s that specially formed juvenile courts appeared (McAra and McVie 2010: 68). The age of criminal responsibility was set to the age of 8 in 1937, which stayed in place till 2010, when alterations were made.<sup>158</sup> Borstal institutions were introduced in 1908 for the treatment and training of 16 to 21 year olds, but the institutional infrastructure was characterised by competing interests from philanthropic concerns about young people's welfare to maintaining a disciplined and hard-working workforce. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, welfarism increasingly shaped reforms and policies, leading to the creation of local authority children's departments and new legislation through the Children's Act 1948.

<b>Four phases of Youth Justice in Scotland</b> (McAra and McVie 2010)	
Punishment, deterrence and reform	Circa 19 <sup>th</sup> century to 1950s
Welfarism	Circa 1950s to mid-1990s
Punitive turn	Circa mid 1990s to end 2000s
Prevention and early intervention	Circa end 2000s till now

**Table 13: Youth Justice Phases Scotland**

In the 1990s and 2000s main elements of the Kilbrandon philosophy<sup>159</sup> were exchanged for a more punitive and actuarial notion, with increasing politicisation of youth crime. McAra and McVie see it as 'somewhat ironic that the full-flowering of devolution (which might have been thought to nurture all things Scottish) led to a degree of policy convergence with the system south of the border in England and Wales' (Ibid: 71). The increased level of managerialism, for instance in the National Standards for Youth Justice (2002), led to the introduction of performance indicators and timescales in service provision. The focus on the level of risk posed by a child rather than on their welfare needs took different forms, suggesting the increased need for more developed neighbourhood and community safety and also the tackling of anti-social behaviour. Moreover, a youth court model was piloted in Scotland – launched with the statement that 'punishment is a key part of the youth justice process' (McAra and McVie 2010: 72).

---

children's homes at Aberlour in 1875 (McAra and McVie 2010: 68). See also Harris and Timms (1993) for history of secure accommodation for young people in Scotland.

<sup>158</sup> The prosecution of children in Scotland is set in the Criminal Justice and Licensing Bill (introduced in 2009) and, although it has been publicly understood to raise the age of criminal responsibility to 12, it only prohibits prosecution of a child under 12 in the courts. Therefore, children will be held criminally responsible from the age of 8, but these cases will be dealt with by the CHS (McAra and McVie 2010: 74). Following this, the Criminal Justice and Licensing (Scotland) Act 2010 states the same which means that children between the ages of 8 and 11 are (still) responsible for any offence committed. In addition, in Scots Law, children under the age of 16 cannot be prosecuted unless on the instruction of the Lord Advocate using Lord Advocate guidelines.

<sup>159</sup> In the 1960s, welfarism in juvenile justice was driven by the committee that produced the Kilbrandon report (1961 - 1964) in order to consider measures to deal with 'juvenile delinquency' and children in need of care and protection. The new framework of institutional juvenile justice was the CHS (implemented in 1971) with children's needs being paramount in decision-making (McAra and McVie 2010: 69). This welfarist approach set the Scottish system apart from the ones in England and Wales – supported by the key elites within the Scottish Office and the criminal justice system, as well as by the media (Ibid: 70).

From the ‘conflicted and punitive third phase’, McAra and McVie (2010: 73) suggest that juvenile Scottish justice may be moving on to an era of prevention and early intervention characterised by a risk factor paradigm. The GIRFEC initiative was initiated with the publication of *Getting it Right for Every Child: Proposals for Action* (Scottish Executive 2005; Scottish Government 2012a) and continues to be implemented. There are some reservations as to how far the pendulum is now swinging back from the punitive approach, and some see the current *modus operandi* as cautious rather than revolutionary when issues like the age of criminal responsibility are concerned (McAra and McVie 2010: 74). Since devolution, new legislature and political forums have been established – ‘introduc[ing] ‘turbulence’ into the Scottish youth justice system and continuing with the post-Kilbrandon more punitive agenda (Burman and Batchelor 2009: 272). Scotland’s criminal justice system consists of a complex set of processes and many different bodies. Changes in legislation and Scottish Government policy developments have resulted in the creation of over twenty new criminal justice bodies and partnerships since devolution (Audit Scotland 2011: 6).<sup>160</sup>

The CJS for children and adolescents differs significantly from the adult system. The CHS has played a central role in dealing with children accused of committing offences *and* children who may be in need of care or protection (McCallum 2011; Waterhouse 2007; Burman et al. 2010.). The majority of child offenders under the age of 16 are currently dealt with through the CHS rather than the criminal courts. It has been argued that a welfare approach to youth justice has at times been diluted by policies which have given more emphasis to factors such as public protection (McAra and McVie 2010: 68ff.). For example, this tendency was highlighted in connection with the use of antisocial behaviour orders for 12-15 year olds. With their increased use, concerns were raised that more children could be drawn into the adult criminal justice system and thus undermine the ethos of the hearings system (McCallum: 2011: 7). A more correctional trend, one prevalent in the English criminal justice system for young people for some time, is now increasingly reflected in Scotland. Surveillance and control have hence become prominent strategies in managing young people ‘at risk’ (McNeill and Batchelor 2004).

### 5.3 ‘Relevant’ Numbers and Figures

Numbers and figures are difficult to come by for young female inmates. This is the case because different system of reference are involved: there is the group of young offenders (sometimes but not always distinguished in terms of gender/sex), there is the group of female offenders (mostly not distinguished in terms of age), there are other inmates in closed units (like ‘patients’), there are different institutions involved (prison, secure care and closed psychiatric units as the main institutions, but also residential schools, police cells, private residential units, private psychiatric units and more ‘open’ [but not necessarily open to

---

<sup>160</sup> See for example: The Children and Young People (Scotland) Act (Scottish Government 2014) is expected to be fully enforced in August 2016. The Scottish Government (2015) states that this significant change to policy and legislation has extended statutory responsibilities for the welfare of children.

choice for the young person] forms of residence), and also there are different measures to categorise ‘young’ inmates (like 7-18, 16-21, 16-25, 13-21). This means that numbers and figures presented here are approximations but never comprehensive measures.

Scotland, like other western jurisdictions, has witnessed a significant increase in female imprisonment in the last decade.<sup>161</sup> There is evidence that women are being imprisoned for longer periods of time despite no recognisable evidence of increasing participation of women in crime (McIvor and Burman 2011). It must be said that numbers are fluctuating, however, and it is difficult to read a robust trend for certain groups like young offenders. In Scotland, as in the rest of the UK, women constitute a relatively small percentage of the criminal cases coming before the courts.<sup>162</sup> Although 52 percent of the overall population is female, in 2000 women accounted for only 14 percent of persons proceeded against in Scottish courts (Burman 2004: 41).<sup>163</sup> Women are generally more likely to be convicted for less serious offences. In Scotland, women are in a minority in all categories of offending behaviour (Burman 2004: 44f.).<sup>164</sup> In Scotland the average daily female prison population rose by almost 42 percent between 1990 and 2000 (double the growth of the male prison population), and has continually increased in subsequent years (Tombs 2004: 66). In 2011, the female prison population was 435, 5.5 percent of the total. Over a ten year period (2001/02-2010/11) the average daily female prison population increased by another 70 percent. The number of female remand prisoners has risen even further (an increase of 80 percent from the mid-1990s to mid-2000s). As many of the women are sent to prison for shorter periods of time<sup>165</sup>, the actual number of women experiencing prison is quite high (SCCCJ 2006). However, during this time there has been a decrease in the number of women under the age of 21 given a custodial sentence, connected to diversion practices, for example to secure care (Angiolini 2012; Burman and McIvor 2011). For the younger population, there are currently 90 in-patient beds occupied in five Scottish Secure Units (28/11/2015) and a total number of vacancies of a mere one bed.<sup>166</sup>

Youth crime accounts for more than a third (43 percent) of all recorded offences in Scotland. Official statistics show that girls and young women are responsible for a much smaller

---

<sup>161</sup> 40 years ago the British government suggested that, by the end of the 20th century, the penological progress would result in few or no women being given prison sentences (Home Office 1970, in Tombs 2004). Although policy has developed since then, Britain remains further away than ever from realising this hope. Goldson (2015: 184) points towards the ebbs and flows in rates of imprisonment that coincide with circular motions of penal politics and politicisation and depoliticisations of youth crime.

<sup>162</sup> As the actual number of young women involved in violent offending is relatively low, so that small numerical increases or decreases can make a difference in terms of reported percentage rises and falls. It remains unclear, therefore, as to whether the increases reported in the media and by government statistics can be attributed to actual rates of violent crime or changing responses to young women's violence and disorderliness (Burman and Batchelor 2009: 275).

<sup>163</sup> Women currently constitute 6 percent of the prison population in Scotland and have shown a much sharper rate of growth than the global population, practically doubling over the past ten years (Scottish Government 2012: 44).

<sup>164</sup> There has, however, been an increase in conviction (especially among young women), which suggests that the gender gap between young men's offending and that of young women is closing (even though the numerical difference is still large).

<sup>165</sup> Women's sentences are mostly short. Seven out of ten prison sentences (over 21) are for less than six months. The short length of sentences imposed and the absence of post release supervision mean that most of the young women would serve only a matter of days or weeks in custody prior to being released unsupervised back into the community. (Scottish Government 2002: 17).

<sup>166</sup> As all secure units now accept boys and girls, there is no figure available on divided numbers.

proportion of such crimes (approximately 13 percent) (Scottish Government 2011).<sup>167</sup> The Scottish Government (2011) found that there is no difference in criminogenic risk factors for both boys and girls, which include anti-social attitudes, lack of parental supervision and association with ‘the wrong crowd’. Certain factors like victimisation, low self-esteem and peer influence, though, have been found to be particularly correlated with female offenders. Girls and younger women (especially under 16) are more likely to go through the CHS rather than the CJS. In 2009/2010, a total of 10,012 children were referred to the CHS on offence grounds, of which around 90% were aged 12 or over (McCallum 2011: 10).<sup>168</sup> In 1,397 cases a children’s hearing was arranged in relation to offence grounds.<sup>169</sup> During that time 104 children under the age of 16 were prosecuted in the criminal courts (mainly 14 and 15 year-olds).

The majority of data and concepts used to address offending behaviour are based on male offending and in many cases do not meet the needs of young female offenders.<sup>170</sup> Much of the knowledge about young women in this context is based on ‘anecdotal evidence’. Girls and young women’s high level of needs are often directly translated into ‘high risk’, and in addition ‘a ‘welfare’-based approach to female offending also means that girls are often considered to be in need of greater protection than boys, often resulting in up-tariffing girls (Scottish Government 2011).<sup>171</sup> Lightowler et al. (2014) point out that, while the under-18 prison population (admitted by direct sentence) has fallen, the adult prison population has gone up. At the same time, secure care admissions have fluctuated. Lightowler et al. suggest that this pattern may reflect an increased use of secure care as an alternative to prison, rather than reflecting a genuine change in the ‘levels of vulnerability and risk of harm in the population’ (Ibid: 6).<sup>172</sup> These numbers show a general trend, but do not tell much about the situation for young women.

## 5.4 Short Overview of Policy Development in Scotland

When analysing policy, the current political agenda and the ‘choices’ that are made need to be kept in mind. There are a range of options from which public policy is formulated;

<sup>167</sup> The police data confirms that more than half of all offences committed by under-18s are miscellaneous offences (littering, drunkenness, common assault) rather than more serious crimes. Violent crimes like murder, attempted murder, serious assault and robbery made up around 1 percent of all crimes and offences by 8-17 year olds and crimes of indecency less than 2 percent (Lightowler et al. 2014: 4).

<sup>168</sup> As some children are referred to the CHS more than once, the total number for this period is 22,585 offence referrals (McCallum 2011: 13).

<sup>169</sup> Reasons for not arranging a hearing include an assessment that there is no need for compulsory measures of care, that suitable measures are already in place or that there is insufficient evidence to proceed (McCallum 2011).

<sup>170</sup> ‘The literature argues that it is not appropriate to simplify girls’ needs to discrete criminogenic factors as some of these needs are not necessarily ‘treatable’ dynamic factors. Interventions therefore are required that reflect the distinctiveness of female experiences. For instance, generic anger management programmes are insufficient to address female needs as research shows that what prompts aggression is different between girls and boys. Girls’ aggression is often tied up in gendered expectations about female sexuality’ (Scottish Government 2011a: 22).

<sup>171</sup> Young women (16-17 years old) are five times more likely to receive a custodial sentence as opposed to a community sentence, compared to young males who are only twice as likely to receive a custodial sentence in place of a community sentence (Ibid).

<sup>172</sup> One of the current political caveats in relations to secure care versus prison detention is monetary. Lightowler et al. (2014: 14) point out that the average cost per young person per annum for a place in a HMPYOI in 2011/12 was £32,371 (£622,52 per week) compared to a secure care bed at £268,320 (£5,160 per week) per annum.

notably, as indicated above, the stark choice between punishment and welfare.<sup>173</sup> In Scotland, both the political attention towards – and the work practice to address – youth and female crime have expanded greatly since Devolution<sup>174</sup> in the mid-1990s. Previous initiatives like the Kilbrandon Report also need to be taken into account when assessing the policy landscape for youth justice. Today’s institutional framework for supporting children and families, established on the basis of the key recommendations of the Kilbrandon Report, has remained largely unchanged since it was introduced in 1971. Also worth noting are British reports that have exerted significant influence on policy and practice, like the Corston Report (2007). For almost 30 years, Scotland stood in contrast to other jurisdictions with its penal-welfare ethos in youth justice. Since the mid-1990s, however, Scotland’s adherence to penal-welfarism has steadily eroded and is shifting further away from a concern with the social and personal needs of young (female) offenders to a greater focus on the nature, extent and frequency of offences and their improved surveillance (Burman and Batchelor 2009: 272).

Two particular changes in public policy may have contributed to the apparent increase in violence and offending behavior of young women: a ‘zero tolerance’ approach of schools and care homes (and other institutions like in-patient units) to behavior that may have previously been ignored or dealt with informally; and the re-labelling of domestic arguments as assaults (Rigby et al. 2011). Public policy has been provided separately for different types of closed institutions, such as prisons, secure care<sup>175</sup> and psychiatric units. Overall, policy for forensic mental health is guided by *Health, Social Work and Related Services for Mentally Disordered Offenders*<sup>176</sup> in Scotland, within which a multi-agency, multi-disciplinary approach to working with mentally disordered offenders through all stages of investigation, court processes, imprisonment and community care is elaborated. Here, again, female offenders are seen as one homogenous minority group, with no distinction made in relation to age. In 2006 the Scottish Executive issued a new policy on Forensic Mental Health Services, setting out a structure for the delivery of in-patient services and standards for care (HDL 2006).

The first important Scottish governmental response to female offending, *Women Offenders – A Safer Way*, was published in 1998. The report originated from a public outcry following the seventh suicide in 30 months at Cornton Vale Prison (1995-1997). These suicides took place at a time when the average daily prison population was around 170. The deaths of these

---

<sup>173</sup> This is the so-called ‘deep’ end of the criminal justice system, where expenditure on punishment and welfare are interchangeable (states with high expenditure on prisons spend comparatively less on welfare and *vice versa*). Punishment and welfare are deployed as alternative strategies in what is called the ‘penal-welfare-complex’ (Bond-Taylor and Jones 2009). Any such choices are likely to be influenced by the ‘law and order’ debates and the political litmus test of which political party is toughest on crime (Ibid 2009: 304).

<sup>174</sup> The transfer of powers from a central to a regional authority is called devolution. The Scotland Act 1998 (an Act of the UK Parliament) created a Scottish Parliament which could act on all ‘devolved’ matters like education or law and order. The devolved powers were extended by the Scotland Act 2012 (Scottish Government 2016).

<sup>175</sup> The most recent policy report by the Scottish Government on Secure Care Units was published in 2009 as an answer to *Securing Our Future – A Way Forward for Scotland’s Secure Care Estate* by the SIRCC. The SIRCC has been responsible for developing the National Residential Child Care Initiative (NRCCI) on behalf of the Scottish Government.

<sup>176</sup> This was launched by the Minister for Health and the Arts on 28 January 1999 (NHS 1999).

young women (all under 30 years old) became the subject of the longest running fatal accident inquiry in Scottish legal history, provoking the first comprehensive official review of custody for female offenders in Scotland (Tombs 2004: 68; Maguire 2001). Since then, more suicides have occurred at Cornton Vale; of the three suicides between 2012 and 2015, two were committed by under 21 year olds.

The 1998 report recommended a gender-specific approach and a twin track strategy (more options in the community, fewer prison spaces). The following policy, *A Better Way* (Scottish Executive 2002), assessed the findings of *A Safer Way* (Tombs 2004: 79). *A Better Way* is divided into three stages: (1) prevention and early intervention; (2) community disposals; and (3) the role of after-care. The report concluded that prison not only functions as an institution of secure custody, but ‘also acts as a casualty clearing station, psychiatric ward and addiction clinic’ (Scottish Executive 2002: 41). The analysis confirms that the present system is not working effectively and that it is over-strained in taking women into custody who promise no or little harm to the community. Furthermore, the prison environment releases women to face the same or worse problems than those which led them there in the first place: ‘the system is wasteful in terms of the resources it consumes and in its failure to change women’s behavior’ (Ibid). One of the two main problems found by this governmental analysis is the situation of looked-after girls who are at special risk of offending. Here, prevention and early intervention should seemingly form the core of the policy response (Scottish Government 2002: 41).

The current policy context for young people who offend (not specifically girls) is represented in *Preventing Offending: A Framework for Action* (Scottish Government 2008a). Like *A Better Way*, this document highlights the importance of preventative work and outlines a number of strategies aimed at preventing offending based on GIRFEC principles (particularly within the age group of 8-16 years) like EEI and RRP (Scottish Government 2012a).<sup>177</sup> As recently as 2011, youth justice policy in Scotland introduced the ‘Whole System Approach’ (WSA 2013; Robertson forthcoming) which advocates a holistic multi-agency approach to the assessment and support of young people. The government’s recommendations include a range of issues: guidance for alternatives to secure care and custody; guidance for reintegration and transitions; frameworks for risk assessment and management of young people; toolkits for diversion from prosecution for young people under 18; toolkits to support young people aged 16-17 in court; and evaluations of pilot schemes<sup>178</sup> to support the ‘Whole System Approach’. The newest policy report by the Commission on Women Offenders (Angiolini 2012: 10) calls for radical changes like the replacement of Cornton Vale and better early intervention.<sup>179</sup>

---

<sup>177</sup> Despite its emphasis on children, it also underlines the need to ‘sustain attention on the successful transition to adulthood, particularly the vulnerable period between 16 and 21’ (Scottish Government 2008a: 4).

<sup>178</sup> Refer to Burman and Imlah 2012 and SCCJR 2011 for examples (TfC from Up-2-Us/EEI).

<sup>179</sup> This report provides a detailed analysis of the current situation and calls for changes. It does, however, see female offenders as one homogenous group and does not offer much in terms of age-specific recommendations or changes.

## 5.5 The Nature of Closed Institutions - What is There and Why?

It is necessary to attempt a stocktake of existing Scottish institutions. The three main closed institutions for young women that will be discussed below are: prison (YOI); secure care units, which are high security institutions for young people under the age of 18; and closed psychiatric units, which are less easy to categorise because they take different forms. There are other closed spaces that are experienced by young women such as police cells,<sup>180</sup> cells in courts, private small-scale residential units and other residential institutions like children's homes: these spaces may not be defined as completely closed or only occupied on a very temporary basis, but they can nonetheless feel sealed off in individual experiences. The individual institutions considered in Chapters 6-8 are part of an overall distribution of institutional nodes comprised of new-builds and historic buildings, all reflecting complexly interlinked geographies derived from historical (carceral/asylum/poor house and others) institutions. The result is a curious 'point-based' system geography; isolated bricks-and-mortar sites stitched together by movements of inmates, staff, policies, inspectors, family members, and others. Every institution, through its individual inmates, is also linked across to other sites like police stations, courts, hospitals and countless (often inhospitable) residential neighbourhoods. Situated in different geographical locations, every institution also has its own ties with the neighbouring community, some historically grown, others in rural settings removed from highly populated areas.

### *Secure Care Units*

There are currently 90 secure beds in Scotland at five separate units:<sup>181</sup> Good Shepherd Centre Secure Unit in Bishopton; Kibble Education and Care Centre in Paisley; Rossie Secure Accommodation Services in Montrose; St Mary's Kenmure in Bishopbriggs; and Edinburgh City Council Secure Services (Scottish Government 2016a, Sans 2016, Celcis 2015). Earlier research on secure care units in Scotland includes work on List D (closed) schools (Harris and Timms 1993; Littlewood 1987; Kelly 1992), while more recent studies have other foci such as longitudinal evaluation (Walker et al. 2006), outcomes for sexually exploited young people (Creegan et al. 2005), inmate views on their stay in secure care (Barry et al. 2008, Foreman and McAllister 2006, Foreman 2004) and more general studies (Schliehe 2015; Roesch-Marsh 2014; McKellar and Kendrick 2013; Kendrick et al. 2008).<sup>182</sup>

---

<sup>180</sup> Because both police cells and cells in court houses are defined as short-term holding facilities, they do not present the same characteristics as more long-term institutions, but it needs to be recognised that they are other closed spaces that play a role in the young women's lives, often highly connected to their experience of prison, secure care or closed psychiatric units. The experiences of police and court cells are often talked about in the same breath as experiences in prison, but they hold their own meaning.

<sup>181</sup> Four of them are privately run, and the one in Edinburgh is public. Recommendation to place young people in secure care can be made by the CHS or via the Criminal Procedures (Scotland) Act 2005 (Malloch 2013), although it is current policy that alternatives have to be explored (Lightowler et al. 2014). Placements often do not correspond with young people's local authority and can therefore result in distance placements (Barrie and Moodie 2008).

<sup>182</sup> In 2003 a decision was made to increase the number of available places and to develop specialist services in order to reduce the number of under-18s (particularly young women) in prison (SIRCC 2009: 12). This strategy did not produce the expected results, however, as the supply of secure care places outstripped demand. During the course of this development, one private unit closed while others downsized. A decision was made in 2012 to have all Scottish secure units as mixed gender units rather than keeping a separate unit for young women (previously the Good



There have been extensive debates about the primary purpose of secure care and the paradox of ‘care versus control’ and ‘welfare versus punishment’ (Goldson 2002: 119; Bullock et al. 1998; Harris and Timms 1993). However, there remains very little known about the medium to long term outcomes for children who have been placed in secure care under the provision of civil/welfare statute. While some studies see secure care primarily as negative and punitive (Howard League for Penal Reform 2006, Goldson 2002), others see it as more mixed. Rose (2002), from a practitioner’s perspective, emphasises the positive and therapeutic possibilities. Many studies have pointed out that there are common features to circumstances of young people who are put in secure care. Most have passed through multiple placements, often connected to chronic unemployment, homelessness and severe financial difficulties for both the family and the young people themselves (Mitchell et al. 2013: 19; Maycock and Sheridan 2013; Carlen 2003). Most of the families have experienced prior involvement with social work services, and ‘the year prior to secure admission has also been found to be marked by upheaval, stress, and change for the young person and their family’ (Ibid). Trauma, neglect and experiences of abuse are other factors commonly experienced by these young people, with rates of sexual abuse being particularly high for young women in secure accommodation.<sup>183</sup> These experiences are often coupled with problems at school due to a lack of appropriate school placements, exclusions and frequent moves, with a ‘significant number of these young people also show[ing] evidence of learning disabilities and/or emotional, social and behavioural difficulties’ (Ibid; Whitehead et al. 2010; Kendrick et al. 2008). Although there are few analyses of gendered factors in decision-making associated with these institutions, many authors highlight that ideas about vulnerability and gender play a major role for young women admitted due to being at risk ‘sexually’ (via a welfare rather than criminal route) (Walker et al. 2006).<sup>184</sup>

Although the Scottish system for adolescents has changed to provide child-centered services up to the age of 18, most young people between 16 and 18 ‘continue to be treated in a very punitive way in Scotland and are most likely to find themselves in the adult criminal justice system’ (Mitchell et al. 2013: 8). There is a particular concern for young people between the age of 16 and 18 who are at a higher risk of falling between the gaps of local services as the transition from child to adult services is not always coherent or consistently applied (Scottish Government 2011: 5). The up-tariffing of girls and young women for merely risky, rather than actual offending behaviour adds to them subsequently being caught up in criminalising pathways (Mitchell et al. 2013: 7). The combination of people incarcerated in secure care for welfare (risk to themselves) and criminal justice (risk to others) reasons makes it difficult

---

Shepherd Unit in Bishopton). In the last decade numbers in secure units have changed; for example, in 2009 the numbers were considerably higher with seven secure care units and a total of 124 beds (Scottish Government 2009). 46 percent of all young people admitted to secure care in 2008/2009 were girls (Scottish Government 2009).

<sup>183</sup> One study reported that one in three girls reported an experience of sexual abuse, compared to one in twenty boys (YJB 2008 In: Mitchell et al. 2013: 20). Although not often sampled in research studies, SCRA found that 24% of 100 cases had previously been on the Child Protection Register (Ibid).

<sup>184</sup> Young people in secure care, particularly young women, show high rates of self-harm and a range of different mental health difficulties, including suicide and attempted suicide. Khan (2010) reports in an English context that inter-related risk factors such as substance misuse, poor sexual and mental health as well as exposure to violence and sexual violence all exacerbate the poor state of their health overall.

to describe the inmates accurately. Often they are referred to as ‘offenders’, even though this may not be technically true, which has a stigmatising effect that is attached to different places of confinement as well as to the self-perception of the detainees. Critics have underlined that in practice the new developments with mixed gender secure care and the mix of ‘criminal’ and ‘welfare’ cases make it almost impossible to meet individual needs, as it seems that all children in trouble in secure care are being criminalised rather than treated as children in need of care (Gelsthorpe and Sharpe 2015: 57). With the current number of beds, the secure units’ occupancy levels still fluctuate but are often rather full.



**Figure 13: Showcasing of Scottish Secure Care Facilities<sup>185</sup>**

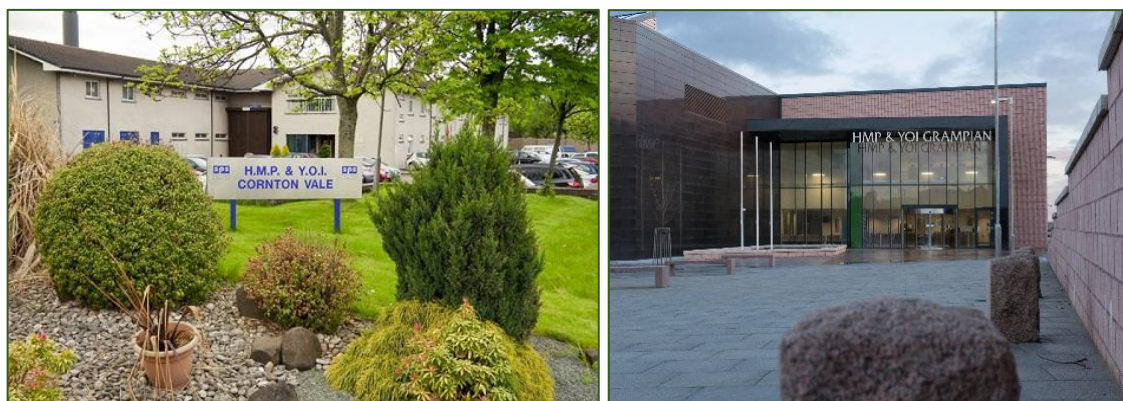
### ***Prison and Custody***

While the prison system is separate from the secure care estate, a considerable number of young women with experience of secure care units have been found going to prison (Rigby et al. 2011).<sup>186</sup> An effort has been made in policy and practice to keep young women between 16 and 18 out of prison, and numbers have subsequently dropped in the YOI blocks, but trends alter quickly for no apparent reason and in 2014 there was a number of 16-18 year

<sup>185</sup> Picture sources: Kibble (2016); Good Shepherd Centre (2016); St. Marys (2016); Rossie (2016).

<sup>186</sup> Prisoners in Scotland are 13 times more likely to have been in care as a child than the general population (Scottish Government 2011b).

olds in prison (during the fieldwork period). There are 15 penal establishments in Scotland at the moment, with an additional nine police cells used to detain prisoners; 14 out of the 15 penal institutions cater mainly for adults, and only HMP&YOI Polmont is an all young offenders' institution. Most female offenders are held at Cornton Vale,<sup>187</sup> which currently has places for 309 women. Other Scottish prisons also house women: Ratho Hall at HMP Edinburgh (115 places); Darroch Hall at HMP Greenock (55 places); HMP Aberdeen (8 places) [since then changed to HMP Grampian]; and HMP Inverness (6 places) (SPS 2013). Young women (16-21) are held at HMP&YOI Cornton Vale and HMP&YOI Grampian (Robinson 2015).



**Figure 14: Cornton Vale and Grampian Entrance (SPS 2016)**

Generally, then, most of the female offenders in Scotland are held in Cornton Vale prison near Stirling, and most reports on female incarceration in Scotland focus on this facility. Cornton Vale provides custodial facilities for female prisoners (including young offenders) in all sentence ranges and supervision levels<sup>188</sup> in six accommodation blocks. It has 271 staff, which includes 206 uniformed staff, 18 nurses, 39 administrative staff and 8 middle and senior managers (SPS 2013). The population of Cornton Vale is relatively young in comparison to other British female prisons (approximately two-thirds of prisoners are under 30 years and one-fifth under 21 years) (Burman and Batchelor 2009). The SCCCJ report of 2006 concluded that 98 percent of the women held in Cornton Vale had drug addiction problems, 80 percent had mental health problems and 75 percent had a history of abuse and very poor physical health. The report found that the typical inmates' background had not changed since earlier studies.

Cornton Vale has endured bad 'press' over the last decades as it routinely exceeds the prescribed amount of prisoners, resulting in overcrowding and consequent hygienic and

<sup>187</sup> Cornton Vale has had an institutional history that reaches back to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It started off as a garden colony that was set up as a training ground for 'down and out and alcoholic (read 'alcoholic, physically weak and/or mentally inadequate') men from the cities' (Murphy et al. 2010: 11). The garden colony was transformed into an open borstal for young men from 1946-1975 with the aim to 'give the offender a new outlook on life, a standard of social behaviour, and respect for authority which will persist long after release' (Ibid: 15). Many other Scottish contemporary prisons were founded as borstals and later transformed (Polmont, Castle Huntley or Noranside). Prior to opening in 1975, Cornton Vale as the women's prison was built by the boys from the borstal who were trained to provide the workforce. Most of the building materials were made and provided by the prisoners. It was previously planned that the buildings would not be higher than two storeys and that the site 'would be tastefully landscaped' (Ibid: 19).

<sup>188</sup> The SPS holds prisoners with low, medium and high supervision security classifications.

social problems (Scottish Government 2009a and 2011). As yet, the most recent inspectorate reports on HMP&YOI Cornton Vale show few signs of positive impacts from proposed changes. The inspectorate concludes that the prison is not performing to a satisfactory standard and ‘falls short in the provision of adequate conditions and treatment for prisoners and young offenders’ (Ibid 2011: 1). Living conditions in most of the blocks are labeled ‘unacceptable’, with particularly bad conditions for young women on remand and at the weekend. There has not been an inspection report since 2011, so there is no comprehensive source available on the current state of Cornton Vale.<sup>189</sup> Before women were moved to some of the male prisons, Cornton Vale struggled with overcrowding. In 2009 the total population had been ‘hovering around’ 400, with around 100 more prisoners than cells. A total of 2,223 young women under the age of 21 were charged with an offence between 2010 and 2011, and during that time the average daily prison population was 50 (Mitchell et al. 2013: 16). Statistics from 2012 showed that there were between five and 40 young female prisoners (remand and sentenced) (Mitchell et al. 2013: 25). These figures fluctuate but have dropped to six young female offenders (16-21) on remand and ten sentenced in Scottish prisons (SPS on 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2015). During the time of fieldwork (2014) for this project, the numbers usually fluctuated between 20 and 30 young women on remand and sentenced combined.



**Figure 15: Cornton Vale from outside the fence (BBC 2011)**

An HMIP inspection report on young offenders in adult establishments (SPS 2010) found that young women’s experiences in prison were worse than young men’s. The four main factors for high dissatisfaction were:

- Sharing almost all parts of daily life with adult prisoners;
- Poor quality and quantity of food with no appropriate place to share a meal with other young offenders;
- Lack of recreational facilities and boredom as a major factor; and

<sup>189</sup> As part of the Angiolini (2012) report and subsequent SPS and Scottish government policy documents, it was first proposed to close Cornton Vale and to replace it with a new all-female purpose-built prison at Inverclyde prison. After protests, the government announced changes to this plan and instead built a new small national prison with 80 places, alongside five smaller community-based custodial units, each accommodating up to 20 women, across the country (Scottish Government 2015a).



- Overcrowding

In Cornton Vale, the most vulnerable women with very serious mental health problems are held in so-called ‘management suites’ or ‘back cells’ that separate these women from the main prison population.<sup>190</sup> Despite the recommendation to discontinue them immediately in 2009, such cells were still being used in 2014. The conditions in the back cells were reported to be ‘extremely poor’. There are approximately 30 new suicide-risk-management cases (ACT2Care) opened each month, far exceeding the numbers in the busiest male establishment in Scotland (Scottish Government 2009a and 2011). The 2009a and 2011 reports called for a ‘Care and Separation Unit’, but without any ‘reasonable’ progress between 2009 and 2014 when the separation unit was finally updated. Many of the interviewees state that they had experienced the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ separation units. A high degree of churning and room changes occur within prison (over 300 moves a week in Cornton Vale) as well as to other institutions (Ibid: 26; Scottish Government 2008).<sup>191</sup> Among young offenders, moves are mainly within their own block resulting from changes in prisoner status (upgrade/downgrade), to the mental health block or, when reaching the upper end of the age range, into the adult estate. Like the adult prisoners, young offenders have an assigned job to do such as cooking, cleaning, serving food or working in the available workshops. In line with the aims of rehabilitation, some education and life-skill classes are available. All prisoners in Cornton Vale serving four months or more are required to attend a pre-release course lasting one day, which takes place four weeks prior to ‘liberation’. Because of long waiting lists, there is, however, insufficient access to life-skill classes and there are no classes available for prisoners on remand (Scottish Government 2009: 55f.). In spring 2013, the young offenders in Cornton Vale were moved to the YOI at Polmont while refurbishment work was carried out at Cornton Vale (SPS 2013a), being transferred back in early 2014 and moved into a combined YOI block for young offenders on remand and on sentences in summer 2014. Many changes have been made within the women’s estate during this project’s fieldwork period and more are planned. There is a focus on female offenders as part of Scottish policy and the SPS, although young women do not feature as a distinct group within policy. Overall, the women’s estate, ranging from Cornton Vale to Grampian and other prisons, is in a minority position within the wider prison estate and, while policy and practice aim to catch up, this marginality is still noticeable.

### ***Psychiatric In-Patient Units***

The close relationship between ‘offending’ or ‘difficult/unmanageable’ behaviour and serious mental health issues is known to services and policy providers, something also

---

<sup>190</sup> There are five safer cells and two anti-ligature cells within the main area of the mental health block and four cells in the annex, the ‘back cells’: two rooms in this area have no beds and no enclosed toilets, with meals being eaten in the cells, no electric power, and the ablution area is badly stained. It is ‘an extremely depressing area which has a dreadful smell due mainly to the state of the women’ [Rule 37]. Women under the 37 Rule are almost exclusively prisoners with mental health problems, some of whom display extremely challenging behaviour without care plans available to staff responsible for their care and management (Scottish Government 2009a: 23f., 37f.; 2011: 40).

<sup>191</sup> 11 prisoners were transferred from Cornton Vale directly to psychiatric facilities in the 12 months prior to February 2011 (Ibid).

visible in the numbers that Up-2-Us provided for the last year, with 90 percent of young women disclosing that they struggled to cope emotionally (Wilson and Arens 2016): 50 percent are diagnosed with mental health problems and 35 percent had been detained under the Mental Health Act, several being detained multiple times. Considering the numbers for prison and secure care, however, relatively few young women are referred to mental health units – even though the majority suffers from mental health difficulties. The most relevant legislation is the Mental Health (Care and Treatment) (Scotland) Act 2003 (Scottish Government 2008). The facility levels are national, regional and local, with three corresponding security levels (high, medium, low).<sup>192</sup> The gaps in service provision are particularly apparent for women (among other groups like prisoners with learning disabilities and people with a personality disorder) (Scottish Government 2008: 45),<sup>193</sup> and younger women suffer acutely from scarce mental health service provision. As in many other countries, provision for child and adolescent mental health services (CAMHS) has lagged behind strategic planning for adult provision (Bonnar 2010);<sup>194</sup> 48 in-patient beds for adolescents are planned in Scotland, a lower number than is planned proportionally for England and Wales (Scotland, 11.1 beds per million/population; England and Wales, 16.8) (Ibid.). The Scottish Government acknowledges that many young people have severe and enduring mental health problems which are yet un-diagnosed, ‘as psychiatrists are unwilling to do so’ (Scottish Government 2008: 16). Since they belong to two groups that lack provision due to their gender and their age, young women who enter the CJS face multiple problems in relation to the treatment of their mental health illnesses or disturbance. If sent to a closed psychiatric unit, very often adult units are chosen over the one adolescent unit which is located in Glasgow (Skye House at Stobhill hospital). The adult units are more dispersed across the country, offering more local access for visits, but arguably do not provide an atmosphere and support suitable for troubled young people, which should include separate activities, access to education and age-appropriate accommodation.<sup>195</sup>

There are only three inpatient units for adolescents and young people in Scotland, all located in the Central-Belt area. One is based at the Royal Edinburgh Hospital, taking ages of 10 to 18 years, and being mainly responsible for Fife and the Borders. There is another private CAMHS inpatient unit with 22 beds that specialises in eating disorders, the Huntercombe Unit near Edinburgh (Huntercombe Group 2013), while the Dudhope Young People’s Unit located in Dundee (NHS Tayside), has six inpatient beds for young people ages 12 to 18 years (NHS 2013a). There is a CAMH service for children under the age of 12 at Yorkhill

---

<sup>192</sup> The vast majority of intensive psychiatric care takes place in NHS locked wards or Intensive Psychiatric Care Units (IPCUs). Generally, people who need care in a secure environment have care delivered in prison, hospital or in some cases the community. There is a clear hierarchy of both security and treatment outcomes (achieving a balance between ‘security’ and ‘care’).

<sup>193</sup> For more information on policy papers see Schliehe 2012.

<sup>194</sup> For more general information on young people and mental health refer to Aggleton et al. (2000).

<sup>195</sup> This coincides with specific difficulties for women: ensuring women’s safety, privacy and dignity is described by the NHS as challenging in an environment ‘that has a much higher proportion of male patients and staff’ (NHS 2010: 24). Female patients are seen as potentially more vulnerable in regard to their clinical presentation as well as to the behaviour of the male patients on the same ward. Practical issues, like the provision of separate bathrooms or shower rooms and sitting room facilities, can be problematic (NHS 2010: 24).

Hospital in Glasgow (moved to Southern General in 2015), providing nine inpatient beds and treating between 15 and 20 patients per year. The only *closed* mental health facility for adolescents and young people in the West of Scotland is Skye House in Glasgow. Skye House opened in 2009 as a new purpose-built facility at Stobhill Hospital, serving the age range of 12 to 18 year olds from across the West of Scotland who have serious mental health issues (NHS 2013). Skye House replaced the West of Scotland Adolescent Inpatient Unit at Gartnavel,<sup>196</sup> and it has a total of 22 beds, two of which are short-stay beds for young people. The unit has three different wings called Mull, Harris and Lewis, with all the bedrooms having en-suite facilities and also a purpose-built gym, fully equipped classrooms, landscaped gardens and overnight facilities for visiting families (NHS 2013).



**Figure 16: Skye Unit Outside (Campbell and Arnott 2013)**

Normally, it is the case that patients are sectioned under the Mental Health Act before they are considered for admission. Groups like young people under 16, people with learning disability or dementia, people with substance misuse problems and people who have a very frail physical condition are normally ineligible, but could be admitted in ‘exceptional circumstances’ (when a more appropriate placement is unavailable). Some IPCUs also admit ‘informal’ patients, with admission usually negotiated on a consultant-to-consultant basis (NHS 2010: 37). The numbers provided by the NHS are helpful, but they cannot be taken at face value because they do not distinguish between age or gender. There is no clarity about exactly how many patients in adult units are under the age of 16, for example, or where they are located. The Skye House for adolescents is not mentioned at all in much documentation, which makes it difficult to assess the numbers of adolescents in greater detail.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

There is an extensive body of literature, reports and policy documents on closed institutions in Scotland. The literature on young female detainees is comparatively much smaller, but it has seen recent updates provided mainly by criminologists (Batchelor and Burman 2009, and others). One feature is how the overall institutional landscape is ‘peopled’, which can

---

<sup>196</sup> The Royal Gartnavel Hospital in Glasgow is the modern incarnation of the city’s 19<sup>th</sup>-century ‘royal’ lunatic asylum.

be very male-orientated (male-membered and male-dominated) with the majority of workers in positions of power being male (Walklate 1995: 10). Entering such a male-dominated world has an impact both implicitly and explicitly on how women experience it. Focussing on 'gender, crime and criminal justice in Scotland', McMillan (2010) discusses women both as perpetrators and victims of crime, two categories that are often highly inter-related (instead of mutually exclusive). She stresses that women's routes into detention are generally quite different to men's, thereby questioning the appropriateness of the (mainly male) criminal justice system for the treatment of women (2010: 92). She underlines the relationship between female offending and social class, as well as women's overall relatively disempowered status in society (Ibid: 93).

The most striking feature of female detention is that women are increasingly treated as a 'high-tariff high-risk group despite the fact their offending is not serious in nature' (Ibid: 93). On the topic of young women, McMillan reports an increasing politicisation of youth crime and a move away from the 'penal-welfarist' ethos. There are few programmes or interventions (within institutions like prisons or secure units or on the 'outside') specifically run for young women in Scotland. McMillan underlines that offending in the case of young women is often related to the transition from youth to adulthood and the search for identity. So far, however, recommendations for change are slow to enact and the Scottish criminal justice system is still largely a system 'from men for men'.

The institutional macro-geographies reviewed in outline here could only be explored in certain ways as there are restrictions imposed with regards to preserving institutional anonymity (see Chapter 4), but more detailed accounts of the micro-geographies follow in Chapter 6. The societal context and wider institutional network in which these geographies sit has become clearer in the sense that institutions develop in conjunction with policy and changing perceptions of what their aims should be. All three sets of closed institutions are interlinked in the biographies of individual women, but also in similarities regarding their component policies for security and control. The following empirical accounts of the nature of such closed spaces (Chapter 6), individual experiences (Chapter 7) and institutional journeys (Chapter 8) will illuminate this claim in more depth, adding more lively aspects and substantive stories to what, in this chapter, has only been superficial system-level reading of the institutional landscape that certain young women in Scotland find themselves transversing.<sup>197</sup>

---

<sup>197</sup> As a brief counterpoint to the overall narrative of the thesis here, I want to briefly touch on detention from the caregiver's perspective. The staff's views on detention has been assigned a backseat throughout the thesis, but it is no less important. Halsey and Armitage (2009) recounting similar research in Australia report that while caring for young people in detention can be rewarding experience, it is extremely demanding work. They mention staying emotionally neutral as the most difficult dilemma for staff (see Goffman for similar perspective). The role for staff is multi-faceted and contradictory in that they are supposed to provide custodial services as well as be mentors, key workers, life-coach and so on. Halsey and Armitage (2009: 170) point out the important point that 'just as there is a need to humanise those sentenced to detention, there is also a need to humanise those who work in such places'.



# CHAPTER 6

## The Constitution and Inner Workings of Closed Spaces

Closed institutions are managed in particular ways. This chapter is about the regimes and rules implemented by institutional authorities and their connectivity to the physical spaces of the institutions. The regime and rules manipulate the manner in which material space is used, and therefore have important implications for the constitution, as well as the production of the social and symbolic spaces. Dividing the findings into the two main field sites – the secure unit and the prison – this chapter explores features of constraint and regulation along a continuum of care and control. Probing degrees of closure, rationalisation and bureaucratic organisation, the constitution of these closed spaces reflect Goffman's and Foucault's descriptions of the 'total' and 'complete/austere' nature in these examples of a carceral archipelago (see Chapter 3).

This chapter is based on different perspectives that all contribute to conceptualising institutional spaces of secure care and prison: interviews with institutional staff (1), ethnographic material from field diaries (2), TfC staff who routinely work with and visit closed institutions (3), and interviews with detainees (4). The overall aim will be a descriptive one, to get close to the constitution of the institution through the inner workings of individual blocks or units. There are five sub-sections. *Managing Populations* deals with the aims of the institution, the data that is collected by institutional authorities and issues of security and care. *Internal Spaces* will be described with attention to micro-spaces such as the individual rooms and also general architectural features of security. The organisation of everyday life is addressed in *Daily Routines* by uncovering the pre-determined plan for life in closed spaces and *Unit/Block Regimes* (exploring rules and regulations) to disclose the repeating patterns emerging when these 'problematic' populations are managed in closed spaces. The last section *Semi-permeability* deals with the fluid nature of inside/outside, the institution's porousness and its connections to those involved in the process of 'locking-up' and 'release'. Themes such as mobility, security and, particularly, control and care weave through all five sub sections – as they do throughout the institutional environment. The rich detail provided here resembles the minute building blocks of institutional constitution. In all this detail the central importance of 'place' is striking – institutional regimes manage 'spaces' to account for and achieve everything (and everyone) being *where* it (they) should be.

### 6.1 Secure Care

The secure care unit is marked by a non-descript entrance, concealed from the road with a controlled exit. It is located slightly on the edge of, but with connections to, the neighbouring community. One connection to the surrounding area is maintained by staff who go in and out of the compound several times a day, and who mostly live in the vicinity. Young people

also sometimes leave and return ‘on mobility’, or on occasion abscond, and there are open and semi-open units for young people with free/semi-free access. These different sub-units are subject to various stages of security. The actual ‘secure’ sub-units are the most structured and locked environments on site, and this chapter elaborates their geography. Each sub-unit is itself a cluster/assemblage of spaces that is organised under the same rules and management.

Life takes place in the one compound after admission to secure care. Detainees sleep, eat and attend school in the same locked building and closed courtyard. Cleaners, teachers, managers, residential staff, mental health and health and well-being staff all work under the same roof. Social workers and other programme workers attend regularly; young people can receive visits from authorised family members and have a set number of calls and minutes available to contact people on their approved phone list. Life is governed by routines and a strict regime supposedly to keep the population safe from themselves and others. Cutlery counts, safe ‘care’ checks, policies of social interaction and locked doors, as well as general vigilance on the part of staff, all contribute to ‘securing’ young people in this closed environment.

### ***Managing Secured Populations***

Managing populations in secure care involves carefully scripted aims and a vast collection of data, narratives and assessments to inform a budget, to perform well in inspections, and most importantly to provide a structured environment for detainees. To provide the right proportions of control and care is a constant balancing act managed across different levels of the institutional hierarchy to achieve a ‘working’ and ‘workable’ institution. The self-prescribed aim of the secure unit is to provide a continuum of care for young people in order to help rebuild a ‘place’ for them within their families and communities. Every team within the sub-units, according to Sarah (SCr), works in a multi-disciplinary way with social workers, families on the outside and also other services like the education or the well-being teams on site. Care is one of the main features:

(...) we work on a therapeutic approach and not a punitive approach. We believe that the court hands out the sentence and we hand out the care. We believe that crucial to what we do is to address what we refer to as well-being indicators. So we look at things like their health, (...) their self-esteem, their motivation, their confidence. We also look at their experience of trauma and how that has affected their decisions. (...) We have very high staff ratios (...) we have our own on-site clinical psychologist, our on-site forensic psychologist, so we are able to do a very holistic assessment of their needs. But we don’t just do an assessment; we match up with the resources to meet the identified need. (Nadine, SCm)

Most staff mention the structure of secure care as an important achievement in everyday practice: residential staff have set tasks to do in order to ‘keep the shift as settled as possible and the young people occupied just so they’re able to manage their behaviours’ (Sarah, SCr). Another aim is the building of positive relationships in a nurturing environment that helps

young people to rehabilitate and re-engage with their own community. The institutional aims evoke a ‘tug war’ of care and control that needs to be balanced out in order to run the units effectively. These aims are essential not just in the management of young detainees, but also for the management of staff to give their work a sense of purpose. Already, the complicated nature of care and control becomes apparent. The language chosen to describe institutional aims underlines *care* as the main ‘tool’ to achieve rehabilitation, normalisation and to ‘produce’ suitable citizens (SC, fieldnotes 06/2014).

In secure care, data is collected constantly in order to structure and manage this ‘secured’ population. A young person’s file consists of many different forms of information to do with in-house as well as biographic and appointment data. Each individual file holds similar information, but none is the same, which is why the forms mentioned here are *exemplary*. The admission details (SC field notes 01/14) collect information that categorises the young person in question, including a detailed physical description.<sup>198</sup> Other data in the file hold risk assessments and self-assessments that are usually filled in within the first 72 hours of admission.<sup>199</sup> The information needed to care adequately for a young person includes required medication, health information and food requirements, linking across to documented accounts of permanent documentation. This involves accounts on how the detainees feel, their history and their likes and dislikes (see Table 14). Some collection of data is put in place to make team working easier and to help achieve a rapport with the young person in the initial assessment period. Other forms of data collection are implemented to validate particular behaviours displayed in and/or prior to admission (see Appendix 5). The data that is collected and produced during the stay of a young person aids rapport within individual units and allows for on-going documentation of progress. Not all forms are filled in fully; but such documents need to be seen in relation to their actual content as well as their potential. The streamlining of documentation about detainees has a function that goes beyond the simple collection of information.<sup>200</sup>

Self-assessment segments
My family
My friends
Places I have lived
My thoughts and feelings

<sup>198</sup> See Appendix 5 on admission to secure care for additional checklists.

<sup>199</sup> Including family details (name of family members; deceased Y/N), legislation (order, CH/court date), agreement on placement, personal plan, assessment reports (following an assessment conference), risk assessment, online assessment (with retests), self-assessment record (initial assessment, self-assessment), review meeting records (type of meeting, report submitted, minutes, relevant documentation, signatures, date), CH/court attendance record, psychology reports, education reports (initial assessment, education assessment, individualised education plan), programme reports (record of programmes, initial assessment, referred to programme, legal correspondence, health records such as nutrition information records (food preferences including likes/dislikes, special dietary needs, food intolerances or allergies, history of eating problems or disorders, dietary needs in relation to culture or religion, people spoken to about this young person’s food requirements), consent to medical treatment (emergency intervention, routine intervention, planned intervention, routine immunisations), current health information (prescribed medication, medical appointments), background information (chronological history, social work information), contact list), record of searches (personal, pat and wand, room), and others.

<sup>200</sup> What Goffman terms ‘violation of one’s informational preserve regarding self’ (see Chapter 3; Goffman 1991: 32).

My problems and how I feel about them
Drug and alcohol use within the community
Health
Running away
Understanding of self-harming behaviour
My offending behaviour
Hope for the future

**Table 14: Secure Care Self-Assessment**

The initial ‘coding’<sup>201</sup> is followed by a system of permanent documentation<sup>202</sup> which collects data on changes in the detainee’s behaviour. This continuous data collection is achieved through written narratives in an ‘activity log’ as well as a more general log for phone calls and other important information. This data is generally produced away from the young person’s view, within the locked staff office or at specific meetings. Paperwork is updated in the same way each week. Young people are given scores for nine individual indicators ranging from ‘declining’, ‘static’ to ‘improving’ in order to manage their behaviour (SC Field notes 02/14; see Table 15). The indicators consider how young people manage relationships in the unit, the young person’s goals and how they manage their emotions in relation to phone calls and visits (Ibid). The data profile that is created for each young person is extensive and resembles a permanent bureaucratic ‘gaze’ targeting the state of both body and mind in the guise of ‘care’, but in practice by documenting/assessing using strict ‘control’ and encouraging ‘self-control’.

Indicators for Individual Assessment (SC, field notes, 02/14)	
<b>Safe</b>	How are they behaving (self-harm, harming others...)
<b>Healthy</b>	Discussing health and mental health
	Have they agreed to doctors’ appointments
	How is medication going
<b>Hope</b>	How are they feeling
	Did they show some signs of improved mood
	Talking about goals
<b>Achieving</b>	How did they do at school, their scores
	Did they meet their potential this week
<b>Nurtured</b>	How are they doing in terms of eating
	Do they feel alright with staff etc.

<sup>201</sup> See ‘stripping’ process (see Chapter 3 and 7) which relies on a detainee’s deconstruction not just physically (like clothes) but also in terms of their behaviour – for this file data it is essential to be able to ascertain character traits and produce aims for rehabilitation.

<sup>202</sup> One example for Foucault’s disciplinary features (see Chapter 3); also on quantifying/assessing ‘progress’.

<b>Active</b>	Have they been exercising/taking part in classes
<b>Respected</b>	How did they behave with others (language and active behaviour)
<b>Responsible</b>	Have they done their duties
	Have they behaved responsibly
<b>Included</b>	Did they make it to meetings
	Visits
	Overall group dynamic

**Table 15: Secure Care Individual Assessment**

The collection of data about individual young people as well as more general occurrences is an ongoing task for staff. There is an awareness among the young people that data is collected, but the extent of their constant ‘screening’ is not discussed.<sup>203</sup> Staff see the assessments as a crucial part of their work that is complemented by and based on building a relationship with the young people after they arrive in secure care:

We start off when they come through the admissions process and you try to get to know them as quickly as possible and you’ve got to try and build a relationship as quickly as possible because this is the assessment unit. We get them when we know absolutely nothing. (...) if you get to know them you can build humour, you’ve got an in-road with them (...) but if you’ve got nothing with them, they won’t tell you anything. And then before you know it you’ve got a situation that’s built from something that could have been solved at the grass roots. (Rachel, SCr)

The initial assessment is there to draw a reasonably accurate picture of the young person so as to manage them and address their individual needs.<sup>204</sup> Building a relationship with the detainees is at the same time a management tool and an ‘insurance’ when working with potentially ‘dangerous’ populations. Under the headline of ‘care’, control of information, constant observation and assessment are hence major building blocks of the formal organisation of secure units. As institutions, they fulfil what Goffman calls ‘rationalisation’, with a pre-determined plan in which people on the inside cannot choose freely what they are doing. Although this is in theory true for staff as well as detainees, there is a clear distinction between these groups, with a demarcation line that becomes particularly visible in instances of conflict. For the management of this potential ‘conflict’ and ‘dangerousness’, security measures<sup>205</sup> are implemented through built-in architectural features (see below) as well as through working practice:

<sup>203</sup> The staff-young person relationship is often described as parental, but the intimate and constant knowledge of their whereabouts and their psychological, educational and social state, even their conversations, exercise, medical profile and so on, far exceeds the knowledge exchange between parent and teenager ‘on the outside’ as well as being here mainly focussed on the young person.

<sup>204</sup> ‘(...) having done that initial assessment, we can grade that, we can determine where a young person is, we can determine what their needs are, what level they’re working at, what sort of styles to teach them in, what sort of class grouping to put them in and that gives us the baseline from which to work on to try and increase the young person’s attainment, engagement with school and self-confidence’ (Theo, SCe).

<sup>205</sup> There are other security features: all staff carry a fob (to open doors) and a pit (personal alarm) for security with them at all times. When there is an incident and the pit is pulled, staff who are ‘on support’ attend the scene of the incident as quickly as possible. The location of the incident is immediately visible on their ‘support’ devices. Explaining reasons for ‘pulling the pit’, Jim (SCr) explains: ‘It could be anything. If they’re not managing, if the young people aren’t managing. It could be staff feel that a young person is maybe ready to kick off. (...) There’s not

We call it a kind of a balance between care and control. (...) You need to have a model that allows you to care for the child in a way that the child is being controlled until they can learn to take control themselves. So when you look at an environment like this, we work therapeutically, we have a trauma-informed approach; that is our model of intervention. (...) But there is a time when we cannot ignore the fact that we are dealing with very dangerous young people. (...) The building itself is secure. A child in here cannot go to the toilet without being taken by a staff member. A child cannot go from one room to another without being taken by a staff member. (...) And that is the core, and then overcoming all that is the care. And achieving that is done through high staffing levels, it is done through a lot of resources (...). But the key and the challenge for staff is to build up really strong and effective relationships and I think that is how you get the balance. (Nadine, SCm)

This revealing quote about the delicate balance of care and control underlines that the management of populations in closed environments is a complex task that involves different – at times conflicting – aims and practical challenges. Keeping the balance between control and care involves restricting and guiding, but also building a meaningful relationship with the young detainees. While the institution assumes responsibility and takes control of all life spheres, it also permanently documents them: examining subjects and their performance is described by Foucault (see Chapter 3) as corrective training. The ongoing complex, minute surveillance and segmentation of the young women's personhood is the result of this balancing of care and control. It already becomes apparent here how the two entities of care and control, which might usually be conceived as separate or even diametrically opposed, seem to converge and reach a state of betwixt and between in closed spaces.

### *Exploring the Geographies of 'life space'*

The purpose-built inner geographies of the secure unit reveal a lot about its workings in relation to control and care: many young people and staff alike rate this unit as highly secure, not in an overpowering, very obvious way, but rather in an efficient, silent and streamlined fashion. The interior is generally light, creating an atmosphere of air and space – despite the fact that there is no fresh air and every room is connected to an air conditioning system. Rooms are carefully designed with safety and security in mind, but without losing sight of some comfort. Most doors are locked with an electronic system that is managed from the main control room, and the building, creates a sense of solidity with heavy interior, thick (and silent) doors and constant maintenance to touch up any imperfections or damage.

The reception is the first point of contact for staff to receive fob and pit and for visitors to sign in and be familiarised with security measures. The control room is the main hub for security management and houses the telephone switchboard and many screens showing CCTV footage. To get through to the secure part of the building an air-locked transition area with a metal detector has to be passed. Corridors separated by locked doors follow. The

---

one reason that you pull the pit, it can be several things. Some shifts it won't go off but some shifts it will go off three or four times'.

security of the building is for the most part silent and automated. There is no high fence that would mark it clearly to the surrounding area. Even though it outwardly appears a rather non-descript house, it resists the outside gaze with reflecting windows. All doors are locked throughout with few exceptions and every door has a number. Some doors only open when authorised by the control room. Windows cannot be opened – neither the ones facing away from the building nor the ones facing the internal courtyards. The courtyards are completely surrounded by the building on all sides, and a falling roof with rounded over-hangs creates a visual concentration onto the inner courtyard – making it seemingly impossible to climb or escape over the roof – without introducing any ‘hard’ security features like barbed wire or fences. Cameras are installed throughout the building in communal areas and corridors so that incidents can be played back and analysed if necessary.

The unit can broadly be separated into an assemblage of living spaces and ‘other’ resource spaces<sup>206</sup> used for education, recreation and supplies. All sub-units are on ground floor level, and there are no stairs. The sub-units are spatially organised around the common room with doors going off to corridors and other rooms. The decoration is different to what might be expected:

It’s very soft. The units are well decorated. As you walk in (...) you get that feel, it’s not clinical. You’ve got an impression of secure care, and you ask anyone about secure care, it’s bars in windows and they’re locked up and they wear a uniform. But they don’t (...). We call it life space. Because it’s where they’re living every day. (...) It’s not home, but we try to make it as homely as possible. (Rupert, SCr)

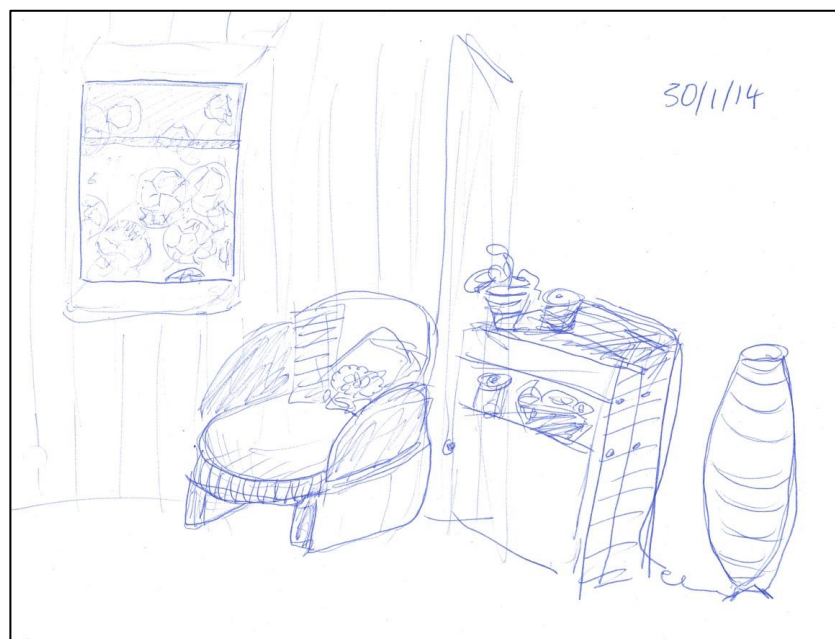
This softness in design is evident in the common room with its large windows, and high ceilings creating a sense of lightness. It is a large space that is separated into groups of seats and tables.<sup>207</sup> The large windows are made of thick security glass that appears slightly ‘warped’ when looking onto the courtyard (SC field notes 02/14). The locked staff office is located centrally with a window overlooking the living area. Here things are stored that are supposed to be kept out of sight/reach for young people like personal files, computers, phones and young people’s belongings such as make-up or products that are only to be used under supervision, like hairdryers or straighteners. There is a kitchen which is usually locked apart from mealtimes – inside, all cupboards are also individually locked. The dining room has a large table which is fixed to the floor with fixed stools all around it. The quiet room is a smaller version of the common room, and is intended for visits, phone calls or individual sessions. It is similarly ‘softly’ designed with comfort in mind: lamps, cushions, and plants make it more pleasing. Overall, then, ‘homeliness’ is designed into the secure space, but most of these ‘homely’ features also serve security, like bigger windows making observation

---

<sup>206</sup> These ‘other’ resource spaces do not feature here in great detail – they are part of the locked environment and of the institutional rationalisation of life spheres, but there is no space to go into specifics: generally, the set-up, architecturally and organisationally, resembles the rest of the unit. These spaces are similarly surveilled, locked and controlled. The education area is subject to locked doors like the rest of the building. There are recreational spaces including a gym and games hall, while the courtyards are also routinely used for recreation – footballs on the roof being testament to that. Other spaces are mainly used by staff, like meeting rooms and kitchen facilities. The courtyards are used for fresh air and to move young people around the building.

<sup>207</sup> ‘The furniture’s secure, it’s heavier, you can’t just pick it up. The very fact that there’s posters on the walls, there’s plants, there’s lamps, these wee furnishings take away from how rigid the environment can be’ (Rachel, SCr).

easier. In this sense, the main living area resembles many panoptic features directed at the detainees in its combination of care and control.

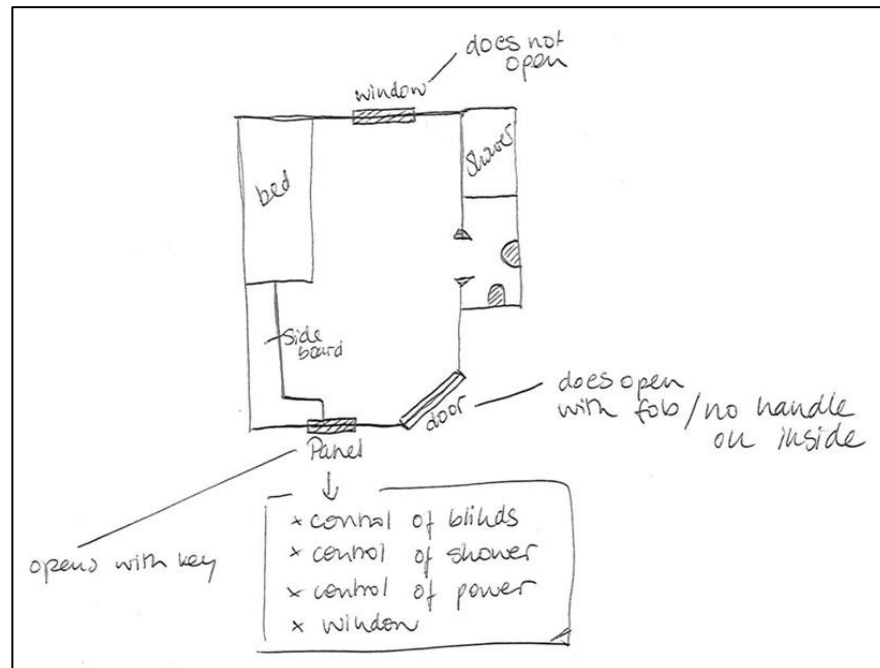


**Figure 17: Outline of the Quiet Room (SC field notes 03/14)**

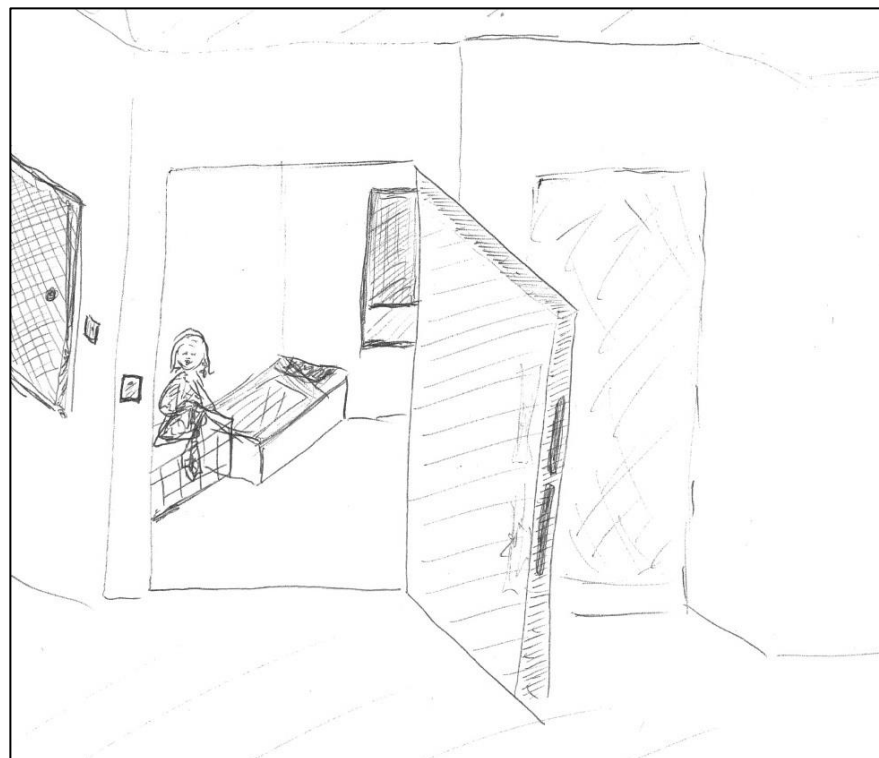
There are two corridors that lead to bedrooms: 'I think having it more open rather than having narrow corridors (...) and they're all decorated kind of soft, kind of paint and wallpaper, (...) it's a softened approach' (Rupert, SCr). The corridors have many locked doors on all sides. Every bedroom has a control panel for staff for visual and physical access to the room, since all panels and doors can only be opened with a fob from the corridor. The corridor is overlooked by cameras from both sides, and the only natural light comes in from a small glass panel in the door leading to the common room; it is mainly lit by electric lights from the ceiling. Despite a purposely designed 'softness', the corridors display the units' physical closedness to a maximum degree: these mundane thoroughfares are manifestations of control and panoptic surveillance that show the power of purpose-built architecture. The missing natural light accentuates what is more subtly integrated into the main living area: the all-encompassing control and full observation that the institution exercises on the detainee.

The bedroom is a ligature-free space with a built-in bed and sideboard, a window that cannot be opened, a bathroom without a door (usually the door is shut away but it can on occasion be locked by staff), and opposite the bed the panel in the wall from which staff can look in. The bathroom set-up is similarly bare, with a showerhead attached to the ceiling, a built in toilet without toilet seat and a sink minus appliances that could be ripped off or damaged easily. The door is big and solid and has no handle on the inside, like the window. If risk assessed, the young people can get a TV with extra short cables for ligature prevention.





**Figure 18: Bedroom Plan View (SC field notes 03/14)**



**Figure 19: Bedroom seen from corridor (SC field notes 03/14)**

### ***Organising Time in Daily Routines***

A repetitive daily rhythm is an important structural component in the management of populations in confined space. Both security and care depend on an effective daily schedule. It also means that team work is made easier and the general unpredictability of the work environment can be lessened:

You don't know what you're coming into. You don't know how your day's going to pan out, (...) it could be a certain situation, a certain mood, or even maybe a disclosure which takes up your time because then you're chasing social work or whatever. So certain things can take you off your track. (Laura, SCr)

This involves dealing with new arrivals, departures, moving people around the unit, providing regular meals, dealing with incidents, facilitating visits, programmes, education and recreation and constantly assessing the current atmosphere in the unit to detect and avert 'trouble' as early as possible. For staff, regular training, staff meetings and case-team meetings also make up regular routines. These routines provide a 'safety net' of predictability and structure when dealing with 'impulsive' young people. New arrivals are part of this daily rhythm: when coming into the unit, young people are often brought in by police or other secure transport services. A team of staff members await and start processing the new arrival:

They'll get a search and then we will go through the admissions process with them. That can be difficult for young people (...) they're losing (...) any contact that they have with outside, because as soon as they get in here their contacts, their phone calls, everything has to be agreed through social work, so they only have contact with people that they're allowed to. So their whole control is taken away immediately. So that can be a big struggle, understandably. (Sarah, SCr)

The young people are required to give away all their belongings and clothes apart from the ones they are wearing. Everything is checked and assessed, which means that there is normally only contact to approved family members – which is also potentially supervised.<sup>208</sup> Access to fresh air and exercise are scheduled for certain times of the day and free movement is not possible. Basically, most decisions, actions and social interaction are now subject to risk assessments and scrutiny. These encompassing characteristics of the institution are enforced through schedules and systematic rules – mirroring Goffman's description of a rational plan that manages an 'enforced collective' and more broadly mortification of the self.

Usually young people arriving for the first time are sent to a sub-unit that specialises in admission to 'get them into the way of the unit' (Sarah, SCr). These assessments involve background information, education, mental health, dietary requirements and much more (see above on data). The initial processing<sup>209</sup> that allows staff to start their work aims at preparing young people for opening up to building relationships:

Some young people come in and they have very little issues at the beginning [but] it's [still] a shock to their system to be in (...). There's other young people who will kick against it and that could go on for a week or two. But this is where your relationship

---

<sup>208</sup> Some belongings are reintroduced after a risk-assessment, but most of their usual habits are suspended for the time of their stay. Smoking is not possible inside the secure unit and, while variable eating habits can be accommodated to a degree, there is a meal plan, there are no hot drinks allowed and a take-away is a treat, subject to good behaviour.

<sup>209</sup> 'The function of [this sub unit] is to assess every young person's needs using a holistic approach. The assessment is formulated (...) to identify the necessary interventions to address areas of need to enable the young person to achieve their goals. [This sub unit] receives almost all admissions and is responsible for allocating and managing individual outcome databases within the first six weeks of admission. These databases incorporate broad and specific outcomes which are gender specific to allow for appropriate interventions to be tailored to meet each young person's needs and risks' (SC field notes 06/14).

building comes in (...) the relationship's the strongest thing you've got in here in relation to being able to get in and make that in-road. (...) Obviously from the start you're talking about safety issues. And right away your main job is to keep these young people (...) stabilised. (...) So it's about keeping them alive, even, just for the first few days, before we can even do anything. (Lara, SCm)

In addition to the constant assessment of individual young people, there is a constant assessment of the group dynamics that informs how staff control the sub-units. There are observations shared in regular, informal staff conversations, but also practical assessments about the group kept on a notice board in the office, with memos like 'No hot drinks at all for any young people' (SC field notes 05/14, emphasis in original). These instructions extend to individual young people with entries like 'constant obs', 'no clothing in room, remove cardigans' or 'no hot drinks, NO ELECTRICS IN ROOM' (Ibid, emphasis in original). A lot of the assessments done by staff are not recorded, but result in instant action. While staff adapt their daily practice, most of the day is structured systematically into time modules. A working day at the secure unit is divided into early shift, mid shift, back shift and night shift. Staff describe the daily structure that involves many individual tasks as crucial for delivering best practice. Timetables in the staff office look like this:

Morning Routine (SC field notes, 02/14)	
0745	Wake-up call for young people
0800	Further wake-up call for young people
0830	All young people to be within the unit (risk assessed individually)
0850	All young people's items returned to the office such as make-up/hairdryers/straighteners etc. and signed back into restricted items log
0900	Young people have shoes on and ready for school to phone for movement

**Table 16: Secure Care Timetable**

Each timetables routine is accompanied by many tasks, like these reminders show:

Start of Shift (SC field notes, 02/14)
Check cutlery
Check medication (sign)
Check sharps
Sign cutlery/crockery/sharps book
Sign handover book
Start communication log
Ensure recreational observation sheets are started
Complete menu
Log in time that young people are in unit on observation sheet
Ensure any restricted items given to young people are logged in/out

**Table 17: Secure Care Reminders for Shift**

Daily tasks in the unit differ depending on day of the week: some days have more of a focus on supervision and key time (structured work with young people), while others are reserved for team meetings.<sup>210</sup> The overall structure of the day, though, is always the same:

On a day that they've got education it's basically coming in, doing your safe care checks, making sure the environment is safe, there's nothing missing prior to the young people coming out into the area. Then we get the young people up (...) they'll then come out (...), and then within that time, it's reports, telephone calls to social workers, parents and any daily tasks that we need to do. And that's the same throughout the day. They come for their break and come back for their lunchtime as well. (Clara, SCr)

Lunch is collected by a staff member for the individual sub units. It is prepared by kitchen staff on site, and the table is set before young people are allowed to sit down. During lunch staff eat with the young people and they have to stay until the cutlery count is done and numbers are confirmed. Security is high for mealtimes because young people are handling potentially dangerous objects. Sharing meals and maintaining set routines serves many purposes: for staff it creates opportunities to strengthen relationships and add to the 'homely' feel of the unit. The on-going simultaneous observation and regulation of manners, eating habits, relationships and rule-abiding is yet another example of the entanglement of care and control.

Throughout the day the support of young people is paramount. If, for example, a young person struggles at school, she is taken back to the living area and staff try to stabilise the situation and help out. On some days, the phone rings continuously, disrupting the daily schedule. Staff-only meetings are scheduled regularly, discussing immanent issues like relationships among young people in the unit and how to manage them (see Appendix 9). Within this routine, managing 'risk' is a key concern for staff to keep the unit safe and limit access to potentially dangerous objects. 'Safe care checks' are a routine security measure<sup>211</sup> to ensure a low-risk surrounding for young people and staff:

What we do every morning is safe care checks. When the young people go to school we'll go into their room and do a safe care-check which means searching their room for anything that shouldn't be there. (...) It's just a case of checking everything (...). Other checks that get done in here (...) to make sure everything's where it should be. (Jim, SCr)

The built-in security measures are complemented by scheduled security checks aimed at creating a risk-free environment, anticipating and pre-empting the use of potentially dangerous objects for young people themselves (self-harm through converting everyday objects like pins, toothbrushes, rubbers or toilet paper) or towards others (by converting these objects into weapons). There is a particular tactic involved in the routine inspections that centres on 'place' and objects and people being in the 'right' place at the right time. Staff see the living spaces with trained eyes, focussing their attention on the smallest objects. This

---

<sup>210</sup> The weekend is not part of the usual routine because there is no school, and the young people spend all day in the individual units. Normally that time is used to organise the coming week, including the menu and weekly activities that can range from 'pamper night' to 'DJ-ing' and 'exercise with PE instructor'.

<sup>211</sup> See Appendix 7 for SC field notes (02/14) that describe how safe care checks are done.

security apparatus is complicated by a high inner institutional mobility. Constant movement<sup>212</sup> takes place within the unit. Different groups of staff (teachers, residential staff, management staff, cleaning staff, cooking staff, program staff) are constantly on the go, creating a continuous stream of people moving around the corridors, courtyards, common rooms. Young people are similarly moved around from their rooms to the common room, from the common room to school, from school back for lunch, back to school, back to the unit, over to the gym and so forth. In addition, visitors are moved around from the reception to one or more sub-units.<sup>213</sup> The constant stream of bodies shifting around the unit, building an elaborate network of secure care mobilities, adds to a continuous stream of in-house phone calls: a flow of information that results in the constant ringing of telephones – often two at a time in the staff office. All of these mobilities are under high surveillance.

### ***Codifying Rules and Regulations: the Unit Regime***

The unit regime differs minimally across the secure sub-units, but overall the rules and regulations apply in the same way, with staff managing consequences and activities similarly. Staff and young people alike talk about the strictness of the institution and how effectively it is run – which is mainly mentioned by staff as a positive feature of secure care. There are large numbers of rules and regulations regarding the care of young people held in a secure facility. The protection and safekeeping of ‘care subjects’ is controlled by external agencies (through inspections) as well as in-house systems of control. Teamwork is often mentioned as being paramount to providing structured care in this environment:

There are always rules and routines in place for them which they need. They need the structure and boundaries; a lot of them probably won’t have had anything like this ever in their lives which does prove difficult at times because they try, just like any normal teenagers, and resist any rules or boundaries you put in place. But they’ll constantly push boundaries, (...) but eventually you would hope, they would benefit from it at the end of the day and I think a lot of young people don’t want to leave here. (...) because they have the consistency, they have people caring about them and looking after them, basically. And they do like the structure. (Linda, SCr)

Staff and young people are all subject to rules, but while staff are learning and applying them in a teamwork context, the young people are constantly reminded individually of what they are not supposed to do (see Figure 20). The rules for young people are a measure of governing behaviour that directly impacts on the experience and production of closed space. This form of control adds an extra layer to the spatial complexities in confined environments. The structured space of the unit’s regime corresponds with their set goals of care. There are structures like planned observations that regulate it:

Before they get up we’ll do either five minute observations, fifteen minute observations; there’s randoms and there’s constants. Constants would be if there is any

---

<sup>212</sup> A different form of daily routine is the organisation of young people’s mobility which is subject to the availability of staff to take risk-assessed young people out of the unit to experience the outside world – a venture carefully planned and prepared to prevent absconding or other harm.

<sup>213</sup> These visitors have many different aims: to visit a family member, to run a program, provide counselling or supervision, to do research, perform an inspection, give social work or legal support and more.

risk or if they have said that they're going to suicide or use ligatures. That would probably be constant observations, and that involves a member of staff either sitting (...) with them or observing through their panel. Five minute obs is if they have been on call through the night and we keep them on five minutes. Random is if they're maybe moving on, they've had a settled night after being unsettled, then we would move them onto randoms. And fifteen minute checks is compulsory throughout the whole centre. (Jack, SCr)

These observations are put in place to prevent self-harm. This surveillance of young people in their rooms is a measure which place the individual under a particular 'gaze': the invasion of privacy is more pronounced in the space of the bedroom where young people sleep, wash, dress or use the toilet. There are many other checks and regulations exercised by staff like cutlery counts at meal times, safe care (as described above) or checking medication.<sup>214</sup> Most of these checks have to be signed and documented and staff cannot go off shift without

**Extract of rules (SC, field notes, 03/14)**

- Only one YP in corridor at any one time
- No shoes in common room
- No hot drinks allowed
- Not allowed for YP to sit next to each other closely
- Not allowed to touch other YP
- Not allowed to swear
- Not allowed to put feet up on the chairs
- Not allowed to talk about personal circumstances to other YP
- Not allowed to stare out of the window 'get away from the window'/look into office window

completing the task and accompanying paperwork.<sup>215</sup> Under the premise of 'care', justifications for control' stem from the view that inconsistency is seen as causing young people to 'act out' or 'kick off' (Julia, SCr). The rigidity and boundaries on moving around the physical space, as well as on navigating the social environment create an atmosphere of certainty where 'they come in and they know 'right, this is what's happening. I can't just lie on the couch' (Rachel, SCr).

The rules and regulations governing young people's behaviour and conduct extend to constant and all-encompassing structures of their

**Figure 20: Secure Care Extract of Rules**

everyday lives. This concerns what they do, how they do it, where they do it and who they do it with at any hour of the day: 'So it's quite regimented, almost, the structure' (Julia, SCr). Under the pretext of care, these environments run on immediate regulation of actions that do not fit into the unit's regime. Under the pretext of security, care and control become the same thing – it is considered a security measure to know the detainees and their state of mind. Reminding again of Goffman's and Foucault's descriptions of the constitution of closed institutions, permanent surveillance and documentation are central features of the unit's regime. The consequences of trespassing these rules and regulations are administered immediately, but, staff can find themselves in challenging situations when trying to deal with trouble in the unit as the regimes do not remove staff's potential vulnerability.<sup>216</sup>

<sup>214</sup> See Appendix 8 for description of medication checklist.

<sup>215</sup> In this form of data production, many checklists contain reminders relating to paperwork like 'filing', 'signing' and 'record dispensing'.

<sup>216</sup> See Goffman's detailed descriptions of the staff's dilemma regarding the involvement cycle and the fluid nature of power which becomes really apparent when staff have to deal with threatening situations when suddenly young detainees seemingly attain/exercise power. According to staff, good relationships to young people in the unit allow

Managing/preventing vulnerability is a continuous task for staff. ‘Trouble’ is a general description for things not going as they should, from minor issues with misbehaving to assaults or self-harm. Young people also continually deal with troubling situations (see Chapter 7), which in turn can lead to trouble for staff: dealing with an institutional state of exception is no rarity.<sup>217</sup> Staff receive training in order to be able to respond to crises appropriately and to support other staff:

‘We get training. (...) We have self-harm training, we have training on trauma which looks at different behaviours. (...) Suicide prevention that highlights different issues that you might come across, but there’s always a lot of support, even if it’s not the staff team, the middle managers and duty officers that are around. (...) There’s been a few times, if you’re punched square in the face (...) to being really seriously assaulted (...) [but] there’s no alternative, you just need to get on with it. (Julia, SCr)

The repercussions of dealing with incidents are not only felt by the staff and young people directly involved, but include general repercussions for everyone in the unit. The aftermath of an incident is strictly regulated: there is paperwork to be completed, one-on-one contact with the young person(s) involved and supervision by senior staff.<sup>218</sup> For young people, the aftermath of an incident might involve consequences. This could be an early bed (nine o’clock) if they do not manage their daily routine or an early power cut in their room. Generally, consequences enrol the relevant spatial context: misbehaving in the courtyard means a courtyard ban, misbehaving at mealtimes means eating alone in your room. ‘If they’re really not managing their behaviour in the group, they’re making threats, they’ll end up being in a structured support plan which is going to spend a structured period within their room (...) until staff can monitor their interactions and see if they’re able to re-join the group fully’ (Linda, SCr).

All situations are risk-assessed and amended constantly with the aim of reducing staff’s and young people’s vulnerability. Adjusting consequences and responding to behavioural changes is nonetheless not straightforward. For example, one of the young people is causing problems at school to do with one of the other units and staff are discussing appropriate consequences at a meeting:

- ‘Banned from recreation
- Lights and power off early
- Discussing how effective it is because they so far haven’t seen a change in behaviour
- Same young person is peeing on carpet (as reported by cleaning staff) and they are discussing what could be done’ (SC field notes 02/14).

---

them to manage incidents when young people are aware that staff are stretched: ‘we did talk about how some of them have hinted that “I could cause something right now because you’re here by yourself” but, generally, they don’t push it because they know you’re on your own’ (Ibid). Relationships are considered the main aid that gets staff through difficult situations.

<sup>217</sup> Relating loosely to Agamben’s term of ‘exception’ here (see Chapter 3).

<sup>218</sup> ‘If there’s a serious incident, any form of serious incident that could involve your pit being activated, (...) then you complete a serious incident form which is just basically going through exactly what was done, what happened, why it happened and then you include a life-space interview that you do with the young person. They’re not always ready to do it with you straightaway, but at whatever point you’re able to get it you sit down with them and chat to them and find out what their point of view was, what happened, what they could do next time to avoid it, and then you’ll have a debriefing with middle management; so the duty officer, whoever was involved. So they sit and go through a debrief with you’ (Ruth, SCr).

Dealing with trouble in the unit appropriately and achieving wanted effects is a complicated task. This underlying structure involves many different aspects; some focussed in-house, some in collaboration with outside agencies like social work. The regime is the backbone of the unit's organisation, and is mixed with the material spaces that it moulds, shaping the management of the population and the institution's inner workings. As all life spheres for the young people take place in the same closed environment,<sup>219</sup> the regime and daily routines reflect a stringent approach to make this management possible.

### ***Connectivity – on Closed yet Semi-permeable Institutions***

Secure care does not function separately from outside services or mainstream society: there remain professional connections to services like mental health or support groups; close links to social work; connections to the wider secure estate and prison service; links through visits or phone calls; and, at a later stage the young person's re-introduction into the outside world through 'mobility' and release. This semi-permeability is part of the closed institution which strictly controls access.<sup>220</sup> With a wider focus, the mobility of objects is also part of this connectivity – supplies like food, clothes, education material, even at times illicit drugs – are moved around the closed unit. People also come and go: professionals, visitors, staff, inspectors, researchers and more. But rather than viewing this as a juxtaposition to or falsification<sup>221</sup> of 'the closed institution', it would be beneficial to see it as a main characteristic in that most if not all - movement is solely happening on the institution's terms.

Links with the social work sector are possibly the strongest: this is due to dependency on approval by social workers, constant communication with them, as well as their presence in visiting young people. While young people's views on social work are mixed (see Chapter 7), staff generally report good connections: 'I would say that it works well. The majority of times it's fine and there's good communication as well and we seem to be singing from the same hymn sheet which really is beneficial for the young people because we need to be consistent' (Laura, SCr). Social work is involved in any decision that has an impact on the young people with weekly updates: 'ultimately whatever social work will say, we need to go on their guidance' (Julia, SCr). There can be reservations when it comes to decision making that goes against their recommendation.<sup>222</sup> There are a number of other services that come into the unit to offer pre-release help with transition like *Up-2-Us*. These groups are usually identified prior to starting contact with the young people and participate in planning meetings. They increase the unit's connectivity to the outside, while at the same time offering an additional link to life outside for individual young people. Like any other

<sup>219</sup> Mobility is an exception to this, but it is usually part of the 'later stages' of modularised time spent in secure care.

<sup>220</sup> In connection with Goffman's take on the semi-permeable nature of closed institutions – they are not completely sealed off from wider society, but organised around what he terms 'moral closure' which means severe barriers to communication with the outside and 'free' decision making for detainees. This also means a restricted social mobility between staff and young people (see more detail in Chapter 7).

<sup>221</sup> See Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 on more details regarding critiques of Goffman's 'total' institution under the presumption that he envisaged them as total ('totally set apart') and therefore over-stressing 'totality'.

<sup>222</sup> Some mention that decisions are too often based on monetary rather than preventative arguments, for example when it comes to negotiating transition packages for young people leaving secure care.



decision, access is negotiated on an individual basis by social work and the secure unit. Overall, then, secure care is opening up to outside agencies as long as they work with its essential guidelines and regime. The ‘disciplinary’ elements are thus carried ‘out’ of the closed environment and adopted (at least partly) by community-based organisations (see Chapter 8).

Any communication with people who are not part of the institution is censored in that staff in connection with social work devise a contact list for every individual young person. Phone calls and visits are also subject to risk assessment in relation to being supervised: initially, all are supervised and, depending on the contact person, they can change the status to ‘un-supervised’. Visits are usually for an hour and the person has to phone and book it in advance. That visits are ‘welcome’ but also ‘closely monitored’ (Laura, SCr) encapsulates the nature of most connections and interaction with the outside world. While exchange is encouraged, it is a privilege rather than a right, thus underlining institutions’ moral closure.

In distinction to prior expectations, communication within the secure care estate in Scotland is scarce. According to staff, in the past secure network meetings were held, which ‘seemed to fall by the wayside’ (Lisa, SCw). There is some connection in relation to both training and wider policy networks that feature representatives from different secure units (like the Government Champion Groups) but contracts are said to stand in the way of a more connected approach.<sup>223</sup> The competitive nature of secure care as a business seems to prevent extensive links, standing in the way of united efforts to research improve, or challenge current practice. Similarly, direct involvement with other ‘closed’ institutions, like prison or closed psychiatric units, is not straightforward. There is some mobility of detainees from secure care to both prison and closed psychiatric facilities, but the usual path leads to release into the community before they might be sent to another institution, making ‘tracking’ difficult. There is a strong connection to more general CAMHS and FCAMHS services in the area maintained by the secure unit’s health staff. More generally, however, the mental health response to adolescents is seen as ‘a bit disorganised’ and ‘inconsistent’ (Maurette, SCp):

The mental health system is less well tied together in the young people’s services because there’s a reluctance to be declarative about young people being ill. (...) To diagnose is something that you don’t want to do. So there’s a bit of a stand-offishness, if you like, with the mental health services. And I think that extends to the reluctance to establish beds. (...) And I think that we’re reluctant, it seems to me, to label young people as ill or as having emerging personality difficulties or attachment problems. But we’re very quick to label them as being dangerous. So it seems to me that that’s unreasonable. And yet when they become adults there’s a quick admission that they’ve got mental health problems. Also equally difficult to get people a bed, but they’re very quick to prescribe and very quick to offer treatment. So it seems that policies change

---

<sup>223</sup> ‘(...) it’s almost put a wedge between them all and everybody’s quite... [solitary] (...). It’s almost like “that’s ours, you’re not getting it.” So because of the contracts it’s pushed people apart but they do link in with quite a lot of things. (...) There’s no doubt, there is room for some of the secure units to pull together and say “right, let’s just get a service and here’s what people do and everybody does the same thing” it would be nice to think that would be a case and nobody’s competing against each other and people could equally place them wherever’ (Michael, SCm).

overnight, within seconds, because it changes from when you're seventeen to eighteen, you know, the policy changes completely. And we don't have any joined-up thinking.

A similar dilemma with regards to age (particularly 16-18 years) persists with admission to the prison system in Scotland. There is an acknowledgement that young people move from secure care to the prison service directly and indirectly.<sup>224</sup> The only link between this unit and the female prison estate relates to young people visiting their parents. There is recognition among staff that age-related transfer to prison impacts on young people's rehabilitation.<sup>225</sup> Staff certainly point towards a connection between secure care and prison when it comes to young people's attitudes (prison as a career) and levels of institutionalisation: 'It is worrying that they seem to think that this is what their life's going to be. They're always going to be the secure girls or the prison gang and they can't break away from that' (David, SCr). So, even if the secure unit and prison are not directly connected through projects or staff communication, there is an important link in some of the young people's 'pathways' (see Chapter 8). The aspiration that some young people voice to go on to prison is, according to Linda (SCr), connected to the structure within closed institutions, something that they sometimes even want to regain as it evokes safety.

The transition of young people back out into the community is a complicated act which is not always linear. Some move to on-site semi-open or open units,<sup>226</sup> while others show such challenging or harming behaviour that they are secured again. On many occasions staff mention what effect secure has over time:

So everybody here has the best interest of the young people at heart, although the young people on admission won't see that. But they do work round to it, and the number of young people that do not want to leave never ceases to amaze me. It's the safest nurturing environment they've known in their lives, and [that] they really don't want to move on from an environment that they're locked in, is scary, but humbling as well; it's nice to know that the staff are there and delivering that kind of care. (David, SCm)

It is common that some young people stay in touch after their release (see Chapter 8). The unit offers a transitional package with some form of on-going support that is dependent on the decision of the social work/local authority team. The transition period exposes many of the underlying problems with secure care. Young people who have lived in a controlled and secure environment, one that has taken away their freedom and responsibility, are suddenly re-exposed to the wider world which facilitated their getting secured in the first place. Nonetheless, transition and 'getting out' is a sort of 'reality check' for young people, their

---

<sup>224</sup> There is a clear information flow between the prison service and the secure estate, including a project with Polmont YOI. This connection to projects in the prison service currently only exists with the male young offender institutions, focussing on male offending whereas there are currently no connections to female YOIs.

<sup>225</sup> 'There is a concern because we can have a young person who is sent to us as an alternative to being sent to prison, because they have been sentenced. But as soon as they reach eighteen years of age, irrespective of how well they're doing here then they get transferred to a mainstream prison which I think has a negative effect upon their outcomes' (Theo, SCe).

<sup>226</sup> The young people are eased into managing the outside world gradually through practising 'mobility'. First, they would be taken for a walk in the grounds with two members of staff to see how they manage and risk-assess them again. Subsequently, they would be taken out in the car or to the nearby community, all building up in stages with continual assessments: Again, underlining that all institutional practices are focused on extensive surveillance of state of mind – even towards the end of the stay in open/semi-open units.

achievements and level of rehabilitation. Despite the other features of connectivity that might ease transition, release provides a sudden change from a state of high – almost total – security and all-encompassing care and control, to an often less-caring and un-controlled life ‘outside’.

## **6.2 Prison**

The prison<sup>227</sup> is clearly visible on approach with a high perimeter fence all-around, the lower part shielded to prevent people from looking in. The site is clearly marked as a detention facility and does not hide from view – it presents as a busy hub with a constant stream of staff, visitors and outside agencies driving into the car park and walking to/from the entrance. Prisoners are moved in with a Reliance van that has to pass through a big double gate. These vans are a common sight around the prison, while prisoners themselves cannot be seen so easily. The prison is divided into blocks that house different types of prisoners: the main one described here is the block housing young female offenders.

Once inside, every prison area is on the same level of security which is normally stated at reception as ‘high alert’. All of the prisoners spend their time in the same environment: eating, sleeping, and working – cut off from the outside by the high fence. Prisoners work as cleaners, kitchen staff, pantry workers and in various workshops like the hairdresser’s, while prison staff are mainly responsible for security. Other on-site staff include health and mental health professionals, administration staff and managers, among others. Life in prison is governed by strict regimes to keep the prison population secure with the help of surveillance, searches and ongoing documentation. Doors to blocks are generally locked – most of the prison operating with a lock and key system, and the opening and locking up of prisoner’s rooms follow a strict routine. The prison presents as a closed environment with heavy, clunky doors and big keys that create an audible and visible securityscape.

### ***Population Management and Carceral Rationalisation***

Managing prison populations involves translating government policies for a ‘safer’ Scotland into the context of closed environments, which includes preparing the prison population for institutional life, a constant collection of block narratives and other data for prisoner’s files, and upholding order and security in acceptable living conditions. These structures, a strict regime of lock-ups and work, provide the backbone of institutional management, even though prisoners themselves still run many parts of the prison from cleaning and cooking. The prison is part of the SPS,<sup>228</sup> an agency that delivers objectives and policies of the Scottish Government with the main aim to protect the public and reduce re-offending. Under the premise of ‘Unlocking Potential’, the maintenance of secure custody is paramount – meaning

---

<sup>227</sup> The prison described as the main field site is in the following referred to as prison A, whereas other prisons that are described by prisoners or staff are labelled prison B and prison C (see Chapter 7 and following).

<sup>228</sup> The SPS is a ‘public service-led delivery agency (...) legally required to deliver custodial and rehabilitation services for those sent to it by the courts’ (SPS 2014).

safe and ordered prisons that provide ‘decent standards of care’ and ‘opportunities for prisoners to develop in a way that helps them reintegrate into the community on release’ (Ibid). The SPS has a specific strategy to address young offenders, in which it states to prepare the young person for a positive future ‘by providing in a safe and secure learning environment, experiences which will build their knowledge, skills and employability and promote their successful reintegration to their communities and desistance from offending’ (SPS 2014: 3). There is also a specific SPS strategy for women with components adopted to provide a different approach for dealing with women, including frameworks for dealing with mental health issues using ‘a trauma-informed approach’ (William, PRm).

In the individual institution, these overarching aims have to be put into practice on each level of the professional hierarchy. The governor’s role is to ensure that the prison is functioning legally within relevant guidelines and is also working towards the overall strategy for Scotland. The individual prisons have to deliver a ‘service level agreement’ with key performance targets,<sup>229</sup> the latter being one of the main management tools in running the prison. In the individual blocks, though, the aims of the institution are a lot more practical:

On a daily basis we are responsible for making sure the hall’s secure and basically maintaining good order, that the prisoners aren’t fighting or anything like that, and that their cells and everything are secure and making sure that they run to a routine. Just really about good behaviours and things like that, and trying to teach them right from wrong, really. It’s mostly about routine and security. (Haley, PRr)

On the ground level of individual blocks, the management of the prison population resembles Goffman’s description of the split between a large number of managed people and a smaller supervisory group. The element of ‘care’ is not paramount, in relation to institutional aims, other than in ‘caring’ for baseline needs. The organisation of the institution’s ‘rationality’ is furthered by documentation: in prison, data is constantly collected about the incidents occurring in the everyday life of prisoners. Prisoners’ files contain general information about their conviction and paperwork that they have completed on different matters, from TV license agreements to clothing lists and programmes in which they take part. Depending on the sentence length, and whether this is their first stay in prison, a prisoner’s file may contain only a few pages. The admission details of the ‘Core Screen’ (PR field notes 03/14) collect general information and specific issues like substance misuse or housing problems (see Appendix 10).

Prisoners are categorised into serving less than 30 days, more than 30 days, long term imprisonment and subject to post-release supervision.<sup>230</sup> The files provide details like national insurance number, index offence, sentence length, statutory supervision/monitoring, first time in custody, and outstanding charges, warrants or fines. Under ‘responsivity issues’,

---

<sup>229</sup> ‘In relation to providing purposeful activity for the women, it’s in relation to the number of assaults, the number of escapes, the number serious and minor assaults, as well as the number of learning hours through education, the number of participation and outcomes in relation to prisoner programs and other interventions, as well as budgetary management, control, staff training levels, the achievement of certification for the women here, and a number of other things’ (William, PRm).

<sup>230</sup> Corresponding with Foucault’s description of the modulation of time spent in institutions as one of the main features of inner organisation and hierarchisation of detainees (see Chapter 3).

prisoners have to give details about potential disability, practising their religion, cultural background, and potential problems with other prisoners.<sup>231</sup> In the process the prisoner has responsibility for supplying key information. The first sheet in the file always records all the vital information about the prisoner, her prisoner number (a main identifier for many prison processes), her sentence, her location within the prison, and her picture, including basic height measurement (PR field notes 09/14). There is a set admission procedure for prisoners coming in after they have passed through the reception process (see Appendix 11). This includes introduction to communication devices like phones (see Appendix 12) and taking responsibility for the cell's condition (PR, field notes, 09/14; see Appendix 13).

The data collected and produced during the stay of a prisoner is used to document important issues of concern, referrals to relevant services and individual problems (block narratives: see below). In most cases the files are indeed general and not all forms are filled in fully. Again, mirroring Goffman's references to initial 'coding' and 'trimming' (see also Chapter 7), data collection at the start of the sentence is part of the transition from 'person' to 'prisoner'.<sup>232</sup> Staff in the blocks have to manage part of that:

There is paperwork we've got to do for our side of things, to make sure everything's running smoothly. Admin-wise for the prisoners, probably just make sure they get paid on time, you know, for them to go out and work, things like that. What else? (...) if they misbehave, (...) there's paperwork we can do for putting them on report or there's different things like the UBR, which is Unacceptable Behaviour Reports. (Haley, PRr)

Other staff mention paperwork that comes with incentives and privileges in terms of managing upgrades or downgrades of prisoners' status (basic, standard, enhanced).<sup>233</sup> Staff write at least weekly narrative reports on each prisoner to track good and bad behaviour. All prisoners are categorised into the supervision system through allocation of a security level. The initial security allocation form is completed by a risk management team and is reviewed every six months to a year (PR, field notes, 09/14; see Appendix 14). The outcome of the supervision level is important for a prisoner's development in prison as it affects their hall status (basic, standard, enhanced) and consideration of home detention curfew (tagging) and early release.

During this first week, prisoners have to fill in a standard clothing sheet to log any personal items brought in and any items received from the prison. The prisoner may ask people outside to bring in extra clothing for them if they keep to the limitations set out below (PR,

---

<sup>231</sup> Under 'social care needs', they can answer questions about housing, benefits and finance, family contact during prison and on release, resettlement supports, employment, learning and skills, substance misuse, offending related behaviour.

<sup>232</sup> Other forms that may be kept in the prisoner's file could be firearm restriction (signed), laundry disclaimer (signed), in-cell TV contract (signed), ICM consent form (signed) and evaluations for individual programmes. Other data kept might involve the prisoner's personal pay (PPC) or information on their position of work and potential qualifications achieved while in prison.

<sup>233</sup> 'Basically you can be basic, standard, or enhanced. Everyone comes in at standard. After six weeks it gets reviewed and, if their behaviour and the narratives and everything has been good, they get put up to enhanced. It entitles them, they can spend more money on the shop and they can get more visits and things like that. It's a little bit of an incentive to try to get them to behave. On the other hand, if they don't behave, you can downgrade them to basic, [and] they get less money, less visits, and they can't wear like their own clothes and things like that.' (Alice, PRr).

field notes 09/14; see Appendix 15).<sup>234</sup> The prisoner has to show initiative to organise their own ‘settling in’, like getting hold of private clothes. The blocks are run with an incentive and privilege scheme which records ‘strikes’ if an incident occurs that needs to be kept in the prisoner’s file. Depending on the severity of rule transgression, the prisoner will get a warning, a strike (three strikes = a status downgrade), or an instant downgrade of their hall status which comes with denied privileges (see below). Mirroring Goffman’s analysis of an incentive and punishment system, this procedure fulfils closely restrictive forms of institutional social control. If, in the process, the prisoner wishes to raise a formal complaint, she has to fill in a general complaint form.<sup>235</sup> The formalised process of raising grievances is rather technical and provides challenges in practice (see Chapter 7).

Staff keep records of what is happening in the block using hand-written block narratives that are later added to the prisoner’s files. Any consequences, challenges and worries about individual prisoners are recorded, involving a prisoner’s immediate behaviour such as violence towards staff or rule-breaking, but also staff attempts to solve more mundane practical problems facing a prisoner in their home life (such as what happens to a pet while they are in prison). The following four examples (Figures 21-24) – all anonymised – provide an insight into what block narratives<sup>236</sup> look like and how they reveal part of everyday life on the block. The block narratives hence give an insight into both prison life and the immanent regulation of behaviour, disclosing rule-breaking set against a system of inspection and consequences – all smoothed by a constant gaze upon, and permanent documentation of incarcerated populations deemed dangerous and/or in need of care. There is awareness among the prisoners of what data is collected as most documents have to be signed.

---

<sup>234</sup> Again, refer to Goffman’s description of initialisation and Foucault’s references to meticulous regulation and supervision of smallest fragments of life (like size of earrings) (Chapter 3, Chapter 7).

<sup>235</sup> To take the complaint further the prisoner can also hand in a confidential complaint (accessed only by the governor), a complaint to the ombudsman or a confidential racial incident report (CRIR). Complaints to the NHS have to be filed and submitted separately.

<sup>236</sup> Explanations of terminology: Rec= suspension of recreation for 7 days; PPC= suspension of pay for 7 days; TV= removal of TV for 7 days; Suspended= suspension from upgrades of prisoner status; Rule 95: given to maintain good order or discipline and ensuring the safety of other persons. Removal from association with others; Rule 98: temporary confinement in room or cell when acting in disobedient or disorderly manner (PR field notes 08/2014)

Emily	
04/04/14	Placed on report for fighting (7rec, 7PPC, 7TV, suspended for one month)
05/04/14	Placed on report – abusive to officer
06/04/14	Orderly room: plead – not guilty; found – guilty = 7rec, 7TV to above suspended punishment
07/04/14	Placed on report for being abusive towards Shannon. Emily's attitude later on was uncalled for when I asked her about the whereabouts of hairdryer. She denied having it, yet I then witnessed her trying to hide it.
10/05/14	Emily has settled in well since her admission. Attending gym most days
11/05/14	Emily became abusive towards staff when asked then ordered to hand her bedding out. When warned about her language she became aggressive. I then went to lock her in on a rule 95 and Emily tried to grab the bedding from me. I ordered her to stop and she tried to punch me. Emily is now on report and rule 98
07/07/14	Emily has started to mix with the more unruly elements of the hall. She has started always needing to do something when being locked in cell. However she remains polite when dealing with staff.
08/07/14	Emily is mixing with a bad crowd and her attitude towards staff is getting worse. I overheard Emily and Dianna slagging me off whilst they were locked up. Emily stated: 'Aye those fucking staff – we need to sort them'
19/07/14	Emily on report for abusive behavior

**Figure 21: Block Narrative Emily**

Jaime	
10/06/13	Very non-compliant. Refusing to be searched
11/06/13	Had shower. Communication better – seen by nurse
12/06/13	Eaten lunch but refused her other meals- has stayed in her bed all day not wanting to mix with others- she has been seen by nurse.
13/06/13	Took outside exercise. Sat in court area and mixed well. Refused dinner. Continues to be slow to change into anti-ligature clothing.
14/06/13	She stayed in Cathy's room at lock-up and started to refuse to come out. Both had make-shift weapons. C agreed to come out. Jaime came first and was starting to be non-compliant with stripping to begin with and then did it. Attempted to hide laces in top but took them off her.
17/06/13	After dinner she refused to put her anti-ligature clothing on. She had to be restrained and after that she was banging head on the floor. During search a knife was recovered from her person
18/06/13	Orderly room charge (conceals a knife); Plea: guilty, Found: guilty

**Figure 22: Block Narrative Jaime**



Tamara	
23/11/13	Tamara had to be removed to separation cell this morning after kicking off at staff. She refused to go to her room and did not like the answer to a question she had asked an officer, placed on report.
24/11/13	Orderly room; plead: guilty, Found: guilty (7 Rec, 7 PPC, 7 TV, 9 wages)
25/11/13	Placed on report for swearing at officer
5/12/13	Appeared in the orderly room under charge 4, plead: guilty, found: guilty, Punishment: 7 Rec, 7 PPC, 7 TV
07/12/13	Tamara was told by officer to change her legwear as the sparkly white leggings she was wearing were in-appropriate. She refused to remove them thus was placed on Rule 98
15/12/13	Tamara has been shouting out the window most of the day. Has apparently shouted abuse at the nurse. Her attitude has been bad all evening, took in all meals.
16/12/13	Refused both a shower and exercise. Ate all her meals.
18/12/13	T. was spoken to by staff regarding her state of undress and to be clothes when wishing to speak to staff. Standing in knickers or just towel is unacceptable.
19/12/13	T. refused shower and exercise, ate all meals, little miss attitude.
20/12/13	Removed from rule 95. To return to normal protocol.
21/12/13	T. is liberated 3 days from now, behaviour is still questionable at times. Is at present discussing her future with any number of staff who will listen

**Figure 23: Block Narrative Tamara**

Kara	
25/08/13	Admission to Mental Health Block, housed over-night due to late admission, rules and regulations explained
26/08/13	Kara is worried about her cat which is still at her house. I contacted council and was told the council wouldn't deal with cats. Was given her housing officer's details and the SSPCA number; explained situation, K. would be in for four weeks. Would like cat back. Later: phoned back after staff break and was told I would get call back from SSPCA. I did get call back and was told if they are taking the cat usually the person has to give up ownership. Explained K. did not want to do this and I passed on name of 2 people she would be happy for cat to be with. SSPCA said that they would have to contact the council. Stated I had passed on Kara's housing officer for the area. SSPCA said they would contact the council tomorrow but ousted we contact our in-house social work as it is usually SW who deal with this. Waiting for call back.
29/08/13	Seen in orderly room –more than 3 people in a room, plead: guilty; awarded caution
30/08/13	K. has settled into the block albeit that she is a bit needy. She is always pleasant enough but could be quite easily led.
31/08/13	K. was a non-return from court yesterday.

**Figure 24: Block Narrative Kara**



To maintain order in the hall and around the prison, staff are trained in providing ‘an appropriate, proportionate, effective and as safe as possible response to managing difficult, confrontational and threatening situations’ (SPS 2012: 1).<sup>237</sup> The use of force is an option in challenging situations, legally authorised in rule 91. The use of force is supposedly only an option when all other means are exhausted or deemed unlikely to succeed.<sup>238</sup> De-escalation must be considered at the earliest possibility. While violent incidents do occur, the strategic use of block regimes and careful decision-making often prevent violence. The management of different groups of prisoners is nonetheless complicated:

And one day they could be totally fighting and wanting to punch each other to death and then the next day they’re best friends again, but you’ve already done paperwork to say they absolutely hate each other and need separating. Then you have to go through all the rigmarole of saying “Oh no, they’ve actually made up.” They tend to do that, the YOs, they tend to just fall out and make up within the same day. (Alice, PRr)

Security management has its own geography, including ‘making room’, and mandatory searches procedures (PYOI, article 10 (92)) such as strip searches, searches of the cells and communal areas and searches of property. Searches can also be carried out on visitors or other officers.<sup>239</sup> Control and security are major concerns, and the management of populations in a closed environment is a complicated task involving many different, at times conflicting, aims and challenges. Keeping the balance between control and (basic) ‘decent’ care involves restricting, and guiding, but also building a relationship with the prisoners. While prison puts more emphasis on ‘order’ and ‘security’ compared to secure care, there also seems to be a less detailed documentation of prisoners’ state of mind or body (when not regarding security). ‘Care’ here is simply the ‘offering’ of meals, showers, exercise (which are recorded in files if not followed up). ‘Care’ and ‘control’ still merge in the normalising advice that prisoners receive as part of everyday block management (see narratives); overall, the balance between care and control, here in prison, leans more towards the latter than the former.

### *Spaces of Order and Security*

The internal spaces of the prison reveal much about the general regime. However, not all prison buildings work as part of a purpose-built ‘orderly’ environment and, indeed, sometimes act against the need for control and security. Generally, women’s detention facilities differ from the ‘typical’ image of a prison: ‘there’s less custodial need in the women’s estate, so you’ll see the estate here doesn’t have a lot of high fences or concrete walls; there’s a lot of space, there’s a lot of freedom. Women are a reduced threat, or risk of

---

<sup>237</sup> The Prisons and Young Offenders Institutions (Scotland) Rules [PYOI] 2011: 51.

<sup>238</sup> ‘An officer may only use force against a prisoner when it is necessary to do so taking into account all of the circumstances’ (SPS 2012: 2): in self-defence from an attack, for example, to prevent crimes or in cases of serious breaches of discipline. The training of officers includes among others: personal protection training, control and restraints, baton, plastic cuffs, use of body belt, method of entry (rams and wedges) (SPS 2012).

<sup>239</sup> Other security measures include: compulsory testing for drugs (article 10(93)) and alcohol (article 10 (94)); prisoner’s removal from association; the use of restraints or temporary confinement in a special cell (PYOI 2011). See Appendix 15 for details on how searches are to be conducted.

escaping’ (William, PRm). Even if this prison space is seen as a ‘reduced’ securityscape, however, it is quite obviously secured through a high fence and locked doors. The lock and key system, sometimes inter-changed with an electronic buzzer/camera door control, is an obvious system of spatial control and surveillance. The security measures are visible and audible: clunky doors, rattling keys, big CCTV cameras sliding security gates (metal bars called ‘grilles’) that are closed when halls are locked up. The interior is divided into corridors with cells on either side, a communal wash area, kitchen and common room, as well as staff office.<sup>240</sup> In block B the colours are brighter, but the corridors are still quite dark, with natural light only coming in through the rooms (if doors are open). The interior looks bare, minimalistic and ‘matter of fact’. This is a practical environment, with the management of prisoners uppermost in mind. All rooms are fitted with barred windows, but the windows do open, allowing air to come in. All living spaces create a sense of solid and secure environments that are obviously used intensively.

There are two receptions in the prison: one is for staff and visitors, and the other one is for in-coming prisoners. The visitor’s reception can be accessed via a buzzer: the heavy door has a doorknob that can be turned once the control room has authorised access.<sup>241</sup> The other reception is only accessible from the inside. Prisoners usually come into the prison in Reliance vans and are then checked in at this reception where belongings such as phone, money, and jewellery are kept. There are rooms for searches and one room for the body scanner, which is called the BOSS chair: ‘around the corner is the room where they are scanned and checked ‘if they have put anything up themselves’ in terms of weapons or drugs. It is a chair that basically scans them all the way through’ (PR field notes 02/14).<sup>242</sup>

The prison consists of different blocks and halls separated by prisoner groups (remand, convicted, long-term, young offenders). All areas of the prison have locked doors and barred windows, but the design is almost unobtrusive – the bars on the window painted in a light colour to fade into the background. There are no handles on most doors. The outside areas are well kept and constantly worked on by prisoners. An agency visitor describes the prison like this:

Well, it is clinky, it is big slamming doors, the ones with those big metal handles with keys. It is very [like] old hospitals, their walls are solid. Not like normal house walls, they are like solid. That is what everything in the prison is like. Now, they don’t have furniture that is normal, their furniture is old and built to the wall and screwed to the wall in metal or wooden and scored. I think they really tried recently (...) to make it [nicer] in the young offender’s block. (...), but it is so superficial. (...) It is not a nice environment for the girls. It is a scary environment. (Cindy, TfCw)

Ringling the bell on the door to the block, one of the staff appears to open up. In the corridor connecting the entrance door to the hall is a phone that can be used by the prisoners. There

<sup>240</sup> While the research was undertaken, the young offenders were moved from a block that had not yet been refurbished (block A) to another one that had been done up just recently (block B).

<sup>241</sup> Inside there is a staffed desk, a scanner to check belongings that are taken into prison and a metal detector. Lockers are provided to leave phones or other forbidden items. The door to the management block is again secured by the control room, and to get into the inner outdoor area another similar air-locked door has to be passed.

<sup>242</sup> Once through the admission process, the prisoner is then escorted to the block and assigned a cell (see below).

are notice boards with information and instructions on the wall, and walking into the hall the first room is the staff office. The room has a glass door and large window to be able to overlook the hall. There are several cells down the corridor and a washing area with showers and toilets.<sup>243</sup> To the other side lies the common room doubling as the dining room, with a barred window to an area beyond the prison and the fence. There is a round table and stools attached to it, an ironing board, a couple of stained sofas, a TV with DVD player and a locked cupboard which holds all sorts of arts and craft items for the drop-in service twice a week. There is a hatch to the kitchen from which food is served at mealtimes. The place has a dark feel to it, even though most rooms, including the corridor, have windows. It is clearly an environment that is practical rather than comfortable. There are no items like pictures or cushions that might create a sense of homeliness. There is an outside area that can be used for recreation and fresh air.

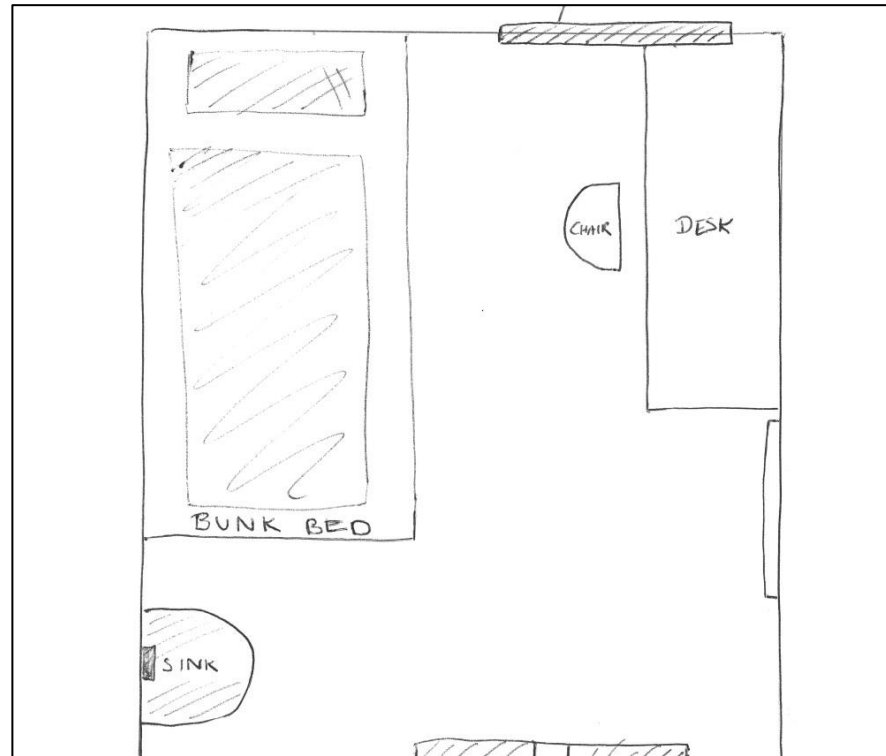
The door to a cell<sup>244</sup> is weighty with a little window to allow staff to look in.<sup>245</sup> The inside of the cell consists of a bunk metal bed, a sink, a small desk and a chair. Under ‘normal’ circumstances prisoners have access to a small TV in their cell. There is a barred window in the cell which does open to allow in fresh air. There are a couple of shelves on the wall, often filled with shampoo bottles and other cosmetics, and there is some space for pictures. There is a panel near the bed which allows prisoners to speak to a member of staff in the control room in case of an emergency or when needing the toilet at night after lock-up. There are a couple of baskets under the bed for clothes and a drawer to keep letters or other belongings. A normal cell is small. All cells are made to be shared, but, depending on how many prisoners are resident, they can be single-occupied. Despite some personalisation, the cell is no personal space – the prisoner normally moves around different cells in the course of their prison stay and it can be invaded at any point in time. In addition, to planned surveillance and number checks, staff have the right to check a prisoner and cell at any point, or make decisions about the prisoner’s physical whereabouts.

---

<sup>243</sup> ‘The bathroom area has toilets with doors and supplies like pads and they look all clean and tidy. The doors don’t close properly (spaces at the top and bottom) and are therefore not very private. There is a shower with lots of bath and shower gels and one room with a bathtub. There is one hairdryer and they can borrow a straightener’ (PR field notes 05/14).

<sup>244</sup> Comparing notes about another prison which used to house young female offenders for a while, staff say: ‘It [prison B] works very well. It’s a lot brighter. Single cell accommodation. You had your own sanitation, you had toilets, shower in your cell, whereas here it’s communal. So that’s a big thing. Added to that, once the door is locked, secure, there’s peace of mind there as well that nobody’s chapping your door, that sort of thing (...) Lot fresher, lot bigger. More room for manoeuvring. They had gymnasiums in each flat. So a lot of things like that just add to the better atmosphere, everything’ (John, PRm).

<sup>245</sup> ‘The doors are (...) not easy to move, I can almost lean against the open door and it won’t move. Caitlin [prisoner] shows me some other rooms through the eyehole which feels comparatively old-fashioned to look through (you have to push a metal plate up before you can get to the little window) and then you can see the whole room’ (PR field notes 05/14).



**Figure 25: Sketch of Cell Plan View (PR field notes 08/14)**



**Figure 26: Sketch of Cell from Corridor (PR field notes 08/14)**

The architectural basis of the prison significantly influences working and living conditions. For prisoners, this is particularly true for the cells as they spend a lot of time locked up in them (see Chapter 7). There are no ligature-free separation cells in residential blocks, so,

depending on the cause of separation, prisoners are either taken to the mental health block (block C) or into isolation (block D: the so-called ‘back cells’). Being transferred to block C means separation from the mainstream prison, but not isolation because everyone can still mix together in the hall. The so-called ‘back-cells’ are separation cells with 23-hour confinement and complete isolation from other prisoners. They are also designed as a ligature-free environment deployed to separate the ‘unruly elements’ in the hall, maybe as punishment after an assault or other challenging behaviour.<sup>246</sup> Not just in isolation cells, but throughout security is designed into the buildings, but it does not always work as intended and unexpected security dilemmas can occur:

One of our main problems is that a lot of the doors between the units, they’re pinned back (...) and if anything happens (...) there was a scenario at the weekend where a member of staff was assaulted, the member who was left in unit one was oblivious (...) because you can’t hear or see anything. So it’s not great for safety, to be honest, for prisoners or staff to be fair, because they could be getting a doing around the corner. (Alice, PRr)

Working the internal spaces of the prison, depending on its design, can be a struggle. The space itself reveals much about the general prison regime: in the struggle for control and security, internal spaces can be productive and useful or, as in the case above, risky and unpredictable. The securityscape within a prison extends beyond the common solid features of fences and locked doors, maybe including ‘nooks and crannies’ that are difficult for staff to observe. What works well for staff might of course be experienced quite differently in the everyday experiences of prisoners (see Chapter 7). Overall, the architectural features of the prison correspond with Goffman’s and Foucault’s descriptions of ‘austere’ and ‘total’ spaces in that they provide (mostly) surveilled and regulated spatial assemblages, tightly controlled by the institution with regards to access and interaction.

### ***Timetabling ‘Order’ in the Block***

The daily routine within prison is vital to uphold both control and care standards. For staff, the daily schedule provides predictability within a work environment that deals with ‘difficult’ or ‘unmanageable’ young offenders. For residential staff, the day is separated into early or back shift.<sup>247</sup> Within those times, daily routine means managing new arrivals, people leaving, organising court visits, moving people around within the hall and between different blocks of the prison, facilitating visits, education and work and organising meal times. It also

<sup>246</sup> Their design changed recently after continuous complaints from the prison inspectorate. The new cells have a bigger window, a higher bed, a sink and separated toilet, and generally look brighter and less bleak. These cells are not just used as a punishment but also to keep people safe when there is a high suicide risk: they are ligature free and all interiors are solid and do not move. One of the prisoners describes it like this: ‘There’s nothing in it at all, basically. It’s just a bed and a sink (...) you’re in there constant. And they’re not allowed to talk to you or anything like that. It’s segregation, nobody talks or anything like that. (...) You eat in your room, sleep in your room, do the toilet in your room (...) it’s intense’ (PR, Isla).

<sup>247</sup> ‘Basically, we deal with the young offenders on a daily basis, either an early shift, backshift. Basically just taking care of them, making sure they get fed, put them out to work, obviously watch for them carrying on. Any carry on obviously gets knocked on the head quite quick, because typical YO behaviour is [that] it starts off as a carry on and then it turns into a real fight, so we try and stop it as quick as we can. (...) Any questions they ask us, we follow up things for them’ (Stevie, PRr). A very physical sense of ‘care’ is apparent here, not so much relational – or, if relational, then with the aim of ‘corrective training’.

means a constant assessment of the atmosphere in the hall and attendant management of people's questions, problems and concerns.

The journey to the prison forms part of the prison experience. In the routine of prison transport, there is a lot of waiting involved – waiting to be picked up, waiting on the road, outside the court or at the prison gate for the first check-up (see Chapter 7). When these vans drop prisoners off, they are admitted to the reception area to be searched and registered:

They come in (...), go through the reception process, that's where they're basically located into the prison, that's them into the estate, effectively. From there, they'll go to [their block]. (...) They'll be seen by a nurse and they go through the ACT process (...) that's suicide prevention. (...) They go through the reception and induction, and that's just a questionnaire. From there they get taken to [their block]. They're appointed a personal officer, that's a member of staff that's in the hall. And the personal officer will take them through a series of questions explaining everything about the first night in custody. (John, PRm)

To 'locate prisoners into the prison' involves many different steps when they first arrive. If they have just come from a court appointment, they are searched and go back to the block. The initial process, however, involves a thorough search of the prisoner's person and belongings.<sup>248</sup> What quickly becomes apparent is that the 'normal' status quo is a privilege rather than a right. If prisoners misbehave, there are consequences that impact on their daily routine. All this is introduced in the induction process. There is a clear sense here of a corrective intervention and not just a 'locking up', underlining Foucault's and Goffman's findings. The typical day in prison is strictly structured (see Table 18). A day usually starts with a numbers check in, when staff must ensure that they see the person's face and get a response from all prisoners in the cell. People who appear to be asleep will be woken up.

Prisoner Routines - Monday to Thursday <sup>249</sup> (PR, field notes, 04/14)	
07.45 to 08.00	Hall is opened after the hall numbers check has been carried out
08.00 to 08.15	Breakfast – requests – reporting sick – supervised medications
08.40 to 11.30	Route movement for all working prisoners to their work parties or induction/programmes
11.45 to 12.00	All prisoners return to the hall for number's check
12.10 to 12.25	Lunch
12.30 to 13.30	Exercise/recreation time outside
13.45 to 16.45	Route movement for all prisoners to their work parties or induction/programmes
17.00	All prisoners return to hall for a number's check. All prisoners to own cells.
17.10 to 17.25	Evening meal
17.30 to 18.30	Lock-up and staff's meal break

<sup>248</sup> As mentioned above: prisoners have to put belongings into storage that they are not allowed in prison (see list in Appendix 14). This involves communication devices, money, most jewellery and clothing. Prison clothing is administered, while prisoners are seen by one of the prison nurses to assess their health needs, potential medication and mental health status.

<sup>249</sup> See Appendix 16 for Friday and weekend routines.

18.30 to 20.30	Recreation
21.00	Lock up

**Table 18: Prison Routine**

This general routine is extended for young offenders because they are deemed ‘in need’ of more care and guidance from the staff members:

It’s custody and care of prisoners. (...) So we come in in the morning and we do a numbers check, because obviously security is one of the main things for our job. (...) Then it’s out and breakfast. Make sure they’re up and dressed, that they keep themselves to a good standard and keep their rooms to a good standard, their personal hygiene’s okay, that they attend work when they’re supposed to attend work and try and encourage them to take on some maybe new things that they’ve never tried before. (...) So, as well as doing the custody thing, you’re trying to encourage them to change the way they’ve been thinking before. (Emma, PRr)

Interaction with prisoners and building a relationship with them is part of the job, but the main element of daily routines revolves around procedural security. ‘Care’, as outlined above, looks like a form of corrective control with the aim of rehabilitation or ‘normalisation’. Encouragement for change is integrated into the daily schedule through looking after basic needs. Care and control thus intertwine to become the same ‘tool’ in daily practice.

Staff manage prisoner’s relationships as part of their daily routine, which involves dealing with sexual relationships, friendships and their failings. It is an inherently spatial practice because it involves managing cell changes as prisoners are separated when a relationship/friendship is struggling:

It’s terrible. And I think the YOs are worst for it because they see it as company, (...) and someone to actually love them and want to be with them (...) they bed-hop their friends; and, as soon as one goes, they’ve got somebody else. And there are lassies that have never looked at women on the outside in their lives and all of a sudden ‘gay’ in here and (...) it is bizarre. It’s not healthy for the YOs, though. You tend to find with the YOs that’s what causes a majority of the moods (...). So that is quite hard to manage with the YOs to be honest. (Alice, PRr)

This spatial exercise (physically moving prisoners around cells) and the daily routine of ‘relationship’ management needs to be flexible to account for the fluidity of individual relationships (as well as general likes and dislikes). It becomes part of the daily routine because of its high impact on life in the block: failing relationships mean ‘trouble’ and subsequently the need for staff involvement and disciplining. The quote above, though, reveals another level of staff involvement in that judgment and moral reasoning are introduced, spilling over into how the young women are ‘seen’, dealt with and advised.<sup>250</sup>

<sup>250</sup> While relationships are not ‘officially’ sanctioned, there is room for manoeuvre in splitting people into different rooms or separating into different halls/blocks in case there is misbehaviour. The corrective control exercised by staff is decisive in the development of relationships, since they take action as soon as there is a negative effect through moods or arguments. Staff are also consulted for their opinion by the young women.

Part of the basic daily routine is to manage people's moves to different cells due to newcomers, people leaving or other incidents.<sup>251</sup> Inner mobility is indeed part of prison life.<sup>252</sup> Prisoners are moved around different blocks (when changing from young offenders to adults at the age of 21) as well as out of the prison for court appointments, inter-prison visits or hospital appointments. Much mobility also occurs within each block. Prisoners move from cell to cell while they are opened up. At lock-up, prisoners quickly have to move to their own cell, which then restricts mobility to pacing the confined space of the cell. There is, however, mobility after the lock-up and 'after dark' as prisoners are allowed out of their cell to use the toilet.

The locking-up and unlocking procedure is *the* central part in the daily routine for staff and prisoners, covering the first and last tasks performed in the working day. Prison life revolves around this security procedure, and the day is separated into chunks in between lock-ups.<sup>253</sup> The lock-up generally follows the same routine. Staff shout at the top of their voice 'Get to your rooms, it's lock up!' and then they go round every door, locking it with their set of keys:

They look through the hatch and then when that is done they go round again and lock the doors again (not just check that they are locked but actually using the key again) and looking through the hatch again and then closing the grille and locking that before they go back to the office to confirm the numbers and then wait for the numbers to be confirmed before they can lock the office and go on break (PR field notes 06/14)

This procedure has its very own soundscape: officers shouting, keys dangling, doors closing, prisoners quickly exchanging last words and asking officers questions to prolong the process, the sound of keys turning in the lock, hatches being pulled aside to check the room, another round of checking that doors are actually locked, and closing the grille gate which is squeaking loudly and rumbles into position before it is locked as well. Then there is the sudden silence where before there had been incessant activity and chatter – only interrupted by giving out a radio message for confirming numbers. Suddenly the birds outside can be heard again, soon after the office door is locked and the door to the outside is unlocked and locked as staff leave.

### ***Meticulous Regulation in a Block Regime***

The prison regime is based on a long catalogue of rules and regulations. These regulations govern how prisoners should behave, their rights and duties, and how privileges,

---

<sup>251</sup> 'The staff does a lot of the general movements within the hall (...) this morning there were about three or four different room moves that we were doing on the back of incidents that have happened during the week, the incident last night' (Geraldine, PRm).

<sup>252</sup> One of the most obvious and structured parts of prison mobility is the scheduled 'route' of bigger groups of prisoners to/from their work places. The route is a big security operation in which civilians (visitors, health staff) are not allowed to move. There are prison guards on every corner and at strategic points along the route, and bigger groups of prisoners are moved – managed by radio notices – one after the other to their work in the central block.

<sup>253</sup> 'If there's an early shift, coming in, unlocking, and dealing with anything that's happened the night before, getting them up for their breakfast, getting them to work, and dealing with any issues they might have. After their lunch they get outside exercise for an hour and then they come back. If they don't want outside exercise, they get locked in and then we get the work parties ready. So anybody who's not at work gets locked in until the cleaning is done. Then it starts again; it's feeding, they have something to eat and then it's lock-in, staff break, then they get out for recreation, medication, and that sort of thing. And then lock-up at like nine o'clock' (Jennifer, PRr).



consequences and general life in the blocks are managed. The control of socio-spatial matters is intimately linked with the effectiveness of the security regime and the level of care. It can be shaken by changing dynamics in the hall/block or by moving prisoners around to different locations. Some staff mention that their attention is often taken up by the more difficult prisoners, which means that the better behaved ones are neglected (Alice, PRr). Maintaining the block regime means creating a balance between measures of control and care, and some staff struggle with practice and outcomes:

It's an interesting place because you're trying to balance (pause) I do believe that we hold people humanely and I don't think we should go back to the good old days, you know, just behind their cell. But I think it's this balance of how much fun they do find it. It's very hard with the YOs (...) you don't want them to love it here. (...) It's changing their perceptions (...). They think it's great and they come in and they have their holiday romances and (...) I mean you need a deterrent as well; they need to think "No, I'm not coming back there, it's horrible." But they don't! (...) And so it's finding that balance somehow. (Aileen, PRr)

The prison space, according to Aileen, then, is not prison-like enough, not severe enough and not emphasising control sufficiently over care – all in the light of successful rehabilitation and preventing return. This reveals the inherent paradoxes of disciplinary power that lie at the very heart of these institutions' opacity. Meticulous regulation and prison rules are utilised to create more 'structure', explained to prisoners as 'necessary to keep us safe, to keep control, to keep order and to keep others safe' (PR field notes 05/14). The PYOI 2011 regulate all areas of prison life for staff and prisoners.<sup>254</sup> The standard of accommodation is clarified as a room of adequate size and fitted with means of communication with an officer (hatch, electronic communication system).<sup>255</sup> The prison rules state that the governor must establish a system of privileges which takes account of the different categories of prisoners and/or prisoners detained in specific parts of the prison (PYOI 2011: 32). The rules organise prisoners' correspondence, stating that prisoners may send or receive letters or packages but have no right to send or receive electronic communications (Ibid, 35). According to prison rules, a prisoner is entitled to the use of a telephone (under conditions) but an officer may refuse to allow a prisoner to have the use of a telephone or restrict it (Ibid, 39).<sup>256</sup>

The prisoner can receive personal cash from outside and add to it by working. Money can be spent on shopping in prison (toiletries, arts and crafts, tobacco) and on phone credit or

---

<sup>254</sup> It specifies that every prisoner may be categorised according to age, gender, offence, period of sentence, previous criminal record, and/or any other matter which the governor considers appropriate (Ibid, 17).

<sup>255</sup> Each cell has to have access to natural or artificial light, heating and ventilation and it must be furnished in a way that complies with health and safety regulations (Ibid, 24). Prisoners have the duty to keep their cell in a clean and tidy condition. This extends to what is put on the walls: 'Posters within cells should not cause offence or be obscene in nature – posters can only be displayed in the area on the wall designated for this use' (PR, field notes, 05/14).

<sup>256</sup> As mentioned above, all incoming mail has its contents checked. Normally this is done in the presence of the prisoner by a unit officer, apart for legal mail which has to be opened by the prisoner in the presence of the officer (PR field notes 07/14; see Appendix 17). Also, all telephone calls are logged automatically, which means they are either listened to or recorded. Prisoners are therefore reminded to arrange for lawyers to visit them in person or write to them to keep matters confidential (PR field notes 07/14).

stamps with weekly limit of £20 to spend. The daily wages differ depending on a prisoner's situation:

Prisoner's wages (PR, field notes, 05/14)		
	Daily wage in £ (work day)	Weekly wage in £
Cell wage	0.96	4.80
Awaiting work activity	1.08	5.40
Medically unfit	1.08	5.40
Work parties	Between 1.08 and 2.4	Between 5.40 and 12.00

**Table 19: Prisoner Pay**

Prison work is a requirement and not a privilege (Ibid, 48), and prisoners are paid weekly, with their pay dependent on their level of qualification that can be obtained in the prison (specialist cleaning certificates or hairdressing certificates). Failure to attend work results in a reduction of wages (as in case of illness) and repeated failure to attend work means no payment at all (PR field notes 08/14). The prison establishment and the governor are required to provide a range of 'purposeful activities' for prisoners, including exercise, work or education (Ibid, 48).

The rules concerning security issues are often quoted in the day-to-day practice of the block. Prisoners getting a 'Rule 95' or a 'Rule 98' is common jargon. Rule 92 states how a search has to be conducted (see Appendix 16).<sup>257</sup> Rules 95 to 98 are used as security measures to oil the block regime, to maintain order, and protect prisoners' interests and safety (Ibid, 54ff.):

Overview of rules		
<b>Rule 95</b>	Removal from association	Subject to paragraph (2), the Governor may order in writing that a prisoner must be removed from association with other prisoners, either generally or to prevent participation in a prescribed activity or activities.
<b>Rule 96</b>	The use of restraints	(1) In this rule, "restraint" means a body belt; (2) The Governor may order that a prisoner be placed under a restraint where it appears to the Governor that it is necessary to do so in order to restrain a prisoner who:  (a) threatens to injure, or is in the course of injuring, himself or herself or other persons; (b) threatens to damage, or is in the course of damaging, property; or (c) threatens to create, or is in the course of creating, a disturbance.
<b>Rule 97</b>	Temporary confinement in a special cell	1) The Governor may order the temporary confinement in a special cell of any prisoner who is behaving in a threatening, abusive or violent manner.

<sup>257</sup> In one of the induction booklets, this rule is translated as: 'you will be liable to random strip searches at any time at the discretion of staff. Your cell will be searched on a regular basis. You will also be subject to rub-down searches/metal detector when moving to and from the hall (PR field notes 07/14).

<b>Rule 98</b>	Temporary confinement in a cell or room	(1) Subject to paragraph (2) an officer may order a prisoner to be temporarily confined in a cell or room, other than a special cell, at a time when other prisoners detained in the same part of the prison, or, as the case may be, prisoners at the prison in general, are permitted to be in association.
----------------	---	---

**Table 20: Prison Rules Extract**

In the case of a ‘breach of discipline’ (see Appendix 19 for definition), a punishment system is in place that may be imposed upon a prisoner who is found guilty. Punishments, in effect corrective controls (see Appendix 20), are used singularly and in combination (Ibid, 68). The prison rules contain rules for prisoners, staff and visitors. The selection addressed in this section only covers a small portion of the rules in place, selected for their importance in the everyday life in the block and understanding how the prison machinery works in managing populations. Other rules are conveyed to prisoners throughout the block on notice boards or induction leaflets.

The rules and regulations are the backbone in the management of populations behind bars and much of the daily routine involves implementation of these rules, as well as the occasional bending of regulations – sometimes consciously by prison staff as a privilege, sometimes covertly by prisoners (see Chapter 7). This system is part of the incentives and privileges system that is in place to manage prisoners’ behaviour.<sup>258</sup> Although it is called an incentive and privilege system, there is room for young offenders to be given privileges or *consequences* when they come in as ‘standard’. This system is well structured in the sense that it is clear what privileges/consequences come with each stage, it being the role of the residential staff to manage it and make sure everyone has access to no more than they are allowed at their stage. In case prisoners are upgraded or downgraded, the hall manager makes the decision and reviews the reports that justify it. While the system is well suited to the everyday occurrences in the hall, it is not used in more severe cases.<sup>259</sup> Negotiating more severe situations, maybe involving bodily harm of the prisoners to themselves or others, often requires measures other than the withdrawal of privileges. One measure is the so called ‘orderly room’:

We have the orderly room. That’s just like outside, if you do something wrong, the police can charge you; well, the officers here can charge. (...) They’re then seen the following morning by the adjudicator, normally the hall governor, and we read the charge out, we get a plea from them. If it’s guilty then we just process as normal. If it’s not guilty, then we have to investigate it further. And that goes from the officer’s evidence, any camera stuff, and we also listen to the individual as well and get their side of things. And (...) then a reasoned decision [is made] on the information given. (John, PRm)

<sup>258</sup> The privilege system is intertwined with the prisoners’ status (basic, standard, enhanced) coming with more/less ‘comforts’: ‘So, because we’ve got that scheme in place, a lot of the bad behaviour is dealt with within that. It is something called UBR; it’s an unsatisfactory behaviour report. So basically, where an adult would probably get put on report they tend to get a UBR, so it kind of affects their incentives and privilege level, so I think that’s why most of it is dealt with in house. It’s got to be something quite serious for them to then go to [segregation] and be dealt with outwith’ (Alice, PRr).

<sup>259</sup> The privilege system echoes Goffman’s description of the encompassing levels of control and systematic rule (regulations, judgments, constant sanctioning interaction). See Chapter 3 for his more in-depth description of institutional privilege system.

Staff are trained in ‘control and restraints’, but all staff underline that it is a last resort when working with young offenders. Staff ‘give a lot of latitude to young offenders. There is a line where if they cross that line (pause) you need to have that discipline. But there’s an understanding that their lifestyle is chaotic’ (Ibid). There are some issues, however, that are not easy to detect such as ‘bullying’. Staff report that it is mainly going on when staff are out, for example at night time.<sup>260</sup> It is difficult for staff to manage this behaviour, an undercurrent in hall life, because there is little evidence. There are several instances in the field diary describing prisoners’ reports on it. Staff call it mental bullying; they mention name-calling or putting sanitary products on people’s doors at night. Staff find it difficult to manage because it is not always clear who is perpetrator and who is victim. Prisoners rarely report on other prisoners, so that some measures affect the whole hall/block like banning communal eating in the dining room or banning mixing prisoners from ‘upstairs and downstairs’. Negotiating ‘trouble’ and dealing with it according to the rules, but also taking into account the young offenders’ age (16-21) is a complex task.

### ***Semi-Permeability and Connectivity Beyond the Prison Walls***

The prison’s connectivity is one of its defining features. Its link to the surrounding community is manifested through staff, visitors and volunteers coming and going. Nonetheless, the prison is a closed environment; people and objects entering and leaving do not soften its boundaries, but instead reinforce them through presenting the outside world as just ‘out of reach’ or within reach only on particular conditions. Different agencies enter the prison to do regular recreational activities or to visit individual prisoners as part of their transition and/or through care service.<sup>261</sup> The drop-in service is the only regular weekly agency work in the block:

The drop-ins are just based on traditional drop-ins that you would have in the community where young people come along, spend time together, just socialise and chat and read magazines, have conversations, do drawings, arts and crafts, watching TV, listening to music. (...) It’s not fully a drop-in because the young people need to be booked in, they can’t just wander around the prison. (Nadine, PRp)

It is not easy for outside agencies to fit into the prison regime that organises where prisoners are at any point in time. Young people under 21 are not considered an essential part of the work parties, so they can be excused to attend the drop-in or other services. These drop-ins are essential as a link to the outside world as they provide prisoners with magazines, they can make gifts for people outside like birthday cards for their partners or children, and they have the opportunity to ask project workers questions in a different social environment. Similarly, education classes are open to longer term prisoners, but availability depends on

---

<sup>260</sup> ‘A lot of the bullying goes on at night when there are no staff here, by way of mental manipulation like shouting. Obviously shouting through the windows, one starts and a lot of them follow. It depends what gang they’re in. They fall out and fall back in with each other as quick as. (...) You can see it goes on, the bullying (...) It’s not very noticeable but you know it goes on, but it’s like really underhand’ (Jennifer, PRr).

<sup>261</sup> There are only a handful of programmes that are run within and outwith the prison to support young offenders. There is the Shine Women’s Mentoring service which works with longer term prisoners upon release (Shine 2015), there is Barnardos’s drop-in service and Plan B, and there is Up-2-Us’s Time for Change project (see Chapter 5).

the individual prison facilities. Like the drop-in services, education provides a different social environment that enables attendees to connect to the outside world through discussions with teachers and exposure to readings.

There is no direct connection between the prison and other closed institutions like secure care, but indirectly through the prisoners' own pathways and through the stories they/their case files tell, prison staff do report a link. Staff think that:

The majority of them [YOs] have been through secure and they all know each other through secure and they tend to be the worst ones, to be honest. We can kind of tell when someone's coming that they've been in secure just because of their mannerisms and how they behave. (Alice, PRr)

Staff recognise young people who come from secure care units because they are used to a certain type of institution which is different to the prison. Young people receive a lot of attention in secure care which they then also seek from prison staff, while another characteristic is their attitude connected to feeling like they 'know' institutions.<sup>262</sup> Staff in prison relate to the secure unit as an entity that makes their working life more complicated when dealing with young people who arrive from this source. They recount young offenders being initially shocked by the 'real life', 'tough' response to misbehaviour (Emma, PRr). It is important, therefore, to factor secure care in as a connecting entity to the young women's journeys (see Chapter 8). Similarly, connections with mental health services need to be considered. The context of prisoners and available mental health services is vexed,<sup>263</sup> however, and links to mental health services outside are not generally easy and straightforward. The spectrum of mental illnesses that need treatment in prison is broad, and it is not easy for prison staff to provide the right support in a carceral environment. Often, however, there is a lack of alternatives: 'I think it works reasonably well, but there is a lot of role conflict as well between being the person who's imposing the discipline as well as having the caring side' (Kimberly, PRh). Providing 'care' in custodial environments, then, is a particular challenge – emphasising the complicated nature of balancing care and control. The role conflict (mentioned by Goffman on staff involvement cycle) emerges as a key institutional paradox. The connections to community-based mental health services after

---

<sup>262</sup> 'They definitely walk in with the swagger and the attitude, they're big and tough and they know how to do it all. (...) They've been used to striking staff members for years in secure units and not having any of that done to them, so it's a big learning curve for them' (Aileen, PRr).

<sup>263</sup> 'There's more women with more acute mental health problems than there are, proportionally, in the male estate. In 2012 this prison committed seven women under the Mental Health Act, had to section them under the mental health act to medium-secure facilities in Scotland, basically women who shouldn't have come into prison (...) 2013 it went to eleven, in 2014 it's already at eleven and there's still a quarter of the year to go. So there's still a number of women coming in who have acute mental health [problems] and probably shouldn't be in prison first of all. However, there are a group of prisoners, again, a core group of women, probably twenty to thirty and it fluctuates (...), who don't fit neatly into a position in society. So they have learning difficulties, learning disabilities and a range of other perhaps physical ailments and they end up in some kind of supported package or supported care in the community. Often they commit nuisance offences, emergency phone calls to hospitals numerous times, they fall out with their carer, they go break a window in the area, and by default a lot of these women come through into prison. Prison's not particularly the best environment, it's a custodial environment but it's also a care environment. Getting the balance right for those women is sometimes very difficult, especially in the early stages, where some of the women may be suffering at the acute end of their illness: (...) And they come back and forward to prison. And that is a challenge and we get them from all different spectrums. We get young women who come in who are eighteen or nineteen who have mental health illnesses, we have women who come in who are eighty-one who have physical and it's more (...) Alzheimer's and dementia type as well' (William, PRm).

release for prisoners is also not provided in the current system; although there are links to some services, continuity is not readily available.

Leaving prison means a transition back to ‘outside’ society. However, most prisoners, especially short-term and remand prisoners, are released without any support in place.<sup>264</sup> Most staff talk about the difficulties for young offenders keeping out of because it means safety when other options break down, emphasising the ‘it is too comfortable’ reasoning:

It’s sad because they’ve got nothing out there and they feel that they’re cared for more in here. And they get fed, they get three meals a day, they’ve got a roof over their head, they know they’re safe, do you know what I mean? Nobody’s going to harm them sexually, physically (...) they’ve got a bed (...) It’s just heart-breaking sometimes now (Jennifer, PRr)

Staying out of prison is a challenge, and staff recognise that effective intervention through care is still in its infancy (John, PRm). Prison here is walking a fine line that is steered by its opposing aims of punishment and rehabilitation; the prison population reflects that with high recidivism and rates of re-offending.

### 6.3 Reviewing Institutional Constitutions

To understand the precise inner constitution of secure care and prison as closed institutions is a sizable task (see comparative institutional table below), involving having to sieve through rules, regulations and routines but only ever being able to display segments. Although the set-up of secure care and prison is in some ways quite similar, they differ when it comes to the grounded details of material spaces and practices. While control and care are more evenly balanced in secure care units, the emphasis in prison is clearly on security and order. That said, the prison seems to provide prisoners with more loopholes to regain some agency and make decisions for themselves. While the regime in secure care is based on constant surveying assessments and a nuanced web of consequences and rewards, the prison regime is based on stricter consequences and a three-tier system of status within the blocks. In both cases, the management of young people is not without its dilemmas, often connected to the balance of discipline and security while also providing care and respite. Both struggle with providing ‘humane’ environments but not creating a situation that draws detainees towards wanting to return.

The institutions are both closed in the form of physical closure and separateness from wider society, but at the same time they are both semi-permeable, allowing for a degree of connectivity. In both cases, this semi-permeability is controlled by the institution and can be almost completely withdrawn in cases of individual misbehaviour. As institutions, they are always semi-permeable, but for the individual this may not be the case. Another form of closure is what Goffman calls ‘moral closure’, which adds to the institution’s state of closure more generally. Both institutions – albeit both in different ways – resemble many of the

---

<sup>264</sup> There is support for long-term prisoners and young offenders called through care and ICM (integrated case management) which helps to organise different strands like career services, housing and benefits or education.

features that constitute Goffman's 'total institution', including rationalisation and bureaucratic organisation with clear distinctions between staff and inmates. In the case of secure units this situation can be more blurry, as staff tend to foster strong relationships based on physical (like hugging) and mental (like detailed conversations) elements. Interestingly, the blurring of boundaries seems to enhance the encompassing and controlling nature of the institution in that it can create emotional forms of dependence. Other factors like a rational plan with systematic rules and schedules, with accompanying restrictive social control (regulations, judgments, constant sanctioning interaction), form what Goffman terms 'enveloping tissue of constraint'. Both institutions have aims (interestingly exactly the same<sup>265</sup>) that provide keys to institutional meaning and help staff in their justification of their jobs. Most importantly, the underlying structure of organisation, as intimately linked to the 'closed' spatial features, fortifies the paradoxes of the institution which can be found on many different inner-institutional levels from paradoxes of disciplinary power<sup>266</sup> to contradictions between what the institution actually does to what it says it does, including micro-level paradoxes within living space such as between needs for care and security.

Exemplary selected features of 'constitution' of closed spaces		
	<i>Secure Care</i>	<i>Prison</i>
<b><i>Aims</i></b>	Main focus on YP becoming confident individuals, successful learners, responsible citizens, effective contributors	Main focus on YO becoming confident individuals, successful learners, responsible citizens, effective contributors
<b><i>Architectural features</i></b>	Very high levels of security in streamlined fashion, focus on comfort in purpose-built building that is completely locked	High levels of security in overall complex, matter-of-fact/practical living environment, design more obviously secure but creating more opportunities for agency and privacy
<b><i>Staff-YP ratio</i></b>	High staff ratio and high attachment to staff (main focus on therapeutic working)	Large number of detainees with lower numbers of staff, gaping social distance between two groups (main focus on prison as punishment)
<b><i>Barriers to communication</i></b>	Very high barriers to communication with outside (all censored/ supervised) and only with select few	Barriers to communication with outside mainly focussed on detainee's own responsibility (earning money for phone, stamps, organise visits) – institutionally set times, communication privilege not right (much reduced in isolation)
<b><i>Enforced collective</i></b>	Long periods in group, no choice in free association or movement	Detainees have to negotiate the block, work environment and staff but have more time unsupervised/un-surveilled
<b><i>Schedules/corrective training</i></b>	Extremely scheduled with set periods of education and scheduled activities in free time	Scheduled with set periods of locking and unlocking but not all day organised for prisoners – corrective training as by-

<sup>265</sup> The proclaimed aims use the exact same terminology which mirrors a lot of the wider Scottish Government language around GIRFEC and other organisational 'tools' of care, thus underlining the merging of different institutional spheres (carceral, educational, medical, care...).

<sup>266</sup> See Foucault's description of punishment being less corporeal and therefore more subtly physical (not punish less but punish better).

		product of work, education or chats with staff
<b><i>Sanctions/systems of control</i></b>	Instant sanctioning of behaviour, separation to own room in more serious cases with deprivation of 'comforts' but no deprivation of social interaction with staff – quick reintroduction into group with 'normalised' behaviour	Instant sanctioning of misbehaviour and offending behaviour with detailed set of rules and appropriate punishments with possible use of force, isolation, deprivation of all comforts including communication with staff – only gradual reintroduction of 'comforts'
<b><i>Surveillance</i></b>	High surveillance of movement, behaviour, mood, communication, progress, achievements	Surveillance of movement, communication (phone), status, misbehaviour instantly, general behaviour once a week
<b><i>Documentation</i></b>	Filing of all aspects of institutional life in individual files with constant updates	Filing of important aspects of individual circumstances, normally focussed on misbehaviour, or staff's involvement with individual's situation
<b><i>Daily routine</i></b>	Daily routine very scheduled with set times for all activities over weekly periods	Day scheduled around lock-up and unlocking with organised movement and meals, in-between scope for detainees' own organisation of activities
<b><i>Security methods</i></b>	Locked doors and windows throughout, ligature free environment, CCTV, personal observation, searches, restraints, separation, deprivation of 'comforts'	Locked doors (with periods of unlocking in block), CCTV, searches and strip-searches as routine, restraints, potential use of force, separation in isolation unit, deprivation of 'comforts', downgrading of status (and effect on release date)
<b><i>Mobility</i></b>	High mobility in the building on daily basis, moving around units in keeping with levels of progress, mobility tests before release – but in unit no movement of rooms for stability	High mobility of changing rooms, movement around the prison (supervised), mobility is restricted to own block and work (gym, library)
<b><i>Main paradoxes</i></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- High attachment to staff for elements of care but simultaneous staff act as main element of control</li> <li>- Very low responsibility/agency, but aim of making YP responsible</li> <li>- Environment artificial and highly secure while aiming to rehabilitate into world 'outside'</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Main aim of rehabilitation but difficult for detainees to engage with education etc.</li> <li>- Disjuncture of aims of institution and reality mainly being holding facility and reinforcement of 'institutional cycles'</li> <li>- Many detainees sent to prison for lack of alternative</li> </ul>
<b><i>Care/Control</i></b>	Extreme levels of care and control essentially morphing into each other and becoming indistinguishable	High levels of control [security/order] with lower levels of institutional care (including care as institutional organisation) and a lot more emphasis on detainee's initiative/responsibility in obtaining care

**Table 21: Comparison of Institutional Constitution**



Foucault's descriptions of institutional characteristics are also detectable. The stratification of status and modulation of different time segments (in moving to other units, stages of the sentence) are important management tools. Going further, the institution does assume responsibility and takes control of all aspects of the young women's lives while in detention and can therefore be called 'omni-disciplinary'.<sup>267</sup> The supervision of the smallest fragments of life, coupled with unpredictability but certainty of inspection, creates an environment that is absolutely discreet and yet indiscreet in its surveillance. Performance indicators and judgments on 'mood' or 'mental wellbeing' create a further level of compulsory visibility and a form of 'corrective training'. The immediate necessity of 'keeping people alive' provides a powerful aim and justification of this apparatus of control. The added aspect of 'punishment' then merges the carceral with medical, educational and generally wider societal discourses. This elementary connection of control and care creates constant paradoxes on the ground, while seemingly providing abstract meaning to 'closed' institutions as essential elements of state control.

There are specifically gendered and aged elements to the institutional care, control and spaces under scrutiny here. In both institutions, staff mentioned that it is considered most difficult to work with young women. Their behaviour is generally considered/labelled to be particularly emotional, erratic, extremely needy and hysterical. Combined with unreasonable and volatile character traits, many staff commented on particular difficulties of working with young women. Young women received more 'care' and 'leniency', which led at the same time to more observation of their mood, behaviour and mental state. Similarly, the spatial security regime is not as severe and is more focussed on issues like mental health and self-harm (resulting in potentially more observation). Spaces are generally designed 'more', meaning a more pleasing ('feminised') environment, with some young women even complaining about too much pink (from bedding to wall colours). This feminised approach is carried across to young women's opportunities in qualifications. The gendered and aged aspects of environment and social organisation will feature throughout the next chapter.

The institutional constitution described here adds to the theory on 'affective atmospheres' by highlighting the intricate interplay between deeply rooted and encompassing practices at work in closed institutions and distinct facets to the organisation of 'closed' space. This chapter adds to the multi-sensory conceptualisation of buildings, including attention to the specific politics behind different forms of architecture (see Kraftl 2010: Kraftl and Adey 2008), by disclosing an additional layer of affect arising through disciplinary technologies such as extensive documentation or inmate sanctioning systems. The constitution of institutional affective atmospheres captures the ambiguous nature and entangled structures of carceral life. It is the combination of disciplinary design and disciplinary practice that creates this distinctive carceral atmosphere which works on anyone who enters the institution. The 'totality' of these institutional spaces which can be understood through

---

<sup>267</sup> See here an interesting association with Foucault's point about the capitalist notion of time and individualist notion of liberty as a good that is conveyed in this structuring.

architectural features (like missing door/window handles), barriers to communication (mostly on the institution's terms) or measures of corrective training and distinct sanction, and more, adds empirical and conceptual detail to research on affective atmospheres.

By combining both Goffman's and Foucault's work, the character of closed institutional affective atmospheres becomes apparent in both the micro-detail of day-to-day institutional interactions and the wider implications for overarching securitisation and disciplinisation of certain populations beyond institutional confines (see Chapter 8). Affective atmospheres are here contributing to and part of inner paradoxes integral to the deeply entangled constructs of care and control. A 'new' generation of closed spaces, but also the global spread of particular institutional architectures and carceral practices, can raise broader – often uncomfortable and troubling – issues which reach beyond the constitution of individual institutions towards a creeping spread of disciplinary affect.

Closed space, then, is constituted of this panoply of merging technologies of care and control, creating specific affective atmospheres that 'work on' detainees (and staff). This creation of spatial and social codes in prison and secure care becomes, at the same time, the target and operational mode of power across the human and non-human entities assembled in these sites. While this chapter aimed to get behind the institution's constitution through understanding how it manages incoming populations, what aims, rules and regulations govern its practices and what day-to-day routines look like, the next chapter will fill this 'material shell' of the institution with life and consciousness. The overwhelmingly descriptive detail and uneasily claustrophobic atmosphere of this chapter sets the scene for entering the personal sphere of individual experiences.

# CHAPTER 7

## Of Meaningful Social Worlds: Individual Experiences of Confinement

As part of ‘dangerous’ populations, detainees are described by Foucault as institutional products shaped by and deeply connected to the institution that was created to separate and ‘normalise’ them. This chapter explores these inmate worlds and their individual geographies that are tied to closed spaces. Institutions are here seen as more than just material domains and regime structures, in that detainees’ experiences and underlying affective atmospheres shape symbolic and contextual spaces. The young women’s emotional responses and individual perceptions of confinement are part of what Ferrant (1997) terms ‘social spaces’, arising when groups like prisoners or staff share particular sets of meanings and have access to particular privileges and obligations. These social spaces are crucial in understanding life ‘on the inside’ because they exist as arenas of social interaction and confrontation, and subsequently symbolise places where social relations are played out.

Alongside Goffman’s conceptualisation of inmates’ ‘moral careers’ and institutional processing, this chapter engages with how young female detainees ‘settle down’ into institutional regimes that are so different from their ‘outside’ social setting. Living under constant imminent exposure and being subjected to ‘mortifying’ experiences are just some of the aspects analysed in the following section. The two spheres of institutional constitution and individual merge as the multi-layered mechanisms of control and care shape not just everyday life, but the sense of self held by each individual inmate. The implications for self (see Chapter 3) will be analysed in their mapping against the empirical data, touching on dis-assemblage of the individual through institutional regimes and subsequent modes of adaption and re-assemblage of self (see Chapter 3). In adopting a Goffmanesque terminology, the young women’s experiences are seen in context of a framework that sees inner institutional life essentially as assemblages of meaningful social worlds.

This chapter is divided into two sections: secure care and prison, mirroring the set-up of the last chapter. The main sources of empirical material for this chapter are qualitative interviews with young women in secure care and prison as well as young women interviewed ‘outside’ with experience of confinement in one or more institutions. One quote is highlighted in each section (see textboxes) to underline a main point often mentioned by several young women. The young women’s testimonies are complemented by staff interviews and extracts from field notes. The sections on secure care and prison are both subdivided into five points, aiming to analyse embodied and emotional experiences of confinement. The sub-sections loosely follow Goffman’s description of the inmate world by addressing different stages of confinement, focussing on: (1) the initialisation and first processing when entering prison or secure care; (2) relationships that are at play during a stay; (3) embodied experiences of confinement, including the detainee’s body practices with

regards to clothing, hygiene and food; (4) spatial awareness of detainees and staff in relation to how material space is connected to feelings about being locked up; and (5) agency in confinement, focussing on detainees' strategies, risk and staff perception of agency in assessments, as well as consequences/punishment for unwanted agency. This bridges to Chapter 8, which considers young women's journeys through institutions of care and control, their background stories and struggles 'on the outside', partly mirroring their experience on the 'inside'.

## **7.1 Secure Care**

As the most secure institution available to hold children and young people between the age of ten and eighteen in Scotland, secure care units accommodate a group of very 'vulnerable', 'risky' and 'problematic' adolescents. The closed environment with its strict regime of control and high levels of care in and by itself evokes strong emotional responses that are often heightened by the young people's previous situation and state of mind. Their detention in secure care is often not straightforward, but rather a rollercoaster with particularly challenging periods at the start and at the end of their stay. Young people often experience new boundaries – spatially, physically and mentally – that shape their feelings towards the institution; but at the same time relationships are forged and many new aspects to life are discovered.

### ***Getting Secured: Entry and Initial Stripping***

While the decision to send a young person into secure care is made elsewhere, most young people describe their journey as starting with their transportation to the site by police or other secure transport companies. Maggie's story explains how she ended up in secure care, representing many other young women's experiences:

I kicked off (...) and staff (...) went "Maggie, you're getting secured." And I'm like "Whit? What have I done noo?" (...) And then they [we] came up that road, I'm like "Oh, shit." And then the barriers and that, and I'm just looking up at this big massive building. (...) So I thought it was going to be the worst thing ever, but staff were saying "Aye, you'll be fine." And I'm just sitting in this wee room crying. They're like "What's your name?" and I'm like "I don't know." "What's your age?" "I don't know that either." And then they're like "No, you need to tell us or you won't be going into the unit." I'm like "Maggie." And just started shouting at them. And then they took me into another room and they're like "Right, you're getting a personal search." And I'm like "What's that?" And they're like "You take off your clothes." And I'm like "I'm no' showing you anything!" And I stood there for half an hour protesting "I'm no' taking my clothes off for you, this is against my rights. I've got nothing on me." And they're like "How do we know that?" I'm like "You don't, you just need to trust me." And they're like "Nah." (...) I done my personal search, I'm like "This is against my rights" this, that and the next thing. And I'm still protesting doon the unit corridor and then they put me in room (...) So (...) I just sat on my floor talking tae a member of staff like "I don't like this." It's scary. (SC, Maggie)

Maggie's account reveals the many uncertain emotions at play when confronted with these different levels of control, resulting in a form of powerless agency (kicking off, shouting, trying to abscond, complaining, and reasoning). While some know that they have been sent to secure care, others do not know or are unable to understand what it means: 'I didn't even know it was a secure unit. I just knew I was going somewhere (...). So I wasn't sure if it was, like, a hospital or that. 'Cause, like, I don't even know what happened after my overdose (...) I didn't even know what a secure unit was' (SC, Ava). Mapping from Goffman's concepts, entry can bring relief (from difficulties 'outside'), but more often people enter by force and experience feelings of abandonment, embitterment and anxiety. The 'trimming'

I was single separated for (...) weeks, going off my head, see the effect the legal high done to me, it was crazy. And I was in my room solid, I didnae get to see any other young people, I (...) was sleeping without a mattress at night, sleeping without quilts. Eating my dinner wi' my fingers (...) oh, [it had a] bad effect [on me]. It was just making me angry. I was getting restrained up to maybe twenty, thirty times a day, like getting safe-held, because I wasnae letting them shut the door, I wasnae gi'ing up at all (...) I wasae letting them take control of me. I hate when people decide they're going to take control. (SC, Mia)

and 'programming' comes with experiencing feelings of loss (rights, liberties, satisfactions but also social contacts and personal property) and 'mortification' (like searches). This passage from 'person' to 'inmate' comes with high levels of insecurity. Many young women describe the transport to and entrance into the unit as a form of displacement.<sup>268</sup> Mona (SC), for example, tells that the police just came and took her 'to this place where I don't

know'. In their initial reaction to admission, many of these young women resolve to action rather than lethargic acceptance.

Staff acknowledge that it can be difficult for young people to go through the admissions process and have their first introduction to how things are done in secure care (see Chapter 6). Young people do not just have to leave usual modes of communication at the gates, but certain clothes and other accessories that define them as who they are. While Annie (PR) underlines that it is scary because your freedom is taken away, Ava describes the repercussions for her image: 'It was weird, 'cause I wasn't allowed tights, and I came in tights, jeans, a crop top, hair extensions. And I wasn't allowed my hair extensions. (...) I wasn't allowed tights. I came in with a moon boot and crutches. And I wasn't allowed my crutches' (SC, Ava). This dis-assemblage of self is described by most young women in similar terms: they have to reveal a lot of personal information; their belongings are searched and they have to change clothes after a personal search; they are risk-assessed for everything 'down tae a pen' (SC, Mona) and surveilled day and night.

Feelings expressed about entering a closed institution are at times conflicted, conveying being scared and feeling numb or not feeling anything at all. Gina speaks about her tendency

<sup>268</sup> Adding to experiences of displacement, others, who have been to secure care before, talk about intentionally putting themselves at risk with the aim to be put back into secure. Nora (SC) explains that she ran away and self-harmed in order to be put back into a unit that she knew.

to dissociate from situations that scare her.<sup>269</sup> Although displaying very different reactions to their initial detention, all young women describe heightened negative emotions when entering the unit, being particularly scared about a personal search which trespasses their personal boundaries. Similarly, they report unease at leaving their belongings and personal items that are not risk-assessed. The initial period of processing gives them a feeling for what lies ahead in terms of surveillance, control of the environment and personal space, and the young detainees learn to adapt and live with constant judgment on their conduct, appearance and behaviour after the initial ‘settling in’. Adhering to new rules and giving away almost all control has wider effects, though, in that it causes ‘mortification’ followed by personal and moral reorganisation.

Even if the process of settling in is described as relatively easy, it is still a struggle. In the interviews, few young women liked to go into detail about the difficulties experienced. After spending many days in the units, an idea was gained of their struggle including reactions like ‘kicking off’ and challenging the unit’s rules and regime. Stories about settling in are complicated mosaics of diverging emotions. The initial reaction of complete opposition to the regime (what Goffman terms ‘intransigent line’) is avoided by most in light of the repercussions involved. Being positive can be a tactic: ‘I settled in straight away, got used to this place. Because I knew I was going to be in here for a while’ (SC, Pam). The imaginary picture of detention and prior anxiety can also alleviate emotional struggles at arrival. Many early perceptions change over the time that young people spend in the unit, and their first emotional response of feeling scared, being wary of other young people and angry with staff for locking them up gives way when they become used to the closed and strictly governed environment. Staff see the initial period in a similar light. Lara (SCr) points out that often young people come in ‘kicking and screaming’, but they then get to know the unit and settle in and participate – what she terms ‘working through the process’. Getting secured, then, starts with being processed in the initial assessment period, and is followed by complex modes of adaption and implications for self.

### ***Living the Enforced Collective: Entangled Relationships, Social Encounters***

To establish a relationship with the young detainees is one of the cornerstones of secure care practice for reasons of both rehabilitation and security. Relationships are not easily managed, but seem to be entangled interactions that extend beyond attachments between staff and young people. Encountering other young people in the unit is unavoidable and the detainees have no choice in who they spend their time with.<sup>270</sup> Especially in the beginning, most young women state that they feel wary about the other detainees because there is a lot of anxiety

<sup>269</sup> ‘Well all my family’s been in secures, like aw my cousins and that, I didn’t really mind it. But when I first came in I was like “Shit, aw these lassies are going to be bigger than me.” I was like “Aw naw!” And I was fine and then I get telt I had tae dae a personal search. (...) So that was quite scary, didnae really wantae dae that (...) but then I was (pause) I don’t really feel much, I’ve got dissociation. So it’s like I get to pick if I feel scared or no, so I didnae, so it was alright efter that’ (SC, Gina). In her reactions to secure care, Gina puts forward feeling ‘dissociation’ – often young women mention different ‘labels’ that they are formally given and it is not really clear if she really dissociates or puts on a ‘front’. While she sounds scared, she seems to choose not to show it rather than not feeling it.

<sup>270</sup> What Goffman calls ‘enforced collective’ (see Chapter 3).

regarding why people are in secure care (SC, Gina). This adds to the stress experienced in relation to their feelings about themselves and the pressure to 'stand their ground' that is exacerbated by the closed environment. Young people mention their resolve to 'be tough' to avoid fights and to keep their image intact (SC, Mia). Others report not feeling accepted because they are not 'bad ass' enough and appearing strange to other young people because they are 'too' polite (SC, Mona). There are many aspects to the building and maintaining of relationships in a locked environment that are perceived as challenging. The element of 'having no choice' in who you see all day (at meal times, free time, school) is seen by most as stressful. Because there is so little control over the living environment, young people report that they clash over the few choices they can make, such as over TV programmes (SC, Keira). The regime and built-in environment have a big impact:

You're closed in, like you can't get away from people. So friction builds up and people just (pause). You get the point where you're just like "Ah" trying to kill each other. But it's like you can't open the window and you can't go look out the window to distract yourself, so it's like (long pause). (SC, Mona)

Going through different phases in their relationships is a common feature. Nora (SC) describes her journey from initial withdrawal from any kind of socialising, to one which gradually turned into constant clashes and arguments with other young people and even later to closer relationships. Many talk about close bonds with only one or very few other young people. Upholding these bonds is difficult because of the disruption of strict rules, their movements through different units and their different release schedules. With their closer friends/associates, distinct patterns of behaviour emerge, like communicating by 'chapping' on bedroom walls to say 'good-night', working as a team when 'kicking off' with staff and using being restrained as entertainment (SC, Gina). Overall, however, most reports on relationships with other young people are characterised by their contrariety, reflecting that the relationships themselves are in a constant state of flux.<sup>271</sup> Social encounters are complicated by the locked environment, the lack of choices and the constant proximity to others.

Relationships between detainees and staff vary significantly.<sup>272</sup> Most young people report having few staff members with whom get on well, and just trying to 'manage' with the rest. The way young people are dealt with when they cause trouble is a particularly contentious issue. Staff struggle with the violence directed at them, while young people cannot cope with the complete lack of control. While being aware of their 'out of order' behaviour, most young women say that staff would wind them up and cause them to lash out. Powerlessness is felt in many subtle ways and a struggle for agency is felt acutely in situations of restraint:

---

<sup>271</sup> Often, divergent views on other young people are mentioned in the same sentence: 'Seriously, don't trust no one, they're all bitchy, they'll talk about you behind your back, they'll cause fights and all that. See them out there, they're brilliant, the best set of young people I've ever lived wi'. They'll no' talk about you, they're straight up, they'll say it to your face, as you do, you don't want to be two-faced, especially in a living environment like this, you know what I mean? You never know what's behind your back. You never know who you're living wi' either' (SC, Mia).

<sup>272</sup> They often do this by adopting a 'social care language' or staff lingo to describe their view on staff, reciting their 'duty of care' and explaining 'child protection issues', which can lead to internalising labels (SC, Mia).

It's frustrating. And they know they can dae it, like there's nae fear in them. "I'll smash your head in" (...) and they're like "Well, go for it." Before you even get the chance to lay a finger on them, the staff, they pull their pit, there's ten staff round about you. And staff manipulate you (...) I think they wind you up. Like "You're no' gonnae dae nothing." "I'm gonnae smash you." "Aye, so you are." (...) They wouldnae say that to you in the street. Even though I might only be fifteen, I will still stand my ground. (...) Oh my god, it's frustrating. When people know they can take control of your everyday life. (SC, Gina)

This experience of powerlessness is part of corrective training in that young people come up against firm boundaries and learn that even their most threatening behaviour (to others or self) has little effect, exacerbating feelings of mortification. The dis-assemblage of self goes so far as threatening the most basic protective mechanisms of self by disrupting a detainee's command over her own (inner and outer) world (what Goffman calls 'looping effect'). One example of immediate territory invasion is the use of restraints; in the young women's eyes, not always used as a 'last resort'. The fact of staff 'putting hands on' young people is often cited, describing it as a violation of their boundaries. Even though their freedom is already restricted through the closed environment, these body practices are described as a final loss of freedom when not being allowed control over their own body's movements (SC, Gina).

Many detainees mention that they feel negative towards staff because they blame them for locking them up: 'they're the wans wi' the keys' (TfC, Hannah). The skewed power dynamics<sup>273</sup> often lead to situations that are experienced as 'unfair' by young people, such as getting 'consequences' when they feel they have not done anything or getting other young people into trouble (TfC, Lara). Many detainees note that staff are constantly ordering them around, reminding them not to swear, laugh too loudly, sit too close to others, put feet up on the seats, tell certain stories and so on. Maggie (SC) summarises that there is no such thing as 'compromise' in secure care, as staff make you do what they want. Young people are dependent on staff for their risk assessments in order to regain some privileges. In their absolute control over the environment (like lights, water, power in their rooms), including constant surveillance and the fact that they can walk 'out' again after their shift, staff (conscious or unconsciously) display their extreme power over the detainees.<sup>274</sup>

There is, however, another side to the story. While young people talk about the difficult and unequal nature of relationships with staff, they also say how close they feel to them and how nurturing staff can be towards them: 'Like they just make you feel like you're at hame and aw that. They can be dead calm and relaxing and cuddly wi' ye and aw that' (SC, Gina). This paradox is inherent in the nature of closed institutions. Gina mentions how humour is really important and having a laugh with certain staff members is valued, and how frustrating it can then be when sarcasm or irony is mis-interpreted. The relationship to staff is crucial because they control the young people's environment, social contacts and, to a degree, also

<sup>273</sup> Inside a closed institution, there is a fusion of powers, which means that 'judiciary', 'executive' and 'legislature' becomes one and are all exercised in unison – while obviously the institution is still accountable to 'outside' instances of power, this does not feature much in the everyday life of the detainees.

<sup>274</sup> Using 'home' as a leverage is one of Goffman's descriptions of how power is exercised and the 'homeworld' can play into instances of 'mortification'.



how they feel. Staff have knowledge of most issues concerning the detainees and assess them regularly with regards to progress and achievements. They are there as emotional support and as organisers of the everyday.<sup>275</sup> This very close, almost ‘total’, connection is further complicated by being one-sidedly focussed on the young people, and it is hard to distinguish between genuine bonds and people just doing their job.<sup>276</sup>

Once young people enter secure care, their connections to people on the outside are severely restricted. They are dependent on staff and their social workers to authorise connections through being placed on the contact list for phone calls, letters and visits. Visits in particular are emotionally challenging. One reason for this is the potential supervision<sup>277</sup> of visits that might deter visitors from coming because they too feel judged by staff; another is that relationships to family members are not always straightforward. Feeling good about being visited is often followed by negative emotions. The feelings of loss and growing apart might be accompanied by increased levels of powerlessness for the detained. The desperation felt at being unable to influence happenings on the outside is increased for some when they have contact with family members; for others, it is unhappiness about the fact that they cannot see their family when they choose. Another contentious issue is that young people are under extra scrutiny when they receive visits with searches at the end which leads to feelings of anger and an atmosphere of mistrust (SC, Mona). So while visits and connections to the world outside the unit are often seen as positive, they are at the same time laden with underlying negativity and contention.

Although the detainees do not talk about it much, many also have a relationship to the institution itself which is not straightforward. Feelings of pride are mentioned by many, exclaiming that this is the strictest and most secure/toughest unit in Scotland. Pam suggests that people’s feelings and what they say might differ considerably: ‘They say “I cannae wait to get out, it’s horrible.” But actually it’s really nice once you get used to it. If you just keep your head down you get used to it and your time goes quicker’ (SC, Pam). Some of the young women are sure that secure care helped them to change and become a better person, feeling more settled and safe (SC, Suzie), while others worry about not being able to cope with real life ‘outside’ because of the isolation and different rules in the unit (SC, Gina). Secure care is more than just a container in which social practice is happening, it is an entity connected to many different emotions. While some call it home, others describe it as the worst time of their life. Ava (SC) summarised this tension by calling secure ‘bad, but interesting in the best way’.

---

<sup>275</sup> From ‘keytime’ and enquiring about their mental state (‘That’s the kinda questions they ask ye. “Do you feel like killing yourself?” and that’ (SC, Rhiannon)), to assessing their levels of hope, staff are an entity of ‘care’ and ‘comfort’ as well as ‘control’ and ‘contention’.

<sup>276</sup> While it must be acknowledged that genuine bonds can develop, they are always limited to the closed environment – the nature of the job requires boundaries that do not allow for continuing close relationships beyond the stay in secure care. This is one of the paradoxes of using ‘relationships’ as a measure to overcome young women’s difficulties.

<sup>277</sup> ‘Sometimes my dad willnae come up because he feels uncomfortable wi’ the staff, because they sit and look’ (SC, Gina).

Relationships are not foregrounded in Goffman's analysis – he speaks about different ties among inmates (buddy, dating, clique, categoric, patron), but these ties do not seem adequately to address the opaque and complex nature of relationships at play in secure care. The difficulty with analysing relationships in this setting pertains to the dual nature of their being. On the one hand, they form part of the main mechanisms of control, an insurance and

Sometimes it's weird because you don't see them [family] for ages (...) 'cause they don't write to you, you don't see pictures unless they gie you pictures, but I don't have pictures. (...) You're like "I thought you forgot about me." And then they come up and see you and you're like "Wow, mental." Good, sometimes. (...) For me it's easier just to forget about them because then you start worrying about them because you're in here. You don't know what's happening tae them, you don't know who's oot there, you don't know who's daeing what, you don't what they're daeing, they could be up tae aw sorts, and you're no oot there to protect them. You cannae dae nothing for them. They could be like sleeping wae old guys or something and I'm sitting in here quite the thing (...) I cannae be out there and fucking batter some cunt for it. It's no nice, I hate being stuck in. But it's better just to forget 'cause then it doesnae tick on your brain constantly. (SC, Gina)

preferred tool for working in this 'dangerous' environment; but, on the other hand, young people need the relationships as a core element of care and continuity – they seek closeness and physical contact. Although relationships do not cancel out the wide-reaching implications for self, nor the 'mortification' and 'self-mortification' caused by institutional living, they do

provide a tool of re-assemblage through what Goffman terms 'primary adjustments'.

### ***Controlling Embodied Practices***

Many aspects of life in a secure facility are felt as extremely embodied experiences. The everyday structure of life inside, managed through built-in 'bricks and mortar' features and a strict regime, obviously extends to particular body practices. Young women's experiences and feelings about these practices focus on aspects like clothing, hygiene and on unauthorised 'underlife' that takes place. Body practices related to clothes in secure care cannot be viewed in isolation – they are entangled in a web of 'do's and don'ts' and extend to other accessories and objects. While all incomers have to go through processing, having to shed their clothes, some get them back, while others for reasons of etiquette ('too revealing') or security ('ligature risk'), have to leave their own clothes behind. Ava (SC) describes how she looks like a different person without hair extensions (not permitted). Others like Maggie complain that, when they arrive, they are given new clothes that are not their style (like being given bright colours when normally only wearing black). Clothes, shoes and any accessories are all individualised, and young people generally have a say in what they would like later on in their stay. Staff underline that young people have a clothing grant. Often clothes are a marker for other bodily issues: 'they're growing out their clothes, which they usually do because they're eating more meals in here than they usually did

outside' (SCr, Julia). For young people, clothes and their (changing) bodies can be a source of growing self-esteem as well as increased self-consciousness.

Issues of clothing and other accessories such as bags or styling products are intimately connected to issues around health, body image and security concerns. While certain clothing issues are controlled quite tightly, others such as personal styling are tolerated. At certain times staff encourage young people to engage with these body practices (like 'beauty night'). Nonetheless, rules about clothing are exercised constantly – ranging from clothing etiquette

At lunchtime no silliness or laughing allowed: the kids are giddy and set each other off laughing but the staff do not allow that and complain that one of them had to leave the table and eat in their room yesterday. The kids try not to laugh, but can't help it and one of the girls is sent to her room with her food for nothing but giggling. To me it all seems rather un-important but the staff are very strict about it. The girl complains that she was not the only one giggling but that doesn't help her being sent off. These consequences often then mean not only eating in your room, but early power or some other kind of consequence that follows. (SC, field notes, 07/14)

to reducing access for security. Similarly, food and mealtimes are exceedingly regulated with strict security and more openly enforced regimes. Meal times also provide a clear structure for the day with breakfast, snacks, lunch, snacks, dinner, and supper, emphasising that food is a highly spatialised practice.<sup>278</sup> There is a main kitchen on site, and food is wheeled over to the units at set times in a trolley and then managed by staff in the small unit kitchens. Many young people complain about the quality of the food and some also question wider health issues connected to the provided diet:

I think it's a problem, what they feed you (...) there's nae healthy stuff at all. You're getting caramel cake, you're getting chocolate cake (...) you're getting chips every single day of the week. Everything's deep-fried, it's actually rank, man. You know what I mean, if you want an alternative, you've got a salad and that's it. (...) But they're saying this isnae meant to be a punishment. If it's no' meant to be a punishment, why can we no' eat what we like? (SC, Mia)

Food is one area where young people have a (limited) choice, maybe resembling similar practices around eating 'outside'.<sup>279</sup> While to some this seems to underline a 'limit' over 'choice', others are quite happy with the food. The kitchen staff appear to take a lot of pride in their work, sometimes coming to the unit to chat to young people about it (field notes, 05/14). For all of the young people, food is connected to deeper issues of control over their behaviour and environment, with particularly strict rules<sup>280</sup> around eating: 'somebody you're sitting beside you've got to sit and deal with them for another hour or something. Oh, it's

<sup>278</sup> Every meal is accompanied by a similar geography – staff unlock the kitchen and set the table and there is a lot of coming and going between kitchen and dining room. Young people are called to the table and chose their seats often separated by a member of staff sitting between them. While some staff sit at the table, others catch items from the kitchen or stand around outside the dining room. When the eating is finished, all young people have to stay put and staff do the 'cutlery count', the kitchen is locked (individual drawers and main door) and only then are young people allowed to get up and move out of the dining room.

<sup>279</sup> Others similarly express their amazement about the many sweets and cakes available (Nutella pizza, Mars bar crunch, chocolate and marshmallow fudge).

<sup>280</sup> Like cutlery count, strict observation by staff, not being able to move before kitchen is clear.

horrible' (SC, Gina). There are many small routines about food that seem unimportant, but serve a distinct purpose of relationship- building, such as cleaning staff often handing out sweets to the young people.<sup>281</sup> Food is also deeply connected to other body practices and social life as the constant judgment, and restrictions of mundane and minutest details of interaction influence the atmosphere in the unit. Like most other activities, meal times provide a setting for a 'tug war' between observing staff and young people, who try to 'carve out' some exceptions to the rules (authorised or unnoticed). Meal times and food in closed institutions often lead to tense situations and are carried out under extra surveillance and heightened alertness. At the same time 'food' is used as a means of comfort and/or to incentive:<sup>282</sup> it is therefore highly contested and entangled in wider questions about health, well-being, body practices and control.

In contrast to these embodied practices, hygiene is rarely mentioned in everyday chat in the unit, where surroundings are generally kept very clean. In interviews, hygiene is thus not described as an issue of dirt, but rather as another measure of control. The detainees complain about the bathroom being controlled from the outside, with restricted shower times (7-8 minutes) and only a certain number of water cycles for the toilet and sink:

So you go in the shower once and it lasts for four minutes (...) then ye need tae turn it on again and it lasts another four minutes. But if the shower turns off you need tae ask the staff to turn it on again. But the staff don't come back to your door for like fifteen minutes, so you stand there (SC, Rhiannon)

Being left 'freezing and with soap all over' is the most common problem described by interviewees with regards to hygiene. Other more 'embarrassing' hygiene and abject issues are not discussed and only come up by chance. In one instance staff discuss how to deal with a young person who is peeing on the bedroom carpet (see Chapter 6; field notes 02/14). There are several 'particularly gendered' issues with young women's menstrual 'accidents' – one of them tells female staff that she had a problem talking to male staff about this matter, which is why she waits and has an 'accident' (field notes 06/14). At another time, a similar issue evokes negative reactions of disgust:

One of the workers is quite agitated because she has done the safe care while the kids are at school and she is going on about something like 'this girl is absolutely disgusting today' and 'I am so raging' and so on. Later on (she doesn't want to discuss the topic in front of male staff) she says that she found menstrual blood all over one room and somebody has to clean this up (...) she takes it personal that she might have to be the one to clean it up. It is later decided to let the girl clean her room up herself (and otherwise she is not allowed out of the unit - there was a visit from a relative scheduled). (SC, field notes 04/14)

---

<sup>281</sup> It is interesting how the cleaning staff are an integral part of the units, while their role means that they exercise less control and might therefore be seen as more 'neutral'. This is especially visible in that the young women in the unit often get up when one of them comes in and they hug them and want some body-contact/kindness (field notes, 07/14).

<sup>282</sup> It is used in therapeutic interventions like cake-baking and sometimes young people (if risk assessed) are allowed to order a take-away, an integral part of the privilege system.

Hygiene<sup>283</sup> is hence often linked to feelings of disgust, shame and embarrassment, with communal living and a high degree of dependency on staff leading to feelings of awkwardness and anxiety. While issues around hygiene would normally be categorised as ‘care’, they are often turned into the focus of minute control and consequences.

As a ‘therapeutic environment’, secure care prides itself on providing high levels of health and mental health services. For detainees, it might feel different. Quite a few young people arrive with health problems, including wounds (often connected to self-harming), broken/strained arms or legs requiring a cast (through suicide attempts), health problems connected to over-dosing (like liver damage) or side effects when coming off drugs, as well as a number of chronic health conditions like degenerative muscular disease or diabetes. They feel cared for to different degrees.<sup>284</sup> Most medication requires an in-depth knowledge from staff, while young people often feel dis-empowered and have no choice in taking/not taking certain medication. The administration of medication is done ‘discreet[ly] but it’s kinda obvious when someone’s going in with a drink and they’re like this, holding medication (...) you could easily just do it in front of everyone ‘cause they already know’ (SC, Ava). Other forms of health checks, like ones to do with sexual health, are routinely done and results are confidential, but young people still seem to get the word around like talking about HIV and how all but one young woman were cleared (Ibid). Similar protocols apply for the treatment of mental health and the administration of relevant medication. The description of programmes like CBT often centres on talking and answering questions.<sup>285</sup> Young people generally expressed strong views on issues of health and medication as a process experienced as deeply embodied:

It’s, like, for my moods. ‘Cause my moods are just not good so it gets me better. It was horrible at the start because it was a liquid and then one day the staff made me take it on a spoon, and then they made me lick the spoon. (...) It tastes “eugh.” I mean, like, I’ve (...) drank nail polish remover and bleach, but it’s not [quite] as bad as that. (SC, Ava)

Staff described other indicators that helped them to assess young people’s mental wellbeing, such as how, for young women, the application of make-up can be a good tool to assess how they feel. Make-up changes or general changes in outer appearance are a marker of stress or feeling unwell that staff monitor (Jess, SCr). The body is generally seen as a marker of wellbeing in secure care, considering outer appearance, levels of hygiene as well as more constant bodily markers like tattoos or ‘scar writing’ (SC, Nora). Experiencing and dealing

---

<sup>283</sup> On many levels, this quote reveals the hygienic underlife in the unit, ranging from negotiating male/female territories, dealing with the abject to managing responses to unhygienic ‘attention seeking’ behaviour and appropriate regulating consequences.

<sup>284</sup> Some reported being left alone with their problems (in one case of ‘rattling’ through sudden reduction of drugs) or family members having to get involved to press for better knowledge of diabetic conditions and the right treatment. Chronic conditions like diabetes are particularly complex to address in a closed environment because staff might not have an in-depth knowledge of the condition, with treatment involving handling potentially dangerous objects like needles. Furthermore, medication might lead to serious over- or under-dosing.

<sup>285</sup> ‘She just asks me hunners of questions like how you’re feeling, if you’ve ever felt suicidal, and aw that shite. Things that are going oan in yer heid, (...) She goes through like every bit like through my (pause) Like what’s happened, how things start and aw that in my heid, and everything to do with my heid. Then I draw sometimes’ (SC, Gina).

with trauma and other aggravated situations is difficult for both staff and young people.<sup>286</sup> Dealing with past experiences can make life in the unit as challenging as dealing with serious occurrences in the unit itself, like cutting ligatures of young people or dealing with serious self-harm (Ruth, SCr).<sup>287</sup>

### *The Importance of Place and Young Women's Spatial Awareness*

Secure care units are designed carefully and securely, and young people are quite aware of their surroundings in relation to both security features and interior design. While young people mention the designed surroundings, they often connect these features to how they could *not* use them due to security restrictions and reminders from staff (such as not putting feet on chairs). These repercussions of the controlled environment impact on how detainees feel about secure care spaces. Young people are very aware of their spatial restrictions and talk about on how they now appreciate little things more, like being able to open a door, walking up a set of stairs or looking out of the window.

All detainees describe how they feel about their 'own' room. Their varying descriptions range from 'it is quite nice, actually, it has an en-suite' (SC, Rhiannon) to 'it is like an animal cage' (SC, Gina). Most detainees explain how they struggle with being locked up. Even if they claim to get used to it, many recount examples of feeling uncomfortable or anxious.<sup>288</sup> It is not only hard fixtures in the room that evoke certain reaction, but their textures, too. These affective atmospheres are evident in wooden shelves that smell like fish, mattresses that are as hard as bricks, a carpet that is 'not even [like] a carpet, it's literally the felt that fucked up in the factory' (SC, Ava), the bathroom floor that feels like sandpaper, and, more than anything else, the fact that there is no control over any of it. Sounds also have an effect on young people's perceptions, and some report on-going loud banging at night from other bedrooms (SC, Rhiannon). Otherwise, there is no visual or audible distraction once the power is off. Most interviewees describe a feeling of claustrophobia in relation to their state of spatial disempowerment. Connected to the internal air conditioning system, the room's temperature is controlled centrally and a few young people complained about it being too hot. Not being able to look out of the window is something that most interviewees mention: 'You realise it's a privilege to be able to open a window or a door after you've been in

---

<sup>286</sup> Staff describe (what Goffman explains as the involvement cycle and staff paradox) feeling sad when confronted with young people's traumatic experiences: 'I was so upset by what I would hear. And you can't show it in your work. That's difficult. Like I say, with that boy sitting describing all that stuff and you're just like "how can I even control this emotion?" You need to be strong, you can't just sit and cry in front of a young person' (Julia, SCr).

<sup>287</sup> Other difficult experiences involve dealing with young people's violent behaviour towards staff or other young people. While staff explain that they feel 'shaken' by serious assaults, young people often describe how restraints make them feel powerless and angry (TfC, Lara; SC, Rhiannon). There are some exceptions to negative feelings about restraints, though, as some young people describe feeling 'comfortable, it's like "Yass! Somebody's taking control."' (SC, Gina).

<sup>288</sup> While some young people openly admit how they are struggling with being locked up in their room, others say they get used to it and can distract themselves: 'When you first come in it's different, 'cause like you walk up to a door and try and open and you forget <sighs>. But you kinda get used tae it. (...) I'm only scared in case there's a fire or something (...) because my room's the furthest away, I'd be the last person to get my room door opened [they open doors separately] cause it's an air-lock. So <sighs> (...) [but it is alright] cause we get our telly and that' (SC, Rhiannon). While some complain about how the room limits their capacity to decide (like temperature, turning lights off, watching TV), others underline that it is normal for them now and that they like how they can work up to making it their own (personalising, like choosing a wall colour).

secure' (SC, Mona). Most describe being uncomfortable with potentially being looked at while in the shower:

You can ask for a shower curtain but if you're a self-harmer you're not allowed to have one (...) if you're going in a shower, obviously because you've got male staff, they put up a shower sign on your panel that they look through. So if they accidentally open it and you're in a shower they can't see. They don't always put them up. Sometimes they forget. (TfC, Sarah)

The only time that individuals are not watched is when on the toilet, but nonetheless staff may still be waiting outside the door. Feelings of powerlessness are also maintained by staff's adherence to impersonal procedures: 'They don't even come in and say goodnight, they just put you in your room, do the safe check and then go out. That's it. So it's a bit like a cage, basically' (SC, Nora). The room itself is a symbol for young people's climb up the institutional ladder.<sup>289</sup> If they get through the risk assessments and 'behave', they can personalise their room step-by-step (SC, Ava); their room is hence a display of behavioural 'progress', showing agency, although limited and heavily controlled.

It makes me feel uncomfortable. Like, it's like you can get scared. I personally suffer from panic attacks, so being locked in a room is not a good thing for me. 'Cause if I take a panic attack when I'm in my room and I try to get out my room, it just makes situations worse. And when you have a buzzer that you press staff to come down (pause) but it takes ten, fifteen minutes to like come down and get you. So it's not good. (SC, Mona)

Other rooms in the unit's 'life space', like the common room or dining room, are viewed with similar categories in mind. Some mention that the quiet room is their favourite because 'it's the only room [where] you can open the door from inside and out (...) [and you can look out of the window] without staff shouting at ye: "Get away from the window"' (SC, Mona). While the bedroom feels solitary, the common room evokes feelings of not being able to be alone (SC, Nora). Living these spatial extremes, these young women reveal connections to strong feelings. They do not evoke a black and white picture of a 'good or bad' environment, but rather express conflicted views that reveal struggles with strict control as well as feelings of safety or even positivity about how their taste might be considered.

Being 'locked' into a room (within many other locked rooms) is a profound experience. Rachel (SCr) explains that some young people find it comforting to know that the door shuts and nobody can get in, but others struggle with the fact that they cannot just get up and leave when things become difficult: 'they have to sit down, say, in the dining room and they can't cope with the noise and they can't walk out' (Ibid). Especially in the beginning, detainees struggle with this extreme control. Being locked up is more than just confinement to their bedroom – it incorporates control of movement and action anywhere in the unit. Many describe being very upset and unsettled by the experience, and feelings of heightened anxiety and discomfort are felt throughout their time in secure. Others say they are bothered by the

<sup>289</sup> See Goffman's and Foucault's description of reorganisation of inmates due to hierarchy of status/progress.

lack of privacy in relation to the toilet and shower, as well as the fact that it is hard to get used to being watched in your sleep (SC, Nora). However, the single factor mentioned most often is the lack of control over their living environment (like cutlery counts, searches, locked doors throughout, constant asking for things). The deprivation of ‘comforts’ goes further in certain situations: while it is unusual for young people to be segregated from the group for long periods of time, it is common to be separated for ‘kicking off’. In extreme cases segregation can be extended and tightened: ‘Over there I had fuck all. Sorry for my language. I had a carpet, a wooden bed and that’s it. I had nothing. My toilet was locked over. I was given pee pots to do the toilet. I wasnae allowed nothing. I was just that much of a risk’ (SC, Mia). Depending on young people’s behaviour, they can have quite diverging experiences of being locked up, but their feelings about control mechanisms and the unit’s regime are generally in unison.

Surveillance and being observed at all times is one of the main security features in a secure unit: it is part of being detained, but goes beyond it in scope. What Goffman describes as institutionally rationalised ‘mortification’ on grounds of security is experienced at first as highly uncomfortable, but slips into the background after a while, even sometimes leading to feelings of anxiety when without it.<sup>290</sup> The surveillance of detainees takes different forms, ranging from being asked ‘where are you going?’ every time someone stands up (SC, Ava) to being looked at up to every 5 minutes when sleeping or through CCTV in communal areas and corridors:

I thought they were a bunch of perverts. “What are they daein looking at me?” But they just telt us it was checks. I didnae like it, I didnae settle to it at a’. I didn’t understaun why they were playing wae ma blinds and they were daein ma lights and I couldnae dae it. That’s no’ fair, it’s pish. (SC, Gina)

Others, like Maggie (SC), describe how staff eyes looking into the room creates an odd sensation, maybe anxiety. There are other less obvious but equally thorough means of surveillance at play when young people are regularly assessed regarding their performance, mood, and general behaviour. These assessments are at the same time a management tool that helps to keep young people in line because they ‘work up to it’ (SC, Suzie). Young people are very aware of the impact on their daily life: ‘the risk assessments are the worst (...) you always have to (pause) I don’t know. You’re no’ daeing this ‘tae you’re risk assessed. You can’t have this ‘tae your risk assessed’ (TfC, Kendra). Conversations are often censored and some young people complain that they ‘feel like everyone’s just listening in, staff-wise’ (SC, Ava). But over time observing young people in their every-day life becomes normal, is internalised, and many interviewees stress that it is really for their own good.

The detainees are observant of their own surroundings, the secure spaces and the socio-spatial practices of surveillance. There is an underlying awareness of how the internal spaces

---

<sup>290</sup> This point is mentioned by a number of young women once they are released and it shows how the personal reorganisation is centred on internalised institutional features which could be seen as ‘normalisation’ into high levels of care and control.



of the unit, as well as the strict regime, impact on their well-being and give way to many, sometimes diverging, feelings and emotions. Goffman's description of territory formation is difficult to observe because the control on young people is so extreme. The vast majority of interaction happens in 'observed' space, with little or no places of 'underlife activity'. The violation of individuality and self through space invasion is a constant, achieved through a mixture of sanctions, forced collectivity and spatial closedness. The subsequent spatial disruption of young women's 'economy of action' merely serves to reveal these high levels of control.

### **It's my way or nae way – *Young Women's Agency***

Agency in secure care is severely restricted. It is possible for young people to make certain choices (chose one out of three dinner options, chose to go to the gym for recreation or rather to see the DJ), but all choices depend on prior authorisation and risk assessments. In secure care, every young person's action has an immediate reaction, although this is still a possible source of inmate agency in that these reactions can be deliberately provoked and even used. Detainees claim agency in sometimes small and subtle ways, as well as in occasional violent protest. They use strategies to get through confinement and are generally aware of the consequences that this might entail. Reflecting what Goffman describes as secondary adjustments, the environment, while being extremely restrictive, seems to prompt small acts of agency to defy the institution. Apart from 'kicking off', there are few opportunities for young people to bend or even to break the rules. In rare instances, however, a glimpse of the institutional 'underlife' is revealed. Young people constantly try to push the rules or to deceive staff, but mostly done on a low level like trying to sit close to each other, despite not being allowed, or swearing when out of earshot. Another common transgression takes place at lunchtime under the table (like touching/communicating with feet) while trying not to be noticed. All of these diversions could be summarised as low-level 'make-dos', in that behaviour is displayed that is not allowed or artefacts (like chairs) are used in unintended ways. The sharing of information shows the transient and fluid transportation networks at play. The collection of information about other people and happenings in all sub-units is a common pastime that has to be practised without staff noticing. The flow of information and rumours through the different units is extraordinary, considering the high level of surveillance and censorship, like about detainees' HIV status (SC, Ava). More serious transgression of rules and the unit's security regime (what Goffman would call 'working the system') like incoming contraband are harder to conceal, but nonetheless go on: 'There's been fags going round the safe centres, cigarettes and lighters and all that, and because everybody's been mixing, the other night the whole unit got locked up at quarter past eleven at night and got made to get a full strip search and (...) fags got found and all that' (SC, Mia). One young person describes how she had legal highs sent through the post that were not detected, so she was getting high in her room. In the end she was caught because of her changed behaviour, but she surpassed the rules for a little while. Other transgressions like

romantic<sup>291</sup> involvements with young people in the unit are rare, but happen occasionally. These transgressions are usually identified quickly and pose problems for staff:

Before I came there were two young people and they were sitting flirting each other, sitting next to each other and kissing each other (...) that's why we're not allowed to sit next to each other, and they're not even reviewing it (...) and you can't whisper. Even if we're playing a game, we can't whisper (SC, Ava).

There are many different strategies that young people use to turn situations to their advantage in secure care, some using spatial features to achieve this. Pam (SC) mentions how young people use doors as the loudest solution available to them, when trying to 'protest'. To deceive staff and make them react, or just to have a laugh, many young people position themselves in a certain way in their room when it comes to observations through the panel. Hiding completely is impossible, but they explain that there is one spot in the room that makes it possible to hide the face. That in return forces staff either to go outside to peer in through the window or to open the door, which is a disruption to their usual routine:

It's like, see, if we sit on the same couch? It's like no' taking direction, you'll get put in the room for.

They can tell you to dae anything and you'll get put in the room. Like "Don't play wi' that cushion." If you still play wi' the cushion you can get sent tae your room. They can practically make up what they want because no direction's a rule. If you don't take direction anymair go to your room.

Hunners of different things. 'Cause it's so strict and tight people challenge you constantly and you just want to whack them in their faces and start rattling into them. So you get into trouble aw the time (...) everybody in here gets into trouble, it's so strict. The least wee tiny thing, walking out of the dining room and you get a minor straight away. It's a consequence. Stupid 'tings'. (SC, Gina)

'Sometimes I feel I hide fae your panel, they've got to go roon to your windae, so it's funny' (SC, Gina).

Most young people make it clear that they 'play a game' or 'use a tactic' to get on with staff and abide the rules in order to avoid giving staff reasons to keep them in secure any longer than necessary: 'I realise this [playing by the rules] is for the benefit of me. If I just go along wi' it I'll be out soon. Like, if I try and fight it, I'll just end up here longer and I don't need to be. I actually hate it. It's just – it's the cure' (SC, Ava). Others, however, have a more confrontational approach and try to assert themselves, claiming that they

would not let staff take control. While they often fail in their attempts, because being met by strict consequences, they resort to manipulation.<sup>292</sup> For some, self-harm and risky behaviour is mentioned as a strategy of expression (like through scar tattoos) or a way to return to secure care after release. Generally, these many forms of agency happen underneath the thick layers of control and care; and, while many go unnoticed, the more extreme strategies always

<sup>291</sup> It is called 'romantic' here because it might sometimes involve kissing in a common room area (in a rare moment of being unobserved for a fraction of time), but there is no chance of it going any further in secure care, so 'sexual' might be misleading.

<sup>292</sup> Like being aware of staff who had been away on holiday and might not know new rules or asking specific staff who they know are more likely to allow minor deviations (such as leaving power on for longer). Having things turn out to personal advantage is a game played in the unit and also outside when on mobility: 'I can't see [my friends] in here. But if I'm out on mobility and they don't know that if I know anybody anywhere else, and I bump into them a bit "hi." And they'll be like that "why you saying hi?" "Because she said hi first." So they don't know that I'm friends wi' her' (SC, Pam).

result in consequences for trespassing the unit's regime. Minor consequences include early bed or bans from certain areas like the courtyard or dining room. For more serious transgressions involving violence young people are restrained,<sup>293</sup> although how young people evaluate restraints, often has to do with how it is carried out.<sup>294</sup> In the most serious cases, young people describe being separated without seeing other young people and being restrained many times a day. The line between active agency and passive conformity is very fine. Mia (SC) describes that she could not give up even though 'I had people's finger prints in my arm (...), it was unbelievable, I've got scars on my hand fae carpet burns'. In these situations, young people explained how their anger made them keep going despite strong opposition and their own knowledge of the hopelessness of it all.

The implications of secure care for young women are immense. The extreme disruption of a young woman's command of her own world, achieved through a system of privileges/consequences and the close bond that detainees develop to staff (and the institution), leads not only to dis-assemblage of self, but is a major part of re-assemblage (personal and moral reorganisation), making young people feel comfortable and safe within an artificial and all-encompassing form of care and control. The synergy of closed space and organisational structure (the institutional constitution) render some of the Goffmanesque trades of the 'total' institution impossible (development of third space/free places; extensive transportation system; more extensive secondary adjustments), but the enveloping sense of social control and care effects every movement, interaction and incident in the unit. The sense of self of each individual detainee is subtly but constantly affected. At the same time, the need for 'more space' is expressed by many young women, who wish they could look out of windows without being ordered back, and had a little more freedom to express themselves: 'You say one swear word, they're like that "wan mair and you're in your room."' You know what I mean? Gie us a bit of space!' (SC, Mia).

## 7.2 Prison

'Doing time' in prison evokes many different emotions. While some describe it as a break from their harsh lives outside, it is a traumatic experience for others. For many, it takes time to get used to the prison's regime as structured by the strict timetabled system of locking and un-locking. The embodied experiences of prison life for young women touch on many different issues, some already broached with respect to secure care, ranging from clothing and changing body images to relationships with fellow prisoners and tactics to carve out individual space. Many young prisoners report mixed feelings about the closed environment

---

<sup>293</sup> While some young people find restraints to be a form of entertainment ('sometimes it can be actually hilarious. I got a pit-pull. I got restrained over a hairbrush' (SC, Maggie)), others see restraints as staff's tool of power ('But see if like you were to call one of the staff and bitch or something they'd restrain you just to piss you off. They always broke the restraining policy' (TfC, Lara)).

<sup>294</sup> 'Because some staff can grab you but you cannae feel it, but you cannae move. So they're doing it right, they're holding you, but you cannae dae nothing. But then other staff members will grab you and bruise ye, and pure fling you aboot. People get in pure pain and when you hear it you just wantae bounce aw over the tap of the staff and pull them aff. But you cannae get anywhere near it and it's pure tormenting cause you just wantae sit there, and your legs go and everything. Aw naw' (SC, Gina).

and its implications. In a place where rule transgressions are dealt with immediately, prisoners have to learn quickly what is expected of them. From prison entry to processing and right up to the time of release, young women find themselves managing, adapting to and coping with a severely restrictive, highly secure environment.

### ***Being YO'd – Prison Entry***

The prison experience often starts before entering: in a court cell or Reliance van on route to prison. The small spaces within the vehicles are described as 'clammy', long journeys as extremely uncomfortable<sup>295</sup> and isolated because each prisoner sits in her own small cubicle which is locked:

It's just a wee seat and a wee windae, it's tiny and it's stinking and it's horrible. Dead claustrophobic and all that (...) it's metal and it's pure uncomfy (...) you feel clingy and all that because of people smoking in it and all that, and people do the toilet on it and all that. You know what I mean? So it's stinking and you're sitting on that. Oh, it's horrible! (PR, Isla)

Olivia (PR) describes how transport is very isolating because inside the van you cannot see anyone else.<sup>296</sup> Many experience it as de-humanising and some report panic attacks or claustrophobia because of the small spaces. Even before entering the prison, young women report experiences of 'mortification', loss of comforts and general feelings of abandonment. The processing of passage from 'person' to 'prisoner' in which rights, liberties and satisfactions are taken away (Goffman's 'stripping') involves the transport to the prison. When the van arrives, it has to pass a big double gate before entering. From there prisoners are taken to the reception area and the processing continues:

As soon as you went in, in the Reliance van, it's like a big gate. A big black gate. You go, the driver goes in and writes down your jail number (...) then you go into reception. You get a rub down. You have to sit on a metal chair. You obviously know that girls put things up themselves, drug wise, weapons and that. You sit down in a chair. They take your clothes off and they give you jail clothes. Black trousers and my jumper was a green jumper because I was a young offender. I was YO'd. You go over to your block. They do some paperwork with you (...) and that's it. And your room is just a normal sized room: (...) you, a bunker, then a work top, then a sink, a tiny window and then your TV. And (...) then you've got your big wooden door. (TfC, Kirsti)

Kirsti's story evokes a matter-of-fact environment of high security, in which names turn to numbers, clothes to jail clothes and the van to a bare, locked room. Processing involves leaving most personal possessions behind. All young women admit being scared on arriving for the first time. While some openly show their emotions or talk about them,<sup>297</sup> others are more reserved and say that it is important to put on a brave face. When entering prison, many remark upon the process of personal boundary transgression. Sitting on the metal-detecting

---

<sup>295</sup> 'Your bum's pure numb' (PR, Daisy).

<sup>296</sup> A main point of complaint is the fact that there is no available toilet and staff ask prisoners to pee in a plastic bag (PR, Olivia).

<sup>297</sup> 'I was scared. The very, very first time I came? I was terrified, crying my eyes out' (PR, Charlotte).

BOSS chair is less personal, but it still comes with a threat to personal space invasion.<sup>298</sup> The processing continues in the subsequent moulding of newcomers into institutional subjects. Settling into the institution does not just involve adapting to the institution and

And when I walked in there was lassies stauning wi' short hair and they were whistling at me. And I felt quite intimidated. I was like "oh my god" And I was scared and that. But efter a few days I kinda got used to it, if you know what I mean. It's no' as bad as whit everybody makes oot. (...) You can make it your ain way as you want. You can go the easy way or the hard way in here. But I suppose some people can be intimidated (...) which isnae nice. But (...) the way I was brought up, don't take shite. So never let anybody dae that. So the first couple of days I was in, lassies trying to be like "oh, have you got snout? Gie's yer snout." And I stood up for myself, basically. (PR Isla)

staff, but also developing a strategy to live with fellow prisoners. In many ways the first few days are charged with particular (and at times opposing) emotional responses connected to entering (feeling scared, shocked, upset, nervous about the unknown, intimidated, numb, emotionless, relieved). Some report their first couple of days as lived in a 'haze' caused by abrupt drug withdrawal. Getting used to the daily routine is

daunting and many describe isolating themselves in the beginning:

And I had to try to ask the staff in here what to dae, like routine and what's what and what time can you go to this and that? You don't really get nothing, you need to learn for yourself. It's like getting fucking blood oot a stane. So I had to learn myself aff other prisoners and just by watching and stuff like that. (PR, Sophia)

For some, it helps to have other family members in prison as there is someone familiar in the same environment (TfC, Louise). Several prisoners (PR, Tamara, Flo, Keira, Louise, among others) who had been in secure care previously say that recognising familiar people helps them to start conversations and to fit in; but underneath many of them still feel wary and keep to themselves. The pressures of the enforced collective are magnified by prolonged periods of lock-ups and potential isolation. Sitting alone in the cell causes many to feel depressed, some expressing the worry that this experience will change them forever, hearing people inside and outside telling them that this change is inevitable (PR, Sophia). While some resort to isolating themselves to cope with the new environment (PR, Daisy), others take to protest.<sup>299</sup> After a while, however, all interviewees say that they integrated into prison routine and many noticed feeling more stable with set times for activities and work. Many young women describe similar feelings to Goffman's description of institutional entry like anxiety, abandonment, loss and 'mortification', the 'trimming' and 'stripping' processes fortifying these emotions. The radically different social setting to the outside, with strict regimes and surveillance, is a challenge, but the same structure and timetabling seemed to help in many cases.

<sup>298</sup> 'That detects if you've got any metal up inside ye (...) you just sit on it and at the back there's buttons, and if they flash and a wee alarm [sounds] (...) then you get, obviously, taken away intae hospital and they'll pull whatever it is oot ye' (PR, Kayleigh).

<sup>299</sup> 'When I first came in, I made my sentence a lot harder for me, like I was always on report, was always getting restrained and getting took doon to the back cells. Always had my telly taken aff me and that' (PR, Grace).

## *Jail Relationships*

Building relationships amongst detainees and with staff is an inevitable part of prison life. Many young women use strategies to manage invasive everyday encounters. Relationships can take many different forms, from close friendships, family ties and sexual relationships to volatile contacts and strong dislikes. Many prisoners express concerns about high levels of bullying and emotional strains in connection with upholding relationships to people on the outside. Relationships with other prisoners in the block are complicated, changing quickly and are often the cause for drama and heightened emotions. Some openly express concern about getting into trouble and keeping a low profile, like declining when offered drugs from other prisoners (TfC, Carrie). Others acknowledge that there is a division into different groups, while at the same time being clear that they are not friends (PR, Louise). Depending on prisoners' status (basic, standard, enhanced), there is also a division that manifests itself spatially where the quieter, better behaved prisoners are kept 'upstairs'. Having more privileges is considered a plus, but some people prefer to socialise 'downstairs' due to existing cliques (PR, Daisy). Most young people have no trust towards others, calling people associates, not friends:

I don't really trust anybody, so it's hard tae say "pals" know what I mean? Just being pure (...) because they're all like lying, two-faced, know what I mean? You cannae even sit your snout down without someone trying to take them. So I'm just, like, heavy on the ball. (...) You need tae have your eyes open 24/7. (PR, Bianca)

When discussing relationships with young people in prison, most answers centre on the problems of bitching and bullying.<sup>300</sup> The most important social rule is not to let others walk all over 'you'; sticking up for 'yourself' is a necessary precaution. Animosity is played out constantly and some young women report extensive bullying that goes on day and night.<sup>301</sup> Alternatively, there are people who stick up for people who are bullied or report bullying to staff which adds another layer of complication to relationships in the block. Other dis-connecting factors for certain people are principles like 'not talking to junkies' or 'not talking to people who look down on me' or divisions by type of offending or age (YOs and adults). The unspoken peer-group social rules that govern every day socialising within the block are put down by many to a combination of being female and young. The prison environment does allow for stronger relationships to develop that could be likened to Goffman's description of buddy, dating and clique (see Chapter 3), but the set up seems to be fluid and constantly changing. It is important to be able 'to handle yourself' in a fight as violence does happen but is often connected to difficulties with conflict:

---

<sup>300</sup> Showing respect to others is considered necessary, but at the same time many people report being openly intimidated. It is a complicated process to figure out who to talk to, who to sit with, and with whom to share tobacco – basically in whom to put (a degree of) trust.

<sup>301</sup> While most are aware that the bullying 'is breaking some lassies', the general way to deal with problems is to ignore them (Ibid). This is not easy for the ones who are bullied: 'I have so much anger and so much hatred in me and it's not healthy. It really isn't. I'm not violent, I'm not (...) I came in, I bought two packets of tobacco at reception in two days (...) because I share with everyone. Now I've been asking people "can I even get your fag ends out the ashtray, open them up and make a roll-up out of it?" "Nope, you can smoke the windowsills for all we give a fuck." Left me with nothing. And they've just been horrible to me, calling me names' (PR, Charlotte).

I kinda stay away fae it (...) I got moved upstairs (...) but I had a problem with one of the girls that was in here but she's out now. I had a problem with her attitude (...) I ended up going off my nut (...) it's hard to control your anger in here and get on with people but you've got to because you live in [under] the same roof. (PR, Daisy)

Prisoners have little real choice with whom they share their most intimate moments. Relationships are also seen as 'entertainment' that makes time go by quicker (PR, Olivia). A common source of conflict are sexual or romantic relationships among prisoners. It is not

That uniform comes aff and they're just like us. (...) So I 'hink they need tae try and level wi' ye. They cannae just be like "oh, I'm a screw, I'm working for the Queen." Know what I mean? So they need tae kinda think tae theirsel' "they're human just like me. Aye they broke the rules but they got caught, we didnae." Everybody in this world has basically broke the rules, but we're just the stupid eejits that got caught. And dae a bit mair extreme stuff. But at the end ae the day we are a' human, know what I mean? So it's just (...) they need tae kinda level wi' us, know what I mean?

(PR, Bianca)

uncommon to have one relationship behind bars and another continuously 'outside' at the same time. Sexual relationships change frequently, which can cause friction or hurt feelings when one partner leaves and one stays behind:

I get a lot of weirdoes trying to go wi' me. A lot of smelly people. It's funny, but, it's a laugh. A lot of (...) a lot of jail relationships

an' all. People jumping from one bed to another. Me, I don't, but I am going wi' somebody the now, but I've known them from I've come in. But it still doesnae make any difference, really. When I get oot I wouldnae think about this life. (PR, Sophia)

Others struggle with the 'whole lesbian side of things' (TfC, Liz) and simply try and to stay out of it. No matter what kind of relationship young people have (sexual, platonic, family), many find it hard to cope with being left behind when people are released (PR, Emily; Flo). People who leave often say they do not plan to keep in contact because they 'wouldn't associate wi' people like that in case [of] end[ing] up back in trouble' (PR, Jenna). What emerges is a transient, changeable and highly tangled arena for the playing out of relationships.

Uneven power dynamics govern relationships between prisoners and staff. Prisoners express their acute feeling that they always lose because staff can immediately punish them for transgressions. Close relationships between staff and prisoner are rare. However, all prisoners admit that there are officers with whom they can get on. Many prisoners express the view that 'some ae the prison officers thought they were better than you' (TfC, Carrie), while others are considered helpful.<sup>302</sup> Arguments with staff happen regularly, although prisoners claim that they try to avoid them. Different rules for officers and prisoners and inconsistencies when implementing house rules lead to further conflict:

She's started shouting at me and I lost it, I smashed up the full pantry and then I got put on report and went (pause) that's when I went back doon the back-cells again (...)

<sup>302</sup> Many prisoners mention that staff take it out on prisoners if they have a bad day (being cheeky or shouting) (PR, Daisy). They report that staff shout from their office, but they cannot hear them when they are in their cell and sometimes miss medication or gym calls and the like (PR, Bianca). On the other hand 'annoying the screws' and 'winding them up' is happening all the time (TfC, Kirstie).

it' no' all ae them. (...) but, like, you'll see it'll be me and Grace, and they'd know that me and Grace had a short temper so they know they'd get a reaction oot ae us. And they'd go, like, see if I wouldnae gi' them a reaction they'd go tae Grace and they'd dae it tae her for a couple ae weeks until she went doon the back cells (...) and then it'd be me. (PR, Flo).

Prisoners admit that they feel staff 'have got something over you', playing on the fact that they can go home (TfC, Kirstie), while some mention how they feel degraded by some of the block narratives about them. The young women are well aware that they would 'lose' in any confrontation, and most feel that criticising officers is impossible without repercussions, the general feeling being that officers stick together and are in control.<sup>303</sup> 'wi' the screws that get a power trip, they can put you in your room and lock your door, you know what I mean? Because they say. They've got the keys. The same wi' the polis' (PR, Joanne).<sup>304</sup> Prisoners report that they feel staff are bossing them around (PR, Keira) and provoke them:

I mean, last weekend I got called an idiot, a dafty, and got told to fuck off in the space of like three hours from one member of staff, from one screw. And then when I said to him (...) "Never heard of human rights, mate?" He went "Don't gie me pish about your fucking human rights." (PR, Kara)

Some interviewees criticise officers for failing to provide care when for example, not collecting razors that have been handed out (PR, Jenna) or for getting it wrong and favouring one side over the other in cases of bullying (PR, Jess): and yet they may also mention how some officers go out of their way to help them.<sup>305</sup> Prisoners thus have a highly conflicted relationship with staff, being dependent on them and at the same time fearing their influence. Underneath, prisoners carry the sentiment of being made to feel like second class humans (PR, Bianca). Officers have the power over everyday living (food, work, free time), they decide on punishment or privileges, invasion of the personal sphere, searching belongings and bodies and also control access to communication with the 'outside'. It is this imbalance of power and dependency that prevents relationships from building up. The ambiguity between staff and prisoners is manifold due to the contested practice of simultaneously providing care to and securing a 'dangerous' population.

The connection to the outside is restricted for prisoners depending on their status and their location in prison, sometimes severely so. Depending on how much time they spent behind bars, they often find that their relationships to people outside change/deteriorate. Their interest in what is going on 'outside' can be a source of happiness and grief. Relationships to family, friends and partners are at times precarious before entering prison and often continue to be a source of agitation and worry. Receiving visits is often complicated by

---

<sup>303</sup> Reading about a prison officer's sexual transgressions in a newspaper, they said that they tried to ask further questions of staff but did not get answers and were told to drop it (PR, Grace).

<sup>304</sup> 'I always think the staff's got a different attitude tae us, right? 'Cause they're the wans that've got the keys, they can go away whenever they want, they can lock us up whenever they want. (...) See if we didnae have that problem, they wouldnae be as cheeky as they are. You get some staff that are quite lippy and they're only like [it] because they know, if you say anything back tae them, they've got the right tae lock ye up. (...) They don't care, they just care about the keys 'cause they can lock ye up, d'you know whit a mean? They've always got that bit a mair control over ye' (PR, Louise).

<sup>305</sup> Prisoners are aware of the fact that staff are trained to deal with dangerous people, and they appreciate the ones who are 'still willing to have a laugh', making time in prison a little easier (PR, Diane).



restricted family finances, limiting family members' ability to travel. Some prisoners admit that they do not want to see certain family members because their relationship is so strained, while others talk about family members not wanting to 'come up' because they were ashamed that loved ones had ended up in prison. When people do visit, most prisoners discuss how hard it is to see them leave: '[Visits are] good and bad, 'cause when I saw like my mum and dad I would get upset when they had tae go. So in a way it was good, but (...) I would be upset when I went back doon' (TfC, Freddie; also PR, Louise; Tamara). Others feel deterred by the visiting room and the close observation (PR, Kara).<sup>306</sup> Some say that they prefer talking on the phone and receiving letters so as to avoid the upset of visits, but using the phone has its own pitfalls.<sup>307</sup> Despite difficulties, many report that they are working around them, maybe resorting to writing long letters to people outside or to other prisoners and receiving letters in return. Some decorate their cells with drawings and letters. Keeping in touch with 'outsiders' is intimately linked with emotional pain and many feel depressed in the process.

Most prisoners feel conflicted about their detention in prison. There are a couple of my interviewees who see prison solely as a respite where they can recover from their life outside – being fed, having a safe place to sleep, and being looked-after on some level (prison as a 'holiday camp'). Others talk about their awareness of an 'institutional' level of care and control:

It is an alright jail. But there's certain things that people don't pick up on, like I don't think they've had an inspection for a while, and, like, to try and get a CV form, you can't get one. You try and get [a] form to put in for healthcare, can't get one. Like, the important things. Know what I mean? (PR, Kara)

Most young women relate to prison as an institution that goes beyond their relationships with staff and other prisoners, seeing it as a space of heightened emotions due to its restricted nature and close proximity to others. The experiences of 'mortification' in connection with relationships, the loss, abandonment and depression felt through separation, all underline the high levels of institutional closure. The helplessness felt in relation to dealing with staff adds to an underlying anxiety about the consequences of breaking the rules. In particular, relationships to the outside emphasise the power of the 'homeworld' that can be used as a leverage in management.

### *Embodied Experiences of Prison Life*

Locked environments affect how prisoners experience their bodies and body-related issues due to a lack of choice and a diminished sphere of agency. This affects body images and

---

<sup>306</sup> Strict rules for prisoners to restrict their social interaction with visitors is a contested issue: 'Aye, it was weird. Because obviously we're no' used to sitting on chairs (...) facing each other and being told that we're no' allowed tae cuddle or kiss or (...) you're no' even allowed to hold hands. So it's quite horrible' (PR, Kayleigh).

<sup>307</sup> Prisoners are limited to when they can use the phone – having to wait for it to be free and needing credit. It is not possible for people to phone in from outside, and some prisoners complain that they have no access to phone numbers because they are all in their mobile, which is locked away. Increasing use of social networking sites outside alienates prisoners further because they have no access to the internet.

identity, as much as issues of hygiene, health and mental health and personal boundaries. Embodied experiences are not confined to the inside, since many experience upset and worry about issues beyond their reach. This involves separation from children (PR, Kim), worrying about pets or belongings (PR, Emily) due to losing their tenancies or worrying about family members. Numerous prisoners report having to cope with bereavement and loss of people close to them while being in prison, or indeed struggling with confinement because they have experienced fellow prisoners dying behind bars. The environment itself affects prisoners' embodied experiences, with the sheer physicality of being locked up felt by many:

It was packed. Every cell there was somebody in and, if you got an empty cell, it wouldn't be empty for long. And you just kind of got into your day to day routine. You might get up and go to the gym or you might just spend a day in your cell (...). It was quite surreal at first. (TfC, Liz)

The status of the prisoner and her objectification in the interior system of confinement (like by prison number), together with a sense of the substitutionality of constantly in- and outgoing bodies, all inform understandings of the embodied nature of imprisonment. Within this domain, choice in clothing and other accessories is an essential part of self-expression and identity infringed upon during confinement. Every prisoner receives a starter pack ('identity kit'): the so-called 'jail uniform' is worn by every prisoner, but, depending on status, more enhanced prisoners are allowed more personal clothes, shoes and accessories.<sup>308</sup> Most prisoners know the exact number of items allowed to them. While some prefer to wear prison clothes for comfort or not to waste their own items (PR, Emma, Julia), others maintain their self-image by wearing their own clothes:

I walk about wi' the best of stuff. And I wouldnae change that. I don't dae it to show aff (...) I just dae it because that is me (...) when you get your own material in, like, and you're dressing the way you do outside, you feel cleaner and you feel a wee bit better about yourself, obviously. Aye, you do, definitely. Compared to wearing jail (...) you feel more in reality. (PR, Sophia)

Emphasising attempts to counter the 'unreal' atmosphere of the place, prison clothes influence how prisoners feel about themselves.<sup>309</sup> Clothing and styling carries a meaning that is not just important for prisoners individually and their own image of self, but also reflects the inner hierarchies and workings of the block collective. Hair styles, make-up and clothes are status symbols (reflecting availability of money) and a source of self-expression, reflecting at times well-being or inner turmoil. Some young women wore heavy make-up at certain times while normally wearing none at all, while others took particular pride in wearing make-up and styled hair every day. Although everyone wears the same items of clothing and the same colours, creating a singular mass and a clear marking of 'the prisoner' (evoking feelings of dirt and discomfort), by calling it a 'uniform', it is partly restored and

---

<sup>308</sup> Everyone is limited, though, in the number of items allowed and the times and circumstances when they are authorised to be worn. During the day every prisoner must wear their 'uniform' (PR, Diane). It depends on connections outside – to family members or others – how much and if any personal clothes are sent in for a prisoner.

<sup>309</sup> Many have issues with the provided clothes, be it that that the right size is not available, staff do not hand over clothes on time or that wearing the same colours and textures every day gets boring ('I like tae have a wee change. But I cannae' (PR, Keira)). Many understand their clothing and style to be part of their identity and 'femaleness' that is taken away, stating that they are made to feel 'like a tramp' (PR, Olivia) or like 'MC Hammer' (PR, Jenna).

rendered maybe not so different from the guard's uniform. Certainly, clothes and availability of other accessories work as a distinct feature of prison life that creates a surface difference from 'outside' normalcy.

Similarly, prisoners report several problems concerning food. The majority complain about its quality, describing it as 'stinking' and 'horrible'. Staff and prisoners at times remark on the bad smell of food that seems to linger in the block. Routines of moving food across the prison (like soup in big plastic barrels) and disposing of food in big containers marks the routine of eating as something rather industrial, contrasting with its usual connotation of 'homeliness'.<sup>310</sup> Despite complaining about the food, however, most prisoners admit that they get used to it, and even look forward to certain elements of predictability like biscuits on Mondays (PR, Sophia). Others enjoy the regularity of mealtimes, some changing visibly in the time they spend in prison (like putting on some weight). Many worry about the quality of food that is dependent on the prisoners preparing it:

<Sighs> it's brutal, I don't like the food. Some of the food's alright, (...) but two ae the cooks have went away noo (...) cause they're getting oot (...) they'll just get other people tae work in the kitchen, (...) but noo that we don't have any cooks like that we're gonnae be like that "Aw naw, the foods gonnae be stinking even mair." (PR, Louise)

The main dilemma is that some (if not all) prisoners have to eat food that they would not normally consume outside, making this experience into an embodied symbol of institutional living that reminds them of their current place and separateness from 'outside'.

Likewise, issues of hygiene impact on the most personal of boundaries. Having to share toilets and showers, prisoners rely on the cleaners<sup>311</sup> to maintain communal areas. Many complain that toilets are not flushed, leaving 'horrible things in the bathroom' (PR, Charlotte). Having to share showers and toilets that are numbered leads to conflicts of interest and at times long waits (at night time reports of waiting one-and-a-half hours to be let out to the toilet (PR, Joanne)).<sup>312</sup> Everyone is responsible for cleaning their own cell and handing in their washing to the laundry, sealed in 'kit bags' with numbers on them. Many prisoners, however, report that clothes go missing (PR, Louise) or items come back smelling damp and dirty (PR, Olivia). Many use strategies like putting shower gel on clothes that are

But two days after being in here all of a sudden I started bleeding, and a wee bit went on the sheets. And I said to the staff straight away "can I get clean bedding? I've got a wee bit of blood on my bed." And then obviously there's girls in here that work in the laundry and they were all out on the rec today talking about it "oh, we got a bio over." And then they were all trying to say "oh, have you pished your bed? Have you shat your bed?" And that. (PR, Charlotte)

<sup>310</sup> Food and proper tea/coffee reminds most of them how different their situation is to their life outside. In prison, the choice they have is one of three options from a menu that repeats itself every couple of weeks.

<sup>311</sup> These are prisoners working in cleaning. They can get formal qualifications for certain types of cleaning like bio hazards (like blood, excrements) which have to be cleaned up by especially qualified cleaners (also prisoners).

<sup>312</sup> Feeling bothered about dirty communal areas, including the dining room, is common for prisoners generally and cleaners in particular. On many occasions, cleaners complained to staff about food smeared over tables and chairs.

to be washed, but they see little positive results. All prisoners – if they have money – report spending regular amounts on shampoo and other wash products, changing the distinct smell of the prison and the confined bodies for a short time. All of these strategies to keep up certain standards are constantly at risk of being torn down either by staff or fellow prisoners. The transgression of boundaries is used as a practice of institutionalisation, as well as of group formation, to assert status (of ‘prisoner’ or ‘other’). It might be due to this struggle to uphold personal boundaries that prisoners use the display of shampoo bottles, perfume and air freshener strategically in their rooms.

These forms of ‘mortification’ and possible breakdown of personal defences also concern health and mental health treatment. All interviewees talked about their experiences with treatment, but surprisingly only four responses are related to general health, whereas all others refer to mental health issues or addiction. Most health problems are related to pain relief, and complaints are made about the long time it takes to get the right medication (PR, Kara).<sup>313</sup> Prisoners and staff are aware that prescription drugs are potential currency and might be distributed, rather than used to treat health issues. Many prisoners rely on medication for drug detox or mental health needs,<sup>314</sup> and most treatment-related issues are put forward in relation to mental health. Prisoners have to fill in referral forms, revealing an oppressive bureaucracy:

It’s basically got maybe six to eight wee boxes, and it’s like “anger issues, hearing voices, sleep problems, mood swings, depression, anxiety.” So you can tick them all which doesn’t really get you very far, so I used to just put “Urgent” capital letters, and just a wee quick brief about what the problem was. And I put one of them in every day for about a week and a half. And folk thought I was mental, (...) but if you put one in every day then they see your name every day, so it gets it through a bit quicker. (PR, Kara)

Waiting lists and being considered for treatment are part of the problem for prisoners. Many also feel left alone with problems like depression or bereavement, since it often takes a long time to find out about potential groups or counselling services. Getting started on new treatment or being prescribed medication after arriving can also be a challenge. Some report suddenly being taken off medication without warning or receiving new medication, causing severe side effects.<sup>315</sup> Coping with behavioural changes due to medication is always difficult.<sup>316</sup> Correspondingly, prisoners struggle with medical staff for not providing answers to their problems, including liaising with services outside.<sup>317</sup> Several prisoners told stories

---

<sup>313</sup> Others are related to injuries and issues related to pregnancy and child-birth in prison, all highly emotional and inherently embodied experiences that cannot be discussed here in any more detail due to issues with anonymity.

<sup>314</sup> Generally, detoxification or methadone is a standard treatment in prison, and most people undergoing it report no major issues (PR, Charlotte; Louise); but they tell stories about other young women refused substitute treatment or taken off medication, causing tremendous withdrawal pain (PR, Kara).

<sup>315</sup> “They put me on prozac medication, and it sent me aff my heid. I telt them that, I’ve never took it before in my life (...) then they put me on mirtazapine, and that helps me sleep” (PR, Grace).

<sup>316</sup> This is often a struggle between overwhelming emotions without medication and feeling sleepy and numb with medication: “So it’s tae sort you oot. ‘Cause hunners ae mad emotions just hit you, you’re hyper, you’re sad, you’re greet, (...) It makes you, like, right oot your nut. I don’t really like that. I like tae be alert” (PR, Bianca).

<sup>317</sup> “They said they couldnae track my medication, I telt them whit hospital I was in: the adolescents [closed mental health] unit. I was in there for a week just tae try and stable myself, because I took a bad turn. And I telt them to phone them because they were the wans that put me on them to start wi’. My stuff would be archived, they could easily go and check, because they need to keep stuff like that. And they said “oh, we cannae.” (PR, Grace).

about half of all prisoners being on the same medication (PR Louise; Kara), while issues around medication, potential side-effects and direct implications for emotional well-being create contentious embodied and potentially ‘mortifying’ circumstances for prisoners. Some report feeling particularly vulnerable on suicide watch (15 minute observations in a room with nothing in it) with their head being ‘all over the place’ (PR, Joanne) or when threatened to be sent to hospital:

I actually took two (...) severe panic attacks in prison (...) I got took over to like the doctors and stuff and they want to take you to hospital, but you don’t want to be. I just couldn’t have walked through a hospital cuffed to somebody (...) I was like “no, no, no” (...) there’s no chance I can go out in public cuffed to someone, that’s just not an option for me. That was a big scare. (TfC, Liz)

Being exposed to the public in their ‘state’ of exceptional dependency and visible stigmatising ‘otherness’ is another level of ‘mortification’.

There are many instances of (at times aggravated) embodied circumstances in confinement emanating from the entangled institutional management of control and care. Serious incidents like self-harm can arise from a complicated web of incidents and/or relationships involving prisoners and staff, and it is difficult to make sense of the composite power dynamics.<sup>318</sup> These instances cause ‘mortification’ for prisoners directly involved as well as for those witnessing the events. The same goes for rarer instances<sup>319</sup> like child-birth in prison which requires a complicated security procedure and strict routines. When things do not go to plan, power dynamics between staff and prisoners can shift in the process:

The nurse (...) in the prison came to speak to her [the prisoner who had just given birth] and actually asked her to withdraw her complaint [claiming that she was neglected when giving birth], and she said naw. They were trying to make out they did everything they could and all that when they clearly didnae. They’re just panicking because they know they made a mistake. (PR, Isla)

Punishment in prison bears equally embodied characteristics. Most young women do not go into great detail regarding restraints, but agree that this practice can be ‘full on’ and painful. Restraining as an infringement of body boundaries is often used to handle prisoners’ more serious transgressions of rules. For less serious issues, prisoners are downgraded in status, a spatial and embodied display of losing privileges.<sup>320</sup> To be downgraded involves packing up all belongings that are no longer allowed in black plastic bags and handing them back to reception for storage, a visible loss of status that goes along with a move of cells (in this case from upstairs down) which is felt acutely as an ‘injustice’ by prisoners.

---

<sup>318</sup> ‘I (...) self-harmed and I said to the staff “this is how yous are making me feel” because they threatened me like “you lie, you’re getting oot ae control. You’ve been on that many reports, you’re going to go doon to [separation].”’ (PR, Grace).

<sup>319</sup> Another instance is the management of transsexual prisoners in a female prison which comes with a special protocol to organise the embodied encounters with other prisoners, like separate shower times.

<sup>320</sup> ‘I got downgraded (...). So basic is nothing, basically. You only get to spend so much on your shop sheet and you’re no’ allowed any clothes. Standard, you get to spend a bit more money on your shop sheet and you get more clothes. And then enhanced you get to spend a lot more money, you get more visits and you get more clothes and DVDs and CDs and stuff like that. But if you get downgraded, obviously that get al.l took aff you’ (PR, Isla)

## **Soul-destroying Closed Spaces**

Prison space, with its high levels of security and practical interior, creates a particular experience of closed space. It is not all about locks, but also about geographical location. Many prisoners report they feel displaced to ‘a different country’ (PR, Olivia) because the prison is far away from their home. While some perceive it as ‘one of the most hard to get-out-of prisons’ in terms of security, others say that it does not feel like an ‘actual prison’ with regards to layout, atmosphere and ‘even just colours of walls’ (PR, Kara). Despite the less-securitised environment in this prison, the effect of being locked-up is described in the same way: ‘sitting in the wee room [by] yourself, it just makes you feel depressed’ (TfC, Louise). Spatial awareness of the confined surrounding can be found in every interview, the assemblages of spaces contributing to the experience of being locked up. Even though many prisoners move cells several times during their confinement, most rooms are decorated with pictures on assigned boards and toiletries on the shelves to ‘make it feel as homely as you can’ (TfC, Hannah). The TV and the kettle are considered the most important items,<sup>321</sup> while many complain about the mattresses being too hard and causing back pain. Other items in the cell have improved since the refurbishment, with freshly painted walls and clean furniture where before the bunk beds were ‘rusty and horrible’, walls covered in toothpaste and writing all over the beds and the rooms (PR, Flo; Jess). The new colour scheme does not suit everyone: ‘the rooms are alright. Pink. (...) Pink, that’s the colour ae the wall. (...) and then it’s pink bedding. I don’t ‘hink every lassie like pink’ (PR, Flo).<sup>322</sup> Many say they find it stressful to move rooms, when they are downgraded or even enhanced. Most form a certain attachment to their room, especially if they are there on a longer basis, perhaps due to a homely feel gained from their own decorations or the local view and soundscape. Prisoners can develop an attachment to particular personal spaces and rituals. While the room is a personalised space that many see as a refuge within the block, it is also hugely contested because it is never really the prisoner’s own space. It is constantly ‘under threat’ of invasion from officers’ searches and changes to the interior, new prisoners being ‘dubbed up’ (sharing a cell) there and other prisoners coming in at any ‘opened-up’ time (PR, Olivia). While prisoners have some control<sup>323</sup> of this room, the feeling of being trapped can be overwhelming:

Being in the room, you’re just in that room constantly. As soon as that door’s locked, well, for me anyway, I just constantly think about things and that’s when everything comes back, as soon as that door shuts. When the doors are open during the day you can talk to people and it takes your mind aff it, but as soon as you’re in that room wi’ that door shut and all you’ve got is your bed and your telly then your heid does overtime, it’s no’ nice. (PR, Isla)

---

<sup>321</sup> Many prisoners are uncomfortable and worried about sharing a cell because they feel they cannot trust the other person with their personal items, toiletries and tobacco (PR, Daisy, TfC, Kirstie).

<sup>322</sup> This is one of the clearest hints on the feminisation of prison space, while many also comment on the less rigid security compared to male prisons (many report that they know this contrast to be real from visiting male relatives).

<sup>323</sup> This control is limited. Although, they can open the barred windows, control the power for TV and kettle or use the sink anytime, some complain that they cannot control the heating and have to suffer in the summer when it is too hot or in winter when it is not warm enough (PR, Jenna).

One of the main feelings connected to the cell is frustration about ‘waiting’. Many express having to wait for everything in prison, something felt most acutely in the cell when waiting to be let out to the toilet or to be unlocked (PR, Jess). Prison is essentially connected to a different outlook on ‘time’ – ‘doing time’ means developing a divergent relationship regarding issues like how time can pass and is evaluated. Doing time in prison means ‘counting down’ towards liberation dates that have the tendency to change – depending on prisoner status and possible further convictions. Many remark upon the phenomenon that time seems to pass slower in prison and ‘activities’ are used to counter anxiety about putting life ‘on hold’. Expressing frustration about ‘wasting time’ and feeling left behind from all the things happening ‘outside’, unable to influence anything (boyfriends cheating, friends going out drinking, babies being brought up by strangers) many cut themselves off from the outside completely in order to be able to cope with the temporary estrangement. Dates have a special importance and are regularly checked with staff (lib date, tag date, court date, dates

It’s cleaner o’er here and it’s newer. But I liked my old room because I always slept on the tap bunk and I used tae listen fur the trains gaun by. So I used to open the curtain and see the big trains (...) but when you look oot my windae [now] it’s just they fences, oh my god, they have actually fences that I cannae climb. (...) It’s just you look oot, man, what’ve we got? Big massive fences. You see like the trees and that’s dead nice, and then you just see these big horrible, big-ass fences. And you’re like that “right, I’m depressed.” Just lie in my bed a’ day. (PR, Bianca)

for visits and more). Important life events are connected to time in prison. Especially for prisoners on remand the issue of time is contentious as they live in a limbo not knowing how long they will be in for. Time is counted in relation to ‘how many times’ prisoners have been in: ‘obviously this is my third time. Second time in, like, five months. But aye, my third time. It’s just the same’ (PR, Tamara). Certainly time is experienced differently when it comes to the counting of years, months or days till liberation – often dealing with diverging issues of institutional routines and similar days

blurring into each other while at the same time creating a fixation on counting towards a certain date.

For many, the room is a space where they can carve out some privacy on a temporary basis, but at the same time it is a constant reminder of what they cannot have (their home, their family, or even their favourite beverage) and thus it is experienced as a ‘depriving’ environment (PR, Sophia). The unpredictability of the spatial situation (being locked up, being ‘dubbed up’, being moved around cells, being released), sometimes without any prior notice, can be ‘a bit ae a heid fry’ which ‘boggles your brain’ (PR, Bianca). The cell, with its interior material spaces but also its symbolic meaning, has a major impact on prisoner’s perception of their confinement, which can range from a carefully decorated refuge to a trap for mind and body.

Compared to life in the block, being moved to isolation means solitary confinement for 23 hours a day (see Chapter 6). The barren cells are not only hard to handle because of their lack of interior, but also because of what they represent:

So it is hard, like. I think it's even worse when (...) I look back when I was sixteen I was, like, I was the youngest prisoner in here, plus I was locked up 23 hours a day (...) and, if people were to read that in black and white, it would deem me as one of the worst kinda young offenders (...) there is in Scotland. (PR, Diane)

The stigma that is attached to solitary confinement does not just apply outside of the prison fences, but many prisoners in the general blocks are apprehensive and fearful ('they all bark like dogs down there' (PR, Daisy)). To hear the segregated screaming and shouting adds to the 'othering' of this space in the pattern of the internal prison environment.<sup>324</sup> The majority say that they find it hard to be there and think that 23 hours confinement 'mess[es] their heads up' (TfC, Gemma). The fact of doing everything in one room – sleep, eat, go to the toilet – is an intensification of the totality of confinement. Even though it is one of the least 'caring' environments that prisoners can imagine, it is used for both 'protection' and 'punishment', the dilemma of protecting lives by intense deprivation and solitary confinement being one of its main characteristics.<sup>325</sup> These bare spaces are thus the most 'total' environment in the continuum of secure spaces.

More generally being locked up is difficult for most prisoners. A small group of prisoners claim they are used to confinement, going in and out of prison and police cells on a regular basis and even enjoying the regularity of institutional routines, having access to showers, a bed and regular food and company (PR, Bianca; Tamara). However, most prisoners, regulars and one-timers, report that they struggle with being locked-up: 'we're all in such a confined space and we're all fed up and we all don't want to be here' (PR, Charlotte). Being locked-up mainly means confinement to being indoors, a particular issue for people who like being outdoors (PR, Daisy). Complaints about being locked-up include different aspects, from getting into trouble for doing nothing wrong (PR, Jaime) to mail and money being lost in the system (PR, Olivia). One of the main lessons learned is that plans do not always work out because staff can just lock 'you' in any time of day if there is 'trouble' (PR, Olivia). Most people tell that they struggle<sup>326</sup> with weekends because they are locked up for longer, and there is 'naebody to talk to and stuff, cannae open your door and walk oot if you want tae' (PR, Emily). Prisoners explain that they experience panic and anxiety about being 'trapped', with a general unease that often lasts a long time beyond confinement.<sup>327</sup> Getting immersed into the routine of the institution is an important coping strategy that is an essential part of institutional processing (PR, Sophia). The confined space is a major hindrance for embodied

---

<sup>324</sup> It is quite clearly a punishment to be sent to the back cells and the high level of material and sensual deprivation (almost no furniture, three minute showers, no TV, no more than three cigarettes a day (supervised), exercise alone in a caged outside space (PR, Holly)) make it a challenge for all prisoners. Only one admits that she enjoys aspects of it like the quiet and the time to think about what *she* wants, escaping the disruptive prisoners and officers in the block to calm down (PR, Flo).

<sup>325</sup> Communication with officers is impossible ('they're not allowed to talk to you (...) naebody talks or anything like that' (PR, Isla)) and you cannot see other prisoners in the back-cells, can only communicate by shouting or talking through the walls. Time passes more slowly 'down' in the back-cells – it feels like a longer day because there is little distraction (TfC, Gemma). As a matter of progression, some objects like pen or paper or books are re-introduced (or withdrawn again) at the prison's will.

<sup>326</sup> 'It's heavy, like, soul-destroying mair than anything, so it is' (PR, Holly; also PR, Kayleigh).

<sup>327</sup> 'Just knowing that I can't get out and stuff. And just knowing that whatever I can't get out until the morning and they let you out, or my times up you know what I mean? It did bother me. It still does bother me. I wouldn't wish it upon anybody (...) you do get used to it. Those days do drag in, so they do. But watching the TV and having a laugh, you just waste your day. It's just the same routine every day (...). And that's it. It wasn't nice at all' (TfC, Kirstie).



and emotional expression: ‘(...) if I’m angry or whatever, like, I can go off my heid ‘cause I cannae deal wi’ being locked up, like I need something tae dae, I need tae walk aboot (...) and obviously you cannae’ (PR, Flo). Some explain that they think it ‘brutal’ to be locked up, but that at the same time the regular ‘lock-up’ periods can indicate that time goes by faster (PR, Louise). The issue of constant surveillance, however, is a surprisingly unrecognised issue among prisoners. They do report of staff controlling their rooms or personal belongings, but camera surveillance is not a problem to them: ‘I think if it was at home and there was a camera in somebody’s hoose you’d be like “What the fuck?” But naw, I didnae even think aboot them until [an officer] comes in and says “mm hmm, grey joggies, it was you”’ (PR, Joanne). The prisoners’ gaze also works similarly in trying to control others to ‘fit in’ and bullying them if they do not. Another low-key issue is the pressure exercised to make prisoners behave.

### ***Agency in Confinement: Prison Underlife***

Despite the strict reins of control in prison, prisoners have to take responsibility for many things and claim agency to navigate the daily regime and social life behind bars. While for most of the prisoners’ agency is expressed as part of prescribed institutional guidelines, what Goffman calls ‘primary adjustments’, prisoners regularly try to sidestep the strict rules in confinement (‘secondary adjustments’). There are constant small transgressions like sitting in a room with too many people, risking a rule violation and being put on report. Older prisoners sometimes have agreements with younger ones to buy them tobacco and supply them in return for other items on the shop sheet with equal value (PR, Emma). During recreation time, prisoners are generally free to associate in the hall, and building new relationships is common. Many young people experiment and ‘go with’ another prisoner for some time. Sexual encounters are not officially forbidden, but still scrutinised which leads to prisoners trying to hide them.<sup>328</sup> Others play games about forbidden items, evoking imaginary secondary adjustments, without actually possessing them, like ‘I go on holiday and I will take (...)’ about remembering different sorts of alcohol. Another favourite is gambling: ‘It’s not even like you allowed games and people have blown that with gambling. You can’t gamble much in there. It’s not as if you’ve got money, but people still do (...) with coffee or toiletries or something like that’ (TfC, Kirstie).

Drugs get in on occasion and people have been found to smoke marihuana – trying to mask the smell with air freshener or smoking at night when staff could not find out. It is rarer, though, when prisoners manage to smuggle in medication that can be used as an upper or downer. During the day it is difficult to evade staff’s gaze and hide transgressions, and prisoners do not often seem to try this (or are not found out). At night times they have more possibilities as they are not as heavily controlled, but their radius of action is a lot smaller,

---

<sup>328</sup> This fails at times – in one instance two prisoners were found making out behind a closed door, which caused issues not least because doors (when unlocked) must be kept open at all times.

only getting out of the room for a toilet break of seven minutes, one at a time. Prisoners do, however, leave items at other people's doors:

You can go to their [other people's] doors and that. Obviously open the latch and see what's happening. "Want to leave something at my door?" Things like that. And then obviously you go out and they can put something at your door and you can go out and get it which is alright that way. (PR, Isla)

Others throw lines out of their windows to pass things around and shout to communicate: 'at night time you're trying to get to sleep and they're all shouting at each other, but nobody says anything to each other in the morning, they shout at each other at night time' (TfC, Louise).

Generally, though, the underlife of the institution is practiced in the small efforts to resist or undermine institutional control. While most of the secondary adjustments above involve more than one prisoner, some small ways of subverting the regime are practised simply to

I can handle myself good [fight], know what I mean? And in here it's like you need to be good to progress, but then when you're being good, there's wee fannies getting cheeky and you need to try and take that to progress, but in the same time they're thinking, like, you're a daft and they try and take the piss out of you constantly, you know what I mean? But then if you retaliate and fight, like, I'll lose my enhanced. So, see, stuff like that, it's hard that way to bite your tongue. (PR, Sophia)

carve out some 'personal space'.<sup>329</sup> Strategies can already be at play pre-imprisonment, especially for young people who have been inside before. There is a group of young women who use time in prison strategically; for example, 'saying "I'll not be in in summer because I like the summer but I'll be in over the winter"' (Maurette, SCh). Many report breaching their curfew on purpose when knowing that they are going to be remanded the next day in court anyway (PR, Sophia). Some prisoners who have been in prison more than once see it as a space that prevents them from committing more serious offences when they have

a bad time outside, giving them 'time to get [their] head together and then get back out' (PR, Flo). On the block inside, there are many different small-scale strategies at play that are used as coping mechanisms individually, but no apparent group strategies. Many prisoners tend to bend the rules when it comes to wearing their own clothing, at times choosing particularly plain clothes to imitate prison wear in the hope that officers do not notice (PR, Sophia). Another strategy is to carve out some more private space, with inmates using 'mental health' to be held in a cell on their own rather than to share the room, deliberately putting up with stricter observation and less time unlocked in exchange for feeling safer and having a quieter environment (TfC, Gemma). While some choose particular strategies to get away from the close proximity of group living, others mention how they risk misbehaving and losing

<sup>329</sup> 'When we are done with the 'tour' [of the hall] K. [a Y.O.] decides to take the rubbish out of the bathroom (again) in order to get outside. This is the first time it becomes very clear to me how they negotiate the boundaries of the space and the rules to carve out some time and space for their needs. D. follows as well with the kitchen rubbish and the guards let them out for two minutes to take the rubbish to the bins – a short time to enjoy their achievement, but they managed to bend the rules' (PR, field notes, 05/14). These fluid and transient occurrences of Goffman's 'third space', with less than usual staff authority, can be used as spaces for underlife activity (in case of blocks after lock-up) but also just to have some 'breathing space' for individual prisoners.

privileges in order to be moved closer to their social circle.<sup>330</sup> Most prisoners report on having strategies that involve building up a social façade, seeming tough and keeping their emotions and feelings to themselves, while at the same time adapting to and assimilating into institutional life: ‘tak[ing] it on the chin and get[ting] on wi’ it’ in order to not make it too hard for themselves (PR, Tamara). Not upsetting the institutional machine ‘too much’ for one’s own benefit is a tricky strategy that involves a lot of conscious effort.

In many ways the prison system is a risk-management machine that removes ‘risky’ individuals from society and involves protocols to deal with dangerous and/or ‘at risk’ prisoners. The young women in the block are aware of the terminology around ‘risk’ and adopt some of it to describe their own experiences. Being exposed to trauma is an everyday reality for many prisoners and they find different ways of coping. While some seek ‘therapeutic’ help within the prison, to address bereavement, abuse or severe depression, many fend for themselves. Self-harm is an issue that is kept under wraps by prisoners, but mentioned as a coping strategy.<sup>331</sup> Management of risk involves thinking about risk to self and to others, and prisoners are often as vigilant as the institution and aware of the risks. Violence – physical and mental – is perceived as a risk prompted by other prisoners and staff (like bullying; PR, Sophia). Many prisoners say they are ‘at risk’ of feeling extremely vulnerable and depressed, unable to trust anyone or to relate to anyone. Being dependent on prison staff for everyday as well as life-threatening issues creates high levels of anxiety and anger.<sup>332</sup> There is a general awareness among prisoners that ‘people go suicidal in prisons and harm themselves’ (PR, Jenna), or ‘go off their nut’ and end up getting restrained because they cannot deal with what they perceive as constantly losing out to institutional unfairness. Self-directed violence and violence against others are forms of agency and ‘risks’ embedded in prison life for prisoners and the institution, albeit for different reasons.

As a direct consequence of (perceived) misbehaviour, prisoners report additional punishment, sometimes recalling that it was justified, but mostly perceiving it as unjust and almost a matter of bad luck. As discussed earlier, the notion prevails that staff can do whatever they want and punish prisoners without ‘proper’ evidence, since executive and judicial power over internal matters resides within the institution. Prisoners report feeling like officers are always in the right no matter how they behave and prisoners get punished even if there is no evidence for accusations.<sup>333</sup> Conflicts with staff about ‘trivial’ matters like

---

<sup>330</sup> ‘I feel like just daeing something bad just to downgrade myself’ (PR, Daisy).

<sup>331</sup> Most do not want to talk about their own experiences apart from mentioning that self-harm is an aspect of prison life that is hard to tackle. Institutional regimes manage this behaviour to a point, but prisoners notice how rules and their application do not always mean the same thing: ‘Every time a girl gets a razor, they’re meant to hand it back in that same night, just for everybody else’s safety and their own safety. There was a suicidal girl that’s cut her wrist a few nights before in here; she was given a razor and the staff forgot tae get it back off her.’ (PR, Jenna).

<sup>332</sup> As in relation to staff caring in extreme situations like giving birth: ‘we were all shocked by it [the birth] because she’d had a check earlier on and she was two centimetres dilated or something, and she was greeting and everything walking about in this block. And obviously she was in labour and they just ignored it’ (PR, Jess).

<sup>333</sup> ‘[I got sent to the backcells] but it gets called the Digger <sigh> (...) people making accusations, saying that I had weapons in my room when I didnae, so I got put doon there under investigation and I came back up and I got a three-month downgrade and a seven all round but I had my room searched and they never found nothing so where’s their evidence? I still got punished’ (PR, Isla). This is an example for the arbitrary nature of surveillance and control as well as the at times weak bonds between different prisoners.

wearing the wrong clothes or disagreements over visits<sup>334</sup> can escalate into shouting matches for which prisoners are sent to the ‘back-cells’ for challenging behaviour and breaking the rules (PR, Isla). Prisoners report feeling that punishment never comes singly. Potentially losing all ‘homely’ comforts like the TV, kettle, clothes, money to spend in the shop or visits is a real incentive for prisoners ‘to keep the head down’ (PR, Daisy). Nonetheless, all prisoners could remember being punished for minor points like disagreeing with staff to more serious matters like staff assault (PR, Diane). Prisoners are clear that locking them up in their cell or a ‘back-cell’ is punishment and not an attempt to keep prisoners safe, although boundaries between punishment and protection are blurry (PR, Diane; Isla). There is an air of despair around the topic of complaints as the prisoners who put in complaints feel like nothing happens as a result of it (PR, Grace). Prisoners feel that they are not allowed to have a ‘bad day’, snap at staff or lose their temper because, if they do, they get immediate consequences: ‘that’s made me learn you may as well go doon the good path wi’ them and no (...) ‘cause they’re always gonnae win, no matter what they’ll always win’ (PR, Holly).<sup>335</sup> Every prisoner had something to say on punishment and most expressed strong feelings of powerlessness against an institution ‘that is always right’. The general feeling of arbitrariness in punishment leaves prisoners anxious to conform, but unable to do so under an air of growing resentment and ongoing emotional provocation. Agency comes in many shapes and forms, and prisoners often come to struggle with the consequences.

## 7.4 Concluding thoughts

This chapter aimed to get behind the individual experiences and emotions tied up in closed spaces. The detainees’ experiences shaping the symbolic and contextual institutional spaces were uncovered by analysing their interactions, relationships, embodied nature, and underlying affective atmospheres. What constitutes this collection of experiences is a complex, entangled and at times unclear and ambiguous web of feelings. The individual accounts show similarities and differences in institutional responses and operational modes that are nuanced and slightly unwieldy in broader conceptualisation. The complicated mechanisms of control, with a strict regime to handle confined bodies and objects, are contested by acts of care. At the same time care seems to morph into a main tool of control. The description of experiences uncovers differences in institutional intention and individual reception. Experiences cannot be generalised, and this chapter shows a myriad of opinions favouring one institution over another or despising all of them in equal measure. It is important to note, however, that these confined young people noticed and described the effect of security and control mechanisms in great detail, acknowledging the tremendous

---

<sup>334</sup> ‘I got a three-month downgrade for, whif? Shouting. There was three people arguing at this wan point in time, I have to change my visits because somebody else want visits that day. I’ve had visits every day since I’ve came in. They’ve only been in three months. I’ve been in fourteen months and I’ve had a visit the same day every day, the same time’ (PR, Isla).

<sup>335</sup> Feeling punished for not doing anything wrong creates a lot of underlying anger and frustration and leads to prisoners perceiving punishment as a ‘personal’ issue between them and certain staff who decide on the punishment (Ibid). Comparing it to being separated in secure care where staff are obliged to talk to you after an incident, there is a sense that in prison ‘they just shut their doors and that’s it’ (PR, Keira).

impact on their life – raising larger questions of how society deals with its most challenging populations.

Although overarching themes like control of spatial and social environments encompass all closed institutions, there are differences in every-day life:

In the jail, like, it didnae feel like [in secure] (...) you've got your job, you can go to education if you want, you can work there. You could smoke. You can watch your telly to whatever time ye want. There's no' a timer on the showers or anything. Things like that. (...) It's no' the fact wi' strictness. It's strict in prison as well. It's hard to explain. (TfC, Hannah)

In these closed spaces different people, ideas, practices and experiences intersect. In their complex and ambiguous nature they form an idea of what institutional life is like and how in many ways aspects of control, of time and space, conjure up their very own meaning. Many young women complained about the artificial social and physical environment that made it very hard to adjust to their lives outside upon release:

I enjoyed it when I was there [secure care] and I always went back 'cause I wanted to be in (...) but I don't agree wi' it (...) I just don't 'hink it's a good place for people to go. (...) In there it's a false environment. So you're cared for and stuff like that and then when you're out, like, you just want to be back. And I know most of the people who have been in here [prison] who have been in the secure care done the same, they went back and then they've come to prison. Most of the people outside that I know, they're the same. And it's the attachment you've got to that place. (...) There's too much. Like in here [prison] you're let back a bit, you're yourself. Obviously in there you're supervised 24/7, you've got staff around 24/7, in there you get too much. (PR, Flo)

This revealing quote touches on maybe the main dilemma of secure care: its artificial 'manicured' environment. It draws young people to it and creates dependencies. A few young people complain that secure care staff promise too much that they cannot keep after release. They say that the relationship is too close to be able to stay away. Another point raised is that young people have lots of structural boundaries but that they can kick off and react out of proportion, giving them a false sense of what is acceptable behaviour when they come out. Outside (or in prison) they then have to re-learn how to navigate conflictual situations differently. While they reveal a lot of themselves in secure care, outside they have to re-learn how to 'go talk to normal people, and no' about everything' (SC, Gina). Prison, on the other hand, is a lot more direct with its security features and more open display of potentially 'mortifying' experiences. There are less emotional ties to prison than to secure care because the institution's organisation is not based on establishing an in-depth relationship with the young women.<sup>336</sup> The prison environment does not involve as deep revelations of mental states and gives detainees more opportunities for taking responsibility and agency, which comes with its own set of implication in relation to image, coping and feelings of abandonment. While in secure care, young women might be abandoned in an abstract sense of extreme surveillance of their very being (by majorly disrupting their

---

<sup>336</sup> Also taking into account the age differences and young women's different stage in life.

economy of action), in prison this balance turns to more concrete necessities and comforts (a much more basic level of care; long period of absence of staff; longer periods of lock-ups as part of daily routine).

Both institutions to different degrees manage and deal with ‘dangerous’ and/or ‘at risk’ populations and shape them into what Foucault calls ‘institutional products’, with strong connections to the particular institution that was created for their separation and normalisation. Secure care is here arguably perceived as more micro-controlling and more ‘secure’ than prison, but at the same time also as more caring precisely because of the thickness of the ‘security blanket’ draped over every aspect of inmates’ life (see overview table in Chapter 6). The young women’s descriptions of their experiences have revealed aspects of meaningful social worlds that exist in these social and symbolic spaces. In their own ways, closed institutions similarly shape modes of adaption, relationships and implications for detainees. Young women’s possible deviations from ‘prescribed being’ are deeply embedded in the institutional system with fluid and transient places for underlife activity, as well as more primary adjustments to institutional regimes.

Relating back to Chapter 3 and the carceral geography of the social situation of detainees, Goffman’s work provides an important framework for the understanding of identity formation in confinement. The young women’s ‘career’ through different stages of incarceration shows the institution’s fluid and semi-permeable nature, thus clarifying this aspect and underlining its conceptual importance. The extreme (or ‘total’) nature of life in closed spaces becomes particularly apparent in the ‘small things’: the control of the mundane, the ways in which care turns into control and the all-encompassing nature of influence over individuals, all of which rebound upon how the inmates think and feel about themselves. This links in with Goffman’s claims about the ‘mortification of self’ – the progressive loss of a self from the ‘outside’ world which is replaced by an institutional self (not necessarily as intended by the institution, however). The young women’s experiences here articulate with particular aspects of identity formation, and extend Goffman’s description of the importance of emotions and complex forms of agency. The significance of relationships, both for the running of the institution and the de/re-formation of detainees’ identities, adds another layer to Goffman’s rich description of the ‘tissue and fabric’ of institutional life.

My focus on embodiment shows aspects of identity formation that are not directly addressed in Goffman’s *Asylums*: notably, specific markers connected to women’s and particularly young women’s experiences like ‘growing’ bodies and body image, menstruation, hair styling and importance of make-up for displays of identity, but also judgments around sexuality and more fluid gender norms. Seeing the body as a ‘space’ and simultaneously subject and object of identity formation, of institutional control and constant scrutiny, is hinted at in Goffman’s detailed analysis, but the young women bring many aspects of his analysis more fully to life. The aspect of ‘time’, although addressed in Goffman’s work, also

acquires a different dimension for inmates who are ‘growing up’. Adding ‘new’ aspects to identity formation through spatial processes like observation techniques (CCTV) and extensive risk assessments reveals more layers of institutional control, showing the extreme disruption of a detainee’s command of their own world. Secure care and prison are both examples of streamlined yet all-encompassing forms of control and care that hold a special role in young women’s dis-assemblage and re-assemblage of identity, based on aspects like gender and age as well as on the constitution of today’s closed spaces.

This chapter, again, only subtly touches on distinct perceptions of how age and gender shape the young women’s experiences. Many instances of more in-depth analyses of concrete examples (childbirth, conflicts due to their role as mothers, different treatment of ‘girls’, or issues of transgender detainees and sexuality) have been omitted here because they would have led to conflicts with confidentiality.<sup>337</sup> Also, they would have gone beyond the scope of this chapter. Walking a fine line between discussing gendered and aged experiences without turning them into a stigma in their own right, the chapter is meant to draw more on the young women’s manifold experiences of closed institutions in general. The experiences that young women talked about are not confined to the closed spaces of prison, secure care or closed psychiatric units, but follow on beyond release. The transfer back to the ‘outside’ comes with its own set of complications regarding anxiety, binge fantasies, disculturation and untraining, stigmatisation, or leaving with limits to freedom. The next chapter aims to contextualise how these different institutions come to be connected in individual journeys and what challenges lie in the ‘outside’ community – as these are intimately connected to the paradoxes and opacities of ‘total’ institutional life.

---

<sup>337</sup> See Schliehe (2016c) for more in-depth engagement with some of these issues.

# CHAPTER 8

## Of Moving Stories and Young Women's Journeying

Even though this project explores institutional life from the inside, it is not a narrative of inertia, but one of movement and journeying. The young women's experiences of closed space can be seen as chapters within a story of mobility. Exploring the institutions' permeability and widening the view of the carceral helps to make sense of the broader institutional landscape and the young women's lives beyond incarceration. To uncover their experiences 'outside' nonetheless reveals a continuation of disciplinary care and control that shapes their highly mobile worlds. Moving from institutional constitutions (Chapter 6) to individual experiences (Chapter 7), this final empirical findings chapter addresses notions of abandonment and exclusion that weave their way through the young women's stories. To extend the 'journey' metaphor, if the different closed institutions do form part of a carceral archipelago, this chapter visits the space in-between and beyond this group of islands.

To revisit the concept of 'journey'<sup>338</sup> suggests an understanding of it as a form of 'passage', an interplay between movement and stasis. Delving deeper, however, shows that this is indeed contested terrain. Deconstructing the young women's way through life as 'pathway' or 'trajectory', potentially smacks of 'corrective training', progress and goals. When understood as such a 'moving *towards*', a journey can be seen as constraining and potentially judgmental. While acknowledging here that 'journey' could be understood in the light of an individual continually requiring intervention and set goals, the term is rather used here in its elementary visualisation of movement as long or short, difficult or forthright, open or closed – where both mobile and inertial practices can equally be displays of power, status, abandonment or deprivation. Tracing the 'paradox of unachievable aspiration'<sup>339</sup> uncovers that, through assemblages of care and control, a form of abandonment is created which deeply shapes the young women's lives. In order to trace this form of abandonment, it is necessary to follow their journeys – always acknowledging that any form of 'tracking' needs to be approached with caution and handled sensitively.

This chapter aims to explore these 'journeys' as a way to analyse the connections that exist between institutions and the individual. Arising from the young women's stories is the notion that different types of institutions intersect in individual experiences, thus interlinking aspects of care and control. The individual journeys consist of aspects unique to each person, but most also carry some common characteristics that are worth highlighting. To prevent 'journeys' from carrying 'stereotypes' or entrenching further mechanisms of control, they should not be understood as being in any way predefined or deterministic, but rather as moving stories that have the potential to highlight severe societal issues. In this sense, the

---

<sup>338</sup> For more information on the metaphor of 'journey' see below.

<sup>339</sup> Armstrong (2015) develops this argument around Deleuze's description of circulation as a form of control. 'Being kept on the move' carries with it perpetual processes of control and subsequently the spread of disciplinary power into all life spheres 'on the outside' – a notion in which mobility is *the* means of control itself (see Chapter 8).



carceral archipelago is loosely understood as contextual space (see Ferrant 1997), seeing a widening of the carceral sphere through encompassing disciplinisation. In these contextual spaces between and across which the young women move, ‘solid’ institutions can be seen as crucial nodes beyond which additional, diffused methods of extensive care and control create carceral assemblages that reach far beyond institutional walls. The graduation of disciplinary environments and individual journeys through/in/out/beyond the criminal justice system manifests a form of abandonment set within spaces of magnified care and control. This form of abandonment finds its figurative metaphor in *femina sacra* as a form of exclusion and displacement that renders these young women ‘absent’ within perpetual processes of control, institutional paradoxes and extreme mobility.

### 8.1 Entangled Journeys *here, there, everywhere*

In the interviews all detainees reveal how their lives have been shaped by mobility, telling moving stories of (in)voluntary displacement and changes in location. While detention at a closed institution may appear as a period of stand-still within a life of high mobility, many young women rather present their time ‘inside’ as *part* of this mobility. This claim is particularly evident when considering their entangled experiences of different closed institutions:

From that secure I went tae the [psychiatric] hospital and then got out and then I went to a through-care, after-care thing. And then that’s when I got (...) [secured again] (...) [then] I got moved into a hostel and then that’s when everything went doonhill and I started getting in trouble with the polis. (PR, Jaime)

Mobility is described as both a ‘top-down’ social work practice attempting to gain control over these young women’s lives and a ‘bottom-up’ agentic strategy on part of the self. In their younger years, many young women describe how ‘absconding’ was one of the main reasons for ending up in a closed institution. Complicated family relationships and care histories often led to a web of possible ‘docking stations’ that can be seen in the young women’s mental maps (see below). The visible stations on the map often represent but a small aspect of their entangled journeys, ones made up of many more invisible stations like sofa-surfing, walking the streets, staying with relatives on a short-term basis and spending regular weekends in police cells. Stays in hostels, bed and breakfasts or temporary accommodation are talked about, but rarely find their way on to the written maps. This often highly mobile lifestyle can be re-traced in some of the file data for one individual:

Date	From	To
13/06/14	Homelessness Accommodation Greenock	Supported Accommodation South Lanarkshire
27/06/14	Supported Accommodation South Lanarkshire	Friends in Inverness
04/07/14	Friends in Inverness	Friends in Glasgow

05/07/14	Friends in Glasgow	B&B in Ayr
08/07/14	B&B in Ayr	Supported Accommodation South Lanarkshire
12/07/14	Supported Accommodation South Lanarkshire	Prison (remand)
18/07/14	Prison (remand)	B&B in Renfrewshire
23/07/14	B&B in Renfrewshire	B&B in Ayrshire
02/08/14	B&B in Ayrshire	Mums
06/08/14	Mums	Hospital (detox)
12/08/14	Hospital (detox)	Mums
14/08/14	Mums	Supported Accommodation Renfrewshire
16/08/14	Supported Accommodation Renfrewshire	Mums
29/08/14	Mums	Own Tenancy, Paisley

**Table 22: Exemplary Moves from June to August 2014<sup>340</sup>** (TfC, field diary 08/2014)

The interconnected institutional journeys are intersected by many other choices of accommodation, with the availability of housing often a main determinant for changes in location. Many, like Annie, describe long histories of care, requiring moves within the same town or city as well as between different parts of Scotland:

I moved about in Hamilton quite a lot. And when I first moved up Ayrshire way I stayed in Katrine, and then New Cumnock and Altenleg and then Kilmarnock (...) I was in foster care (...) and then they didn't want me back there so I went to a different foster care, lasted there a week and then went in a children's home, children's units. And then fae there was in secure, go back home when I was fifteen (...) and then I went back into the children's (...) [then] I went intae my ain hoose (...) on my own. And then lost that hoose, got another hoose, lost that hoose. (PR, Annie)

Many describe feeling disconnected from the places where they stay; particularly in homeless accommodation, the lack of personal items and inter-changeable interiors leaves no 'space' for feeling at home (TfC, Gemma; PR, Charlotte). Having to move and lose accommodation because of 'misbehaviour' is a common experience, and a general feeling about the temporary nature of 'home' and 'accommodation' leads to reduced attachments (PR, Emma). The stay in a closed institution adds an extra layer of complication to the young women's housing situation, as most of them then lose any settled housing option and maybe personal belongings in the process:

<sup>340</sup> Dates and locations changed to maintain anonymity while at the same time maintaining close approximation.

I had a temp[orary] flat but they thought I'd abandoned it because my partner was in the jail and I was in the jail at the same time (...) and they didnae offer me anything after that except for a hostel. So me and my partner, we went into a hostel. We were always fighting so it was kinda domestic aw the time so we both got chucked oot the hostel and we had naewhere else (...) so we'd sleep in the closes through in Barrhead or just say Maryhill, for instance. Cumbernauld, just in and oot of closes. Or say sometimes his pal's or sometimes mine. We'd walk everywhere like from Maryhill to Ruchazie, down to the South Side, end up in Lenzie, just everywhere. (PR, Kayleigh)

Having to depend on oneself from an early age is a common experience, and many describe how they struggle with being by themselves (TfC, Kirstie), such that losing accommodation and 'going off the rails' is often connected to struggles with profound feelings of loneliness and isolation. Young detainees experience displacement and being cut-off from communication in various ways, most intensely in closed institutions like secure care and prison.

Being asked about their high levels of mobility, many young women summarise their experience as 'staying everywhere' and 'moving all over the place' (TfC, Jenna). Closed institutions can therefore represent spaces of 'inhibition' where communication with the outside world is heavily restricted, as well as important structures of spatial fixture that provide a sense of security and predictability through their inherent spatial traction. Both the high level of mobility/unpredictability outside and the high level of control/detention on the inside essentially lead to similar issues for the young women. Cindy, an Up-2-Us worker talked about how young women have 'identity' issues and difficulties to understand 'who they are because they've been living in so many different places or they've been shifted from authority to authority (...) especially girls who (...) are in a secure unit for [t]her own risk (...) so in terms of her own identity, she questions what she is doing there, so "Am I bad, am I?"' (Cindy, TfCw).<sup>341</sup> To assess what makes 'her, her' and trace the different places they have lived – including a map of Britain crisscrossed with the journeys between different places (see Chapter 4) is an important tool in trying to 'ground' young women and give them a sense of continuity.

Talking about their high levels of mobility, young women mentioned it as both enabling and part of their freedom, and as a struggle mentally and resource-wise. Being 'here, there, everywhere' (PR, Joanne; PR, Emma) is deeply ingrained in their every-day lives. Kayleigh (PR) explains how she could not be handled in families or children's homes and so was

---

<sup>341</sup> 'So with a lot of girls I do identity work in creative ways because girls like felt pens and different colours and stuff. So it is very gender specific I think. Again it is not a way of – because girls don't like sitting and talking whereas when you're making something and cutting something out, something pretty, then [...] [showing one book] this is one of {\*\*\*}, this is her and all the different things that she likes, these are the things she thought are important to her, that made her her. And this is her sister and we talked about what her sister means to her and good things and bad things, this is her favourite day – the first day that she got adopted. But we also used to talk about things like being in care, the things she likes and the things she hates about being in care and, you know, had we not done this, I wouldn't have got this conversation out of her but (...) we had a lot of fun thinking all these things out. And also she wrote all these negative things and once she saw it on the page she didn't like that it was all unbalanced, she wanted to do positive things as well, whereas hadn't we been talking about it, she wouldn't have talked about those positive things. And then more importantly this is what she did, this is all the different places she lived. So I think by the age of, I think we counted to like 27 placements by the age of 14 and that is a bit crazy. And that is all the different houses before she was 4 years old. Yeah, so this tool truly works for girls, I think because they're tangible and physical and you can hold on to them.' (Cindy, TfCw).

moved on, an explanation shared by many young women. This experience ‘not to fit in’ is a powerful identity marker. The ambivalence between ‘moving about’ on your own accord and ‘being moved’ or ‘running away’ is contextualised by most of them. The difference between their own self-determination and agency (‘I made myself move’ (SC, Maggie)) and forced mobility (‘I was just told “right, you’re moving”’ (SC, Maggie)) is a grey area: ‘I’d be sent to get moved because I was sick ae staying where I was staying’ (TfC, Kendra).

In this context, closed institutions provide a spatial fixture, anchoring the young women for a set amount of time, but equally *adding* to their mobility: ‘I got put into secure when I turned sixteen. And then just been in and oot since’ (PR, Flo). Their dislocation and uprooted way of living is given a new format when they spent time in closed institutions. The realisation of an element of repetitiveness in mobility can lead to frustration and feeling upset (‘when I look back and think “right this is where I was four years ago, I’m still doing the same shit.”’ (TfC, Joanne)), while for some it resembles the freedom of ‘not getting tied down’ (PR, Kara). Being ‘put out’ by a parent or family member often leads to this highly mobile way of life (PR, Emma; TfC, Kendra), while at the same time extended family often provide a temporary place to stay, with the young women not uncommonly being passed around relatives in the early teenage years (PR, Jess). Being moved to different care homes and foster care is described as difficult and unsettling:

I moved into a proper foster carer, and then I moved round like seventeen times within four months. So I was constantly moving (...) and then that’s when I started running away and stuff (...) you’re basically moving into like a stranger’s house and you don’t know them. It can be hard (...) I remember I was at this foster carer’s once (...) and I took all my stuff out my bags, because I had been living in my bags for about three weeks and I was like “I’m going to unpack.” And it was the first night I got there, I unpacked everything, got settled down. Went to school the next day. Came back and my bags were all packed on the door and I had to move to another foster carer’s. (SC, Nora)

Mobility requires a different attitude towards belongings as well as people. This is the case for young people who have to move far, for example coming from England to a Scottish secure unit, as well as moving many times within the same city (14 different children’s homes all in the Glasgow area: SC, Rhiannon; also TfC Ruth). The negative public attitudes and particular language surrounding mobility and institutions is reflected upon by some detainees:

I’m no’ gonnae let myself get institutionalised that way, like in and oot the rest of my life and that. I’ve been in and oot too much the last three year. I’ve been in and oot every year for the last three year. I only got oot in February and I’m back in already. Remanded, three days later sentenced. It’s a joke. (PR, Tamara)

Settling down and starting afresh are at the forefront of these young women’s minds, but many struggle to ‘keep out of bother’ and ‘keep the head down’ long enough (TfC, Carrie). This can be down to old environments with known temptations, like socialising in similar groups or being confronted with chaotic situations after release. What Goffman terms ‘untraining’ can also occur due to the institutional set-up.

The changing environments – particularly the strict regulation in closed spaces – create a different sense of autonomy and security which causes challenges in the community. While some are so used to permanent surveillance that outside spaces increase their perceived vulnerability, others report on increases of public scrutiny in the community, for example by local police forces. Community payback orders, probation, curfews and tags are all commonly used to ensure re-integration in the public eye.<sup>342</sup> Even without additional surveillance, starting afresh can be challenging due to increased difficulty finding work. High levels of mobility often clash with the steadiness required to attend criminal justice appointments or outreach services in the community. Closed institutions represent fixed stations in these young women's lives that create temporary stasis while paradoxically adding to their high mobility.

## **8.2 *From Pillar to Post: Mapping Across Young Female Mobility***

Accurately mapping these young women's pathways is almost impossible due to a lack of continuous sources. Their own descriptions from interview data, mental maps as well as case files help to create a general picture of their journeys that appears more blurred in certain sectors than others. The mapping of stays in closed institutions can be done relatively clearly as they seem to be remembered quite distinctly. It becomes more difficult when trying to map their moves in between, as at times other care placements and particularly stays in homeless accommodation fuse into each other. Talking of 'hundreds' of homeless placements and 'countless' care arrangements is a common way of summing up. Nonetheless, distinct trends and movements can be detected in the analysis of these young women's mobilities – keeping in mind that the numbers obtained only include places that they actively mentioned or wrote down on their maps, and that many more would probably have to be added to include 'all' moves. It must be noted at this point, however, that 'move' itself is a slightly slippery term and is in this case defined as a move to a different spatial setting (for example from parental home to care home) that is intended to last a considerable amount of time<sup>343</sup> and is intended or experienced as a 'home'. Moves that take up significant time in the young women's lives, but are temporary (albeit sometimes continuous in nature) like stays in police cells or moving while roofless, are not included.

Of the 48 young women, a minimum<sup>344</sup> of 34 have experienced care outside their parental home. While five of them have been cared for by relatives only (albeit at times with a high number of different placements), 29 have experienced different forms of residential child care like children's homes and foster care with the number of placements ranging between

---

<sup>342</sup> 'I am on my last legs again before I end up going back in; because I've just been put on a new probation order for 18 months so they said this was like my last chance outside' (TfC Gemma).

<sup>343</sup> This does not always apply, however, because care arrangements break down and at times these young people are moved, for example, from foster care to residential child care within hours or a few days. These moves are still counted here because they are generally experienced as potential longer-term stays and the emotional involvement is often similar for the young people who are moving/being moved.

<sup>344</sup> 34 young women directly mention that they have been cared for by relatives or institutions. There are a few interviewees who do not mention care arrangements, but who might have still been accommodated outside their parental home during their childhood and teenage years.

one and fourteen, and an average of 3.6 placements per young person. Of those 29 young women, the majority were accommodated in residential child care from their teenage years [21 young women between 10 and 15 years of age (average of 13); 7 young women between 1 and 7 years of age; 1 young woman unknown] with an overall average of 10 years of age. This is deemed significant by many young women in the interviews, as many mention that they were thrown out of their parental home or their relatives' home in their early teens due to being deemed 'out of parental control' or 'unmanageable', often leading to a spiral of many care placements (see table in Appendix 2).

Care placements often precede stays in closed institutions like secure care, but may also occur in-between. All young women interviewed have experienced at least one stay in a closed institution – many counting multiple types of institution and multiple stays. Of the 48 young women, 26 have experienced stays in secure care institutions (54%), ranging between one and nine separate detentions with an average of 2.2 stays per young person; while 13 of the 48 young women (27%) have experienced stays in closed psychiatric wards, with a much lower overall average of 1.5 stays per young person (ranging between one and three) – generally also with much shorter time spans spent in hospital. The most prominent closed institution is the prison, affecting 33 out of 48 young women (69%); and with the number of stays in prison (counting both stays as remand and convicted prisoners) ranging from one to eight stays, averaging 2.4 stays per young person. From an age of 16 and higher, many young people have experienced stays in homeless accommodation like B&Bs or hostels, emergency accommodation and medium-term homeless accommodation for young people.<sup>345</sup> The experience of 'homelessness' is not tied to age, though, and many young women under the age of 16 have experienced periods of 'rooflessness', 'sofa-surfing' and the like; 21 of the 48 young women directly mention their experience of homeless accommodation placements, while many more (31 according to table in Appendix 2) can also be assumed to have experienced them. The number of homeless accommodation placements only incorporates the stays that have been actively mentioned, and it can be assumed that the number of unreported cases is much higher. Mentioned stays range from one to twelve with an average of 3.6 stays per young person – many do not supply an actual number, but rather talk about being homeless since the age of 15 (PR, Holly) or having stays in many homeless placements (TfC, Joanne; TfC, Kendra).

The calculated number of moves does not represent a veritable figure – it is more a representation of a trend in the young women's lives that is based on the number of actual moves mentioned in interview data,<sup>346</sup> files and mental maps. Despite this conservative outlook on total moves, the numbers are surprisingly high with an average of 10.8 moves per young woman, ranging overall between two and 49 (see table in Appendix 2). The appreciation of what this highly mobile life-style entails cannot be grasped by looking at

---

<sup>345</sup> Many young people have experiences staying in homeless accommodation provided by local authorities that is managed with tight rules like signing when leaving the building, set times for return and staffed entrances.

<sup>346</sup> Often lower than can be expected of the 'imaginary' total number of moves per person that cannot be calculated.

figures alone. The young women's mental maps, their interview material and case-file data help to get a better sense of this extreme mobility, as intersected by one or more fixed stays in closed institutions. What clearly appears from the numbers above, though, is that this mobility is in many cases involuntary and heteronomous in nature; and that the underlying apparatus of movement often starts a lot earlier in these young people's lives than stays in closed institutions. There is a noticeable link between mobility and exclusionary societal practices, with closed institutions sitting on the far end of the continuum of exclusion. The young people's own perception of their level of self-determination is closely linked to feelings of rootlessness ('I don't come from anywhere' (TfC, Ruth)) and constantly shifting foci:

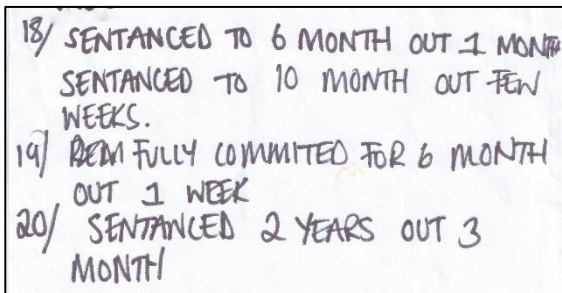
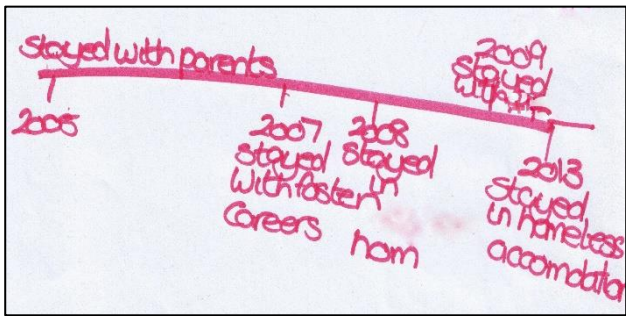
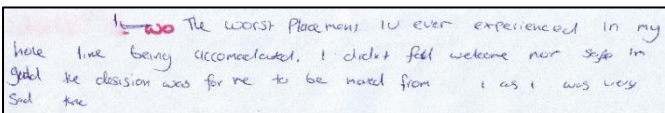
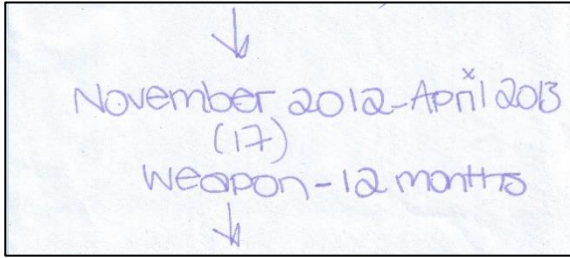
I was moving about, aye. It was like pillar to post. Different areas, different houses, different people, just a different environment aw the time (...) [from] thirteen [onwards], and it's on and off, d'you know whit I mean? Just moving in and oot. (PR, Kayleigh)

The length of stay timeframe is removed from the data display (Appendix 2) intentionally to maintain anonymity. In many cases, stays in closed institutions amount for months and sometimes even years at a time. Considering time spent in closed institutions is often possible only in retrospect because detainees cannot be sure how much time they will be held for. While it is a little more straightforward in prison, with set release dates which might be subject to change, in secure care and closed psychiatric units the time spent is subject to regular review.

Looking at the emerging patterns in the mobility of these young women, it becomes apparent that many seem to reappear in the same or different institutions along their journey. From the interviews conducted in prison (24), ten young women had previous experience of detention in secure units and five had previous experience of closed psychiatric facilities, while 18 out of the 24 interviewees have been in prison more than once. Of the 10 interviewees in secure care, three have been in secure more than once and four have previously been to closed psychiatric facilities. Of the 14 young women interviewed in the community (TfC), eleven have repeatedly been in prison (eight) and/or secure care (three) and five have moved from one institution to another. Overall, out of 48 young women, 33 have more than one stay in the same institution and 35 have two or more stays in closed institutions in general. Twelve have moved from secure care to prison, and five have experienced all three types of closed institutions.

This 'institutional repetitiveness' can also be observed in the young women's mental maps. A total of 23 young women made a mental map (see Chapter 4) all of which show personal insights into how they see their 'journey' or parts of it. The maps can be typologised and analysed according to four different types (see Table 5): Most young women used a list to draw their map; one organised it by years and listed the different locations according to what year they occurred; and five listed locations first (see Figure 34), sometimes adding in years, age or times of detention accordingly. Three lists are separated into age brackets that contain

*locations* (like: ‘went between numerous care homes’ (PR, Charlotte)), *happenings* (like: ‘out of trouble, no charges, lived myself’ (PR, Kara), *sentences* (reading: ‘sentenced to 6 month, out 1 month, sentenced to 10 month, out few weeks’ (PR, Flo)).

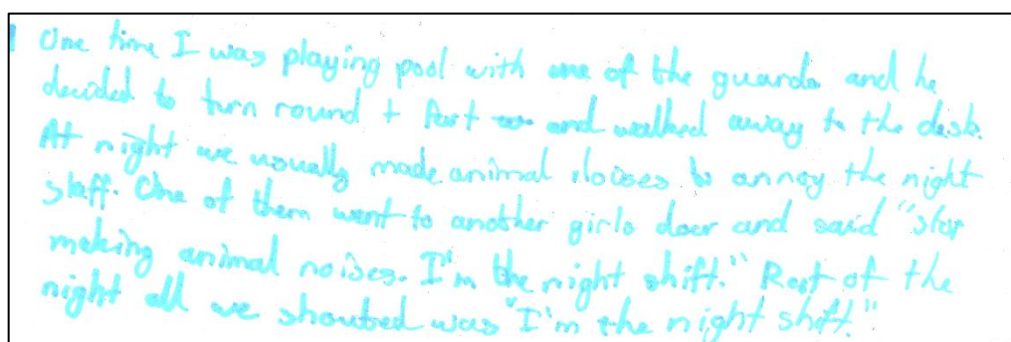
Map Type	Numbers	Organisation by	Extract <sup>347</sup>
List	9	age	
		years	
		location	
Timeline	3	location	
		mood	
Text	5	institution	
		biography	
Diagram	5	location	

**Table 23: Mental Maps**

<sup>347</sup> (1) Flo (PR), (2) Carrie (TfC), (3) Mia (SC), (4) Grace (PR).



Four mental maps – one from a young woman in prison, one in secure care respectively and two from the community<sup>348</sup> – are shown here in full as exemplary depictions (see Figures 28-31). The additional maps that were created in the interview process have been used in the analysis, but cannot be displayed in full due to reasons of confidentiality. The four exemplary maps were chosen because they capture different depictions that the young women chose for displaying their journeys. While some maps simply use bullet points or separate content using new lines, others depict more complicated structures of brackets and lines (TfC, Louise). Map 2 expressively shows Diane’s teenage years and hints at the high mobility that young people are subjected to when they are moved around different institutions. Three young women used a timeline to show their movements. Two organised their timeline according to different locations (see Map 3), one of which is stretched over two pages (TfC, Carrie), while the other uses a timeline with an added mood-curve to display how she felt rather than where she was located at the different times (TfC, Liz). Four of the five young women using written text to display their maps, focus mainly on their different locations, writing about how they felt in secure care (see Map 4) or prison (like TfC, Gemma). While Freddie (TfC) chose to write about anecdotes that happened in prison (Figure 27), Hannah (TfC) wrote a biographical account of where she had stayed. The text-based maps all provide quite detailed accounts of certain times in their lives.



**Figure 27: Mental Map Extract (TfC, Freddie)**

Six young women chose a diagram style for their mental maps, usually displaying some kind of movement or development with arrows. Suzie’s map (see Map 1) displays age, institution and location (removed for reasons of anonymity) focussing on her teenage years since she has been accommodated. Other diagram maps show a development of offences that led to detention in prison or community payback orders (like TfC, Carly). Lara (TfC) mapped her feelings according to different stages and places like baby, toddler to schools (‘depressed, lonely, sad’), adult psychiatric ward (‘terrified, confused’), children’s home and secure care (‘angry, scared, unfair, not cared for’); whereas Sophia (TfC) organised her map around ‘where I’ve been’. One map by Kirstie (TfC) displays her own causality, leading from ‘Me, 15-16 – no mum/family’ to ‘drink’ and ‘hang around with the wrong people’ to ‘fighting with police and anyone that pissed me off’ to ‘prison’.

<sup>348</sup> One map is taken from Schliehe 2012.

With different levels of artistry and detail, all of these maps show the young women's mobility through and in/out of institutions, often with a special description of their feelings and emotions tied to different periods in their lives. It is striking how early adolescence seems to be a crucial period when direction and life chances seem to turn, which coincides with literature placing a special importance on early to mid-adolescence with respect to offending as a youthful activity (Burman and Batchelor 2009). Many young women use their maps to describe how they became 'caught up' in the criminal justice system, often sparked by occasional difficulties with the police leading to more regular police contact (like spending nights in the 'cells') and subsequently stays in closed institutions. They talk about their institutional 'pathway' in similar terms to the 'revolving door' phenomenon that has been used in academic and policy literature to coin the process of regular returns to secure care or prison, although this terminology is discarded by some as a tool of stigmatisation and generalisation. The similarity with the so-called 'revolving door syndrome', describing a cyclical short-term re-admission to psychiatric units, might explain the discomfort with the term. This does, however, refute the apparent situation in which a majority of these young women are re-admitted to prison, secure care and psychiatric units – sometimes on a regular basis (see above). The term 'churning' might be used to describe the movements from one institution to the next with cyclic churning (back and forth, like prison and psychiatric units) and gradual churning (in a kind of career, like secure care to prison).<sup>349</sup> While many professionals working in the field see these young people mainly in the context of their institution, and describe the main 'trajectory' into the criminal justice system as 'care-secure care-prison', this view on mobility, only centred on institutions omits experiences in the community.<sup>350</sup> The reoccurring occupance of closed institutions is only one aspect in the mobility of these young people, whereas what happens in the community is arguably as important to their journeys as what happens in prison and secure care. Perhaps a more holistic view on their mobility can help to overcome stigmatising generalisations that happen so easily when focussing solely on institutional matters. The young women's descriptions of their journey through life have a lot to say about their experiences 'on the outside' that vitally contribute to their mobility. Here, then, closed institutions are seen as important if not decisive parts of larger carceral assemblages manifested in 'being kept on the move' and a sense of rootlessness.

---

<sup>349</sup> Both 'revolving' and 'churning' are contested terms and therefore only used in inverted commas. They are, though, occasionally used by interviewees (both professional and detainees) and therefore also mentioned here. The individual connections that exist between many young women and different institutions is not translated into the institutional context which has too few professional links (between secure care and prison). An important factor, rarely mentioned, is how these young women's picture seems to change with regards to how they are viewed through the prism of closed institutions. While their emotional needs and experienced trauma is a main filter through which they are seen and addressed in secure care, the picture changes in prison to mainly focus on their offences. These categories and changing focus can be observed in case files and worker's notes, as well as in the interview data. This change of perspective is closely connected to institutional practices and the shifting balance of care and control.

<sup>350</sup> The mobility through the care system with its unpredictability and inherent instability of not knowing how long placements last or where to be sent next could by itself be seen as a 'churning' process of root erosion. As described in Schliehe (2012: 90), young people in this process are often subjected to attached attributes and labels that set the stage for detention in closed spaces.

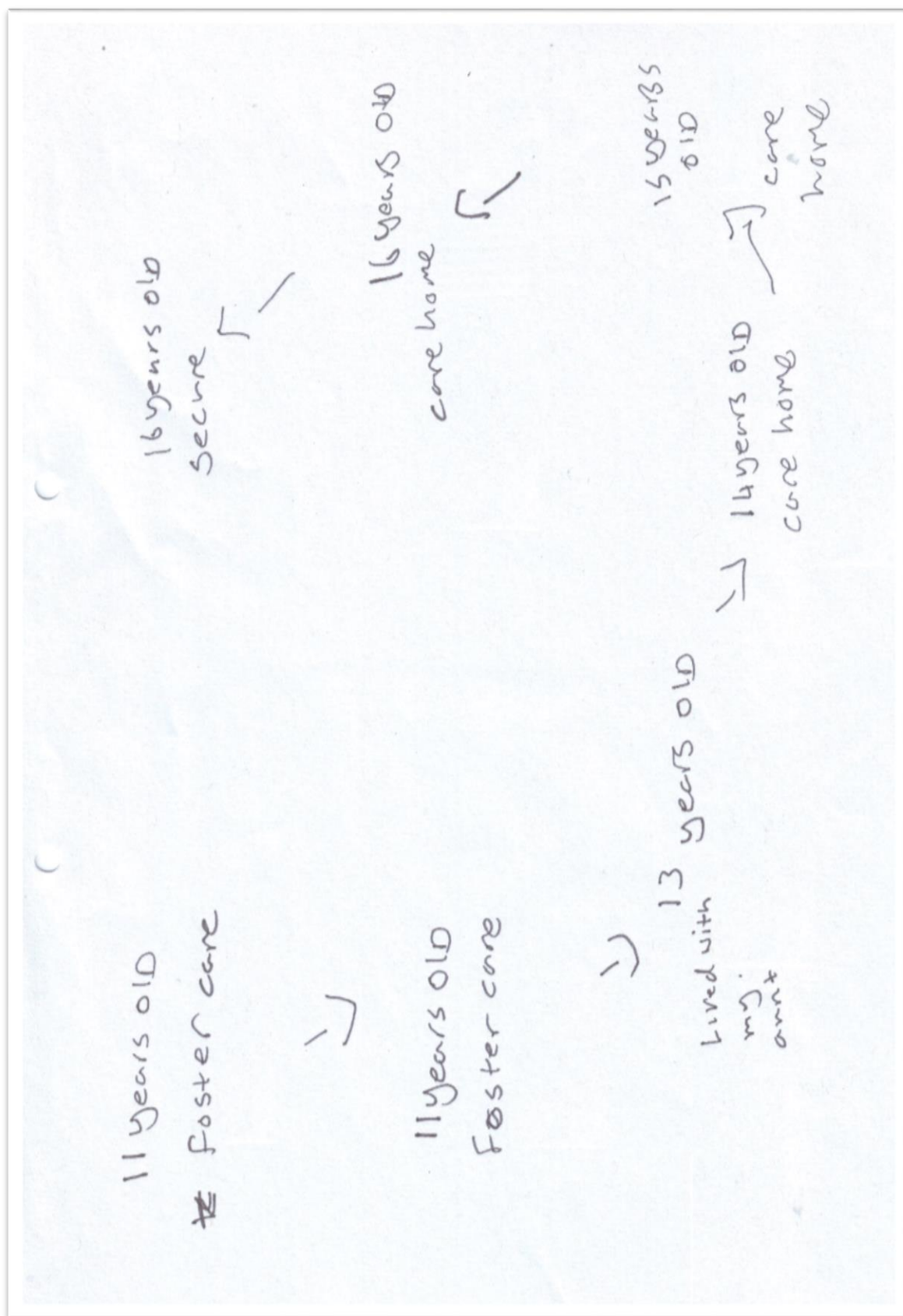


Figure 28: Mental Map 1 (SC, Suzie)

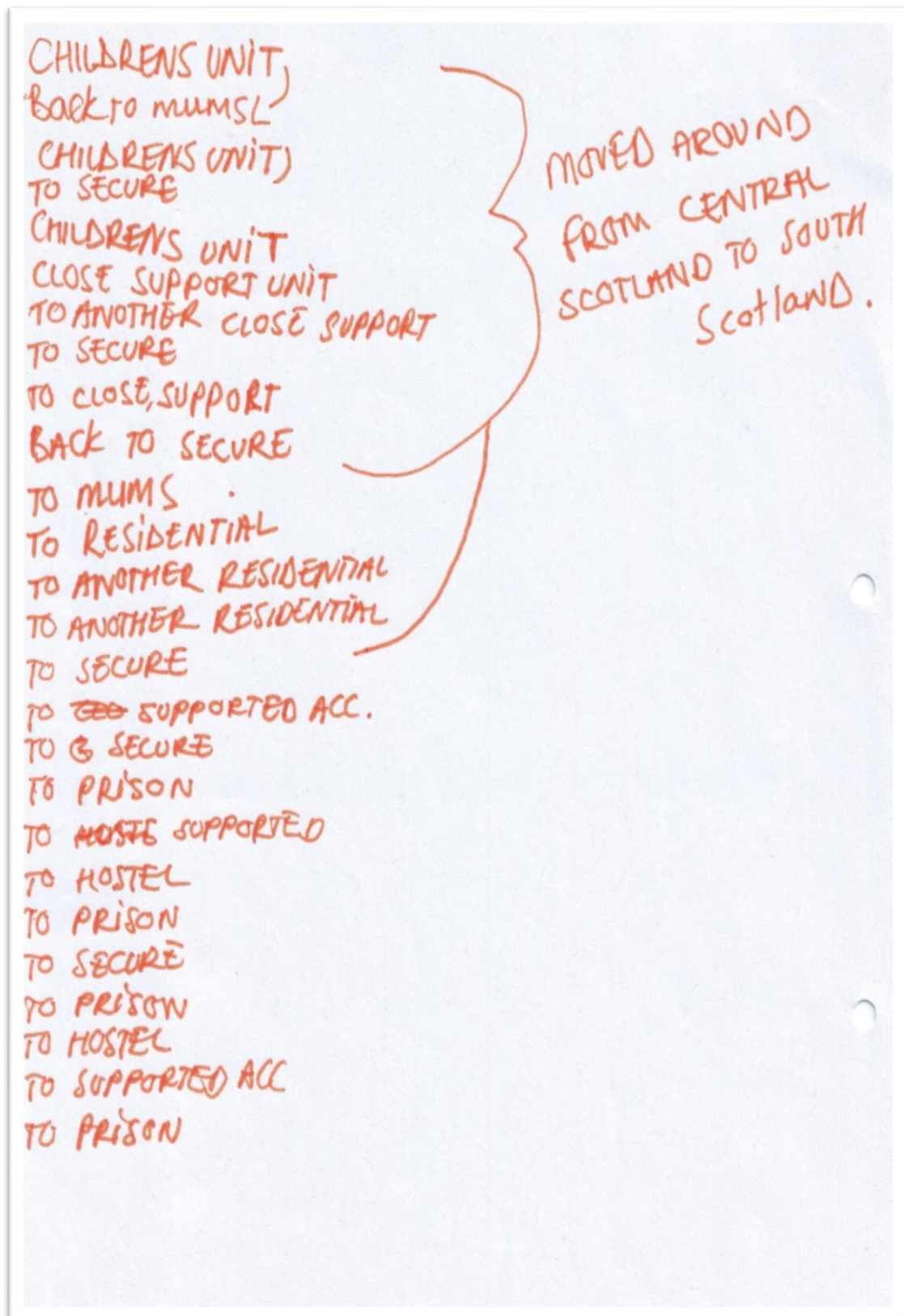


Figure 29: Mental Map 2 (PR, Diane)



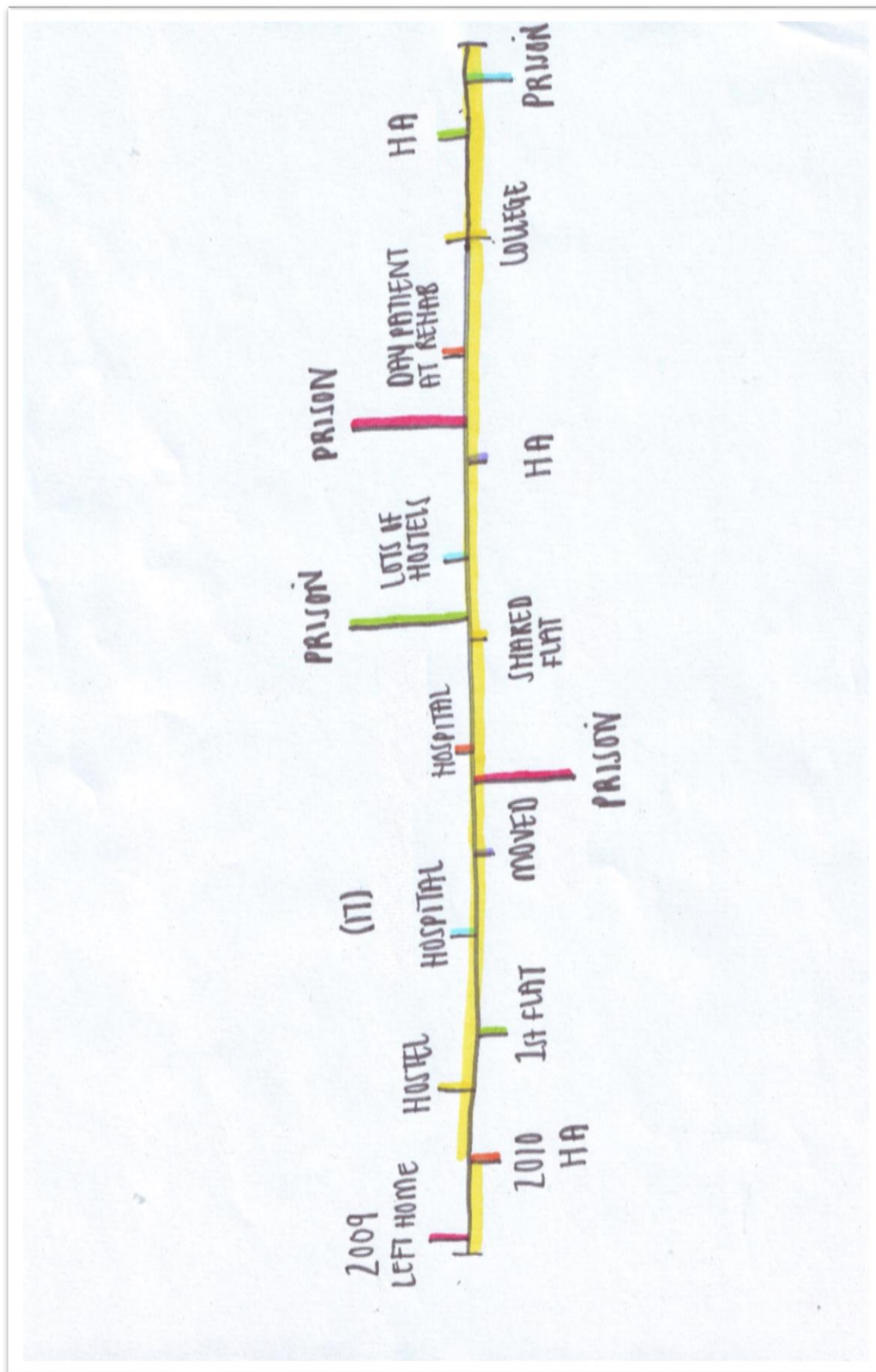
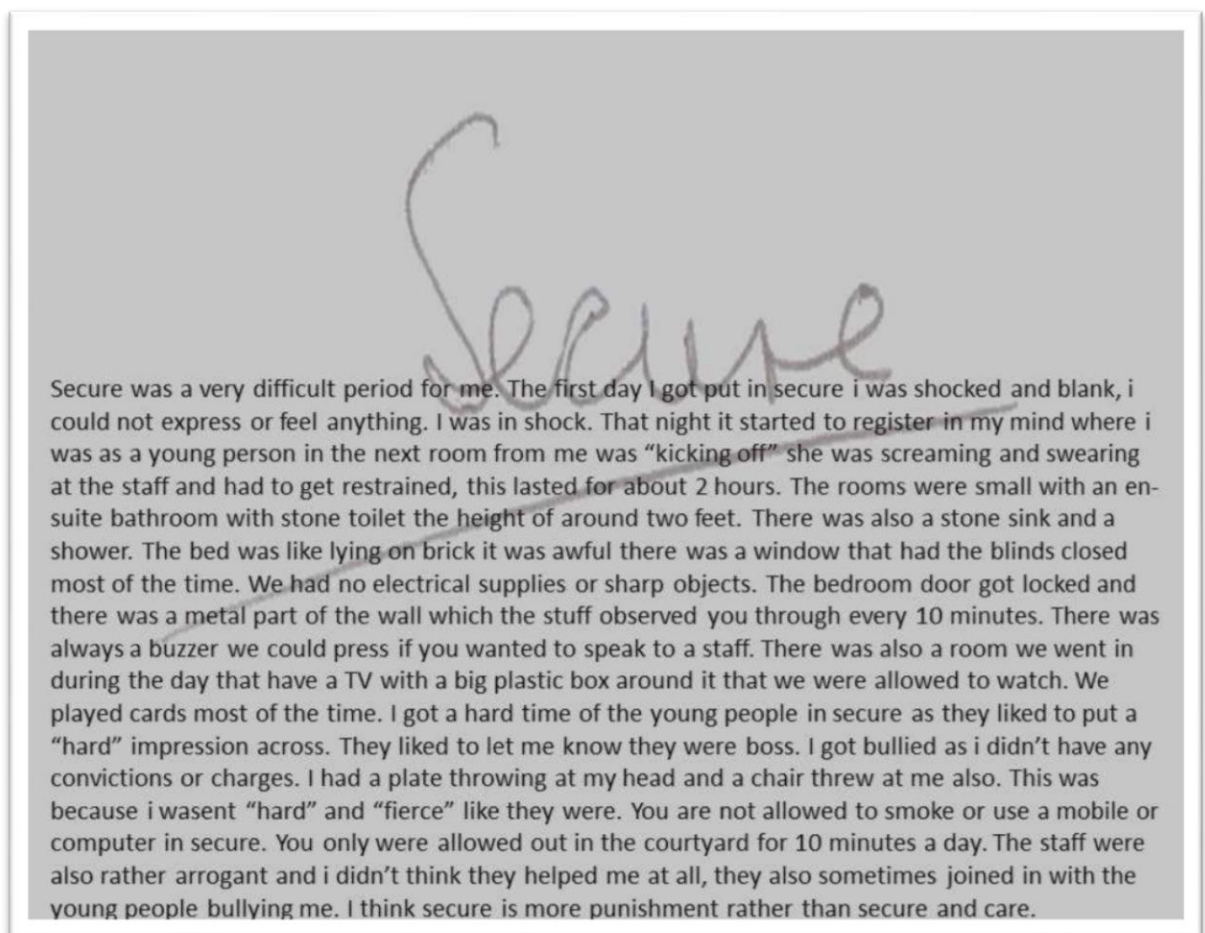


Figure 30: Mental Map 3 (TfC, Joanne)



**Figure 31: Mental Map 4 (TfC, Dorothy)**

These journeys are not only geographical movements through physical spaces but also journeys of personal development, set within a transition from child/adolescent to adult which, in the case of these young women is majorly affected by institutional paradigms and rules. Many young women describe their stays with terminology used around personal development, in that prison is seen as ‘growing up’ for a lot of them at first, but is later often described as an atmosphere similar to ‘just another children’s unit’ affected by inner design, rules and regulations. While these patterns have been analysed from both sides in Chapters 6 and 7, this chapter aims to ‘connect the dots’ between institutions and show the young women’s wider focus and surrounding environment. In the following, then, this ‘black box’ of community life is explored further in order to trace, and to extend, concepts of care, control and abandonment.

### **8.3 Black Box ‘Community’**

Individual experiences of life in the community for these young women disclose many facets and differ significantly. There are, however, commonalities regarding their situation that help to understand the challenges which they face. Without dwelling on individual instances too much, such commonalities point to ‘structural’ encounters with a wider society that has shaped these young women’s lives. The majority of interviewees mention problematic relationships with their families, many facing care placements either with family members

or in residential settings. Many report being ‘put out’ or ‘flung out’ of the house (PR, Emily; PR, Joanne), often triggering a series of different accommodation arrangements. High mobility and many moves are a characteristic feature of many life stories from early on:

When I was a baby I stayed wi’ my mum. I lived wi’ hunners [hundreds] different family members when I was wi’ my mum. Then I fractured my skull and then I moved aboot again. Then I went wi’ my dad, then I moved in wi’ my gran. I stayed with my gran until I was like six, then I stayed wi’ wan of ma aunties. Then I moved back in wi’ ma gran and then I stayed with my dad for a while, couple a month, like nine month or something. Then I moved back in wi’ gran, then moved oot to my auntie’s, then back in wi’ ma gran, then I moved into my dad’s for like a couple months, and then I moved into a hame. A children’s hame. My sisters were aw over the place anaw. (SC, Gina)

Such mobility has been, for many, connected to repeated experiences of rejection and feelings of being ‘unwanted’ (PR, Annie). The reasons for leaving the parental home in their early teens is often connected to being ‘outwith parental control’ (PR, Dianne). Most young women describe a web of varying enforced as well as self-determined location changes. Changing ‘home’ environments means a constant challenge to adapt to new environments, new rules and new people living in sometimes close proximity. This unpredictability of social and geographical surroundings leads to different responses, from craving stability and a ‘normal’ life to feeling detached and unrelated to a concept of ‘home’. ‘Home’ as a geographic location (Blunt 2005) as well as a place for personal possessions and intimate social ties to family members, is in many cases a disrupted and undermined concept. Many young women report difficulties regarding their families with bereavement, loss of children, care responsibilities for younger siblings and unreciprocated emotional ties to relations. When talking about their families, negative experiences far outweigh positive stories in the interviews, many describing emotional balancing acts and traumatic incidents:

My mum was an alcoholic, well, she still is (...) and my dad, he was always in and oot ae prison. (...) so I was cooking dinners for my wee brother and sister, washing them, bathing them, taking them to school, and this had started fae like nine year old. And I was going to school at the same time as well. So it was like me a young mother kinda thing. (TfC, Carrie)

I found it quite difficult when my ma and my dad passed away, that’s when I found it difficult. And because of my dad’s alcohol and my maw’s selling drugs, it affected us because we’d been in and oot ae care. (TfC, Louise)

Me and my sister had went through a really bad time when we were kids. We seen things we shouldn’t have seen and I blame my mam and dad for bringing us up in that kind of environment and I blame my mum mostly for letting my dad have drugs and needles around us when she knew. And I blame the both ae them. But I don’t blame them for me daeing drugs because it’s not like they shoved them doon my throat. (PR, Daisy)

I went back to my mum and there was days when she wasn’t great with her alcohol control and things were a bit crap. And I got bullied a lot at school because my mum had really bad depression and she’d lie in bed a lot I’d go to school looking really like unwashed and things like and a lot of people would bully me. (TfC, Lara)

The complex issues arising around the concept of ‘family’ have long-lasting effects, and many young women struggle with how their behaviour has affected their siblings or families. The feeling of being a ‘black sheep’ or ‘wee rebel’ (PR, Dianne) and causing the family upset (it being especially hard on younger siblings or children when they are detained) is felt by many (like PR, Jess). The acknowledgment of causing trouble is a source of sadness for most, while some shrug it off as they ‘just couldn’t handle me’ (PR, Jenna). Many report not just their own geographical mobility, but a dispersion of all family members across many different regions in Britain (like SC, Mona), making it difficult to stay in touch at times and causing feelings of powerlessness because they cannot help family members in trouble (SC, Gina). Others state a clear distance that they feel and try to maintain from members of the family, or being cast out of the family ties altogether (like PR, Kara). While some feel they unable to change their own life, many try and to influence their younger siblings, telling them off for getting ‘institutionalised’, criticising situations not unlike their own: ‘So he’s been in and oot ae care all his life. And it’s ‘cause, obviously, the group ae people he was hanging about wi’, so he was getting intae drugs, cannabis, drinking all the time, never went tae school at all. So that’s what I said to him “You need to screw your nut when you get oot because you cannae dae this all your life”’ (PR, Olivia).

Children are another source of deep emotional turmoil.<sup>351</sup> Sometimes long separation or indefinite loss and feelings of failure are combined with wanting to ‘sort mysel’ oot for my bairn’ (PR, Tamara). Getting children back is seen as one possibility to stay out of closed institutions and to lead a more structured life outside, a strategy often preceded by failed attempts to do just that, leading to feelings of increased hopelessness (PR, Annie). The wish to have/be part of a supporting family is felt strongly by many young women, who regret that they have very close ties only few family members (PR, Sophia; TfC, Dorothy), while others evidently disrupt the ‘good’ family on many occasions. The opaque and ambiguous feelings that the vast majority have towards their family and their home(s) are summarised by Kirstie (TfC): ‘in a way it made me, in a way it broke me as well’. The complicated emotional landscape outside is majorly influenced by the family situation.

The feeling of not being wanted, not being good enough and being the odd one out is repeated in other social situations while growing up. Frequently described are these young women’s experiences of school environments. A high proportion report bullying and being regularly dragged into fights, sometimes due to obvious otherness or behavioural conspicuousness. Asked about their school attendance, many tell that they never went to school once they hit puberty (after primary school), thus losing out on qualifications (like PR, Annie). A couple of young women admit high levels of anxiety in connection with sitting in a class room with many other young people, particularly after getting used to schools in secure care with small class sizes. Others recall being sent to residential school, sometimes requiring significant

---

<sup>351</sup> ‘They just turn up at the door “we’re taking your kids.” You know what annoys me, they never came to my door and said to me “you need help, would you like to engage with us as social work? Would you like our help?” (...) I was devastated and there was nothing I could do then.’ (PR, Charlotte)



effort like being picked up by a taxi every morning to get there. For many, school in secure care settings was a way to re-engage with education, having previously dropped out or been expelled from regular schools (PR, Emma; PR, Jess). Changing schools is also part of the whole experience of mobility as deeply engrained in many of their described ‘pathways’,<sup>352</sup> and fallen between the stools of different education facilities is one of the most common features discussed.

Other services like mental health outreach are described in a similar way by some, albeit with noticeably more reluctance on their part. Most of the young women have come into contact with mental health services at some point in their life, but most avoid talking about their experiences. Some mention almost in passing that they have been sectioned due to suicide attempts or similar (PR, Sophia). According to the files (fieldnotes SC/PR/TfC) self-harm is quite common among these young women, although they do not like to talk about it. Some actively mention self-harming, like cutting wrists or overdosing (SC Cecilia) and others mention severe depression and anxiety attacks (PR, Charlotte) or talk about their struggles with different medication. In the case files, extended self-harm is described for most of the young women in secure care, many in TfC files, whereas it is not a feature of prison files unless concerning extreme cases. Self-harm includes tying ligatures, cutting arms, legs, face, swallowing sharp objects or poisonous liquids like nail varnish remover, but also self-harm through extensive drug- and alcohol use and ‘risky’ behaviour (sitting on train tracks, seeking out situations that can lead to sexual exploitation and more) and other forms of harm like setting fire to self/room (see field notes, SC/TfC). Many young women are on mental health medication to treat PTSD, anxiety, depression and personality disorders: ‘Depression and anxiety. Depression, big time. Probably from the situations I’ve put myself in. Just come out the other end with things like that. And I will never live a normal life. But I don’t know what normal is’ (TfC, Liz).

Experiences of psychiatric facilities are mostly brief and/or characterised by unsuitable treatment for the young women’s lifestyle and circumstances (PR, Dianne; TfC, Lara). Many mention that they struggle to get any help like counselling to learn how to cope with bereavement and trauma in the community. Depending on their situation, they also mention not being ready to engage with mental health services. These young women often struggle with multiple forms of trauma, neglect and rejection which some of them have experienced from early in their lives. A few report abusive relationships (mental, physical and sexual abuse) or traumatic incidents like rape and sexual violence as well as physical attacks, whereas the majority avoid talking about their own trauma (albeit accounts appear in their files). More young women open up about issues like loss and bereavement (PR, Grace; PR, Louise) or traumatic incidents in closed institutions (TfC, Hannah). Often it is the incidents themselves, but also the surrounding circumstances, that make it so traumatic and add to their difficulties at coming to terms with what happened (like not being allowed to go to a

---

<sup>352</sup> ‘We’d been in and out ae care. Like we were in just for, say, two years, and then we got took back out again, so been in and out ae school, different schools. It was just horrible, I hated it.’ (TfC, Louise).

funeral while in detention). Mental health difficulties and escalations in behaviour often coincide with traumatic experiences: Grace (PR), for example, explains how she started self-harming after her best friend died and she lost another family member. Traumatic experiences can also have direct implications for how their living environment is perceived, causing long-standing aversions: ‘I actually knew two lassies (...) that jumped aff the bridge (...) they were my two best pals. So then I started to hate the staff for it because it happened tae them.’ (PR, Louise). Alcohol and drug use as well as ‘unmanageable’ behaviour are often described as a coping strategy to be able to live with trauma and everyday exposure to violence and suffering (PR, Isla; Louise). One traumatic experience is often followed by others, and many explain, for example, how running away and absconding leads to ‘putting themselves at risk’ (SC, Mona).

Many describe themselves as poly drug users. Drugs (including cannabis, solvents, legal highs, cocaine and heroin) as well as alcohol often lead to compromised health (liver damage and other) or implications for living conditions like losing houses due to drinking and partying (PR, Emily; PR, Annie). Many describe escalating behaviour stemming from alcohol and legal highs like Valium:

I do get on wi’ folk, but when I get that in me I just don’t care and I stop taking my medication, I don’t know, it’s a different me and it’s just riots. I just turn into a pure mad case, just go oot drinking for days and naebody’s seeing me for days and all that carry on. (PR, Bianca)

Severe behavioural changes, offending while on drugs and increased violence are frequently described (PR, Daisy; PR, Flo; TfC Freddie). Ending up in police cells on a regular basis is a common experience (‘nearly every weeked’ (TfC Freddie)). Drinking is explained by boredom (PR, Emily) but also because life is experienced as really difficult and hard.<sup>353</sup> Some recall starting to drink heavily from an early age (like aged 9: PR, Kara) and having to face the consequences like stays in police cells from age 12 (SC, Rhiannon). In many cases alcohol and drug use from an early age triggered increasing police involvement and ‘being known’ (PR, Emily).<sup>354</sup> Many young women describe how their alcohol and drug use significantly depends on the types of relationships that they have. This is true for their wider circle of friends and their peer group, but particularly for their significant other. Many speak about managing relationships with partners in prison. Picking up charges is initially often connected to their boyfriend or girlfriend: ‘And I didn’t used to live this life. I didn’t used to (...) I’d never got in trouble before I got with that boy, I never took drugs before I got with that boy. And now look at me, I can’t get away from it’ (PR, Charlotte). Many describe controlling or abusive relationships and picking up ‘domestics’ on a regular basis (PR, Daisy). Dependencies on partners and ex-partners are often quite high – some describing how they had to leave all their belongings with them: ‘aw my clothes and everything (pause)

---

<sup>353</sup> ‘I was like “oh, fuck. Big bad world.” You know what I mean? It isnae as nice when you’re no’ drunk all the time’ (TfC, Joanne) (See also Chapter 7).

<sup>354</sup> Heavy alcohol and drug use also have an impact on desistance outcomes as there are so many temptations in the community (TfC, Hannah).

everything that I own is at my ex-partner's house' (PR, Kayleigh). While many see relationships as fluid, changing frequently and separating relationships on the inside and outside (often balancing both at the same time), they also describe strong bonds to their partner(s) which are significant in surviving/managing on the outside.<sup>355</sup> Partners can have a significant impact on stabilising or destabilising life in the community.

Offending behaviour in the community is connected to many factors, including peer group, partner or drug and alcohol use. The start of offending behaviour is often characterised as getting into fights with peers or the police, which then become a regular occurrence (PR, Daisy; TfC, Freddie). Charges like breach of the peace, non-appearance at court, assault, police assault, resisting arrest and later breaching of community service or probation and ASBOs follow (like PR, Annie; PR, Emma). Other charges like shoplifting are more often connected to funding a drug habit or, in Kara's (PR) case trying to repay an old debt. The regularity of offending<sup>356</sup> and contact with the police is commonplace, with one charge typically followed soon by others like assault – police assault – and resisting arrest (PR, Kirstie). Many young women relate getting into trouble for fighting, which is often deeply engrained in social and/or actual geographical territory:

We would fight with people from another scheme, two different schemes, but in the same town. If you weren't from that scheme you wouldn't, you know what I mean, you'd be like an enemy kind of thing. So, we fought with people called the Smithton, which was like craziness. There's been swords, everything from like bricks to swords [...] it was like crazy (...) it just kind of started from there, I would say. I wouldn't kind of blame it on the place, or the people, I'd blame it on the drugs and the alcohol. (TfC, Liz)

Even if behaviour is not deemed as 'offending' but rather as 'risky', particularly characteristic for girls and young women, many have repeated contact with the police – as when found while absconding and being returned (SC, Mona; SC Maggie). Contact with the police and criminal justice workers is not the only form of public service interaction. For all young women, some form of agency support is part of their lives in the community; and most young women have come into contact with social work services with vastly differing outcomes. Many share Mona's (SC) experience of a challenging relationship with social work, often going through many different social workers in their time (22 in nine years in Mona's case).<sup>357</sup> Rather than longer-term support, most services aim at solving particular problems (housing, job) but not engaging with the person as a whole.

One noticeable exception is Time for Change (TfC, see Appendix 3) which is mentioned as making a big difference to the overwhelming majority of interviewees engaging with the service. One important difference from most other services is their 24/7 availability in case

---

<sup>355</sup> 'He tries his best, he'll no' let me come to harm. (...) I feel safe when I'm with him' (PR, Kayleigh).

<sup>356</sup> 'I was always in and out the polis cells, so I was. Like Friday to the Monday and then go to court on the Monday and all that. I always got chance after chance, but I always seemed to fuck it up' (PR, Isla).

<sup>357</sup> 'Sometimes it's good but sometimes they don't listen tae you. Like they'll ask you aboot a situation like something stupid like (...) Dunno "Why did you walk on the main road?" Or something like that. Then you'll say "Aw 'cause I didnae feel well and I wanted to go hame (...)." And then they'll go "You're lying, you were walking to go prostituting." (...) I don't get al.ong with social work. They tell you they're there to help you and then you ask them for a bit of help, like when I asked to get moved, and they don't move you' (SC, Gina).

of emergency and for emotional support (TfC, Liz). A lot of the positives mentioned about the TfC approach are difficult to quantify, entailing things like being good listeners and giving good advice (PR, Diane), helping the young women to improve self-confidence in a way that they could understand (TfC, Dorothy), feeling better about themselves after working with them (TfC, Liz), and ‘clicking’ easier with them and the fact that working with them is not forced onto anyone (PR, Flo). Other factors are also mentioned, like availability via phone and text-messaging, helping with keeping appointments such as court dates, aiding with housing emergencies and trying to keep people out of trouble generally (TfC, Jenna). TfC seem to provide more continuity and reliability than other services:

It’s always been Time for Change that’s helped when I’ve came back out. It’s always them. Naebody else. I’ve asked for support and that, but I never ever got it, like coming back oot fae prison. Like drug workers and that they’ve put in place, you never hear fae them. (TfC, Hannah)

Quite a few interviewees mention how they like TfC for how they link up with other services (PR, Louise). Other such services<sup>358</sup> are indeed also offered and used by some of the young women, but with varying results. Some of these services have very limited geographical reach or quite tight selection processes (age limits; diagnosis barriers), while others are dismissed after a short period of engagement due to inflexible ways of working for this highly mobile group. Particularly in the difficult time of pre- and post-release and transition, these services do offer help with practical support (PR, Jess). Some young women mention more unusual networks of support such as their women’s aid worker or GP (PR, Charlotte).

All these organisations work with this group of young women to help integrate them into ‘mainstream’ society with a more stable lifestyle, avoiding more stays in closed institutions and offending. Many also try to address trauma and other challenges like education, mental health, drug and alcohol or violence. It is particularly difficult, however, to address the stigma that is attached to multiple ‘conditions’, such as having been to prison, having no school leaving certificate, or high levels of depression and anxiety. The stigma that is attached to the young women’s mobile and at times chaotic lifestyle is not restricted to official bodies like potential employers (confronted by a criminal record), but may also be applied by family and friends, which can lead to further alienation and deprivation. Many young women report that their families’ reaction to their detention and lifestyle involved embarrassment, shame and resentment. Some mention losing their family and friends (TfC, Kirstie), whereas others struggle with the consequences not just for themselves but for their family:

They were just upset when I went into prison and stuff because none of my family have ever been in any trouble so it was quite a shock, and I think they were embarrassed a bit because some of the stuff was in the paper. So everyone kind of knew about it and kept asking my brother about it. (TfC, Gemma)

---

<sup>358</sup> Like Shine (SPS 2014: 12), Throughcare (Celcis 2014), Isms (Scottish Government 2008b), Includem (2016), Step-down community service (2016), WSA (Robertson forthcoming) and the Young Women’s Centre (YWC 2016).

The limitations that arise with regard to opportunities are mentioned by many who are looking for a job and cannot apply for any type of caring profession, often limiting them to work in charity shops (TfC, Carrie; TfC, Gemma) to gain access to any kind of employment. Many struggle with the dilemma of telling new acquaintances or employers about their situation (TfC, Sophia) for fear of being judged.

Many different factors contribute to this complex and mobile lifestyle in the community that throws up so many challenges for this group of young women. Their unpredictable lifestyle and sudden location changes make it difficult for services to provide consistent care. Complicated family relationships and volatile connections to peers and significant others all produce feelings of un-rootedness or un-attachment. The young women's journeys can hence be better understood with this (still very fragmentary) description of their life in the community. While all journeys are individual and personal, it is vital to realise the common strains and pressure on these young women. Their exclusion from education – sometimes from an early age – and self-perception as an educational failure<sup>359</sup> are followed by similar experiences in the job market. Struggling to secure and hold on to a job is a universal experience, deeply connected to feeling stigmatised and excluded. It seems that these young women constantly find themselves at odds with societal values and norms regarding education, jobs, relationships and their roles as mothers, carers and law-abiding members of the community. Marked as 'unmanageable' and 'out of control' places them under intense scrutiny and surveillance from social services, criminal justice services and closed institutions. The paradox of extreme levels of control (turned care) and little consistent empowering support spawns an environment of abandonment. Clashes with the law,<sup>360</sup> coupled with frequent exposure to trauma, violence and death, as well as exclusion from many 'mainstream' societal structures,<sup>361</sup> frequent displacement, interrupted and complicated relationships with family, friends and partners, struggles with mental health and clashes with their own expectations all create an abandonment that sits uneasily within the systems provided to care for, and to control, these young women. When coupled with gendered dimensions and moral judgments about behaviour, this adds an extra layer of exclusion that ties in with other feminist research examples of *femina sacra* – albeit with age-specific characteristics. 'Being abandoned' is not just a state in which they suddenly find themselves as adolescents or young adults, but often these young women have experienced 'actual' abandonment from early in their lives, by being handed around different care settings. The gendered dimensions of abandonment are particularly evident around high levels of mobility (not being as settled as expected), high levels of risk (especially

---

<sup>359</sup> Either being expelled or being discouraged to continue in mainstream education, leading to many ending up without a school leaving certificate. Only one young woman of all the young people encountered during my fieldwork period persisted with going to college, even she struggled with keeping it up.

<sup>360</sup> Just to re-iterate here – these young women are deemed as offenders but are also at extremely high risk of being victims of crime with their complicated 'risky' lives (for a more in-depth discussion, see for example Chesney-Lind and Shelden 2014: 160ff.).

<sup>361</sup> Including an inability to partake fully in the consumer society – creating a more abstract sense of exclusion from 'desirable' living and the public sphere (deemed objects of suspicion in the eyes of an affluent majority). For more information on the effects on poor communities, see McAuley (2007) and Stephenson (2007).

gendered/sexually compromised), high levels of unmet need (seen as needy and ‘overseeking’), being unable to sustain relationships (particularly as mothers and partners), and showing offending behaviour (against gender stereotypes). These gendered dimensions do not just affect societal ‘views’ on these young women, but perhaps more importantly disrupt what Goffman calls images of self, causing a more abstract sense of ‘mortification’ for these individuals through not being able to meet expected norms. This abandoned state (‘excluded exclusion’: see Chapter 3) should not be understood as a static ‘given’, though, but rather as a process – constantly in flow with changing levels of perceived displacement – across community and institutional environments. This group of young women – alongside other *femina sacra* examples like Pratt’s (2009) domestic workers – find themselves very much dis-engaged from the political system despite being placed under high levels of control and controlled care.

#### 8.4 Carrying Institutions and Hope for a ‘Carefree’ Life

Capturing mobilities to understand trans- and supra-institutional journeys exposes much about the interface between institution and individual. The complex nature of closed institutions and how they are experienced by detainees cannot be conceived without directing attention to these individual ‘journeys’. The institutions’ inner constitution and the individual experiencing of what it means to live in and with them can be conjoined in the metaphor of ‘carrying’ institutions. The metaphor of a backpack to which institutions are added as the young women move along creates a picture of increasing weight that has the ability both to enable them and to drag them down. The realisation that the institutions add this weight, increasing the young women’s exposure to high levels of control and care, allows a deeper understanding of how their position carries with it a deeply engrained form of ‘trouble’ – being both troubling and troubled by the opaque and antagonistic levelling of the institutional realm. The paradoxical combination of care and control is acutely felt by the detainees, often leading to increases in institutional pull-factors and working against the proclaimed aim of prevention and rehabilitation:

I really do want to (...) make a better life for myself, it’s obviously no’ the life for me. But it’s got a better routine in here. Naebody really hurts you. You’ve got a better future in here. Not a better future, a stable life in here. And you get fed, you’re no’ worried about getting kicked out your house or anything or the polis chapping on your door, getting in shite 24/7 or drug dealers coming tae see you, you’re safe in here. (PR, Daisy)

Institutions – similar to a bead chain – line up in individual journeys exposing simultaneously the extreme levels of underlying individual mobility and the adverse consequences of recurring confinement. Rootlessness and institutional bonds seems to reinforce each other in turn with regards to individual conduits. The young women realise that they get caught in a ‘system’ of institutional responses and adapt:

I did start working the system out and I was in the system for a while. I knew how far to push it and I’d get let off wi’ things when I was younger (...) the things I used to do

it was just because I could do it and get let off with it. (...) And they're moving me about the place because they're saying I'm outwith parental control, [but] how is a stranger going to be able to control me and get me to change my ways if I'm not even going to listen to my mum? (PR, Dianne)

The attempt to map 'pathways' is controversial: on the one hand, it is important to understand where they are coming from and what challenges they face; on the other hand, it is deeply problematic as it can easily lead to a deterministic view on an 'unmanageable' or 'out of control' group. For this very reason, I refrain here from showing individual profiles.<sup>362</sup> Rather than stick to preconceived paths when attempting to understand these young women's journeys, it is important to ask their views and let them tell their stories. It is crucial to understand their motivations and hear their explanations in order to be able to look beyond initial impressions. Many different parties, including services, institutions and often young women themselves, have the preset aim to stay 'out of trouble' and many young women indulge in imagining a 'carefree' life in the future.

Many different factors contribute to this aim to 'stay out of trouble', but there are adverse currents that complicate achieving it, ranging from normative pressures and stigmatisation, to trouble with neoliberal conformism and integration into job markets. Other challenges include damaged physical health and struggles with mental well-being, as well as the high pressure of potential risk factors in the immediate vicinity. Becoming more successful in avoiding 'trouble' often involves breaking with habit: not associating with the same people, avoiding certain geographical areas, managing alcohol and drug intake, and re-integrating into 'society' by adhering to certain timed structures like getting up early and going to bed early. Achieving re-integration is particularly challenging as many of these practices increase social isolation, loneliness and boredom. 'Trouble' – most young women agree – is tied to particular places and people: 'I seem to get on wi' my life a lot better. I'm always sitting worried about them, what they're daeing, instead o' thinking aboot myself. So I just try and keep my distance now and do my ain thing' (Tfc, Louise). Keeping their distance, moving to have a fresh start and not going out in order to avoid trouble are commonly described tactics that seem to work for a while (TfC, Kirstie), but maintaining distance from old social circles or family increases the focus that they train on themselves, with many then struggling to deal with their mental health and to 'manage their feelings' (TfC, Dorothy). It is difficult to choose the 'sensible' lifestyle outside: 'I knew I was gonnae get lifted again 'cause, well, I wanted to go oot and get pished wi' my pals. (...) I wouldnae go back noo. (...) Don't know, it's just I realised there's nae point in going in and oot of there [prison] 'cause that's no' a life' (TfC, Freddie<sup>363</sup>). Reminiscing about their experiences in closed institutions reveals many of the issues around stigma, recidivism and the hope for being able to stay out of trouble.

---

<sup>362</sup> Even though, admittedly, a lot could be learned from them. In order to avoid generalisations on the level of an individual, it is important to understand that there is no *one* pathway or set track and there cannot be a comprehensive description of any young person's personal journey. All that can be attempted is to draw near to someone's description of particular issues in relation to their way through institutions and stays in the community.

<sup>363</sup> Having said this, I met her in prison again on two occasions afterwards.

## *Secure Care in Retrospect*

Having moved on from secure care, young people often see their time there differently to how they viewed it at the time. Opinions are divided: while some say that they want to go back, others claim that their animosity towards the institution increased after release. The young women's feelings of confusion and uncertainty about institutional life sit at the heart of one of the main paradoxes between too much control and too much care. Most show certain modes of adaption even after release and are left with high levels of ambiguity:

They were horrible (...) they did treat you like animals (...) it was pathetic that way but it was beneficial at the same time (...) 'cause it kinda made you realise what you took for granted, eh? It learned me respect, anyway. I was gutted when I left, I didn't want tae leave. (PR, Tamara)

I didnae realise how much I actually liked secure until I had left it. And I liked the boundaries and all that. (...) Like, if I wasn't put in secure, then I wouldn't have got any qualifications. I wouldn't have went to a school. (PR, Annie)

Certain aspects of the institution only really come to light after release. The stigma attached to an institution and its detainees is difficult to measure, but there are several indicators that can give an impression of the issue. Many (former) detainees are anxious to convey that not everybody in secure care is a 'bad person', worrying that people will judge them and think them to be offenders, drug addicts and violent youths, whereas in fact many are in secure care for their own protection ('I am here because of what people have done to me' (SC, Mona)). Many tell stories of how people react when they learn about young people's stay in secure care:

Like when I went for the college interview when I was getting into college after leaving [secure care] and I had to explain to her that I was in secure she looked quite shocked. And she was like "why are you in there?" and I was like "well it was for my own safety". And she was like "do they put you in there for that? I didn't think that!" (TfC, Lara)

Some believe that they are turned down – even in places like closed psychiatric units due to fears about the anticipated challenges with young people from secure care.<sup>364</sup> Others explain that there is a lot of pressure when entering a new placement after secure care, since other young people and staff will learn about the stay in secure care and it is then difficult to fit in with the expectations (such as the 'hard kid' expected to start a carry on) (TfC, Liz). Many young people struggle with their own anxieties, and they are aware that 'people judge you by your story', but at the same time it is part of their identity – 'it is kind of what makes you, you in a way' (Ibid). There are expectations within other closed institutions attached to young people who have been to secure care. In certain social groups or environments, notably in prison, it is difficult to get away from stigma attached to feelings and opinions about secure care.

---

<sup>364</sup> 'Everywhere I go they turn me fucking doon. I went to a mad place [psychiatric hospital] and they turned me doon. (...) Don't want me. I'm too big a risk. It's pish' (SC, Gina).



Feeling the after-effects of secure care – like anxiety and panic attacks or nightmares – are an invisible stigma that can affect young people’s lives after release: ‘(...) I tried to kill myself because I was getting nightmares about that and I didn’t want to go out with my friends or do anything because I was scared I would get put back in there (...) there was so much anger about being in there. I just hate it’ (TfC, Lara). Many report being moved around different institutions or placements without knowing where they are going:

Naebody even told me (...) And I’m like “where am I going?” (...) And then she [staff] was like that “cannae tell you where you’re going.” (...) And then I ended up in England and ran away fae there. But I ended up back in secure like a week. (TfC, Kendra)

Tamara (PR) says that she felt let down by the secure unit because she felt the relationships with staff were like family, but realised when she was released that they did not really care but were just doing their job.

Many of the young people coming in several times underline that they ‘enjoyed it’ and always went back because they felt safe there (PR, Flo), but this feeling of safety can often be followed by feelings of abandonment upon release. It is not always easy to break away from this pattern.

I enjoyed it when I was there and I always went back ‘cause I wanted to be in [secure] (...), but (...) I don’t agree wi’ it (...) I just don’t ‘hink it’s a good place for people to go. I’m no’ saying it’s bad or anything, but in there it’s a false environment. So you’re in there and you’re cared for and stuff like that and then when you’re out, like, you just want to be back. And I know most of the people who have been in here [prison] who have been in the secure care done the same, they went back and then they’ve come to prison. (...) And it’s the attachment you’ve got to that place (...) there’s too much. (PR, Flo)

While only three out of ten young interviewees in secure care had more than one stay in secure care, ten out of 24 interviewees in prison and seven out of 15 interviewees outside had also spent time in secure care (a total of 27 out of 49 young interviewees were/had been in secure care) – many of them more than once and for unknown lengths of time. Many describe being anxious about not coping ‘outside’. This is what Goffman calls disculturation and untraining, fortified by the institution’s set up of little or no responsibility inside.<sup>365</sup> Many complained about the artificial social and physical environment that made it very hard to adjust to their lives outside upon release.

### ***Looking back on Prison***

Confinement in prison can be felt long after release. Stigma is associated with wider society judging prisoners on the ‘outside’, but stigma can be experienced as acutely within the prison compound. Many young women discuss offenders worrying about being judged for their

---

<sup>365</sup> ‘I think I’ll be here at least a year or something ‘cause all my workers keep telling me I’m no’ allowed oot. And basically I’ve got nae hope for the future noo ‘cause I’m stuck in here all the time. You cannae go oot, I’ve no’ seen a fuckin set a stairs in ages. I’ve no’ seen a fuckin motor in ages, except for the ones doon there but they’re no’ driving. It’s rubbish, I’ve no’ seen a staple in ages. Stupid wee tiny things. Whit am I gonnae dae when I’m oot there in reality?’ (SC, Gina).

offences with a prevalent hierarchy of charges (like infanticide and killing close family at the bottom). Prisoners also feel conflicted – on the one hand thinking that every offender is the same, as they have all committed a crime, and on the other expressing strong negative attitudes towards certain prisoners (PR, Louise).<sup>366</sup> The stigma associated with prison while ‘inside’ is a different matter to stigma experienced after release. Many prisoners talk about how people seem to look at them differently when they learn about the time in prison (PR, Kayleigh). The prison experience seems to ‘follow’ them around when trying to get their life back on track (PR, Daisy). One of the prevalent areas where stigma has a big effect is connected to finding a job. Prisoners are aware that their chances are slim of competing with people who have not been to prison because ‘people see it as being really, really bad’ (PR, Emily).<sup>367</sup> This sense of humiliation, of ‘people look[ing] down on you’, is not just experienced in a professional context, but also among family members and groups of friends who ‘think you’re a horrible person to be around ‘cause you’ve been in prison’ (PR, Kayleigh). Two prisoners reported particularly challenging experiences of stigma due to media coverage of their release: ‘It was scary at first because everybody was looking at me because I was in the papers as well and everybody was looking at me “oh, there she is oot the jail” and that. It was embarrassing’ (TfC, Carrie).

The feeling that ‘everybody knows’ leads to isolation and low self-esteem that is difficult to shake off. Even years later, ex-prisoners express how they encounter their community: ‘they’ll not see me now as what I’m like now. They’ll just bring up the past’ (TfC, Sarah). The institution is thus carried outside *in* individuals, prolonging the punishment and affecting life long after release. Going in and out of prison (‘back and forth’: TfC, Hannah) is a phenomenon commonly described by many prisoners. Many see it as an inevitable turn of events. Describing how some people have a lot more time ‘inside’ than in the community, Diane (PR) explains that this is one reason for going in and out on a regular basis. Her own situation is that of a ‘black sheep’, trying to avoid coming back but it keeps happening:

I’m in the same kinda frame of mind as last time, if you know what I mean. Last time I didn’t want to come back here and I had plans and I did stick to them and I was doing good. But obviously, like, I just had a kinda wrong turn, picked up charges and it’s got me back in the jail. (PR, Diane)

Coming back in after receiving support outside from family, friends, and agencies can increase feelings of inevitability and hopelessness about the future, rendering prisoners with a deep sense of themselves as ‘bad’ people. Some say it depends on their frame of mind if they are bothered by their regular returns to prison.<sup>368</sup> They may see a short return as a healthy stop to them committing more serious offences and ending up in prison for a long

<sup>366</sup> ‘Like I think robberies are worser. Assault and robberies. Killing their wean, fucking things like that, (...) killing their maws (...) that’s whit a few cunts are in for, a lassie (...) was in for killing her wean. Then there was wan in for killing her maw. Aw, I think it’s oot (pause) aw naw, man. It’s quite scary’ (PR, Louise).

<sup>367</sup> ‘Ootside, you get ones that pure stub the nose, “they’re this, they’re that, they stay in a coonty hoose,” know what I mean? (...) You just feel as if you’re constantly failing. The mair ye try, somebody’s kick you back doon it’ (PR, Bianca).

<sup>368</sup> ‘It just depends: like if I’m daeing brilliant ootside and then it’s just something that’s happened (...) I’ll be gutted. But this time I’m no’ too bothered, I ‘hink I’d rather be in here than (...) I was gaun a bad way, just drinking and daeing stupid stuff. And I’d ae ended up in for something mair serious if I’d stayed oot longer’ (PR, Flo).

time; but others state how on the outside they are hit by a realisation of what prison stands for and a break down because they do not want to come back, but that they nonetheless find themselves back ‘inside’ as ‘ye reoffend, [and] they’re no’ gonnae gie ye that second chance’ (PR, Kayleigh).<sup>369</sup> Recidivism is an issue that has a serious effect on returning prisoners, leaving many feeling hopeless, unworthy and entrenching a self-image of a ‘bad’ person. While some feel the pressure of getting many chances and failing, others see the fault in the system – leaving all of them with a sense of entrapment no matter if they are in confinement or in the community. Perceiving ‘being stuck’ in prison can resemble feeling ‘stuck’ in a homeless unit outside, or with a particular group of people.

Experiences of institutions are carried a long way and these young women’s journeys are in many ways characterised by control and care (control turned care, and care turned control) within confined institutional spaces and beyond. When asked about their plans, most young women talked about their hope for a ‘carefree’ (and one might argue ‘control-free’) life, having a job, a house, seeing their children and being in a ‘good’ relationship – a scenario quite different from their everyday realities, but not so different from other people’s hopes.

## 8.5 Young Female Geographies of Abandonment

The young women’s journeys reveal the continuation of disciplinary care and control beyond the institutional compound. Addressing the geographies of abandonment created by their mobile ‘journeys’ adds not just to a better understanding of institutional practice, what happens beyond and between institutional spaces, but also draws attention to the metaphor of ‘journey’. Taking the word literally, ‘journey’ means many different things from a ‘day in battle’ to ‘passage through life’<sup>370</sup> (OED 2016). Adopting the now most common understanding, ‘journey’ is certainly connected to an interplay of movement and stasis, but the issue is arguably more complicated than that. Diverting from the main theorists for this thesis, I want briefly to explore how mapping language and conceptual metaphors can disclose something of how we, as researchers and commentators, think and act, and how this might have a direct effect on how we view the young women’s movements through institutional spaces and through life itself. Being self-reflexive in how research connects to topics through particular language is itself part of a critical approach.

Metaphor is often defined as ‘a way of thinking and a way of seeing’ based on a comparison between two discreet domains and the posing of them as somewhat similar’ (Milne et al. 2006: 808).<sup>371</sup> As a language device, metaphors feature a lot of in everyday language. They

<sup>369</sup> ‘I was homeless for three months. I was walking the streets of Glasgow wi’ my ex-partner, sleeping in and out of closes, no’ having money or food or anything. So it was hard, I couldnae make it to court appointments, go to community service or that’ (PR, Kayleigh).

<sup>370</sup> ‘Having its beginning and end in place or time, and thus viewed as a distinct whole; a march, ride, drive, or combination of these or other modes of progression to a certain more or less distant place, or extending over a certain distance or space of time; an excursion or expedition to some distance; a round of travel. Usually applied to land-travel, or travel mainly by land, in contradistinction to a *voyage* by sea’ (OED 2016).

<sup>371</sup> This is relating back to Morgan’s (1986) publication on *Images of Organisation* and the value and potential of metaphor. Osrick et al. (2002) take this further and analyse the functionality of metaphor and other figures of speech like metonymy/synecdoche, anomaly and irony/paradox as ‘organisational tropes’ (Ibid: 295f.).

do not necessarily carry or convey singular ways of interpreting meaning, though, and Milne et al. go as far as critiquing a ‘most probable dominant interpretation’ in order to reveal paradox (Ibid: 808). Debating metaphor, then, can be seen as challenging rather than reinforcing orthodoxy. Used as a tool to transfer information from familiar domains to new ones, metaphor helps people to make sense of changes in their lives (Kearns 1997). Kearns points out that more could be done to reflect upon narrative<sup>372</sup> and metaphor in academic research (Ibid: 273),<sup>373</sup> which is also true for analysing the political and epistemic consequences of using metaphors (Reid-Henry 2012: 365). Reid-Henry underlines that geographical metaphors are not just part of creating identities and meanings, but also exclude undesirable ones too. So, through critical engagement with how they are used, metaphors might be taken up in resisting dominant powers or discourses: ‘a literary geography would seem well placed to capture this iterative relationship of word and world’ (Ibid: 368). Deconstructing the ‘seeing-as’<sup>374</sup>, , ‘meta-pherein’ or ‘carrying-over’ of perspectives, then, could be valuable in recasting ‘journey’ as an image of young women’s way through life, often also referred to as their ‘pathway’ or ‘trajectory’.

Milne et al. (2006) engage in depth with the metaphor<sup>375</sup> of ‘journey’ and point towards the inherent paradox that emerges when ‘journey’ is used at the same time as an image for adaption, progress and movement away from ‘business as usual’, and further to reinforce the status quo (Ibid: 801). The ‘journey’ metaphor does not necessarily involve a clear destination, unlike for most real journeys, but rather a move towards an undefined, uncertain outcome. Milne et al. (2006: 811) argue that the use of ‘journey’ carries the notion of change and is generally a metaphor of ‘strong Romantic appeal’, but with much less emphasis on the downsides of risk, danger and failure. Being perceived as ‘good’, journeying and progress seem to go hand-in-hand. Often, a subtle and underlying understanding of progress towards (largely unstated) goals is part of the journey metaphor. In the case of young women’s journeys<sup>376</sup>, the ‘life as a journey’ metaphor has the effect of simplifying, making it understandable and do-able, appearing ordinary, in a both subtle and powerful way. Paradoxically it can stand at the same time for a sense of inevitability, rendering the difficult and unmanageable ‘unchangeable’, while also hinting at the possibility of changing course and evoking hopefulness: ‘the employment of a metaphor imbued with strategic ambiguity (...) here preserves future options’ (Ibid: 2006: 822). The element of movement in ‘journey’

<sup>372</sup> For a thought-provoking and critical engagement with narrative and lyrical writing, see Abbott (2007).

<sup>373</sup> He particularly points towards exploring ontological metaphors that are situationally deployed in discursive understandings of topics like health or criminal justice, and also further scope for researchers self to consciously place them in the foreground of research practice (Kearns 1997: 273).

<sup>374</sup> Schön (1993) contextualises the use of generative metaphor in social policy and points out that problem settings are mediated by people’s stories of troublesome situations which are in turn examined by analysts who frame the problems according to a underlying metaphor that then set the directions for problem solving (Ibid: 138). Each story conveys a very different view on reality which, depending on one’s frame of mind, can be e.g. ‘vague, ambiguous, and indeterminate’ or ‘rich and complex’, so each story ‘constructs its view of social reality through a complementary process of *naming* and *framing*’ (Ibid: 146).

<sup>375</sup> Although engaging with metaphor and the use of ‘journey’ in the context of sustainability and environmental studies, much is relevant for engaging with it in a carceral context.

<sup>376</sup> Smith (2011) contextualises ‘pathways’ and connects the creation of such terminology to discourses of youth and criminal justice. The question of pathways, if they are chosen, adapted to, lifestyle choices or arise from ‘drifting’, engages critically with ‘lifecourse’ and developmental criminologies (Smith 2011: 60ff.).

as a ‘pathway’ or ‘moving toward’ is itself worth unpicking further, in that it downplays the elements of struggle or contested nature of this ‘future’ path: ‘journey is very much a postmodern term in its polyvalency. Journeys can be long or short – or never ending (...) journeys can be straightforward or difficult, direct or circuitous depending on how they are contextualised and how they are read’ (Ibid: 822).

While geographies of mobility are often concerned with different forms of human movement (like Cresswell and Merriman 2011), there are micro-scale mobilities that play out in an environment<sup>377</sup> of restricted mobility that partly rest on hidden mobility and practices of disguise. As Urry (2007: 7-9) points out, mobility ‘is a property of things and people’, and moving ‘can be a source of status and power’, whereas the coercion of movement is linked to social deprivation in exclusion. This is certainly a common denominator of prison environments which augment questions of the connection between inhibition of movement and the setting and policing of boundaries. Urry (2007: 290) highlights how ‘securing’ mobilities means ‘securing’ people within ‘multiple panoptic environments’ which seems, echoing the closing pages of *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault 1976), to suggest the spreading of disciplinary power into society overall. Mobilities on the small scale of the carceral, however, reveal a complex picture where mobile and inertial practices can stand for the display of status and power as well as being a diagnostic of deprivation and disempowerment. This matter has been pointed out on a larger scale of carceral movements by Gill (2013) and Michalon (2013), who question the association between mobility and freedom, and propose that confinement can be found in spaces of mobility. With regards to institutional mobility, Follis (2015: 1) explores the power in motion in an expansive prison network that is ‘deeply crisscrossed by internal patterns of mobility and the external entry/exit flows of the broader criminal justice system within which it is embedded’. The internal circulation regimes are instrumental modes of structuring power that is continued in what he calls ‘larger carceral assemblages’ or ‘island-chains of steering institutions, social control mechanisms and surveillance regimes’ that reach far beyond times and spaces of incarceration (Ibid: 10).

This ‘circuitry of security’ (Rose in: Follis 2015: 11) partly determines the young women’s journeys that are characterised by multiple ways of movement, which in and by themselves suggest metaphors that carry particular meaning, from ‘drifting’ and ‘floating’<sup>378</sup> to being ‘steered’ or ‘stuck’<sup>379</sup>. One theorist who has conceptualised circulation as a means of control is Deleuze (1992) in his work on *Control Societies*<sup>380</sup>. His description of control is helpful

---

<sup>377</sup> Which can be inner-institutional, between institutions and beyond them with restrictive rules and regulations beyond imprisonment.

<sup>378</sup> Taking up a Goffmanesque term (see above), ‘floating’ like ‘drifting’ (see Peters 2015) has not been sufficiently unpacked within a mobilities framework. The inherent transgressiveness of floating e.g. when failing to adhere to authorized channels or ‘conduits in space’ (Peters, 2015: 270) offers important conceptual cues for analysing objects, confined spaces and institutional underlife. In relation to floating ‘spaces’ see also Pickering (2014).

<sup>379</sup> Imprisonment itself is commonly referred to as a ‘state of ‘stuckedness’ or another is young women being ‘stuck’ in the criminal justice system: ‘It is not just sitting still, but the monotony of both routine and unpredictable circulation’ that creates this particular pain of detention (Armstrong 2015: 8).

<sup>380</sup> He did this in open opposition to Foucault by locating Foucault’s theory of power (DP) within the institution which could ‘initiate vast spaces of enclosure’ and thus at least partly misinterpreting Foucault’s account of disciplinary power and processes of control (Armstrong 2015: 11).

here insofar as its main feature lies in the ‘assertion that the individual will always require intervention – she is never fully cured, reformed, trained, qualified or authorised’ – ‘she must always be kept on the move’ (Armstrong 2015 11f.). This is the point, then, where Foucault’s account of disciplinary institutions and wider mechanisms of carceral archipelago converge with Goffman’s micro-accounts of control and care to create a disturbing picture in which the institution, like the prison or secure care unit, is not in actual fact rehabilitating but rather creating an ideal that can never be realised. Armstrong calls this the ‘paradox of unachievable aspiration’ that carries with it perpetual processes of control (Ibid: 11), leading to socio-spatial practices of abandonment exactly through these mechanisms of care and control. Extending beyond the individual institution and individual inmate, these assemblages of care and control can be traced through the concept of ‘journey’ – always seen in reflection of the paradoxical nature of the term that itself effects control through marking, accounting for and tracking, and which therefore needs to be handled with caution. In this sense it is a complicit imaginary that can nonetheless be utilised to challenge orthodoxy, and thus help to bring to light the politics in metaphor, the pitfalls in creating ‘path-ologies’ and with it the deeper implications of care and control.

What has developed in this chapter, then, is a window on the geographies of abandonment and exclusion that weave their way through their stories, maps and files. In order to appreciate the wider contextual landscape of closed institutions and community life for this group of young women, I had to take a step back from the immediacy of inner institutional life. With the help of what Ferrant (1999) terms ‘contextual spaces’, diffused methods of care and control could be traced as carceral assemblages that reach far into the young women’s life in the community. A contextual explanation of space clarifies the relevance of individual institutions in relation to the wider spatial context of confinement – the notion of a ‘network’ of detention sites (Ferrant 1997: 25) spread across Scotland, and indeed the UK, connected by flows of orders, information, resources and above all the young female detainees’ mobility. The contextual spaces of a carceral archipelago show many features of Foucault’s description (see Chapter 3). Made up of ‘compact’ institutions and diffused methods, wider carceral systems create a sense of encompassing disciplinisation.<sup>381</sup> These larger carceral assemblages include secure care units, closed psychiatric facilities and prisons, but also continual community-based measures of control and care which could be educational, social and criminal justice services. The picture is further complicated by the fact that closed institutions might be seen as fundamental, but not necessarily as capable of bringing about change:

And it doesn’t change that we’re still putting them back with families, environments, and problems that cause them to commit crime. We put them back to the same area, put them back to the same peer groups, put them back to the same problems. It doesn’t

---

<sup>381</sup> Foucault mentions five main effects (see Chapter 3). The main paradox that Foucault mentions here is that a more ‘liberal system’ creates higher levels of incarceration, which I would argue holds true when observing young women’s journeys in and out of different carceral establishments.

matter how many through-care workers they've got or how many agencies are supporting them, if they're in with the same peer group or the same bad parenting, they're going to come back. (Aileen, PRR)

This, then, raises questions about individual social circles and their effect – casting the net still wider beyond the carceral archipelago in which young women find themselves. The notion of abandonment that speaks out of this quote raises broad societal issues about certain populations on the margins, often in deprived and poor communities, and the production of 'bare life'<sup>382</sup> through control over populations of which these young women form a part. Their high levels of mobility and long histories of place-changing is testament to a form of abandonment that establishes itself within the current structures. From absconding, sofa-surfing, walking the streets to multiple care arrangements, a wide variety of mobilities create unpredictability. Experiences of being seen as 'unmanageable' and 'out of control' transport notions of having been 'given up'.

High mobility and close control in locked institutions create similar issues for the young women in that they struggle with their identity and 'who they are'. For agencies like Up-2-Us which work as 'joints' between institutions and outside living, it is therefore particularly important to be able to re-construct pathways and understand individual journeys. Difficult and unsettling care histories are intersected/replaced by stays in closed institutions which give dislocation and uprooted ways of living a new format. The high mobility is recognised by the institutions in that some seem to gravitate back (in gendered patterns) once they are released:

I do see a worrying increase in the number of young ladies. (...) And there seemed to be a recurring group, coming back to us again, and it was always the young ladies. We had one young lady in through the Criminal Justice System seven times in a very short space of time. So there was something outside that wasn't working. But no, there does need to be somewhere for either them to get the teaching that they need, the support that they need, but also ultimately to keep society safe to have some young people out of their way for a period of time. (David, SCm)

'To keep society safe' and young women 'out of the way' does not quite match the young women's own descriptions of their society, the community they live in.

Living 'outside' means dealing with 'trouble' on a constant basis. Many young women have long-standing problems with family members, describing countless traumatic incidents and emotional balancing acts, but also struggling with their own behaviour which affects people to whom they are close. Often family members are dispersed and contact is difficult. Having been moved around and feeling abandoned, rejected or unwanted is an indelible part of their

---

<sup>382</sup> Relating here to Agamben's work on *homo sacer* and 'exception'. Agamben puts the 'camp' forward as a continuation and super-elevation of the carceral archipelago – a 'space of exception' that arises from a crisis of distinction between inside/outside and exception/rule. He refers to the paradoxical space of a permanent 'exception' that is part of the production of 'modern' *homines sacri* (see Chapter 3). Here, references to 'bare life' can be seen in the young women's abandonment within the system rather than outside it. While young women find themselves continually exposed to 'risk', violence, and death, this happens within a 'system' of law and within institutions that are part of societal establishments. It must be acknowledged here that this is rather 'loose' reading of Agamben's original – albeit with important connections in the particular case of *femina sacra* as well as this project as a vignette of wider securitisation and geographies of control.

own experience, as well as something that they report about their own children (with complex emotional turmoil attached). While some young women crave a ‘normal’ home, others feel wholly unattached to the concept and admit not really knowing what this means. Similar troubles are reported about the education system with bullying, frequent expulsion, feeling alienated and finally abandoned by the system. Being detained for often minor offences, breaches and frequent contact with the police (including police assault and resisting arrest) shows that their offences are shaped by problems arising in a society that gives young women and girls little power, options or rights – especially when coming from poor and/or abusive backgrounds.<sup>383</sup> With absconding and unmanageable behaviour being typically recorded for young women, these often entail offences in order to survive. Experiencing trauma, including sexual and physical abuse, violence, bereavement and self-harm is also very much a gendered occurrence in that young women face dilemmas in terms of peer approval. Many report seeking recognition and ending up with ‘the wrong crowd’ and with a drug and alcohol problem. In the community, many young women talk about their mental health needs that are not addressed in the right way (either not at all, in adult system or not engaging with the young women’s daily reality). In their communities, these young women find themselves on the margin, often unable to get/maintain a job, housing and relationships. Caught in a disciplinary paradox that is controlling gendered particularities in the guise of care, keep *her* ‘on the move’, the young women’s mobility – and their journeys in/out/beyond the criminal justice system – makes and expresses a form of structural abandonment within spaces of control.

---

<sup>383</sup> Chesney-Lind and Shelden (2014: 328) underline that it is ‘no accident that girls fleeing abusive homes or who are on the streets because of profound poverty become involved in criminal activities that exploit their sexual-object status’.



# CHAPTER 9

## Conclusion

Interrogating ‘outsideness’ in its different guises, this thesis works at institutional, individual and contextual levels in its analysis of young women’s geographies of detention. Drawing on in-depth narratives, young women’s experiences of ‘closed’ spaces are explored in their entanglement with spaces beyond the institution – understanding their identity development as shaped by relational encounters and strategies of adaption and resistance. The formation of identity in ‘closed’ space has been the object of many carceral-geographic projects, but rarely set in relation to mobility across space and between different institutional categories. The positioning of these young women as ‘on the margins’ of common conceptualisations of ‘youth’ lies in their displaying of identities in direct opposition to dominant social, economic, legal and political structures in Scottish society. By utilising Goffman’s work on micro-level interaction in ‘total’ or ‘closed’ spaces, the extraordinary impact of confinement on each individual detainee can be traced across carceral settings and beyond. Conceptually challenging current carceral-geographic notions of inside/outside, I have re-engaged with the concept of ‘total institutions’, viewing them not as completely sealed off (something Goffman never proposed), but as influential microcosms of control and care that shape bodies, minds and identities. Critically engaging with aspects of gender and age, this thesis highlights particular conditions of extreme mobility and stasis that traverse institutional and community spaces, creating a population perpetually on the move.

Working across the Scottish ‘secure estate’ which caters for young women has provided new, critical insights into contemporary issues and debates. Concepts such as place, scale, mobility and boundaries are important for policies and practices, as well as furthering the academic carceral-geographic debate. The metaphor of ‘journey’, while not being uncontested, has been used here to make sense of the young women’s high mobility and experiences of incarceration across and beyond institutional confines. This project has uncovered and conveyed the experience of closed space on an individual level, but has extended these collected stories by also focussing on the wider societal context of the institutions that wield the most coercive forms of power. By sharing a range of voices, this project sought to foster an informed debate about these wider societal conditions of securitisation, control and ‘confined’ populations with six main contributions:

*Researching geographies of closed space* (1) aimed to capture the sense of an expanded carceral disciplinary-scape which is dispersed around diverse nodes of ‘closed’ space, each reflecting variable admixtures of care and control. The focus on *retrieving neglected voices of young women* (2) showed how care and control are closely intersecting modalities when dealing with young female inmates, with care being a form of control and vice versa. This adopts a particular intensity in the case of young women’s connections to care – given the

portrayal of them as morally astray, cutting against their ‘gender’ and ‘femininity’, being both ‘at risk’ and ‘a risk’. Crucial here are excavations of their individual experiences.

These institutional experiences are closely connected to increasing an *understanding of mobile lives and mobile abandonment* (3). The emphasis on the young women’s journeys renders painfully ‘real’ the centrality of mobility, underlining the inherent displacement, dislocation, disruption and fragmentation endemic to their lives. These dislocative mobilities effectively disclose the extent of their engendered abandonment and a new angle on forms of disciplinary control. Mobility is bound up in practices of incarceration which calls for *re-interpreting abstractions of closed space* (4). Especially Goffman, but also Foucault, provide carefully de- and reconstructed sets of conceptual resources for making sense of institutional constitution, individual experiences and their entwinement.

This thesis not only addressed conceptual arguments, but also aimed to *impact policy and practice* (5). Through conducting research and engaging with institutions, young women and organisations ‘on the outside’, this project contributed to policy and practice realities. Finally, this work *adds to the carceral-geographic landscape* (6) by contributing to the subfield of carceral geography both theoretically (for example by deploying Goffman) and empirically (by focussing on an under-researched sub-group and locating young women in time/space/mobility).

My ethnographic research has raised crucial issues about institutional paradoxes, ambiguities in everyday practice and entangled encounters of space, time and control in the shaping of carceral geographies. I would like to extend the conceptual and practical opacities of research in closed conditions to my own position in the field, and to the ethics that were part of this fieldwork. The ethical concerns touched on the issue of value; ‘valuing lives and not the ‘academic data’ such lives produce’ (Laurie 2014: 232). Other ethical dilemmas included the slipping into ‘taking sides’. Stepping away from a form of empirical relativism, I stress that portraying the voices of young female detainees is not an attempt to wave away the very real problems that they create for communities or staff, nor the crimes that they commit which impact many people. There are further ethical dilemmas regarding representation: while this is very much a ‘view from the girls’ tailored around their experiences and the affect on their lives; the institutional constitution does bear on all its inmates – staff included. I recognise that the analysis of detainees excludes valuable and crucial perspectives from staff, masking their own often challenging experiences and committed work practices.

The determinants of age and gender have been of major importance, even though I deliberately considered them mainly implicitly. By broadly situating this research in wider geographies of young people and discourses on youth, the understanding of these young women as detainees and offenders is opened up and placed into the broader context of ‘problematic youth’. The category of age as a distinct marker of exclusion is explored by Brown (2005), where young people constituted as ‘at risk’ or ‘a risk’ complicates their right

to self-determination and access to resources. The exclusion of youth is cross-cut by many other forms of exclusion, and here, the central connection to gender as another factor of exclusion is evident throughout. Underlying gender norms render detained young women as offenders against suitable feminised behaviour. Both aspects of gender and age seem to carry with them tendencies for abandonment and grounds for further exclusion.

A common thread throughout the thesis is the enquiry into the states of control and care, the suggestions being that young women are particularly associated with both care and control, playing into themes like ‘locking up into care’ (Brown 2005: 79). Care and control seem here to intertwine and coincide. The asserted threat to social stability that is posed by unregulated, undisciplined and unmanageable youth outside ‘adult control’ leads to them being in conflict with the law – what Brown (2005: 215) calls a state of ‘non-personhood’. A more finely-grained understanding of the young women’s experiences, in particular their high levels of mobility and dislocation feeds into approaching them through the abstract figure of *femina sacra*. They clearly form an excluded and displaced ‘exclusion’ (Pratt 2005), paradoxically grounded securely in spaces of close control and at times high levels of (certain kinds of) care. The analysis of young women’s ‘outsideness’ within structures of control and care builds on previous studies of young people in ‘closed settings’, concepts about the workings of carceral environments, and further enquiries beyond institutions.

### ***Researching Geographies of Closed Space***

Unravelling the inner geographies of closed space reveals a complex concurrence of institutional rules and regimes together with particular architectural features that facilitate spatial control. One of the striking features is the importance of place – the striving to account for human (and indeed object) location: everything being *where* it should be. Probing the realities of managing incarcerated populations allowed an analysis of internal spaces, timetables and the institutions’ semi-permeability. Uncovering what Goffman terms the ‘enveloping tissue of constraint’ provides context for today’s disciplinary regimes, securitisation and ‘normalisation’: unpicking the institutional technologies of control involved and their imbrications with care.

While Goffman and Foucault were the prime coordinators for my conceptual frame, I wanted to intersect my findings with contemporary carceral-geographic literature. Drawing on recent developments in the field, Chapter 6 was largely informed by previous enquiries into carceral architecture and aspects like time, mobility and concepts of inside/outside. While methods might differ, the prescribed aims of both secure care and prison are virtually the same, informing their daily practice, justifying their way of doing ‘people-work’, and sanctioning their institutional existence more broadly. On a continuum of care and control, secure care clearly advocates higher levels of care (nurturing, therapeutic interventions, high staff ratios), whereas prison stands for ‘basic’ care and clearer control (severer punishment for transgressions, clear boundaries, more responsibility on prisoners). This initial

observation can be misleading, however, as ‘care’ in secure care is often executed within highly controlling parameters: permanent documentation (including constant assessments), control of the most mundane interactions and a highly secure material environment arguably leave fewer ‘freedoms’ for detainees in secure care than in prison. In secure care the entanglement of management in the building of relationships and personal development leads to a deeper form of control and care. The obvious tool of ‘corrective training’ (positive role-modelling and forming of young people) enables an all-encompassing management of body and mind. The caveat of care and control in prison and secure care may be unevenly deployed, but both work similarly at controlling populations through an entanglement of both.

The purpose-built environment of the two institutions differs just as much on the surface: while the ‘life space’ of the secure unit is more obviously pleasing to the eye, with a ‘softened’ approach to interior design, the prison is a practical, matter-of-fact assemblage of secure spaces. Manifestations of spatial control and panoptic features work together with ‘caring’ practice to achieve a highly disciplinary social and material environment. While the secure care spaces are more ‘nurturing’ and aesthetic, they still come with extreme levels of control; the prison spaces display a rather barren look, but allow more potential for agency, responsibility and mobility throughout its assemblage of spaces.

The importance of structured time also cannot be overstated in either of the two institutions. The institutional regime means ‘locating’ young people in the closed spaces, and for staff this means minuscule routine checklists and reminders on assessments, activity logs or block narratives. Providing predictability in a potentially dangerous work environment means that general routines are an intimate part of the security measures. Both care and control are based on routine documentation, surveillance and ‘checks’ or inspections of bodies or spaces. While time and timetabling feature in both Goffman’s and Foucault’s conceptualisations, it has not yet been a major focus of carceral geographers. While time in relation to routines is bound up with clock time, the recognition of multiple temporalities, for example through ageing or ‘becoming adult’ (Schliehe 2016c) and measuring time past, features in the young women’s experiences. The passage of time, cut into manageable chunks by daily routines, can be both a powerful tool of control and a coping mechanism in an environment of repeating, waiting and counting days.

The spatial and temporal structure in place is based on a regime of formal rules and regulations. Under the premise of care, control is justified to prevent misbehaviour. Under the pretext of security and order, care means surveillance and immediate sanctioning of actions that do not fit in. While the internal structure of institutional regimes, with distinct rules and consequences for disobedience, are an integral part of both Foucault’s and Goffman’s accounts, and the reoccurring patterns of institutional modes of working are less prominent in carceral-geographic literature.

Linking with recent carceral-geographic debates on inside/outside dichotomies of carceral spaces, my interrogation of institutional connectivity and semi-permeability supports Goffman's description. This does not suggest that total institutions are completely sealed off, but rather that they have many complex links beyond their walls. Connectivity relies on the institution's moral sanctioning. Goffman's term of 'moral closure' therefore captures this state in which detainees rely on institutional authorisation for the vast majority of connectivity. The barriers to 'free' decision-making and communication or mobility are most pronounced in the institutional separation areas, where amenities and 'privileges' are kept at a bare minimum. Rather than opening up the closed spaces up, the instances of connectivity seem to spread elements of control on to other people and on to outside areas.

In summary, the constitution of closed space revolves around aspects of deeply embedded control and care which intertwine and reach stages of reversion – one turning into the other. Management techniques, design of spaces, organisation of time, institutional regimes and control of connectivity combine to make closed space what it is. In both examples, physical closure and separateness from wider society are defining features. While institutions are at the same time always semi-permeable, this state of relationality does not always filter through to individual detainees. Both institutions resemble many of the features that Goffman introduced to describe total institutions, and also Foucault's description of institutional characteristics.

### ***Retrieving Neglected Voices of Young Women***

Uncovering what Goffman calls 'meaningful social worlds' in reference to individual young women's experiences of prison and secure care (and to a degree closed psychiatric facilities), has revealed stories of displacement, fragmentation and disruption, but also of resistance and resilience. Mapping closely from Goffman's ideas of 'moral career' and processes of adaption, my project considered young women's sense of self, different aspects of identity and embodied experiences. Following young women through different stages of their confinement shows how the experience of being locked up disrupts their sense of self and their personhood. Through powerful socio-spatial processes like strip-searches, shared confinement and cutting of communication with the outside, boundaries are constantly marked, enforced and imprinted on the young women. The process of 'giving up control' is connected to many negative emotions and implications for self. This institutional effect comes into force before physically entering a site as some 'mortifying' effects even materialise during the journey. Responses to entering a prison range from 'putting on a brave face' to panic attacks and open display of distress. Many young women talk about their feelings of loss, anxiety, 'mortification' and abandonment. In secure care, the separation from the outside world is perceived as complete in that the connection to familiar people and possessions is completely withdrawn before being gradually re-introduced in line with risk assessments and behavioural conduct. Many young women resist, trying to oppose the regime, the strict rules and boundary imposition, but all seem to give up in light of an

‘opponent’ that always wins. Coinciding with an assessment machinery of conduct, achievements, and mental wellbeing, the de-assemblage of the young women’s personhood or sense of self precedes a re-establishment of self along the lines of ‘desirable’ character traits. Being secured starts with an initial assessment and is followed by complex modes of adaption and a multitude of implications for self. Goffman’s concepts regarding entrance to the inpatient phase helps to make sense of the young women’s experiences, but little material on different emotional stages of imprisonment is available in carceral geography.

After the initial ‘trimming’ period, more deep-seated modes of adaption and coping strategies are played out. One particular sign of settling in to the closed environment is the building of relationships with other detainees and/or staff. Living in a forced collective means that complicated, and at times contradictory, relational networks emerge, marking oneself as a ‘tough’ person, creating alliances or even leading to romantic engagements. Relationships to both other young people and staff are characterised by care (needing closeness, guidance, friendship) and control (using relationship as management tool or for personal gain). While this point certainly applies to relationships in general, they seem to arouse heightened emotional responses in confined space due to the real closedness and immediate potential consequences. Many young women describe ‘putting up a front’ and having continually to work on displays of their toughness. The vast majority of young women explain that there was no real trust and that constant vigilance is needed. Uneven power dynamics govern relationships with staff, who tend to remain very distant in the case of the prison, and the inherent tensions of providing care while securing and controlling a deemed ‘dangerous’ population is felt by both detainees and staff. It is possible to develop meaningful and genuine relationships among prisoners and/or staff in closed settings, but the constraining nature of the spatial and social environments, and the complex power relations in play, make this a rare occurrence. Carceral-geographic work in this area focuses on issues like privacy, but there is no detailed account of detainee and staff relationships as a major influence on the perception of the emotional geographies of confinement.

The aspect of potential ‘mortification’ (and ‘self-mortification’) touches all spheres of carceral living. The embodied effects of confinement are felt by detainees across all institutions in relation to boundary transgression, strict regulation (spatial and social) and regular to constant observation of body and mind. The constant assessment reaches into the embodied sphere of experiences in form of risk assessments, consequences and punishments. The deeply embedded practices of care and control impact profoundly on the body as it serves as a marker of improvement. The embodied nature of ‘being locked up’ – like feeling the bodily strain of separation from children, the unavailability of exercise or struggling to uphold personal boundaries and the potential threat of immanent mortification is seen as inherently embodied and shaping individual senses of self and identity.

Spatial awareness of their surrounding environments is quickly identified in my project by all of the young women. The issue of privacy seems of major importance in both secure care

and prison, particularly in relation to the stark difference between communal living (forced exposure) and long hours of loneliness (but not privacy) in the locked rooms. While there is no true privacy due to potential boundary transgression at any time, public and private seem to overlap and co-exist. The confined space presents a hindrance to embodied and emotional expression, particularly the case in isolation cells that some describe as ‘soul-destroying’. It is not just the immediate surroundings that influence how detainees feel about carceral spaces, however, but also what message is conveyed through exterior security assemblages. Being locked up is more than just confinement to one room/cell as it incorporates control of movement and action anywhere in the secure unit/prison.

Re-engaging with Goffman’s institutional underlife and secondary adjustments requires an analysis of the young women’s agency, resilience and resistance to the extreme control and care that they are experiencing. In secure care, scope for secondary adjustments and underlife is slim as the social and spatial control is so intense. It is possible to oppose the regime, but in turn the detainees then have to negotiate and cope with the consequences. If stories about smuggled legal highs or cigarettes and lighters are anything to go by, occurring in even as strict an environment as this one, detainees still seem able to carve out some room for manoeuvre. There are also very small-scale strategies that the young women use to subvert control, such as playing games to avoid the institutional gaze or communicating with their feet under the table at mealtimes. The line between active agency and conformity is nonetheless very fine. In prison, judging from block narratives and prisoners put on report, young women regularly engage in activities that could be termed as secondary adjustments, and here the institutional underlife is practised in small, if much more varied, ways than in secure care. Undermining or resisting institutional control is achieved by carving out personal space or using the system to bend the rules. Many young women alternate between ‘keeping their head down’ and ‘retaliating’ as strategies or reactions to living in locked conditions. Agency comes in many forms and prisoners often struggle with punishments exercised what are deemed as problematic versions of expressing agency. In many ways agency both in secure care and in prison is a sign of using one’s own head and not becoming completely submerged in the institutional system. ‘Working the system’ is a form of adaption that comes with knowledge and intuition, but at the same time is often thwarted by other detainees or members of staff who pick up on it.

Overall, the embodied and emotional effects of closed spaces on young women are ambiguous, and in many ways reveal the effects of both gender and age. While I do not want to draw on them in a comparative way, as in systematically comparing with young men, I do want to make a few general observations, beginning with the gendered constitution of institutional spaces and the fact that spaces purposely designed for young women put more emphasis on interior design. A similar pattern is detectable when it comes to activities, like arts and crafts, painting nails or ‘pamper’ evenings. Some young women report being judged for sexual behaviour and most staff mentioned sexual vulnerability as a major issue. In terms of opportunities for further qualification through work or education, stereotypes about

cleaning, cooking and hairdressing, show predominantly feminised roles. The fine line between a gender-responsive approach and a gendering environment is difficult to balance. There are also expectations attached when it comes to managing relationships with friends, family and, particularly, children. In everyday discussions about relationships, young women in both institutions and outside underline feeling that they could not fulfil what is expected of them. In terms of embodied experiences, particularly feminine issues come up a lot, from managing hygiene (like period) problems, to coping with pregnancy and childbirth, managing transgender (female) identities, and having to stick to a certain dress-code. Some young women remark on feeling judged for their sexual orientation or gender identity, and the majority of young women with children report conflicts with their role as mothers adding to feelings of failure, exclusion and abandonment.

Like the aspect of gender, a concern with age reportedly leads to ascribing young women as particularly needy (in need of care and attention) and in being in need of control (needing boundaries), uncovering yet another layer of influences exercised through control and care. Being deemed ‘unmanageable’ and ‘out of control’ has particular ageist connotations. Cox (2012) emphasises some of the ways in which ‘youth’ are seen in criminal justice settings, where compliance and responsibility are underlined as prerequisites to successful transition into adulthood. Seeing them as young and in need of reform, like regarding their sexual behaviour in prison, shows the underlying power of gendered and aged discourses. Both young women and staff interpret carceral experiences as having a clearly distinguishable affect on identity formation, sense of self and personhood. While many descriptions discuss ‘mortifying’ experiences, some are more positive. Overall, however, emotional and embodied carcerality seems to add to displacement, isolation and disruption.

### ***Understanding Mobile Lives and Mobile Abandonment***

Drawing on recent developments in carceral geography, mobility is increasingly theorised as coerced, disciplined and part of the carceral constitution. Revealing at times extreme levels of mobility, young women’s experiences are not easy to attach to either positive (mobility as freedom) or negative (mobility as coercion) connotations. Alongside highly mobile lives, the young women’s movements are shaped by institutional and societal forms of control and care, underlining that displacement and fragmentation are distinguishing features. Despite a focus on inner institutional life, this project relates not only to ‘insides’ but also to young women’s experiences of closed spaces as part of a wider story on mobility. Their highly mobile worlds are characterised by movement and ‘journeying’ that is closely linked to continued frameworks of disciplinary control and care. Notions of exclusion (as in ‘excluded’ exclusion) and abandonment manifest themselves in mobile carceral networks or archipelagos.

Critically engaging with the metaphor of ‘journey’ helps to broaden Foucault’s description of how disciplinary power and carceral characteristics diffuse beyond closed institutions.



While most carceral-geographic studies on mobility focus on moves around the same form of institutions, I attempted to track young women's moves around different carceral environments and beyond to other more open care arrangements, homeless units and indeed their own homes (in short, their place in the 'community'). While previously focussing on material, social and symbolic spaces, here I drew together findings on contextual spaces (Ferrant 1997) made up of 'solid' institutions as well as more diffuse forms of care and control. Amalgamating the young women's stories resulted in the use of a figurative metaphor, the Agambesque outline of *femina sacra*, to capture their profound experiences of alienation, exclusion, abandonment and displacement.

Displacement, dislocation and mobility, often from a young age, are the fulcrum of communications about these young women's life journeys to date. Moves are described as voluntary and involuntary, instigated and forced. Complicated care histories are captured in 'stations' on the young women's mental maps, as well as threaded across many extremely short-term mobilities. Many interviewees report feeling disconnected, and some openly display this condition; one woman's scar tattoo reads 'mistreated, misplaced, misunderstood' (see Chapter 4). Talking to young women reveals that fragmentation is the story – raising questions of belonging, understandings of home and crises in identity. Equally, displacement and 'not fitting in' or being 'too difficult' provide strong identity markers. In this context closed institutions, while seemingly providing a spatial anchorage, simultaneously add to mobility, and additionally also have their own internal mobile regimes in which young women are constantly moved around.

The numbers derived from interviews, mental maps and file data illustrate high levels of care mobility, either from a young age or when reaching adolescence. All young women have at least one stay in a closed institution and many have more than one stay in more than one institution. The mental maps drawn as part of the interview process offered a creative way to express and talk about mobile journeys. These are not only accounts of geographical movement and displacement, but many contain anecdotes of particular events occurring along the way, revealing an entangled journey of personal development and growing up. The descriptions of 'becoming woman' (Schliehe 2016c) are evident from maps and personal accounts which reveal difficult, contradictory and at times traumatic mobilities.

These mobile journeys, with frequent location changes and stays in closed settings, hold great social and geographical unpredictability, severing social ties with family and friends, possessions and pets adding to the felt disruption and fragmentation. Many stories are filled with adverse experiences, trauma, loss and emotional rollercoasters. During my fieldwork several young women went missing, with their whereabouts sometimes unknown for weeks. Two young women tragically died during my fieldwork.<sup>384</sup> Many young women relay stories of friends and family dying, underlining the deep emotional turmoil caused by often violent

---

<sup>384</sup> One was found murdered and the other committed suicide. Due to reasons of confidentiality more detailed circumstances or names cannot be revealed here.

loss. Long separation, particularly from younger siblings and children, adds pains of a different kind. The feeling of not being wanted, created by their care histories, is compounded by feelings of guilt for abandoning others. These personal circumstances are exacerbated by further structural exclusions (from education, social services, health services, job markets, legal existence and more).

Clashes with the law, coupled with structural exclusion and exposure to trauma, violence and threat to life, dislocation and high mobility, lead to my conclusion that these young women come close to what is coded into the figure of *femina sacra*. Multiple forms of abandonment, rooted in extreme mobility, are coupled with high levels of control and certain forms of care which (in line with other paradoxes) situate these young women's abandonment *within* societal structures, albeit often on the margins. Being the literally displaced and excluded 'exclusion' manifests itself in lived realities, as well as in more abstract ideas of being dis-integrated from the political and legal system despite being placed under high levels of control and care. Adding to work by Pratt (2005) and other scholars on *femina sacra*, these young women's messy social worlds raise uncomfortable questions about today's institutional and societal ambitions. In light of these adversities, the young women's agency and resistance, but also their navigation of institutional life, can be interpreted as a sign of their resilience, contributing an unusual insight into mobilities.

### ***Re-interpreting Abstractions of Closed Space***

It is not always straightforward to apply theoretical constructs like the total institution or disciplinary power to empirical material. In order to conceptualise care and control, and craft a framework for understanding what is actually going on within and beyond closed spaces, the utilisation of three theorists, plus additional conceptual material, seems like a project within a project. While it is an unorthodox approach to combine three such different thinkers, 'big' theorists in their own right, it has helped to tease out the 'essentials' that have crystallised from the empirical material: the multi-dimensional and powerful effects of 'closed' spaces, the carceral system that distinctly shapes young women's lives, and the inherent and acute abandonment to which these young women are subjected within encompassing meshes of control and care.

By using theory to highlight and understand this distinct empirical material, I have also been able to illustrate how Goffman's detailed account of institutional features permeates beyond 'solid' organisations throughout multiple detainee 'careers', offering a new perspective to current carceral-geographic debates by underlining the porousness of disciplinary power without dismissing Goffman's account of how closed spaces have on individual detainees, their identity and sense of self. I would argue that closed institutions are total, but they are by no means hermetically sealed; they are still all-encompassing in completely changing a person's sense of space, time and self, but they are also semi-permeable in manifold ways – with objects, people, animals and ideas/information constantly crossing the 'solid' boundary of a single institution. The vast majority of these movements, however, do not impede on

the ‘closedness’ of the institution since they happen on the institution’s terms. While Goffman himself detailed many forms of institutional underlife, including unsanctioned mobility across boundaries, much of this underlife is either tolerated or stopped and punished. Goffman’s in-depth accounting of different stages of confinement (moving from initial severe ‘mortification’ to working the system), ways of adaption and resistance, as well as of the diverse relationships in play, has been invaluable to making sense of the young women’s experiences. While Goffman discusses different forms of inmate relationships, the intricate, highly complex and fluid nature of a large number of relationships does not arise in from his work.

Goffman includes a pre-patient and post-patient phase and clearly links them to the in-patient phase, but accounts of the former are sketchy. Addressing this gap, my findings underline the importance of the ‘before’ and ‘after’ in the young women’s journeys, thus transferring many of the Goffmanesque lines of adaption beyond the direct institutional sphere. Another conceptual contribution lies in seeing his in-depth analysis of the effects of institutional life as part of a broader carceral system. With the help of Foucault’s carceral archipelago, different closed institutions can be seen as producing similar effects on a *mobile* population of detainees. Broadening the context of Goffman’s work aligns it with a Foucauldian understanding of disciplinary-scapes, pointing towards a spread of total environments, rather than a dilution of the concept because of institutional permeability. Foucault’s work is utilised here to capture the institutional meso-level of power and social control, and gains depth by being connected to an in-depth micro-level account of interaction. Agamben, meanwhile, provided me with real challenges. While his work is highly important and used in wider security geographies, his explicit exclusion of the prison as a ‘space of exception’ ruled out utilising his work in direct application to institutional spaces. Where his work is included, it is in a rather abstract assessment of the young women’s underlying societal and individual positioning. His concept of ‘bare life’ and the deduction of the figure of *homo sacer* provides me with the tools to understand the young women’s multiply situated abandonment, illuminating how, on the abstract macro-level, abandonment can indeed be part of the political and societal system.

All three theorists were supplemented by a feminist-informed understanding of gender and ‘femaleness’ on to their male-oriented work. While both Goffman’s and Foucault’s work have informed feminist and gender research, for this project it was particularly the adaption of Agamben’s concept of *homo sacer* by researchers like Pratt (2005) that influenced the work. Linking feminist thinking on ‘exclusion’, where marginalised women mark the outer limit of society, to the aspect of abandonment allows for an understanding of these young women’s position as a relational process in which the abandoned are still connected to processes of order and power. A combination of particular carceral regimes, managerial priorities, indifference and seeing women as emotional/irrational ‘over-seekers’ of care creates a social environment of abandonment that is founded on the inability to escape, and the particularities of disciplinary control of space, movement and care. Linking less

securitised regimes for women to gender stereotypes of need and particular weakness tends, in turn, to render women more 'visible' through higher levels of observation and surveillance.

An important future avenue for analysis would be to take extend theories here to a more bio-political<sup>385</sup> understanding of incarcerated and abandoned women. There are also many more models for understanding a situated formation of identity<sup>386</sup> that are worth including in further theoretical discussion. The particular connotations around women's bodies, based on women's strategic position between the extremes of norms around sexuality, reproduction and care, arguably serve to make detained women absent or doubly excluded on grounds of deviating from gender *and* legal norms. In light of control over mobility within carceral spheres, bio-power (Foucault) and bio-politics (Agamben) could provide further conceptual frameworks for an understanding of carceral archipelagos and the spread of disciplinary power. Situating Goffman as a major theorist of power (Jenkins 2008) within these more abstract frameworks could be a distinct advantage, for such an approach stresses the subtle and mundane, diffuse and ubiquitous flows of power within institutional confines and beyond. This project has, in some ways, managed to contribute to, and push for, this much-needed engagement.

### ***Impacting Policy and Practice***

While it is a huge challenge to provide workable insights for policy and practice, this project has been involved in knowledge transfer and forms of impact. Engaging critically but constructively with contemporary policy and practice calls for delicate balancing. Engaging with young women in the context of prisons and secure care as well as their life outside has triggered a lot of 'other' developments, engagements and impact. One is getting involved in policy development on different levels. I have continually aimed to connect my project to current policy and practice. In collaboration with Annie Crowley (doctoral researcher at SCCJR) I have presented findings on detention and young women in Scotland to policy makers and practitioners at CYCJ workshop events (in Ayr and Dundee, April 2014). Following from this, I have been invited to work on a steering group for the development of training material for policy and practice in Scotland organised by CYCJ (May 2014–November 2014). This involved discussing and planning filming at a secure unit, collaborating with film makers, policy workers and practitioners, partaking and part-managing the filming process and discussing the making of the training material. Since then, this material has been used in training workshops for particular training on working with

---

<sup>385</sup> There is potential in further analysis of Foucault's work on other forms of power (governmentality, bio-power) and include them in the analysis of closed institutions, particularly addressing the role of female detainees. Also, an analysis of the bio-political constitution of institutions is a matter worth exploring in depth.

<sup>386</sup> One example is Kristeva's (1996) work on identity as inconsistent, relational and contingent. Identity-work, Kristeva argues, is a conflictual process that takes place in-between an individual's explicit narrated self and his or her more or less implicit and embodied sense of self. One's narrated self is permanently contested by unspoken or repressed embodied experiences.

girls and young women run by CYCJ. The film has been further used in practitioner conferences and workshops by CYCJ in a wider UK and European context and by further audiences (legal services, politicians and more). Throughout this project I have worked closely with the third sector organisation Up-2-Us. The findings of my MRes research has been used by them for funding applications, talks with the Scottish government and in a wide context of engaging with policy and practice. Up-2-Us invited me to take part in a workshop that they organised for a large group of policy makers, politicians and practitioners in Glasgow in October 2014 which was attended by the Scottish Minister for Justice and other leading figures.

A second form of impact is the more direct ‘impact’ work when working with organisations like Up-2-Us. In the last four years there has been a lot of direct knowledge exchange between my research level engagements and their practice-based work. Recently I have been approached by Up-2-Us to advise their board. Further connections to the SCCJR got me involved in a prison-university reading group (HMP Shotts, HMP Greenock) (see SJM 2016). I found that you can only really appreciate the complex nature of ‘prison’ when you experience it from different angles: fieldwork has given me an important one, but the reading group has taught me on a completely different level about dealing with authoritative institutions and knowledge exchange.

A final third form of impact would be the academic engagements that have come out of this project: I very much see myself as an academic working internationally (with links to scholars in many other European countries and further away) across different fields – between carceral geography and criminology which is reflected in joint publications, conferences (like the European Criminology Society Conference) and working groups (like the Global Prison Network). Other, more abstract forms of impact include additions to research on youth justice. Goldson and Muncie (2015: x) contextualise youth justice and the many recent changes that they describe as counter-intuitive, contradictory and ‘out of sync’ across Europe and internationally, seeing both institutional and wider societal responses to troubling young people as temporally and spatially ‘contingent, volatile and fragile’. The differing societal climates and according sway of policy responses does not, however, routinely touch upon underlying issues.

In relation to the individual institutions the young women themselves had a range of suggestions for improvement. In secure cares, many complained about the artificial social and physical environment that makes it hard to adjust to their lives on the outside. The at times extreme levels of care are reported to cause over-attachment and severe feelings of abandonment once young women realise that the care is not based on long-term, consistent relationships, but confined to the unit. Talking about ‘too much care and control’ that causes identity problems (like not being able to be yourself) is common from several young women. Interestingly, this issue coincides with a sense of (in)security regarding their own person and also their sense of self. Many wish that they had more freedom to express themselves and

use their environments differently. Practical suggestions, like softer carpets and possibilities for longer showers, are also common. Similar ways of suggesting improvements are detectable in prison as well, with many asking for more options for short-termers who presently get little or no support. Even more ask for improvements regarding food, while access to mental health services is also mentioned across the board. Changes to the prison environment include better privacy for phone calls, brighter colour schemes and more access to fresh air and exercise outside. Some prisoners interestingly mention better conditions for wardens ('so that they look after us better' (PR, Kara)), and better pay for prison work. From more structural to more abstract suggestions, calls for improvements show that young women have a clear sense of their constricted environments and have much of value to say back to policy and practice.

This thesis has conveyed that the links between individual and institution(s) are diverse and extremely complex. It is important for policy and practice to engage in in-depth and direct contact with young women to arrive at better solutions. Working across different institutional environments, delving into the wider social and spatial context of these young women's lives, underlines the importance of consistency. Working against the multi-dimensional abandonments that cut across all life-spheres requires a dedicated and persistent approach. While institutional staff continually underline the importance of relationships, they need to engage with the longer-term realities of how these high levels of control and care can have *adverse effects*. The achievement of reliable and continuous support, healthy relationships and an autonomous and emancipated lifestyle is elusive and hugely difficult to put into practice. One of the few aspects that many young women mention as a real help both within and outside institutions is the approach of the TfC project, many insisting that they are able to manage better and stay out of custody longer when engaging with TfC. Small and individual services like this, which adapt around the young women's highly mobile and often chaotic lives, seem to make a positive difference.

### ***Adding to the Carceral-Geographical Landscape***

This thesis mainly addressed carceral geography, but it also cut across other sub-disciplines like young people's geographies. Set within wider geographical security studies, it aimed to study a to-date underrepresented 'problematic' population that finds itself detained in different institutions set aside to secure it. Adding empirical material about young women meant to engage carceral-geographic thought with youth studies, while also extending in-depth qualitative material on aspects of gender. An engagement with children's and young people's geographies helped to make sense of labels like 'at risk', 'in trouble' or 'in need', not just from a criminal-justice point of view but also contextualising it in a wider discourse of youth. The transition from childhood to adulthood is a period of massive and fluid change for young people, which is too easily forgotten when dealing with young detainees. This study aims to bridge carceral and youth studies, adding to inquiries into the interconnectedness and impact of detention for young people (see Schliehe 2015; Schliehe

and Crowley 2016). A blurry boundary between offending (being a risk) and victimisation (being at risk) connects many young women's experiences and life courses. Curti and Moreno (2010) signal how the ways in which young people negotiate their lives are fundamentally informed by their socio-geographic location. Transferred to young people 'growing up' in secure environments, the impact of closed spaces on self-produced identity and wider life-journeys is significant. A focus on the everyday in children's geographies and on ambivalence in 'institutional' homes comes together in attention to the mundane that reveals the many facets of control and care (Horton and Kraftl 2005). Reflection on the realm of the small and banal can provide a critical insight into closed spaces, as well as into the structures of the everyday as site of entangled care and control. Examples of young people's resistance to institutional (and adult) control extends to all areas of institutional living. The space as simultaneously 'workplace' and 'home' highlights the ambiguity about institutions in general and young people's institutions in particular.

Adding to current carceral-geographic research by addressing the geographies of different types of confined spaces, this project broadens the scope of carceral studies through exploring the young detainees' experiences. While most studies in carceral geography deal with prisons or asylum detention, incarceration patterns for this population of young women distinctly revolves around the spaces of secure care and closed psychiatric facilities, as well as prisons. While there are criminological studies of these spaces of youth detention and various accounts of health-related issues in psychiatric facilities, this project embraces all three institutions and their distinctive affective atmospheres of incarceration. This focus may, again, seem unorthodox, but it emerged directly from the young women's portrayal of experiencing detention. By focussing on these less 'usual' carceral spaces, debates around control and care, but also around accounts of agency and resistance, can be drawn in as new facets to carceral-geographic scholarship. In many ways, early experiences of detention seem to shape detainees being drawn into the criminal justice system. In combination with debates around criminal careers and peak age of offending, it is hence surprising that young people have not featured more in carceral-geographic research.

Conceptualising the young women's mobility as 'journeys' draws on the recent active engagement of carceral geography with varied scales of mobility. Tying in with this wider interest means to set mobile carceral geographies within extensive carceral systems as a key to understanding global security developments. In this context, this project adds another vignette of displacement and disconnection. Disciplined mobilities are rooted in but at the same time exceed epicentral closed institutions, reaching a state of 'mobile entrapment' in which structural abandonment comes to the fore in individual journeys. Investigating the cartography of carcerality and wider mobility signifies how tracing and mapping movement is a step in the direction of better understanding power relations. Mobility to, within and between institutions is described here with regards to personal experiences of movement. Autonomous mobility within institutions is heavily restricted, while conforming with institutional movement is part of the power geometries at play. Mobilities across and beyond

institutional boundaries immediately raise questions about the dichotomy of inside/outside, hailing recent carceral-geographic debates about the nature of boundaries. This project addresses many facets of conceptual as well as empirical work on contested carceral states of permeability. Aiming to open up the theoretical discussion, this thesis argues for a re-introduction of Goffman's work into carceral geography. Further to this point, though, my project argues for a nuanced understanding of disciplinary-scapes that also follow detainees after their release. The young women's journeys show that extreme mobility, as well as high levels of control and care, seem to co-exist as almost unnoticed aspects of their everyday lives from a young age. Tracing these movements thus materialises geographical patterns and shows a complex trans-geographical flux of embodied, mobile and emotional practices that rest on both dislocation and temporary fixity.

The empirical material fostered new and exciting possibilities to the main research questions by opening new avenues of understanding personal and emotional experiences of incarceration. One example is the concept of hope that seemed to be translucent in carceral practices, both for young women and maybe even more as a managerial approach for staff, who use it for assessments. Anderson (2006) writes about hope which can be linked to concepts of spatial control and affect as performance, while the idea of hope has also been conceptualised within children's geographies (Kraftl 2007; 2008). Simplistic notions of hope as futurity and progress are utilised in secure care, for example, as assessments of mental state and individual progress; for the young women, however, hope is more often mentioned in connection with *hopelessness* and tied up with extreme levels of control and care.

### ***Endnotes on Tracing Outsideness***

Finally, let me return to the beginning of the thesis and Lisa's struggle with 'outsideness'. The 'outsideness' that Lisa laments could still be seen as simply 'being outside', but the underlying message is not just about getting fresh air in the courtyard; instead, she feels deprived of feeling free from disciplinary regimes. Having spoken to many young women and members of staff, the alternative possibility here is one of seeing 'outsideness' as sort of 'normal' life beguilingly out of reach. The wider context of manifold marginalisation and repeat incarceration means that these young women are perceived as a minority group within institutions, as well as in wider society; they inhabit categories of high risk, high need and extreme behaviour, as well as being cast in loaded discourses around morality, sexuality and gender norms. Tracing the *femina sacra* – the young woman on the margin – means to arrive at a figure of multiple exclusion and displacement who is paradoxically 'kept in place' by keeping her mobile.

As a common thread through the previous chapters, it has been possible to establish a better understanding of the actual social worlds that these young female detainees inhabit and move around. The imminent high levels of dislocation can be seen as part of continual structural exclusions in relation to education, jobs, housing, and more. In this sense experiences in the community are continued during stays in closed institutions. High levels of control and care



‘on the inside’ expose paradoxes and practical problems relating to institutional aims and outcomes. The disruption of confinement creates contradictory effects; for example, in that it may provide safety from outer trauma (like overt physical violence), but simultaneously causes multiple ‘mortification’ and challenges for senses of self. Locking young women up inside a regime of control and care, temporarily withdrawing them from ‘circulation’, does not change the social deprivation that many experience on the outside. Extending institutional patterns of close control/care into post-institutional settings hence means that mobility can be seen as yet another form of contextual control. Being kept on the move (on the inside and outside) reiterates the importance of engaging with young women’s journeys. To assess the highly influential effect of closed space, alongside taking seriously the ‘space’ in-between these archipelagos, allows for a more nuanced understanding of these young women’s meaningful social worlds.

## References

- Abbott A (2007) Against Narrative: A Preface to Lyrical Sociology\*. In: *Sociological Theory* 25(1): 67-99.
- Adey P (2006) If Mobility is Everything Then It Is Nothing: Towards a Relational Politics of (Im)mobilities. In: *Mobilities* 1(1): 75-94.
- Adey P (2008) Airports, Mobility and the affective architecture of affective control. In: *Geoforum* 39: 438-451.
- Adey P, Brayer L, Masson D (2013) 'pour votre tranquillité': Ambience, atmosphere and surveillance. In: *Geoforum* 49: 299-309.
- Agamben G (1998) [1996] *Homo Sacer. Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Stanford University Press, Stanford CA.
- Agamben G (2001) We can say that politics secretly works towards the production of emergencies. A short article written in response to the 9-11 attacks. In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* [Frankfurt general newspaper] September 20, 2001.
- Agamben G (2005) *State of Exception*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Agamben G (2005a) [1999] *Remnants of Auschwitz. The Witness and the Archive [Homo Sacer III]*. Zone Books, New York.
- Aggleton P, Hurry J, Warwick I (2000) *Young people and Mental Health*, Wiley and Sons, London.
- Alder CM (2001) Young Women as Offenders and the Challenge for Restorative Justice. In: Braithwaite J, Strang H (Eds.) *Restorative Justice: Philosophy and Practice*. Ashgate, Dartmouth: 105-121.
- Alderman DH (1997) Integrating Space into a Reactive Theory of the Asylum: Evidence From Post-civil War Georgia. In: *Health and Place* 3: 111-122.
- Alford F (2000) What Would It Matter If Everything Foucault Said about Prison Were Wrong? "Discipline and Punish" after Twenty Years. In: *Theory and Society* 29(1): 125-146.
- Al-Hindi KF, Kawabata H (2002) Toward a More Fully Reflexive Feminist Geography. In: Moss P (Ed.) *Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods*. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford: 103-115.
- Allspach A (2010) Landscapes of (Neo)liberal Control: the Transcerceral Spaces of Federally Sentenced Women in Canada. In: *Gender, Place and Culture* 17(6): 705-723.
- Andershed AK [Ed.] (2013) *Girls at Risk. Swedish Longitudinal Research on Adjustment*. New York. Springer.
- Anderson B (2006) Being and Becoming Hopeful: Towards a Theory of Affect. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24: 733-752.
- Anderson B (2009) Affective Atmospheres. In: *Emotion, Space and Society* 2: 77-81.
- Anderson K, Smith SJ (2001) Editorial: Emotional Geographies. In: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 26(1): 7-10.
- Angiolini E (2012) *Commission on Women Offenders Final Report*, Scottish Government, Edinburgh.
- Appignanesi L (2009) *Mad, Bad and Sad: Women and the Mind Doctors from 1800 to the Present*. Virago, London.
- Arens O (2013) *Time for Change Project 2010-2013* [unpublished workload summary], Up-2-Us, East Kilbride.

- Armstrong S (2015) The Cell and the Corridor: Imprisonment as Waiting, and Waiting as Mobile. In: *Time and Society* 0(0): 1-22. [doi: 10.1177/0961463X15587835].
- Audit Scotland (2011) *An Overview of Scotland's Criminal Justice System*. Audit, Edinburgh.
- Ayete-Nyampong L (2013) *Entangled Realities and the Underlife of a Total Institution – an Ethnography of Correctional Centres for Juvenile and Young Offenders in Accra, Ghana*, Wageningen University, Wageningen.
- Baer LD (2005) Visual Imprints on the Prison Landscape: a study on the decoration in prison cells. In: *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 96(2): 209-217.
- Baer LD, Ravneberg B (2008) The Outside and Inside in Norwegian and English Prisons, In: *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 90(2): 205-216.
- Ball K (2002) Elements of Surveillance: A New Framework and Future Directions. In: *Information, Communication and Society* 5(4): 573-590.
- Barclay A, Hunter C (2008) Blurring the Boundaries: The Relationship between Secure Accommodation and 'Alternatives' in Scotland. In: Kendrick A (Ed.) *Residential Child Care: Prospects and Challenges*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London: 166-182.
- Barry M (2006) *Youth offending in Transition: the Search for Social Recognition*. London, Routledge.
- Barry M, Moodie K (2008) 'This is not the road I want to go down': *Young people's perceptions and experiences of secure care*. Who Cares? Scotland. URL: (Accessed 27/07/2015) <http://www.whocaresscotland.org/pdf/ThisIsntTheRoadDesignedVersionFINAL28Jan09.pdf>.
- Barry M (2009) Youth Justice Policy and Its Influence on Desistance. In: Barry M, McNeill F (Eds.) *Youth Offending and Youth Justice*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London: 78-94.
- Barry M, McNeill F (2009) Introduction. In: Barry M, McNeill F (Eds.) *Youth Offending and Youth Justice*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London: 9-16.
- Barry M, McNeill F (2009) Conclusion. In: Barry M, McNeill F (Eds.) *Youth Offending and Youth Justice*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London: 194-202.
- Batchelor S, Burman M (2004) Working with Girls and Young Women. In: McIvor G (Ed.) *Women Who Offend*. London. Jessica Kingsley: 266-87.
- Batchelor S (2005) 'Prove me the bam!' Victimisation and agency in the lives of young women who commit violent crimes. In: *Probation Journal* 48(2): 358-375
- Batchelor S (2009) Girls, gangs and violence: assessing the evidence. In: *Probation Journal* 56 (4): 399-414.
- Batchelor SA, Burman M (2010) The Children's Hearing System. In: Johnstone J, Burman M (Eds.) *Youth Justice*. Dunedin, Edinburgh: 14-26.
- BBC (2011) *Review of women prisoner treatment in Scottish jails*. URL: (accessed: 21/11/2015) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-13776085>.
- Belcher O, Martin L, Secor A, Simon S, Wilson T (2008) Everywhere and Nowhere: The Exception and the Topological Challenge to Geography. In: *Antipode* 40(4): 499-503.
- Belknap P, Leonard WM (1991) A Conceptual Replication and Extension of Erving Goffman's Study of Gender Advertisements. In: *Sex Roles* 25(3/4): 103-118.
- Belknap J, Holsinger K (2008) An Overview of Delinquent Girls: How Theory and Practice Have Failed and the Need for Innovative Changes. In: Zaplin RT (Ed.) *Female Offenders: Critical Perspectives and Effective Interventions*. Jones and Bartlett Publishers, London: 3-42.
- Benjamin W (1999) *Zur Kritik der Gewalt und andere Aufsätze*. Suhrkamp, Berlin.

- Bigo D (2009) Security, Exception, Ban, Surveillance. In: Lyon D (Ed.) *Theorising Surveillance: the Panopticon and Beyond*. Willam Publishing, Cullompton Devon: 46-68.
- Bingham N (1996) Object-ions: From Technological Determinism Towards Geographies of Relations. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14(6): 635-657.
- Bingham N (2003) Writing Reflexively. In: Pryke M, Rose G, Whatmore S (Eds.) *Using Social Theory: Thinking Through Research*. Sage Publications, London: 145-162.
- Bissell D (2010) Passenger Mobilities: Affective Atmospheres and the Sociality of Transport. In: *Environment and Planning D Society and Space* 28: 270-289.
- Bock PK (1988) The Importance of Erving Goffman to Psychological Anthropology. In: *Ethos* 16(1): 20-30.
- Bondi L (2003) Empathy and Identification: Conceptual Resources for Feminist Fieldwork. In: *ACME* 2(1), 64-76.
- Bondi L (2005) Making Connections and Thinking Through Emotions: Between Geography and Psychotherapy. In: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30(4): 433-448.
- Bond-Taylor S, Jones K (2009) Crime, Criminalization and Criminology: Policing Trouble? In: Bochel H, Bochel C, Page R, Sykes R (Eds.) *Social Policy: Themes, Issues and Debates*. Longham, London: 302-328.
- Bonnar SE (2010) *Report for the Mental Health Commission on Admission of Young People to Adult Mental Health Wards in the Republic of Ireland*. Mental Health Commission, Dublin.
- Boyne R (2000) 'Post-Panopticism.' In: *Economy and Society* 29(2): 285-307.
- Blunt A (2005) Cultural Geographies of Home. In: *Progress in Human Geography* 29: 505-515.
- Branaman A (2003) Interaction and Hierarchy in Everyday Life: Goffman and Beyond. In: Trevino AJ (ed.) *Goffman's Legacy*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Lanham, Maryland: 86-127.
- Brown SD, Stenner P (2001) Being Affected: Spinoza and the Psychology of Emotion. In: *International Journal of Group Tensions* 30(1): 81-105.
- Brown S (2005) *Understanding Youth and Crime: Listening to Youth?* Maidenhead Berkshire, Open University Press.
- Brown S (2009) The Changing Landscape of Youth and Youth Crime. In: Barry M, McNeill F (Eds.) *Youth Offending and Youth Justice*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London: 38-55.
- Brown SD, Tucker I (2010) Eff the Ineffable: Affect, Somatic Management, and Mental Health Service Users. In: Seigworth GJ, Gregg M (Eds.) *The Affect Theory Reader*, Duke University Press, Durham, N.C.: 229-249.
- Brown M, Marusek S (2014) 'Ohana Ho 'opakele: The Politics of Place in Corrective Environments. In: *International Journal for Semiotics of Law* 27: 225-242.
- Bryman A (2008) *Social Research Methods*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Bullock R, Little M, Spencer M (1998) *Secure Treatment Outcomes: The Care Careers of Very Difficult Adolescents*. Ashgate, Aldershot.
- Bulmer M (2001) The Ethics of Social Research. In: Gilbert N (Ed.) *Researching Social Life*. Sage Publications, London: 45-57.
- Burgess-Proctor A (2006) Intersections of Race, Class, Gender, and Crime: Future Directions for Feminist Criminology. In: *Feminist Criminology* 1(1): 27-47.
- Burman M (2004) Breaking the Mould: Patterns of Female Offending. In: McIvor G (Ed.) *Women Who Offend*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London: 38-66.

- Burman M, Batchelor S, Brown J (2004) *Challenging Violence: Girls, Gender and Violent Encounters*. Macmillan, London.
- Burman M (2008) Girls Behaving Violently? In: *Criminal Justice Matters* 53(1): 20-21.
- Burman M, Batchelor S (2009) Between Two Stools? Responding to Young Women Who Offend. In: *Youth Justice* (9): 270-285.
- Burman M (2010) What's the Problem? The Nature and Evidence of Youth Crime in Scotland. In: Johnstone J, Burman M (Eds.) *Youth Justice*. Dunedin, Edinburgh: 27-42.
- Burman M, Imlah N (2012) *Time for Change: An Evaluation of an Intensive Support Service*. SCCJR Research Report No.02/2012. URL: (accessed 25/08/2015) <http://www.sccjr.ac.uk/publications/time-for-changean-evaluation-of-an-intensive-support-service/>.
- Burns T (1992) *Erving Goffman*. Routledge, London.
- Butler J (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge, London.
- Butler J, Scott JW (1992) Introduction: Feminists theorise the political. In: Butler J, Scott JW (Eds.) *Feminists Theorise the Political*. Routledge, London: xiii-xvii.
- Butler R, Parr H [Eds.] (1999) *Mind and Body Spaces: Geographies of Illness, Impairment and Disability*. Routledge, London.
- CG [Carceral Geography] (2015) URL: (accessed 21/12/2015) <http://carceralgeography.com/2012/04/02/death-row-documentary-geography-and-mobility/>.
- Cameron E (2012) New Geographies of Story and Storytelling. In: *Progress in Human Geography* 36(5): 573-592.
- Campbell and Arnott Architects (2013) Skye Unit. URL: (accessed: 19/11/2015) [http://www.glasgowarchitecture.co.uk/stobhill\\_hospital\\_unit.htm](http://www.glasgowarchitecture.co.uk/stobhill_hospital_unit.htm).
- Carlen P (2003) A strategy for women offenders? Lock them up, programme them . . . and then send them out homeless. In: *Criminal Justice Matters* 53(1): 34-35.
- Carlton B, Segrave M (2011) Women's Survival Post-imprisonment: Connecting Imprisonment With Pains Past and Present. In: *Punishment and Society* 13(5): 551-570.
- Carrington C (2013) Girls and Violence: The Case for a Feminist Theory of Female Violence. In: *Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* 2(2): 63-79.
- Celcis (2014) Throughcare and Aftercare Services in Scotland's Local Authorities: A National Study. CELCIS, Glasgow.
- Celcis (2015) Centre for Excellence for Looked After Children in Scotland, URL: (accessed: 11/02/2015) <http://www.celcis.org/resources>.
- Chesney-Lind, M (2004) *The female offender: girls, women and crime*. London: Sage
- Chesney-Lind M, Belknap J (2004) Trends in Delinquent Girls' Aggression and Violent Behaviour: A Review of the Evidence. In: Putallaz M, Bierman KL (Eds.) *Aggression, Antisocial Behaviour, and Violence Among Girls: A Developmental Perspective*. Guilford press, New York: 203-222.
- Chesney-Lind M (2006) Patriarchy, Crime, Justice: Feminist Criminology in an Era of Backlash. In: *Feminist Criminology* 1(1): 6-26.
- Chesney-Lind M, Eliason M (2006) From Invisible to Incurable: the Demonization of Marginalized Women and Girls. In: *Crime, Media, Culture* 2(11): 29-47.
- Chesney-Lind M, Jones N (Eds.) (2010) *Fighting for Girls: New Perspectives on Gender and Violence*. State University of New York Press, New York.

- Chesney-Lind M, Shelden RG (2014) *Girls, Delinquency and Juvenile Justice*. Wiley, Chichester.
- CHS (2013) How does the Children's Hearings System work? URL: (accessed: 19/09/2015) <http://www.chscotland.gov.uk/the-childrens-hearings-system/how-does-the-childrens-hearings-system-work/>.
- CJSW (2011) *Girls and Young Women in the Youth Justice System – Vulnerable or Risky?* CJSW Paper 12 (03/2011), Edinburgh.
- Clemens J, Heron N, Murray A (2008) The Enigma of Giorgio Agamben. In: Clemens J, Heron N, Murray A (Eds.) *The Work of Giorgio Agamben: Law, Literature, Life*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh: 1-12.
- Cloke P, Philo C, Sadler D (1991) *Approaching Human Geography: An Introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Debates*. Paul Chapman Publishing, London.
- Cloke P, Cook I, Crang P, Goodwin M, Painter J, Philo, C (2004) *Practising Human Geography*. Sage Publications, London.
- Clough PT (2010) The Affective Turn: The Political Economy, Biomedicine, and Bodies. In: Seigworth GJ, Gregg M (Eds.) *The Affect Theory Reader*. Duke University Press, Durham, N.C.: 206-228.
- Collins DCA, Kearns RA (2001) Under Curfew and Under Siege? Legal Geographies of Young People. In: *Geoforum* 32: 389-403.
- Colls R, Hörschmann K (2009) The Geographies of Children's and Young People's Bodies. In: *Children's Geographies* 7(1): 1-6.
- Conlon D (2013) Hungering for Freedom: Asylum Seekers' Hunger Strikes – Rethinking Resistance as Counter-Conduct. In: Moran D, Gill N, Conlon D (Eds.) *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Ashgate, Farnham: 133-148.
- Connell RW (1987) *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Cook IR, Whowell M (2011) Visibility and the Policing of Public Space. In: *Geography Compass* 5(8): 610-622.
- Cooper G (2001) Conceptualising Social Life. In: Gilbert N (Ed.) *Researching Social Life*. Sage Publications, London: 1-14.
- Corston J (2007) *The Corston Report: The Need for a Distinct, Radically Different, Visibly-led, Strategic, Proportionate, Holistic, Woman-centred, Integrated Approach*. Home Office, London.
- Cox A (2012) Anchoring Identity: The Construction of Responsibility for and by Young Offenders in the US. In: Kraftl P, Horton J, Tucker F (Eds.) *Critical Geographies of Childhood and Youth. Contemporary Policy and Practice*. The Policy Press, Bristol: 199-214.
- Crampton JW, Elden S (2007) *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*. Ashgate, Aldershot.
- Crampton J (2013) Space, Territory, Geography. In: Falzon C, O'Leary T, Sawicki J (Eds.) *A Companion to Foucault*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford: 384-399.
- Crang M, Cook I (2007) *Doing Ethnographies*. Sage, London.
- Creegan C, Scott S, Smith R (2005) *The Use of Secure Accommodation and Alternative Provisions for Sexually Exploited Young People in Scotland*. Barnardo's, London.
- Cresswell T (1999) Embodiment, Power and the Politics of Mobility: The Case of Female Tramps and Hobos. In: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24: 175-192.
- Cresswell T (2010) Towards a Politics of Mobility. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28: 17-31.
- Cresswell T, Merriman P (Eds.) (2011) *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects*. Ashgate, Farnham.

- Crewe B (2009) *The Prisoner Society: Power, Adaption and Social Life in an English Prison*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Crewe B, Warr J, Bennett P, Smith A (2014) The Emotional Geography of Prison Life. In: *Theoretical Criminology*, 0(0), pp.1-19.
- Curtis K, Roberts H, Copperman J, Downie A, Liabo K (2003) 'How come I don't get asked no questions?' Researching 'Hard to Reach' Children and Teenagers. In: *Child and Family Social Work* (9): 167-175.
- Curtis S, Gesler W, Fabian K, Francis S, Priebe S (2007) Therapeutic Landscapes in Hospital Design: A Qualitative Assessment by Staff and Service Users of the Design of a New Mental Health Inpatient Unit. In: *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 25: 591-610.
- CYCJ (2013) *Vulnerable Girls and Young Women's Champions Group*, URL: (accessed: 16/11/2015) <http://www.cycj.org.uk/who-we-work-with/champions-groups/girls-vulnerable-young-women/>.
- Dalby S (2011) Ten Years After: September 11<sup>th</sup> and Its Aftermath. In: *The Geographical Journal* 177: 198-202.
- Davidson J (2003) 'Putting on a face': Satre, Goffman, and Agoraphobic Anxiety in Social Space. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 21: 107-122.
- Davidson J, Milligan C (2004) Embodying Emotion Sensing Space: Introducing Emotional Geographies. In: *Social & Cultural Geography* 5(4): 523-532.
- Davidson J, Chesney-Lind M (2009) Discounting Women: Context Matters in Risk and Need Assessment. In: *Critical Criminology* 17(4): 221-246.
- Davies P, Francis P, Jupp V (2011) *Doing Criminological Research*. Sage Publications, London.
- Davis M (1990) *City of Quartz: Excavating the future in Los Angeles*. Verso, London.
- De Beauvoir S (1997) [1949] *The Second Sex*, Vintage, London.
- De Dardel J (2013) Resisting 'Bare Life': Prisoners' Agency in the New Prison Culture in Colombia. In: Moran D, Gill N, Conlon D (Eds.) *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Ashgate, Farnham: 183-198.
- Defert D (2013) Chronology. In: Falzon C, O'Leary T, Sawicki J (Eds.) *A Companion to Foucault*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford: 9-83.
- Deleuze G (1992) Postscript on the Societies of Control. In: *October* 59: 3-7.
- Deveaux M (1994) Feminism and Empowerment: A Critical Reading of Foucault. In: *Feminist Studies* 20: 223-247.
- Diken B, Bagge Laustsen C (2006) The Camp. In: *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography* 88(4): 443-452.
- Dirsuweit T (1999) Carceral Spaces in South Africa: A Case Study of Institutional Power, Sexuality and Transgression in a Women's Prison. In: *Geoforum* 30: 71-83.
- Dirsuweit T (2005) Bodies, State Discipline, and the Performance of Gender in a South African Women's Prison. In: Nelson L, Seager J (Eds.) *A Companion to Feminist Geography*. Wiley, Hoboken NY: 350-362.
- Disney T (2015) Complex Spaces of Orphan Care – A Russian Therapeutic Children's Community. In: *Children's Geographies* 13(1): 30-43.
- Disney T (2015a) *Between Care and Control? Orphan Geographies in the Russian Federation*. University of Birmingham, unpublished PhD Thesis.
- Dixon A, Howie P, Starling J (2004) Psychopathology in Female Juvenile Offenders. In: *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 45(6): 1150-1158.

- Doane G (2003) Reflexivity as Presence: A Journey of Self-inquiry. In: Finlay L, Gough B (Eds.) *Reflexivity: A Practical Guide for Researchers in Health and Social Sciences*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford: 93-102.
- Dobash RP, Emerson Dobash R, Gutteridge S [Eds] (1986) *The Imprisonment of Women*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Dorrer N, McIntosh I, Punch S, Emond R (2010) Children and Food Practices in Residential Care: Ambivalence in the 'Institutional' Home. In: *Children's Geographies* 8(3): 247-259.
- Driver F (1990) Discipline Without Frontiers? Representations of the Mettray Reformatory Colony in Britain, 1840-1880. In: *Journal of Historical Sociology* 3: 272-93.
- Driver F (1995) Bodies in Space: Foucault's Account of Disciplinary Power. In: Jones C, Porter R (Eds.) *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body*. Routledge, London: 113-131.
- Ek R (2006) Giorgio Agamben and the Spatialities of the Camp: An Introduction. In: *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography* 88(4): 363-386.
- Elden S (2001) *Mapping the Present: Heidegger, Foucault and the Project of a Spatial History*. Continuum, London.
- Elden S (2003) Plague, Panopticon, Police. In: *Surveillance and Society* 1(3): 240-253.
- Eribon D (1991) *Michel Foucault. Eine Biographie*, Surkamp, Frankfurt am Main.
- Esposito R (2008) *Bios: Biopolitics and Philosophy*, Minnesota University Press, Minneapolis.
- Evans DJ (1980) *Geographical Perspectives on Juvenile Delinquency*. Gower Publishing, Corbridge.
- Falzon C, O'Leary T, Sawicki J (2013) *A Companion to Foucault*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford: 1-7.
- Farrington K (1992) The Modern Prison as Total Institution? Public Perception versus Objective Reality. In: *Crime and Delinquency* 38(6): 6-26.
- Ferrant A (1997) *Containing the crisis: spatial strategies and the Scottish prison system*. University of Edinburgh, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Fielding N (2001) Ethnography. In: Gilbert N (Ed.) *Researching Social Life*. Sage Publications, London: 145-163.
- Fielding J (2001) Coding and Managing Data. In: Gilbert N (Ed.) *Researching Social Life*. Sage Publications, London: 227-251.
- Fine GA, Manning P (2003) Erving Goffman. In: Ritzer G (ed.) *The Blackwell Companion to Major Contemporary Social Theorists*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford: 34-62.
- Fink-Eitel H (1989) *Foucault zur Einführung*. Junius Verlag, Hamburg.
- Flick U (2015) *Introducing Research Methodology: A Beginner's Guide to Doing a Research Project*. Sage Publications, London.
- Fluri J (2012) Capitalizing on Bare Life: Sovereignty, Exception, and gender Politics. In: *Antipode*, 44(1): 31-50.
- Follis L (2015) Power in Motion: Tracking Time, Space and Movement in the British Penal Estate. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 33(5): 945-962.
- Foreman L (2004) 'In-secure': The Views and Experiences of Young People in Secure Accommodation in Scotland. Who Cares? Scotland. URL: (accessed: 15/10/2015) <http://www.whocaresScotland.org/pdf/InSecure.pdf>.
- Foreman L, McAllister S (2006) I wish I could turn back time. Who Cares? Scotland. URL: (accessed: 15/10/2015) <http://www.whocaresScotland.org/pdf/IwishIcouldTurnBackTime%205-amendCACOct06.pdf>.



- Foucault M (1990) [1984] *The History of Sexuality III: The Care of the Self*. Penguin Books, London.
- Foucault M (1991) [1977] *Discipline and Punish. The birth of the prison*, Penguin Books, London.
- Foucault M (1998) [1976] *The History of Sexuality I: The Will to Knowledge*. Penguin Books, London.
- Foucault M (1998) [1984] *The History of Sexuality II: The Use of Pleasure* Penguin Books, London.
- Foucault M (2000) *Subjectivity and Truth (Lectures at the Collège de France 1980-1981)*. In: Rabinow P (ed) *Essential Works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984 Volume 1*. Penguin Books, London: 87-92.
- Foucault M (2000) [1994] *Different Spaces*. In: Foucault M (2000) [1994], *Aesthetics, method and Epistemology*, Penguin Books, London: 175-185.
- Foucault M (2001) [1961] *Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. Routledge, London.
- Foucault M (2001) [1966] *The Order of Things: Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. Routledge, London.
- Foucault M (2002) [1969] *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Routledge, London.
- Foucault M (2003) [1963] *The Birth of the Clinic*, Routledge, London.
- Foucault M (2003) *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France 1974-1975*, Verso, London.
- Foucault M (2004) *Society Must Be Defended, Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-1976*, Penguin Books, London.
- Foucault M (2005) *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France 1981-1982*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Foucault M (2007) *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Foucault M (2008) *Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the Collège de France 1973-1974*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Foucault M (2008) Gespräch mit Ducio Trombadori. In: Suhrkamp Verlag (Ed.) Michel Foucault – Die Hauptwerke. Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main: 1585-1650.
- Foucault M (2010) *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Foucault M (2011) *The Government of Self and Others: Lectures at the Collège de France 1982-1983*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Foucault M (2012) *The Courage of Truth: Lectures at the Collège de France 1983-1984*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Freund PES (2008) The Expressive Body: Common Ground for the Sociology of Emotions and Health and Illness. In: Greco M, Stenner P (Eds.) *Emotions – A Social Science Reader*. Routledge, London: 209-216.
- Fraser A (2013) Street habitus: gangs, territorialism and social change in Glasgow. In: *Journal of Youth Studies* 16(8): 970-985.
- Gallagher M (2010) Are Schools Panoptic? In: *Surveillance and Society* 7(3-4): 262-272.
- Gallagher M (2011) Sound, Space and Power in a Primary School. In: *Social and Cultural Geography* 12(1): 47-61.
- Garland D (2001) *The Culture of Control*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

- Gelsthorpe L, Sharpe G (2015) Gender, Youth Crime and Justice. In: Goldson B, Muncie J (Eds.), *Youth Crime and Justice*. Sage, London: 49-64.
- Gelsthorpe L, Worrall A (2009) Looking for Trouble: A Recent History of Girls, Young Women and Youth Justice. In: *Youth Justice* 9(3): 209-22.
- Geographica Helvetica Special Issue (2014) Crime and Carcerality Across Boundaries. *Geographica Helvetica* 69: 321-398.
- Giallombardo R (1974) *The Social World of Imprisoned Girls: A Comparative Study of Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents*. Wiley, New York.
- Gibson-Graham JK (1996) *The End of Capitalism (as we knew it): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Giddens A (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Gill N (2010) New State-theoretic Approaches to Asylum and Refugee Geographies. In: *Progress in Human Geography* 34(5): 626-645.
- Gill N, Conlon D, Moran D (2013) Dialogues Across Carceral Space: Migration, Mobility, Space and Agency. In: Moran D, Gill N, Conlon D (eds.) *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Ashgate, Farnham: 239-249.
- Gill N (2013) Mobility Versus Liberty? The Punitive Uses of Movement Within and Outside Carceral Environments. In: Moran D, Conlon D, Gill N (eds) *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Ashgate, Farnham: 19-36.
- Gilmore RW (2007) *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalising California*. University of California Press, Los Angeles.
- Glück Z (2015) Piracy and the Production of Security Space. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*: 1-18.
- Goffman E (1990) [1959] *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Penguin Press, London.
- Goffman E (1991) [1961] *Asylums: Essays on the Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. Penguin Press, London.
- Goffman E (1990) [1963] *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity*. Penguin Press, London.
- Goffman E (1972 [1971] *Relations in Public: Micro-studies of the Public Order*. Penguin Press, London.
- Goffman E (1971) The Insanity of Place. In: Goffman E (1971) *Relations in Public: Microstudies of Public Order*. Penguin Books, London.
- Goffman E (1977a) The Arrangement Between the Sexes. *Theory and Society* 4: 301-331.
- Goffman E (1977b) Genderisms: An Admittedly Malicious Look at How Advertising Reinforces Sexual Role Stereotypes. In: *Psychology Today* 11(3): 60-63.
- Goffman E (1986) [1974] *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organisation of Experience*. Northeastern University Press, Boston.
- Goffman E (1990) [1976] *Gender Advertisement* [Communications and Culture 1976]. The society for the Anthropology of Visual Communication/ The Macmillan Press, London and Basingstoke.
- Goffman E (1983) The Interaction Order. In: *American Sociological Review* 48(1): 1-17.
- Goldson B (2002) *Vulnerable on the Inside: Children in Secure and Penal Settings*. London, Children's Society.

- Goldson B (2015) The Circular Motions of Penal Politics and Pervasive Irrationalities of Child Imprisonment. In: Goldson B, Muncie J (2015) *Youth Crime and Justice*. Sage, London: 170-190.
- Good Shepherd Centre (2016) URL: (accessed 05/04/2016) <http://www.gsc.scot/>.
- Gormely JC (forthcoming) How people with learning disabilities make sense of and adapt to custodial punishment. University of Glasgow, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Gould P, White R (1974) *Mental Maps*. Allen and Unwin, London.
- Gouldner AW (1971) *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*. Heinemann, London.
- Graham S (2009) Surveillance, Urbanization and the US 'revolution in military affairs'. In: Lyon D (Ed.) *Theorising Surveillance: The Panopticon and Beyond*. Willam Publishing, Cullompton, Devon: 247-269.
- Gregory D (2004) *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan. Palestine. Iraq*. Wiley, Oxford.
- Gregory D (2006) The Black Flag: Guantánamo Bay and the Space of Exception. In: *Geografiska Annaler Series B, Human Geography* 88/4: 405-427.
- Gregory D, Pred A (eds) (2007) *Violent Geographies: Fear, terror and political violence*. Routledge, New York.
- Gregory D (2007) Vanishing points: law, violence and exception in the global war prison. In: Gregory D, Pred A (eds.) *Violent geographies: fear, terror and political violence*. Routledge, New York: 205-236.
- Gregory D (2008) The Biopolitics of Baghdad: counterinsurgency and the counter-city. In: *Human Geography* 1: 6- 27.
- Griffiths PE (1997) *What Emotions Really Are: The Problem of Psychological Categories*. University of Chicago Press, London.
- Grossberg L (2010) Affect's Future: Rediscovering the Virtual in the Actual. In: Seigworth GJ, Gregg M (Eds.) *The Affect Theory Reader*. Duke University Press, Durham N.C.: 309-338.
- Hacking I (2011) Between Michel Foucault and Erving Goffman: Between Discourse in the Abstract and Face-to-face Interaction. In: *Economy and Society* 33(3): 277-302.
- Hancock P, Jewkes Y (2011) Architectures of Incarceration: The Spatial Pains of Imprisonment. In: *Punishment and Society* 13(5): 611-629.
- Hannah M (1997) Imperfect Panopticism: Envisioning the Construction of Normal Lives. In: Benko G, Strohmeyer U (Eds.) *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity*. Blackwell Publisher, Oxford: 344-359.
- Hegarty P (2010) Giorgio Agamben (1942-). In: Simons J (Ed.) *From Agamben to Zizek: Contemporary Critical Theorists*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh: 14-28.
- Haggerty KD (2009) Tear Down the Walls: On Demolishing the Panopticon. In: Lyon D (Ed.) *Theorising Surveillance: The Panopticon and Beyond*. Willam Publishing, Cullompton, Devon: 23-46.
- Hallsworth S, Lea J (2011) Reconstructing Leviathan: Emerging Contours of the Security State. In: *Theoretical Criminology* 15(2): 141-157.
- Halsey M (2008) On Confinement: Resident and Inmate Perspectives of Secure Care and Imprisonment. In: *Probation Journal* 54(4): 338-367.
- Halsey M, Armitage J (2009) Incarcerating Young People: The Impact of Custodial 'Care'. In: Barry M, McNeill F (Eds.) *Youth Offending and Youth Justice*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London: 154-175.
- Hancock P, Jewkes Y (2011) Architectures of Incarceration: The Spatial Pains of Imprisonment. In: *Punishment and Society* 13(5): 611-629.

- Hannah M (1997) Space and the Structuring of Disciplinary Power: An Interpretative Review. In: *Geografiska Annaler Series B, Human Geography* 79(2): 171-180.
- Harris R, Timms N (1993) *Secure Accommodation in Child Care: Between Hospital and Prison or Thereabouts?* Routledge, London.
- HDL (2006) *Forensic Mental Health Services*. Scottish Executive, Edinburgh, URL: (accessed: 11/02/2016) [http://www.sehd.scot.nhs.uk/mels/HDL2006\\_48.pdf](http://www.sehd.scot.nhs.uk/mels/HDL2006_48.pdf).
- Hendrick H (2015) Histories of Youth Crime and Youth Justice. In: Goldson B, Muncie J (Eds.) *Youth Crime and Youth Justice*. Sage, London: 3-16.
- Hiemstra N (2013) 'You don't even know where you are': Chaotic Geographies of US Migrant Detention and Deportation. In: Moran D, Gill N, Conlon D (Eds.) *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*, Ashgate, Farnham: 57-76.
- Hier SP (2003) Probing the Surveillant Assemblage: On the Dialectics of Surveillance Practices as Processes of Social Control. In: *Surveillance and Society* 1(3): 399-411.
- Hollway W, Jefferson T (2003) Eliciting Narrative Through the In-depth Interview. In: Fielding N (Ed.) *Interviewing Vol II*. Sage Publications, London: 77-94.
- Horton J, Kraftl P (2006) What else? Some More Ways of Thinking About and Doing Children's Geographies. In: *Children's Geographies* 4(1): 69-95.
- Horton J, Kraftl P (2008) Reflections on Geographies of Age. In: *Area* 40: 284-288.
- Horton J, Kraftl P (2014) *Cultural Geographies: An Introduction*. Routledge, London.
- Hubbard P, Kitchin R, Bartley B, Fuller D (2002) *Thinking Geographically: Space, Theory and Contemporary Human Geography*. Continuum, London.
- Huntercombe Group (2013) *A Specialist CAMHS and Eating Disorder Service*, Huntercombe Group, Edinburgh.
- ICPR (2016) World Prison Brief. URL: (accessed 10/03/2016) <http://www.prisonstudies.org/>.
- Includem (2016) Includem Community Service. URL: (accessed 01/04/2016) <http://www.includem.org/>.
- Jacobs JM, Merriman P (2011) Practising Architectures. In: *Social and Cultural Geography* 12(3): 211-222.
- Jenkins R (2008) Erving Goffman: A Major Theorist of Power? In: *Journal of Power* 1(2): 157-168.
- Johnson P (2006) Unravelling Foucault's 'Different Spaces'. In: *History of the Human Sciences* 19(4): 75-90.
- Johnson P (2008) Foucault's Spatial Combat. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 26: 611-626.
- Johansson C (2007) Goffman's Sociology: An Inspiring Resource for Developing Public Relations Theory. In: *Public Relations Review* 33: 275-280.
- Jewkes Y, Moran D (2014) The Green Prison: Civic and citizenship ideologies in prison architecture, design and management. In: *Geographica Helvetica* 69: 345-353.
- Khan L (2010) Reaching Out, Reaching In: Promoting Mental Health and Emotional Well-being in Secure Settings. URL: (accessed: 24/10/2015) [http://www.centreformentalhealth.org.uk/pdfs/Centre\\_for\\_MH\\_Promoting\\_mh\\_in\\_secure\\_settings.pdf](http://www.centreformentalhealth.org.uk/pdfs/Centre_for_MH_Promoting_mh_in_secure_settings.pdf).
- Kantrowitz N (1996) *Close Control: Managing a Maximum Security Prison-The Story of Ragen's Stateville Penitentiary*. Harrow & Heston, Albany NY.
- Karstedt S (2008) Emotions and Criminal Justice. In: Greco M, Stenner P (Eds.) *Emotions – A Social Science Reader*. Routledge, London, 418-424.

- Kasper AS (2003) A Feminist Qualitative Methodology: A Study of Women with Breast Cancer. In: Fielding N (Ed.) *Interviewing Vol II*. Sage Publications, London: 168-186.
- Kearns RA (1997) Narrative and Metaphor in Health Geographies. In: *Progress in Human Geography* 21(2): 269-277.
- Kelly B (1992) *Children Inside: Rhethoric and Practice in a Locked Institution for Children*. Routledge, London.
- Kendrick A, Walker M, Barclay A, Hunter L, Malloch M, Hill M, McIvor G (2008) The Outcomes of Secure Care in Scotland. In: *Scottish Journal of Residential Child Care* 7(1): 1-13.
- Kendrick A, Steckley L, Lerpiniere J (2008a) Ethical Issues, Research and Vulnerability: Gaining the Views of Children and Young People in Residential Care. In: *Children's Geographies* 6(1), pp.79-93.
- Kibble (2016) URL (accessed 05/04/2016) <http://www.kibble.org/>.
- Kindynis T (2014) Ripping Up the Map: Criminology and Cartography Reconsidered. In: *British Journal of Criminology* 54: 222-243.
- Kingsbury P, Pile S [Eds.] (2014) *Psychoanalytic Geographies*. Ashgate, Farnham.
- Kitchen RM (1994) Cognitive Maps: What Are They and Why Study Them? In: *Environmental Psychology* 14(1): 1-19.
- Klauser FR (2008) Surveillance Studies – An Overview. In: *Area* 40(2): 293-300.
- Kraftl P (2007) Utopia, performativity and the unhome. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 25(1): 120-143.
- Kraftl P (2008) Young people, hope and childhood-hope. In: *Space and Culture* 11: 81-92.
- Kraftl, P, Adey P (2008) Architecture/affect/inhabitation: Geographies of Being-in Buildings. In: *Annals of the Association of American geographers* 98(1): 213-231.
- Kraftl P (2010) Geographies of Architecture: The Multiple Lives of Buildings. In: *Geography Compass* 4(5): 402-415.
- Kristeva J (1996) *Interviews*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Kropotkin PA (1887) *In Russian and French Prisons*. Ward and Downey, London.
- Kruttschnitt C, Slotboom AM, Dirkzwager A, Bijleveld C (2013) Bringing the Women's Carceral Experiences into the 'New Punitiveness' Fray. In: *Justice Quarterly* 30(1): 18-43.
- Laclau E (2007) Bare Life or Social Indeterminacy? In: Calarco M, DeCaroli S (Eds.) *Giorgio Agamben: Sovereignty and Life*. Stanford University Press, Stanford CA: 11-22.
- Laurie EW (2014) *The Embodied Politics of Health in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania*. University of Glasgow, unpublished PhD Thesis.
- Lather P (2003) Feminist Perspectives on Empowering Research Methodologies. In: Fielding N (Ed.) *Interviewing Vol II*. Sage Publications, London: 149-167.
- Laws J (2009) Reworking Therapeutic Landscapes: The Spatiality of an 'Alternative' Self-help Group. In: *Social Science and Medicine* 69(12): 1827-1833.
- Lee RM (2000) *Unobtrusive Methods in Social Research*. Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia.
- Legard R, Keegan J, Ward K (2003) In-depth Interviews. In: Ritchie J, Lewis J (Eds.) *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. Sage Publications, London: 138-169.
- Lemert C, Banaman A (1997) *The Goffman Reader*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.

- Lentin R (2006) *Femina Sacra: Gendered Memory and Political Violence*. In: *Women's Studies International Forum* 29: 463-473.
- Leonard M (2006) Teenagers Telling Sectarian Stories. In: *Sociology* 40(6): 1117-1133.
- Lianos M (2003) Social Control after Foucault. In: *Surveillance and Society* 1(3): 412-430.
- Lightowler C, Orr D, Vaswani N (2014) *Youth Justice in Scotland: Fixed in the past or fit for the future?* Centre for Youth and Criminal Justice Scotland, Glasgow.
- Littlewood P (1987) *Care Appropriate to Their Needs? Summary of a Sociological Study of a Secure Unit for Children in Scotland (1982-1986)*. Scottish Office Central Research Unit Papers, Social Work Services Group, Scottish Education Department, Edinburgh.
- Logan A (2008) *Feminism and Criminal Justice: A Historical Perspective*. Palgrave, Basingstoke.
- Lorber J (2010) *Feminisms and Their Contribution to Gender Equality* In: Lorber J (Ed.) *Gender Inequality: Feminist Perspectives and Politics*. Oxford University Press, New York: 1-20.
- Lorimer H (2003) Telling Small Stories: Spaces of Knowledge and the Practice of Geography. In: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28: 197-217.
- Lorimer H (2005) Cultural Geography: The Busyness of Being 'more-than-representational'. In: *Progress in Human Geography* 29: 83-94.
- Lorimer H (2008) Poetry and Place: The Shape of Words. In: *Geography* 93: 181-182.
- Loucks N (2004) Women in Prison. In: McIvor G (Ed.) *Women Who Offend*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London, 142-158.
- Lyon D (2009) The Search for Surveillance Theories. In: Lyon D (Ed.) *Theorising Surveillance: The Panopticon and Beyond*. Willam Publishing, Cullompton, Devon: 3-21.
- Mac Suibhne S (2011) Erving Goffman's Asylums 50 Years On. In: *The British Journal of Psychiatry* 198: 1-2.
- Maguire M (2001) *[Un]Comfortably Numb. A Prison Requiem*. Luath Press, Glasgow.
- Malloch, M. (2013) *In Their Own Right: Support for families with a young person in secure accommodation*. Families Outside. Edinburgh.
- Marsh I, Melville G, Morgan K, Morris G, Walkington Z [Eds.] (2006) *Theories of Crime*. Routledge, London.
- Marshall A (1997) *Always Greener on the Other Side of the Fence? Examining the Relationship Between the Built Environment, Regimes and Control in Medium Security Prisons in England and Wales*. University of Birmingham, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Martin LL, Mitchelson ML (2009) Geographies of Detention and Imprisonment: Interrogating Spatial Practices of Confinement, Discipline, Law and State Power. In: *Geography Compass* 39(1) 459-477.
- Martin L (2013) Getting Out and Getting In: Legal Geographies of US Immigration Detention. In: Moran D, Gill N, Conlon D (Eds.) *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Ashgate, Surrey: 149-166.
- Massumi B (2002) *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*. Duke University Press, Durham, N.C.
- Masters C (2009) *Femina Sacra: The 'war on/of terror', Women and the Feminine*. In: *Security Dialogue* 40(1): 29-49.
- Maycock P, Sheridan S (2013) At Home' in Prison? Women and the Homelessness-incarceration Nexus. In: *Irish Probation Journal* 13: 118-140.

- McAra L, McVie S (2010) Youth Crime and Justice in Scotland. In: Croall H, Mooney G, Munro M (Eds.) *Criminal Justice in Scotland*. Willan Publishing, Abington: 67-89.
- McAuley R (2007) *Out of Sight: Crime, Youth and Exclusion in Modern Britain*. Routledge, London.
- McCallum F (2011) *SPICe Briefing Paper (11/53): Children and the Scottish Criminal Justice System*. Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh.
- McCorkhill JA (2003) Surveillance and the Gendering of Punishment. In: *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 32(1): 41-76.
- McCormack DP (2003) An Event of Geographical Ethics in Spaces of Affect. In: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28(4): 488-507.
- Macdonald K (2001) Using documents. In: Gilbert N (Ed.) *Researching Social Life*. Sage Publications, London: 194-210.
- McDowell L (1993) Space, Place and Gender Relations: Part II. Identity, Difference, Feminist Geometrics and Geographies. In: *Progress in Human Geography* 17: 305-318.
- McDowell L (2003) Place and Space. In: Eagleton M (Ed.) *A Concise Companion to Feminist Theory*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford: 11-31.
- McIvor G, Burman M (2011) *Understanding the Drivers of Female Imprisonment in Scotland*. SCCJR, Glasgow: SCCJR report 02/2011.
- McKellar A, Kendrick A (2013) Key Working and the Quality of Relationships in Secure Accommodation. In: *Scottish Journal of Residential Child Care* 12(1): 46-57.
- McMillan L (2010) Gender, Crime and Criminal Justice in Scotland. In: Croall H, Mooney G, Munro M (Eds.) *Criminal Justice in Scotland*. Willan Publishing, Abington: 90-110.
- McNay L (1992) *Foucault and Feminism: Power, Gender and the Self*. Wiley, London.
- McNeill F, Batchelor S (2004) *Persistent Offending by Young People: Developing Practice*. Series: Issues in Community and Criminal Justice (3). National Association of Probation Officers, London, UK.
- McVie S (2009) Criminal Careers and Young People. In: Barry M, McNeill F (Eds.) *Youth Offending and Youth Justice*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London: 38-55.
- McWatters M (2013) Poetic Testimonies of Incarceration: Towards a Vision of Prison as Manifold Space. In: Moran D, Gill N, Conlon D (Eds.) *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Ashgate, Farnham: 199-218.
- Medlicott D (1999) Surviving in the Time Machine: Suicidal Prisoners and the Pains of Prison Time. In: *Time and Society* 8(2): 211-230.
- Michalon B (2013) Mobility and Power in Detention: The Management of Internal Movement and Governmental Mobility in Romania. In: Moran D, Conlon D, Gill N (Eds.) *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Farnham Surrey, Ashgate: 37-56.
- Milhaud O, Moran D (2013) Penal Space and Privacy in French and Russian Prisons. In: Moran D, Gill N, Conlon D (Eds.) *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Ashgate, Farnham: 167-182.
- Mills C (2004) Agamben's Messianic Politics: Biopolitics, Abandonment and Happy Life. In: *Contretemps* 5: 42-62.
- Milne MJ, Kearins K, Walton S (2006) Creating Adventures in Wonderland: The Journey Metaphor and Environmental Sustainability. In: *Organization* 13(6): 801-839
- Minca C (2005) The Return of the Camp. In: *Progress in Human Geography* 29(4): 405-412.

- Minca C (2006) Giorgio Agamben and the New Biopolitical Nomos. In: *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography* 88(4): 387-403.
- Minca C (2007) Agamben's Geographies of Modernity. In: *Political Geography* 26: 78-97.
- Mitchell F, Roesch-Marsh A, Robb L (2013) *Taking Stock of Alternatives to Secure Accommodation or Custody for Girls and Young Women in Scotland*. CJSW Report, Glasgow.
- Mitchelson, ML (2012) Research Note: The Urban Geography of Prisons: Mapping the City's "Other" Gated Community. In: *Urban Geography* 33(1): 147-157.
- Moon G, Joseph AE, Kearns R (2005) Towards a General Explanation for the Survival of the Private Asylum. In: *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 23: 159-172.
- Moran D, Pallot J, Piacentini L (2009) Lipstick, Lace and Longing: Constructions of Femininity Inside a Russian Prison. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27(4): 700-720.
- Moran D, Pallot J, Piacentini L (2011) The Geography of Crime and Punishment in the Russian Federation. In: *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 52 (1): 79-104.
- Moran D (2012a) Prisoner Reintegration and the Stigma of Prison Time Inscribed on the Body. In: *Punishment and Society* 149(5): 564-583.
- Moran D (2012b) 'Doing Time' in Carceral Space: Timespace and Carceral Geography. In: *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 94 (4): 305-316.
- Moran D, Keinänen A (2012) The 'Inside' and 'Outside' of Prisons: Carceral Geography and Home Visits for Prisoners in Finland. In: *Fennia* 190(2): 62-76.
- Moran D, Gill N, Conlon D [Eds.] (2013) *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*, Ashgate, Farnham.
- Moran D (2013a) Carceral Geography and the Spatialities of Prison Visiting: Visitation, Recidivism, and Hyperincarceration. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 31: 174 – 190.
- Moran D (2013b) Leaving Behind the 'Total Institution'? Teeth, TransCarceral Spaces and (Re)inscription of Formerly Incarcerated Bodies. In: *Gender, Place and Culture* 02: 1-19.
- Moran D, Pallot J; Piacentini L (2013c) Privacy in Penal Space: Women's Imprisonment in Russia. In: *Geoforum* 47: 138-146.
- Moran D, Piacentini L, Pallot J (2013d) Liminal TransCarceral Space: Prison Transportation for Women in the Russian Federation. In: Moran D, Gill N, Conlon D (Eds.) *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Ashgate, Farnham: 109-126.
- Moran D (2015) *Carceral Geography: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration*. Ashgate, Farnham.
- Moran D (2015a) Budgie Smuggling or Doing Bird? Human-animal Interactions in Carceral Space: Prison(er) Animals as Object and Subject. In: *Social & Cultural Geography* 16(6): 634-653.
- Morgan G (1986) *Images of Organisation*. Sage, London.
- Morgan R (2009) Children and Young People: Criminalisation and Punishment. In: Barry M, McNeill F (Eds.) *Youth Offending and Youth Justice*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers: 56-77.
- Morin KM (2013) 'Security Here is Not Safe': Violence, Punishment, and Space in the Contemporary US Penitentiary. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 31(3): 381-399.
- Morin KM, Moran D [Eds.] (2015) *Historical Geographies of Prisons: Unlocking the Usable Carceral Past*. Routledge, Abingdon.
- Morris A (1987) *Women, Crime and Criminal Justice*. Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford.



- Morrison H (2014) *Unearthing the 'Clinical Encounter': Gartnavel Mental Hospital, 1921-1932*. University of Glasgow, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Morton G, Lesley L (2005). The Adolescent Female Delinquent: A Feminist Developmental Analysis. In: *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy* 17(1): 17-50.
- Moss P (2002) Taking on, Thining about, and Doing Feminist Research in Geography. In: Moss P (Ed.) *Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods*. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford: 1-17..
- Mountz A (2010) *Seeking Asylum: Human Smuggling and Bureaucracy at the Border*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Mountz A, Coddington K, Catania RT, Loyd JM (2012) Conceptualizing Detention: Mobility, Containment, Bordering, and Exclusion. In: *Progress in Human Geography* 37(4), 522-541.
- Mountz A (2013) On Mobilities and Migrations. In: Moran D, Gill N, Conlon D (Eds.) *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Ashgate, Farnham: 13-18.
- Mountz A (2015) Political Geography II: Islands and Archipelagos. In: *Progress in Human Geography* 39(5): 636-646.
- Murakami Wood D (2009) Beyond the Panopticon? Foucault and Surveillance Studies. In: Crampton JW, Elden S (Eds.) *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*. Ashgate, Farnham: 245-264.
- Murphy M, Bruce M, Poor D, Hills C (2010) A Century of Cornton Vale: Men's Colony, Borstal and Women's Prison, Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum, Stirling.
- Nash C (1993) Remapping the Body/Land: New Cartographies of Identity, Gender, and Landscape in Ireland. In: Blunt A, Rose G (Eds.) *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*. The Guilford Press, London: 227-250.
- Nelson L, Seager J (2005) Introduction. In: Nelson L, Seager J (Eds.) *A Companion to Feminist Geography*. Wiley, Hoboken, NY: 1-12.
- NHS (1999) *Health, Social Work and Related Services for Mentally Disordered Offenders in Scotland* (Circular: NHS MEL(5) NHS Scotland, Edinburgh.
- NHS (2010) *Intensive Psychiatric Care Units, Overview Report*. NHS Scotland, Edinburgh.
- NHS (2013) *Skye House at Stobhill Hospital Glasgow*. URL: (accessed: 19/11/2013) [http://www.nhsggc.org.uk/content/default.asp?page=home\\_Skye%20House](http://www.nhsggc.org.uk/content/default.asp?page=home_Skye%20House).
- NHS (2013a) *Young People Unit*. URL: (accessed: 21/11/2013) <http://www.nhstayside.scot.nhs.uk/patients/hospital/YoungPeopleUnit/youngpeople.shtml#notbring>.
- NHS (2013b) *Inpatient Psychiatry for Children (under the age of 12)*, URL: (accessed: 21/11/13) <http://www.nsd.scot.nhs.uk/services/specserv/inpsych.html>.
- Nicolson P (2003) Reflexivity, 'Bias' and the In-depth Interview: Developing Shared Meanings. In: Finlay L, Gough B (Eds.) *Reflexivity: A Practical Guide for Researchers in Health and Social Sciences*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford: 133-145.
- Nowakowski K (2013) Landscapes of Toxic Exclusion: Inmate Labour and Electronics Recycling in the United States. In: Moran D, Gill N, Conlon D (Eds.) *Carceral Spaces: Mobility and Agency in Imprisonment and Migrant Detention*. Ashgate, Farnham: 93-108.
- OED (2016) *Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- O'Sullivan E, O'Donnell I (2007) Coercive Confinement in the Republic of Ireland: The Waning of a Culture of Control. In: *Punishment and Society* 9(1): 27-48.
- Oswick C, Keenoy T, Grant D (2002) Metaphor and Analogical Reasoning in Organisation Theory: Beyond Orthodoxy. In: *Academy of Management Review* 27(2): 294-303.

- Oudekerk B, Chauhan P, Reppucci ND (2012) Risk and Protective Factors for Educational Achievement Among Serious Offending Girls. In: *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 22(2): 333–349.
- Pallot J, Piacentini L (2012) *Gender, Geography and Punishment: The Experience of Women in Carceral Russia*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Parr H, Philo C (2000) Institutional Geographies: Introductory Remarks. In: *Geoforum* 31: 513–521.
- Parr H (2008) *Mental Health and Social Space: Towards Inclusionary Geographies*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Peck J (2003) Geography and Public Policy: Mapping the Penal State. In: *Progress in Human Geography* 27, 222–232.
- Peters K (2015) Drifting: Towards Mobilities at Sea. In: *Transactions of British Geographers* 40(2): 262–272.
- Philo C (1992) Foucault's Geography. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 10: 137–161.
- Philo C (1997) War and Peace in the Social Geography of Children. Paper at ESRC meeting, Children 5–16 University of Keele 17/03/97. Unpublished.
- Philo C (1997a) Across the water: reviewing geographical studies of asylums and other mental health facilities. In: *Health and Place* 3: 73–89.
- Philo C (2001) Accumulating Populations: Bodies, Institutions and Space. In: *International Journal of Population Geography* 7: 473–490.
- Philo C (2004) *A Geographical History of Institutional Provision for the Insane From Medieval Times to the 1860s in England and Wales: 'the space reserved for insanity'*. Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston NY.
- Philo C, Metzel, DS (2005) Introduction the Theme Section on Geographies of Intellectual Disability: 'outside the participatory mainstream'? In: *Health and Place* 11(2): 77–85.
- Philo C (2012) Security of Geography/ Geography of Security. In: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37: 1–7.
- Philo C (2012a) A 'new Foucault' With Lively Implications – Or 'the crawfish advances sideways'. In: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37: 496–514.
- Philo C (2014) 'One must eliminate the effects of...diffuse circulation [and] their unstable and dangerous coagulation': Foucault and Beyond the Stopping of Mobilities. In: *Mobilities* 9(4), 493–511.
- Phoenix J (2009) Beyond Risk Assessments: The Return of Repressive Welfarism? In: Barry M, McNeill F (Eds.) *Youth Offending and Youth Justice*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London: 113–131.
- Pickering S (2014) Floating Carceral Spaces: Border Enforcement and Gender on High Seas. In: *Punishment and Society* 16(2): 187–205.
- Pile S, Thrift NJ (1995) *Mapping the Subject: Geographies of Cultural Transformation*. Routledge, London.
- Pratt G (2005) Abandoned Women and Spaces of the Exception. In: *Antipode* 37(5): 1052–1078.
- Pratt G (2009) [in collaboration with the Philippine Women Centre of BC] Circulating Sadness: Witnessing Filipino Mothers' Stories of Family Separation. In: *Gender Place and Culture* 16: 3–22.
- Psathas G (1996) Theoretical Perspectives on Goffman: Critique and Commentary. In: *Sociological Perspectives* 39(3): 383–391.
- Quirk A, Lelliott P, Seale C (2006) The Permeable Institution: An Ethnographic Study of Three Acute Psychiatric Wards in London. In: *Social Science and Medicine* 63: 2105–2117.
- Roesch-Marsh, A. (2014). 'Out of control': Making Sense of the Behaviour of Young People Referred to Secure Accommodation. *British Journal of Social Work* 44: 197–213.

- Reid-Henry S (2012) Geography and Metaphors: A Response to 'Writing on the land'. In: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37(3): 365–369.
- Rigby P, Jardine C, Whyte B (2011) Girls and Young Women in the Youth Justice System – Vulnerable or Risky? Criminal Justice Social Work Development Centre for Scotland, Glasgow.
- Ritchie J, Spencer L, O'Connor W (2003) Carrying out Qualitative Analysis. In: Ritchie J, Lewis J (Eds.) *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. Sage Publications, London: 199–218.
- Robertson LJ (forthcoming) The Impact of the Whole System Approach to Dealing with Young People Involved in Offending. University of Glasgow, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Robinson A (2015) The Resilience Motif: Implications for Youth Justice. In: *Youth Justice* 4: 1–16 [DOI: 10.1177/1473225415587601].
- Rogers MF (1980) Goffman on Power, Hierarchy and Status. In: Ditton J (Ed.) *The View from Goffman*. The Macmillan Press, London and Basingstoke: 100–134.
- Rose G (1993) *Feminism and Geography. The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Rose G (1997) Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivity and other tactics. In: *Progress in Human Geography* 21(3), 305–320.
- Rose J (2002) *Working with Young People in Secure Accommodation: From Chaos to Culture*. Brunner-Routledge, London.
- Ross JI (2013) *The Globalisation of Supermax Prisons*. Rutgers University Press, London.
- Ross K (2014) *The Locational History of Scotland's District Lunatic Asylums, 1857–1913*. University of Glasgow, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Rossie (2016) URL (accessed 05/04/2016) <http://www.rossie.org.uk/>.
- Ruoff M (2009) *Foucault Lexikon*. Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Paderborn.
- Rowe A (2011) Narratives of self and identity in women's prisons: stigma and the struggle for self-definition in penal regimes. In: *Punishment and Society* 13(5): 571–591.
- Rowe A (2015) 'Tactics', Agency and Power in Women's Prisons. In: *British Journal of Criminology*: 1–18 [doi: 10.1093/bjc/azv058].
- Sanchez LE (2004) The Global Erotic Subject, the Ban, and the Prostitute-free zone: Sex Work and the Theory of Differential Exclusion. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 22: 861–883.
- Sans Scotland (2016) *Secure Accommodation Network Scotland*. URL:(accessed: 22/03/2016) <http://www.sanscotland.org/>.
- Samuel E, Tisdall K (1996) Female Offenders in Scotland: Implications for Theory. In: Asquith S (Ed.) *Children and Young People in Conflict with the Law*. Jessica Kinglsey Publishers, London: 102–130.
- SCCCJ (2006) *Women in Prison in Scotland – An Unmet Commitment*. A Briefing Paper of the Scottish Consortium on Crime and Criminal Justice, July 2006. SCCCJ, Glasgow.
- SCCJR (2011) Evaluation of Early and Effective Intervention and Diversion from Prosecution in Dumfries and Galloway. URL: (accessed: 20/08/2015) <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/-925/0121353.pdf>.
- Scheff TJ (2003) The Goffman Legacy: Deconstructing/reconstructing Social Science. In: Trevino AJ (Ed.) *Goffman's Legacy*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Lanham, Maryland: 50–71.
- Schliehe AK (2012) *It Rips My Knittin: Girls and Young Women in the Scottish Criminal Justice System – Beyond Total Institutions?* University of Glasgow, unpublished MRes thesis.

Schliehe AK (2014) Inside 'the Carceral': Girls and Young Women in the Scottish Criminal Justice System. In: *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 130 (2): 71-85.

Schliehe, A.K. (2015). Locking Up Children and Young People – Secure Care in Scotland. In: Evans B, Horton J (Eds.) *Play, Recreation, Health and Well Being, Geographies of Children and Young People Vol. 9*, Routledge, London: 1-19 [DOI 10.1007/978-981-4585-96-5].

Schliehe AK (2016) Re-discovering Goffman – Contemporary Carceral Geography, the 'total' Institution and Notes on Heterotopia. In: *Geografiska Annaler Series B Human Geography*.

Schliehe AK (2016b (forthcoming)) On 'Floaters' – Constrained Locomotion and Complex Micro-scale Mobilities of Objects in Carceral Environments. In: Turner J, Peters K (Eds.) *Carceral Mobilities: Interrogating Movement in Incarceration*. Taylor & Francis, Abingdon.

Schliehe AK (2016c (forthcoming)) Towards a Feminist Carceral Geography? Of Female Offenders and Prison Spaces. In: Moran D, Schliehe AK (Eds.) *Confined Places, Secure Spaces: The Spatialisation of Studies of Confinement*. Palgrave, Basingstoke.

Schliehe AK, Crowley AR (2016 (forthcoming)) Carefully Controlled: Young People and Their Pathways Through Spaces of Secure Care. In: Pyer M, Horton J (Eds.) *Children, Young People and Care*. Springer, London.

Schön DE (1993) Generative Metaphor: A Perspective on Problem Setting in Social Policy. In: Ortony A (Ed.) *Metaphor and Thought*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 135-161.

Scott S (2011) *Total Institutions and Reinvented Identities*. Palgrave: Basingstoke.

Scottish Executive (2009) *Securing our Future: A Way Forward for Scotland's Secure Care Estate: A response from Scottish Government and COSLA*. URL (accessed 20/02/2016) <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/270300/0080508.pdf>.

Scottish Government (2002) *A Better Way: The Report of the Ministerial Group on Women's Offending*. Scottish Government, Edinburgh.

Scottish Government (2008) HM Chief Inspector of Prisons for Scotland: *Out of Sight – Severe and Enduring Mental Health Problems in Scotland's Prisons*. The Scottish Government: Edinburgh.

Scottish Government (2008a) *Preventing Offending by Young People: A Framework For Action*. The Scottish Government: Edinburgh.

Scottish Government (2008b) Evaluation of the ISMS within the Children's Hearing System. The Scottish Government, Edinburgh.

Scottish Government (2009) *Securing our Future: A Way Forward for Scotland's Secure Care Estate*. A response from Scottish Government and COSLA. URL: (accessed: 11/01/2015) <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/270300/0080508.pdf>.

Scottish Government (2009a) *HM Inspectorate of Prisons Report on HMP&YOI Cornton Vale. Full Inspection 21-29 September 2009*. The Scottish Government, Edinburgh.

Scottish Government (2011) *HM Inspectorate of Prisons Report on HMP&YOI Cornton Vale. Follow-Up Inspection 1-4 February 2011*. The Scottish Government, Edinburgh.

Scottish Government (2011a) Alternatives to Secure Care and Custody: Guidance for local authorities, community planning partnerships and service providers. URL: (last accessed: 11/1/14) <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2011/06/21091301/0>.

Scottish Government (2011b) *Statistical Bulletin: Crime and Justice Series: Criminal Proceedings in Scotland, 2010-11*. URL: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0038/00389834.pdf> (last accessed: 21/11/13)

Scottish Government, 2012, *The Kilbrandon Lectures – Reflections on Care and Justice for Children in Scotland*, The Scottish Government, Edinburgh.

- Scottish Government (2012a) *Preventing Offending – Getting it Right for Children and Young People*. URL: (accessed 25/10/2015) <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0047/00479251.pdf>.
- Scottish Government (2014) *Children's Social Work Statistics Scotland 2013 – 2014* URL (accessed 20/02/2016) <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2015/03/4375/4>.
- Scottish Government (2015) *Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014*. Online URL: (accessed 21/07/2015) <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2014/8/contents/enacted>.
- Scottish Government (2015a) *New Plans for Women in Custody Announced*. URL: (accessed: 03/12/2015) <http://news.scotland.gov.uk/News/New-plans-for-women-in-custody-announced-1a61.aspx>.
- Scottish Government (2016) *A History of Devolution*. Online URL: (accessed: 07/04/2016) <http://www.gov.scot/About/Factfile/18060/11550>.
- Scottish Government (2016a) *Secure Care Measures for Young People Who Offend*. Online URL: (accessed 07/04/2016) <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Justice/policies/young-offending/secure-care>.
- Scottish Statutory Instruments (2011) No 311: *The Prisons and Young Offenders Institutions (Scotland) Rules 2011*. The Stationary Office (TSO), Norwich.
- Sharpe G (2012) *Offending Girls: Young Women and Youth Justice*. London, Routledge.
- Shaw IGR (2012) Review Essay: Life and Death in Droneworld. In: *Critical Asian Studies* 44(4): 651-658.
- Shaw IGR (2013) Predator Empire: The Geopolitics of U.S. Drone Warfare. In: *Geopolitics* 18(3), 536-559.
- Shaw IGR, Akhter M (2014) The Dronification of State Violence. In: *Critical Asian Studies*, 46(2): 211-234.
- Shine (2015) Shine Mentoring. Online URL: (accessed: 07/02/2015) <http://www.shinementoring.org/>.
- Seigworth GJ, Gregg M (2010) An Inventory of Shimmers. In: Seigworth GJ, Gregg M (Eds.) *The Affect Theory Reader*. Duke University Press, Durham, N.C., 1-28.
- Sibley D (1995) *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*. Routledge, London.
- Sibley D, van Hoven B (2009) The Contamination of Personal Space: Boundary Construction in a Prison Environment. In: *Area* 41(2): 198-206.
- SIRCC (2009) *Securing our Future: A Way Forward for Scotland's Secure Care Estate*. The Scottish Institute for Residential Child Care, Glasgow.
- Simon J (2007) *Governing Through Crime: How the War on Crime Transformed American Democracy and Created a Culture of Fear*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- SJM (2016) Prison-University Reading Group. In: *Scottish Justice Matters* 4(1): 7-8.
- Smart B (2003) Michel Foucault. In: Ritzer G (Ed.) *The Blackwell Companion to Major Contemporary Social Theorists*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford: 207-227.
- Smith G (2006) *Erving Goffman*. Routledge, London.
- Smith R (2011) *Doing Justice to Young People: Youth Crime and Social Justice*. Abingdon, Willan Publishing.
- Soini K (2001) Exploring Human Dimensions of Multifunctional Landscapes through mapping and Mapmaking. In: *Landscape and Urban Planning* 25(3): 225-239.
- SPS (2010) *Young Offenders – 12th Survey Bulletin – Offender Case Management*. SPS, Edinburgh.
- SPS (2012) *Control and Restraint Manual*. SPS, Edinburgh.

- SPS (2013) *Cornton Vale*. URL: (accessed: 21/11/2015) <http://www.sps.gov.uk/Prisons/CorntonVale/corntonvale.aspx>.
- SPS (2013a) *Polmont*. URL: (accessed: 21/11/2015) <http://www.sps.gov.uk/Prisons/Polmont/polmont.aspx>.
- SPS (2014) *Unlocking Potential, Transforming Lives: Vision for Young People in Custody*. APS group, Edinburgh.
- Stepdown (2016) Stepdown Scotland. URL: (accessed: 01/04/2016) <http://www.stepdown.org.uk>.
- Stephenson M (2007) *Young People and Offending: Education, Youth Justice and Social Inclusion*. Abingdon, Willan Publishing.
- St Marys (2016) URL (accessed 05/04/2016) <http://www.stmaryskennmure.org.uk/>.
- Stoller N (2003) Space, Place and Movement as Aspects of Health Care in Three Women's Prisons. In: *Social Science and Medicine* 56: 2263-2275.
- Strauss A (1987) *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge University Press: New York.
- Sultana F (2007) Reflexivity, Positionality and Participatory Ethics: negotiating Fieldwork Dilemmas in International Research. In: *ACME* 6(3): 374-385.
- Sykes GM (1958) *The Society of Captives: A Study of a Maximum Security Prison*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Taylor D (2008) Foucault's Ethos: Guide(post) for Change. In: Taylor D, Vitges K (Eds.) *Feminism and the Final Foucault*. University of Illinois Press, Chicago: 258-274.
- Taylor D (2013) Towards a Feminist 'Politics of Ourselves'. In: Falzon C, O'Leary T, Sawicki J (Eds.) *A Companion to Foucault*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford: 401-418.
- Thrift N (2000) Still Life in Nearly Present Time: The Object of Nature. In: *Body Society* 6(3-4): 34-57.
- Thrift N (2004) Intensities of Feeling: Towards a Spatial Politics of Affect. In: *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 86(1): 57-78.
- Thrift N (2008) Intensities of Feeling – Towards a Spatial Politics of Affect. In: Greco M, Stenner P (Eds.) *Emotions – A Social Science Reader*. Routledge, London, 184-187.
- Tombs J (2004) From 'A safer to a better way': Transformations in Penal Policy for Women. In: McIvor G (Ed.) *Women Who Offend*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London: 66-82.
- Turner J (2013) Disciplinary Engagements with Prisons, Prisoners and the Penal System. In: *Geography Compass* 7(1): 35-45.
- Turner J (forthcoming) The Artistic 'Touch': Moving Beyond Carceral Boundaries through Art by Offenders. In: Moran D, Schliehe AK (Eds.) *Confined Places, Secure Spaces: The Spatialisation of Studies of Confinement*. Palgrave, Basingstoke.
- Turner J, Peters K (Eds.) (forthcoming) *Carceral Mobilities: Interrogating Movement in Incarceration*. Taylor and Francis, Abingdon.
- Ugelvik T (2011) The Hidden Food: Mealtime Resistance and Identity Work in a Norwegian Prison. In: *Punishment and Society* 13(1): 47-63.
- Urry J (2007) *Mobilities*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Valentine G (1995) Angels and Devils: Moral Landscapes of Childhood. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14: 581-599.
- Valentine G, Longstaff B (1998) Doing Porridge: Food and Social Relations in a Male Prison. In: *Journal of Material Culture* 3(2): 131-152.

- Valentine G (2002) People Like Us: Negotiating Sameness and Difference in the Research Process. In: Moss P (Ed.) *Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods*. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford: 116-126.
- Valentine G (2003) Boundary Crossings: Transitions from Childhood to Adulthood. In: *Children's Geographies* 1(1): 37-52.
- Van Blerk L (2011) Managing Cape Town's Street Children/Youth: The Impact of the 2010 World Cup Bid on Street Life in the City. In: *South African Geographical Journal* 93(1): 29-37.
- Van Hoven B, Sibley D (2008) 'Just duck': The Role of Vision in the Production of Prison Space. In: *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 26: 1001-1017.
- Vaughn MG, Pettus-Davis C, Shook JJ (2012) *Conducting Research in Juvenile and Criminal Justice Settings*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Wacquant L (2000) The New 'Peculiar Institution': On the Prison as Surrogate Ghetto. In: *Theoretical Criminology* 4(3): 377-389.
- Wacquant L (2002) The Curious Eclipse of Prison Ethnography in the Age of Mass Incarceration. In: *Ethnography* 3(4): 371-397.
- Wacquant L (2008) *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Insecurity*. Duke University Press, Durham and London.
- Wahidin A (2002) Reconfiguring Older Bodies in the Prison Time Machine. *Journal of Ageing and Identity* 7(3): 177-193.
- Wahidin A (2004) *Older Women and the Criminal Justice System: Running Out of Time*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London.
- Wahidin A (2006) A Foucauldian Analysis: Experiences of Elders in Prison. In: Powell J, Wahidin A (Eds.) *Foucault and Aging*. Nova Science, New York: 115-128.
- Wahidin A (2006a) Time and the Prison Experience. In: *Sociological Research Online* 11(1).
- Wakeman S (2014) Fieldwork, Biography and Emotion: Doing Criminological Autoethnography. In: *British Journal of Criminology* 54: 705-721.
- Walker M, Barclay A, Malloch M, McIvor G, Kendrick A, Hunter L, Hill M (2006) *Secure Accommodation in Scotland: Its Role and Relationship with 'Alternative' Services* [Insight 33] Scottish Executive Education Department, Edinburgh.
- Walklate S (1995) *Gender and Crime: An Introduction*. Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf, London.
- Waterhouse L (2007) The Scottish Children's Hearing System: Thinking About Effectiveness. In: Hill M, Lockyer A, Stone F (Eds.) *Youth Justice and Child Protection*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London: 193-212.
- Wedel JM (1978) Ladies, We've Been Framed! – Observations on Erving Goffman's 'The Arrangement Between the Sexes'. In: *Theory and Society* 5(1): 113-125.
- Weller S (2006) Situating (Young) Teenagers in Geographies of Children and Youth. In: *Children's Geographies* 4(1): 97-108.
- West C (1996) Goffman in Feminist Perspective. In: *Sociological Perspective* 39(3): 353-369.
- White RJ, Green AE (2011) The Use of Mental Maps in Youth Research: Some Evidence from Research Exploring Young People's Awareness of and Attachment to Place. In: Walker C, Heath S (Eds.) *Innovations in Youth Research*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke: 58-76.
- Whitehead I, Henderson G, McNiven G, Lamb D (2010) *Secure Authorisations in Scotland's Children's Hearings System: An Exploration of Decision Making, Placements, Outcomes and Social Backgrounds*. Glasgow, Scottish Children's Reporter Administration.

- Whyte B (2007) Change, Evidence, Challenges: Youth Justice Developments in Scotland. In: Hill M, Lockyer A, Stone F (Eds.) *Youth Justice and Child Protection*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London: 158-174.
- Williams R (1988) Understanding Goffman's Methods. In: Drew P, Wooten AJ (Eds.) *Erving Goffman: Exploring the Interaction Order*. Polity Press, Cambridge: 64-88.
- Wilson G, Arens O (2016) *Introducing Time for Change - A dedicated support service for extremely risky girls and young women*. Up-2-Us, East Kilbride.
- Wilton R (1998) The Constitution of Difference: Space and Psyche in Landscapes of Exclusion. In: *Geoforum* 29: 173-185.
- Winkin Y, Leeds-Hurwitz W (2013) *Erving Goffman: A Critical Introduction to Media and Communication Theory*. Peter Lang Publishers, London.
- Wolch J, Philo C (2000) From Distributions of Deviance to Definitions of Difference: Past and Future Mental Health Geographies. In: *Health and Place* 6(3): 137-157.
- Wolpert J (1976) Opening Closed Spaces In: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 66(1): 1-13.
- Wood D (2003) Editorial. Foucault and Panopticism Revisited. In: *Surveillance and Society* 1(3): 234-239.
- WGSG (1984) *Geography and Gender: An Introduction to Feminist Geography*. Hutchinson in Association with the Explorations in Feminism Collective, London.
- WSA (2013) Whole System Approach, URL: (last accessed: 29/10/2015)  
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Justice/crimes/youth-justice/reoffending/wholesystemintroduction>
- YWC (2016) Young Women's Project. URL (accessed: 05/04/2016)  
<http://www.womenssupportproject.co.uk/directory/179,1,256/Young-Womens-Centre.html>



# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Interview Schedules

### 1.1 Interview Schedule for in-depth, semi-structures interviews with professionals

#### Preliminaries

- Statement about research project and police-researcher relationship
- Statement about confidentiality and anonymity
- Confirmation of informed consent

#### Interview

##### **Area of Work**

- What area are you working in?
- Can you tell me about your working practice? What is a typical day like?
- What challenges do you face in your job when working with young offenders?

##### **The Criminal Justice System**

- How do you experience the situation for young women who get in touch with the criminal justice system?
- What do you think are the main goals of locking young women up? Control/punishment/rehabilitation → Do you think they are achieved?
- Do you think enough is being done towards the rehabilitation of inmates? What do you think should be done?
- Do you think women are treated differently by the justice system? How does this show? Why do you think this is the case?
- How do you explain the rising numbers of female prisoners over the last ten years while crime has been declining?
- Do you see particular gender related issues here?

##### **New developments**

- Is the women's secure estate in a 'state of crisis' as expressed in Munro's report in 2009/2011?
- What do you make of the new development and planning for female offenders/ women's prison and secure care?

##### **Institutional Relations**

- How do you see the relationship between psychiatric hospitals and prisons?
- Can you tell me more about 'secure care' for young people? Are there links to prison and psychiatric units?

- How do you see the aspects of ‘security’ and ‘care’ implemented in in-patient units, secure care units and prisons?
- What do you think that means for people who live in these institutions?
- What is your perception of treatment/imprisonment cycles? How long do they last?
- Do you see ‘pathways or journeys’ of institutionalisation?
- Do you recognize a trend towards movements between different institutions?

### **Individual institutions**

- Have you recognized any particularities about the living conditions at these sites? Permeability/Openness? Closedness?
- Can you tell me about the different areas in the prison/secure care/closed unit? (Remand/sentenced/ etc.)
- What are the different phases – first entry to transition? Any particular challenges?
- What is it like for visitors? Is visiting a particular issue?
- Can you tell me about what it is like to work in a closed institution?
- What foremost problems do you identify for young women in these environments? Age differences?
- How would you describe the provisions for inmates with mental health problems/ drug addiction?
- What do you think are the impacts of these closed environments on the health/mental health status?
- Do you see evidence of the problematic categorization of inmate and patient in this environment? (Addiction/mental health problems etc...)

### **Transition**

- What do think of the services provided for transition?
- What do make of transition from child/adolescent to adult services?

### **Research**

- Have you come across contributions of research in this field? What would be worth studying in more detail?

Do you have any more questions?

## **1.2 Interview schedule for in-depth, semi-structured interviews with young women**

### **Preliminaries**

- Statement about research project/info sheet
- Statement about confidentiality and anonymity
- Confirmation of informed consent

### **Interview**

- **Biographic details**
  - Where do you come from?
  - Where did you grow up?
  - Who took care of you when you were younger?
  - What school(s) did you go to?
  - Do you have a job/ are in education?
  - Where and how do you live?
  - What do you consider your ethnicity to be? Do you feel Scottish, British, otherwise?
  - Social network?
  - What do your friends do?
  - Do you have a boyfriend/girlfriend?
- **Getting into trouble**
  - At what age did you start to get into trouble? Offending? Relationship with the police?
  - Have you experienced secure care?
  - Have you had any involvement with external agencies like Up-2-Us or Banardos?
  - Have you been in prison before?
  - What are your experiences of being detained in secure care/prison?
  - Have you gone through more than one type of closed institution? What kinds? How did that come about?
  - How did you get in touch with services?
- **The space**
  - Can you describe the sites? Openness/Closedness?
  - Can you describe what it was like when you first entered secure care/prison?
  - How did it make you feel?
  - Do you move around on the inside? Do you encounter different parts of the building(s)? What rooms do you spend most time in?
  - How is your relationship with fellow inmates? With staff?
  - What happens if you misbehave?
  - How often do you see your family? How is that for you?
  - How do you experience time on the inside? Different to outside?
  - How do you experience the different parts of secure care/the prison?
- **Embodiment**
  - Can you please reflect on fashion and clothing in here? Is it different to the outside? In what way?
  - Can you tell me about diet and food choices? What about having meals in here? Do you buy food from the shop?
  - Could you tell me more about facilities for washing and taking care of your appearance? What about body hygiene?
- **The Institutional Journey**
  - Have you been in other institutions before (care, secure care, MH, prison...)?
  - Could you draw me a picture of your way through institutions?
  - Do you think there is a pattern to the way you went in and out?

- What happened that made you come back in?
- What an impact has this had on your life?
- **Intervention**
  - Are you currently in touch with services like Up-2-Us?
  - What do they do to help you?
  - Do you think that changes anything for you?
- **Political governance**
  - How do you get on with staff?
  - What is helpful/unhelpful?
  - Do you feel supported?
  - Do you have any strategies to get by?
  - Are involved in activities, classes, work?
- **Alternatives**
  - What do you think would make things different and better for you?
  - How is people's attitude towards you? Has it changed?
  - Failures? Good things?
  - What do you want for the future? Where do you see yourself?

## Appendix 2: Tables

### 2.1 Young Women – NVivo Matrix

Type	Name	Nodes	References	Created On	Created By
Document	Charlotte	30	73	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Annie	35	56	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Isla	30	54	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Daisy	36	77	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Diane	43	71	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Emily	30	38	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Emma	25	29	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Grace	33	50	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Holly	30	39	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Louise	31	46	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Jess	43	65	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Julia	30	43	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Kayleigh	43	114	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Olivia	32	61	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Sophia	33	51	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Bianca	27	42	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Flo	41	60	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Jaime	33	47	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Jenna	27	39	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Kara	46	60	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Keira	36	46	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Kim	22	35	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Nicki	21	22	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Tamara	41	56	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Mia	33	59	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Gina	31	48	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Maggie	25	39	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Mona	25	47	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Nora	28	41	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Pam	25	39	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Phoebe	25	39	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Rhiannon	30	40	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Suzi	24	30	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Ava	28	46	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Lacey	16	23	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Carrie	33	96	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Gemma	9	13	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Hannah	45	81	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Joanne	39	73	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Jenna	22	25	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Kendra	35	66	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Freddie	25	34	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Louise	45	69	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Sarah	23	33	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Hazel	11	18	03/11/2014 11:54	AKS
Document	Dorothy_2012	22	29	05/11/2014 15:42	AKS
Document	Gemma_2012	29	42	05/11/2014 15:42	AKS
Document	Lara_2012	21	29	05/11/2014 15:42	AKS
Document	Kirstie_2012	36	52	05/11/2014 15:42	AKS
Document	Liz_2012	33	49	05/11/2014 15:42	AKS
Document	Ruth_2012	14	23	05/11/2014 15:42	AKS
Document	Hazel_2012	24	32	05/11/2014 15:42	AKS

## 2.2 Staff NVivo Matrix

Type	Name	Nodes	References	Created On	Created By
Document	William	20	38	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Kimberley	22	55	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Alice	27	66	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Katie	10	21	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Geraldine	23	38	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Jennifer	21	36	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Aileen	26	56	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Heather	22	34	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Emma	26	53	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Stevie	23	38	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	John	28	40	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Nadine	22	33	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Lara	24	45	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Rupert	24	54	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Jess	23	37	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Michael	13	19	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Clara	23	38	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Maurette	23	35	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Sarah	25	49	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Theo	20	27	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	David	28	43	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Julia	23	40	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Laura	25	45	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Ruth	30	47	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Jack	15	19	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Alex	20	33	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Amanda	25	34	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Linda	24	38	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Rachel	19	34	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Sebastian	20	25	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Lisa	11	15	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Rhiannon	11	18	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Jim	9	9	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Tina	12	16	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Maurette	18	25	03/11/2014 11:56	AKS
Document	Nadine	0	0	13/01/2015 11:04	AKS
Document	Dana	21	45	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Cindy	26	56	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Ariana	24	45	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Ellie	26	39	03/11/2014 11:55	AKS
Document	Nicolas	15	42	05/11/2014 15:42	AKS
Document	Vanessa	17	36	05/11/2014 15:42	AKS
Document	Cindy	20	36	05/11/2014 15:42	AKS
Document	Hannah	15	28	05/11/2014 15:42	AKS
Document	Malcolm	19	50	05/11/2014 15:42	AKS

## 2.3 NViVo – Young People Coding Pattern

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Create d By
<b>Background</b>	34	41	03/11/2014 13:37	AKS
Care	31	39	03/11/2014 14:33	AKS
Family	48	108	03/11/2014 14:23	AKS
Mental Health	12	19	03/11/2014 14:24	AKS
School - Education	27	32	03/11/2014 14:24	AKS
Stigma	5	7	12/11/2014 14:21	AKS
Trauma	16	29	03/11/2014 14:25	AKS
Closed Psychiatric Unit	2	4	17/12/2014 10:57	AKS
Health	4	5	04/11/2014 09:40	AKS
Lifestyle	15	24	03/11/2014 14:23	AKS
Agency support	30	40	03/11/2014 15:16	AKS
Community	22	36	03/11/2014 15:14	AKS
Drugs and Alcohol	25	40	03/11/2014 14:23	AKS
Housing	20	31	03/11/2014 14:23	AKS
New start	10	17	12/11/2014 14:18	AKS
Offending	31	44	03/11/2014 14:25	AKS
Peer group	24	34	03/11/2014 14:23	AKS
Relationship SO	14	24	03/11/2014 14:25	AKS
Social Media	3	3	12/11/2014 14:32	AKS
Staying out of trouble	13	20	12/11/2014 14:27	AKS
Work	12	15	03/11/2014 14:25	AKS
MAP	15	17	04/11/2014 10:00	AKS
Pathway	33	62	03/11/2014 14:21	AKS
Police	19	24	03/11/2014 14:42	AKS
<b>Prison</b>	45	46	03/11/2014 12:15	AKS
After effects	7	11	03/11/2014 14:21	AKS
Connection to secure care	11	21	03/11/2014 14:22	AKS
Court	25	35	03/11/2014 14:11	AKS
Charges - Sentence Length	16	20	03/11/2014 14:11	AKS
Transport	7	7	04/11/2014 10:08	AKS
Drugs	10	13	03/11/2014 14:13	AKS
Being dubbed up	29	53	03/11/2014 15:47	AKS
Embodied	32	83	03/11/2014 15:35	AKS
Health	6	7	05/11/2014 17:38	AKS
Mental Health	16	23	03/11/2014 14:11	AKS
Other prisons	12	21	03/11/2014 14:20	AKS
Outside - Plans	28	51	03/11/2014 14:10	AKS
Previous prison	5	5	03/11/2014 14:43	AKS
Prison First Day	31	51	03/11/2014 14:09	AKS
Prison Relationship with YP	32	69	03/11/2014 14:10	AKS
Prison Relationships with Staff	32	52	03/11/2014 14:08	AKS
Prison Risk	4	4	03/11/2014 14:13	AKS
Prison Routine	35	103	03/11/2014 14:05	AKS
Prison Rules	18	30	03/11/2014 14:06	AKS
Prison Space	13	23	03/11/2014 14:05	AKS
Back Cells	10	13	03/11/2014 14:06	AKS
Cell	18	31	03/11/2014 14:06	AKS
Communal	11	14	03/11/2014 14:06	AKS
Gym	3	3	03/11/2014 14:06	AKS
Prison Stigma	11	15	03/11/2014 14:12	AKS
Prison Typical Day	14	20	03/11/2014 14:08	AKS
Prison Visitation - Contact	29	41	03/11/2014 14:08	AKS
Prison Work - Education	24	41	03/11/2014 14:07	AKS
Punishment	11	14	04/11/2014 10:20	AKS

Recidivism	3	4	04/11/2014 12:02	AKS
Rehab - getting out	16	26	03/11/2014 15:24	AKS
Remand	14	18	04/11/2014 14:23	AKS
Sexuality	2	4	07/11/2014 11:19	AKS
Strategy	14	21	04/11/2014 11:11	AKS
Suggestions for improvements	9	12	03/11/2014 15:25	AKS
Time	23	26	04/11/2014 14:26	AKS
What got you into prison	16	21	03/11/2014 14:12	AKS
<b>Secure Care</b>	49	70	03/11/2014 12:15	AKS
After effects	9	13	03/11/2014 14:21	AKS
CHS	6	7	03/11/2014 14:18	AKS
Charges - Risks	3	3	03/11/2014 14:18	AKS
Connection to prison	11	20	03/11/2014 14:22	AKS
Consequences - punishment	9	13	07/11/2014 14:07	AKS
Different unit	7	12	11/11/2014 10:52	AKS
Drugs	2	3	03/11/2014 14:20	AKS
Drugs in secure	4	4	10/11/2014 11:13	AKS
Embodied	17	39	10/11/2014 11:18	AKS
Health	1	1	17/12/2014 11:01	AKS
Locked-up	7	13	11/11/2014 15:17	AKS
Mental Health	2	4	03/11/2014 14:19	AKS
Mobility	9	11	05/11/2014 17:52	AKS
Moving on	12	18	06/11/2014 16:27	AKS
Other secure units	7	15	03/11/2014 14:20	AKS
Outside - Plans	14	21	03/11/2014 14:18	AKS
Programs	12	17	10/11/2014 11:21	AKS
Secure Care Education	18	18	03/11/2014 14:16	AKS
Secure Care First Day	17	23	03/11/2014 14:18	AKS
Secure Care Relationship with YP	19	32	03/11/2014 14:18	AKS
Secure Care relationships with staff	18	30	03/11/2014 14:17	AKS
Secure Care risk	11	13	03/11/2014 14:19	AKS
Secure Care Routine	25	73	03/11/2014 14:16	AKS
Secure Care Rules	17	27	03/11/2014 14:16	AKS
Secure Care Space	13	17	03/11/2014 14:14	AKS
Communal	3	3	03/11/2014 14:15	AKS
Courtyard	1	1	03/11/2014 14:15	AKS
Gym	0	0	03/11/2014 14:16	AKS
Room	13	17	03/11/2014 14:15	AKS
Secure Care Stigma	5	5	03/11/2014 14:19	AKS
Secure Care typical day	4	4	03/11/2014 14:17	AKS
Secure Care visitation	12	16	03/11/2014 14:17	AKS
Strategy	9	19	10/11/2014 11:15	AKS
Suggestions	3	5	11/11/2014 11:07	AKS
Surveillance	3	4	11/11/2014 10:49	AKS
Time	8	11	10/11/2014 11:06	AKS
What got you into secure care	19	20	03/11/2014 14:19	AKS
Staff	38	38	03/11/2014 12:16	AKS
TfC	22	22	03/11/2014 12:16	AKS
Staff	4	6	03/11/2014 14:26	AKS
Programmes	0	0	03/11/2014 14:28	AKS
Work patterns	0	0	03/11/2014 14:28	AKS
YP	22	38	03/11/2014 14:26	AKS
Experiences	3	4	03/11/2014 14:27	AKS
YP	45	45	03/11/2014 12:18	AKS



## 2.4 NVivo - Staff Coding Pattern

	Sources	References	Created On	Created By
<b>Prison</b>				
Administration	4	4	19/12/2014 14:32	AKS
Age	12	30	18/12/2014 09:49	AKS
Block regime	9	32	18/12/2014 11:52	AKS
Challenges	11	39	18/12/2014 09:46	AKS
Connections to secure care	7	11	18/12/2014 09:47	AKS
Court	0	0	18/12/2014 09:47	AKS
Drugs	2	3	18/12/2014 09:47	AKS
Effects on own life	5	8	18/12/2014 09:46	AKS
Embodied prisoners	11	28	18/12/2014 09:47	AKS
Embodied staff	8	15	18/12/2014 09:48	AKS
Future planning	6	14	18/12/2014 09:59	AKS
Gender	11	16	18/12/2014 09:49	AKS
Getting out - transition	3	3	18/12/2014 09:49	AKS
Health	5	9	18/12/2014 09:48	AKS
Being locked up	3	4	18/12/2014 09:47	AKS
Medication	1	1	18/12/2014 12:16	AKS
Mental Health	10	34	18/12/2014 09:48	AKS
Programs	1	2	18/12/2014 10:50	AKS
Trauma	3	4	18/12/2014 10:51	AKS
Numbers	3	3	18/12/2014 11:55	AKS
Other agencies	7	13	18/12/2014 10:14	AKS
Other prisons	6	6	18/12/2014 09:48	AKS
Policy	7	10	18/12/2014 10:07	AKS
Prison landscape - wider society	4	8	18/12/2014 09:58	AKS
Punishment	6	7	18/12/2014 09:49	AKS
Recidivism	7	10	18/12/2014 11:54	AKS
Rehab	4	4	18/12/2014 12:03	AKS
Relationship with prisoners	9	24	18/12/2014 09:48	AKS
Relationship with staff	6	7	18/12/2014 09:48	AKS
Remand	5	5	18/12/2014 09:49	AKS
Risk	2	2	18/12/2014 09:48	AKS
Routine	11	36	18/12/2014 09:43	AKS
Rules	3	6	18/12/2014 09:48	AKS
Sectioned under MH	1	3	18/12/2014 10:47	AKS
Sentence lengths	2	2	18/12/2014 10:43	AKS
Sexuality - Puberty	4	4	18/12/2014 09:49	AKS
Space	8	18	18/12/2014 09:49	AKS
SPS	2	3	19/12/2014 14:55	AKS
Staff description	8	16	18/12/2014 09:52	AKS
Staff job description	11	21	18/12/2014 09:56	AKS
Staff training	4	4	18/12/2014 10:02	AKS
Suggestions	4	5	18/12/2014 11:53	AKS
Time	1	1	19/12/2014 14:48	AKS
Typical Day	3	3	18/12/2014 09:49	AKS
Typical problems	4	4	18/12/2014 09:46	AKS
<b>Secure Care</b>				
Admin	9	13	22/12/2014 11:24	AKS
Age	7	9	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Assessment Unit	6	8	22/12/2014 11:36	AKS
Challenges	19	58	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Connections to prison	10	12	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Court - CHS	1	1	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Drugs	1	2	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Education	6	7	18/12/2014 09:51	AKS

Effects on own life	11	20	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Embodied staff	15	29	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Embodied YP	17	50	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Gender	17	23	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Getting out - transition	11	15	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Group	2	3	23/12/2014 11:28	AKS
Health	3	8	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Length of Stay	7	7	22/12/2014 11:25	AKS
Locked up	9	14	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Mental Health	9	16	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Mobility	9	11	22/12/2014 12:07	AKS
Numbers	2	2	22/12/2014 11:24	AKS
Other Agencies	6	9	22/12/2014 11:25	AKS
Other secure units	3	3	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Pathway	13	19	22/12/2014 11:36	AKS
Policy	8	14	22/12/2014 11:25	AKS
Programs	8	16	18/12/2014 09:52	AKS
Punishment	2	2	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Recidivism	4	5	22/12/2014 11:24	AKS
Regime	15	27	22/12/2014 11:25	AKS
Relationship with staff	12	17	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Relationship with YP	17	30	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Risk	5	7	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Routine	18	39	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Rules	7	9	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Secure Estate	2	2	22/12/2014 11:24	AKS
Secure Landscape	3	4	22/12/2014 11:25	AKS
Sexuality - Puberty	0	0	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Space	9	11	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Staff description	17	28	18/12/2014 09:52	AKS
Staff Job Description	21	28	22/12/2014 11:25	AKS
Staff Training	10	12	22/12/2014 11:24	AKS
Stigma	2	3	22/12/2014 11:45	AKS
Structure	10	20	23/12/2014 11:24	AKS
Suggestions	4	7	22/12/2014 11:24	AKS
Time	3	4	22/12/2014 11:24	AKS
Transition	15	24	22/12/2014 11:26	AKS
Trauma	5	6	22/12/2014 11:25	AKS
Typical Day	1	1	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Typical problems	2	2	18/12/2014 09:50	AKS
Visits - Contact to outside	4	4	23/12/2014 10:49	AKS
Wider Society	6	15	22/12/2014 11:26	AKS
<b>Time for Change</b>				
Age	7	9	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Challenges	9	38	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Mobility	5	8	07/01/2015 11:09	AKS
Community challenges	5	12	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Connections to prison	8	26	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Connections to secure care	8	16	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Court - CHS	4	4	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Crises	4	6	06/01/2015 14:17	AKS
Disengagement	4	4	06/01/2015 12:07	AKS
Drugs	0	0	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Education	0	0	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Effects on own life	5	8	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Embodied staff	6	13	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Embodied YP	9	29	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Gender	7	12	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Getting out - transition	2	3	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS

Health	0	0	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Locking YW up	5	7	06/01/2015 14:57	AKS
Mental Health	7	17	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Mobility	2	2	06/01/2015 14:12	AKS
Other services	1	1	06/01/2015 14:51	AKS
Progress	5	7	06/01/2015 14:15	AKS
Punishment	0	0	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Relationship with staff	4	6	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Relationship with YP	7	18	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Risk	0	0	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Routine	5	9	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Rules	2	3	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Sexuality - Puberty	1	1	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Space	5	6	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Staff description	6	17	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Starting work	3	3	06/01/2015 11:52	AKS
Suggestions	5	11	07/01/2015 11:09	AKS
TfC	5	13	06/01/2015 15:08	AKS
Typical Day	2	2	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Typical problems	4	8	18/12/2014 09:53	AKS
Wider Society	6	13	06/01/2015 15:14	AKS
Work description	9	21	18/12/2014 09:54	AKS
Young Women	8	16	06/01/2015 13:56	AKS

## 2.5 Young People Mobility Matrix

### 2.5.1 Prison

Name	Secure stays	Hospital stays	Prison Stays	Care placements	In Care from age	Homeless placements	Moves <sup>387</sup>
Charlotte	0	0	2	4	12	3	12
Annie	2	0	2	5	13	3	17
Isla	0	0	1	--	--	--	3
Daisy	0	0	1	With relatives	unknown	2	5
Diane	5	3	4	10	13	3	26
Emily	0	0	2	2	14	2	12
Emma	0	0	2	--	--	--	9
Grace	4	1	3	7	12	unknown	19
Holly	0	0	2	With relatives	unknown	Unknown, homeless from age 15	10
Louise	2	0	4	8	5	3	17
Jess	1	0	2	1 and with relatives	13	--	10
Julia	0	0	2	--	--	--	3
Kayleigh	0	0	2	6	13	3	11
Olivia	0	0	2	1 and with relatives	13	1	7
Sophia	0	1	1	--	--	--	3
Bianca	0	0	1	With relatives	unknown	3	11
Flo	9	2	8	unknown <sup>388</sup>	13	unknown	29
Jaime	2	2	1	3	7	2	10
Jenna	0	0	2	--	--	12	15
Kara	2	0	2	unknown	unknown	5	11
Keira	1	0	2	2	2	unknown	8

<sup>387</sup> This refers to a minimum number of moves per person that could be established by triangulating interview data, mental maps and file data.

<sup>388</sup> 'Unknown' (as opposed to '—') in this table refers to a high possibility of care placements or homeless placements, but no actual proof in interview material and/or file data.

Kim	0	0	1	--	--	unknown	2
Nicki	0	0	1	--	--	--	2
Tamara	1	0	3	unknown	unknown	8	13
<i>TOTAL: 24</i>	<i>10 YW</i>	<i>5 YW</i>	<i>More than 1 stay in prison: 17 YW</i>	<i>14 with care placements ( plus 3 unknown)</i>	<i>Average: 11yrs</i>	<i>Average: 14 YW with homeless placements</i>	<i>Average: 11 moves per person</i>
	<i>41.6 %</i>	<i>20.8 %</i>	<i>70.8 %</i>	<i>58.3 %</i>		<i>58.3%</i>	

### 2.5.2 Secure Care

Name	Secure stays	Hospital stays	Prison Stays	Care placements	In Care from age	Homeless placements	Moves
Mia	4	0	0	2	12	0	7
Gina	2	1	0	2 and with relatives	2	0	7
Maggie	1	0	0	8	2	0	16
Mona	1	0	0	1	12	0	3
Nora	2	1	0	3	13	0	7
Pam	1	0	0	2	1	0	3
Phoebe	1	0	0	2	12	0	3
Rhiannon	1	0	0	14	12	0	15
Suzie	1	2	0	2	11	0	6
Ava	1	0	0	2	13	0	5
Lacey	1	0	0	unknown	unknown	0	2
<i>TOTAL: 11</i>	<i>More than one stay in secure care: 3</i>	<i>3 YW</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>10 with care placements ( plus 1 unknown)</i>	<i>Average: 11yrs</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>Average: 7 moves per person</i>
	<i>27.27%</i>	<i>27.27 %</i>	<i>--</i>	<i>90.9 %</i>		<i>--</i>	

### 2.5.3 Time for Change

Name	Secure stays	Hospital stays	Prison Stays	Care placements	In Care from age	Homeless placements	Moves
Carrie	0	0	6	4	2	6	16
Dorothy	2	0	0	With relatives	1	0	4
Freddie	0	0	3	0	--	0	7
Gemma	0	0	2	0	--	0	4
Hannah	1	0	7	2 and with relatives	12	3	
Joanne	0	1	3	2 and with relatives	15	'hundreds'	20
Kendra	6	1	0	2	6	'countless'	17
Kirstie	0	0	2	0	--	unknown	5
Lara	2	2	0	With relatives	unknown	unknown	9
Liz	1	1	1	2	14		
Ruth	0	0	1	'all over the place'	2	several	49
Sarah	0	0	2	0	--	1	4
Hazel	1	0	0	2	10	2	5
Louise	2	0	4	8	5	3	17
Jenna	0	0	2	0	--	12	15
<i>TOTAL: 15</i>	<i>7 YW</i>	<i>4 YW</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>10 YW</i>	<i>Average: 7yrs</i>	<i>9 YW</i>	<i>Average: 11 moves per person</i>
	<i>46.6%</i>	<i>26.6 %</i>	<i>73.3%</i>	<i>66.6 %</i>		<i>--</i>	

### **Appendix 3: Up-2-Us Summary (based on Wilson and Arens 2016)**

Time for Change<sup>389</sup> (TfC) is a service for highly vulnerable and risky girls and young women from West Central Scotland, set up by Up-2-Us. Established as a charity in 2008, Up-2-Us's mission statement has remained true of all its services, "Committed to playing its part in delivering a focused, continuous set of services to ensure that extremely vulnerable and high risk children and young people receive the intensive, flexible care and support they need in order to improve their life chances and reach stable maturity." Up-2-Us made a conscious decision to remain small to medium sized, ensuring that the strength of the organisation rallies from the management, directors and workers at its core.

The Board of Up-2-Us brought with them a longstanding recognition of the different needs girls and young women had and made a commitment to finding out what might work better for them. In 2009, gender informed work started with a small-scale grant funded project. This expanded in 2010 following interest from Scottish Government and HMP Cornton Vale who acknowledged young women on remand as a neglected group within the prison service and wanted to bolster support. Mid 2010, Up-2-Us formally launched Time for Change (TfC) with a one year grant from the Scottish Government as a support service to under 18's in YO and Secure Accommodation within the Whole System policy.

Time for Change has operated since then on year to year funding, as a service dedicated to highly vulnerable girls and young women. TfC also committed to using and providing evidence about effective ways of working with girls and young women to improve wellbeing and reduce risk.

Between June 2010 and September 2015, Time for Change provided input at various levels of intensity to over 300 individual young women facing severe, and multiple disadvantage (aged 13-23 years). Many young women were referred multiple times from different settings, as risks and care plans fluctuated. Over the course of a year, between 45 and 65 young women were on planned contact in the community and between 60 and 80 met in prison.

Five years on, TfC is still a modest sized service working with local authorities in the West of Scotland, within the women's prison and with secure providers to offer:

- Intensive Community Support or Added Value to Local Plans
- Information Giving and Practical Help to Young Women in Prison
- Transitional Bridging from Locked Accommodation to the Community
- Social Inclusion and Talent Building opportunities, and
- Research and Dissemination of Evidence

TfC's commitment is to young women traditionally facing a downward spiral of poor outcomes in later life. Many are identified at a young age as especially vulnerable, and progress to a justice system which continues to struggle with the quite different needs of the younger female age group, as distinct from older women and young men. Despite recently improved services for 12-18 year-old age group generally, linked to Early and Effective Intervention and Whole Systems policies, individuals continue to fall through the net of provision or are not ready to make changes expected of them at the transition to adulthood.

As a voluntary organisation, Up-2-Us recognises it has scope to engage young women on different terms to statutory bodies, and the corresponding responsibility to work alongside colleagues as well as young women to make improvements and flag up some of the barriers and systems that seem to impede progress. Young women have told us they value TfC input differently to statutory input. They told us they like the informality, flexibility and increased levels of contact, and saw the 24/7 crisis support as a valued resource, being there when they need it. TfC can have time to spend with individuals that other agencies do not – this encourages

---

<sup>389</sup> See also Arens 2013; Burman and Imlah 2012; Schliehe 2012.

investment from both parties and a greater emphasis on the worker to make the relationship work. When it works well, young women say they experience:

- Feeling like their worker wants to spend time with them
- Feeling listened to
- Having some breathing space away from home or care
- Help to solve problems without being told what to do
- Support in resettlement or compliance in ways that build from their own ambitions

The girls and young women TfC meet experience regular gains and losses, have ups and downs, and have to be nudged and cajoled to work hard rather than react when there are set backs. TfC's role is to ensure that there are opportunities for growth to enable empowerment of young women toward positive choices, supporting and leading them through difficulties and marking successes. The length of involvement is flexible to reflect individual needs, wishes and the systems changes that require careful navigation.

TfC knows that working with young women successfully must involve multi-agency input, partnership, and holistic, person-centred approaches, putting relational theory into practice, and focusing on strengths and resilience. Importantly, a gender informed approach is at the core of what we do and our ethos and working methods are informed by both theoretical knowledge and practice.



#### Appendix 4: SC Admission Details (SC, field notes 04/14)

<b>Admission details</b>
<u>Personal</u>
- Name
- Address
- Date of Admission
- Gender
- SW details
- Solicitor details
- GP details
<u>Physical description</u>
- Height
- Hair colour
- Eye colour
- Weight
- Birth marks
- Scars/tattoos
- Left or right handed
- Complexion
- Religion
<u>Secure Criteria</u> [see above]
- (a)
- (b)
- (c)
<u>Legal Status</u>
- Placements (Interim, CH, Court)
<u>Notification</u>
- Parent/Carer
- Children's Rights Officer

<b>** Contact list information recorded</b>
Name
Relationship
Approved visits
Visits supervised
Calls supervised
Phone number
Staff Initials/date

<b>Admission Checklist</b>
Welcome Pack
Visiting/Access Policy explained
Shown round the unit
Shown round the facility
Shown round education
Complaints procedure
Role of child protection officer
Met with Head/Depute
Behaviour expectations explained
TCI explained
Introduced to Nurse
Appointment with GP
Began work on self-assessment
Clothing Items logged
Introduced to Case Team Members
Advocacy worker advised of admission
Info Leaflets send to parents/carers
Introductory meeting with parents/carers
Admission medical
Psychologist Appointment

## Appendix 5: Behavioural screening tools (SC, field notes, 04/14)

<b>Victimisation/offending factors</b>	
<i>Victim characteristics:</i>	
– Vulnerable victim	
– Specific targeted victim	
– Not known to young person	
<i>Offender factors:</i>	
i. Elaborate preparing and planning	
ii. Unduly, sophisticated methods	
iii. Use of/acquisition of weapon	
iv. Loss of control	
v. Involvement with significant others	
vi. Recklessness	
vii. Unpredictability	
viii. Ritual or bizarre elements	
ix. Intentions to hurt or harm	
x. Discriminatory attitudes	
xi. Seems driven/impelled (desires for revenge)	
xii. Indifferent to/unconcerned about victims	
xiii. Cold or callous attitude to victims	
xiv. Emotional or mental health issues	
xv. Disinhibitors (drugs, alcohol)	
xvi. Poor problem solving skills	

<b>RESILIENCE FACTORS</b>	
Sense of personal identity and power	Yes/No
Sense of meaning and purpose	Yes/No
Good communication skills	Yes/No
Able to demonstrate caring	Yes/No
Good sense of humour	Yes/No
Copes well with change	Yes/No
Effective problems solving skills	Yes/No
Copes well with stressful situations	Yes/No
<b>PROTECTIVE FACTORS</b>	
Strong and positive family relationships	Yes/No
Strong and positive relationships with other adults	Yes/No
Strong and positive relationships with peers in the community	Yes/No
High expectations set within the home	Yes/No
Strong and positive relationships with staff	Yes/No
High expectations set within the unit	Yes/No
Good educational experiences in the community	Yes/No

## Appendix 6: Secure Care Routines and Checklists (SC field notes, 02/14)

Evening Routine	
4-4.30pm	structured work
4-4.45pm	staff set up for dinner
5.30pm	dinner served
6.30pm	chores complete, trolley returned to kitchen for safe care
6.30-7.45pm	activity time/courtyard/fitness suite
7.45-8.15pm	cupboard time (including all items young people need for their bedroom)
8.15-8.45pm	supper – no young people within kitchen
8.45-9.00pm	bottles organised, kitchen closed
9.00pm	all medication administered
9.45pm	bedtime, at no given time are cupboards or storeroom to be accessed for young people after this time
9.45-10.00pm	bedroom safe care checks with nightshift/ bedroom doors proofed
10.00pm	1x staff member to give handover to nightshift, all paperwork for shift completed as per end of shift checklist

Checklists (SC, field notes, 04/14)

### Before young people go to school

- Ensure all restricted items are accounted for and returned to office and recorded in log
- All young people should be ready to go when school phones for movement

### Once young people are at school

- Check observation sheets and log have been fully completed
- Tidy unit/wash any cups or bottles
- Photo copy menu and give copy to kitchen
- Complete daily tasks/case-team work required
- Get organised for break, set up dining room
- Communication log and handover book should be kept up to date throughout shift
- Ensure key time is completed at weekends or late shifts when young people are within unit“

### End of shift checklist

- Any observation sheets are fully completed and logged in relevant folder
- Any structured support/reflective bed/isolation and segregation sheets are fully completed including young person section and logged in relevant folders
- Check restricted items log is fully complete and all items are returned and accounted for
- Complete handover book
- Complete communication log
- Complete consequence/reward folder if relevant
- Complete transition folder if relevant
- Ensure all medication has been administered and all signatures completed
- Ensure contact folder is up to date including any visits young people have received
- Ensure corridors are clear and office is tidy
- Safe care and risk assessments all up to date’

## **Appendix 7: Summary of issues discussed in planning meetings (SC field notes, 02/14)**

‘they discussing how the young people have complained about the mattresses

- They are smelly and uncomfortable
- Want to ask cleaning staff to wash mattresses down and let them dry
  - o They are discussing kids’ social skills and how to show pro-social role model behaviour
  - o Long discussion about skipping routine of keeping them safe
- Found a rubber that was taken from school
- Problem because kid could burn themselves or others
- They found a pin in other bedroom
  - o They want ‘safe care’ back to basics (high alert)
  - o Discussing safety in their rooms
- Particularly with CDs (breaking them and using them as weapon)
- Found two toilet rolls where they are only allowed to have one at a time
- Things they get at school become increasing problem’ (SC, field notes, 02/14)

## **Appendix 8: Description of how safe care checks are done**

‘We are taking a ruler with us to check the rooms. First up we have to check the safety risk assessment sheet behind the panel next to each room’s door. There are magnets there and we have to check if they are warm (which means that they are working). You can only access the panel with a fob but because everything is electronically controlled, it is important to check the magnets. Then we are checking the lights, blinds, power switches. There is a separate sheet for the shower to put over the window that is in the penal for observation purposes. Next thing is to open the door (with fob). We have to be careful not to lock ourselves in (which happens sometimes) there is no chance for the worker to get out either unless freed by another worker. There is no fob panel on the inside of the door. We need to check for anything that looks as if it doesn’t belong there (everything that is not allowed is logged on the sheet that we have with us) and we have to search the bed, mattress, walls, cupboards, bathroom, between doors and walls, behind posters etc. anything that could be harmful (like pens) are not allowed it is not allowed for us to read anything but we are taking away water bottles (so they are not able to throw them when they are full), taking away pens and the TV (which is checked for disks and then taken to another room). There are main cupboards in the hall where everyone stores their access clothing (only one set allowed in room at a time) and all sorts of other belongings as well. We are checking the bathroom and checking how many CDs, how many toiletries (dependent on how many they are allowed). The risk assessment sheet is renewed every week (old ones are filed). We are talking about how this is done twice a day (before night shift comes in and in the morning, normally when they are on their way to school). Corridors are to be clear at all times in case they have to take kids through if there is an incident. There are lots of shoes and laundry in the laundry room. Every kid has a different laundry day when they can wash their clothes. Towels are available when they need them. (...) We are talking about kids and their preferences: rooms normally only allowed TV or CD player and normally only 2 CDs. One of the girls smashed TV up recently but not because she was angry, but out of frustration because she couldn’t cope with all the sensory overload. When inspecting the bathroom we need to be careful not to start the shower. The bathroom is very bare with little mirror, sink, toilet built in without seat, some rooms are personalised with posters, flags, and photographs others are very bare, hardly anything personal in it. (...) When done the sheet goes back into the panel [outside the room].’ (SC, field notes 02/14)

## **Appendix 9: Medication Routines**

'There is a locked cupboard with medication in it and it has a sheet on the front with strict guidelines of the process of administrating drugs

- Guidelines in relation to the administration of medication. All staff must adhere to these guidelines at all times:
  - Signing record sheet
  - Record dispensing
  - Check correct medication and prescription
  - Administer medication in private area
  - Sign after medication has been administered
  - Separate rules for controlled medication
  - If there is a refusal that must be recorded on sheet with an R in the appropriate space
  - There need to be at least 2 members of staff to deal with medication' (SC, field notes, 02/14)

## Appendix 10: Core screen prison

Core screen (PR, field notes, 09/14):

Surname:	Establishment:	
Forename(s):	Prison Number:	EDL:
Date of Birth:	Sentenced:	Remand:
Admission Date:	HDC Qualifying Date:	

## **Appendix 11: Admission procedure re: untried prisoner/ young offender**

### **'First night in custody**

- Upon admission to their appropriate accommodation block staff will be required to conduct an interview with the prisoner/young offender. The following paperwork must be completed upon first night in custody:
  - First night in custody checklist
  - Prisoner supervision system I
  - In addition cell sharing risk assessments must be completed on PR2 upon first night in custody

### **Within 24 hours of admission**

- The following paperwork can be completed within the next 24 hours
  - Remand welfare checklist
  - Laundry disclaimer form

### **The following paperwork can be issued to the prisoner/YO within 24 hours**

- Untried visiting booking form
- Prisoner's visitors information sheet
- Pre-allowed numbers for telephone system
- Property accepted within the first 7 days of admission
- Authorised articles in use' (PR, field notes 09/14).



## Appendix 12: Telephone use instructions

‘Pre-allowed numbers for PIN telephone system

- You are allowed a maximum of 2 numbers for your own account
- You have 14 days to submit your list that will be used as your PRE-allowed numbers. If you do not submit a list by then, your account will not be allowed to call any number at all
- (...)
- Legal numbers (numbers to legal agents, solicitors etc.) will be checked for authenticity. If they are not legal numbers then they will be treated as normal calls and monitored’ (PR, field notes 09/14)

Tel Number	Relationship	Legal No Y/N
1		
...		
20		

**Appendix 13: Cell checklist**

Item	Working/good condition	Comments
Doors/Fittings		
Chair		
Units		
Bed		
Walls		
Window		
Mirror		
TV and Aerial		
Cell Safe		
Kettle		
Bin		

'I \_\_\_\_\_ hereby agree to keep the fixtures, fittings and cell walls in the condition that they were on my admission to this cell and agree to report any defect or breakage to the staff within the hall. I accept and agree that any defects or damage cause during my location in the above cell will be the responsibility of those located in this cell.

Sign \_\_\_\_\_' (PR, field notes, 09/14).

## Appendix 14: Security level supervision (PR, field notes, 09/14)

<b>Prisoner supervision system</b>
<p><u>Section A</u> Six month review and annually thereafter when supervision levels are medium or high, if low no reviews required:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- High supervision level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o A prisoner for whom all activities and movements require to be authorised, supervised and monitored by an officer</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Medium supervision level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o A prisoner for whom activities and movements are subject to limited supervision and restriction</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Low supervision level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o A prisoner for whom activities and movements are subject to minimum supervision and restrictions may be given the opportunity to participate in supervised or unsupervised activities within the community</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p><u>Section B</u> Formal assessment supervision level flowchart</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Within 12 months of commencing a sentence of 4 years or over for serious violence/including murder and sexual offences or drug related offences</li> <li>2. Previous history of serious violent offending within past three years</li> <li>3. Means and willingness to escape now or a history of such behaviour in past three years?</li> </ol> <p>➔ Yes to any = high supervision</p> <p>➔ NO</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Means and willingness to organise serious indiscipline (including drug dealing)</li> <li>5. Previous involvement in violence or fear inducing behaviour (in prison) within the last year</li> <li>6. Current substance abuse</li> <li>7. Significant psychiatric/psychological history within the past year</li> <li>8. Serious outstanding charges</li> <li>9. Impulsive behaviour now or in the past year</li> <li>10. Indication of vulnerability in the present location</li> </ol>
<p><u>Section C</u> Record of flowchart 'yes' outcomes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Comments on any above criteria</li> </ul>
<p><u>Section D</u> Supervision level indicated by the flowchart and reasons</p>
<p><u>Section E</u> Prisoners representation</p>
<p><u>Section F</u> Supervision level as signed by</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Personal officer</li> <li>o Hall manager</li> <li>o Block manager</li> </ul>

**Appendix 15: Clothing Rules prison (PR, field notes, 09/14)**

<u>Name</u>
<u>Prisoner Number</u>
<u>Date</u>
Prison Uniform:
Polo Shirts (3)
Sweat Shirts (2)
Jog Bottoms (2)
Shoes/Boots (1)
House Coat (1)
Pyjamas (1)
Personal Clothing:
Earrings (1 small)
Watch (1)
Ring (no raised face or stone)
Dressing Gown (1)
Slippers (1)
Pyjamas (1)
Tops (4)
Bottoms (2)
Shorts (1)
Joggers (gym) (1)
Shoes (3)
Ladyshave
CD Player
CDs (max 5 pre-recorded)
Underwear/socks
Photographs (max 20)

## **Appendix 16: Rules around searches**

- ‘(1) Every prisoner and his or her property and accommodation may be searched in accordance with this rule.
- (2) An officer may conduct a search of a prisoner at any time and this search may involve any number of the following processes—
  - (a) a search of the prisoner’s person including the prisoner’s clothing prior to removal of the clothing under sub-paragraph (c);
  - (b) a search of the prisoner’s clothing after removal of the clothing under sub-paragraph (c);
  - (c) the removal of the prisoner’s clothing;
  - (d) a visual examination of the external parts of the prisoner’s body after the removal of the prisoner’s clothing;
  - (e) a visual examination of the prisoner’s open mouth but no equipment or force may be used;
  - (f) a search of any items of property in the prisoner’s possession;
  - (g) a search of the prisoner’s cell or room including any items of property found in the cell or room’ (PYOI 2011: 51)

### Appendix 17: Prison routines in block (PR, field notes, 09/14)

<b>Friday</b>	
07.45 to 08.00	Hall is opened after the hall numbers check has been carried out
08.00 to 08.15	Breakfast – requests – reporting sick – supervised medications
08.40 to 11.30	Route movement for all working prisoners to their work parties or induction/programmes
11.45 to 12.00	All prisoners return to the hall for number's check
12.10 to 12.25	Lunch
12.30 to 13.30	Exercise/recreation time outside
13.45 to 16.45	Lock up: staff training
17.10 to 17.25	Evening meal
17.30 to 18.30	Lock-up and staff's meal break
18.30 to 20.30	Recreation
21.00	Lock up

<b>Saturday and Sunday</b>	
08.15 to 9.00	Hall is opened for breakfast after the hall numbers check has been carried out
09.00 to 10.00	Outside exercise
10.00 to 10.45	Church service/ in hall association
10.45 to 11.45	Exercise
11.45 to 12.15	Brunch
12.15	Numbers check and lock up
14.00	Hall unlock
14.00 to 16.00	recreation
16.00 to 16.20	Evening meal
16.30	Lock up procedures

**Appendix 18: Posting letters (PR, field notes, 09/14)**

<b>Provision of writing materials and payment of postage (PYOI 2011:, 39)</b>
<b>61.</b> —(1) Subject to paragraphs (2) and (3) every prisoner must be allowed to send one letter every week, the postage for which must be paid for by the Scottish Ministers, and the Governor must provide the prisoner with the necessary writing materials for this purpose. (2) The writing materials which must be provided by the Governor under paragraph (1) are as follows:
(a) a ballpoint pen;
(b) one sheet of writing paper and a reasonable number of further sheets if the prisoner so requires; and
(c) an envelope.

## Appendix 19: Breach of discipline definition

A breach of discipline is defined as such if a prisoner (PYOI 2011: 87f.):

commits any assault;
fights with any person;
uses threatening words or behaviour;
uses abusive or insulting words or behaviour;
commits any indecent or obscene act;
intentionally endangers the health or personal safety of others;
recklessly endangers the health or personal safety of others.
fails, without reasonable excuse, to open his or her mouth for the purpose of enabling a visual examination in terms of rule 92(2)(e);
is absent from a place where he or she is required to be or is present in a place he or she is not authorised to be;
is disrespectful to any person, other than a prisoner, who is at the prison;
intentionally fails to work properly or, on being required to work, refuses to do so;
disobeys any lawful order;
disobeys or fails to comply with any rule, direction or regulation applying to a prisoner;
intentionally obstructs any person, other than a prisoner, in the performance of that person's work at the prison;
detains any person against his or her will;
denies access to any part of the prison to any person other than a prisoner;
destroys or damages any part of a prison or any other property, other than his or her own;
intentionally or recklessly sets fire to any part of a prison or any other property, whether or not that property belongs to him or her;
takes improperly any article belonging to another person or to the prison;
has in his or her possession, or concealed about his or her body or in any body orifice, any article or substance which he or she is not authorised to have or a greater quantity of any article or substance than he or she is authorised to have;
has in his or her possession whilst in a particular part of the prison, any article or substance which he or she is not authorised to have when in that part of the prison;
has in his or her possession, or concealed about his or her body or in any body orifice, any prohibited article;
sells or delivers to any person any article which he or she is not authorised to have;
sells or, without permission, delivers to any person any article which he or she is allowed to have only for his or her own use;
consumes, takes, injects, ingests, conceals inside a body orifice, inhales or inhales the fumes of any substance which is: (a) a prohibited article; (b) unauthorised property; or (c) an article which he or she has been authorised to keep or possess but which he or she has not been specifically authorised to inhale or inhale the fumes thereof;
smokes in an area of a prison where smoking is not permitted by virtue of rule 36;
administers a controlled drug to himself or herself or fails to prevent the administration of a controlled drug to himself or herself by another person but subject to rule 117;
escapes or absconds from prison or from legal custody;
fails to return to prison when he or she should return after being temporarily released under Part 15;
fails to comply with any condition upon which he or she is temporarily released under Part 15; or
attempts to commit, incites another prisoner to commit, or assists another prisoner to commit or attempt to commit, any of the foregoing breaches.



## **Appendix 20: Potential punishments (PYOI 2011: 68)**

- A caution
- Forfeiture of any privileges not exceeding 14 days
- Stoppage of or deduction from earnings not exceeding 56 days and of an amount not exceeding one half of the prisoner's earnings
- Cellular confinement not exceeding 3 days
- Forfeiture of the entitlement to wear own clothing (untried prisoners)
- Forfeiture of the entitlement to withdraw money not exceeding 14 days