Transforming Liturgies: The Autoethnography of a Prison Chaplain

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Abstract

Much has been written about chaplaincy, but little about prison chaplaincy, and even less about prison chaplaincy by the chaplain. Within the UK the Anglican male voice dominates. This research project offers four distinct perspectives: a Scottish voice; a prison chaplain's voice (compared to that of chaplaincy); a feminist voice; and, shaped by the latter, an autoethnographic voice. The impetus for the project was the commitment of the Scottish Prison Service (SPS), following the Organisational Review of 2013, to "Transforming Lives". The change in how somebody thinks and behaves is not only central to Christian transformation but to that of desistance theory. The question faced by prison chaplains is "what is my transformational role in an organisational culture where custody and order take primacy over care and opportunity"? What transformational opportunities exist in a custody setting and how do I understand my role in the encounters I have? Most of the data was gathered by journalling through, and shaped by, the Church Year of 2017-18. Drawing on feminist qualitative research methods, six autoethnographic pieces were crafted to portray a variety of situations, encounters, and issues within the prison setting. As a spiritual practice, repeated attention was then paid to these pieces to discern patterns, nuance and significance. James K.A. Smith's concept of "liturgies" (the work of the people) is used to frame the contrasting ways of encountering people and the potential for transformation in those meetings. The underlying worldview of chaplain and prison are examined, and the resulting liturgies identified – some graceful, some disgraceful. The reality of tension, cooperation and complicity are revealed in the day-to-day work of the chaplain as an employee of the SPS. The unseen and unspoken witnessing of trauma emerges as a powerful liturgy amongst a prison population representing some of the most marginalised in society. The importance and distinctive liturgical nature of making fragmented spaces for Sanctuary and Sabbath for all, are emphasised. Finally, the chaplain's practice of transformative liturgies is associated with the "new person" emerging from Bandura's work on self-efficacy and thus with desistance theory. Identifying the transformative in everyday liturgies has radical implications for how people are treated inside prison and how they are welcomed into our church and community once released.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation 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.

Signature:

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Definitions/Abbreviations

ACE	Adverse Childhood Experience
ASPD	Anti-Social Personality Disorder
BPD	Borderline Personality Disorder
CCTV	Close Circuit Television
COCO	Custody Order Care Opportunity
DPT	Doctorate in Practical Theology
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
E&D	Equality & Diversity
FNC	First Night in Custody
HDC	Home Detention Curfew
HMP	Her Majesty's Prison
HMIPS	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons
HOO	Head of Offender Outcomes
HQ	Headquarters
IE	Institutional Ethnography
JPCB	Joint Prison Chaplaincies Board
NHS	National Health Service
PCSG	Prison Chaplaincy Steering Group
PD	Personality Disorder
PPC	Prisoner's Personal Cash
RC	Roman Catholic
Ref	Reformed
SCL-90	Symptom Checklist-90
SIM	Subscriber Identity Module
SPS	Scottish Prison Service
S&I	Standards and Indicators
YOI	Young Offenders Institute

PROLOGUE

You wouldn't think a Swiss Army Knife could cause so much trouble, would you? It's been my companion for years. It's helped me open beer bottles as the sun goes down over the African plain, or uncork a wine bottle on some camping trip, extract a splinter from my child's foot with the tweezers that store neatly down the side of the knife, or cut raw sugar cane into pieces to chew on long car journeys… the list goes on, but each use evokes happy memories of living and travelling in Africa. The last time I used it though, I was with my youngest son as we packed up the last few things from our family home in Callander. The blade of the knife cut cleanly through the packing tape as boxes were taped up in preparation for the move to Edinburgh where I was now working and renting a house. We got back to the house late on the Saturday night – tired and emotional, after saying goodbye to the family home for the last time.

The next morning is Sunday. I am up early to lead the services in the prison. I grab my small shoulder bag from the car, checking that my mobile phone is not in the bag – pat, pat – no, definitely not there. I don't want to be caught again accidentally taking it into the prison – a fine of £1,000, even six months in prison – and for me, a possible loss of job, are the penalty. I pop my car keys into the bag and fling it into the security tray to go through the scanner. "Good morning Andy, Good morning Jamie". All is well … until …

"Sheena, do you have something metal in your bag?" I pat the bag. Nothing there.

"There is definitely something there!"

I am calm. There is no phone in the bag. But the scanner is definitely showing up something – something twisted and metal. I put my hand inside the bag – nothing. Just one side compartment left – I put my hand in – and right down at the bottom, tucked away, is the penknife.

"That's fine" says Charlie, "We'll keep it here until you are going back out and you can pick it up".

I go and conduct the services in the chapel – one for women prisoners and one for the men.

I return to the gate to pick up my knife - and two worlds collide.

My companion, my aid, my memory-filled knife is now regarded as an illicit weapon – simply pieces of twisted and sharpened metal, encased in hardened red plastic. It is confiscated, and I am disciplined, with a six-month written warning on my file for attempting to bring a dangerous weapon into a prison.

Orr (2019, 58)

CHAPTER 1 Introduction

Much has been written about prisoners and why they commit crimes and how and why they might desist. In contrast, little has been written about chaplaincy, less about prison chaplains, and almost nothing by a chaplain reflecting ethnographically on chaplaincy and particularly using autoethnography. This gap is well-documented for chaplaincy in general and prison chaplaincy specifically. As recently as 2015 Cobb et al in the opening chapter of *A Handbook of Chaplaincy Studies* were confident in stating that "the presence and place of chaplains in contemporary society is a phenomenon that persists without much systematic enquiry, explanation or understanding." A few years earlier, following a review of literature, Todd and Tipton concluded that "apart from a relatively small corpus…research into prison chaplains and chaplaincy is very limited, largely confined to the United States and often tied directly into rehabilitative discourses…" (2011, 48). Amongst other things, within a UK setting, they identified the need for qualitative, ethnographic research; for the voice of female chaplains to be heard; for ethnographic work on the context of chaplaincy; and the capturing of non-faith prisoners experience of chaplaincy care (Todd and Tipton 2011, 48-49). Since then Phillips (2013), a white Anglican male chaplain, has undertaken an ethnographic study, *Role and Identities of the Anglican Chaplain: a prison ethnography*, in prisons in England and Wales. Lane, a female prison chaplain, focused on one particular aspect of the chaplain's ministry in her 2015 DPT thesis *Imprisoned Grief*. Apart from these there is no recent qualitative research concerning the prison chaplain. Part V of *A Handbook*

of Chaplaincy Studies (Swift, Cobb, and Todd 2015) has three short chapters (two by women) on prison chaplaincy which offer fragmented and partial reflections. Meanwhile, a *Theology of Christian Chaplaincy* gives prison chaplaincy a cursory mention, although the thesis of the book is offered to all strands of chaplaincy (Caperon, Todd, and Walters 2018, 80).

A number of other recent publications have focused on the growth in chaplaincy outside traditional areas. Ryan (2015) uses a case study of Luton town to explore the changing nature of chaplaincy with the growth of non-traditional forms burgeoning alongside the traditional sectors of Health, Education, Prison and Armed Forces. Slater, already aware of the growth in community chaplaincy, questions the role of chaplaincy in the mission and ministry of the Church of England given the surprising omission of chaplaincy in the Fresh Expression documents (2013, xv). Her focus, however, is chaplaincy in its new roles and setting in the community and, through case studies, its place in the Church of England specifically. This compares with my focus on the established but changing role of prison chaplaincy and the prison setting in particular as well as the place of chaplaincy within the Scottish Prison Service - the significance of this for the church as an organisation is a secondary consideration in my research. In the Scottish context, there are three pieces of research focusing on prison chaplaincy specifically. *Chaplaincy, Power and Prophecy in the Scottish Prison System: The Changing Role of the Prison Chaplain*, is written by a female chaplain (Smith 1997). The PhD thesis provides an historical narrative of chaplaincy along with the results of a structured questionnaire sent to all chaplains and follow-up interviews with twelve of them regarding the work and training of chaplains followed by a discussion of a prophetic model of chaplaincy.[1] More recently, a serving chaplain, Bell, has produced two pieces of research at Masters level: the first is in the form of a literature review - *An Exploration of the Role of Prison Chaplains in the Process of Desistance* (2011); the second focused on prisoners attending religious services - *Why do Prisoners attend Church Services in Prison?* (2015).

[1] Although not within the scope of my research it is interesting to note, over 20 years later, that many of the organisational issues identified in chaplaincy – part-time working (see Annex 1 of this document), lack of professional management, lack of training for the role – are the same issues that I am grappling with in my role (since August 2018) as Chaplaincy Advisor.

This project sets out to address some of the gaps identified above by focusing on prison chaplaincy in Scotland, by using autoethnography as a method and by writing from a female perspective. It offers insight into my experience of chaplaincy over the course of the Church Year from Advent 2017 to the end of Ordinary Time 2018. I started off thinking I was interested in looking at the role of the chaplain in transforming the lives of prisoners. That concern is still there. But as I journalled and wrote, a more nuanced understanding of my role emerged, the understanding of context "thickened", and the contrasts in the work being done – or as I have come to see it – the liturgies being performed emerged. As such, this thesis presents a radical rethinking of the role and significance of chaplaincy in today's prisons and its position in the institutions which ordain people who become chaplains.

The main research was undertaken while working as a full-time chaplain at HMP Edinburgh (known locally as "Saughton" after the area in which it is geographically located) but also includes later reflections from my work in HMP YOI Cornton Vale. Prior to this I had worked with the Kenyan Prison Service (at HQ and in local prisons) on secondment from the Presbyterian Church of East Africa where I had been sent following my Ordination as a Church of Scotland Minister of Word and Sacrament in October 2011. Within HMP Edinburgh I was part of a team of seven chaplains of different denominations and faiths and it would have been tempting, having worked as an organisational development consultant for many years before my ordination, to focus on the challenges and opportunities of this organisational arrangement. I resisted, being more intrigued by the recent Organisational Review that had taken place and the adoption of a new vision by the Scottish Prison Service (SPS), "Unlocking Potential, Transforming Lives", a powerful statement with a strong spiritual resonance.

I set out to research my role as a chaplain in transforming the lives of those I came across and how it compared with the SPS understanding and implementation of transformation. The problem I initially sought to address was the transformational element in my actions and practices as a chaplain. What is it in my everyday encounters that brings about change? Is it just individuals that are being changed or is there some effect on the organisation as well? Does my

encounter with others change me? To some extent these questions emerged from the journalling I undertook and through research and reflection. The project came to focus, however, when I began to consider the role of liturgies in everyday actions, some transforming, others deforming, some graceful, others disgraceful (Bass 2010; Smith 2009, 2013, 2017; Volf 2002). As the Prologue powerfully describes, I often experience two worlds colliding as I go about my everyday tasks.

Chapter Two is contextual. I introduce the SPS placing it within the wider criminal justice system and delineate the major issues within the sector including imprisonment rates and women in custody. This is followed by a discussion of the change in direction signalled by the decision to adopt a desistance approach in the Organisational Review of 2013 (SPS). The picture of a transformed life, in terms of the SPS Theory of Change is presented along with the implications for chaplaincy of the associated shift to an asset-based approach. An overview of chaplaincy within the SPS follows and includes a brief history of the role, the organisational set up and the shifting focus, expectation and narrative arising from the legislation concerning Equalities and Human Rights. The chapter ends with a look at healthcare chaplaincy, about which much has been written, and how it differs from prison chaplaincy and the implications of this.

Chapter Three locates the research in the field of practical theology and identifies the place of the Trinity, and Cotter's names for the persons of the Trinity: "Life-Giver, Pain-Bearer, Love-Maker" (1986, 52) in inspiring and shaping the methodologies which have been chosen. Flowing from this there is the necessary acknowledgement of my embeddedness within the SPS and my awareness of standpoint and worldview, which recognises "who am I" and "whose side I am on" (Becker 1967; Liebling 2001). Attention is then given to introducing autoethnography as a relatively new, and for some a controversial methodology, arising from the 1980s "crisis of representation" (Butz and Besio 2009, 1664). Its various strands and traditions are summarised (Anderson 2006; Bochner 2000; Denzin 2003; Ellis 2000; Ellis, Adams, and Bochner 2011; Richardson 2000) and varying perspectives discussed (Behar 1996; Spry 2018; Tamas 2008, Walton 2014a) before I make my own autoethnographic approach

clear. The use of journalling, offering a structured way of capturing observations, thoughts, and feelings, is noted as an essential part of the autoethnographic process (Bennett et al. 2018; Bolton 2005; Graham, Walton, and Ward 2015; Schön 1983). The usefulness of Smith's feminist informed concept of Institutional Ethnography (IE), offering an "ontology of the social" with its concern for ruling relations and how everyday actions are shaped by these (2005, 59), is then outlined. Finally, consideration is given to ethical issues and particularly those arising from the challenge of using autoethnography in a pastoral setting with vulnerable people who I may never see again (Chang 2008; Clandinin and Connelly 2000; Cobb, Swift, and Todd 2015; Tolich 2010).

Chapter Four forms the heart of the research project, which gives life to the chapters that follow. Formed of six autoethnographic pieces inspired by reflections captured through journalling over the course of the Church Year from Advent 2017 to the end of Ordinary Time 2018, it results in a theopoetical picture of my life as a prison chaplain. As Advent turns to Epiphany, Lent to Easter and Pentecost to Ordinary Time the significance of everyday encounters, the colour of the sex offenders fleece, the grief of traumatic bereavement, the offer of "Gucci" coffee, celebrating communion with convicts, all this is considered theologically, crafted poetically, and situated contextually. The final section records how I "listened" with "acute attentiveness" to the data, myself, supervisors and others; how I coded, analysed and prayed it (Slee 2013). Following this I decide to adopt James K.A. Smiths concept of liturgies, applying it to the daily practice (work) of myself as chaplain and those I encounter within the work context (Smith 2009, 2013, 2017). By taking a "leap of faith that is the creative act", I began to see things that I did not expect to find (Bennet et. El. 2018, 154).

Based on the observations of Chapter Four, Chapter Five explores the way in which competing liturgies emerge out of the prison context. Cotter's (1986) Trinitarian nomenclature Life-Giver, Pain-Bearer and Love-Maker,[2] is used to explore facets of the chaplain's role. The first section discusses the chaplain's reluctant complicity in a system which adheres to a different set of values and

[2] Later on in my research I decide to change Love-Maker to Love-Sharer and give my reasons (see Section 5.3).

ways of treating people due to the very nature of imprisonment. The underlying tension is drawn out by comparing my Ordination vows as a Church of Scotland minister with my employment contract with the SPS. Aspects of space, custody and staff attitude are used to explore points where liturgies clash and role strain occurs (Hicks 2008, 2012; Todd 2015). This leads to the suggestion that prisons themselves have a spirituality, one primarily based on domination in contrast to partnership (Liebling 2012; Pattison 2007; Wink 1984). The challenge is to work in partnership with people within an organisation based on domination. The following section moves from the institutional to the personal. Here I turn to consider some of the elements that distinguish prison chaplaincy from parish ministry. The background of many lives of people who end up in prison is considered through the prevalence of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACES) (Ashton et al. 2016; Bellis et al. 2014; Felitti et al. 1998), and traumatic bereavement (Harner, Hentz, and Evangelista 2010; Hendry 2009; Masterton 2015; Vaswani 2008, 2014). From here are pondered the idea of "thick witness", unknowing and the resistance to linear models of salvation which rush to resurrection without stopping to understand the meaning of Holy Saturday are pondered (Laub 1992, 1995; Rambo 2010, 2017). The section concludes by observing the inescapable suffering in the everyday and yet the significance of the everyday, and the suffering within it, as a place of transformation Finally, consideration is given to the language used in policy making and practice and the challenge this presents. This leads into a comparison of the loving gaze of the chaplain with that of prison's surveillance of prisoners (Brighenti 2007, Foucault 1977, Stoddart 2016). The "sentinel" as a priestly role confirms the significance of this for the chaplain (Cottrell 2020). Three distinctive transformative liturgies follow: Sanctuary Maker – referring to a spiritual as much as a physical space; Sabbath Maker – a fragmented as much a regular observance; and Significance Maker -bringing the secular and the sacred together by linking the transformational liturgies of the chaplain with increased self-efficacy belief in a person and thus contributing to desistance (Bandura 1997).

CHAPTER 2 SPS and Chaplaincy

2.1 Introduction

The starting point for my inquiry is the SPS as an organisation. It is not possible to research the nature of chaplaincy without looking at the context in which it is practiced. What is its role in the criminal justice system and where do I, as a chaplain, fit in? The aim is to understand the context in which I work and more importantly, the organisational values and ethos that inform the role of the chaplain.

The chapter presents a description which thickens with each section as I move from looking at the SPS in the wider criminal justice context through to the role of religion in the SPS. The first section (2.2) places the SPS in the wider context of Criminal Justice. Next (in 2.3), the recent shift to a more rehabilitative approach based on Desistance theory sets the Corporate Strategy scene, before (in 2.4) exploring where the chaplain fits into the current strategy – what are chaplains expected to do that will help bring about transformation? Here I also consider the organisational rationale for chaplains in the SPS and why they employ religious chaplains. This raises the issue of spiritual as opposed to religious care and leads to a discussion (in 2.5) of the similarities and differences of prison chaplaincy with the health-sector.

2.2 SPS as part of Criminal Justice

Each night around 8,000 people are incarcerated across Scotland's 15 prisons (2018, 329; 2014b) see Figure 1 (which also includes SPS Headquarters).[3] As part of the much larger Criminal Justice empire, which includes the Police, Courts and Social Workers, the SPS employs over 4,000 people to help meet the Scottish Government's vision of a just, safe and resilient Scotland (Scottish Government 2017).

[3] Two of the fifteen prisons, HMP Addiewell and HMP Kilmarnock, are run under private contracts. The remainder are run by the SPS.

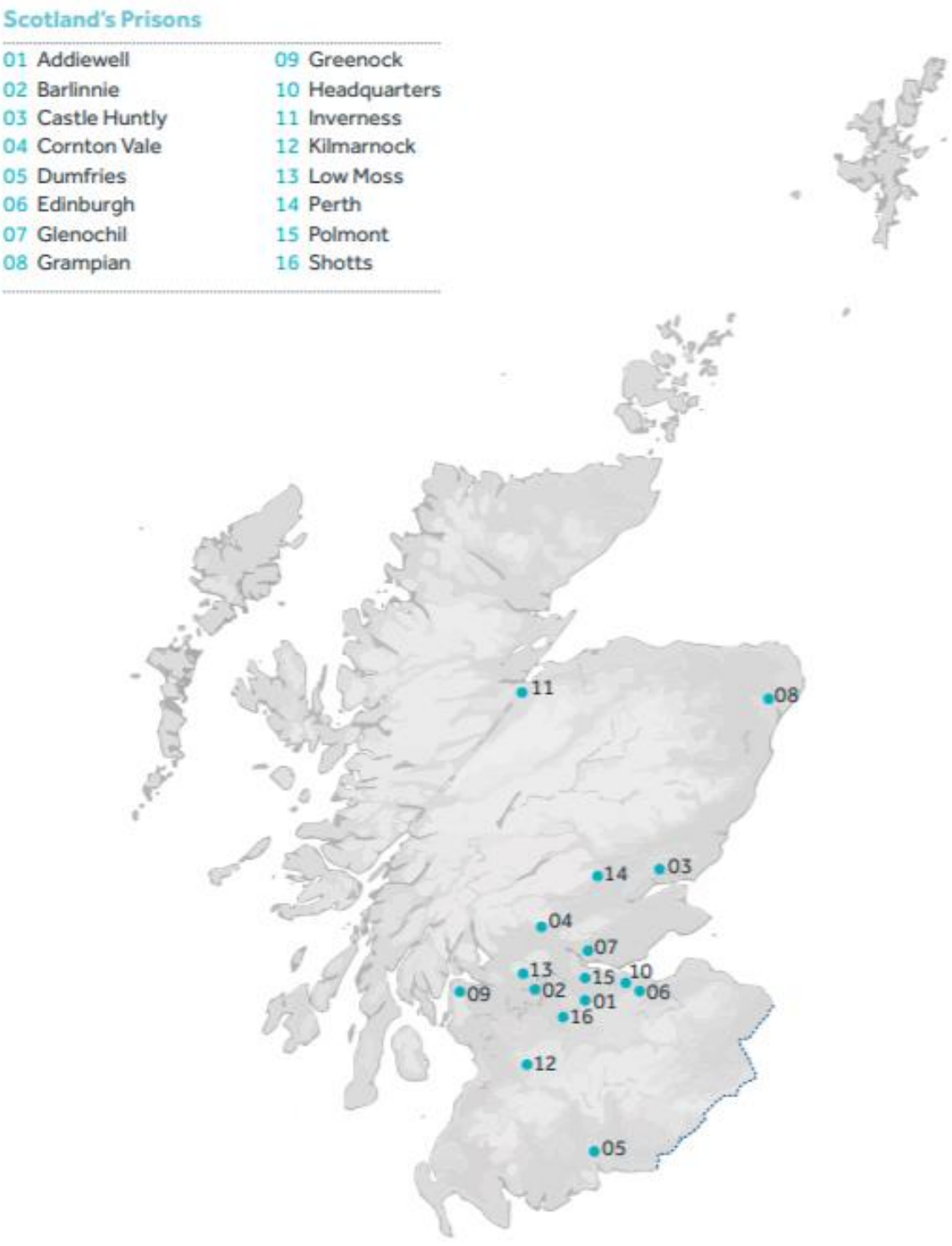

Figure 1 Location of Scotland's Prisons

Source: Scottish Prison Service (2019, 83)

The SPS, established in its present form in 1993, is an Executive Agency of the Scottish Government. Its remit, and budget of £344 million in 2018-19 are decided outside of the organisation, as are the more immediate decisions as to how many, and who, enter through the gates of the 15 prisons in Scotland on a daily basis (Scottish Prison Service 2019, 56) . The decisions to arrest, prosecute, try and sentence a person are all beyond the scope of the SPS. And yet it is the SPS that must deal with the outcome of these decisions by receiving all those who are sent to prison by the courts. Changes in sentencing guidelines in 2015, a growing numbers of convictions for historical sexual offences combined with a change in guidance on Home Detention Curfew (HDC) have pushed up prison numbers beyond the combined design capacity of Scottish prisons. The daily average prison population dropped steadily from a peak of 8,179 in 2011-12 to 7,464 in 2017-18 (Scottish Parliament November 16 2017) but has recently risen to an all-time high of 8,213 (World Prison Brief 2019). This increase aside, Scotland continues to have one of the highest imprisonment rates in Western Europe with 150 people in prison per 100,000 of population (World Prison Brief 2019). As crime rates are falling year on year this must be considered a political choice.

In 2007 the Church and Society Council of the Church of Scotland presented the report "What's The Alternative?" to the General Assembly with the understanding that society has a choice about the number of people that are locked up. The following year the Scottish Prisons Commission published "Scotland's Choice" stating "we now face a choice about how and for whom we will use prison" (2008, 10).

Despite decisions of a few years earlier, major changes in approach can be imposed with the change of political guard. Sentencing guidelines were changed in 2015 reducing early release for long-term prisoners and in October 2018 HDC guidelines were tightened up reducing the number by 75 per cent from “around 25 and 30 a week to around seven per week.” (Scottish Parliament 2018). As stated, all this is in the context of falling overall crime rates.

Also in 2015 there was the decision by the Justice Secretary, Michael Matheson to abandon plans for a large national facility for women in favour of Community

Custody Units. This led to a complete change in approach to women in custody based on the findings of the "Angiolini Report" (Scottish Government 2012). It is within this context of political mind changes, often driven by reactionary public opinion (as is the case for the 2018 change to HDC conditions following a murder by someone just released on HDC), that SPS develops it strategy.

2.3 Embracing Desistance

This section is a summary of the shift in strategic focus by the SPS and as such provides context to the role of the chaplain. In 2008 the Scottish Prison Commission (SPC) concluded that

> our current uses of imprisonment are not working. The reliance on prison to hold people for short periods of time only increases the chances of them coming back, again and again. **In 2006/07, nearly 7,000 offenders who received a custodial sentence had already accumulated between them 47,500 prior spells in prison.** Nearly one in six of these offenders had already been to prison on *more than ten previous occasions.*

The Commission recommended a reduction in the prison population to a daily average of 5,000 (Scottish Prisons Committee 2008, 57). A few years later in 2013 an Organisational Review of the SPS was undertaken in an attempt to reduce the "revolving door" of people coming in and out of prison. Prior to 2013 the SPS vision focused on management: "We will be recognised as a leader in offender management services for prisoners, that help reduce re-offending and offer value for money for the taxpayer" (Scottish Prison Service 2013a, 5). The mission statement supporting the vision read thus: "To keep in **custody** those committed by the courts; To maintain good **order** in each prison; To **care** for prisoners with humanity; To encourage prisoners to take **opportunities** which will reduce the likelihood they re-offend and help reintegrate" (Scottish Prison Service 2013a, 5). The mission statement, widely known as COCO (custody-order-care-opportunity) is still used as the operational framework for delivering the SPS mission albeit with some redefinition (this will be discussed further in Section 5.1.3).

The 2013 Organisational Review, driven by concerns about the usefulness of short-term custodial sentences, signalled a move from a retributive to a desistance approach. A new vision was developed to reflect a rehabilitative agenda, that of "Unlocking Potential – Transforming Lives"; and a new mission: "Providing services to help to transform the lives of the people in our care so they can fulfil their potential and become responsible citizens" (Scottish Prison Service 2013b, 5).

In contrast to previous approaches which focused on identifying and managing social and psychological deficits of offenders, the new approach focuses on the strengths and potential of individuals and their social networks. Following McNeill (2012, 13) six central themes of a desistance approach were identified in the Organisational Review (Scottish Prison Service 2013b, 53) to guide practice:

a) A personal approach which takes identity and diversity into account
b) The development and maintenance of motivation and hope
c) The importance of relationships between offenders and those that matter to them and between offenders and staff
d) Personal strengths and resources and those of their social networks are supported and developed
e) Working with offenders, not on them, to encourage agency and self-determination
f) Interventions that help to develop human and social capital.

This approach is a marked shift from the previous "what works" approach which relied on a top-down, non-collaborative, risk-focused interventions (McNeill 2006). Desistance theory looks at why people stop offending rather than why they get involved in criminal activity in the first place. Three influences on an individual's decision to cease are identified: age and maturation (ontogenic), social bonds and ties (sociogenic) and subjective changes in identity (narrative) (Maruna 2001). Farrall (2002) emphasised the interaction between what was happening in a person's life, the objective changes, and how they subjectively perceived them. More recently, Bottoms (2014) has suggested a fourth influence, that of the social environment and engagement in prosocial activities (situational). Given the closed nature of a prison the Review acknowledges that

the prison service can only make a limited contribution to reducing reoffending. However, by adopting a desistance approach it "can encourage and motivate prisoners to use their time in custody to develop their skills, abilities and resilience", thus contributing to a transformation of lives (Scottish Prison Service 2013b, 53).

In the SPS Theory of Change the picture of a "transformed life" is a person returning to the community as a citizen who is responsible, resilient, employable, healthy and connected (Scottish Prison Service 2016, 11). Several short-term outcomes provide specific ways in which potential can be unlocked:

a) Increased stability and self-sufficiency
b) Increased motivation to engage and change
c) Increased life management skills
d) Increased interpersonal skills
e) Increased pro-social attitudes
f) Improved mental health and thinking styles
g) Increased personal agency and self-efficacy
h) Developing a non-criminal identity
i) Increased skills for learning and employment
j) Increased connection with family, friends and community

(Scottish Prison Service 2016, 10)

The shift to an asset-based approach has three main implications for chaplaincy. In one sense it brings the stated organisational values and vision into closer alignment with the way that chaplaincy has traditionally related to people. This includes adoption of a language which sounds distinctly spiritual. The Chief Executive has spoken of a "need for an attitude of forgiveness…tolerance, redemption and a space for change" (McConnell 2015). Another senior manager commented "we talk about new beginnings, hope, redemption – the language sings our song from a chaplaincy perspective" (Interview SM02). Reflecting a similar view of chaplains, a senior manager in psychology commented "it's what we've been doing for some time … it's like its gone organisation wide" (Interview SMO4). And so, the language of chaplaincy has become more mainstream.

The second implication is a greater emphasis on measuring outcomes and the associated managerial language. This is starkly illustrated by the naming of one of the senior management posts within each prison "Head of Offender Outcomes" (HOO). The HOO line-manages the chaplaincy team along with other functions such as social work, psychology and education. The challenge for HOO has been how to measure the outcomes of chaplains. Chaplains have tended to resist any such measurement. "How do you measure God?" asked a previous Chaplaincy Advisor. A greater focus on how chaplains contribute to outcomes has led to pressures for prison chaplaincy to professionalise along the lines of the NHS (see section 2.5 below).

The move to a desistance approach has also led to a shift in emphasis on the role of chaplaincy. The traditional role of chaplaincy has been primarily a religious one. This is changing with a growing emphasis on the spiritual care and "well-being" role of the chaplain. This shift in role is explored further in the next section.

2.4 Chaplaincy in the SPS

In each prison in Scotland, chaplaincy teams work alongside uniformed and non-uniformed colleagues.[4] Chaplains sit within Offender Outcomes, the part of the SPS responsible for activities undertaken by prisoners when not in their rooms or at recreation. This includes education, health, social work, psychology, work parties, gym and chaplaincy. This section discusses the changing role, paying attention to the documents that influence and shape chaplaincy in SPS, as Smith (1987; 1990a; 1990b; 1999; 2005) considers vital.

The present-day status of the prison chaplain appears much diminished from the 19th Century when the chaplain was part of the high triumvirate along with the Prison Governor and Doctor. However, reflecting this early indispensability, the presence of a Chaplain has been enshrined in law since the Prison (Scotland) Act of 1877 (s.3(2)) which legislates that:

[4] A breakdown of Chaplains by Faith, Number, Sex and Hours Worked is shown in Annex 1.

> The Secretary of State shall appoint to each prison a chaplain being a minister or a licentiate of the Church of Scotland.

It was not until the Prisons (Scotland) Act 1989 (Chapter 9(1)) that the appointment of a minister of other denominations was provided for:

> Where in any prison the number of prisoners who belong to a religious denomination other than the Church of Scotland is such as in the opinion of the Secretary of State to require the appointment of a minister of that denomination, the Secretary of State may appoint such a minister to that prison.

This provision opened chaplaincy, first to representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, and more recently to those of the Islamic faith. Representatives from other Reformed Churches have also taken up Chaplaincy posts providing that there is at least one Minister from the Church of Scotland, as Section 3(2) of the 1989 Act continues to require.[5]

While the position of chaplaincy was legally clear in 1989, the situation on the ground was less so. The Scottish prison crisis of the mid 1980s (attempted escapes, hostage taking, riots, roof occupations, etc) led to a review of all ancillary services including chaplaincy. Due to "confusion, lack of organisation and misunderstanding" about the role of chaplaincy, HM Inspectorate of Prisons for Scotland took a more detailed interest, publishing its Report on Chaplaincy in 1987. This led to the setting up of a Joint Prison Chaplaincies Board (JPCB) "with responsibility to coordinate and support prison chaplaincy in Scotland" (Smith 1997, 110). However, a decade later the situation did not seem to be much better, prompting Hilary Smith, a chaplain for ten years in HMP Edinburgh, to undertake a PhD as "it had become increasingly clear to me that chaplaincy from a national perspective seemed to be in an ongoing state of disorganisation with a lack of vision and direction" (1997, viii).

[5] This is not always possible and so in some places, such as HMP Grampian, a member of another Reformed Tradition takes on the role.

After a short hiatus the Chaplaincy Agreement of 2004 was made between SPS, Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference of Scotland. This marked a significant shift from chaplains being recruited and paid by their denomination to being recruited and paid by SPS. It also introduced a formula which guaranteed twelve hours of chaplaincy for every one hundred prisoners, along with a 65:35 split for Reformed and Roman Catholic hours.

In the meantime, the 1998 Human Rights Act informed the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and subsequently the 2010 Equality Act which brought together previous legislation. This development of Equalities and Human Rights legislation has influenced chaplaincy in several ways. Through the protected characteristic of religion and belief, those in custody have the right to practice their religion or belief.[6] This in turn, has led to a slight increase in diversity within chaplaincy teams through the inclusion of Muslim chaplains. While SPS management label this as "multi-faith chaplaincy" this means the traditional domination of SPS chaplaincy teams by Christians, is now shared with one other faith, Islam.[7] From a structural perspective, Muslim chaplaincy remains outside the Chaplaincy Agreement, and partly because of this, is perceived as lacking in transparency. An increase in hours, out of proportion to the number of Muslim prisoners in Scottish prisons, and the fact there is no recognised Muslim body with whom the SPS relates directly, as it does with the Church of Scotland or the Bishop's Conference of Scotland, has led to an unease similar to that reported by chaplains in England and Wales (Todd 2020). Although the Muslim Chaplaincy Advisor is a member of the Prison Chaplaincy Steering Group (PCSG), the

[6] Interestingly, the provision of religious services remains the only formal criteria on which chaplaincy is assessed by HM Inspector of Prisons for Scotland i.e. Purposeful Activity Standard 6.8.

[7] The term "multi-faith" has caused much confusion. It originated as a secular, architectural term to describe spaces that were not devoted to any one religion (Crompton 2013). The description was then applied to the people who used the space as if they were "multi-faith". Thus, on starting at HMP Edinburgh I was asked by a secular manager to put on a "multi-faith" service in the "multi-faith" centre. This attempt to assign an identity to the chaplains and chaplaincy centre was rejected and an explanation as to why it remained the "Chapel" or "Chaplaincy Centre" (acceptable also to the Muslim Chaplain), was defended. This is not to say that use of the space was uncontested. The proposal to move Muslim Friday Prayers to the "Chapel" was strongly opposed by some of the chaplaincy team who had been involved in the consecration of the chapel as a Christian place of worship when it was rebuilt in 2006. After much discussion Friday prayers moved from a dingy basement to the brightness and comfort of the chaplaincy centre. As Mecca faced away from the wall-mounted cross the Muslim chaplain took no offence. Some of the congregants, however, said they were distracted by religious images in the stain glass windows. A roll down blind was fitted to cover the offending images during Friday Prayers.

successor of the JPCB, this is driven more by concern for diversity and inclusion than accountability.[8]

Representatives of minority faiths, such as Sikhism, Buddhism and Judaism, are paid on a sessional basis as needed. Although prison chaplaincy in Scotland is clearly on a "multi-faith" road it is not as far along as England or Wales e.g. there are no Humanist chaplains, yet, working alongside religious chaplains (Todd, Slater, and Dunlop 2014; Todd and Tipton 2011; Todd 2020).

Another impact of the Equalities and Human Rights legislation was the shift in the focus, expectation, and narrative around chaplaincy. The 2016 SPS Strategy Framework for Spiritual and Pastoral Care, Religion and Belief introduced the language of "Spiritual Care" alongside "Pastoral Care", although nowhere in the document are the two separated and defined. Perhaps this is because it is undefinable in terms of the scope of the Framework which is based on "a broad understanding of spiritual and pastoral care which encompasses a whole person approach with the capacity to enable change". The Framework distinguishes between care that is for the religious and believing as distinct from a more "generic" care for all irrespective of religion or belief, gender, race or any other protected characteristic for that matter. Religious care thus becomes part of spiritual and pastoral care whereas previously the role of the chaplain was seen primarily through a religious lens.

The strategic element of the framework envisages a greater awareness of the work of chaplaincy among staff as chaplains become more involved in case management, throughcare, mental well-being and families of prisoners. This is not to say that some chaplains were not already engaged in these activities but rather there was no guiding policy or strategy and thus no common understanding between chaplains and those who managed them. Even after the introduction of the Framework some chaplains saw it as alien to the work they were doing, resisting what they perceived as corporate speak. "It's like we are

[8] In 2019 the Prison Chaplaincy Steering Group was composed of representatives from the Church of Scotland, Bishops' Conference of Scotland, the three Chaplaincy Advisors (Church of Scotland, Roman Catholic and Muslim), representatives of the Sikh, Muslim and Jewish communities and three SPS personnel: HR Business Partner, the Head of Health and Justice (Chair), the Head of Corporate Affairs.

flying at 10,000 feet and SPS are flying at 20,000 feet. We are talking a different language" was the way one of my colleagues put it at a Chaplaincy Away Day. Some feel that the language which talks of care of the soul is being replaced by a language of purposeful activity, offender outcomes and case management.

Forty years after the original Report on Chaplaincy by HM Inspectorate of Prisons a set of Standards and Indicators (S&Is) was introduced in 2017. Criticised for being unwieldly due to their length compared to other S&Is, the S&I's for chaplaincy lay out in detail the indicators for Standard 3.4.4 "Prisoners are able to practice the religion or belief of their choice and to receive spiritual and pastoral care". Of the 44 S&Is, 18 deal with the spiritual and pastoral care of prisoners; 19 address observance of religion or belief; 2 concern throughcare and the final 5 expound balancing rights highlighting the custodial environment in which chaplains work, the need to comply with Prison Rules, regulations and protocols and the fact that in some circumstances the right to practice a religion or belief may be restricted.

2.5 Prison and Healthcare Chaplaincy compared

As noted in the introduction, much written about chaplaincy is of a generic nature. A comparison with chaplaincy in NHS, another large government-funded body, highlights some of the similarities but also the things which make prison chaplaincy unique.

Both bodies have moved to employing chaplains directly (the SPS in 2004 and the NHS Scotland in 2007), whereas previously they were employed by the sending church or faith group. This move to managerialism sees chaplains as 'specialist providers' and introduces organisational expectations around the role rather than being shaped by the religious and pastoral concerns of the provider. Along with this, there is a shift from religious care to spiritual care, albeit to varying degrees. The Human Rights Act 1998 and the Equality Act 2010 have also contributed to breaking down the dominance of traditional Chaplaincy providers as attention is given to working ecumenically, and more recently, embracing multiple faiths. In many hospitals and prisons "Multi-faith Centres" or "Prayer Rooms" have replaced "Chapels", the latter with its overtly Christian

connotation. Despite this, the term "chaplain" still continues to be used and widely accepted even though the role continues to change and criteria differ between institutions employing chaplains. The SPS employs people from churches of the Reformed Tradition, the Catholic Church and the Islamic faith. A person must be in good standing with their faith community and have a recognised status within it. This includes ordained ministers, deacons and elders. Healthcare chaplaincy has similar criteria but includes humanists in its recruitment of chaplains.

There remain, however, some significant differences. Healthcare Chaplaincy has the status of a "registered healthcare profession" with its own professional body, the UK Board of Healthcare Chaplaincy, accredited by the Professional Standards Authority in 2017. This has been over a decade in the planning but provides a professionalisation which is lacking in prison chaplaincy where no such Board exists. Nor has there been any talk of one. Recognition of the UK Board for Healthcare Chaplaincy has been underpinned by the development of a Healthcare Chaplaincy qualification, a register of those who are "fit to practice", a competency framework and training resources. The SPS is just starting to look at a competency framework specifically for chaplains but at present there are no mandatory academic qualification for prison chaplains, or any agreed standard training. In practice, this means that chaplains from, and within, each of the three main faith traditions in the SPS can have very different levels of pastoral care competency, understanding of spiritual care, openness to involvement in wider wellbeing activities or emphasis on religious care.

The structure of chaplaincy also differs from the NHS. Within the SPS there is only one pay band for chaplains, located at senior management level, with a higher band for the three Chaplaincy Advisors. While each Chaplaincy team has a designated coordinator, often the full-time chaplain, chaplains on the same Civil Service pay band cannot manage each other in comparison to healthcare chaplaincy, or indeed prison chaplains in England and Wales, where there are managing chaplains. In SPS, management of chaplains is carried out by a non-chaplain, typically the Head of Offender Outcomes. The role of the three Chaplaincy Advisors is, as their title suggests, advisory.

The institutional function of the two bodies, the SPS and the NHS, also influence the nature of chaplaincy in each. Prisoners are generally incarcerated for a longer period than a hospitalised person. Their freedom is also restricted. As Prison Rules (2006 Chapter 6 Section 43 (1)) provide for the practice of religion or belief there is a greater element of religious care within the role of the prison chaplain.

The development of chaplaincy in the SPS and NHS brings into question recent definitions of chaplaincy. *A Handbook of Chaplaincy Studies* (Swift, Cobb, and Todd 2015) defines it as "a practice of care involving the intentional recognition and articulation of the sacred by nominated individuals authorised for this task in secular situations." This definition might still apply to some forms of chaplaincy such as School, Football or Workplace chaplaincy, where the person is invited in based on their religious role or motivation, and usually in a voluntary capacity. But where the secular organisation recruits and pays for the chaplain the religious function is minimised and a "generic chaplaincy" is spoken of. This has two distinct elements. One is that where a religious element is required it takes the form of "good religion" (Hughes 2015); it talks about the sacred which is inclusive to many faiths and beliefs, and none; it refers to situations rather than just institutions; it speaks of authorisation rather than an ordination. And yet there is a sense of a unique group of people which is growing in number and diversity. This is a group of people who no longer fit the description of the white, middle-aged, Church of England cleric of yesteryear but are increasingly found in this "very modern ministry" (Ryan 2015).[9] Ryan also points out that "a great deal of work that would once have come under the title of 'chaplaincy' now operates under other titles, including 'spiritual' and 'pastoral care', or that titles now explicitly include 'multi-faith' or 'inter-faith' and may also include an advisory title (e.g. interfaith adviser)".

While some argue that the changing face of chaplaincy is a post-secular phenomenon, Beckford (2012) argues that "public religion" has become more

[9] There are no statistics of how many chaplains there are across the UK. Ryan (2015, 16) speculates that there may be 14,000+ linked to the Church of England in some capacity or another, and 350 Muslim chaplains across the UK. There are no separate statistics for Scotland although within the Scottish Prison Service there are around 13 full-time chaplains, mainly of the Reformed tradition, with a further 36 part-time chaplains from a range of Christian denominations and faiths, mainly Muslim (see Annex 1).

non-dogmatic due to the Equalities Act and the promotion of religious freedom, the growth in ethnic diversity in UK and convergence of communitarian and neoliberal thinking. It is easy to document the change in chaplaincy but it is difficult to define what chaplaincy is in the 21st Century. Is it the "new religion" of which Pattison (2015, 13) speaks, a religion "which people join and which has its own norms and practices"? Or is it a continuation of traditional religion which has embraced the "common sacred abandoned by the churches" (2015, 13)?[10]

However it is defined it appears that chaplaincy remains a marginal activity in hospitals and prisons. But there is a critical difference between the two environments. In hospitals the underlying chaplaincy values of compassion and care are a closer organisational fit than the prison where chaplains have to fight to create a caring, compassionate space in a punitive, ordered, custodial environment. This changes the nature of chaplaincy in a prison setting where part of the task is to mitigate the fundamental dehumanising aspects of imprisonment. This tension is evident in the chaplain's everyday encounters with prisoners and staff and is the starting point for the autoethnography of Chapter Four.

[10] On reviewing the literature it is remarkable how little theological reflection on prison chaplaincy in then Reformed tradition exists with the notable, recent, exception of Caperon, Todd, and Walters (2018). I am not the first to remark on this (Pattison 2015, 22). Contrast this with the Roman Catholic tradition and particularly the "Foundation for a Comprehensive Prison Pastoral Care" by the International Commission of Catholic Prison Pastoral Care (ICCPPC – EUROPA).

CHAPTER 3 Methodology

It's not in some hiding place that we will discover ourselves: it is on the road, in the town, in the midst of the crowd, a thing among things, a ***woman among women****. (A paraphrase of Sartre from his Essay in Intentionality, 1939. The letters in bold are mine.)*

3.1 Introduction

Practical Theology is about what we do in our everyday lives in our interactions with others, "in the midst of the crowd." Veling (2005, 4) suggests we would be better calling it "practicing theology" with its focus on the various life situations and contexts in which we find ourselves. It is from our day-to-day ways of being and doing that our theological understanding of what it means to be Christian in a certain time and place and situation emerge. There is an effort in working out this understanding of how to live "on earth as it is in heaven" (2005, 18). Veling reminds us that "trying to interpret present realities is an incredibly difficult and complex task" often requiring a recourse to other disciplines to help us better understand what is going on (2005, 17). Practising theology thus needs methodologies which help practitioners think about what they are doing in a situation, why they are doing it that way and what is shaping their practice.

As a starting point in my own explorations I turn to the Trinity, not for the abstract theology it generates, but because feminist theologians have found it "is ultimately a practical doctrine with radical consequences for Christian life" (LaCugna 1993a, 1). I would not be doing practical theology if I did not have some initial experience and sense of a Trinitarian God who is creative, loving, and transforming. This experience is central to my existence, it is in and through God's Spirit, that I live and breathe and have my being (Acts 17:28). It is this transformative power at work in my life that inspires me and encourages me in the work I do and, in the belief that I can be a channel of this transforming love. Richard Rohr in his book *The Divine Dance: The Trinity and Your Transformation* (2016) talks about the Trinity as a constant flow of love. He uses Rublev's Icon of the The Trinity (see Picture 1) to demonstrate this flow, this very nature of God. God the Father is pictured on the left in gold –

Picture 1 The Trinity

(also known as the Hospitality of Abraham, by Andrei Rublev. 15th century.)

"perfection, fullness, wholeness, the ultimate Source;" Christ, "taking on the world, taking on humanity," symbolised by the blue garment; and the Spirit in green, "endless fertility and fecundity *veriditas* – a quality of divine aliveness that makes everything blossom and blossom in endless shades of green" (Rohr 2016, 29,30).[11] The Three are in perfect harmony, in relationship, "eating and drinking, in infinite hospitality and utter enjoyment between themselves" (Rohr 2016, 30). LaCugna points to the eucharistic cup in the centre of the same icon, "the sacramental sign of our communion with God and with one another" (1993b, 84).

Rohr draws our attention to where the Spirit is pointing, to a rectangle on the front of the table, where art historians speculate a mirror was once glued: "It's stunning when you think about it – there was room at this table for a *fourth*. The observer. You!" (Rohr 2016,30,31). We are invited into the relationship. We are part of this great dance that Rohr talks about. I imagine myself at the table. I picture myself facing each of the persons in the Trinity. I then realise if I am there, then others are also there, invited to the feast– as if being invited into an ongoing dance, where each is dancing around the other. Rohr, like the early Church Fathers before him, is using the metaphor of dance (*perichoresis* in Greek), to convey something of "a flow, a radical relatedness, a perfect communion" in the persons of the Trinity (2016, 27). But as with all theological language this "is an approximation, offered tentatively in holy awe" (Rohr 2016, 27). However, when it comes to naming the persons in the Trinity, I along with other feminist theologians am troubled by the dominance of God as Father to the exclusion of others, and "on the failure of this model to deal with the anomaly presented by those whose experience is not included in the model" (McFague 1982, 145). The language we use is important and, as Irigaray reminds us, it is rarely neutral: "a discourse can poison, surround, close off, and imprison, or it can liberate, cure, nourish and fecundate" (2002, 4). So, like McFague, I search for a language which reflects my experience but is also rooted in the Christian tradition.

[11] Rohr credits Hildegaard of Bingen, living three centuries before Rublev, with this identification of the Holy Spirit with the colour green.

It is impossible for one phrase, or even triad of phrases, to sum up what the Trinity represents. Soskice reminds us that "diverse Trinitarian invocation" has ample precedent (2002, 141). Julian of Norwich writing in the 14th century offered Maker, Keeper, Lover in non-gendered language ahead of her time. Creator, Sustainer, Redeemer also evades gendered language. McFague plays with the language further and suggests God as Mother, Lover and Friend as an "imaginative picture of the relationship between God and the world that will express the saving presence of God in our present" (1987, 78). None of the above, however, quite capture my experience of the Trinitarian God in a chaplaincy context. There is something missing. Something not quite radical or immediate enough. Thinking of God in relation to a prisoner using any of the above invocations would seem too formal and "theological". But what of an image of God as someone who brings life in place of living death, or who holds pain when it is impossible to erase it, or demonstrates sacrificial love to the loveless? When introduced to John Cotter's naming of God as "Life-Giver, Pain-Bearer, Love-Maker" in his version of the Lords Prayer (1986, 52), they resonate. They promote the emphasis on community and relationship that feminist theology has sought to prioritise. "Over and against the isolated invulnerable self (modelled on the isolated and sovereign God?), feminist theologians have set a vision of the self formed in and through its relationships and the communities of which it is part, most itself when it is most open to relation" (Muers 2005, 438). In this economy, the 'other' (as so convincingly argued by Levinas) is not an object to be researched but a subject who is also part of the dance and through whom God's love and presence are evident. I am transformed by the presence of others and my presence can be transforming. This suggests that the research encounter should take the status of the other in God's economy seriously.

Returning to Rublev's icon I see the Trinity in a fresh light. In turn I see my work and my ministry afresh. 'We always become what we behold; the presence that we practice matters' (Rohr 2016, 36). In the face of this Life-Giving, Pain-Bearing, Love-Making God I need methodologies that will help me to understand more about my contribution as a chaplain and the context in which I work. This implies the need for reflexivity in research, a continual need to reflect theologically on every aspect of the academic enterprise being undertaken. This

does not mean I cannot use secular theories to gain more understanding of issues, but there is a need to critically appraise them and to be continually aware of the underlying source of any knowledge; seeking insight and wisdom as only God can give (1 Cor 2:11-16). If I am to seriously take part in this divine dance of the Trinity my approach to research, the standpoint I take and methods I use, should reflect this:

> We researchers understand that process and content are integrally interconnected: that feminists are after new ways of knowing – in our case, new ways of doing theology – as much as after new knowledge; that, as Audre Lorde famously put it, "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (Slee 2013, 13).

In other words, my research is as much a part of my spiritual life as my everyday being, and the way I do my research is equally a spiritual practice as saying prayers. Indeed, do the two not become one? Is it not that Practical Theology seeks to integrate our practice and thought by being rooted in God-thought? "To venture a theological life is to live theologically. It is not so much to ask about the ways that theology can be made practical; rather, it is to ask how the practices of my life can be made theological" (Veling 2005, 21).

The picture of a Life-Giving, Pain-Bearing, Love-Making God suggests three criteria for a choice of methodologies. I am looking for methodologies that can:

- engage the ***creative*** energy which gives life to new ways of research and practice; flexible enough to find where potential for life might be lying undetected and how fullness of life might be expressed institutionally;

- capture the ***trauma*** and ***brokenness*** of relationships; the reality of everyday; the personal and institutional abuse that is the reality of imprisonment;

- convey ***passion*** through the relationship of God and Chaplain/Chaplain and Prisoner in a constant flow of sacramental love from Eternal Spirit to self to other (expecting nothing back, but always hoping).

This chapter introduces the qualitative methods I have chosen based on the above criteria. I start by considering the issue of embeddedness and bias in the research process before introducing the centrality of autoethnography as a creative, pain-bearing and passionate methodology for gathering data and presenting it. The feminist's acceptance of one's own experience is deeply affirming. For so long excluded as subjective, it can now be justified as numerous autoethnographic accounts have shown. Institutional ethnography (IE) and its powerful influence on how we look at the organisations which employ us is then discussed. I find a strong ally in Dorothy Smith (1990a, 1987, 2005, 1999). Others have sought to use ethnography in church but when viewed through the lens of IE a new insight into ruling relations emerges and the incarnate Christ is viewed in a new light as he challenges the Pharisees, overthrows tables in the temple, sits with a woman at the well and associates with the excluded of his day. Pain-Bearing methodologies seek to challenge injustice, to unpack the power issues, to take a stand with the marginalised, to bring issues into the light. At a personal level they can testify to the trauma experienced at a personal and institutional level. In taking this purposeful, Trinitarian approach "the research journey itself, then, is a kind of paschal process into which we enter: a sharing in the passion of God to remake the world", a spiritual practice (Slee 2013, 24). The chapter concludes with a discussion of ethical issues involved in research of this nature.

3.2 Embeddedness and bias

I am in the privileged position of working for the Scottish Prison Service. This embedded position gives me an advantage over full-time academic researchers who have limited access to prisons and prisoners. My observations are not limited to visits at certain times and to certain people. I live and breathe and work in the very context I am researching, that of prison chaplaincy. More than this, I am the focus of my enquiry. I am not just embedded but also embodied (Smith 2005). I am researching myself as a chaplain as I interact with others in prison and the wider organisation. The disadvantage of this embeddedness is the inevitable "feelings of displacement and loss" experienced by being neither a full-time researcher nor a permanent part of academia (Bennett et al. 2018, 87).

As a feminist practical theologian my starting point in practice is my personal everyday experience, recognising that knowledge is both subjective and contextual (Walton 2014b, 173). This gives me an epistemic advantage, "a critical, perspectival edge created by experiencing oppression personally or empathically, enabling a knower to stand in multiple places, discern what others might not, and to challenge ignorance or violence" (Goto 2018, 68). I have sought methods to make the most of this advantage as I explore my contribution as a female, Church of Scotland, prison chaplain in an environment which not only incarcerates traumatised people but which, by its very nature, has the potential to retraumatise.

It was not long ago that being embedded in an organisation was seen by some researchers as hopelessly skewing the whole research enterprise. Hilary Smith, a previous chaplain at HMP Edinburgh, opens her 1997 PhD thesis by stating that she "resigned from the Scottish Prison Service in order to guarantee the objectivity of the work" (1997, vii). I claim no such objectivity and indeed would argue that such objectivity is a chimera. I see through a lens which is unique to me. This ideographic knowledge "presumes meaningful knowledge can be discovered in unique, non-replicable experiences" in contrast to nomothetic knowledge which must meet the criteria of falsifiability, replicability and generalisability (Swinton and Mowat 2006, 43). Rather than disqualifying me, my embeddedness does the reverse. It qualifies me by giving insight and knowledge.

My role, however, does involve an implicit bias to the prisoner. The question "whose side are we on?" is a reminder that complete neutrality is impossible and doing all we can to do good research within that bias is an absolute necessity (Becker 1967; Liebling 2001). I am on the "care and opportunity" side of the SPS equation, as opposed to the "custody and order" side. Although being there for the staff is part of the job, most of my time is spent with prisoners and particularly the most vulnerable and broken. These are the people I accompany and to whom I minister. From a theological perspective I have been called to this work which exhibits the same bias to the poor which all my previous roles have done. In declaring this interest and empathy I am not excluding other

viewpoints, simply stating that I am attempting to be aware of where I am standing and why I have chosen this place to stand.

Given the above I want to use methodologies that allow me to take a sustained look at, and develop heightened awareness of, what is going on around me, and within me, in order to present the "thick description" of which Geertz (1973) writes. The methods I employ need to be flexible enough to capture my observations, thoughts and feelings over time, including the space to "capture the brokenness of life" and allowing "room for despair" which is critical to the task of practical theology (Bons-Storm 1998, 15). The methodologies must also be rigorous enough to allow for analysis to underly a solid piece of research but also to transform practice (Graham 2002, 7). Autoethnography fulfils these criteria.

3.3 Autoethnography

The 1980s "crisis of representation" raised epistemological, ontological and methodological questions about what counted as knowledge when representing reality. Coming to prominence as a result of the crisis, it has been pointed out that autoethnography is a “retrospective term” (Butz and Besio 2009, 1664) applied to "a form of self-narrative that places self within a social context" (Reed-Danahay 1997, 9). Originating within the discipline of anthropology it was initially seen as anthropology "at home", however, subsequent labels have become more nuanced and "insider ethnography" is used where the writer belongs to the social group about which they are writing (Reed-Danahay 2017) .

Adopted by literary and cultural studies, autoethnography has been used to address "issues of power, voice and representation" and, in the context of decolonisation, question the anthropological inclination of too much "othering"(Reed-Danahay 2017). Now recognised as a legitimate method in qualitative research, autoethnography still struggles over "issues of writing culture and writing the self; the malleability of memory, the *mythos* of remembrance, the politics of authenticity, the polysemy and creative/created truths of narrative" (Sotirin 2010, 5). Moreover, it is not without its critics. Bourdieu, Geertz, Van Maanen and Reed-Danahay have all expressed wariness of

focus on the insider perspective, while Leon Anderson (2006, 385) calls for more rigour and less "decorative flourish" if autoethnography is to be taken seriously.

As it has developed it has become clear that autoethnography is no one thing. It has many hues and shades. Butz and Besio (2009, 1661) talk about it being a “family of research and representational practices” while Reed-Danahay, in her comprehensive bibliographical review (2017), notes that it is still regarded by some as a "perspective or point of view" rather than a method: a reflection of the various ways in which "conceptualised selves and identities are narratively constructed" (Smith and Sparkes 2008, 5). Geographers Butz and Besio present the range of autoethnographic practices as a continuum highlighting the different aspects of identity in terms of signification (Figure 2).

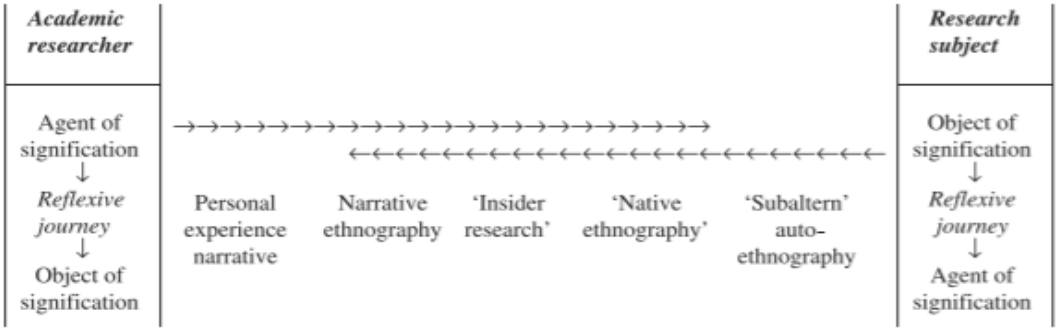

Figure 2 A Continuum of Autoethnographic Practices.
Source: Butz & Besio (2009, 1665)

Personal experience ethnographers, a phrase coined by Norman Denzin, write and present evocatively from a deeply personal perspective using themselves as their primary research subject. Carolyn Ellis and her associates are most closely identified with this strand of autoethnography which blurs the boundaries between "emotion, experience, representation and performance" (Butz and Besio 2009, 1666). It is writing that is therapeutic as it tries to make sense of the researcher’s own experiences at the same time as questioning "canonical" storylines and patterns of cultural experience (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner 2011, 280).

With narrative ethnography the focus shifts towards analysing relationships with other people as "the researchers' own lives, emotions and experiences are not their primary objects of study" but rather "how they are situated in relation to people and worlds they are studying" (Butz and Besio 2009, 1666). Denzin's performative autoethnography takes the narrative approach further by consciously politicising his criteria for performance autoethnography. Drawing on the criteria earlier proposed by Bochner (2000), Ellis (2000) and Richardson (2000), he proposes seven norms and criteria which reflect his radical agenda of social change and economic justice (see Table 1). Here, performance ethnography becomes a socio-political act in itself, more than simply a good, evocative, well-crafted story (Denzin 2003, 4).

At the other end of the continuum is autoethnography from below. People once researched as the object of signification now use this process to counter the representations others have assigned them. Some become academics and practice "indigenous" ethnography in order to "change the way one's group is understood in authorised circuits of knowledge" (Butz and Besio 2009, 1669).

In the middle of the continuum is "insider researcher" or the "complete member research" of Anderson's Analytic Autoethnography (see the last column of Table 1), or Dorothy Smith's Institutional Ethnography (2005). In these approaches, academics "use their 'insiderness' as a methodological and interpretive tool based on the assumption that this position helps in gaining better quality data and is an aid to interpreting the data. However, they have been criticised for their lack of engagement, affectivity and creativity due to their privileging of "traditional research ends of control and abstract explanation" (Sotirin 2010, 4). For Butz and Besio (2009, 1671) the challenge is to appeal to an "autoethnographic sensibility" in applying any of these approaches, all of which they argue, have their uses.

More recently, the self-confidence of autoethnography seems to have become more self-questioning, perhaps inevitable given the intensely reflexive nature of

Ellis (2000)	Bochner (2000)	Richardson (2000)	Denzin (2003)	Anderson (2006)
1. Interpretive sufficiency 2. Authentic adequacy 3. Literary value (story with plot and characters and good use of literary devices) 4. Knowledge of author's goals – does story promote dialogue or social action?	1. Abundant detail 2. Structurally complex narratives 3. Emotional credibility, vulnerability & honesty of author 4. Who I was to who I am stories 5. Ethical self-consciousness 6. A story that moves heart, belly & head 7. Empowering stories	1. Substantive contribution to understanding of social life 2. Aesthetic merit 3. Reflexivity (especially in epistemological awareness) 4. Impact (generates new questions) 5. Expresses a reality – a credible cultural, social, individual or communal sense of the 'real'	1. Unsettle, criticise & challenge repressed meanings 2. Invite moral and ethical dialogue while reflexively clarifying own moral position 3. Engender resistance and offer utopian thoughts about how things can be made different 4. Demonstrate that they care 5. Show instead of tell, more is less 6. Exhibit interpretive sufficiency, representational adequacy & authentic adequacy 7. Present political, functional, collective and committed viewpoints.	1. Complete member research status 2. Analytic reflexivity 3. Narrative visibility of researcher's self 4. Dialogue with informants beyond self 5. Commitment to theoretical analysis

Table 1 Comparison of Norms & Criteria for Writing & Performing Autoethnographic Texts
(Collated from Denzin 2003, Chapter 5 and Anderson 2006)

the process. The pitfalls highlighted by Conquergood (1985, 5)[12] are still relevant today in what Spry (2018, 628) calls "the strange dialogue of self/Other/culture". Addressing performative autoethnography she asks "who are 'we' in all of this?" which draws on Trinh T. Minh-ha (1991, 73) question, "If you cannot locate the other, how are you to locate your-self?" From a Christian perspective, the answer is not at all surprising. The "we" of the Trinity and the essential relation to the other in Levinas address this discomfort expressed by Spry and others. The self will always be unsettled, partial and fragmented until in a right relationship with the other/Other.

I find the debates concerning the nature of autoethnography stimulating and productive. Autoethnography, with its focus on storytelling, is a way for me to make sense of the strange dialogue in which I am inevitably involved, for "stories are the way that humans make sense of their worlds" (Ellis 2004, 32). From an insider's position it provides a way of combining the autobiographical and the ethnographic, the personal and the cultural, the research and the imagination (Bolton 2005; Ellis, Adams, and Bochner 2011; Muncey 2010; Walton 2014b). It is a way of showing the multi-layered nature of culture by moving from day-to-day experience to investigating "a particular issue or concern that has wider cultural or religious significance" (Walton 2014b, xxx). It seeks layered accounts of society and continually prompts me to look for connections, to see the significance in the ordinary and relate it to the cultural (Certeau 1984; Highmore 2002, 2011; Jenkins 1994; Lefebvre 2000; Smith 1987).

Ethnography is a form of witness (Behar 1996, 5).[13] Indeed, it cannot but help call forth a witnessing: in my context, this is a witnessing to what goes on in prisons, in chaplaincy, in church, and in my personal encounters with others. By writing stories, "witnessing" to myself and others becomes possible, and thus the ability to "better testify on behalf of an event, problem or experience"

[12] Conquergood identifies four ethical pitfalls: "The Custodian's Rip-Off," "The Enthusiast's Infatuation," "The Curator's Exhibitionism," and "The Skeptics Cop-Out," each being a performative stance towards the other. His appeal is to transcend the problems associated with each pitfall by engaging in "Dialogical Performance".

[13] Writing about anthropology Behar is concerned about the vulnerability of observers in the face of traumatic stories and circumstances. Witnessing poses a dilemma – to act or to write? (1996, 5). While grappling with this dilemma and associated vulnerability Behar recognises "the role of witnessing in our time as a key form of approaching and transforming reality (1996, 27).

(Ellis, Adams, and Bochner 2011, 280) Writing becomes a way of mediating the testimony, a performance of what I see, hear, observe, perceive. This is particularly powerful where pastoral encounters concerned. Autoethnography has the potential to provide a therapeutic yet poetic expression of bearing witness to the pain and suffering encountered in others. On the other hand, I cannot anticipate what I will find, nor the significance of it. Sotirin is reassuring in identifying that "autoethnography might take up what Deleuze calls a 'problematic object or event' –a lived narrative that doesn't come with an automatic sense of what its significance might be" (2010, 8). Walton affirms that autoethnography is up to this task as "it explores the capacity of metaphoric utterance to embody the exotic, the beautiful, the tragic, the unknown, and the unnameable" (2014a, 173). In view of such difference of experience and unknowability Sotirin argues for a "radical specificity in autoethnographic writing" rather than an automatic tendency to seek out the similarities and generalities of experience (2010, 1).

Finally, along with Spry (2018) I hope that the autoethnography in which I engage might be channel for envisioning a different future: a utopia; the just institutions of Ricoeur's ethical aim (1992, 194); a picture of heaven on earth; going beyond the "so what" of practical theology and wondering about Veling's "what if" (Bennett et al. 2018, 154).

3.4 Journalling

I have found journalling to be essential to the process of autoethnography, offering a structured way to capture observations, thoughts and feelings (Bolton 2005, 164). The writing process becomes a vehicle to practice reflexivity in an attempt to recognise and identify my own complicity "as both subject and object" of my investigation (Bennett et al. 2018, 35). Writing down and mindfully reflecting on events and experiences has a long tradition stretching back to the earliest Biblical writings, later evidenced in the testimonies of saints and martyrs, developed through the Romanticism of the 19th century and its fascination with the interior life, and now identified by Giddens as an integral element of postmodernism, in the shape of the reflexive project of self (Giddens 1991, xiii-xv; Walton 2014b). The pedagogical insights of Freire and

Kolb have also pointed to the value of reflection in personal and societal transformation (Walton 2014b, xviii).

From a professional perspective, the ideas of Schön (1983) have been critical to the way that practitioners "think in action". The valuing of *phronesis* (practical wisdom) and embodiment in Schön's approach has also resulted in reflective practice having a significant influence on practical theological research particularly amongst those working from a feminist outlook (Bennett et al. 2018; Kinsella 2007). Schön's concept of "reflection" has, however, come under criticism from a number of sources with concerns over the truth claims of reflective practitioners, the potential for more difficult issues to be swept under the carpet, issues over philosophical claims, lack of definitional clarity and the innate self-referencing without recourse to wider context (Canning 2008; Farrugia and Woodman 2015; Finlay 2008; Kinsella 2003; Lynch 2000; Newman 1999; Rafieian and Davis 2016; Saltiel 2006).

These criticisms are partially met by becoming reflexive in reflection, by moving from an inquiry focused on self-knowledge to one where I try to understand self "within the context of the political and social world through which it is being continually shaped and formed" (Walton 2014b, xvi). The physical act of writing takes the "heart-felt inner experience" and transforms it into a theological resource, a "living human document" where life is turned into text (Graham, Walton, and Ward 2005, 18). Theological journalling is a deliberate decision to systematically pay attention to the interactions that we have with God and with others in a social context. It is a discipline of heart and mind which seeks to understand more about events or moments which bring us up short. It is also an opportunity to reflect on what is not seen and noticed, those non-critical, otherwise unremarkable incidents which, by their very lack of prominence keep clues hidden from our immediate view (Bolton 2005, 33).

Journalling is a creative act of research. It is a process of exploration through which themes emerge and understanding of ourselves, and our relation with others, is deepened. There is nothing predefined about journalling apart from the focus of the inquiry and the commitment to journal. I have used journalling in three ways.

Firstly, I journaled with a focus on the research process itself. This involved regular reflections on seminars and Summer School presentations and on the ideas and readings related to methodology throughout the DPT process. I carried my journal with me whenever I went to the University and kept it beside me as I worked, often using it to jot ideas down and to develop them as I enquired more about how I would go about the research task. This helped me to develop a sense of who I am as a researcher and what methods are best fit for the task (Orr 2018). It helped me to find my place within the field of Practical Theology and to understand my contribution.

The second form of journalling was focussed on my role as a chaplain. I started this journal in preparation for creating a DPT submission on Reflexive Practice (Orr 2017). This helped me to appreciate how journalling could be used to reflect deeply on events which affected me but whose significance would be lost without a deliberate gaze being cast upon it. Through attentive practice I gave myself time and space to ponder the significance of events that in a busy schedule I could easily dismiss as simply "doing my job".

The third form was structured journalling taking the movements in the Church Year from Advent 2017 to the end of Ordinary Time 2018. Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Easter, Pentecost and Ordinary Time provided a themed approach to this journal. For a year I recorded events, moments and epiphanies which occurred along the way as I ministered to prisoners in a variety of circumstances and settings. These ranged from passing conversations in a corridor to deeply upsetting pastoral conversations and silences shared with a woman in her cell. They include interactions with men and women, with sex offenders and mainstream, with long-term and short-term prisoners, with staff and with my fellow colleagues. By writing the journal I discovered, as so many have done before, that it is in the writing that I began to find out what I thought.

The journal entries, particularly from the second and third forms, formed the basis of the autoethnographic pieces which are presented in Chapter 4.

3.5 Institutional Ethnography (IE)

Institutional Ethnography offers a methodology that links the institutional context of my work as a chaplain with the Scottish Prison Service, an executive agency of the Scottish Government, which employs me, and the Church of Scotland which ordained me as a minister of Word and Sacrament. Dorothy Smith's concept of IE provides this linkage by focusing on the wider context rather than personal beliefs, behaviours and attitudes (1987; 1990a; 1990b; 1999; 2005). The IE approach begins with the identification of a particular standpoint which provides a "guiding perspective from which that order will be explored" and in doing so helps to "organise the sociological gaze and provides a framework of relevance" (Smith 2005, 32-33). This gaze is organised around the problematic which "doesn't begin in theory but in the actualities of people's lives with a focus of investigation that comes from how they participate in or are hooked up into institutional relations" (Smith 2005, 207). The problematic is not about the specific problems certain people might have, although this may prompt the initial research, but the wider issue of how what people do is coordinated institutionally beyond what they can see in everyday life (Smith 2005, 44). This provides a way of looking at my role as a chaplain in the wider institutional setting and particularly the social relations beyond the scope of my everyday view (Smith 2005, 206).

IE offers what Smith calls the "ontology of the social" by which she means the outlook that perceives the coordination of people's activities or practices in their everyday life (Smith 2005, 59). Looking at what people are doing in their daily life, and how their activities are coordinated, leads to a revelation of how "their activities 'produce' institutional processes, as they actually work" (Smith 2005, 60). Central to this is a discovery of "ruling relations" – those "forms of consciousness and organization that are objectified in the sense that they are constituted externally to particular people and places" (Smith 2005, 13).

Essential to coordination of the social by ruling relations is the existence of texts. It is through texts that power is mediated and that daily relations, in multiple locations, are organised and ordered (Smith 1990b, 224).The attention to texts, and the language within them, as institutional coordinators is particularly apposite given that the impetus for this research was the publication

of the Organisational Review which signalled a shift in ethos and approach to the way things were done (Scottish Prison Service 2013b). In addition, the day-to-day activities of staff and prisoners within the SPS are shaped not just by texts, but by the most rigid of documents such as Prison Rules, which are enshrined in legislation (Scottish Government 2016).

As part of the IE enquiry, several face to face qualitative interviews were undertaken using a semi-structured questionnaire in order to explore the use of language around the concept of "transformation" (see Annex 5). Interviewing has become an established method of finding out about others and has developed through the initial social surveys undertaken by Booth in the 19th century, through the community studies of what became known as the Chicago school, to the more systematic interviewing of soldiers during World War II (Fontana and Frey 2000, 648). The statistically driven survey dominated the research landscape throughout the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s but more rigorous qualitative methods also developed with a focus on in-depth questioning, a move to less structured questioning and the use of coding to analyse the interviews (Fontana and Frey, 2000, 649). Since the 2000's issues around what constitutes good qualitative research have become more contested. An example is concern over the role of the interviewer highlighted by postmodernist ethnographers: the limits of the representative value of the interview, the bias and position of power held by the interviewer (along with ethical implications) and the role of age, status and gender are all factors which, it is argued, should be taken into account (2000, 649).

Semi-structured interviews lasting between one to hours were undertaken to explore the issues around the language of transformation used in the SPS Organisational Review of 2013. (See Annexures 2 to 6). The small sample was purposeful rather than random. Different people within the organisation were selected to give limited representation: two prisoners, two prison officers, a psychologist, a senior manager at Headquarters and a Chaplaincy Advisor. The number of interviews was limited by the time available and took account of the length of time it would take to transcribe and analyse 7 to 10 hours of interviews. Once transcribed the interviews were coded using Nvivo 9. Some of the data generated were used in an earlier DPT paper (Orr 2017).

3.6 Autoethnography and ethical issues

As a prison chaplain I am in an unusual position. I do not have to go and search of "interviewees". The 'ethnos' in the autoethnographic enterprise are those with whom I come into contact daily in the prison setting. Some of the meetings with people may be anticipated but many are not. Some people may be seen regularly, others rarely or only once. Some I see in the presence of others, some one-to-one, some in a cell, others in a meeting room. The nature of the personal interaction can range from formal gatherings of religious worship, chance meetings in the corridor, to deeply sensitive face to face encounters. Many of those I come across are vulnerable in the community, needing some sort of support or care from social work or addictions or counselling. They bring this vulnerability in with them. Others become vulnerable through the trauma of incarceration.

Guillemin and Gillam make the distinction between "procedural ethics" i.e. the formal application process to an ethics committee for a piece of research and "ethics in practice…the day-to-day ethical issues that arise in the doing of research" (2004, 264). Tolich (2010) offers guidelines for the former (see Table 2). However, I have found the real challenge to be navigating "ethics in practice" where "ethically important moments" arise often unpredictably. For this reason Guillemin and Gillam emphasise the importance of reflexivity at every stage of the research process in order to ensure appropriate responses are made in these "microethical" situations. The distinction between the two is not clear-cut and the messiness of ethics in this research is evident from the discussion below.

In the first place, my reflections are not limited to particular activities or people or places but rather to incidents and non-incidents, epiphanies and routines, words and silences, anything that provokes reflection and gives insight into the role, and cultural and institutional context, of myself as a prison chaplain. Thus, the ethical considerations of conducting qualitative, autoethnographic research with such a vulnerable group of people in a prison setting are complex. The setting, the subject matter, the conversations and situations entered into,

ETHICAL GUIDELINES FOR AUTOETHNOGRAPHY (Tolich 2010)

Consent

1. Respect participants' autonomy and the voluntary nature of participation, and document the informed consent processes that are foundational to qualitative inquiry

2. Practice "process consent," checking at each stage to make sure participants still want to be part of the project

3. Recognize the conflict of interest or coercive influence when seeking informed consent after writing the manuscript

Consultation

4. Consult with others

5. Autoethnographers should not publish anything they would not show the persons mentioned in the text

Vulnerability

6. Beware of internal confidentiality: the relationship at risk is not with the researcher exposing confidences to outsiders, but confidences exposed among the participants or family members themselves

7. Treat any autoethnography as an inked tattoo by anticipating the author's future vulnerability.

8. Photovoice anticipatory ethics claims that no photo is worth harming others. In a similar way, no story should harm others, and if harm is unavoidable, take steps to minimize harm.

9. Those unable to minimize risk to self or others should use a *nom de plume* as the default.

10. Assume all people mentioned in the text will read it one day.

Table 2 Ethical Guidelines for Autoethnography

the potential effect that this can have on myself and on those I write about, and the effect on those who read evocative accounts of distressing pastoral situations, all need to be accounted for, risks identified and where, possible managed. While the prison context may be unique others have grappled with the same ethical considerations when it comes to autoethnography including questions around who owns the story, the rights of the other and protecting privacy (Chang 2008; Clandinin and Connelly 2000).

Dickson-Swift, James, and Liamputtong (2008) address the issue of undertaking sensitive research which has the potential to cause physical and/or psychological and emotional harm. Although there is no overarching definition of what constitutes such research, following Lee and Renzetti (1993, 6) they identify four areas where research might be perceived as threatening:

a) Where research intrudes into the private sphere or delves into some deeply personal experience;
b) Where the study is concerned with deviance or social control;
c) Where the study impinges on the vested interests of powerful persons or the exercise of coercion or domination; or
d) Where the research deals with things that are sacred to those being studied that they do not wish to be profaned.
(Dickson-Swift, James, and Liamputtong 2008, 3)

It could be argued that my research touches all the above in one way or another. Unusually for a research project, I am not the one who chooses the topic of conversation in most pastoral meetings. Nor is it the subject matter of the conversation that I am researching but the process of support and care in a prison context. However, the reason people ask to see a chaplain is often because of something private and deeply personal. In addition, I do not know whether the meeting is going to be one that I will end up writing about later. This raises the issue of consent. It is clear cut when there is a questionnaire, people identified to be interviewed, a consent form given, the research explained, the form signed and output from the research shown to interviewees, as happened for the semi-structured interviews.

The literature is less clear on what to do in pastoral situations where the focus of the meeting is not the research interview. In such cases there is a tension in the dual role of providing pastoral care at the same time as consciously observing what happens with a view to an autoethnographic performance. Equally, there is no guidance where people may be seen only once, for instance where a person is released from prison or moved to another one. After careful consideration I decided it would be unproductive to mention my research in a meeting that was clearly pastoral in intent. My primary responsibility is the pastoral care of the people I am meeting with. Introducing the possibility of the event being used as material for my research would be confusing and make building trust more difficult. There is nothing at the time of the meeting that changes because I am undertaking autoethnographic research. I do not ask different questions or steer the conversation or offer support, any differently. I am trained to give pastoral support and care and to be with people in distressing situations. My research, at the point of observation or "data collection" does not require that the person I am in the room with does anything different from what they would normally do. Similarly, to retrospectively ask permission may seem like a betrayal of trust and cause confusion as to my role. Finally, I regard it as impractical and unnecessary to follow-up everybody to whom I might refer. The safeguard is that the material presented uses composite identities and anonymity is assured.

At the more formal level, Dickson-Swift, James, and Liamputtong (2008) address sensitive research where ***formal interviews*** are the primary method of data collection, as opposed to reflexive journalling leading to autoethnographic writing. However, their framework for a safety protocol is still useful, not least to assure supervisors and ethics committees that these elements have been considered. My personal assessment of safety concerns for my research is shown in Table 3. (See also Annex 2).

Dickson-Swift, James, and Liamputtong (2008) go beyond guiding principles and ‘sensitizing notions’ in their consideration of managing boundaries, emotions and risks when undertaking sensitive research. They identify specific strategies for researchers (2008, 120), draw attention to recommendations to protect the emotional safety of transcribers (2008, 121) and reproduce recommendations from

Topic for Consideration	Physical safety	Protocol	Emotional and/or psychological safety	Protocol
Research Participants	People may have been convicted of a violent or sexual offence and/or may be victims of offences or other general abuse.	Ensure prison safety procedures are followed. Tell an officer when going into, and out of, a room or cell with a person. Comply with Safe Systems of Work where applicable – meet in full view of others.	A person becomes excessively distraught or upset and/or a. indicates harm to self; b. or harm to others.	The researcher is an experienced chaplain with 8 years working in prisons. a. Any cause for concern will be passed on through the existing Talk to Me (suicide prevention) procedures. b. In the case of a credible threat to others the chaplain is duty bound to submit an intelligence report.
Nature of topic	People may be distressed and upset with being in a custodial setting or with events that have happened outside including bereavements.	As above.	Risk of vicarious trauma for researcher.	Researcher has time to reflect on what has happened. Researcher has support network in place for debriefing. Researcher takes care when presenting upsetting stories which may have the capacity to traumatise others.
Nature of environment	Prison setting.	Ensure Personal Protection Training is up to date. Carry a personal alarm.	Meetings may have to be quickly ended due to unforeseen security issues (e.g. fight breaks out on landing, random cell search takes place).	Ensure that a follow-up meeting is arranged as soon as possible. Press alarm if feeling unsafe

Table 3 Personal Assessment of Safety Concerns in Prison Research

the Social Research Association for research supervisors to protect research staff from psychological and emotional harm. These emphasise the importance of anticipating possible psychological and emotional harm and having suitable protocols, supervision and opportunities to debrief.

Having done the research there then comes the issue of presenting it. Roth argues that how we write and what we write is an ethical issue as our writing has the potential to impact and influence others (2008). Care is needed not to cause harm or distress to another through the resulting performance for we cannot write autoethnographically without implicating the Other. Indeed, implicating the Other seems to be the point of autoethnography as it explores our self in relation to other people in a cultural context; they are the "ethno" about which the "auto" writes. Tamas (2008) raises questions about the way the author presents and represents herself through the autoethnographic voice. Her concern is that she finds it difficult to write about hurt and loss without doing harm to herself. And yet she acknowledges that writing is a way of dealing with trauma, that testimony is important. The ethical problem is one of representation. Referring to autoethnographic accounts by Carol Rambo, Roewan Crowe and Ruth Behar, Tamas is worried about "a silence in representational discourse that threatens to falsify it" because "the narrative voice seems to have it all worked out…speaking dispassionately about passion" (2008, para 10). She leaves us with no answers to this ethical dilemma, apart from the suggestion that there must be room for "unknowing and refusal of mastery" in our stories if they are to have impact rather than offer a sanitised form of knowledge (2008, para 20).

Similarly, linked to the above, Doloriert and Sambrook are concerned with the ethical tension of the PhD student "revealing her vulnerable, intimate, autoethnographic self, yet on the other hand she may be pushed away from this because the examination process denies her any anonymity" (2009, 11). They discuss the criteria by which an autoethnographic PhD may be judged and the impact this can have on the final written work (Doloriert and Sambrook 2011, 598). They then employ Medford's concept of "mindful slippage", which is probably the slippage that Tamas is sensing in certain autoethnographic works, as a way of shaping stories that satisfy ethical and academic criteria (Doloriert

and Sambrook 2009, 13). There is the challenge of taking "facts" and weaving them creatively into autoethnographic pieces. Is it possible to write about someone, a situation, and so disguise the person while keeping the significance of the observation? What is the balance between storytelling and scholarship in this case? The representational impact of the story is thus a balancing act between vulnerability and honesty to self, academic criteria and ethical responsibility to oneself. It is for this reason that Dauphinee (2010) highlights the pitfalls surrounding standpoint epistemologies and the danger of autoethnography producing novelists rather than researchers. Autoethnography needs to be purposeful with attention paid to the distinction between storytelling and scholarship.

Tolich's concern is with the formal research process rather than the often 'retrospective' and unexpected nature of pastoral work within a prison. With this in mind, I have taken up the suggestion of Guillemin and Gillam (2004) that reflexivity on the part of the researcher can function as a bridge between the two. I have used this as a sensitizing notion enabling ethical practice to occur in the complexity and richness of social research. I have kept ethical concerns in mind while journalling and writing, seeking consent where possible, hiding identities where appropriate, taking vulnerability and sensitivity into account in each encounter and through it all assuming, as Ellis (1995, 88) suggests, that all the people mentioned in the text will read it one day.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter places the research undertaken in the field of practical theology and demonstrates how the choice of methodologies is informed by a Trinitarian understanding of a God who gives life, bears pain and passionately loves us. The use of autoethnography provides the opportunity for personal observation and experience to be put to the service of understanding the wider social, political and cultural context in which I work as a prison chaplain. The value of journalling, as part of the autoethnographic process, is discussed which leads into consideration of IE as one way of looking at and understanding power relations within organisations. The final section presents the ethical issues

inherent in the use of autoethnography in a pastoral context. It is to the presentation of the autoethnography that I now turn.

CHAPTER 4 Liturgies Observed

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 is a presentation of six autoethnographic pieces inspired by my reflections over the course of the Church Year from Advent 2017 to the end of Ordinary Time 2018. When I started composing these, I was not sure where I was going. The encounters I had and issues I faced led and shaped what became the overall storyline. Different characters appear throughout. Some are individuals in their own right. Some are composite. None is fictionalised. All are anonymous. Each piece focuses on an aspect of my ministry as a chaplain within a prison setting. Some focus on the sacramental, liturgical and ecumenical facets of chaplaincy while others burrow into the deep sorrow of pastoral encounters. In some pieces the encounter is sustained. In others it is over within minutes. In some pieces there are intimate one-to-one conversations, while in others, a group encounter is recalled. All, however, contribute to the theme of the piece.

The attention to setting and detail, to body language and gestures, to language and to silence, are all part of the autoethnographic craft. It is the selective recalling and performative retelling that reveals something of the way I perceive and experience the culture in which I minister. Attention is paid to both the hard, physical environment and the softer expressions of culture which wrap themselves around the encounters related. These storied accounts are transformed into theopoetics (Walton 2014) through my striving to make sense of the task before me and the culture which I inhabit. Each encounter is gazed upon theologically searching for the sacred in the everyday, the sacramental in the ordinary. In so doing, I agree with Heather Walton (2015, 5) that, "*Locating the sacred* shows how contemporary spiritual writing can re-form traditional perspectives and embrace materiality, embodiment and its own literary status."

4.2 Advent: Towards the Christ-Light

4.2.1 Approach

The month of November is ending. I put away the Remembrance wreath and look for the Advent wreath. It is not in the large cupboard in the Chaplaincy office where I expect it to be. After a major tidy up by one of the other chaplains, (tidy isn't my style!) it seems to have disappeared. For my Catholic colleagues the Advent wreath is indispensable. As for me, I have come to appreciate the symbolism: a harbinger of Christmas, some colour and light and texture in an otherwise grey and joyless environment, a sign of hope.
I remember where the Advent wreath has been put and retrieve it from the darkness of a locked cupboard with the kind help of staff from Estates. The cupboard is full of control panels for the heating and lights in the building but, within this centre of power, is a home for things only occasionally used: foldaway tables, a flipchart stand, a large black metal frame with five candle holders. Its retrieval marks the turning, full circle, of the church year. A long way travelled and yet back at the same place. A break in routine and yet a routine break.

The other Reformed chaplains don't seem particularly bothered about the Advent wreath, and so, simply because the Roman Catholic (RC) service is held on a Saturday, a day before the Reformed service, the candles take on an RC hue: three violet and one rose pink (the Gaudete candle). The white Christ-light in the centre remains the same in the two traditions – a source of power, a source of energy which gives light to all that has happened, is about to happen and will happen in the future. My RC colleague explains the meaning of each of the candles – The Prophet's Candle, The Bethlehem Candle (a reminder of Mary and Joseph's journey), The Shepherd's Candle, the Angel's Candle – each named after a person or place. I reflect on how these 'embodied' candles compare with the themes of Hope, Faith, Joy and Peace sometimes used in the Church of Scotland: the power of story but captured in metaphor; the physical, yet embodying the abstract; the tangible pointing to the intangible.

As I prepare the Advent wreath, I think about all those who have seen the candles lit year after year. There are some people, prisoners and staff, who remember the old chapel before it was knocked down in 2006, and the days when a 40 strong Salvation Army brass band and accompanying songsters would put on the Annual Carol Concert. This year, there are 8 musicians coming in and fewer songsters. But faithfully, they have been putting on concerts for over 60 years, just a few years longer than our longest serving resident, Dave. He has been here 57 years. Fifty-seven years in exile. Fifty-seven years of living in this broken community. Fifty-seven years of calling this "home". Fifty-seven years of Carol Concerts, fifty-seven Advent wreaths lit and extinguished. Waiting – for what? Hoping – for what?

4.2.2 Encountering The Story

Satisfied the wreath is ready for the start of Advent in a few days' time, I prepare for my daily rounds of the halls. I open up my computer to an email: someone in prison for the first time would like a visit from a chaplain. I check the location and go and ask to see Jamie. He walks wearily along the landing, shoulders drooping, hands in prison regulation joggers. We meet in a small, unexciting interview room. Plastic chairs and a rickety table fight for space with a broken TV on a stand and crates of laundry waiting to be distributed. Jamie's eyes are red. He keeps looking up at the ceiling as if he might find an answer to – or escape from – the situation he is now in. He tells me how mad he is with himself. Christmas is approaching and he promised his wife and young child that he would keep out of trouble. Yet here he is in front of me, away from home.

His story pours out. "This is my first time in prison. Before its just been minor offences, driving, theft, just stupid silly things. This is the first time I've been in prison for a serious crime but obviously you know like, I've admitted to all the rest of them but this time I was in the wrong place at the wrong time and I never, ever thought I would be in prison because before it was just petty things but with this is a serious charge, being in here is serious, it's gave me a massive jolt." He falls silent. Nothing is said. His hands tighten into fists, his lips quiver, his eyes are squeezed shut. I sit there with him. A listening ear. A midwife of grief. "I am frightened she will leave me now. She's not talking to me. She

hasn't even put any money on my PPC."[14] He expresses his regrets and frustration and self-loathing. Sometimes, there is nothing to be said, or nothing that will be heard. The prophets tried to tell their story for hundreds of years and no-one listened to them. Why should anyone listen to my words of encouragement? My mind slips momentarily as I remember a time when I felt beyond hope, when the pit of despair was a real, inescapable place, a place which caused a peculiar kind of deafness. I shake myself back into the present.

Jamie speaks again. "I need to make her believe I can change, and I don't see how I can do that in here. I used to have a faith, you know. On the outside I was going quite regularly to church until the age of 26 or 27 and I'm 32 now so there's been a few years when I've had to focus more on my kids and I've no' had the time as much as I'd like to go. Coming in here you've got all the time in the world. Perhaps I can get back in touch with my faith and try and understand life a bit better. I think it's got me in a bit of a rut."

We talk some more about being in a rut, what it's like and how he might begin to get out of the rut. As our time is coming to an end I suggest he writes to his wife and children using the free writing material and stamps to which those on remand have access. He likes the idea and a little of the earlier angst seems to dissipate. In closing, I offer to pray for him and his family. He readily accepts. "Thank-you for listening." He says this sincerely and I sense his gratitude.
"See you Sunday," I say.

As I say my goodbyes to the staff on the landing I see Jamie, tall, well-built with his ginger hair, walking back to his cell. Perhaps I am imagining it but his walk seems a little lighter, his shoulders less droopy, his hands more purposeful.

[14] PPC stands for Prisoner's Personal Cash. Friends and family can deposit money into a PPC account which can then be used for personal phone calls, stamps and ordering items from the twice weekly canteen. Not everyone who comes in has someone to put cash in their PPC and the lack of cash, and thus contact with people outside can be a real issue for those on remand. It is only convicted prisoners who can earn any form of in-prison income such as a cell wage (£5 a week) or work wage (from £10-15). There is also a maximum of £20 that can be spent in a week.

4.2.3 Re-enacting the story

The first week of Advent and the lighting of the Prophet's Candle, the Candle of Hope. A reminder that things will not always be the way they are. A reminder that the future can be different from how we imagine it to be. A reminder that God is with us in our suffering. A reminder that God already has a plan in place. That lives can be restored.

The lighting of the candle is such a small ritual yet one in which religious and non-religious alike find meaning. I invite Jamie to light the Prophet's Candle. I see a look of surprise glance across his face (and imagine the thought in his mind: "Me? Surely I don't deserve this?") He steps forward, the surprise giving way to subdued pride. He takes the lighter and clicks it into life. The flame is transferred to the wick. The Prophet's Candle begins to glow.

We sing a hymn:

Comfort, comfort, now my people
Speak of peace – so says our God
Comfort those who sit in darkness
Burdened by a heavy load
To Jerusalem proclaim:
God shall take away your shame.
Now get ready to recover;
Guilt and suffering are over.

As we sing I look over the faces of those in the room. Exiles in a dry and weary land. Exiles far from home. I can sense the heaviness of the load, the heaviness of separation, of shame of longing to be anywhere but here. And yet here we are, all hunkered down by the rivers of Babylon, weeping. Crying out for comfort. Brokenness and hope intertwined.

I ask Jamie if he would like to do the reading. Over the years I have developed a sense of who can be asked on the spur of the moment and who needs forewarning. Jamie, looks around and blushes slightly. "Aye, I'll dae it" he says. I smile inwardly. It is such a small thing to many who are at ease getting up in

front of people. But in a prison setting, a place of communal exclusion and humiliation, the invitation to publicly take part in a service of worship carries so many things along with it: affirmation, encouragement, belonging, acceptance, respect.

Jamie has a fine reading voice. He starts hesitantly but then the words start to come out confidently, fully formed, said with meaning and emotion. As he continues it seems as if he is reading the words to himself as much as to those around.

> *John, Zachariah's son, out in the desert at the time, received a message from God. He went all through the country around the Jordan River preaching a baptism of life-change leading to forgiveness of sins, as described in the words of Isaiah the prophet:*
> *Thunder in the desert!*
> *"Prepare God's arrival!*
> *Make the road smooth and straight!*
> *Every ditch will be filled in,*
> *Every bump smoothed out,*
> *The detours straightened out,*
> *All the ruts paved over…* (Jamie hangs onto the word "rut" for a fraction of a second before continuing)
> *Everyone will be there to see*
> *The parade of God's salvation."* [15]

There is a silence in the room. Something important has been said. Something important has been heard. Our hearts are taking it in.

Perhaps for some the reality of being in a desert is sinking in. For others, perhaps the wondering what "life-change" will look like. How to break with the past? Perhaps it is the enormity of the task. Most of us like living in ruts. Filling in, breaking out, this all takes effort. And the road looks long. It seems hard to imagine God's salvation at times.

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[15] Luke 3:2-6 in The Message translation.

I am looking forward to Jamie being part of the Christmas celebrations. He is so enthusiastic and is encouraging others to come along to church and to the weekly fellowship I hold in the remand hall. In fact, coming as he does from a Catholic tradition he is going to the RC services on a Saturday and to the Reformed on the Sunday. He loves the singing and is not ashamed to tell others how much he is getting out of the meetings and his renewed faith. By the third week however, there seemed a change in his demeanour. When I saw him in passing on the hall, he didn't seem as open, his eyes slightly less easy to connect with.

A week before Christmas. I am in the Monday morning management meeting. The weekend just past is being discussed. There was an issue with drugs in the hall and one or two are being transferred to other prisons. Jamie's name is on the list. According to the report he was at the centre of events. I always find it hard when this happens and yet it is not uncommon. The prison culture is always at odds with faith, the availability of a quick fix with the longer-term promise of light at the end of the tunnel. The superficial offer of a drug-fuelled ecstasy compared to the harder rut-filling hope.

At home, I get my journal out. I am hurt and saddened. I feel frustrated that I cannot go and speak with Jamie now he is transferred. I mourn the loss of connection. Hope droops her shoulders and scuffs her feet along the ground. I phone my colleague at the prison to which he has been transferred and ask her to go and see him. Make the connection, provide him with the support should he want it.

He doesn't.

4.2.4 Blessing

It's Christmas Day! All the regulars, and more beside, fill the chapel. I ask one of the women to light the white candle in the centre of our Advent wreath.

Longing for light, we wait in darkness,

Longing for truth, we turn to you.
Make us your own, your holy people,
Light for the world to see.
Christ, be our light!
Shine in our hearts.
Shine through the darkness.
Christ be our light!
Shine in your Church gathered today.[16]

Even here in this place where so much darkness and brokenness dwell, the Christ-light shines. By lighting the candle, year after year, we remind ourselves of this lest we become overwhelmed with the darkness and brokenness. The Christ-light shines, it shines through our lives. The warm glowing light of the tall, thick white candle symbolising this incarnational reality.

I lead the Christmas Day Service and then make a tour of all the halls, chatting to prisoners and staff alike. There are so many reasons for being here on this day. For a few people, prison is where they want to be. They deliberately do something to get themselves arrested – not too serious but serious enough to be taken off the streets, so they can get a warm bed, food and company for a few days. We all know the faces and welcome them back. (These are the same people who are usually cleared off the streets by the police during the Edinburgh Festival!) As I go around the halls there are also those who have been here for years. I remember asking Dave when I first arrived "How many Christmases is that you've been in Dave?" "Fifty-four!" I try to imagine the changes that have taken place outside. For most of the time I have been alive Dave has been in prison. There was great excitement not long after I arrived because he was coming up for another parole hearing – another chance to leave prison after so many years. Everyone thought it would be different. This year he had held on to one of the postcards that his sister faithfully sent him from her travels. This one didn't go in the bin as the rest had gone. He held up the picture. "I want to see Melrose", he declared to all who were there. The word spread. Dave wants to leave. He wants to go home. But at the last minute he changed his mind and

[16] First verse and chorus of the hymn "Christ Be Our Light" by Bernadette Farrell.

three years later he is still here. He is 85 years old. He will die here. As a sign of respect all the long-termers have signed a home-made Christmas card and given it to Dave. He proudly shows it to me. This is his home, I realise. It's the world outside that seems dark to him and, religious or not, all the guys on the landing somehow feel that this is a good time of year to let Dave know he belongs.

I wander back down to the Chapel. The candles are snuffed out. The wreath is ready to go back into its little powerhouse for another year. I walk down the corridor to the front door at the end of Christmas Day. In a cell, up above, someone flicks off his light and waits for the morning.

4.3 Epiphany: For Jew and Gentile

4.3.1 Approach

I climb the stairs to Ingliston Hall level 4 and unlock the door to the main landing. There is a different atmosphere here compared to most other places in the prison. It's where the long-term prisoners stay. It is more settled, fewer fights. Many on this landing are in for 10 years or more and some have been here for double, even treble that. A few are on Order of Lifelong Restriction. They may never get out. Too risky to release them. Too much risk of them reoffending. At the other end of the spectrum there are those who are nearing the end of a long sentence and are hoping to get to the open prison. Steven is one of them. I approach the desk and greet the officer on duty: "Morning Paul, how are you today?" "Living the dream, living the dream!" says Paul, invoking the common staff response to working here. We chat for a minute or two before Paul reaches over and picks a black book with red binding from amongst others (hairdresser appointments, mental health, single cell requests and cell painting). "Do you want the Chaplains Book? There is a name in it!" Being a long-term landing there is rarely anyone in the book and if someone does put their name down the staff often question why they are seeing the chaplain. "He's not religious, why are you seeing him?" "We are here for everybody, 'all faiths and none'!" I recite with a smile, quoting verbatim the words from the Strategic Framework for Chaplaincy. The message of what we are really about has not got

through to all staff. A hangover from a previous period perhaps when attending chapel was compulsory and the chaplain's role narrower?

I open the Chaplain's book. The name Steven McInnes is there along with the date the request was made and his prison number. "He wants to become Jewish" Paul tells me. "It's all about food of course!" Ever since an episode of the American prison series "Orange is the New Black"[17] was aired, people in prison this side of the Atlantic seized on the idea of faking Judaism to get food they perceive as tastier. The eggs and cheese included in the Kosher food package also do not go unnoticed by body-building gym enthusiasts, of which Steven is one. "It's ridiculous. It shouldn't be allowed!" Paul declares in frustration.
Paul turns his head towards the cells. "mmmmCINnessss" he bawls down the landing. The start of the name is drawn out in a lower pitch rising slowly to a sharp and loud second syllable, followed quickly by the last. The hiss hangs in the air, it's authoritative work done, for a few seconds later "McInnes" emerges from his cell and comes walking along the landing. He is short, slightly stocky, thirty-something, with a cheeky smile. I have known him for a while, ever since he asked for support to get to the open estate. Originally convicted for one of Edinburgh's more high-profile gangland crimes he had served his time, been released and then, re-arrested on the day after his first child was born. I had got to know him through the weekly visits I made to the Induction Suite where he worked as one of a team of long termers helping the weekly flow of incomers as they start their custodial sentence. In our fortnightly meetings on the landing he often speaks of his wife and young child, the acute awareness of what he is missing, the importance of the weekly bonding visits – a specific time set aside in the Prison visiting schedule for creative play between father and child - a time he looks forward to each week. He is determined to turn his back on a life of crime, "go straight", be there for his family he tells me, seek a different direction. I believe him.

"Hi Steven, good to see you." We shake hands, a politeness which has added meaning in a place where violence, and the threat of it, is more common than the peaceful touch between two humans. Between friends, the prisoners have

[17] Season 3, episode 9, 2015, “Where My Dreidel At".

their own three-part handshake – a traditional clasp, a clasp of thumbs and back to the main clasp of the hand - in three distinct movements. Sometimes the handholding continues beyond the initial shake - an unspoken bonding between individuals constrained by time and place but rising above class, culture, diversity of opinion...

4.3.2 Encounter

"I hear you want to become Jewish" I say. A mischievous smile crosses Steven's face. He knows that I know that he hasn't a clue about any religion, let alone Judaism. When we first started meeting he had many questions about Christianity. "Didn't you learn even the basics at school – Christmas? Easter?" I remember asking in astonishment. "I was rarely in school and my family wasn't religious." Our conversations often touched on faith but Steven didn't come to church or take part in any of the fellowship groups. We both know his interest in Judaism is not genuine. And yet the Prison Rules require no evidence – simply that a person declare their "religion, belief or non-belief" to an officer, a declaration which can be changed at any time.[18] At first, Steven is not sure what he wants to become. "I think I need to see the Imam…is it them that gets the food in the plastic boxes?" he asks. I laugh. We are playing mind games as he tries to work out which religion has the food he is after. "The Imam is Muslim and they get Halal food – which generally does not come in plastic boxes. Also, you might be interested to know that this is the month of Ramadan, a month of fasting." It turns out Islam is not for him. He knows it is the plastic boxed food he wants so we establish he is talking about kosher food. But, perhaps in attempt to keep his integrity, he is trying to convince me that he has a real desire to find out more about the Jewish faith. "Jesus wasn't a Jew was he, he was Christian?" Perhaps, mistakenly as it turns out, he was trying to show that

[18] "Declaration of religion, belief or non-belief 44A.—(1) An officer must ask a prisoner upon reception to declare his or her religion, belief or non-belief. (2) A prisoner may declare his or her religion, belief or non-belief to an officer at any time. (3) A prisoner may change a declaration made under paragraph (2) at any time. (4) A prisoner is not obliged to give any information to an officer about having a particular religion, belief or non-belief upon reception or at any other time. (5) Where a prisoner declares his or her religion, belief or non-belief under paragraph (2) or (3), the Governor must inform the chaplaincy team of the declaration. (6) A prisoner is to be treated as having a particular religion, belief or non-belief for the purposes of these Rules if the prisoner has declared his or her religion, belief or non-belief under paragraph (2) or (3)." (Scottish Government).

he had taken in something of our previous discussions. But we both know that our meeting this time is not about any genuine seeking of faith or spiritual support.

Hall staff and Chaplains alike are frustrated by this pseudo-interest in Judaism which would not be such an issue were it not for the fact that kosher meals cost four times more than the ordinary prison food with its budget of £2.20 per person per day. With over 120 prisoners in one prison alone claiming to be Jewish (the equivalent of almost 2% of the total Jewish population in Scotland) the cost of kosher meals is escalating throughout the prison estate.[19] SPS management are wrestling with the need to balance rights with resources, declarations with authenticity, the individual with the communal. This requires a delicate dance around prison rules, human rights and common sense while trying to protect genuine faith.

4.3.3 Re-enactment

I am called to a meeting with John, the catering officer, Kevin, the manager responsible for chaplaincy and Keith, the Equality & Diversity lead. "How can we get these numbers down?" asks Kevin. I find it comic that at the time in the church year when we are reflecting on the revelation of Jesus to all people, here we are dealing with unprecedented numbers wanting to declare themselves Jewish. And while I preach about freedom in Christ and release from the law, there are people wanting to take on a diet of restricted food … which includes no bacon (although not all realise this at first). Peter's vision of different types of food appearing from heaven might as well be hauled back up.

My mind wanders for a few moments. I wonder about the "perks" of Christianity to a "gentile" prison population. Is it the Easter Eggs at Easter? Or the mince pies at Christmas? The chocolate biscuits and coffee at the fellowship meeting? The contact with volunteers from outside? Or simply time out of a cell on an otherwise long weekend of being locked up? Or to see friends from different

[19] According to Scotland's Census 2011 a total of 5,887 people living in Scotland stated their religion as Jewish. (Scotland's Census 2011)

halls/landings? Exchange messages…exchange drugs, stuffed down the spines of hymn books which are then swapped? The handshake that covers a sleight of hand…right in front of the cross of all places. Or more sinister … an opportunity to have a go at an 'enemy'?

"Everyone has the right to declare and practice their own religion, belief or non-belief" says Stephen the Equality and Diversity (E&D) Manager. As the Prison Rules do not allow any criteria to be used, a person's declaration must be taken in good faith. However, the Inspection Report does note that the move to kosher diets "did not appear to be for wholly faith-based reasons." [20] Tackling this is problematic.

"It is not possible to convert to Judaism while in prison" states the Chief Rabbi of Scotland when we ask his opinion. But the Prison Rules beg to differ and so kosher food becomes a currency with eggs and cheese being traded, non-kosher food being ordered on the canteen sheet and new people being "coached" to declare themselves Jewish. My hands are tied. The argument for authenticity in the kosher debate is drowned out by prison rules which allow the inauthentic to take precedence over the authentic. Milbank is right! Possessive individualism has overthrown thousands of years religious tradition (Milbank 2012).

So, Steven gets his kosher food while striving for a place at the Open Estate.

4.3.4 Blessing...and curse

I am sitting with some of the senior managers as we work in a communal area, each in front of a computer. The banter is light and jokey amongst this group of people who know each other well. I turn as John, another of the managers comes in waving a copy of a newspaper. "I don't know why they let this one out,

[20] A recent HMIPS report for HMP Edinburgh questioned why so many people were opting for kosher food: "A variety of diets were available including halal as well as a number of medical required diets such as gluten free, however the most popular non-standard diet by far was kosher. At the time of inspection 111 prisoners received a kosher diet, which equated to approximately 13% of the overall prison population. This, we were informed, was due to increase by a further 10 the following week. SPS and prison management need to review this situation with some urgency to understand the reason why so many individuals are opting out of eating from the main menu options in such numbers." (HMIPS 2017, 15)

he'll be back soon" he said. We all look up to see who the article was about. It's Steven...

The incident lasted a few seconds. There was no challenge. Everyone resumed their work. I said nothing. I googled the article and found a typical redtop headline: "Drug baron pictured back on the streets despite being jailed for 6 years just 15 months ago". The article was full of inaccuracies and distorted facts, the main one being that he had not been released as the headline implied but had been moved to the open prison at Castle Huntly with the benefit of home visits, which the person waving it around would have known. I waited until only Colin, one of the other Senior Managers who I thought might have spoken up, remained in the area. "Do you really not think people can change? Do you think Steven will be back?" I asked. "We'll just have to wait and see" he shrugged with a "seen it all before" attitude. I wanted to tell him that he was wrong, that Stephen really wanted to change and that this time would be different. But I said nothing. I had been involved in seeing Steven regularly and in various progression meetings where his desire to get to the open estate in time for Christmas had been his aim. For me, the fact he had met all the criteria (drug-free, no reports to the Governor, low risk) and was now allowed home visits from the open estate was a cause for celebration. The birth of his daughter was his epiphany. For others, Epiphany had passed them by.
The incident stays with me. I am disturbed by this display of organisational culture.[21] In contrast to the rhetoric of the new organisational vision of "Transforming Lives" an alternative, unforgiving, no second chance worldview lies just below the surface. While the strategists in the organisation understand the need for cultural change, many of the uniformed staff, and those managers who have come up through the ranks, cling onto "Custody and Order", while the "softies" and "civvies" (the terms used by uniformed staff for the chaplains, social workers, educationalists and psychologists) lean on the side of "Care and Opportunity".[22]

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[21] Organisational culture is described as "the deeper level of basic *assumptions and beliefs* that are shared by members of the organisation, that operate unconsciously and define in a basic 'taken for granted' fashion an organisation's view of itself and its environment" (Johnson, Whittington, and Scholes 2012, 38).

[22] COCO (Custody and Order – Care and Opportunity) remains in people's worldview to such an extent that the Organisational Review Team believed "it is so well embedded in the organisation that it would be counterproductive to seek to remove it." (Scottish Prison Service 2013b, 47).

"I didn't say anything" I moan to Kath, one of the other chaplains. "I kept quiet when I should have spoken up for Steven, for second chances, for restoration, for an alternative to redtop populism. You know Rowan Williams[23] talks about the element of protest in the chaplain's presence. Didn't do a good job did I? No wonder the staff don't know what we stand for!"

4.4 Lent: Loss and longing

4.4.1 Approach

The wooden crosses are lying spread out, varnish drying, on a large table in the woodwork shed. Joe, the carpenter, greets me in his usual gentle manner and we chat for a few minutes. His eyes never seem to be far from tears. We both know why he is here but I still find it hard to imagine this kind, talented gentleman of seventy, committing the crime for which he is convicted: murder of the wife he loved. We walk over to the fourteen crosses which he has cut and varnished. Fourteen stations of the cross, almost the same number of years that Joe has to serve before being released on life-long parole. I am glad that he is able to make the twelve inch by eight inch crosses here in the prison. Not only does it make it possible to have them at all - £345 on e-bay was beyond our budget – but Joe loves coming to church and being involved in any way he can.

I take the crosses back to the chaplaincy and try and work out how I can get Roman numerals on each of them. I look at the little black bits of plastic, presumably for a clock face as they only go up to twelve. The craft shop doesn't cater for the more religiously inclined – no sets of Roman numerals going up to XIV. "Just leave them blank" say my colleagues. "We don't need numbers on them." But having jointly decided that we will use the stations of the cross for our ecumenical Good Friday Service I want things to be done correctly. These stations mark the stages of suffering. Each is accounted for, just as the day by day, minute by minute suffering of those in prison has to be. And as chaplains, as Priests, this is what we do as we journey with people, through the wilderness,

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Although "some redefinition" and a rebalancing was suggested it remains a powerful guiding acronym for those whose give primacy to "Custody and Order".

[23] Williams (2003)

through the desert, through the tears, through the guilt, through the repentance, all the way to the foot of the cross, keeping account.

4.4.2 Encounter

Two packets of Roman numerals later and all the crosses are numbered. I am alone in the chaplaincy office preparing the meditation for Good Friday. I am stressed because, suddenly, the Ecumenical Service is being left to me alone: the Catholic Priest has called in sick, the Catholic Deacon only comes on a Tuesday, another colleague has broken his leg, another only comes in on Thursdays ('Good Thursday' doesn't quite cut it so no chance of changing the day of the service) and I feel a bit out of my depth because the 'Stations of the Cross' are distinctly Catholic in tradition. I am beginning to wonder what the point is if it is only going to be me with one other 'Reformed' (sounds like a piece of Play-Doh but that's what we are called in the Prison Service) – yes, me and one other 'reformed' chaplain reading out meditations about Veronica (I double check my Bible to see if I had missed a lesson somewhere but she is definitely not there). And there are still the nails to put in the wall where the crosses will hang.

The phone rings. It is Pauline, one of the officers in the remand hall. "Who are the Catholic Chaplains now?" We have two new ones and there is someone asking to see a Priest. I tell her their names but explain one is off sick and the other only comes in on a Tuesday. It is Wednesday now. "Okay, thanks" she says. And the phone goes dead.

It rings again. "I explained the situation with the Priests and he said he will see any chaplain. I think he has had an argument with his partner on the phone. He is really upset. He is in tears. Can you come and see him?"

I have the crosses and the meditations and the readers for each of the passages to sort out and a weekly fellowship about to start in half an hour. But Pauline thinks this is urgent so I drop everything and go.

I arrive in the hall. "I've come to see…" Before I have finished my sentence the prisoners surname is bawled along the landing. I go along to the messy,

multipurpose room – our assigned meeting place. I wait. Kieran knocks politely on the door of our "private space". The chaplain has the right to see anyone out of sight and sound but this rarely happens – least of all in the remand hall where every space is taken up with the flow of people from the courts (of whom around 50% will be found not guilty when they appear in court). The room with heavy bars on the outside windows overlooks the exercise area with its zoo enclosure fencing. Kieran enters the room his eyes red from tears. The room is on the landing with glass all along one side. Rather than giving privacy the effect is to make the occupants the star attraction. Through the tears I can see that Kieran is a good-looking, healthy lad in his 30s. "Hi, Kieran, I'm Sheena, the chaplain. What's happened?"

He is telling me the story of the phone call with his wife. He had phoned his wife in the morning and they had got into an argument about money. He always asks about his ill nephew but today the money issue had taken over. "Well aren't you going to ask about your nephew?" his wife had said. "And how is he?" asks Kieran, almost angrily. "He died last night you f***ing b****rd." Huge sobs are coming from Kieran. He tells me his nine-year old nephew, on whom he dotes, has just died from cancer. An aggressive inoperable brain tumour. The air is heavy. Kieran sits in front of me, helpless in the face of death.

Kieran's head sinks into his hands and he rocks backward and forward. "I'll never be able to go riding motocross with Conlan again. I used to love doing that with him. And I will never see his wonderful smile or hear his infectious laugh...". He drifts off and gazes past me, a slight smile on his face, a momentary break in heaviness. But the mood in the room turns sombre again. "I have just been recalled" he says. [24] "And I know they won't let me go to the funeral because I'm not immediate family!" I sit and look at Kieran grieving, not just the loss of a

[24] Home Detention Curfew (HDC) came into use in Scotland in 2006 and allows prisoners, mainly on shorter sentences, to serve up to a quarter of their sentence (for a maximum of six months and a minimum of two weeks) on licence in the community, while wearing an electronic tag. The licence includes a range of standard conditions and a curfew condition that requires prisoners to remain at a particular place for a set period each day. Other conditions can also be included in the licence on a case by case basis. Prisoners who fail to comply with the curfew or other licence conditions can be recalled to custody. Source: http://www.sps.gov.uk/Corporate/Information/HomeDetentionCurfew.aspx

loved one but the loss of opportunity to go to the funeral, a ritual that we take for granted on the outside.

I let Kieran sit in silence with his grief for a while. He is the one who breaks the silence. The words come tumbling out, fraught, agitated. "I am the one who has done terrible things to people. I have been violent. I have hurt people, almost murdered some. I am in and out of prison. It should be me who dies." He reels off four other people close to him who have died in the last year. Grief upon grief. He grabs a pink prison towel from the laundry trolley alongside his chair and blows his nose into the coarse material.

"There is no point going on." He says it simply as if suicide is the logical outcome. The idea hangs in the room for a minute or two.

"Do you think that is what Conlan would have wanted his uncle to do?" I ask.

"No, you're right" he sobs. He looks me in the eyes and tells me again how special Conlan was. "He was special because he rejected the bad things in his family. I sometimes think that Conlan was there to show us all that there is another way," Kieran says, "you know, to show us all a good way to live."

There is a pause.

As the grief settles into something that we both know will last a long time he asks me to pray for his family. I start to pray. His hands are cupped in supplication, his whole body is leaning forward. I realise his hands are reaching out in invitation to be held. This is not normal. But the situation is not normal. I take hold of both his hands in mine. He holds them tight. And I pray and he sobs.

Kieran keeps thanking me for the prayer. And then he begins to tell me about how frightened he is that his grief will turn to anger. He is frightened that his usual response will kick in. Already I can see him struggling with his usual ways of being and doing and this glimpse of an alternative way of being which his young, innocent nephew has gifted him. So we pray some more that God will take away the anger and replace it will peace and patience and kindness.

Kieran appears more at peace. The sobs are less, the lines of pain on his face are shallower, his body is more relaxed. If this is anything like others have told me, at this moment, he is soaking up the human company, being with someone he feels he can talk to and share with in an otherwise hostile place. I may not be the Catholic Priest he set out asking for. It does not matter. Prayer is prayer whoever prays it.

4.4.3 Re-enacting the Story

It is Good Friday. The service is about to start and we are waiting for the prisoners to arrive. Joe is the first to come into the chapel. He has the reading for one of the Stations ready on a piece of paper. Juan, a talented musician with a beautiful sonorous voice, is next in, ready for his Station. Kieran arrives. He is too fragile to read but he is here and part of all that is happening. We open with the hymn "I survey the wondrous cross". There is a sense of anticipation. The chapel is full and everyone is attentive. For each Station a Bible reading is followed by a few lines of meditation and a short responsive prayer. As each Bible passage is read one of the crosses is hung on the wall in a pattern around the main 8-foot-high cross. The visual impact builds as the smaller crosses, beautifully crafted by Joe, grow in number.

It is Joe's turn. He reads from Isaiah 53:

He endured the suffering that should have been ours,

the pain we should have borne.

All the while we thought that his suffering was punishment sent by God,

but because of our sins he was wounded.

Beaten because of the evil we did

We are healed by the punishment he suffered,

Made whole by the blow he received.

Juan reads the final meditation with such feeling and authority. It follows the passage of Jesus being laid in the tomb. There is a deep stillness as the stark words carry across the room and sink into the air, into our clothes, into our very being:

The door is shut now,

And the world sighs and waits.

And we wait in night's darkness,

Longing for morning,

Longing for light.

The suffering, the longing, the waiting is visceral for a few moments as a thick silence wraps around everyone shutting off all other thoughts. This is grief, the grief of no-return, the grief of missed opportunities and regrets, of anger and of that darkness, that yawning darkness of loss. I think back to my days in the parish. I have seen this grief many times before as I visited homes, conducted funerals, helped families gather up the pieces and, in time, move on.

4.4.4 Blessing

A week later I go to visit Keiran again. "Do you know Jess he asks? She is working here in the prison. I was friendly with her son who died." Is he searching for the good connections in his life? Starting to think about how to honour his nephew's death? I do know Jess as it happens. She now goes to the same church where I was married 30 years ago, the church where I renewed my faith and started the journey which has led me here today. As I listen to him I have a sense that physical families are being knit together with spiritual families, that physical events are having profound spiritual effects, that a simple phone call to the chaplain is unfolding into a life changing encounter for both of us.

That night, I look up the meaning of the name Conlan. Of all the meanings it could have, it means 'Hero'. I am overwhelmed. I am in tears now as I think of

Kieran locked up in his bare cell. The door shut for 10 hours. No family to talk to. No wife to hold him as he pours out his grief. Not able to go to the wake or be with his family as they sit around drinking whiskey and sharing their stories. Not able to go to the, oh-so important ritual of a family funeral, sharing the Mass, sharing the grief of the loss of his hero.

4.5 Easter: Eyes Opened

4.5.1 Approach

I have been in HMP Edinburgh for a few months now following the departure of the last full-time chaplain two years ago. I ask about how things are done and find I am unsettled, for none of the part-time chaplains are in the habit of celebrating Communion. (Contrast this with weekly Catholic Mass which seems indelible). I wrestle with the challenge. Apart from a few long termers the "congregation" is always changing. Short termers come and go, although some of them do return to prison with depressing regularity. And not all people come to the service to worship. It may be to see their friends or even their partner from other halls, to see who else is in prison, to get out of their cell, to pass drugs, to pass messages, to pass the time of day, to make their granny happy, or on special occasions, to get an Easter egg or mince pie![25] A few come because they are drawn to worship. However, without the rites and rituals of catechism, confirmation, whatever name the church gives it, how could I celebrate communion when so few are members or have any church background? But still, I feel it should be done, an effort to celebrate Communion should be made.

"Let's celebrate Communion together this Easter with the prisoners", I suggest to my colleagues.

"I can only offer it to Catholics", says the Priest.

"And my communion table is fenced, I would only offer it to members of my church", declares the United Free minister.

"We don't celebrate communion", states the Salvation Army chaplain.

"And I have my own parish to attend to after the prison service. There's not enough time", declares my part-time Church of Scotland colleague.

[25] See research by Graham Bell (2011) which explores the different reasons people come to church services in prison.

There seem to be so many reasons why not to make the effort. I feel discouraged. Five different responses among five chaplains does not seem to leave much hope for the rest if we can't agree. And even if we did agree there are all the logistics of how to serve Communion in the charged atmosphere where sex offender and mainstream prisoners sit in the same room. If those convicted of sex offences are served first, others will not want to be served from the same plate. Further, there is no question of the common cup and I personally, have never liked intinction (where's the fullness in that?). And then what about sharing the Peace of Christ among different categories of prisoners?

I realise that Communion can take many forms. I can still see them, the dark suited men of early childhood, the hushed tones, the pump-pedal organ, in little Brethren Halls, in Blackburn, surrounded by my relatives. "Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world" is emblazoned on the wall above the pulpit. (Many years later I find out that my grandfather was responsible for starting a number of these gatherings.) Then there are the Baptist services of my teenage years with the institutional words always taken from 1 Corinthians 11 and I wonder if this is where some of my unease is coming from, with the emphasis on examination and unworthiness? Then there are the house groups with Communion shared among friends, no cleric in sight.[26] And in Kenya, on a warm night in a remote area of Turkana, I join hundreds of locals as we take part in the joyous weekly mass celebrated by Spanish Priests in a church built out of straw and bricks overlooking Lake Turkana, an act that would have led to both the Priests and myself getting into trouble with our respective overseers were they ever to find out. And latterly, a stay at the Iona Community, and my own training as a Church of Scotland minister, introduced me to the richness of more liturgical approaches.[27]

[26] Balasuriya (1979, 28) points to the complete clericalisation of the Eucharist in the Roman Catholic tradition by 1100, a tradition which continues in the major Christian denominations to this day, betraying the basic liberative pattern of sharing a meal amongst friends.

[27] My own patchwork of experience, this apprenticeship in Communion, hint at the 'complex ecology' of the Eucharist. The concept of apprenticeships serves as a reminder that certain questions cannot be answered from literature alone; it allows for one's own experience and understanding to be part of the activity and thus "to open up ways in which there can be appropriate contemporary improvisations in line with a Eucharistic 'habitus'." (Ford 1999, 142)

4.5.2 Encounter

As I prepare for Easter, I find myself reading the Emmaus passage (Luke 24:13-31) and, I see it afresh. Jesus is recognised by the two disciples as He breaks bread. My procrastination, my reasoning, my reservations…all this changes as I read and reread these words, meditating upon them. In the breaking of bread, they recognised Jesus. As Jesus takes the bread and blesses it, breaks it and gives it to them – their eyes are opened. Jesus simply sits at the table with them, breaks bread and offers it.

I am now reframing "Communion" in my head. I am stripping away the myriad textbook accounts of it. I stop searching for criteria as to who should be offered bread and wine. I stop thinking of Communion as the event, but rather as something that can grow out of sharing space around the Lord's Table. And so, I have decided to invite everyone to the Lord's Table. Yes, everyone, even the most vilified, especially the most vilified, who are now approaching, their shame dyed into their sweatshirts for all to see. I am watching them as they march past the plaque, "Be Still and know that I am God", and into the prison chapel. I am smiling and greeting each of them with a handshake before they are told, by the prison officers, where to sit. Others are now on their way. In the waiting, they steel themselves. It takes courage to come here and be in the presence of the others, knowing you are hated.

The voices of the others grow louder, words and phrases bouncing off the long corridor walls. These others, all mainstream, have different coloured sweatshirts – brown for those on remand, blues and greys for short-term prisoners, a deep forest green for those serving sentences of four years or more. All different colours but colours that mix – but not with the maroons.[28] Not with the sex

[28] The main division of prisoners is between protection prisoners, who are kept separate due to the nature of their offence (sex offenders) and mainstream which includes those on remand, plus short-term and long-term (over four year sentence). The prison regime is geared towards maintaining the safety of all those inside the walls. A consequence of this is the strict separation between offence protection and mainstream prisoners. Up until April 2018 the chapel was the only place where the two categories of prisoner were in the same room at the same time.

offenders. They are set apart. Maroon to my left, all the others to my right, a stark indication of the prison habitus.[29]

The tension is palpable. With military precision prisoners are directed and seated. Uniformed staff, in their white shirts, sit strategically between the two groups. There is no unity in this world of "us" and "them". Even on this Easter morning when the most profound reconciliation is on offer, there is no leeway given. The same forces at work two thousand years ago are here in this very room today. And if you listen carefully you may hear the dreaded word being whispered, although it is rarely spoken in the chapel. It does not need to be. Everyone knows what the word is. It hangs in the air, it pollutes the atmosphere, raining down in acidic drops on those unfortunate enough to be wearing a maroon sweatshirt.[30]

Because of this silent abuse and the cutting stares, many sex offenders choose not to come to the service. It is too much to bear. But even so, the maroons make up the biggest single group of those attending week by week. I know them by name. I visit them during the week.

As I prepare to start the service, I look out at those sitting before me, broken and fragmented. Everything within me wants to scream that it shouldn't be this way. Especially today, Easter Sunday. Especially today when we are celebrating Communion. Does it even deserve to be called Communion where no such communion exists? How can I call it Communion when one section of the congregation is physically separated from the other? When one section declares their outright hatred for the other? When, in all other circumstances, the word "Beast" is hurled around with such vitriol that it has the power to keep grown men from going out to exercise?

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[29] Bourdieu (1977, 214 footnote 1) defines *habitus* "as a system of dispositions". It brings together ideas of structure, habitual ways of being and 'a predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination.'

[30] Much of what goes on when the two groups meet is unspoken. Writing as an anthropologist Jenkins (1994, 442) posits the need for "apprenticeships" when observing different social groups. "Conducting fieldwork is a two-sided process: the anthropologist must undo and gradually bring to consciousness his or her own assumption at the same time as grasping the indigenous categories often by observing the unspoken. This is bearing in mind that the categories and assumptions are not simply intellectual, but also bodily: habits, skills and so forth."

4.5.3 Re-enactment

Snatches of conversation with non-maroons swirl in my head as I wonder if I have done the right thing. "Do you think there are some things God can't forgive?"; "These people shouldn't be allowed in the chapel"; "How can you shake hands with them?" I am standing here in my black clerical dress and white collar with an embroidered stole made by Palestinian women, a purple cross on either side, looking out at those gathered. The painting of the twelve Glasgow City Mission men sitting around a table comes to mind.[31] I invite them all.

Gathered around a table
Is where Jesus so often met people…
And here,
We are gathered round a table
Because this is where Jesus has promised to be
For those who want to meet him.
So accept the invitation
And feel welcome at this table.
Jesus Christ,
Who here offers us a foretaste of eternal life,
Invites you to be his guests.[32]

Two mainstream prisoners are helping me serve the bread and small cups of grape juice to the right side of the room. Those who wish to take part come forward. Most of them do. We then cross over to the marooned side. The Lord's Table is open to all, whether all in the room agree or not. We break an unspoken rule. Mainstreamers offer the broken bread to sex offenders. Hospitality is offered. A welcome is given. But are any eyes opened, I wonder? When bread is broken, is Jesus recognised? Do hearts burn with His transforming presence? I have no way of knowing.

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[31] The picture is a modern day take on the Last Supper by Iain Campbell, artist-in-residence at Glasgow's St George's Tron, Church of Scotland. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-35092086

[32] Part of the Holy Communion liturgy from the Iona Community (Wild Goose Resource Group 2015, 87-88)

But Easter is a quiet revolution for me. Each month we now gather around the Lord's Table. Each month we explore a different possibility of what the Lord's Table offers: hospitality, nourishment, communion, healing, fullness, blessing, obedience, brokenness, peace, reconciliation. But the backlash is immediate. I receive an anonymous letter telling me I am a heretic and that I am leading people astray by welcoming all.[33] My words from the Easter service are taken and twisted. They stab at my heart. The judging of each other has now turned on me. I review my actions. I hold my line. The letter-writer (easily identifiable despite the anonymity) does not come back to the weekly service. Fellowship is broken. The monthly habit continues. The messiness of life and faith is not diminished. I should not find it surprising that I must defend my actions to people within the church. We all choose our stance on issues. The intriguing thing is that none of the officers question what is going on in the Communion service. It is taken as a given, a ritual, a time-honoured tradition, something that is done. A mystery. But I become more intrigued. Why do I feel so strongly that this is the right thing to do? What does it contribute to the life of the prison? What does it contribute to the life of those who take part?

"What conception of self might be formed through habituation to the eucharist? What sort of apprenticeship helps that self to flourish?" (Ford 1999:162). These questions, and Ford's consideration of being blessed, placed, timed and commanded go to the heart of the Eucharistic activity, helping to identify what a transformed self might look like and how I, as a chaplain, might facilitate this apprenticeship.

As I come face to face with the living Christ I hear him saying "Do this". Gather together, break bread, drink wine and do this in remembrance of me. This obedience to His command has come easily over the years as, in various times and places, others have responded to this command and have invited me to join in. In some places this has been monthly, but more commonly, in good Presbyterian style, it happens four times a year. As I take on the role of ordained minister, the command is already deeply embedded in the parish church calendar as is the ritual of handing out Communion cards: 'To __*name*__. The Sacrament of Holy

[33] Private correspondence (n.d.) received 29 March 2016 following the Easter service held on 27 March 2016.

Communion will be celebrated on __*date*_ at 9.45am'. In this way a Eucharistic habitus is being cultivated. As Ford remarks "Repetition after repetition of hearing scriptures and its interpretation, of repentance, of intercession and petition, of the kiss of peace, of communion, of praising and thanking, all within a dramatic pattern that slowly becomes second nature" (1999:164-5).

4.5.4 Blessing

What is this nature that is being cultivated? What is it in this Eucharistic habitus with its distinct dispositions, its deeply rooted traditions, its symbolic actions, what is it that transforms me and the other? What difference might it make to these men who come month after month, or maybe even only once, what difference does it make to them, to how they see themselves, how they see others, how they see God? At its simplest and yet most profound, I feel blessed, loved, part of a community. There is a blessing which, in the middle of all my brokenness and self-despair, reminds me of who I am and a glimpse of what I can be. Being blessed when you feel you least deserve it is often a moment of revelation. Is this what is happening when I celebrate communion, in this place, at this time? Do those before me begin to see themselves a little differently? Does a new identity begin to form?

The space in which we gather around the Lord's Table is provocative. The weekly service brings people into a place that many of them would never come otherwise. The chapel is a vivid contrast to the $10m^2$ monastic-like space which the incarcerated inhabit most of the time. Here, in this faith-full space, there is a particular story being told, with its church furniture and paraphernalia – a large Bible, a communion table, a lectern, an ornately carved and cushioned chair, a statue of Mary, song books and a digital piano (played with gusto by the faithful Salvation Army lady who has been coming for 30 odd years), a huge, old, wooden chapel door attached to the wall (salvaged from the original chapel which was demolished in 2006) and a large wooden cross made by some of the prisoners themselves. The stained-glass windows (donated by one of the local churches for the opening of the new chapel) are a riot of colour and encouragement: the word 'HOPE' is writ large with sunbeams bursting out of it. The chairs are cushioned, not hard plastic as found elsewhere in the prison. The sense of peace is visceral.

But it does not always last. It is broken from time to time by an order from one of the officers, who by choice take no part in the service. They berate the congregation if they show the slightest sign of disrespect, sensing that there is something different about being here. For most, the concern is for the apparent disrespect shown to the "Minister" such as when a person sits rather than stands to sing a hymn; or a quick exchange of words with the person next to them; or "not paying attention". Aren't these things that go on outside in a parish church every Sunday? But order must be kept. Authority must be respected.

Despite this there is a sense that this place and time is different. Even more than a physical space there is a feeling that this is a spiritual place. A place of encounter. A place where things can be seen differently. A place of invitation to meet people who you might never come across otherwise. And here, like the two on the road to Emmaus, you might find yourself face to face with the living Christ and be changed. I am changing. I experience my own bit of transformation, for here in this incarcerated time and space, constrained as it is by prison rules, I see how my faith-full practice in inviting people to the Lord's Table can create the possibility of an encounter, the possibility of recognition.

4.6 Pentecost: "Gucci" coffee on remand

4.6.1 Approach

Who knows what to expect, or even whom to expect, in our weekly meetings in the room hidden away on the third floor? To come along though, your name must be on the list. "If their name isn't on the list, they can't come along" says John, a particularly officious member of staff. Random names appear in the two days that the sign-up sheet is left out on the desk. "Hi Sam, have you got the sign-up sheet? I'll go and do the security check on the names." "Two people, just in, I have put their names down. Not sure how much English they know. Hungarian I think" says Sam. All sorts of people turn up in the remand hall[34] –

[34] Remand prisoners made up 18.7% of the total prison population in Scotland at the end of 2017, of which around a half will be found not guilty, according to information supplied to the Justice Committee by Community Justice Scotland in 2018. The average length of time a person spends on remand is 22 days. For some it can be longer while others may only be in a few days before being released from court. The devastation that even a short period on remand can have on the person, their partner and children was also presented to the same Justice Committee by Families outside. Despite repeated calls by a wide variety of Criminal Justice

Hungarian, Polish, Lithuanian, Italian, Malaysian, French, Nigerian, American, along with the usual mix of Scottish, English and the occasional Irish person. Occasionally there will be a foreign student, or some professional or ex-army person. Some genuinely don't know how they have ended up in prison - "my lawyer said there was no way I would be remanded!" And right enough, a few days later they are gone, their custody successfully appealed.

I remember Aisha, an Asian business-woman, who was only in for a matter of hours. "I am a respectable person, I have a family, I drive a Mercedes, I have a lovely house in …". She tells me the place which is just down the road from where I live, although I do not reveal this to her. "I don't understand why I have been sent here. I am sure this is a misunderstanding." She has soft skin and beautiful dark hair pulled back in a bun. Her eyes are sad, confused, red. The garish yellow prison top sags around her shoulders. The faux leather settee mocks her wealth. She talks and talks and I listen. Occasionally she whispers "Allah" under her breath. I listen until lock-up time. "I can see you are a person of faith … Can I pray to my God while you pray to yours?" "Yes, I would like that. Please pray I get out of this place" she says with a slight smile, a lightening of the eyes. I gather up her story into a prayer. Two hours later as I am leaving I see Aisha in her own demure, well-fitting clothes, being liberated at the front of the prison. "Your prayers worked" she said with a gentle nod and smile, hair tumbling around her shoulders. "My lawyer just called to say he had got bail for me". What a shame we had to meet in the first place.

I look at the list for the meeting today and see the two Hungarians Sam had mentioned, and there is a Pole along with two or three regulars and two or three others I don't know. These are some of the ones who haven't succeeded in getting bail, at least for now.

I go back to the chaplaincy office and do the security check looking to see if any of the names are down as "enemies" or "must be separate". We are good to go! I

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interest groups such as the Howard League, Families Outside, SACRO, APEX and academics, the rate has remained virtually the same for the last two decades. Another devastating aspect of remand are the suicides. Of the 37 confirmed suicides in Scottish prisons between 2014 and 2017, 18 were people on remand. Fifteen of these 18 committed suicide within 30 days of being admitted to prison and the remainder within 90 days of admission. This compares with 5 of 19 convicted people committing suicide within 30 days and a further 4 within 90 days.

gather the bag of coffee and tea, sugar and milk, and the most essential of all items – the chocolate biscuits. As I walk down the corridor, guitar case strapped to my back, I remember the conversation I had with my son that morning. "Mum, who are these biscuits for?" asks Aidan. "For the group this afternoon" I say. "Ha, ha, did you choose them deliberately for the name?" he chuckles. Puzzled I look at the long, yellow packet bought in Lidl's at the weekend. Eighteen biscuits for £1 seemed a good deal. I hadn't noticed the name "Breakout"[35] projecting from a broken wall on the front of the packet when I picked them from the shelf. We both laugh at the thought of the chaplain offering biscuits with the invitation to "breakout".

Some weeks a chaplaincy volunteer comes in to play the guitar and help carry things up to the room. Today, I unlock the door to Glenesk Hall, alone, and climb the stairs to the third floor.

"Here is the checked list of names for the fellowship group. Can you send them along please, Sam?"

Not all the staff members are as helpful. Some will "forget" to open a person's cell, even if their name if on the list. Or they take a while to unlock them and so people end up coming in at different times - in the middle of a song, or prayer, or time of silence. Ask any "civvies"[36] and they will tell you similar stories of interrupted meetings, difficulties in getting people to the meeting, problems with timing…

4.6.2 Encounter

I set up the room. Old, broken and cracked plastic chairs are arranged into a circle. Coffee, tea, milk and sugar are laid out. The biscuits are withheld until later! I try to ignore the dirty floor, the bent shelves of untidy and ripped books that pass as a library, the bare, barred windows overlooking the bleakness of the

[35] An obvious rip-off of "Breakaway".

[36] Civvies includes anyone who is not a "white-shirt" i.e. one of the residential or operational staff in uniform.

caged exercise yard and my frustration at not being able to hold the group in the lovely atmosphere of the chapel.

The door bursts open. "Hello, miss, there's others coming" chirps Cammy, one of the regulars. Stephen is with him. These count as "regulars", having come for the last two or three weeks. "Good to see you both. Help yourself to tea and coffee". The two Hungarians appear next. "Hi, I'm Sheena, the chaplain, you are very welcome". "Patrik" says the taller of the two Hungarians, as he extends a hand, glancing round, "and my co-pilot[37] Marcell. He doesn't speak much English". I shake hands with them both. No translation needed! Next come three people I haven't seen before. More greetings and handshakes as Andrew, Kyle and Scott propel each other into the room and introduce themselves. And finally, Tomasz, the Pole who had also come last week. "There's Gucci coffee"[38] shouts Cammy triumphantly into the noise of eight grown men greeting, chatting, sussing each other out.

"Any biscuits?" asks Stephen. Now everyone has got their drink I offer the "breakout" biscuits. "Got a plan chaplain?" Kyle asks mischievously noticing the name. "You could get into trouble with biscuits like this!" How true, I thought. A member of staff had once reported me to security for offering biscuits to prisoners not knowing that I had sought permission. And mention of biscuits among chaplaincy volunteers soon leads to stories of the great "biscuit-gate", a time a few years ago when all home-baking and biscuits were banned from being brought into any prison, as if their *raison d'etre* were being questioned.

And so we commune over "Gucci" coffee and biscuits, while the newest ones vent their feelings and the ones longer on remand, listen patiently, waiting, as are all on remand, for the judge's future pronouncement.

There is the world-weariness, head-in-hands, "I can't believe I'm back again."

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[37] Co-pilot is the person you share a cell with. The staff will consider who to put together in a cell so one may help the other for instance if a person is foreign or there are two of the same nationality or someone is first-time in and might benefit from someone with more knowledge of how the system works, particularly the first few days.

[38] "Gucci" coffee is Nescafé, so called because it is luxury compared to the standard issue prison coffee.

Sometimes there is the resigned confession "I deserve to be here."

Or the lawyer story, "Aw, man I shouldn't be here. See ma lawyer, he didn't turn up, just sent another Legal Aid lawyer who I'd never met. Five minutes before we go into court and no time to hear my story. All he said was 'leave it to me' and 'you'll be ok, you won't get a custodial sentence.' And here I am." It's easy to dismiss these stories. Lawyers are an easy target. Except another of my son's ended up in a similar position and I was there to see it. A last-minute replacement for the lawyer he had been seeing for someone who knew nothing of the case and was powerless to defend him against the well-researched and argued prosecution. An assurance that there was nothing to worry about. The shock sentencing, albeit suspended, but a sentence that has blighted his life in numerous ways ever since. And the realisation that justice and the law are two quite different things; you can play with the latter. And thousands like him still go through the same thing. And so I listen to the hurt and disappointment and anger with the system.

"We usually sing a song or two to start" says Cammy, embracing this foreign ritual enthusiastically and at the same time giving it legitimacy in the gathering. When I first set up the group I thought that singing would be difficult with most people being unchurched, and different people showing up each week, but the men embrace the opportunity. "I like singing" says Tomasz, "It makes me feel good when I sing". And so we sing, in defiance of circumstance or surroundings, background or nationality, talent or none.

My chains are gone
I've been set free
My God, my Saviour has ransomed me
And like a flood His mercy reigns
Unending love, amazing grace

The Lord has promised good to me
His word my hope secures

He will my shield and portion be
As long as life endures.[39]

Some weeks we don't get past the singing as we stop to ponder the meaning of strange words like "grace", "ransom", "mercy", "love". And what it has to do with a group of people locked away, out of sight, out of mind.

4.6.3 Enactment

"Let's remain seated as we sing the next song, thinking about the words as we sing" I invite them. Everyone has got the hang of the tune by the time we come to the last verse of "Be Still".

Be still for the power of the Lord
Is moving in this place
He comes to cleanse and heal
And minister His grace
No work too hard for Him
In faith receive from Him
Be still for the power of the Lord
Is moving in this place.[40]

A peculiar stillness descends. "Let's just sit for a moment or two in silence and think about the words of the last verse."

A rare silence fills the room.

On the landing outside there is none of the usual banging on doors. There is no shouting out of windows from one cell to the next. There are no arguments over cigarettes.[41] There are no staff bawling out surnames. There is no clattering of meal trolleys. There is no crash of doors being closed and locked.

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[39] From the Chris Tomlin song "Amazing Grace (My Chains are Gone)".

[40] Last verse from "Be Still for the Presence of the Lord" written by David Evans.

[41] Because of the short-term nature of remand, people are not offered education or training in the work-sheds to make more profitable use of their time. Linked to this, they receive no cell wage (between £5 to £10 a week depending on what education/work is done when convicted) meaning they rely on family and friends to send cash in. While waiting for cash (which

There is silence.

Nine people sitting in silence.

I notice that some have closed their eyes.

The silence holds.

There is no fidgeting or sniggering, as sometimes happens with younger people in such quietness. Just silence…

…

"Anyone want to share anything?" I ask after a few minutes.

"We would never close our eyes in front of prisoners on the landing" says Kyle, obviously intrigued by what had just happened.

"Yeh, it feels safe here" says Stephen. "That's why I like coming, I can relax here."

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sometimes doesn't arrive) people will borrow tobacco and other things, leading to debt which if not paid off can have serious consequences. In some cases people are put "on protection" (in a different area of the prison) for their own safety.

"It's not like on the landing. It's shite out there." Scott waves in the direction of the landing with its bare floors and fixed metal tables and seats where people congregate during "rec".[42]

"You don't feel judged in here, everyone's equal, it's what we're all going through together. I find it relaxing" quietly offers Andrew.

"It makes my soul sing!" said Tomasz with a smile. "I go to church outside and when I sing, my soul sings. I can feel it."

"Yeh, there is something about coming here. At first I thought there was no point in coming along to something religious but my co-pilot said 'lets give it a try.' So I thought 'fair enough' and came along and it's started to change my mind about when I get out" Cammy said.

"It's different in here. If we was to say something in the hall, like the stuff we've been talking about, you would have ten or fifteen people slaughterin' you, everybody judging you" remarked Stephen, "but here I can talk about things, you know about God and stuff, and people listen and don't laugh at you."

4.6.4 Blessing

The door suddenly bursts open. No warning. "Time up" barks a voice. "Same time next week?" asks Scott. "Can I get a Polish Bible?" asks Tomasz. "Can I take a song-sheet so I can sing these in my cell?" asks Cammy. Questions fly around the room as we draw our meeting to a close. Chairs are being moved back into place, spilt coffee is being wiped up, wrappers are put in the bin. The room returns to its ordinary function as the men return to their own cells and the prison routine.

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[42] "Rec", short for recreation, is the period when prisoners are let out of their cells. The latest HMIPS (2017) report expressed concern that some categories of prisoners were confined for too long to their cells. In extreme cases, prisoners complained of being let out for only 2 hours a day. I would hear this as a common complaint, particularly for sex-offenders on remand, who had to be kept separate from mainstream prisoners. The limited time out meant choices often had to be made between having a shower or making a phone call to family for instance. Most would choose not to take outside exercise because of the abuse they would be subject from mainstream prisoners in cells above the yard.

As I turn to gather up the tea and coffee containers, I realise they are missing. Okay, it is part of the system to try and get extra coffee or sugar wrapped in a bit of paper smuggled out of the room but never has anyone taken the whole container. I go to the door and look down the landing just in time to see Marcell and Patrik walking along with a container each, secreted in hands dangling close to their sides. "They've taken the sugar and coffee" I say to Sam.

We go to their cell. "Give the sugar and coffee back to the chaplain" orders Sam. Incredulous looks, shrugs of shoulders, hands palm-up. The containers are there in plain sight on the desk. Sam points to them. A quizzical look crosses Patrik's face. "This is mine" he says with feigned incomprehension. Marcell, simply watches. "Give them back" says Sam again. Patrik reluctantly hands the containers over as if they really were his. "I thought I could take them" he says as we leave.

…

Two days later I receive a message. Patrik and Marcell wish to see me. I go to their cell. "We are sorry, for taking the sugar and coffee. Please can we come back to the group?" asks Patrik.

"As long as you don't try and liberate the coffee again" I grin. "Coffee is for sharing."

…

The next week I go to get the list as usual. "Hi Sam, who have we got this week?" He hands over the list. Patrik and Marcell's names are scored out. "Released from court yesterday" says Sam.

4.7 Ordinary Time: Circling around pain

"*Suffering is one very long moment. We cannot divide it by seasons…with us time itself does not progress. It revolves. It seems to circle round one centre of pain.*" Oscar Wilde writing as a prisoner in Reading Gaol (1999, 3)

4.7.1 Approach

I fumble for my pass as I approach the barrier of the staff car park. It's cold as I wind down the window and stretch to place it on the electronic pad. The barrier lifts and I park my car below the high fence and barbed wire of HMP & YOI Cornton Vale, the women's national facility.[43] I walk around to the front and approach the heavy metal door and press the buzzer. A disembodied voice crackles into life: "ID please"'. I hold up my ID to the camera and a few seconds later the recognisable "click" of assent is heard. Only the few may enter through this door: prison staff, lawyers, social workers, third sector workers, visitors and, with a special pass, those prisoners who have community access. The vast majority enter in a large security van, incarcerated in tiny suffocating pods of metal, before being processed through reception where they are searched, divested of anything personal, and transferred to the barrenness of a prison cell.

"Have you got a cell phone or any electronic devices?" asks Kerry, the officer on duty. Of course, I have not. I have learnt the hard way to leave phones, SIM cards, Swiss Army knives (don't ask: that one got me disciplined) in the car. The same rules for anyone entering. "You are either found out or flung out," I overheard one staff member saying of the SPS. Everyday walking a tightrope.

Once through security, I see Jo cleaning the stairs leading up to the admin office. "How's it going Jo? Like the hair!" Each time I see Jo she has dyed her hair a different colour. Today it is bright, bright blue. "I'm fine. Keeping myself busy as usual." "It's good you have a pass job!" Landing a pass job where a prisoner can move around the prison more freely, or with the gardening team with the freedom of fresh air and the prison grounds, or the pantry, or industrial cleaners, or laundry – all of this helps pass the time. Otherwise, the daily

[43] Cornton Vale is about to be rebuilt. What is described here are the remaining two houses from the original build which are being used until the new build is complete.

routine of meals, medication, work/education and lock-up is broken only by the occasional visit from their lawyer or social worker. The fortunate ones can look forward to a visit from family or friends – the outside breaking into this alternative world where the bizarre soon becomes the ordinary. Few of the women are fortunate. When a male goes into prison, they can expect visits from their female partner, family and friends. Visit slots are often over-subscribed. Mums and girlfriends trudge up with clothing, trainers and money to buy toiletries and food from the canteen sheet. But when a female goes into prison, if the male partner or family still has contact, they are far less likely to visit and visit slots remain unfilled. Like Jo's.

I go up the stairs to collect my keys from the key room. I tap a number into the keypad and the cabinet door opens. A little red light blinks to let me know which set of keys I am entitled to take. Having navigated another layer of security I head for the door to take me into the main part of the prison. This morning I go straight to Ross House, a two-storey building with only rows of identical frosted glass windows to break the monotony of the sterile walls. This is where every woman sent into custody by the courts in Scotland is brought first for assessment. The outside is austere but inside there is an airy feel with a large, open gallery area with rooms along three sides on both levels. Along the fourth side, panopticon-like, is the place from where the uniformed staff watch over everyone, backed by large floor-to-ceiling windows.

4.7.2 Encounter

Mary wanders over as I am greeting the staff. "Who are you again?" she asks. "I'm Sheena, the Chaplain." "Have we spoken before?" "Yes Mary, remember last week?" This is not unusual. Like many of the women on the lower floor of Ross House Mary has significant mental health issues. A history of self-harm, addiction and abuse are common currency here, as are regular spells in prison. Most weeks there are one or two who are waiting for a bed in a psychiatric ward. Mary is one of them. She wanders off to look at the guinea pig in a cage by window.

I head up the open staircase which takes me to the second floor where the chapel is situated. The space is shared, temporarily, with the hairdressers while

the demolishing of the old prison and building of the new goes on over the fence. The room is divided by a thick, heavy, blue velvet curtain which hangs from ceiling to floor, parting in the middle. In the chapel are soft red cushioned chairs in a semi-circle, a large cross on the wall, a communion table, a font and an electric tree with little white bulbs all over it. Handwritten prayers dangle from its bare branches. Through the curtain are the big black chairs where clients are individually pampered, the scissors that reshape and renew a person's image, the nail bar where communion of a different sort is shared, the sink where hair is washed, and today at this time, that peculiar hairdresser chatter where hopes and fears are offered up to each other.

I pick up some chaplaincy leaflets and go to see those in the "First Night in Custody" (FNC) section, a series of rooms along one side of the second floor. The women wear yellow polo shirts to distinguish them from the other residents. A non-physical segregation. They have their own recreation area: a dining table surrounded by hard plastic chairs, two big black settees in an L shape with a small table in front, a pool table, a bookcase with a mixture of romance and crime novels, and on one of the walls a piece of shiny metal stuck to the wall to serve as a mirror. On the table below there is a hairdryer. On the right at the bottom of the three steps leading up to the communal area, and directly opposite the door of the staff office, is the all-important telephone where phone calls can be made to friends and family.

Today the FNCs are already sitting have their lunch, chatting noisily. The sound goes down a decibel or two when I walk in. "Who are you?" As I walk towards the table I recognise one or two of the faces. "I'm Sheena, one of the chaplains here. I've just come to see how you are all doing and let you know that we are here for you. Did you all get the Chaplaincy leaflet in your first night bag?" Some had, some hadn't looked. I hand out leaflets to those who want them.

As we sit around the table the stories emerge. "What happened?" I ask Chantelle, one of the women I know from before. "They put me into B&B but it was basically a hostel. I was frightened of the men there and there was no-one to talk to. I ended up drinking and they kicked me out. When the police came to arrest me for breach of the peace, I tried to bite one of them…" and so here she is. Back through the revolving door after only two weeks. Hope deferred.

"I was in 20 years ago, never thought I'd come back. " Pamela throws this out to anyone who will listen. "I'm worried about what my children will think. I haven't even let them know I am here. And I don't know what has happened to my dog." Later I approach her. "I can see you are worried. Do you want to have a quiet chat?" "Yes, that would be good," she says. We find a quiet space. Through sobs and tears she tells her story. I listen. We hug and part.

As I am walking away I hear a voice. "Chaplain, can you help me get a phone call, I haven't spoken to my family." It is Beth, one of the people in prison for the first time. "Have you put their number on your phone list?" I enquire. "The number is on my mobile in reception.[44] The battery died when I was in the police station overnight and so I couldn't get the number off the phone. Can you help me get it?" "You need to fill in a form to request access to your phone. It usually takes a day or two. Let's go and ask Liz in the office!" Beth gets the form and I head for the door...

"Chaplain, I'm buzzin'. I just need a cup of tea – have you got any tea bags?" This is probably the most frequent request I get, apart from toiletries. Why do tea bags have to be rationed I wonder? Such a simple pleasure. Especially as most on remand are having to deal with withdrawal from some addiction or another.

In a day or two, most of the women in this section will be transferred elsewhere and I won't see them again. The only interaction may be part of the table chatter, or a few minutes in their room as I go along the section introducing myself, or as with Pamela, a slightly longer conversation. The "ministry of messy moments" as George Gammack calls it - those unplanned meetings, perhaps we could even call them serendipitous, where the chaplain is trusted to hold the pain of a person's situation for a few moments or minutes - and then both move on.[45]

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[44] Although keeping contact with family (where this is one) is usually seen as a protective factor it is not always easy during for the first few days of custody. Even those who do know a family contact number don't always have the money to put on their phone account to allow them to make the calls. And this at a time when they are feeling most vulnerable and isolated.

[45] Gammack (2000)

Later, I return to Ross House to see Dee who has been inside for a few months. "Hi Dee, is now a convenient time?" "Hi Sheena, yes come into my room, sorry it's a bit messy." I look around. It doesn't look particularly messy to me! *You should see my study at home*. I sit on the bed listening to her. She looks like any ordinary, pregnant young mum. The promise of new life, bulging under her clothes. She takes great pride in her appearance. Her clothes are always clean and neat and her make-up immaculately applied: two thick brown eyebrows, long mascaraed eyelashes, gently blushed cheeks over foundation, rosy lips. The walls are covered in pictures of her two children, along with children's drawings and cards she has been sent. *I could be anywhere*. And then there is the hand drawn and coloured A4 sheet of flimsy paper, "In Memory of My Wee Angel, Kathy". *The pain of a stillbirth reduced to an A4 sheet of paper on a cell wall*. No locks and keys and bars and heavy metal doors were able to stop that coming in. "Can we say a prayer for Kathy?" This was the first thing that Dee asked me to do when she arrived here. And so we had gone to the chapel and talked and cried and lit a candle, and put a prayer on the prayer tree and talked and cried some more. "It's nice here" she said. We sat in silence and soaked up the peace that had momentarily broken into her world of buried dreams.

It was not long after Dee had come into prison that she found out she was pregnant again. "Sheena, I don't know how I am going to cope. I am still trying to get used to being in prison. You can see that I am not the normal type who ends up here. My head is full of so many things. I've still got court to come and I am terrified I will get a sentence that will go beyond the due date for the baby."

"I am hoping to get into the baby unit," she announces with false hope. She has been told that this is not going to happen but is finding it difficult to accept. "What is the point of going on with the pregnancy if the baby is going to be taken away as soon as it is born?" She is now five months pregnant with her fourth child and despite having brought up two children - "beautiful and well-behaved" she tells me - the community based social worker has told her that she will not be allowed to keep the new baby. "I don't understand why they won't let me keep the baby," she says as we talk some more. "I can't sleep. This just goes 'round and 'round in my mind. I've already lost my other two children to foster

care and now they want to take away a third. I don't think I can bear it". We sit in silence, watched by pictures of her children and the A4 sheet of paper.

"I miss my ex, I miss him," she says, tears welling up in her eyes. "I know I shouldn't feel this way, but I can't help it, we were together a long time." At some point in our conversations, she usually mentions her ex-partner. He is the reason she is inside now. After years of emotional and physical abuse she stabbed him during an argument. He doesn't even know she is pregnant with his child. "I'll have to tell him at some point, he's the father, he has a right to know". She seems to bear no malice towards him despite all he has done to her. "I can't let my affection for him go right now. The loss on top of everything else would be too much at this point".

I see Dee each week. I take her a birthday card to celebrate her 30th. I bring her a copy of the forms she needs to apply for a copy of her lost birth certificate, so she can register the baby's birth. I keep up to date with planned visits – her mum coming up from England in July and a visit from her two children a week later. She hasn't told them about the baby yet. I sit and listen as she tells me her thoughts, her fears, her plans of what to say. And then we always come back to what will happen to the baby when it is born: will it be fostered? By whom? Could her mum foster it? No, she doesn't think so as her step-dad isn't the "baby sort" and mum is getting on in age and lives in England. She wants to be near her two older children so that means staying in Scotland, where her ex-partner originally brought her to isolate her from her family. And so the conversation revolves, dragging the pain with it in an ever deepening spiral of suffering. The spectre of loss, whether the baby is born alive or dead, always there.

I come away from seeing Dee with mixed feelings. In my own body I feel a thick sickness deep in my stomach, and a choking presence in my throat, every time I think about the situation in which she finds herself, the impossible decisions, and more importantly the decisions over which she has no say and yet which will determine where her children go. Who will look after them and how much, if

any, access will she have? And I cannot imagine the pain of a stillbirth –

- and then being pregnant knowing the baby will be taken away at birth. A wave of helplessness ripples through my body. There are no quick answers, or right answers or even acceptable answers for Dee. Only waiting, worrying, wondering. Like being caught in a never-ending storm, continually feeling cold and wet and weary. "I'll come and see you next week," I say, as we give each other a parting hug.

4.7.3 Re-enactment

Like today, I often struggle to make sense of the time I spend with people. If the SPS had their way I am sure there would be some sort of measurement taken as I went into a room and another as I left to gauge the mood change, the reduction in suicidal thoughts, or increase in victim empathy, or perhaps the hint that someone is beginning to think differently about the future. Even better if the person could fill in a tick box evaluation, probably with a series of emoticons to make it easier for people. But the only real question is "are you less likely to commit another crime?"

There are times when I come away from seeing someone and know I was there, in the right place at the right time, sometimes even with the right words. "That's what chaplains are there for, to say the right thing," says Scott, a chaplaincy line manager. But with others, the more deeply wounded, such as Dee, it feels like everything just goes around in circles. The trauma of the past is here in the present, "death in life," as Rambo calls it (2010, 6). No going forward. Only survival. The re-enactment of past events, past hurts. The ever-present feeling

of being unable to move on. No linear theology, here, where healing follows pain, joy follows sorrow, rebirth follows death, life follows pregnancy.

Extraordinary suffering is the ordinary for most people in prison. I begin to pay more attention to my feelings of turmoil after I meet with certain people. I try to explore the points of friction. I search for the mismatch between what I feel should be happening or I should be doing, and that which the situation invites. I feel disorientated. Something is not "right". But then, in a world where people are violently wronged, where they violently wrong others and also themselves, it can be no other way. Things are not right. This is the ordinary. Being in prison only adds another layer of complexity. And yet something happens when we sit together in survival mode, in what seems like an empty, barren place, devoid of all hope. There are no festivals here. Only lament. Exiled in the everyday. But something is happening. I am just struggling to see what.

The trope of chaplaincy as "presence" in this situation seems inadequate. Present in what way? Is it just being there that matters or is there more? Is it listening for responses? For many will go in and ask questions. In the course of the day many people may be "present" in Dee's room: a prison officer, a nurse, fellow prisoners, an Independent Prison Monitor, the Unit Manager, the social worker, the First Line Manager. What makes my "presence" different from any of these others?

4.7.4 Blessing

"The court case has been delayed. The witnesses didn't turn up. "Dee tells me when I next see her. For the court case that brought her to prison to continue, there must be witnesses. Without witnesses the story cannot be told. But I am a witness for Dee. Not physically of the event that led to the court case but a witness to her life in here, a witness to her suffering, a witness to the devastation of the stillbirth of her beautiful child Kathy, a witness to her exile, a witness to her struggle with the here and now, a witness to a little of what she suffered in the past, a witness to the love she has for her children, a witness to the hopes and dreams she has for her baby, a witness to her survival of so many things, a witness to her strength, a witness to an unborn future. Her story

cannot be told without someone present. Testimonies are not monologues spoken in solitude. There must be somebody to talk to, someone to witness the telling of the story, to listen for the silence, to bear witness (Laub 1992, 58). This is part of the "thick witness" Rambo talks about, "the level of being a witness to oneself within the experience; the level of being a witness to the testimonies of others; and the level of being a witness to the process of witnessing itself" (2010, 22).

I return to the chapel after seeing Dee. The hairdressers are finished for the day and I need some time alone. For a while I just sit in the silence. Tired, upset, exhausted. After a while I open a bible at Psalm 102. I smile. In prison this is known as the 'Addicts Psalm' because of the language in verses 3 to 7 of scorched bones, withered heart, bones clinging to flesh, waste places and the mention of smoke and grass! But today I am drawn to reading it because woven into the lines is a story of testimony and witness.

"Hear my prayer, O Lord! And let my cry for help come to You". A witness is needed!

"To hear the groaning of the prisoner". Why out of all situations is it the prisoner? And the groan, not words. Is it because much that is suffered and much that is witnessed cannot be put into words? But still the promise that they will be heard, not forgotten. The promise that God is involved in the present, listening, looking, setting free.

"To the generation yet to come…the children of Thy servants will continue, and their descendants will be established before Thee".

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I bump into Jo on my way out. "Good-bye Jo. What colour are you planning next for your hair?" "Oh, an ordinary colour this time, like green," she says with a smile, taking joy in the simple act of choosing.

4.8 Space to Listen

"*Listening is key at every stage of the research process*" (Slee 2013, 18).

Slee emphasises the importance of listening at every stage of the research process: listening to self, others, literature, supervisors, peers, colleagues and with "acute attentiveness to our participants in interviews and other settings" (2013, 18). As I move to the next stage of my research project I am reminded of the importance of listening, which, Slee suggests, is itself a form of spiritual practice (2013,18). After all the attentiveness to the people and situations I journaled about, the next stage demands a pause, giving space for a deep listening. The autoethnographic pieces with their individual observations, meditations and ruminations, need to be analysed as a whole. It cannot be assumed that, by turning the raw material of the journal into pieces of writing, analysis has occurred. This still has to be done. Patterns need to be discerned, themes identified, silences listened to. As Slee notes, this form of listening undertaken by women researchers "has many of the qualities of prayer understood as the most attentive listening to self, others and God we can manage" (2013, 18).

> We bring our whole selves to the act of listening…we listen with our bodies, paying attention to feeling, memory, desire. We listen with emotional as well as intellectual intelligence, on the look-out for patterns resonances, illusions…such listening…is complex and difficult, as we seek to bring into dialogue public, semi-public, private and personal voices (Slee 2013, 18-19).

Such a task requires time and space to listen in such depth so that the themes and patterns, the deeper meanings and layers, the new light on context, the *kairos* moments, can be identified. For a period I lived with the text of the six pieces presented above. I took time off work to give myself "space to listen" to what I had witnessed. Laying aside my preconceived notions and earlier tentative conclusions (attempted before I had even written the six pieces!) I set myself the task of reading and re-reading them. I first read the hard copy a few times to become familiar with the text as a unified piece of autoethnographic writing. I then read the text again and began to identify broad themes: of pain

and suffering; of hope and light; of liturgy and practice; of prison culture and staff attitudes.

The next step was to use Nvivo 12 to code the text. After reflecting on my initial impressions, I chose four main nodes: Apophatic, Kataphatic, Liturgy-Priestly and Prison Culture. I went through the text and coded accordingly using a variety of sub-nodes within each. From this I identified four aspects of my role as a chaplain: as complicit with the values and actions of the SPS; as a witness to the pain and suffering of the people I meet; as a Priest, with sacramental functions within a secular context. The fourth aspect I identified as Prophet/Testifier but, as I continued to work with the text, I came to see this as implicit in the witness aspect of the role leaving only three aspects. I then read through the text again and ordered relevant incidents, observations, and quotes around the headings of the Church Year for each of the three main sections. Through this process, I became increasingly aware of the repeated contrast between life-giving actions and those rituals and practices which dehumanised and even traumatised people coming into, and living in, prison. Drawing on the work of James KA Smith and his *Cultural Liturgies* project (2009, 2013, 2017), I began to identify "liturgies of grace" and "liturgies of disgrace" evidenced within the text. Smith takes the Biblical concept of liturgy, from the Greek word *leitourgia* meaning "work of the people", and thinks about what it looks like beyond the domain of the church.[46] He argues that there are secular liturgies "that shape our imagination and how we orient ourselves to the world" (2009, 25).[47] His overarching point is "that liturgies – whether 'sacred' or 'secular' – shape and constitute our identities by forming our most fundamental desires and our most basic attunement to the world. In short, liturgies make us certain kinds of people, and what defines us is what we *love*" (Smith 2009, 25). It is the communitarian nature of liturgies that makes them so powerful. In the second volume of his *Cultural Liturgies* Smith takes up Bourdieu's idea of *habitus* to

[46] Liturgy is derived from the Greek word *leitourgia* (Λειτουργία) which is mentioned six times in the New Testament. Its common usage was a service undertaken e.g. as in military service. In the New Testament it refers to the Priestly service in three instances (Luke 1:23; Hebrews 8:6 and 9:21) and in the remaining verses (2 Cor 9:12; Phil 2:17 and 2:30) to the ministry and gifts of believers.

[47] Phillips (2013, 129) uses C. Bell's concept of ritual when comparing the liturgy talked about by chaplains and that of the "repeated actions and operations" within the prison, which he terms "pararituals". I think it provides a more powerful analysis to see both as liturgies as James K.A. Smith does.

make the point that it “is always sort of bigger than me – it is a communal, collective disposition that gets inscribed in me” (2013, 81). We will find bodily inscription is a recurring theme throughout this chapter. This inscription can be graceful or disgraceful. At the extreme, it can inscribe life or death, it can inscribe healing or pain, it can inscribe love or hate. Interestingly, I think that James K.A. Smith's concept of secular liturgy is not unrelated to Dorothy Smith's concept of the "ontology of the social" which, perceives the coordination of people's activities or practices in everyday life[48] (as noted previously in Section 3.5). And so I had come full circle, and found myself looking at the transformational aspects of prison life, and to a lesser extent those that are not so, through the daily practice of liturgies.

An analytical framework for the next chapter emerged from my Annual Progress Review meeting held in May 2020 in the final stages of writing up. The discussion of the language of the Trinity, used in Chapter 3 above, introduced me to Jim Cotter's gender-neutral nomenclature for the three persons used in his version of the Lord's Prayer: Life-Giver, Pain-Bearer, Love-Maker (1986, 52). This immediately resonated with the positive liturgies I had identified under the sections of Chaplain as Complicit; as Witness and as Priest. By listening to the text I ended up taking a different direction from where I thought I was going initially. The issue of transformation shifted from being about my role in the transformation of people in prison to the fundamental values underlying the Christian view of transformation and how that is put into practice through ritual and liturgy compared with the criminal liturgy of the SPS as an institution. I could not have arrived at this understanding without taking a "leap of faith that is the creative act", trusting the process to reveal something that I did not expect to find (Bennett et al. 2018, 154).

[48] The "ontology of the social" was discussed previously in Section 3.5 above.

CHAPTER 5 The Liturgical Chaplain

The previous chapter is a record of my journalling crafted by autoethnography. The purpose of this chapter is to reflect on what has been written, to thicken the understanding of the context, to draw out the themes and to notice, as indicated in Chapter 3, how self is being "continually shaped and formed" through my ongoing relationship with God and others (Walton 2014b, xvi). Of interest is the constant interweaving of my Life-Giving role as chaplain with the prison environment and how this shapes what I do and how I do it. The sacred and the secular are constantly interacting. The secular informs many aspects of where I meet people and place boundaries around how I meet them. Prison rules and regulations invade everything to the point where I can only conclude that I am complicit in the Criminal Justice enterprise. Building on the observations of the last chapter these tensions between chaplain and prison, ethos and habitus, values and worldview, are now investigated. Within this complicity, however, there is still scope to minister, to care, to be there for and with people. The judicial decision to lock people away is met with the non-judgemental, listening, welcome of the chaplain. It is a space where relationships can develop, stories be heard, grief shared, the hurt and harm of past and present traumas witnessed. Even in the most depersonalised spaces, space is carved out for the personal, the intimate, the supremely human. A space where pain is borne. Further, the secular and dismal spaces also become sacred places. Priestly functions can be carried out, people ministered to, God's love shown and a different way of being lived out alongside a (mainly) non-religious, uniformed people doing a nine-to-five job. So, out of the autoethnography these three aspects of the chaplain emerge: as someone **complicit** in the system yet offering a life-giving alternative; someone who bears the pain of others as a **witness** to distress and despair; someone who performs **Priestly** functions as signs and symbols of God's love but often in a fragmented way.

This exploration of these three pictures of myself as chaplain are shaped around the same headings as in the previous chapter. In the "Approach" I set the scene, identify the main issues, make my own allegiances and passions explicit

and consider those of the SPS.[49] I explore ways in which my embeddedness (with all its positive connotations) also becomes a complicity in an alternative kingdom. Does this limit my transformational role? Second, in "Encountering the Story" I focus on the nature of the relationship between God, myself as chaplain, and the prisoner. Here I find myself encountering the God story in the light of their story, their feelings, hopes, fears and through this become aware of my own part in the story. Emerging from the reading of the autoethnographic pieces, and particularly Ordinary Time, I explore the idea of the chaplain as a "thick witness" in the encounter, and the transformational power of this witness. Third, in "Re-enacting the Story" I think about how the story is re-enacted through priestly actions and rituals I consider what the Priestly role in prison looks like and how elements of the story change to fit the prison environment while offering the hope of transformation. And finally, what is the nature of the "blessing" that emerges from the encounters related in the autoethnography, and all those stories represent? Having witnessed an event there is always a sense of commissioning, of being sent to tell others what has been seen and heard. Not in the sense of individual lives and secrets, but of what is happening in the Kingdom of God, what transformation is taking place, and is yet to, and calling others to be part of it. Throughout each of the sections I identify the liturgies which are inherently transformational and those which are less so or even distinctly damaging.

5.1 Life-Giving Complicity

5.1.1 Approach

On Wednesday 19th October 2011, at a service in St Andrew's Parish Church, Bo'ness, I was ordained as a Minister of Word and Sacrament. By word and hymn, vows and creed, prayer and commissioning, I promised to serve God. And in making my vows and signing the Formula, to play my part in advancing the Kingdom of God.[50] Almost three years later, on the 8th September 2014, I signed

[49] In using this language I am accepting James K.A. Smith's point that "worldview talk…still tends to exhibit a fairly 'heady' or cognitive picture of the human person" and that what really shapes people is the heart (2009, 24).

[50] The Formula is signed as a seal of the vows made and reads as follows: I believe the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith contained in the Confession of Faith of this Church. I acknowledge the Presbyterian government of this Church to be agreeable to the Word of God,

another document agreeing to become a servant of a different kind – a civil servant, an employee of the Crown. My signature on this document affirmed, that as a chaplain in the Scottish Prison Service, I would be subject to the Civil Service Code of Conduct and to Prison Rules. The contract of employment also included the following:

> Your employment requires you to be and continue to be in good standing with your Church and/or faith group and appropriate faith community. If you fall out of good standing and/or if you are responsible for any act/omission which causes your Church and/or faith group to lose trust and confidence in you, this will render your employment terminable by SPS without notice or pay in lieu of notice.[51]

I am a servant of two sovereigns. A citizen of two kingdoms. A signatory to two agreements. And I cannot be one without the other. I cannot be a chaplain without remaining in good standing with the Church and all that implies. And I cannot remain true to my vocation if I do not follow the call to prison chaplaincy and thus the rules that go with the role.

The Service of Ordination leaves it in no doubt as to whom I am pledging allegiance or the extent of the remit. In the Preamble the Moderator states the Presbytery[52] is met "in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the King and Head of the Church" and that the calling is "to labour in the fellowship of faith for the advancement of the kingdom of God throughout the world".[53] This is echoed in the vow I made "in the strength of the Lord Jesus Christ to live a godly and circumspect life; and faithfully, diligently, and cheerfully to discharge the duties of my ministry, seeking in all things the advancement of the kingdom of God". And in the praying of the Lord's Prayer: your kingdom come, your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven.

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and I promise to observe the order of worship and the administration of all public ordinances as the same are or may be allowed in this Church.

[51] Paragraph 4.1 of the Statement of Terms and Conditions of Employment Band F Chaplain.

[52] A Presbytery is a court of the Church of Scotland composed of all the Ministers of Word and Sacrament and an equal number of elders in a geographical area.

[53] This and the following quote are from the booklet of Services of Ordination and Induction to the Ministry of Word and Sacrament (Church of Scotland 2013).

The sovereignty of God, in all things, is also referred to in the hymns sung that evening and particularly the verse of one of them:

> Then grant us, Lord, in all things thee to own,
> to dwell within the shadow of thy throne,
> to speak and work, to think, and live, and move,
> reflecting thine own nature, which is love. [54]

And what of the nature of this Kingdom that I am to advance? One of the passages read at my Ordination service was Psalm 23. Here, the Lord, the King, is portrayed as a loving, compassionate shepherd who looks after his "flock", and pastors his "sheep". He feeds them and leads them, restores and heals them, he stays with them through dark nights and danger, he defends them. There is a sense of wellbeing, of blessing, of difficulties being overcome, of goodness and lovingkindness. From this we see the model of pastoral care that underpins the work done by parish ministers and chaplains. But the Kingdom is not just about individual pastoral relationships. Recalling the earlier discussion of the Trinity, it is also about the relationships between citizens, about fairness and justice, about taking care of those in our community who are on the margins. The ultimate things concerning this King are whether we care for people when they are most in need: the hungry, thirsty, sick, lonely, and those in prison (Matthew 25:31-46).

Figure 3 Church of Scotland Emblem

Another indication of the nature of the Kingdom is found on the front of the Service of Ordination booklet. The Church of Scotland emblem - the burning bush (Figure 3 -first used in 1691), is pictured with a background of the St Andrew's cross bringing together ideas of sacrifice through the cross, with holiness and servant leadership as Moses stood, barefoot, in the presence of God. The emblem also "echoes the teachings of 16th century theologist and preacher John Calvin who saw the burning bush as representative of the people of God: the Church which suffers in any age or place but against which even the gates of Hell can prevail" (Church of Scotland n.d.).

[54] Verse 5 of *Almighty Father of all things* by Ernest Dugmore (1843-1925).

And in Jesus himself we have the picture of the Servant King, the Pain-Bearer, who sacrifices himself for those he loves. The “King of Love” who put aside his majesty to serve. [55]

The ideal citizen in this Kingdom of God is one who reflects the qualities of the Godhead which, drawing on the discussion of the Trinity, is one who brings life, bears another's pain, and is a channel of God's love. As a minister and a chaplain I am called to be such a citizen.

Figure 5 Royal Coat of Arms (abbreviated)

Figure 4 The Royal Coat of Arms

As I turn to look at the Prison Rules (Scottish Government 2011) to which I signed up to, I notice a very different emblem on the front cover: this is the mighty male lion, sword in one hand and mace in the other, seated upright on a crown (Figure 5). The image exudes power and authority. Its intimidating demeanour is not accidental. Below are written the words "IN DEFENS". Dating back to the Stewart dynasty the emblem took its words from the opening line of an old Scot's prayer "In my defens God me defend". But this emblem has been plucked from the larger Royal Coat of Arms with the added heraldry and the latin words "NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT" (Figure 4). Used on coins since at least the reign of James VI this motto has been roughly translated in Scots as *Wha daur meddle wi' me?* In English as *No one can harm me unpunished.* In this emblem the symbols of the cross are subverted. The St Andrew's cross along with the mythical unicorn becomes the symbol for Scotland, the St George's cross and the lion for England. Defence of the realm and

[55] In a series of lectures Foucault (2007) discusses the origins of the pastoral model and how it has informed ideas of governance in the West: "the form of power so typical of the West...was born...or at least took its model from, the sheep-fold" (*ibid,* 130). However, he notes three differences between the shepherd (pastor) and a sovereign. The shepherd watches the flock, a sovereign oversees a territory. The shepherd is beneficent, exercising a power of care versus the sovereign who exercises strength and superiority backed by law. Shepherds care equally for the individual as well as the whole (going in search of a single sheep) while the sovereign is concerned primarily for the entity.

obedience to its laws are paramount, the implication of the motto being that swift revenge and punishment will follow any who are disobedient. Over the centuries the arbitrariness of such revenge has been reduced and the duty of care to citizens extended. The Scottish Government's current vision of a "Safe, Just and Resilient Scotland" (Scottish Government 2017) could be a paraphrase of an Old Testament prophecy: "My people will live in peaceful dwelling places, in secure homes, in undisturbed places of rest" (Isaiah 32;18). "Peaceful" in the biblical sense, however, has the richer meaning of a holistic peace that can only come when there is justice in all senses of the word: economically, socially, legally. Still, as SPS employee and as chaplain there is some coalescing of a vision for society and the desire for an environment where people can thrive, where disadvantage is tackled, where people feel safe. Likewise, the description of the model citizen in Scotland as responsible, resilient, employable, healthy and connected (Scottish Prison Service 2016) can all been seen as contributing to the "peaceful" existence envisaged in the Old Testament. What is missing is the *language* of love, peace and wholeness.

Although aspirations and vision seem not so dissimilar on one level, it is when I walk into a prison in my role as chaplain that the different ways of being, the rituals and the liturgies, become evident. The nature and use of space, the rules and regulations that dominate every aspect of prison life, and the organisational culture evidenced in attitudes and behaviours, all indicate two vastly different Kingdoms at play.

5.1.2 Encountering the Story

5.1.2.1 Space

If there is a gasp of awe when one walks into a beautiful church with its high vaulted roof, iridescent stained glass windows, beautifully crafted furniture and symbols of cross, and altar and baptismal font, the same cannot be said of walking into a prison. The same principles are certainly used in some of the

Figure 6 Visitor and Staff Entrance to HMP Edinburgh

newer builds when considering staff and visitor entrances: imposing architecture, banks of glass and high ceilings and oversized doorways, conveying, as in the church experience, a sense of transcendence and unseen power (Figure 6).[56] "HMP", Her Majesty's Prison, preceding each prison name, locates the source of power and authority. Indeed, this regal link was reflected in the style of the earliest prisons which "imitated defensive architecture with exaggerated castellated elements" (Historic Environment Scotland 2015, 10). Most prisons looked like castles and could easily be mistaken for such (Figure 7).[57] While some of the more modern exteriors may have changed, the sense is of entering a defended and secure place, the preparation for which starts when I park my car "below high fence and barbed wire" (Ordinary). The sense that this is a "regulated space" (Advent) is further reinforced by the various barriers to

Figure 7 Calton Prison 1815

[56] Ironically, even before prisons were being modernised and adopting a more "transcendent" approach, churches were going in the opposite direction. "The centrality of the human person in relation to place versus the centrality of God in relation to a specific geographical location was a prevailing theme in the conception of much church architecture of the mid- twentieth century" (Torgerson 2007, 20).

[57] Historic Environment Scotland (2015, 26) report that almost half (46.6%) of the SPS Estate has been built in the last 20 years and some earlier prisons have undergone renovations noting that "most recent building projects …reflect the changed objectives of modern prisons and 21st century requirements to assist with social inclusion and rehabilitation". However, they also go on to note that "in some aspects of plan and building form…these new prisons are reminiscent of the general layout of nineteenth century prisons" (*ibid).* In other words, some essential aspects of prison architecture have remained unchanged for 200 years.

access – the approach to the "heavy metal door", the "buzzer" that has to be pressed to gain access, the list of prohibited things and, perhaps worst of all, "a disembodied voice" asking for "ID please" (Ordinary). Compare this to the open doors of the church on a Sunday morning (and for many churches during the week as well), the bell calling people to worship, the smiling welcome of whoever is on door duty that week, the freedom of entry (although many do not feel free to enter seeing church as largely irrelevant to their lives, or do not feel welcome because of past experiences or perceived stigma).

In entering the church, everyone goes in through the same door. Not so with the prison. A separate entrance is used, with many more layers of security and dehumanising rituals in the "reception" area. Whether guilty or still to be tried, the treatment is the same. I also must go through the process of searching – walking through a scanner and putting my jacket and bag, shoes and keys, in a tray to be checked. Staff and prisoner alike are treated with suspicion. Here we get the first glimpse of one of the many aspects of Goffman's "Total Institution" – that of mortification (1961, 25). There is a hierarchy of mortification. As a non-uniformed, professional member I could argue that I am required to give up least of myself, in one sense. Apart from mobile phones, that minute by minute link to our social world which everyone must surrender, I can wear my own clothes (including clerical garments when I choose) and as a chaplain I have considerable agency over what I do.[58] For uniformed staff their clothing, timing and activities are tightly controlled during the period they are in the building. But being part of a uniformed organisation carries status in society and applying for such a job is voluntary.

Subject to most mortification is the prisoner. This starts with the process of admission which includes a series of losses: of civil and financial rights,[59] of

[58] My contract of employment states that I am subject to Part 16 of Prison Rules (Scottish Statutory Instrument No.331, as amended). The section is headed "Officers and Employees". The first general duty as an employee is to act in conformity with all "the Rules" and obey any lawful instruction of the Governor and of the Scottish Minsters and equally I must tell of any breach of these rules. One page of this two-page section is taken up with rules concerning "Searching of officers and employees".

[59] Accessing one's own bank account becomes impossible in prison and where people do have money they become reliant on a relative or friend to put it on their PPC which until recently could only be done by sending it in by post (with frequent complaints that it never arrived) or taking it personally to the prison. Some without friends or relatives have no way of accessing

personal property, of dignity through the humiliating stripping of clothes and checking for contraband. The "personal defacement" suffered by the removal of personal possessions is particularly highlighted by Goffman (1961, 28-9):

> One set of the individual's possessions has a special relation to self. The individual ordinarily expects to exert some control over the guise in which he appears before others. For this he *(sic)* needs cosmetic and clothing supplies, tools for applying, arranging, and repairing them, and an accessible, secure place to store these supplies and tools – in short the individual will need an 'identity kit' for the management of his *(sic)* personal front.

This lack of access to personalised clothing and make-up is felt acutely (but by no means exclusively) by women who, on the whole, make an effort to remain well presented (for example, Dee, in Ordinary Time, who "takes great pride in her appearance. Her clothes always clean and neat and make-up immaculately applied"). The ultimate act of mortification is the assignment of a prison number. Jenny Smith becomes Prisoner Number 274850.

Inside the prison, each successive space can only be accessed with keys taken from a secure key room. Thick metal doors form regular barriers. Space is broken down into tightly defined areas usually with long, enclosed linking corridors.[60] Access to space is regulated by time and purpose and for prisoners by their category. However, unlike the operators of the CCTV who can see everywhere in the prison, individuals can spend years in the same building but never meet or even see another person living only 100 or 200 metres from them. Most spaces in prison are "austere" with the "monotony of sterile walls" (Ordinary). Some corridors may be painted in bright colours, and people have scope to personalise their cell to an extent, but overall, it feels a "hostile place" (Lent). The one colourful, peaceful (and CCTV free) place amid all of this, is the chapel. People recognise this as a sacred space, but officers are required to

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their own money with which to buy essential toiletries and canteen items which help make prison life slightly more tolerable.

[60] This principle of separation means that corridors can be extremely long. It is reckoned that in Edinburgh prison the distance from the front door to furthest hall is over a ¼ mile long (but not being allowed to wear a fitbit one will never know!). Getting to the chapel involved opening and closing 13 separate doors and a good proportion of the main corridor.

escort and guard so more often than not I meet someone in an "unexciting interview room. Plastic chairs and a rickety table fight for space with a broken TV on a stand and crates of laundry waiting to be distributed" (Advent).

5.1.2.2 Custody and Order

The design and use of space is focused on reducing risk and risk is something into which the prison chaplain is socialised along with other staff (Hicks 2012, 636). From the initial training in prisoner behaviour and personal protection the chaplain is made aware of the risks associated with working in a prison and the primacy of security. While the work of the chaplain may be different in focus from uniformed staff they go through the same rituals of getting keys from the key vend, carrying a radio as a precaution, and wearing the same colour and design of badge that all staff wear. In a study of prison chaplains in the USA, Hicks noted that "by symbolically tying chaplains to other staff, such props were perceived as contributing to the management of risk" (2012, 647). Sometimes this is overt as Chaplains are often involved in doing security checks for those attending their groups, checking to see if there are any "enemies" or "must be separate," and "if their name isn't on the list, they can't come" (Pentecost). Once in the room, the chaplain positions themselves, as any member of staff does, closest to the door. Or in the chapel, the chaplain must acquiesce in the "military precision" with which "prisoners are directed and seated" with uniformed staff sitting strategically between them (Easter). An essential part of the life-giving liturgy of communion is pushed aside by the rule-based liturgy of security. Not infrequently, during a service "the sense of peace is broken…by an order from one of the officers who berate's the congregation if they show the slightest sign of disrespect…order must be kept…authority respected" (Easter). Even in the place of worship there is a battle of values as the officers let their presence be known in the presence of the "softies and civvies" (as chaplains and other non-uniformed staff are known). Hicks suggests that the result of this socialisation "creates juxtaposition between rehabilitation, custody, and punishment, and implies that religious workers are socialized in ways that may potentially suppress their rehabilitative or redemptive concerns" (2012, 661).

The role strain that Hicks speaks of, stemming from "contradictory or incompatible expectations," (2008, 401) has been further exacerbated by the

growing demand for prison chaplains to professionalise, which is a way of externally defining, and thus controlling, the chaplains' job. This has been influenced by the development of managerialism within the SPS combined with the wider debate in society about what constitutes "good religion", and the role of religion within public institutions (Cadge et al. 2017; Fitzgerald 2015; Todd 2020, 2015). The result, according to Pattison is a "dumbing down of the Spirit" by universalising, commodifying and individualising spirituality (2007, 136). An example of this is the issue of Kosher meals where I find "my hands are tied…authenticity drowned out by Prison Rules" (Epiphany). Prisoners can declare themselves Jewish one day and Muslim the next, driven by the motivation to access the associated food diets. Despite the disquiet of religious leaders, chaplains and staff, "possessive individualism", which focuses on rights without responsibilities, is perpetuated by the prison rules over a more communitarian understanding (Milbank 2012, 203).

A further impact of the growth of managerialism and the need to display "outcomes" is the push for chaplains to in some way, "measure" what they do.

> If SPS had their way I am sure there would be some sort of measurement taken as I went into a room and another as I left to gauge the mood change, the reduction in suicidal thoughts, or increase in victim empathy, or perhaps the hint that someone is beginning to think differently about the future…but the only real question is, "are they less likely to commit another crime?" (Ordinary Time).[61]

So far, such measurement, apart from the quantitative time spent with a person, and the occasional qualitative note under "responsivity" on the prison record system, has been resisted.

5.1.2.3 Staff Attitude

Liebling has shown that "interpersonal relationships and treatment, and the use of authority…lead to stark difference in perceived fairness and safety and different outcomes for prisoners, including rates of suicide," (2011, 530). It

[61] This seems a rather harsh assertion and there is a genuine desire to care for people but underlying it all there is a constant push to report and ideally quantify actions.

seems there are always one or two officers who persist in bawling surnames down the landing (Advent). For the prisoner, this has the double ignominy of being shouted at while also letting everyone else know some of their business. The more considerate officers will walk to the cell door, address the person by their first name while politely informing them that the chaplain is here to see them. This attitude also spills over into their interactions with chaplains. Staff sometimes "forget" to open a cell door when someone has signed up to come to a group. Or, during the group, or one-to-one, the door will suddenly burst open with no warning and brusque "time up" delivered. This robs participants of a sense of closure or preparation for re-entry into the prison world and can be particularly upsetting if it occurs during a sensitive prayer or quiet time of sharing (Pentecost). Less obvious but equally challenging are staff attitudes to escorting people to the chapel or being present during a group. Having taken away the privilege of being able to escort a prisoner to the chapel, the chaplain is reliant on uniformed staff. Those who are sympathetic to chaplaincy can and do make it happen. But there are those who see it as extra work and so in many prisons the Chapel lies empty and unused for most of the week despite it being a highly valued space.

5.1.3 Re-enacting the story

James K.A. Smith asserts that,

> Every liturgy constitutes a pedagogy that teaches us, in all sorts of precognitive ways to be a certain kind of person. Hence every liturgy is an education, and embedded in every liturgy is an implicit worldview or "understanding" of the world (2009, 25).

He goes on to explain that by education he is not talking about information but about "*formation*, a task of shaping and creating a certain kind of people", (2009, 26). There is power in liturgy. Foucault, before him, had written about the desire by the powerful to exert control over people through reforms which sought to touch the soul (Foucault 1977, 1980). However,

> This real, non-corporal soul is not a substance ; it is an element in which are articulated the effects of a certain type of power and the reference

> of a certain type of knowledge, the machinery by which the power relations give rise to a possible corpus of knowledge, and knowledge extends and reinforces the effects of this power, (Foucault 1977, 29).

In other words, the control of power leads to theories and knowledge about how people can be made to conform to being a certain kind of person and by theorising this the very condition is created and justified and maintained. The effect of this carceral system is that "it succeeds in making the power to punish natural and legitimate, in lowering the threshold of tolerance to penalty" in society (Foucault 1977,301).

Feminist analysis challenges the use of power which gives precedence to rule-oriented thinking based on so called detached and objective knowledge, arguing rather for "personal involvement, passionate attachment and quite a practical everyday respect for the happiness of those with whom one has dealings" (Parsons 2002, 213). Such an approach to ethics urges "upon society the importance of care in its various structures, in schools and businesses, courts of law and hospitals" (Parsons 2002, 213). What is needed are liturgies of grace which value relationship rather than rules, subjectivity rather than the mirage of objectivity and humility rather than humiliation. In other words, liturgies that are life-giving rather than mortifying. This applies equally, if not more, to prisons. From her research Liebling is clear about the formative impact of these contrasting liturgies:

> Some relevant aspects of the prison experience, including indifference, humiliation, deliberate taunting, inactivity, unfairness and unpredictability can precipitate feelings of hopelessness, powerlessness and despair, particularly among the vulnerable. Their opposites: dignity, recognition, respect, humanity and kindness, can protect individuals from such feelings (Liebling 2012).

This suggests that prisons themselves have a spirituality, "the inner aspect of outward material reality; it can be likened to the personality or character of an individual" (Pattison 2007, 110). Drawing on Walter Wink's book *Naming the Powers* (1984) , Pattison explains:

> A particular spirit comes into being with the rise of a material power reality, e.g. an empire, a community. It is created with and by human action, but it then comes to have a relatively autonomous superhuman existence that itself shapes human beliefs and actions with a web of practices, myths, rituals, assumptions and ideologies (2007, 111).

Wink (1992, 46-47) draws attention to the difference between systems which are based on domination and those based on partnership. In the former, power is used to control, dehumanise, rule and punish. Relationships are based on hierarchy and we/them. The future is about keeping hold of the status quo of holding and keeping power. In a domination free/partnership society, power is used to give, support and nurture life, it is enabling, and relationships are based on an equality of opportunity and a linking together as we/we. Cultural transformation is envisioned.

Using not dissimilar language, the SPS Organisational Review of 2013 set out to transform the way it worked by focusing on rehabilitation and reintegration. The vision was refreshed but when it came to the Mission statement there was a reluctance to let go of the almost quarter century old Custody Order Care Opportunity (COCO). Although a new Mission Statement was developed – Providing services that help to transform the lives of people in our care so they can fulfil their potential and become responsible citizens – COCO was retained as the Review Team "believe the 'Task' of SPS as conceptualised by Custody, Order, Care and Opportunity remains valid" (2013b, 47).[62] They go on to say that "indeed it is so well embedded in the organisation that it would be counterproductive to seek to remove it" (SPS 2013b, 47). This, despite the reservation that "a continual focus on the perceived 'hierarchy' of the mission would perpetuate cultural values that emphasised the restrictive elements of imprisonment rather than promoting the rehabilitative ones" (SPS 2013b, 46). With such a powerful acronym as COCO remaining at the heart of the SPS Mission is not surprising that "custody and order" are still deeply embedded within the

[62] The acronym of COCO changed from being the Mission statement to being the operating task of the SPS. A redefinition of COCO was also suggested but to all intents and purposes the role of COCO remained the same in the minds of uniformed staff when talking to them.

prison system, that practices are shaped and dominated by rules, that some of the officers actions can be humiliating rather than helpful.

5.1.4 Blessing

This is the reality of the organisational culture and context in which I work as a chaplain. The embeddedness that seemed such a benefit when writing about my methodology in Chapter 3.2 now appears in a different light. I think of all that I have had to stand by and watch, of attitudes voiced that I have not challenged, of guarded answers given rather than speaking the truth. At times I have given up, the battle against "the system" too much, the voice of order too loud, the force of control too strong. I have also been bruised by the culture of punishment, disciplined for innocent errors, and often feel like I am walking a tightrope. In such a state of mind it is not irrelevant to ask, "am I still of any use?" (Bonhoeffer 1971, 16). And yet not to be there is a neglect of duty, a refusal to take responsibility, an abandonment of any opportunity to show love, a lack of belief in a God who can bring good out of evil (Bonhoeffer 1971, 6-11). In light of this, Williams observes that prison chaplaincy, "is only plausible when conducted by people who are themselves committedly truthful about their vulnerability and about their fallibility, about their own involvement in social patterns that are not life-giving" (2003, 16). I am complicit, but there is also the reality that every life-giving liturgy that I, or for that matter any other member of staff, perform (the handshake, the respect given, the belief in an individual, a random act of kindness) weakens the dominant culture and "strengthens the new order of God" (Wink 1992, 48). I cannot absent myself from an institution just because I do not agree with all that goes on there. Wink, again, is helpful to me in keeping perspective: "The gospel message is not an ideal beyond realization. It is rather a continual lure toward the fullest conceivable life for all" (Wink 1992, 48).

There is general agreement that there is something distinct about the chaplain, that they hold more trust in the prison than other members of staff, that their pastoral presence is valued and to this extent they can be seen as counter-cultural (Caperon, Todd, and Walters 2018; Cobb, Swift, and Todd 2015; Dearnley 2015; Sundt and Cullen 1998; Threlfall-Holmes and Newitt 2011; Todd

and Tipton 2011; Phillips 2013).[63] But it is more than being a "truthteller" (Williams 2003, 7) or responding to "individuality over against the institution's thrust to conformity" (Phillips 2013, 135). I would argue that the presence of a chaplain is symbolic not just of a different culture, but of a wholly different system, a different way of relating to others, a different way of using power, a different Spirit. Also, although I as a chaplain may try to practise life-giving liturgies, it is an invitation to everyone to be involved in a more caring way of relating to fellow human-beings. It is also much bigger than chaplaincy. It is about Kingdom values permeating society. So, despite the continuing evidence of old values within the SPS, the Organisational Review (SPS 2013b) has made positive changes to the way things are done and in a small sample of Scottish prison staff Dorward found staff speaking of "seeing offenders as individuals, working with them from a basis of reciprocal respect and having a non-judgemental, individualised approach, believing in the concept of hope and that people can change" (2014, 52).

5.2 Pain-bearing Witness

In this section I move from the institutional to the personal and the practice of pain-bearing liturgies.

5.2.1 Approach

I am troubled. Much written about chaplaincy has stressed the locational aspect of this ministry. Thomson (1947, 267) talked about "The Institutional Chaplain"; the Church of England decided on "sector ministry", having rejected "specialised ministry" as it angered the parochial clergy (Legood 1999, ix); Ballard (2009) introduced the idea of being "embedded"; Williams "shepherding away from home" (2003), and most recently chaplaincy has been located in an "organisational setting" (Ryan 2015, 10). Some have gone further in locating chaplaincy in marginal places (Threlfall-Holmes and Newitt 2011, xv). The geographical descriptor is also implicit in the missional nature of chaplaincy discussed by a number of people writing from a Christian perspective (Caperon,

[63] This is not to claim that chaplains are morally superior. There have been times when a chaplain failed to meet expected standards and has been disciplined or, in several cases over the last few years, dismissed.

Todd, and Walters 2018; Slater 2013, 2015; Todd, Slater, and Dunlop 2014). When it comes to the role of the chaplain there is less consensus. In fact, it is asserted that there is "no conceptual clarity about what constitutes chaplaincy" (Todd, Slater, and Dunlop 2014, 14) despite an in depth study of its contribution to the English and Welsh prison service (Todd and Tipton 2011). Smith, as the only researcher of chaplaincy in Scotland to date, developed six models each with its own nuanced position of the chaplain's location in relation to the prison and the prisoner (1997, 149-150):

> Model A: A prison chaplain holds a unique place within the prison, being in the prison but not of it. He/she represents a different order and may be rather disarming in approach.
>
> Model B: A prison chaplain is the independent representative of God and of the wider church in the prison and gives most importance to preaching the Word of God and proclaiming the Good News of Jesus Christ through worship, prayer, the administration of the sacraments and bible study.
>
> Model C: A prison chaplain is available as and when required, responding to requests from prisoners and holding a neutral position within the prison establishment. The chaplain has little involvement in the routine of the prison.
>
> Model D: A prison chaplain maintains a critical distance from the power structures of the prison system and is thus able to reflect upon it, to become an advocate for prisoners and work for positive individual and institutional improvement/change in the prison system.
>
> Model E: A prison chaplain is, primarily, a giver of care, demonstrating this through the specific functions of listening, visiting, caring and counselling with prisoners and/or staff, whether believers or not.
>
> Model F: A prison chaplain is an interpreter of the prison system for prisoners. He/she is a normalising influence, helping prisoners to come to terms with their imprisonment and explaining the ways of the institution

> to them. He/she tries to ensure a degree of social stability within the prison.

While the above descriptions may be interesting in thinking through the chaplains' position, particularly in relation to context, they were pre-defined by Smith who then asked chaplains which one fitted their current practice most closely. As might be expected, most chaplains identified with each of the models to some extent but when pushed to select one, most chaplains (70%) identified model E (primarily a care giver) as the most accurate description. None chose Model D or F (Smith, 151).[64] Smith ends her discussion by calling for a more proactive and prophetic ministry, echoing models of chaplaincy and theological concepts found in more contemporary literature which try to capture its essence: pastoral, prophetic, incarnational, sacramental, hospitality (Threlfall-Holmes and Newitt 2011; Slater 2010). The problem with these concepts is that they could, and should, be the essentials in any parish ministry. Perhaps inching a little deeper, Hall (2004) suggests six "theological concerns" of prison ministry: inherent worth of humankind; hope; ministry of presence; forgiveness; power; inclusiveness. But again, I would suggest that these are equally concerns of the parish minister within her community. I reject, however, the conclusion that chaplaincy "is by no means essentially different from church and parish ministry" (Threlfall-Holmes and Newitt 2011, xvii).

Another troubling aspect of the academic literature on prison chaplaincy is that much of it is written by men who are writing and thinking about institutions and arrangements which have historically been designed by men. De Beauvoir alerted us to the wider issue in *The Second Sex:* "Representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their point of view, which they confuse with the absolute truth" (2011, 166). One of the main tasks of feminism, aided by Carol Gilligan's seminal book *In a Different Voice* (1982), has been to find a way of speaking and writing which allows women to speak authentically, or at least with an awareness of traditional encoding.

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[64] Whereas chaplains identified with most closely with Model E (Care-giver), prisoners and Governors identified Model F (Normalising influence) as the one closest to the description of the chaplains role.

Perhaps more than others the French psychoanalyst, Irigaray, has explored this in her own field:

> We end up with this paradox. Scientific studies prove the sexuality of the cortex, while science maintains that discourse is neuter. Such is the naivety of a subject that never interrogates itself, never looks back toward its constitution, never questions its contradictions. We learn that the left and right side of the brain are not the same in men as in women, but that, nevertheless, the two sexes speak by the same language, and that no other language could possibly exist. By what grace, or what necessity, is it possible to speak the same language without having the same brain? With what do we speak? Is the brain simply a centre for processing information already encoded elsewhere? Where? With no traces of its coming into being? And this process is then imagined, directed, or marked, by which sex? (2002, 3).

While this quote may be interpreted as essentialist I see it as opening up the possibility of women being able to think and write differently, and see something new, or from a different perspective from that of men. This does not make women's observations anymore "right" than men's, but it gives voice to something that may be missed when only one voice is heard and only one language used. At very least, it opens discussion about the dominant discourse and its underlying ethics and epistemology.

On reflection, I started this thesis with a traditional approach in mind. I had a question that I wanted to explore and I assumed I would then collect data to support or refute my predefined argument. But by using autoethnography, which allowed scope for unlooked-for observations to arise, and by placing it in the spiritual framework of the church year, I began to see things that didn't fit into the neat framework with which I had started. Arising from this disjuncture, this section explores the observations made from reading and re-reading, reflection and prayer, thinking and meditating, on the personal encounters in Chapter 4. It was also sparked by a reading of Susan Sontag's *Regarding the Pain of Others,* where, drawing on Virginia Woolf, she states that "no 'we' should be taken for granted when the subject is looking at the pain of others" (2003, 4).

And so, I would venture that what follows is a different way of looking at chaplaincy. I do not deny that pastoral, incarnational and prophetic models of chaplaincy have their value, but like Sarah Dunlop (2017), I am driven to ask, "is 'being there' enough?".[65] I take what I see and hear as a female prison chaplain and offer it as a testimony to what I have witnessed.

5.2.2 Encountering the Story

Having clarified my "Approach" above, I focus on the word "Story" and wonder what the difference is between the disparate people of the parish and the incarcerated prisoner? All are human. All come from one area or another designated as a parish by the Church of Scotland. Are not the stories of Steven (Advent), Jamie (Epiphany), Joe and Kieran (Lent), the nameless sex offenders of Easter, Aisha and the remand group at Pentecost, and the women of Cornton Vale, a few amongst many – Jo, Mary, Chantelle, Pamela, Beth, Dee (Ordinary Time) - are they not essentially the same as some unfortunate parish member?[66] If not, what distinguishes their story from the patient visited by the hospital chaplain, the shop assistant visited by the Workplace chaplain, the footballer by the Sports chaplain, the student by the University chaplain, the soldier visited by the Army chaplain?[67] Of relevance here is Davies' revision of Goffman's concept of the Total Institution in which he distinguishes between the purpose of the institution and the degree of closure (1989, 89). In this schema, prisons exhibit one of the most closed environments with the purpose of "transmogrification", while the armed forces, for instance, have an intermediate degree of closure with an external task to perform. Davies points out that some people choose to

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[65] I do not think it is insignificant that Dunlop's research was commissioned by the Director of Mission and Public Affairs of the Archbishop's Council of the Church of England. Who asks the question shapes the answer. Being self-funded and choosing a standpoint methodology has led me to look at a different way of answering the same question.

[66] Indeed, some prisoners are church members of long standing. This brings its own challenges for the local church as it deals with a "story" which does not fit the generally middle-class picture of respectability. Often there is such a stigma that the related person will not mention "the story" to members in her congregation. On more than one occasion, when speaking to a church group someone has approached me at the end and confided that they have a son, father, husband, nephew, in prison – but have never told anyone. It is always a woman who tells me this of a male relative, occasionally the relative is female. Never has a man confided to me of a male or female relative in prison.

[67] While there are obvious differences in that the soldier voluntarily takes up a post, I suspect that there is more in common with the Armed Forces chaplain than other forms of chaplaincy due to the traumatic nature of the combatant's job. On the other hand, the highly institutionalised nature of Armed Forces chaplaincy, including links to the established church and the domination of male chaplains, may inhibit this comparison.

be in relatively closed environments but the distinguishing thing here is the voluntary commitment of the person to the aim e.g. members of a kibbutz or ashram (1989 89). All other institutions or locations where chaplaincy takes place would be so open that they would not be considered as total in any sense. So, for the purpose of thinking about whose story I am encountering, it is someone differentiated by being in a closed environment and being there against their choice. They are "committed" to prison, but the committal is made by the law courts not of their own free will. As noted above, this peculiar location is the distinguishing feature of prison chaplaincy studies.

Once in a prison, however, many of the stories told to me including those encountered in the autoethnography are remarkably similar: a dysfunctional homelife as a child; physical and, not infrequently, sexual abuse; spells in care homes; long-term emotional neglect; drug and alcohol addiction; traumatic bereavement. All these experiences, apart from traumatic bereavement, are elements which were collectively named "Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs)" in a major USA study in 1998 (Felitti et al).[68] The ACE Pyramid (**Figure 8**) shows how such experiences can lead to risky behaviours, disease, disability and social problems and ultimately an early death. It is only within the last few years that this framework has been adopted in the UK with the publication of the English National Household Survey (Bellis et al. 2014) and the Welsh Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) Study (Ashton et al. 2016).

No dedicated ACEs study has taken place in Scotland but in a report by the Scottish Public Health Network (ScotPHN) the implications for the Scottish population were discussed drawing on the impact of ACEs in other places (Couper and Mackie 2016). The main finding from all the studies is the dramatic impact on a person that the experience of 4 or more ACEs has on a whole range of behaviours and outcomes. To make this point the Scottish report reproduces the data for Wales which shows that 14% of the population (14 in every 100 people) has 4+ ACEs (Ashton et. al. 2016, 4).

[68] The main experiences now taken into account in ACE studies are divided into Child Abuse & Neglect: Psychological, Physical and Sexual and Household Environment: Parental Separation, Domestic Violence, Mental Illness, Alcohol and Drug Abuse, Incarceration.

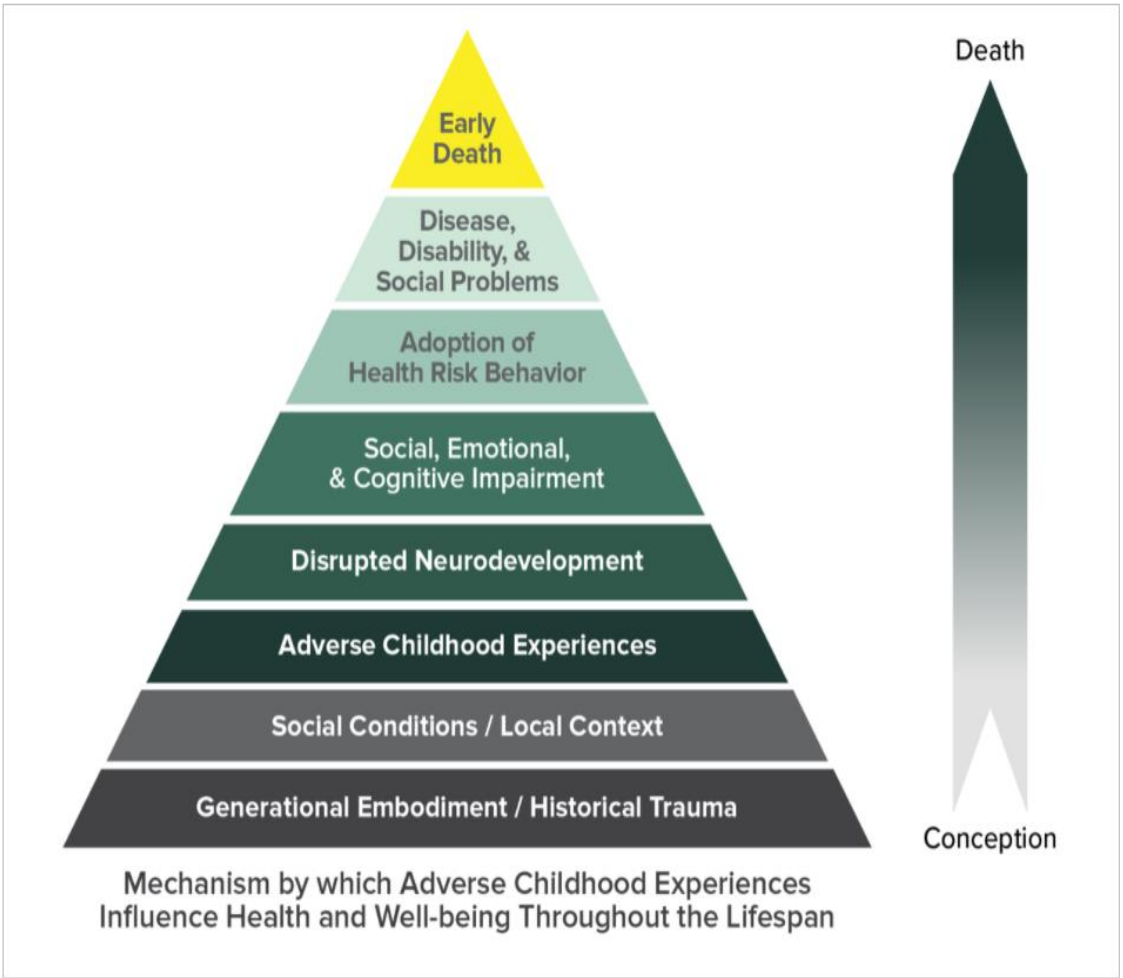

Figure 8 The Ace Pyramid

Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (n.d.)

The impact of people with 4+ ACEs compared with people with no ACEs is shocking. They are:

- 4 times more likely to be a high-risk drinker
- 6 times more likely to have had or caused a teenage pregnancy
- 6 times more likely to smoke e-cigarettes or tobacco
- 11 times more likely to have smoked cannabis
- 14 times more likely to have been a victim of violence over the last 4 months

- 15 times more likely to have committed violence against another person in the last 12 months
- 16 times more likely to have used crack cocaine or heroin
- 20 times more likely to have been incarcerated at any point in their lifetime

(Couper and Mackie 2016, 12)

The implication is that the people who end up in prison are much more likely to have experienced trauma or other harmful childhood experiences than the average person in the street or pew. However, the impact on men and women does not appear to be equal, for "a large body of literature shows dramatic differences between justice involved men and women" (Messina, Bloom, and Covington 2019, 633).

In Scotland, prompted by the doubling of the female prison population over the previous 10 years, the 2012 Commission on Women Offenders (commonly known as the Angiolini Report) provided a detailed account of how women in prison differed significantly from male prisoners over a range of characteristics (Scottish Government 2012). Compared to men, female prisoners are more likely to have:

- significantly higher rates of poor mental health
- higher lifetime incidences of trauma (with an emerging link between a woman's experience of victimisation and subsequent offending)
- used drugs prior to imprisonment
- committed their offence to obtain money for drugs
- a break-up of her family and loss of home

(Scottish Government 2012, 20-21)

The extent of the level and intensity of trauma experienced by female prisoners and the effect this has was reported in a study of women in HMP and YOI Cornton Vale (Hooks, Perrin, and Trevling 2011, 20):

> The childhood trauma questionnaire revealed significant experience of early trauma in the prison population. Specifically, the percentages of women who had experienced within the moderate to severe range was Emotional abuse 46%, Physical abuse 31%, Sexual abuse 39%, Emotional neglect 43% and Physical neglect 45%. The rates are high and when compared to other populations, they resemble more a psychiatric population than a community sample. Emotional neglect is becoming recognised as a significant contributor to later difficulties in life and linked with the development of borderline personality disorder.
>
> The overall scores from the personality disorder questionaire were higher than a normal population across all personality disorders but of most relevance to a forensic population is that 53% of the prisoners fulfilled criteria for BPD [Borderline Personality Disorder] and 52% for ASPD [Anti-Social Personality Disorder].The other particularly high score was 58% for avoidant PD [Personality Disorder]…52% of them endorsed at least 5 out of 9 features of BPD which reflect difficulties in relationships, impulsivity, managing feelings and self harming tendencies all of which would impact on the prisoners capacity to manage and conform to the prison regime.
>
> The SCL-90 [Psychiatric Symptom Checklist-90] gives an overall index of symptom distress which showed that 80% of the Cornton Vale population were experiencing considerable distress of levels more akin to a psychiatric population. These observations would suggest that on a number of important variables, the female prisoner population of Cornton Vale has more in common with a psychiatric population. This might have practical implications for the way in which this group are effectively managed. There is also a suggestion from the SCL90 data that there may be significant untreated or inadequately treated psychiatric illness. This could have an impact on the ability of the prisoners to cooperate in offender programmes and the everyday activities of daily living in the prison…

> This survey would suggest that the female prisoner population in Cornton Vale have experienced physical, sexual and emotional abuse and neglect at a rate comparable to patients with psychiatric disorders and much higher than the general population. In addition they have a very high prevalence of personality disorder and psychiatric symptomatology.

One surprising aspect of the ACEs framework is the omission of traumatic bereavement as an adverse childhood experience i.e. deaths that are sudden, unexpected, and/or violent. While it is acknowledged that people with 4+ ACEs are more likely to experience early death themselves the traumatic death of others is not included in the framework. Yet in conversations with prisoners the traumatic death of a parent, sibling or best friend in their early or teenage years is often cited as the trigger to alcohol or drug abuse which in turn has led them into criminal behaviour escalating eventually to imprisonment. In addition, it is not uncommon for a person to receive news of a traumatic death while they are in prison: a close friend dying of a drug overdose, a murdered sibling, the sudden death of a partner. Or to have experienced a traumatic bereavement in early adulthood which, on top of all the other bereavements, often leads to complicated grief (Lobb et al. 2010; Shear and Shair 2005). The effect that grief has on people in prison is only beginning to be researched and understood. This development is informed by a shift in understanding of the grief process as identified by Doka and Tucci (2011, iii):

a) From understanding grief as reactions to a family member to a more inclusive understanding of loss

b) From viewing grief reactions as universal stages to a recognition of personal pathways

c) From seeing grief solely as affect to recognising multiple and multifaceted reactions that people have towards loss and ways that responses to grief are influenced by development, culture, gender and spirituality

d) From coping passively with loss to seeing the possibilities of transformation and growth in grief

e) From grief as solely about relinquishing ties to revising and renewing relationships

f) From seeing grief as simply a normal process to recognising more complicated variants and the necessity for careful assessment.

These shifts are underpinned by a growing appreciation that grief does not take place in a vacuum but is influenced by time, place and situation.[69]

The literature on bereavement recognises this shift in understanding but also the lack of data, research and literature specifically relating to imprisonment (Harner, Hentz, and Evangelista 2010; Hendry 2009; Vaswani 2008; Masterton 2015). What is known is that the Scottish prison population is characterised by social deprivation and exclusion with high levels of mental ill-health, substance abuse and childhood abuse (Houchin 2005).[70] A profile of persistent offenders in Scotland identified bereavement as an issue amongst this group (Vaswani 2008). The link between bereavement and criminal behaviour is also highlighted in a study of Young Offenders in Wales where it is observed that "severe emotional stressors, particularly traumatic bereavement, in childhood or adolescence are linked to offending and other maladaptive behaviour" (Finlay and Jones 2000, 569). Valentine et al (2016, 291) highlight the particular issues around bereavement due to substance misuse in a Scottish context, pointing out that general bereavement theory assumes 'normal grief' and ignores "disenfranchised" grief. This is compounded by the prison context where masculinity and prison culture have a strong impact on the ability of incarcerated men to resolve grief issues (Ferrera-Pena 2010; Hendry 2009). Rodger (2004), a Bereavement Counsellor in an English prison, confirms this state of unexpressed grief and isolation due to imprisonment. Lane, drawing on

[69] Stephen et al, mention the 'increasing secular and mobile nature of society' which 'is diminishing community responses to death, dying and bereavement' pushing the burden onto voluntary and statutory bodies (2009, 240). If prisoners are more likely to come from dysfunctional homes it reduces their access to communal responses even further.

[70] The Houchin Report was the inspiration behind the Church of Scotland's initial feasibility study "Faith-Inspired Throughcare" (Orr 2006) which led to Faith in Community (Scotland) establishing a number of projects which, in 2019, became independent charities (Place for Change, I FiT, Fit for Change, First@Second). Likewise, the Church of England was not inured to the link between poverty, vulnerability and imprisonment with the Board of Social responsibility publishing a series of essays on the subject (Church of England 1999).

her experience as a chaplain, calls it "imprisoned grief…distinctive because it manifests itself due to the loss of freedom brought about by imprisonment; during anticipatory grieving whilst in prison; following a bereavement in prison and loss acts as a factor in criminal behaviour which includes loss due to homicide" (2015, 7). Meanwhile, Harner (2011) specifically addresses the way women experience bereavement in a study in a USA prison which highlights the importance of ceremonies, signs and rituals assisting individuals to cope with crisis and change in the grieving process. Returning closer to home, Phillips (2013, 151-163) discusses candle lighting as a prevalent ritual in both men and women prisons in England and Wales.

In Scotland, Masterton (2015) has written about her experience as a Bereavement Counsellor in HMP Edinburgh and the prevalence of disenfranchised grief. Only one study concerning the impact of bereavement in Scottish prisons has been conducted. Nina Vaswani carried out a study into the link between bereavement and mental health at HMP&YOI Polmont exploring the prevalence and nature of bereavement among 33 young men. A bereavement had been experienced by 91% of the sample, and the rates of traumatic and multiple deaths were high. Young men who had experienced more 'difficult' bereavements scored higher on the mental health screen than those who had not, except for the loss of a parent/main carer *(*Vaswani 2014:341). She observed that depressive symptoms increase with the number of losses experienced and traumatic deaths increased levels of PTSD and depression.[71]

5.2.3 Re-enacting the Story

Where am I in all this pain and loss? What possibility of transformation can there be for lives so damaged? What does my presence mean, however incarnational I believe it to be? What happens when nothing can be spoken? What response is there to "soul murder", where one human being uses their "power over another to crush…individuality…dignity…capacity to feel deeply" (Shengold 1991, 536). How do we cope with so much death? Is there something

[71] Her main concern was that there was no dedicated support for bereaved adolescents. Barnados subsequently set up a service 'Here and Now' dealing with trauma, loss and bereavement which was reviewed in 2016 providing further evidence of the need for and benefit of bereavement support and especially the training of prison staff (Vaswani et al, 2016).

beyond prophecy, proclamation and the encouraging words of pastoral care? What if we (Chaplains) have been too quick to speak, even when we think it is God's Word we speak? What resource can the metaphor of the Trinity offer in such situations? What part of the Gospel (Good News) is being re-enacted when we come face to face death and trauma?

I am not sure I am able to answer these questions. "There are no quick answers, or right answers, or even acceptable answers" (Ordinary Time). The more I reflect on my encounters the less certain I become, often struggling "to make sense of the time I spend with people" (Ordinary Time). But the more uncertain and unknowing I become, the more I begin to see things I had not seen before, but with a different eye. The certainty of the Church Year gives a familiar and comfortable structure to my reflections but there are times, especially Ordinary times, when the story does not seem to "fit", as perhaps I feel it should. There are times when the "suffering, the longing, the waiting" are suffocating, circling "round one centre of pain" with no healing in sight (Ordinary Time). And when face to face with Dee (Ordinary), I am forced to re-evaluate my role as chaplain. Being a helper or supporter, a pastoral carer, or encourager – none of these seem apt for what I am doing or as a description of what is happening. This is a challenging, but potentially fruitful place to be. "It is precisely at the edges of comprehension, the places where comprehension fails, that something else emerges and the possibility of something else arises" (Rambo 2010, 10). I sensed this something else. Something those writing about trauma had already identified. Something to which the writings of Felman and Laub (1992), Glasson (2009), Jones (2019) Oliver (2001), and Rambo (2010, 2017) helped me to put a name.

The difficulty with trying to think and write about trauma is its essential unknowability from the outset. Rambo writes of the "limitations of language to articulating and bringing to light the story of trauma…the breakdown of the assumptions about the knowability of the experience…trauma is an unknowing, unclaimed, unassimiable, unsayable experience" (2017, 4). It keeps the traumatised "dumbfounded" (Van der Kolk 2014, 232). It disrupts the "linear fashion" of the pastoral visit – the greeting, the approach, the attentive listening, perhaps a question or two, more listening, some words of

encouragment, a bidding goodbye – where "life (resurrection) is victorious over death" (Rambo 2010, 6). There is not only disruption, there is a danger:

> If redemption is depicted as a happy victorious ending in which life wins over death, or in which death is somehow concluded/ended, such a depiction runs the risk of glossing over a more mixed experience of life and death (Rambo 2010, 7).

Instead, Rambo presents us with the alarming state "of death in life that is central to trauma", of death "remaining" after the trauma as people go on surviving (Rambo 2010, 6).

Reflecting on encounters through the lens of trauma leads me into a different space. It is a space into which I am drawn unwittingly at first. I cannot predict the nature of the encounter beforehand. Knowing the prevailing circumstances of those with whom I meet, I can only be attentive to the possibility of "the knowing of the event" being birthed (Laub 1992, 57). Laub contends, "The listener, therefore, is a party to the creation of knowledge *de novo*. The testimony to the trauma thus includes its hearer, who is, so to speak, the blank screen on which the event comes to be inscribed for the first time" (Laub 1992, 57). This means as a chaplain I am providing the writing material for the trauma. My presence makes inscription possible. By putting myself in this position I also come to share in the experience. I become a "co-owner of the traumatic event" by the very act of listening (Laub 1992, 57). Not being aware of this process in the early days of my chaplaincy ministry I would find myself involuntarily remembering the most traumatic encounters out of work hours. When asked "how do you cope with all the stories you hear?" my stock response would be, "I leave them at the gate". I obviously didn't and the process of autoethnography has helped me to identify what I was actually experiencing rather than fitting my experience into pre-defined pastoral encounters. I now recognise the needle of trauma as it pushes into my flesh inscribing some of the "bewilderment, injury, confusion, dread and conflicts that the trauma victim feels" (Laub 1992, 58). As a chaplain I become a witness to the way suffering alters a person's experience of time, body and speech. I am drawn into past experiences in the present. "The past does not stay in the past…it invades the present…something of that event returns later" (Rambo 2010, 19). I am often present at this

invasion although the ways it manifests itself, with changes in mind and body, are often subtle and silent, yet there all the same. Van der Kolk (2014) draws on a lifetime of experience and scientific development to document the ways in which mind, brain and body are transformed by trauma. Not least of these is the break down of "the inhibitory capacities of the frontal lobe" causing people to literally "'take leave of their senses': They may startle in response to any loud sound, become enraged by small frustrations, or freeze when somebody touches them" (Van Der Kolk 2014, 63).[72] These outward reactions give glimpses to the inward trauma with it's "language of the unsayable" where "access to speech is…limited" (Rambo 2010, 21).

In this context, significantly, lack of speech is not silence. Rogers (2006) talks of the "Hidden Lanuguage of Trauma". Building on this, Rambo contends that "trauma is expressed even in the absence of words…we know that an event can be transferred between persons without being accessed by speech" (2010, 21). Oliver explores how this might happen through "energies":

> Our relations to other people, like our relation to the environment, are constitututed by the circulation and exchange of energy…we exchange social energy in addition to chemical energy, thermal energy, electric energy, and so on…Social energy includes affective energy, which can move between people. In our relationships, we constantly negotiate affective energy transfers. Just as we can train ourselves to be more attuned to photic, mechanical or chemical energy in our environement, so too we can train ourselves to be more attuned to affective energy in our relationships" (Oliver 2001, 14).

As a Christian, this does not sound unreasonable. Was it not these very same energies which the Psalmist David was tuning into when he wrote Psalm 19?

[72] Following the Organisational Review of 2013 the SPS sought to become more trauma informed in the delivery of services recognising how everyday activities within a prison can re-traumatise women, from simple things like the slamming of a door or a raised voice, to more obvious ones such as strip searching on reception into a prison. Despite the dehumanising and re-traumatising effects of the latter, not to mention the absence of the very drugs it is supposed to find, the activity continued as part of SPS wide security measures, headed up by a male, and was only halted in HMP & YOI Cornton Vale at the explicit request of a female Governor.

God's glory is on tour in the skies,
God-craft on exhibit across the horizon.
Madame Day holds classes in the morning,
Professor Night lectures each evening.

Their words aren't heard,
their voices aren't recorded,
But their silence fills the earth:
unspoken truth is spoken everywhere.[73]

Tuning into trauma is not instinctive. But when I know that many of the people I encounter have experienced trauma, and given that prison introduces its own traumas, I become more sensitive to it, more trauma aware. This in turn demands a response to the traumatised people with whom I come face to face:

> We are obligated to respond to our environment and other people in ways that open up rather than close off the possibility of repsonse. This obligation is an obligation to life itself (Oliver 2001, 15).

The Zulu greeting "Sawabona", captures the depth of morality when two people meet face to face. "Sawabona" means "I see you", in other words "I respect and acknowledge you for who you are". In return the greeted person will say “Sikbona” which literally means “I am here” as to say “When you see me you bring me into existence”.[74] It conveys something of the philosophical challenge to the individuality of enlightenment thinking put forward by Levinas that being fully human means being morally responsible towards the other (Levinas 1987, 1999).[75]

Tuning into trauma opens up the possibility of becoming a witness, not in the ordinary sense of witnessing but in a distinctive way. Laub, in his work with Holocaust survivors identifies three levels of witnessing: "the level of being a

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[73] The Message translation vv1-4.

[74] http://tarbeyah.wordpress.com/2012/02/15/sawabona-seeing-as-a-dialogue/

[75] I have chosen to refer to the concept of the "Other" used by Levinas while recognising that it can also be problematic from a feminist perspective as raised by de Beauvoir (2011, 6n) and later by Irigaray, who takes Levinas to task for not going far enough in identifying the feminine other (1986).

witness to oneself within the experience, the level of being a witness to the testimonies of others, and the level of being a witness to the process of witnessing itself" (1995, 61). "Our understanding of witness has become more textured and multilayered. It is *thick* witness" says Rambo(2010, 22). It is the kind of witness which goes beyond the experience of an external event which is personally observed or heard. It goes beyond facts and into a "process of unknowing, in which each person encounters the profound collapse of epistemological uncertainty and straightforward communication" (Rambo 2019, 24). This type of witness does not lead to the sure testimony or the imitation life-style of a disciple, for the message and the movement are not clear (Rambo 2019, 37). But what it does is lead us into a middle ground between life and death, and to the middle Spirit who "rewrites an understanding of love in significant ways, attesting to the form of divine presence that is difficult to see, feel and touch" (Rambo 2019, 79). The Spirit is witness to the mystery of the presence of God even in the depths of hell, the assurance "that there is no place that God has not been" (Rambo 2019, 68). Rambo emphasises again and again the importance of Holy Saturday. Of resisting the urge to rush to the Resurrection without recognising the inponderable significance of the trauma of "Good" Friday and the hell that lies between. As a chaplain, I cannot avoid being the witness to such pain and suffering not only of what remains from the past but that born afresh by the very act of imprisonment.

5.2.4 Blessing

It often seems that there is no blessing in any of this. The time in prison is rarely a time of resurrection and the wounds I see are old as well as freshly scored. Healing is yet to come. The tomb remains filled. But the practice of loving attentiveness to each person I encounter opens up a space for wounds to surface and from the "deep silences" of trauma as Stirling, a hospice chaplain calls them, words sometimes take form (2018, 145). "I have never told anyone this before…", and I am drawn into that which remains. A witness to dark deep things that have never been shared before. A kind of witnessing that helps the survivor of trauma to continue the struggle to survive. At the same time I also come to embody the trauma. "It turns us to think of the porousness of experience and the complex ways that another's trauma, trauma that we view as external to us, comes to live within us" (Rambo 2017, 4). As a chaplain I can

choose to become the bearer of another's trauma, to embody pain and so through liturgies of listening and attentiveness (as opposed to silence and ignoring) open the possibility of resurrection in the future. But not now.

This becomes the lived experience of the everyday where, in Lefebvre's view, the tragic breaks through the banal. Walton (2014b, 179) picks out one of his passages which is surprisingly spiritual in tone:

> the thinking that does not shy away from the horror of the world, the darkness, but looks it straight in the face…passes over into a different kingdom which is the kingdom of darkness…Daily life has served as a refuge from the tragic…people seek and find security there. [But to] traverse daily life under the flash of the tragic is already to transform…So that the irruption of the tragic in everyday life turns it upside down. (2005, 171-2)

The ordinary and the everyday remain the place where a difference can be made, where transformation can take place no matter how small and insignificant, or even unnoticed by the inattentive. Lefebvre also talks of festival as the other disruption to the banality of life. Prison, where there is more of the tragic than of the festive, can still be the "site of wonders" (Walton 2014b, 178) as people are listened to and heard, attended and cared for, encouraged and supported in the midst of trauma and tragedy. There is also something transgressional when we begin to see "life as scattered with marvels and retaining space for a *poesis* of microintervention in which we resist with 'sweet obstinacy' " (Walton 2014b, 183 referring to De Certeau).

In this context, small everyday gestures can have great effect, as Oscar Wilde recalls in *De Profundis*[76] when, out of the jeering crowd, a person he knew, touched his cap to show to Wilde he cared about what was happening:

> Where there is sorrow there is holy ground. Someday people will realise what that means. They will know nothing of life till they do — and natures

[76] *De Profundis* was written while Wilde was serving a prison sentence. In the form of an extended letter it powerfully portrays the personal anguish of imprisonment.

> like his can realise it. When I was brought down from my prison to the Court of Bankruptcy, between two policemen — waited in the long dreary corridor that, before the whole crowd, whom an action so sweet and simple hushed into silence, he might gravely raise his hat to me, as, handcuffed and with bowed head, I passed him by. Men have gone to heaven for smaller things than that (1999, 4).

Nobody else saw this infinitesimal action apart from Wilde himself. And the person who touched his cap could not know what that meant to Wilde. A liturgy of grace, a blessing to the soul.

5.3 Love-Sharer

5.3.1 Approach

Having now lived with the autoethnographic material for a while I am retreating from the description of the Spirit as "Love-Maker" in the context in which I am writing. It sounds too physical, too taboo, too associated with *eros* and not enough with *agape*. In the autoethnography of Chapter 4 I see a compassionate love at the heart of chaplaincy. This is not surprising. We are responding to God's love as Anderson reminds us: "The life of faith and the practice of discipleship in response to God's love are summarised simply: we are to love God with our entire being and our neighbour as ourselves (Mark 12:29-31)" (2104, 64). Peck puts this into a secular form by defining love as "the will to extend one's self for the purpose of nurturing one's own or another's spiritual growth" (Peck 1978, 85). Love is transformational in that it seeks to act in a way that helps to bring about a positive change in the life of another. It is sacrificial in that it involves an "extension" of myself, a moving outside of my comfort zone. It directs itself towards the "fullness of life" which lies at the heart of the Christian Gospel and at the heart of the call to ministering as a chaplain. Writing on Christian Vocation, Badock comments that "if I had to distill the whole of this little book into a single brief sentence, it would be this: 'The Christian calling is to love.' The ideal of love alone can adequately reflect the whole of the teaching of Jesus and the ethic of the kingdom of God…" (2002, 108). Such a phrase as "Love-Sharer" will be a challenge to some policy makers who find language couched in terms of kindness and compassion a step too far, as Unwin

finds: "Usually there is a strong sense that the person mentioning kindness has unhelpfully interrupted the adult flow of conversation about public policy. About planning targets, and about economic benefit, and value for money. Somebody is bringing a fairy tale to a meeting about Real Things" (2018, 5). Unwin in her report contrasts the use of both the rational and the relational lexicons (see Figure 9):

> There are two lexicons in use in public policy. There is the language of metrics, and value added, of growth and resource allocation, of regulation, and of impact. And there is the language of kindness and grief, of loneliness, love and friendship, of the ties that bind, our sense of identity and of belonging. (2018, 9)

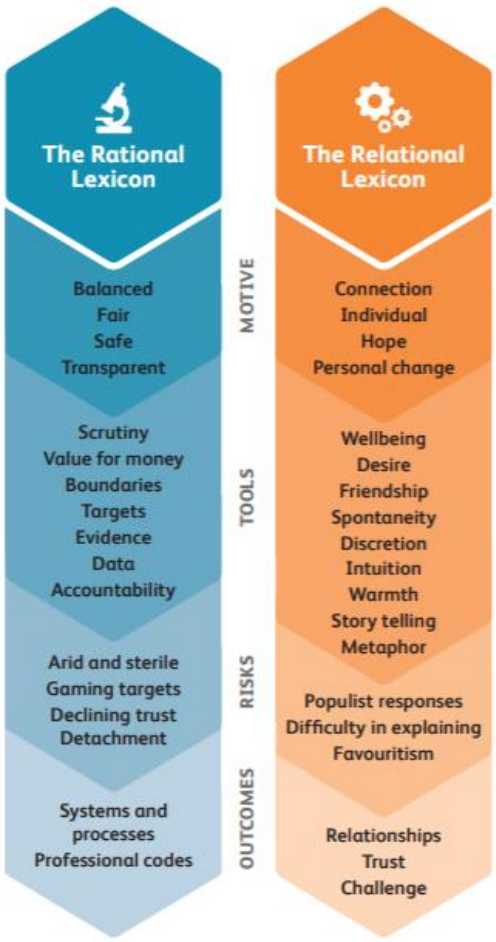

Figure 9 The Two Lexicons of Public Policy

Source: Unwin (2018, 5)

Life-giving transformation and change only come about when the language of kindness and compassion are used. As a chaplain I dare to use the word "love" in my lexicon. Love also provides a different lens through which people are seen.

5.3.2 Encountering the Story

"Seeing people" through the eyes of love is a good description of the chaplains' role. The day is structured around "seeing" people who have requested a visit or who are identified as vulnerable - those in prison for the first time, the suicidal or self-harming, the bereaved or distressed, or those wishing support and guidance from a religious perspective. By engaging in "visits" (from the French *visage,* meaning face) I am seeing people as well as making them visible. In relation to this, Brighenti makes the point that "visibility is closely related to *recognition*…a basic category of human identity, whose origin can be traced back to the Judeo-Christian and the secular Enlightenment projects of 'life in common'" (2007, 329). "Recognition is a form of social visibility" argues Brighenti (2007,329). Recognition, as practiced by a chaplain, also includes a spiritual visibility, as the inner world of a person, their thoughts and emotions, disappointments and hopes, are appreciated and given space. As a chaplain, I try to see people through God's eyes, through eyes of love. The chaplain's gaze is a loving gaze; a gaze which seeks the fulfilment and flourishing of those who are seen.

This way of "seeing" is different from the surveillance found in prisons. Surveillance has a negative connotation. It is to do with over (*sur)* seeing (*veiller* – to watch), an "hierarchical observation" where observation becomes the coercive means by which discipline is exercised (Foucault 1977, 170). This is achieved not only by the design and layout of buildings, as in Foucault's discussion of the panopticon but by the presence of cameras in almost every crevice of the incarcerated space. Surrounding areas, car parks and approaches are also watched. Staff are surveyed as they walk around the prison, along the corridors and in the halls. Cameras at the side of doors allow entry and exit from one area to the next to be closely monitored. Signs remind everyone that there are CCTV cameras. All phone calls made by prisoners are also monitored, letters are opened and checked for illicit content such as a SIM card or drugs. Scanning technology looks for phones and other electronic devices being brought into a

prison whether by staff or prisoner. Surveillance, and particularly video surveillance, implies the loss of eye to eye contact. It is asymmetrical and this lack of reciprocity leads to a debasing of the interaction: "Inherent in the one-way gaze is a kind of dehumanization of the observed – and possibly, although indirectly, of the beholder, too" (Brighenti 2007, 337). There is "no longer recognition, but subjugation, imposition of conducts, means of control" and, as noted above, there is the risk of becoming dehumanised in the process (Brighenti 2007, 336). However, there are exceptions. According to Prison Rule 44(4) the chaplain has a right to see a prisoner without surveillance:

> *Any visit to a prisoner by a member of the chaplaincy team must be held outwith the sight and hearing of an officer except where (a) the member or prisoner concerned requests otherwise; or (b) the Governor considers it would be prejudicial to the interests of security or safety for an officer not to be present.*

There is something about the role of surveillance that is recognised as detrimental to the pastoral relationship between chaplain and prisoner and highlights there are different ways of "seeing" the prisoner.

As in the two previous sections (5.1 and 5.2) the contrasting liturgies become evident. The work of looking at the prisoner with love is very different from the work of surveillance in evidence throughout the prison building and the controlling liturgies which result from this way of seeing.[77] Stoddart plays with this image by calling the Collect for Purity the "surveillance prayer"[78] challenging us to think about the difference between God's constant surveillance and that of the CCTV or other transgressive monitoring (2016, 41). Indeed, the word "overseer" is applied to leaders in the New Testament: the episkopos

[77] While the chaplains based in the chaplaincy office go out to perform their liturgies of overseeing, they and everyone else are overlooked by those in the Electronic Control Room who constantly monitor the cameras. Liturgies of surveillance include the replaying of CCTV to find out the culprits of rule infringements.

[78] Found in the First Order for Holy Communion in the Book of Common Order (Church of Scotland 1994): "Almighty God, to whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hidden; cleanse the thought of our hearts by the inspiration of your Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love you and worthily magnify your holy name; through Christ our Lord."

(ἐπίσκοπος), the guardian and protector, Bishop of souls, is mentioned five times in the New Testament.[79] The difference, as Stoddart using feminist theology proposes, is that Biblical overseeing is based on an ethics of care (2016, 42). Overseeing here is respectful and relational like a shepherd overseeing a flock as in Acts 20:28: "Be on guard for yourselves and for all the flock, among which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers, to shepherd the church of God which he purchased with His own blood." Further back in the Old Testament, however, there is a word that brings more to the understanding of seeing, that of "Sentinel" (e.g. Hosea 9:8; Jeremiah 7:17; Isaiah 21:6,8, and 52). Being "Sentinel" is part of the work of a priest, enunciated at every Church of England service of ordination:

> …to proclaim the word of the Lord and to watch for the signs of God's new creation. They are to be messengers, sentinels and stewards of the Lord…With all God's people they are to tell the story of God's love (Church of England 2007, 37).[80]

Cottrell (2020) revives this often-overlooked aspect of priesthood and elevates it alongside the more usual images of servants and shepherds, messengers and stewards. He shows how the "fundamental vocation of the sentinel is to look", and how from this flow other things (2020,95). Looking at God through prayerful contemplation is, we discover, "a bit like standing on a watchtower" (2020, 96). We wait and watch, focused on God asking him to shape our mind and will, ready for the task ahead. If the priest's first gaze is looking to God, the second is a focus on the world around and keeping alive "a ministry of imagination" (2020, 96). The Sentinel is one who spends their time "looking at God and looking at the world", off-setting the managerial and target-driven models of leadership (2020,105).

Within the word "Sentinel" is something more than just "seeing" in the visual sense. Drawing on the Latin *sentire* it goes beyond sight. It is about feeling,

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[79] 1 Peter 2:25, 1 Timothy 3:2, Acts 20:28, Philippians 1:1, Titus 1:7.

[80] Given the earlier discussion of "COCO" in Section 5.1 I cannot fail to note the word Ordination comes from a desire for "good order" (Church of England 2007, 24). Both the prison and the church have concerns for order but of a different sort. I also become aware of a certain brevity within the Church of Scotland service of Ordination which focuses more on church organisation than the nature of ministry.

about perceiving by the senses. This is the inner sight, the opening of spiritual eyes as in the story of the road to Emmaus in Luke 24 when eyes are opened and the same person is seen differently (Easter). Seeing is different from pain-bearing. Pain-bearing puts things on hold. It stops everything in its tracks. It loses itself in an apophatic darkness which only the deepest of love can break through. With seeing, new horizons open up. Love-steeped eyes see beauty and possibility where others cannot. Love-steeped eyes make love appear in the driest of places.

I do not only see prisoners. I see exiles. "Exiles in a dry and weary land. Exiles far from home" (Advent). People "exiled in the everyday" where there are "no festivals...only lament" (Ordinary Time). It seems an empty, barren place, devoid of all hope (Ordinary Time). Like the Old Testament exilic community in Babylon, forced from their home by their misdeeds, the people in prison have been forced from their homes and communities. Although there are limits to the metaphor (e.g. the people in prison are gathered from across the country rather than brought in as a communal entity) the economic, social and spiritual dislocation is similar. The brokenness of chairs and TV stands, the meetings in dismal, windowless rooms (Advent), exude a kind a hopelessness which feeds of the inhabitants and in turn gives it back to them. "The suffering, the longing, the waiting is visceral" (Lent). "No going forward. Only survival…exiled in the everyday" (Ordinary Time).

5.3.3 Re-enacting the Story

It is the everyday liturgies of grace that make the difference. I may get drawn into complicity with the organisation in its widest form. I may get drawn into witnessing pain in the most individual way. These two, however, are brought together in the rhythm of Christian practices which form the basis of living faithfully and lovingly. Like the work of the Parish minister the disciplines of the chaplain are the same including prayer and worship; communion and sabbath keeping; hospitality and community building; forgiveness and healing; discernment and testimony (Bass 2010). Considering more specifically pastoral responses to the problem of evil and suffering, Swinton (2007, 245) highlights five, inter-related, Christian practices which resonate with much written in the previous section on pain-bearing:

Listening to Silence (thoughtfulness, friendship, prayer, patience, perseverance, hope, love)

Lament (prayer, listening to silence, friendship, hope, patience, perseverance, eschatological imagination and hope, love)

Forgiveness (prayer, lament, faith, trust, hope, thoughtfulness, compassion, patience, perseverance, eschatological hope and imagination, love)

Thoughtfulness (hospitality, adoption, lament, listening to silence, forgiveness, eschatological imagination and hope, friendship, love)

Hospitality (friendship, thoughtfulness, compassion, faith, eschatological imagination and hope, perseverance, love)

I appreciate the way he lays out the five practices and describes the various liturgies that go towards each of them. I also note how he ends each one of the practices with "love", as if there is always something missing until love has been included. Swinton himself says that all the practices have love at their core, for "only perfect love can drive out fear, and only love can truly conquer evil in all of its forms" (2007, 246). Swinton's practices help me to think about what specific practices are important for me and those I minister to as a chaplain. Reflecting on the autoethnography of Chapter Four I identify three practices which, as Love-Sharer, have particular relevance and meaning within a prison setting:

Sanctuary Maker (welcome, acceptance, hospitality, listening, lament, prayer, compassion, friendship, love)

Sabbath Keeping (time for the sacred, prayer, forgiveness, friendship, faith, imagination, love)

Significance Making (imagination, witness, compassion, risk taking, hope, patience, love)

5.3.3.1 Sanctuary Maker

Love makes a sanctuary. In a similar way to which cities of refuge were provided for those running from revenge and punishment in the Old Testament (Numbers 35 and Joshua 20), so as a chaplain I can provide a place of emotional and physical safety, of hospitality and acceptance, an escape from the noise, uncertainty, violence and fears of the everyday. The most obvious place of sanctuary is the chapel itself. Whenever possible people are invited into this space. Like walking into most sacred places there is a sense of peace which people often comment upon, especially when coming to light a candle for someone they have lost, or to pray for a loved one in ill-health, or for a quiet talk about what lies ahead. "It's nice in here" says Dee (Ordinary Time). Even the part of the room shared with the hairdresser in HMP Cornton Vale, the part behind the big, blue velvet curtains, has enough to make it different, set apart. The chairs are softly furnished. A colourful rug lies in the middle of the floor. The prayer tree is lit and hanging with requests. The cross, awaiting relocation to the new chapel, leans against the wall (Ordinary Time). Chapels are "faith-full" spaces, they tell a particular story, often through the symbolism of furniture and paraphernalia or through "stain glass windows…a riot of colour and encouragement: the 'HOPE' is writ large with sunbeams bursting out of it…the sense of peace is visceral" (Easter). However, chapels, are not always peaceful places. The mixing of sex offenders with other groups of prisoners can lead to an agitated atmosphere and the offer of sanctuary becomes a threat. It is not unknown for people to be intimidated and, on the exceedingly rare occasion, attacked in the chapel.[81] Being designated a chapel does not automatically define what happens in it. In April 2018 an elderly prisoner was slashed across the neck by a 28-year-old fellow prisoner shortly after a religious service had ended in HMP Edinburgh.[82] This is an exception and I still often find myself frustrated at not being able to hold groups in the "lovely atmosphere of the chapel" (Epiphany) despite the fact that the space is used regularly by others needing a large room.

[81] Changes were made to the regime to ensure that this did not happen again.

[82] It is not just in prisons that such atrocities can happen as the stabbing of Brother Roger in the church of the Taize Community during a service in 2005 illustrates.

Sanctuary, however, is not dependent on physical location. More often than not, due to lack of staff to escort people to the chapel, visits or meetings take place on the landing in any room that might be spare. In these circumstances sanctuary is often found in a room with "bare, barred windows overlooking the bleakness of the caged yard" (Epiphany). Sanctuary is dependent on something beyond the physical surroundings. It is embedded in the purpose of the meeting, the careful shaping of the space by the chaplain and the intent of all those involved.[83] The door to sanctuary is welcome. It lets people know they are wanted. It tells people that you have time for them. The simple welcome liturgy of handshaking (pre-COVID-19) and offering "Gucci" coffee also signals a willingness to include, and value, those who may otherwise be excluded (Pentecost). Shaking hands is "a politeness which has added meaning in a place where violence, and the threat of it, is more common that the peaceful touch between two humans" (Epiphany). "Sometimes the hand-holding continues beyond the initial shake – an unspoken bonding between individuals constrained by time and place but rising above class, culture, diversity of opinion" (Epiphany). On one or two occasions, I have experienced handholding as a seal of sanctuary found, as if by holding my hands the person is holding onto welcome, hospitality, acceptance. This happened with Kieran. "I realise his hands are reaching out in invitation to be held. This is not normal. But the situation is not normal. I take both of his hands in mine. He holds them tight" (Lent).

[83] In researching the idea of "Sanctuary," I came across an announcement that the University of Edinburgh has renewed its 2017 commitment to be a University of Sanctuary. "Universities of Sanctuary must put measures in place to enable the learning of what it means for others to seek sanctuary, both generally and within a higher education context. They must take positive action to widely and sustainably embed the key concepts of welcome, safety and inclusion across their institution and should share their vision, achievements, and good practice within the community and beyond." https://global.ed.ac.uk/features/university-renews-its-status-university-sanctuary. For such an initiative to be necessary implies that there are significant elements of rejection, threat and exclusion within local (academic) communities and wider society to the extent that secular institutions find the need to adopt this deeply spiritual and life-affirming concept.

Hospitality has become distorted. It has become sentimental, privatised, inclusive[84] and a marketed exchange[85] signalling a "kind of homelessness" (Newman 2007, 33).

It is more about short-lived entertainment rather than a "*way of being* in space and time" (Newman 2007, 22). In contrast, Newman suggests that

> hospitality is a practice and discipline that asks us to do what in the world's sight seems inconsequential but from the perspective of the gospel is a manifestation of the kingdom of God…a practice of small gestures. In fact, when we look at faithful practitioners of hospitality, without exception they emphasize the importance of the small, the apparently insignificant, the vulnerable and the poor (2007, 174).

Along the same theme, for Oden, hospitality is about having eyes to see the stranger,

> if the first step of living in hospitality is remembering who we are as Christians, the second step is recognising who the stranger is, standing before us…the apparent stranger is not simply the poor, the stranger, the widow, the sick who knock, but Christ himself. For those with eyes to see, hospitality offered to another is always hospitality offered to Christ (2001, 50).

In these accounts of hospitality, the emphasis is not on physical space and cosy meals between friends but on the practice of recognition of the stranger and the welcoming of the vulnerable, whoever they are and wherever they may be. The Chaplain, however, is also a "guest". The SPS is the host institution. I am not there on my own terms. This physical dislocation can be seen as a reflection of

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[84] Newman points out "that the global market deeply forms a hospitality defined in terms of 'pluralism,' 'inclusivity,' and 'diversity'. And so we find from a ministerial perspective people can be ordained (after two years of study) in the OneSpirit Interfaith Foundation where "We join in the awakening of an ***inclusive*** global spirituality, in ourselves and in the world, through educating and enabling adults to serve people of all faiths in our ***diverse*** communities" ***(my emphasis)***. https://www.interfaithfoundation.org/home.

[85] A current example is the bid to save the "Hospitality" sector by providing a Government subsidy of 50% on all restaurant meals on Mondays, Tuesday and Wednesdays from 3 -31 August 2020 as part of the "Eat Out to Help Out" scheme as a result of the Covid-19 crisis.

Christ's dislocation. "Jesus is the normative, decisive, and eschatological revelation of the hospitable God, the Son of God who goes into a far country, to echo the words of Karl Barth" (Yong 2008, 106). Those who receive Christ are empowered by the Holy Spirit (the Love-Sharer) to go into far countries, in this case the prison. Yong uses a trinitarian idea of hospitality to identify features of "redemptive and pneumatological hospitality" in a pluralistic world (2008, 106). These include discernment of the Spirit to know "how to best enact the hospitality of God" at specific times thus requiring the adaptation rather than the routine performance of one set of practices (Yong 2008, 106). It also recognises that at times we are both host and guest, "a recipient and a conduit for the hospitality of God…through ever-shifting sets of human interrelationships". This also requires discernment so that the giving and receiving is appropriate to the context (2008, 107).

Another aspect brought out by Yong is the importance of hospitality to people of different "tongues". Hospitality is not just between Christians but is about our practices and interactions from the most marginalised to the highest official (Yong 2008, 107). Writing as a feminist, Russell discusses how being "*both outside and within* institutional power structures…means I am constantly looking for ways to empower other outsiders in the institutions where I work and live" with a focus on "just hospitality" (2009, 13-14).[86] This claim to "*hybridity*" is particularly relevant to the prison chaplain who often feels marginalised.[87] But with this comes a deeper appreciation of the character of hospitality needed in marginal places. At its deepest, hospitality is a moral necessity, "to be moral is to be hospitable to the stranger" argues Ogletree (2003, 1). Knight provocatively suggests that not to be hospitable leads to a deficiency in others and thus to sin, as he states in the preface to his book which:

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[86] By "just hospitality" Russell means hospitality with justice: "Our struggles to overcome the fear of difference and to 'break all the bars that keep us apart' challenge our local, national, and global institutions to practice hospitality with justice" (2009, 106).

[87] The marginalisation of chaplains is a common theme in those writing about all kinds of chaplaincy. Exploring this issue in more depth, Macarthur (2003), in his thesis on Protestant Prison Chaplains in Britain and New South Wales, dedicates Section 4 of his thesis to discussing "The Chaplain as The Exile". Another aspect of hospitality in general is the idea of the guest as "hostage" to the host in an article by Derrida (2000). Beyond the scope of this current project it would be interesting to think through what this means in a prison situation where a great fear among staff is being taken hostage by a prisoner.

> gives a new account of human relations that shows that we owe one another all the being we have. God gives us life and the being that we are to supply to one another. Our failure to provide this being for one another means that we deny others the goods and recognition that God considers due to them, so they suffer a deficiency, for which the theological term is "sin". We make people sinful, and God will hold their deficiencies against us (2006, ix).

Hospitality can be offered in every look, every interaction, every gesture, every action. Time and place can be transformed even in a dingy room with a group of prisoners, "there is a sense that this place and time is different" (Pentecost). It is not just that we have come off the landing, it is because hospitality is given in small gestures which translates into a sense of welcome, of being accepted and listened to. The comments made in the Pentecost piece offer insight into the transforming effect of this hospitality.

"It feels safe here" (Stephen).

"We would never close our eyes on the landing" (Kyle).

"You don't feel judged in here, everyone's equal, it's what we're all going through together. I find it relaxing" (Andrew).

"It's different in here. If we was to say something in the hall, like the stuff we've been talking about, you would have ten or fifteen people slaugterin' you, everybody judging you…but here I can talk about things, you know about God and stuff, and people listen and don't laugh at you" (Cammy).

The fact that the coffee offered is not the usual prison issue is significant.[88] Like Kearney I see a "sacramental return…a retrieval of the extraordinary in the ordinary…those special awakenings of the divine within the bread and wine of quotidian existence" (2011, 86). The chocolate biscuits, while considered as unnecessary by staff, indicate a level of hospitality that anyone in their own

[88] Many churches serve cheap coffee to the congregation after the service when in the rest of society, and at home, the emphasis is increasingly on good quality coffee.

home would extend to a guest. An opportunity for a liturgy of grace. A small but profound gesture in a place of sanctuary.

In the previous section we also saw how hospitality was practiced in the form of waiting, silence and lament providing a safe place, a sanctuary for witnessing to take place. In this section, I have discussed how Sanctuary can be made as an escape from the general culture and atmosphere of the prison and a place where people can be themselves in a way they cannot on the landing. Although it can be experienced as a physical place it is experienced much more as a spiritual and psychological sanctuary. A place where people can become aware of and express things of the soul. The next section considers another aspect of showing love by Sabbath Making. Intimately linked to Sanctuary I reflect on my role of chaplain in offering a place to practice being different from the prevailing culture.

5.3.3.2 Sabbath Maker

The concept of Sabbath is a radical idea. If providing Sanctuary is about coming "away from", Sabbath is about coming "away to". We need Sanctuary in order to experience the Sabbath. We need a place to go to get away from everything that threatens to crush us. Thus Brueggeman (2017,xiv), sees Sabbath as a "resistance to" all those things that attempt to crush us: anxiety, coercion, exclusivism, multitasking. Rooting his analysis in the Israelite's deliverance from slavery in Egypt he comments "wherever YHWH governs as an alternative to Pharaoh, there the restfulness of YHWH effectively counters the restless anxiety of Pharaoh" (Brueggemann 2017, xiii). While Brueggeman writes to those caught up in the "insatiable insistences of the market" as a form of modern slavery, this applies equally to those subject to the heavy yoke of imprisonment and the pressure to conform socially (2017, xiv-xv). The God of Sinai is as concerned with "socio-economic practice and policy" as with the religious worship; He is concerned with "relationship" over the tyranny of constant surveillance; and as the post-exilic Commandments reveal, a concern with neighbourliness over collective exploitation and abuse (Bruggemann 2017, 10). The Sabbath is (as my computer-gaming sons would say) a call to return to base, a reminder of a different way of being, a different set of values, a different way of orientating life.

For the Christian the Sabbath, traditionally, is the setting aside of a portion of time on a regular, weekly basis. This still happens in a prison context. Indeed, as noted in Chapter 2, providing the opportunity for prisoners to practice their religion is a legal obligation.

While a larger number of prisoners may attend services linked to the Christian festivals of Christmas, Holy Week, Easter and to a lesser extent Pentecost, only a small percentage of the total prison population attend on a regular basis. In a snapshot of church attendance in selected male adult SPS prisons in June 2015, Bell reports an attendance rate of 3.4% (170 out of 4,951) of the male convicted population (2015, 37). Of much more importance is the creation of Sabbath moments for those who do not come to a religious service each week but with whom I, as a chaplain, have contact. For some there is the frequent Sabbath for others the fragmented Sabbath.

It is in the ritual, regular celebration of the Sabbath that an alternative way of being is offered through word and story, prayer and song, communion and forgiveness. Sabbath and physical Sanctuary come together to create a space where people can collectively experience God's presence, healing and love. The initial reasons for people coming along to a church service are varied: to meet friends, to get in touch with their faith, get out of their cell, forgiveness, guidance, or at the suggestion of a friend (Bell 2015, 43). The reason people keep coming, however, deepens into a sense of wellbeing and community and a desire to worship and practice their faith (Bell 2015, 46-50). Keeping Sabbath not only meets a person's individual desire but also communicates to the whole prison that week by week a different set of values and a different way of living life is being celebrated, different liturgies are promoted, performed and practiced. This culminates in the celebration of Communion through which "hospitality, nourishment, communion, healing, fulness, blessing, obedience, brokenness, peace and reconciliation" are displayed and offered…"helping to identify what a transformed self might look like and how, I as a chaplain might facilitate such an apprenticeship" (Easter). The weekly observance of Sabbath is also a time when volunteers from churches in the local area can be involved, as a demonstration of love and service to the prison community.

Sabbath for prisoners and chaplains is still, however, like being exiled in a strange land. The liturgies of security still pervade the Sabbath. Different prison populations are kept separate, guards stand sentinel, time can be restricted, community time after the service is not always possible. The liturgies of grace and disgrace are never far apart as observed in the Easter Service where communion is offered to all, but all are not able to share the peace (Easter). The ordinary and the extraordinary, the routine and the mystery are woven together (Easter). For some, like Jamie, the pull is too much. "The prison culture is always at odds with faith, the availability of a quick fix versus the longer-term promise of light at the end of the tunnel" (Advent). Nonetheless, the story of love and forgiveness is repeated week after week, a subversive, radical alternative to the prevailing culture for those who wish to hear.[89]

The Festivals of the church year are also a type of Sabbath. The celebration of Christmas and Easter is encouraged by SPS management as much to meet religious need as to meet Equality and Diversity activity targets. Either way, it provides a break in routine. A time to pause. A breath of Sabbath. A pointing to the sacred amid the secular. A lighting of candles in the depth of long dark winters. The tradition of Christmas continues in many prisons providing an opportunity to relate what has become a largely secular celebration to the spiritual meaning. Comfort to those who sit in darkness, peace to those living in fear, good news to the marginalised, God with the very people who feel excluded (Advent). Or the celebration of Easter reminding people of the possibility of a second chance of forgiveness, of restoration.[90]

It is, however, the fragmented Sabbath that most people experience and indeed, this is where I spend most of my time as a chaplain. Taking fragments of the Sabbath to people, to where they are, and more often than not, doing so

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[89] It is not insignificant that during Covid-19 lockdown when many other activities ceased, chaplains continued to provide a weekly service through prison TV and radio channels, by printed sheets and in some prisons through their continued presence when the service would normally have taken place.

[90] An ongoing issue within SPS recruitment is the mismatch between the message of the possibility of transformed lives and second chances compared with the criteria which do not allow people with certain convictions to apply for a job. This has prevented a number of people, who have turned their lives around, been leading a church for at least a decade, and are allowed to volunteer or speak in prison, from applying for a job as a chaplain.

subversively as Jesus often did. Jesus was a master at subversion. Until the very end, everyone, including His disciples, called Him Rabbi. Rabbis were important, but they didn't make anything happen. On the occasions when suspicions were aroused that there might be more to Him than that title accounted for, Jesus tried to keep it quiet – "Tell no one." Jesus' favourite speech form, the parable, was subversive. Jesus continually threw odd stories down alongside ordinary lives (para, "alongside"; bole, "thrown") and walked away without explanation or altar call. Then listeners started seeing connections: God connections, life connections, eternity connections (Peterson 1989, 32). It was only the religious people that Jesus challenged directly by doing things on the Sabbath which the Pharisees thought against the law. Jesus was redefining the Sabbath.

Being a subversive is useful, says Peterson, when trying to overthrow a status quo that is wrong, where there is a sense that there is another liveable world which is not visible and where "the usual means by which one kingdom is thrown out and another put in its place…are not available" (1989, 34). Whereas Brueggemann provides a guide for one who is already a Sabbath keeper, to help them keep it more meaningfully, Peterson identifies the tools of subversion – words of prayer and of parable for those not as attuned to sabbath keeping (1989, 37). Early on in my journey as a chaplain I came to realise that there is little else that I can do to change some situations other than offer private prayer to God. It is only God that can make the difference. But there are also times when a fragment of Sabbath erupts more immediately, as the everyday concerns of a person slip out of the kingdom of anxiety and coercion and exclusivity and are caught up into God's Kingdom – such as praying for Dee's lost child (Ordinary), or Craig's nephew (Lent) or Jamie and his family (Advent). Beyond these there are the casual conversations on landings, in corridors, in passing, at the dining table. For some it is experienced as the slow drip-drip of kingdom love, for others the sudden invasion of a "messy moment" (Ordinary) or the sharing of communion over coffee and biscuits (Pentecost). The task is to offer the relevant fragment of Sabbath, hoping that in time the fragments will come together. "The task is not so much to fit reality into a system as to discover fragments, and allow fragmentary patterns in personal and social life to reveal

themselves" (Forrester 2005). In a fragmentary age fragmentary Sabbaths shake the status quo in a person's life.

5.3.3.3 Significance Maker

There is one last 'making' that emerges – that of Significance Making. Significance begins to emerge as fragments come together. In this sense significance is made of different things that a person has experienced or heard or been thinking about. There is also the significance that a person attaches to their own life. The two are related. Feeling insignificant, unworthy and incapable limits people from making better choices about their life. Bandura contends that "unless people believe that they can produce desired effects by their actions, they have little incentive to act…people guide their lives by their beliefs of personal efficacy" (1997, 3). This ability to "exercise influence over what they do" is called agency and "is determined by many interacting factors" (Bandura 1997, 3). As part of this social cognitive theory Bandura identifies three major classes of determinants: behaviour; internal personal in the form of cognitive, affective, and biological events; and environmental operating as "interacting determinants that influence one another bi-directionally" (1997, 6). The chaplains work in the prison environment involves supporting some people to make better personal choices in their lives, leading to a change in behaviour. Self-efficacy belief is important to this process. Through Sanctuary and Sabbath making chaplains can influence others towards better decision-making and behaviour. Bandura identifies four main sources of information which help to construct self-efficacy beliefs. The reason I find this theory useful is because the four main sources of self-efficacy – enactive mastery experiences, vicarious experiences, verbal persuasion and social influence and psychological and affective states – all have strong parallels in the formation of the Christian disciple. For each of the four sources of self-efficacy belief identified above, there are liturgies which support the process. These are not exclusive to chaplains and indeed many of them reflect the desistance approach adopted by the SPS following the Organisational Review (2013). Chaplains, however, are uniquely placed to practice these liturgies in more depth than many staff whose focus is on security and who may be pressured to adopt less transformative liturgies. Hospitality, offering community, fragment gathering and significance making are often the privilege of the chaplain. The resulting change in how

somebody thinks about themselves and the associated new ways of behaving are not only central to Christian transformation but to the transformation referred to in desistance theory.

Enactive mastery experiences require experience in "overcoming obstacles through perseverant effort… knowledge of rules and strategies for constructing effective courses of behaviour provides people with the tools to manage the demands of everyday life" (Bandura 1997, 80). In Biblical terms we are called to persevere (1 Timothy 4:16; James 1:12), to set aside the things that hold us back and run the race (Hebrews 12:1). The Bible provides the rules (principally, to love God and our neighbours as ourselves) and the strategies (prayer, worship, forgiveness, trust, stewardship, hospitality, etc.) to shape and support perseverance in making the right choices. By providing a safe place (sanctuary), the chaplain creates the opportunity for people to ***master new experiences***, practicing new ways of being. This was demonstrated powerfully in the statements of the group participants in the Pentecost piece where they could talk about spiritual things in a way they could not on the landing. Liturgies of hospitality and community-building create an environment where people can "try out" being kind, compassionate, forgiving and trustworthy in a loving environment with others on a similar journey. These Biblical principles are discussed and teased out and ways of persevering discussed. The non-judgemental atmosphere makes it easier for constructive feedback to be given and a level of self-monitoring and awareness begins to take place. Little changes in daily habits begin to be made.

Vicarious experiences are "mediated through modelled attainments…people must appraise their capabilities to the attainment of others" (Bandura 1997, 86). "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ" says the Apostle Paul (1 Corinthians 11:1). "Be imitators of God…and walk in love" (Ephesians 5:1-2). Jesus is the consummate role model of what it means to be human. Christian chaplains are also seen as role models. Role-modelling is provided by others further along the journey demonstrating graceful ways of being. Seeing others succeed is important on the journey of transformation. Setbacks and slips are not uncommon, and the perseverance and encouragement of others makes a difference. The chaplain, other prisoners, staff and visits by ex-offenders, can

all provide role models who can offer encouragement and ongoing support. Testimonies of life-change and healing by ex-offenders can by particularly powerful in this context.

Verbal persuasion and social influence: "It is easier to sustain a sense of efficacy, especially when struggling with difficulties, if significant others express faith in one's capabilities than if they convey doubts" (Bandura 1997, 101). Encouraging and supporting a different way of being are a fundamental task of the chaplain. The chaplain influences a person's self-efficacy by stirring up and encouraging (Hebrews 10:24) and by building up (1 Thessalonians 5:11). Building a community of people, who are struggling with the same issues and aiming for the same goals, allows for an environment where people can encourage one another through word and action. Within a faith community encouragement of one another can take many forms including the verbal telling of faith stories, by the written word and by small acts such as encouraging someone to read out loud in a service to increase their confidence (Jamie in Advent) or that they have the ability to stay out of trouble for the sake of their family (Steven in Epiphany). Belonging to a community of faith within a prison setting is, itself, a mechanism of social influence to those who belong and to those around. But the chaplain is also there for those who do not belong to a faith community and encouragement to live a fuller life is given in all sorts of situations, planned and unplanned. Indeed, Bandura argues that the significance of "chance encounters" in determining life paths has been neglected in psychological theories (1982). A chance encounter with a chaplain can cut across existing social and emotional ties, offering new values and a different social milieu, with a lasting impact on a person's life path (Bandura 1982, 753).

Physiological and affective states. Somatic and emotional states can affect how a person feels about themselves and thus about their ability to deal with difficulties or to change behaviour. "A low sense of efficacy to gain the things in life that bring self-satisfaction and self-worth breeds depression, and depression in turn, diminishes belief in one's personal efficacy", Bandura 1997, 113). Enhancing physical status, reducing stress levels, raising emotional moods and correctly interpreting bodily states are all ways of altering efficacy beliefs (Bandura 1997, 106). The laments of the Psalms are often the starting place for

helping people gain a perspective on how they are feeling, recognising low feelings, helping people making sense of them and helping the person move to a more positive place. By helping people to reflect on the things they do and how they feel about themselves, the chaplain facilitates the process of significance making. Bringing all this information together, making significance out of the fragments, leads in time to shifts in identity.

The "integration of efficacy information", is not straightforward and the rules that people use to make judgements about their efficacy are complex (Bandura 1997, 114). In this context the chaplain can influence a person's self-assessment of themselves by helping them to reflect realistically on their potential to act, reinforcing the significance of the journey of change in a person's life. This shift in perspective leads people to seeing themselves differently by letting go of old beliefs and embracing new ones. Paul writes of such a shift when he urges the recipients of his letter, "do not be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind" and he speaks of sound judgement as part of an alteration in thinking (Romans 12:2-3). This shift has been identified as a vital element in desisting from crime. Empirical qualitative research on desistance suggests that people who abandon criminal activity make identifiable changes to their personal identity and self-narrative, and produce a new, "improved" self that no longer cognitively or emotionally coheres with offending (Liem and Richardson 2014, 1). Maruna (2001, 55) uses the phrase "redemptive script" to describe the "coherent personal narrative" which Sampson and Laub identified as an important feature in desistance stories (1993, 156). Like Liem and Richardson, I prefer the term "transformative narrative". Both terms, however, convey "a sense of agency, or the capability of individuals to act independently and to make their own choices within the social structure" (2014,1). In contrast to ontogenic (maturational) and sociogenic (social bond) theories of desistance, narrative theories stress the "significance of relationships between objective changes in the offender's life and his or her subjective assessment of the value or significance of these changes" (McNeill 2006). While there are obvious limits of the extent to which desistance can be demonstrated while a person is incarcerated, the fact that it is a process in which increased self-efficacy plays an important part gives scope for the chaplain to support this vital process through transformative liturgies.

These liturgies are of value to all. Although informed and shaped by the Christian religious tradition, within the prison setting they become spiritual liturgies which help people to think about how they want to live out their lives (Gardener 2011, 21). They help make a connection between the inner and outer worlds, bringing together what is often called "the transcendent – the sense of what is beyond ourselves and the immanent – the sense of the divine or the spirit within ourselves" (Gardener 2011, 22).[91] Rowson usefully distinguishes three spiritual perspectives: "religious spirituality", "spiritual but not religious", and "secular spirituality" (2014, 25). While some of the liturgies are explicitly religious (such as the celebration of Holy Communion), the underlying values are empowering for all. It is here that, as a Christian chaplain I draw on "spiritual intelligence" which "helps professionals decide what to do that is consistent with their values" in an environment where people may have differing values (Gardener 2011, 22). Rowson suggests, however, that there is a common ground:

> By our ground I mean the most basic facts of our existence: that we are here at all, that we exist in and through this body that somehow breathes, that we build selves through and for others, that we're a highly improbable part of an unfathomable whole, and of course, that we will inevitably die (2014, 25).

It is in this context that I as a chaplain, through the practice of transformative liturgies, help people to reflect on their own significance, on the significance of others (family, friends, victims or any other) and of the significance of the things they do or do not do.

[91] Gardener identifies the challenge of language when talking about spirituality, religion and pastoral care: "People often react strongly to particular words that have negative connotations for them. Some people do not like the word religion, for others religious experience is central to their lives. Some like the word 'spirituality' seeing this as broad enough to include their idiosyncratic experience, however, not everyone likes word 'spirituality'. Some people experience it as too vague, too inclusive, not clear enough in what it conveys to others. Others see spirituality and religion as the same thing…Pastoral care is another commonly used term for work in this area. Again, some people talk positively about this…For others pastoral care denotes religious values that they are not comfortable with or feel excluded from" (2011, 23).

5.3.4 Blessing

I have a deep sense of being called to be a prison chaplain, but my job description can never really describe what I do. In each encounter something beyond "outcomes" and any measurable indicator happens when meeting face to face with a person. In those moments and minutes, a different way of being is offered and modelled. A different set of values are demonstrated. Through the embodied practice of transformative, graceful, loving liturgies I assume the responsibility to act morally towards others. In doing this I give something of myself – not the self-mortification of Goffman but the self-sacrifice of Christ. This leads to a transformation of my own thinking and feelings at the same time as my practice can influence change in others. Within a prison setting, however, there is always competition between graceful and disgraceful liturgies. There is a constant tension. It can be no other way when so many parts of the Criminal Justice system, and wider society, are broken (evidenced in part by the high prison population in Scotland, the lack of community options for sentencing, the high proportion of people on remand who are subsequently found not guilty and the subsequent stigmatisation of offenders). But like an exile in the most foreign of countries, I become more aware of my own identity and values in comparison to the surrounding culture. The image of exile is too passive however, as it is I who have chosen, or rather called, to become a prison chaplain. Perhaps a better word to describe my role is "ambassador".[92] Chaplaincy not only provides sanctuary but becomes an embassy of transformation with fragmentary reminders of a different kingdom. My daily work, the practice of transformative liturgies.

[92] It was only later that I realised that Hicks uses the same word to define the chaplains' work (2008, 405).

EPILOGUE

My research journey was initiated by an institutional Review of the SPS which envisioned an organisation where the potential of people would be unlocked, and lives transformed. The Review introduced the language of desistance theory - second chances, forgiveness, hope and redemptive scripts - signalling the desire to redress the balance between custody and order with that of care and opportunity. The implications of this cultural shift were laid out in the Review document (SPS 2013), illustrating the wider point that "institutions are products of human *poiësis*…a sign of human making" (Smith 2009, 72). It is through everyday rituals and practices that institutions take shape and certain, meaning-laden practices, thicken into liturgies and become identity-forming (Smith 2009, 85). My research focused on identifying the rituals and practices which I undertake as a chaplain and appreciating their significance as thick practices which overtime shape my identity as well as the identities of those whom I encounter, staff and incarcerated alike. Most importantly, the research demonstrated the integration between my vision of human flourishing and society with my liturgical practice. It also revealed areas where there is an uneasy complicity with the ethos of the SPS.

The ambivalent influences flow two ways. I can make a difference in the lives of people but the rituals and practices of the institution also affect me in turn.

> Cultural institutions can take on a life of their own…once up and running, they cannot be reduced to the particular whims and interests of particular human beings. They take on a kind of systemic power that gives them an influence that is independent of individual agents (Smith 2009, 72).

Recognising that not all rituals and practices lead to human flourishing I chose to name the life-giving liturgies as "Transforming". Through the autoethnographic account I drew out liturgies that could be described as graceful, loving and compassionate and those that could be regarded as disgraceful, in the sense that they dehumanised, depressed and thwarted transformation in its fullest sense. Bringing grace to each encounter with another human being is itself transformative. The benefit of having such practices which deepen into a way of being is confirmed by Liebling and is not confined to the chaplain (2011,2012). A

range of liturgies exist side by side and desisting from old ways of doing things is a challenge for everyone. Elements of the rational and the relational lexicon jostle for priority – risk versus hope, targets versus storytelling, systems versus relationships (Unwin 2018, 5). Seeing liturgies in this context helps to locate my role as a chaplain not just at the level of the individual encounter but within the institution.

Identifying God as Life-Giver, Pain-Bearer, Love-Sharer, helps me to name the underlying orientation which informs my daily practice and performance of liturgies. Imagining liturgy in a "broad and generous sense", as Smith (2009, 85) describes it, confirms the act of witnessing trauma, the creation of sanctuary, the making of sabbath and helping make significance, as practices which form and transform. Liturgies in this sense reach far beyond those who practise religion. By bringing them out of the religious sphere into the everyday sphere of prison life, transformative liturgies have the power to bend the entire institution "if ever so slightly, towards the coming kingdom of love" (Smith 2017, 17). The fragmented nature of this work is its strength. The discernment to seize a moment and create something sacred and safe, to welcome a person that most have rejected, to listen where most have been silenced, to help search for slivers of hope no matter how small, all become radical demonstrations of an alternative way of encountering people beyond the walls of the church.

Understanding liturgy in the way I have described presents the traditional church with an opportunity to re-imagine its role in society. While the traditional form of parish ministry is in steady decline, the opposite is true of chaplaincy in a variety of forms (Ryan 2015). In the Theos report *Doing Good: A Future for Christianity in the 21st Century*, Spencer introduces the concept of social liturgy[93] which underlies the growth in faith-based charities and echoes the view of liturgy discussed in this thesis. As with all liturgy, imagination is essential:

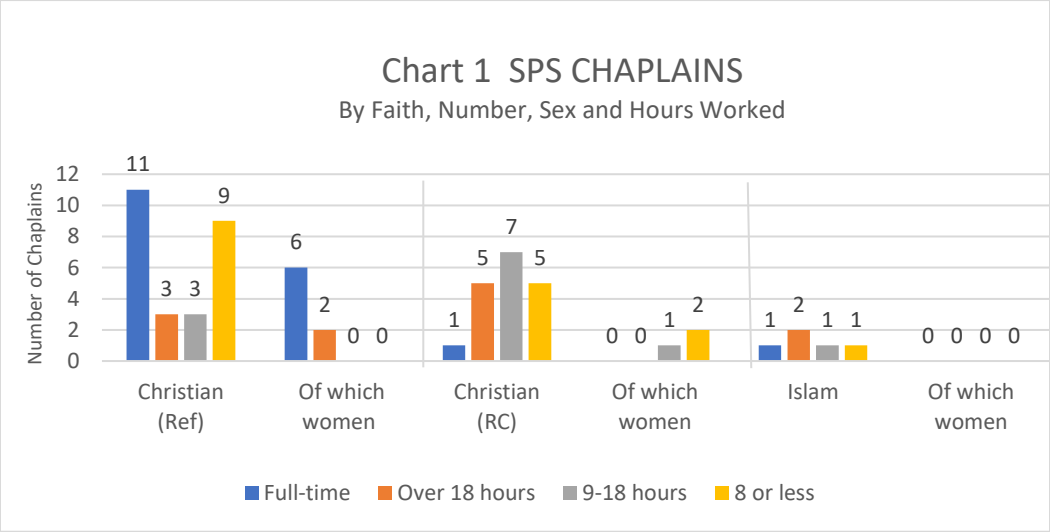
[93] Social liturgy is defined "as a simultaneous expression of love of God and of neighbour, a way of worshipping God through finding and serving him in others" (Spencer 2016, 12). The term is preferred to that of social action in an attempt to avoid the weaknesses of the "Social Gospel" movement which "declined and fell, in part because the gospel at its heart was eclipsed by the social activism it spawned" (Spencer 2016, 12).

> Imagination, or as some express it, theopoetic, implies several things important for liturgy. It makes possible a sense of paradox and multivalence…it makes symbols possible…and symbols flexible; that is it allows liturgy to be the work of the Spirit (Procter-Smith 2013, 44).

One of the tasks of the church has always been to take traditions and adapt them to changing circumstances. The Spirit is always doing something new, always transforming each of us into the likeness of Christ. What has been learnt about supporting the broken and traumatised of the prison, can be carried over into the communities into which those very same people return. Liturgy transforms lives but is also continually being transformed in its daily encounter with culture, which challenges it to become more relevant, more sacramental, and more sensitive to those on the margins. Through fragmented encounters these liturgies of the everyday have the power to transform lives and restore the promise of life in all its fullness.

Annex 1 Number of Chaplains by Faith, Sex and Hours worked (as of January 2020)

SPS currently employs 49 Chaplains across all establishments of which ten (20%) are women. The percentage of women varies between faiths and denominations. In Reformed Chaplaincy (Ref), 30% are women, compared to 17% of Roman Catholic Chaplains (RC) and 0% in Muslim chaplaincy (Chart 1). When hours worked by faith/denomination are considered, the percentage of women working in Reformed Chaplaincy accounts for 45% of all Reformed hours as six of the women are full-time and the remaining two work over 18 hours a week. The equivalent for RC is 8% of hours worked by women. These women are all lay persons (as ordination of women is not possible in the Roman Catholic Church) compared to the Reformed chaplains where five out of seven are ordained as ministers (the other two being an Elder and a Reader).



Another characteristic of Chaplaincy across all faiths is the predominance of part-time working. Almost one-third of all chaplains work 8 hours or less and a further fifth between 8 and 18 hours. The number of Chaplains working 18 hours or less varies according to denomination/faith:

12 (66%) of Roman Catholic Chaplains

12 (46%) of Reformed chaplains

2 (40%) of Muslim Chaplains

A further fifth of all chaplains work just over half-time while 13 (27%) work full-time. Six (46%) of all those working full-time are women and, as noted above, are all in Reformed Chaplaincy.

Annex 2 University of Glasgow Ethics Application

University of Glasgow | College of Arts

Ethics Committee for Non-Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects

A) College of Arts Research Ethics Checklist

This checklist is used to identify whether a full application for ethics approval needs to be submitted. Before completing this form, please refer to the College of Arts Ethics policy and procedures (http://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/arts/research/ethics).
The principal investigator (PI) or supervisor (where the PI is a student) is responsible for exercising appropriate professional judgment in this review. This checklist must be completed before potential participants are approached to take part in any research.

Please answer each question by ticking the appropriate box:	YES	NO
Does the research involve human participants?	☒	☐
Does the research involve data not in the public domain? (i.e. data still in copyright)	☐	☒
Does the study involve people in a dependent relationship, minors, or vulnerable people who may be unable to give informed consent? (e.g. your own students, children, people with special needs) *If your research involves minors or vulnerable subjects, please elaborate as fully as possible on the reasons why this is needed and the ways in which you intend to fully protect the interests of such subjects. If the research involves unsupervised contact with vulnerable groups, you may need to join the Protection of Vulnerable Groups Scheme.*	☒	☐
Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for access to participants? (e.g. teacher, local authority)	☒	☐
Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge and consent at the time? (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places)	☐	☒
Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics? (e.g. sexuality, drug use)	☒	☐
Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?	☒	☐
Are there issues of safety for the investigators or subjects? (see also "Ethical Issues in Interviews" on http://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/arts/research/ethics/)	☒	☐
Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?	☐	☒
Are there issues of confidentiality? (see also "Ethical Issues in Interviews" on http://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/arts/research/ethics/)	☒	☐
Are there issues of security? (e.g. data storage security)	☒	☐
Are there issues of balance? (e.g. cultural, social or gender-based characteristics of the research subjects affecting the design of the project or its conduct)	☐	☒

If you have answered NO to all of the questions above, you need take no further action before starting your research.

If you have answered YES to any of the questions above, you need to submit an application to the College of Arts Research Ethics Committee before you begin the research. Please complete Part B) of this form and address any ethical issues of your research project in section 12 of the application form. Append your research proposal and any other supporting documents such as questionnaires, consent form, information letter for participants etc. and submit your application through the online Research Ethics System (log in via the University's Business Systems page: https://frontdoor.sps.gla.ac.uk/login/).

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Ethics Committee for Non-Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects

B) APPLICATION FORM FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL

1. Name(s) of person(s) submitting research proposal:
Sheena Orr

2. Position
Undergraduate Student ☐/ Postgraduate Student ☒/ Staff ☐

3. Subject/ Centre/ School:
DPT, Theology & Religion, Critical Studies

4. Contact Address:
Coalheughead Farmhouse, Harburn, EH55 8RT

5. Email (please use your GU email address):
s.orr.2@research.gla.ac.uk

6. *For Students only*

Course name	DPT
Supervisor's name	Dr Scott Spurlock
Supervisor's email address	Scott.Spurlock@glasgow.ac.uk
Supervisor's contact address	4 The Square, Glasgow, G12

7. For Supervisors of Student Applications

Please note that by submitting this application the supervisor confirms that:

- The student has read the College's Ethics Policy and Procedures.
- The topic merits further research.
- The student has the relevant skills to begin research.
- If interviewing, the student has produced an appropriate information sheet for participants.
- The procedures for recruitment and obtaining informed consent are appropriate.

8. Project title:
The Role of the Chaplain in Transforming Lives in the Scottish Prison Service

9. Proposed project end date:
October 2017

10. *Have all investigators read, understood and accepted the College Ethical Policy, a statement of which is available on the College website at* http://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/arts/research/ethics YES☒/NO☐

11. Independent contact name (in case of complaints or questions from participants). *This could be your head of department, line manager, dissertation supervisor, etc.:*
Dr Scott Spurlock

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12. Ethical Issues

What in your opinion are the ethical considerations involved in this proposal? You should consult the ethical policy statements of the AHRC and other funding and professional bodies (these can be found on www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/arts/research/ethics).

Please address in detail all ethical issues that you have identified in the checklist above, as well as any further potential ethical issues of your research. Please explain how you will deal with these issues.

1 Transparency. All interviewees will be given a Research Consent Form explaining the purpose of the research, what their involvement entails, assurances of anonymity and confidentiality, their right to withdraw and what will happen with the research once gathered. (Annex 1 Research Consent Form)

2 The intellectual property rights of those involved in the research: signed permission to use any information gathered from people will be sought.

3 The Confidentiality of information provided by research subjects will be assured along with the anonymity of respondents unless they declare otherwise. Data Protection requirements will be strictly followed. Information will be collected on a digital recorder with the files transferred to a password locked computer after the interview is completed. The folder containing the recordings will also be protected by a strong password known only to the researcher.

4 Vulnerable adults. As an SPS employee the researcher is PVG checked. The researcher is fully aware of the vulnerable position of some of the prisoners and how emotive some of the discussion might be. Many prisoners are vulnerable due to ongoing addictions, previous abuse, mental health problems and the stress of being in prison. The issue of the desire to change their life can be an emotive subject which requires a person to draw. The researcher is trained in pastoral care and active listening skills in addition to SPS 'Talk to Me' suicide awareness training.

The researcher is in daily contact with individual prisoners and in groups and is trained to identify signs of psychological and emotional stress. Interviews will be entirely voluntary and the interviewee has the right to stop the interview at any point. Equally the researcher will offer to stop the interview if it is felt not to be in the best interests of the interviewee.

In the case of Whistle-blowing the interviewee will be reminded of the limits of confidentiality particularly where they disclose their stress, anxiety or potential harm by a named individual or situation. An offer to stop the interview will be made.

5 Safety of the researcher

a. The location of much of the research will be within a prison. This is the environment in which I work on a daily basis. Contact with prisoners is part of my daily job.

b. As an employee of SPS I have personal protection training, induction and on-going training in various aspects of prison operations. There are a number of prisoners who are identified as a danger and 'Safe System of Work' (SSOW) protocols are in place.

c. I always carry a prison issued personal alarm.

d.Any meetings with prisoners will be carried out in the same way as usual for chaplaincy contact either in a room on a flat or in the HUB where staff are present in the vicinity and are fully aware of the researcher's presence.

NOTE: Permission has already been sought and granted by the SPS Research Access Ethics Committee to carry out the interviews with prisoners and staff.

6. Data Protection

a. All digital data will be stored in a folder on a personal laptop. The laptop is used solely by the researcher and is not networked to any other computer. A strong password is already used to access the computer and a further password will be used on the folder containing the research data.

b. A backup of the digital data will be stored on a password secure memory stick stored in a locked cabinet.

c. All data within the folder will be anonymised.

d. All interviewees will be contacted through SPS and there will be no need to store personal data.

e. Any paper records will be kept in a private locked filing cabinet and will be subject to the same strict requirements of confidentiality and anonymity.

University of Glasgow | College of Arts

Ethics Committee for Non-Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects

13. If applying for funding for this research, please give name of funding body:
n/a

14. Have you submitted, or are you intending to submit this application to another College in the University?
Yes☐ / No☒ If yes, please specify:

End of Project Report
The Committee requires that a brief report be provided within one month of the completion of the research, giving details of any ethical issues which have arisen (a copy of the report to the funder, or a paragraph or two will usually be sufficient). This is a condition of approval and in line with the committee's need to monitor research.
In addition, any unforeseen events which might affect the ethical conduct of the research, or which might provide grounds for discontinuing the study, must be reported immediately in writing to the Ethics Committee. The Committee will examine the circumstances and advise you of its decision, which may include referral of the matter to the central University Ethics Committee or a requirement that the research be terminated.

Please note that it is the responsibility of the researcher to follow the College of Arts Ethics policy and procedures and any relevant academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of the study. This includes providing appropriate information sheets and consent forms, and ensuring confidentiality in the storage and use of data. Any significant change in the question, design or conduct over the course of the research should be notified to the College Ethics Officer and may require a new application for ethics approval.

Date of submission of form: 29.5.17

Signature of person making the proposal: Sheena Orr
(please type name)

Signature of supervisor (for student applications only): Dr Scott Spurlock
(please type name)

Thank you for filling in this form. You should receive confirmation of ethical approval within four weeks of submitting it.

Annex 3 University of Glasgow Ethics Approval

14 Jun 2017

Dear Sheena

Ethics Application 100160174: Ethics Approval

Ethical approval is given for your research. Please note that an end of project report is required by the Ethics Committee. A brief report should be provided within one month of the completion of the research, giving details of any ethical issues which have arisen (a copy of the report to the funder, or a paragraph or two will usually be sufficient). This is a condition of approval and in line with the committee's need to monitor research. Further, it is your responsibility to inform, as appropriate, your supervisor, advisor or funding body of the outcome of your Ethics application. You should also indicate successful receipt of ethics clearance on the acknowledgements page of the approved project.

In addition, any unforeseen events which might affect the ethical conduct of the research, or which might provide grounds for discontinuing the study, must be reported immediately in writing to the Ethics Committee. The Committee will examine the circumstances and advise you of its decision, which may include referral of the matter to the central University Ethics Committee or a requirement that the research be terminated.

Information on the College of Arts Ethics policy and procedures is at http://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/arts/research/ethics.

Yours sincerely

Iain

Dr Iain Banks

College of Arts Ethics Officer
School of Humanities/An Sgoil Daonnachdan
10 University Gdns
University of Glasgow
Glasgow
G12 8QQ
0141 330 2420

Annex 4 Consent to Use Data

University of Glasgow

CONSENT TO THE USE OF DATA
University of Glasgow, College of Arts Research Ethics Committee

As part of my post-graduate research with Glasgow University I am asking people to talk about what 'Transforming Lives' means from their perspective. A small number of people, both prisoners and SPS staff, have been asked to take part in qualitative interviews using a semi-structured questionnaire. These interviews will be digitally recorded and then transcribed. The information from these interviews will be used to write an article about different understandings of the idea of transformation. The data will also be used as part of my final thesis. It will help in understanding the different roles that people play within SPS, and particularly that of the chaplain, as the vision of 'Transforming Lives' is pursued.

Thank-you for agreeing to take part in this interview.

Sheena Orr.

I give my consent to take part in the interview and the data to be used on the understanding that:

- Participation in the interview is entirely voluntary and I am free to withdraw at any point
- The interview will be digitally recorded
- All names and other material likely to identify individuals will be anonymised.
- The material will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times.
- The material will be retained in secure storage for use in future academic research
- The material may be used in future publications, both print and online.

Participant Name:_____ Signature_____ Date: _____

Researcher Name:_____ Signature_____ Date: _____

CONTACT DETAILS

Researcher's name and email contact: Sheena Orr :

Supervisor's name and email contact: Rev Dr Scott Spurlock
Scott.Spurlock@glasgow.ac.uk

Department address: Theology & Religion, 4 The Square, University of Glasgow, G12

Annex 5 Scottish Prison Service - Research Access Application

Applicant: **Rev Sheena Orr**, Chaplain HMP Edinburgh
Part-time Student - Doctorate in Practical Theology,

Supervisor: Rev Dr Scott Spurlock Scott.Spurlock@glasgow.ac.uk
(input also from Prof Fergus McNeill)

University: **Glasgow**

Title of research:

Desistance, transformation and the prison chaplain

Key objectives of research:

To explore people's understanding of transformation within SPS

To identify the unique assets and strengths of chaplaincy within a desistance thinking approach.

To build up an understanding of the contribution made by SPS Chaplains to self-efficacy within a desistance approach

Outline of research proposal including proposed methods: (continue on further sheets as required)

Prison Chaplains in Scotland are paid to work within a secular organisation, the Scottish Prison Service, and to sign up to its values, vision and mission. The current project uses an institutional ethnographic approach to explore the context and content of different understandings of the SPS mission of 'Transforming Lives' as it seeks ways of encouraging desistance from re-offending. Observations from my own work as a prison chaplain, official documents and interviews with staff and prisoners will be used to explore the psychological, social and spiritual dimensions of 'transformation' and the values behind the concept. The implications of these different understandings and approaches are then considered for the role of the chaplain within the SPS and the opportunities which

exist to encourage staff and prisoner alike to experience transformation in their lives.

Methodology The research takes a qualitative approach. Ethnography will be used as a framework for observing the culture and context in which the SPS Vision of 'Transforming Lives' takes place. Relevant documents will be read to establish the development of the Vision from strategy to operational plans on the ground.

The main part of the research is a number of qualitative interviews using semi-structured topics including:
The person's role within SPS
What they understand by the SPS vision of 'transforming lives'
(who is it that is to be transformed and in what way?)
Any guiding framework or underlying philosophical assumptions
What approach their profession or position suggests in practice (i.e. the particular methods and activities they use)
What particular aspects of
How they see the specific contribution of their (professional) role to 'transforming lives'
Any personal experience of 'transformation' and how it might contribute to their professional understanding of transformation.

Interview questions will be partially dependent on who is being interviewed. Questions for prisoners will be more concerned with their understanding of what a transformed life looks like and how their time in prison may be used to strengthen their potential to 'transform' their lives and desist from crime.

It is proposed to undertake 5 qualitative interviews each from a different perspective:

Head of Well-being (HQ)

Chaplaincy Adviser (HQ)

Head of Psychology (HMP Edinburgh)

A Prison Officer (HMP Edinburgh)

A short-term prisoner (HMP Edinburgh)

In addition, a focus group will be held with prisoners once the individual interviews have been conducted to discuss issues and interesting aspects arising from the one to one interviews.

A focus group with short-term prisoners (HMP Edinburgh)

All interviews will digitally recorded and then transcribed. NUDIST software will be used for qualitative text analysis.

The findings from the project will be written up in the form of an article for publication in a journal of Practical Theology. The draft outline is shown below.

An report for internal distribution within the SPS will also be prepared.

Draft Outline of the Report

1. Mission of the SPS
Context and culture
What is written on paper
Where it came from

2. Meanings of Transformation
The Prisoner speaks
The Professional speaks
The Prison Officer
The Priest speaks
Discussion

3. Managing Assets
Learnings for SPS
Learnings for Chaplaincy

Conclusion

_____

Finally, a note about the myself. I am a female prison chaplain and an ordained Church of Scotland minister. I have been involved in research of various kinds over the last 4 decades through my previous work as an independent consultant working in the public and voluntary sectors. This required the ability to research, analyse, write and present to a high quality. I also have a breadth of knowledge and experience based on earlier degrees which include a BA in Economics and Politics, an MBA, an MSc in Community Education and most recently, a BD (Bachelor of Divinity). The current project draws on all of the above.

Timetable:

Interviews will take place between April and May 2017.
Interviews will be transcribed by end of June 2017.
Analysis will be done in July 2017.
Writing up will be completed by the end of September 2017.

Resource demands and access required (e.g. establishments requested; number of respondents; length of interviews etc.:

Access to research subjects at SPS Headquarters and HMP Edinburgh is requested

The following interviews are planned:

Head of Well-being (HQ)

Chaplaincy Adviser (HQ)

Head of Psychology (HMP Edinburgh)

A Prison Officer (HMP Edinburgh)

A short-term prisoner (HMP Edinburgh)

A focus group with prisoners (HMP Edinburgh)

Each interview is expected to last between one hour and an hour and a half.

Ethical considerations and clearances:

Clearance is currently being sought from the University of Glasgow Ethics committee for Non-Clinical Research involving Human Subjects. Research in this area comes under the AHRC (Arts and Humanities Research Council) which is a member of the Research Councils UK (RCUK) which provides the overarching 'Policy and Guidelines of Good Research Governance'.

Specific ethical considerations include:

Transparency. All interviewees will be given an information sheet explaining the purpose of the research, what their involvement entails, assurances of anonymity and confidentiality, their right to withdraw and what will happen with the research once gathered.

The **intellectual property rights** of those involved in the research: signed permission to use any information gathered from people will be sought.

The **Confidentiality** of information provided by research subjects will be assured along with the anonymity of respondents unless they declare otherwise. Data Protection requirements will be strictly followed. Information will be collected on a digital recorder with the files transferred to a password locked computer after the interview is completed. The folder containing the recordings will also be protected by a strong password known only to the researcher.

Vulnerable adults. As an SPS employee the researcher is PVG checked. The researcher is fully aware of the vulnerable position of some of the prisoners and how emotive some of the discussion might be. The researcher is trained in pastoral care and active listening skills in addition to SPS 'Talk to Me' suicide awareness training.

The researcher is in daily contact with individual prisoners and in groups and is trained to identify signs of psychological and emotional stress. Interviews will be

entirely voluntary and the interviewee has the right to stop the interview at any point. Equally the researcher will offer to stop the interview if it is felt not to be in the best interests of the interviewee.

In the case of Whistle-blowing the interviewee will be reminded of the limits of confidentiality particularly where they disclose their stress, anxiety or potential harm by a named individual or situation. An offer to stop the interview will be made.

Safety of the researcher:
• As an employee of SPS I have personal protection training, induction and on-going training in various aspects of prison operations.
• I always carry a personal alarm.
• Any meetings with prisoners will be carried out in the same way as usual for chaplaincy contact either in a room on a flat or in the HUB where staff are present in the vicinity and are fully aware of the researcher's presence.

Utility of research to SPS:

• Strengthens understanding of the role of chaplains within the desistance framework

• Contributes to multi-agency collaborative working through greater understanding of the role of chaplaincy in desistance

• Contributes to penological practice by highlighting good practice

• Facilitates the transfer of desistance relevant skills, knowledge and information across the Service

Dissemination plans:

Findings from the research project will form the basis of an article which will be submitted to a journal for publication in late 2017. (It is noted that any material presented publicly, must be submitted to the Chair of the Research Access and Ethics Committee and this will be done prior to submission to any journal.)

An internal SPS report will be written and submitted to SPS highlighting the findings from the project.

Supervisor's approval and supporting comments:

This is a well-conceived and coherent proposal. Sheena has demonstrated a great aptitude for research and is perfectly positioned to complete this project. She has

carefully considered the ethical and safety concerns and has provided a framework for dealing with these. I am wholly convinced that this project is ethically robust and methodologically sound. In addition to your own robust ethical clearance, Sheena will also need to attain permission from the University of Glasgow as well, but this seems to be in hand as well. Overall, I strongly support Sheena's proposal and am wholly convinced that the output will be of benefit both to the Scottish Prison Service and her own postgraduate studies. If you require any additional information, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Rev Dr Scott Spurlock

Additional information (if any):

The project will form a larger piece of research contributing towards a Doctorate in Practical Theology. It is anticipated that a further submission will be made to the SPS Ethics Committee once a final approach and Research Proposal has been developed. This will be in early 2018. A substantial part of the thesis will use an auto-ethnographic approach. A professional development journal is already being kept with attention being paid to critical incidents and 'epiphanies'.

Date submitted: 6th April 2017

Annex 6 Regulations Concerning Research Access To Prison Establishments For The Purposes Of Conducting Research

All access to prison establishments for the purposes of conducting research is conditional on the researcher(s) agreeing to abide by the undernoted requirements.

1. All subjects to be included in the study must be informed that their participation in the study is voluntary and of their entitlement to withdraw consent at any time.

2. All subjects involved in the study must be informed of the purpose of the study; anticipated uses of data; identity of funder(s) (if applicable); and the identity of the interviewer.

3. All subjects must be assured of anonymity and all material arising out of the study must be dealt with on a confidential basis. Researchers must comply with the Data Protection Act (1998).

4. All research data and material of whatever kind (i.e. interview notes, questionnaires, tapes, transcripts, reports, documents, specifications, instructions, plans, drawings, patents, models, designs, whether in writing or on electronic or other media) obtained from the Scottish Prison Service shall remain the property of the Crown. Information collected during the course of a research project must not be supplied to another party or used for any other purpose other than that agreed to and contained in the original research proposal. All confidential research data obtained from SPS must be destroyed within 12 months of completion of the research project.

5. All researchers must abide by the ethical guidelines of their profession or discipline and must nominate below the guidelines to which they will adhere. (e.g. Social Research Association, British Sociological Association etc.)

6. Where appropriate, research proposals may require to be submitted to the Ethics Committee of the local Area Health Board and to receive their approval before access is granted.

7. The Chair of the SPS Research Access and Ethics Committee (RAEC) must be informed in writing and agree to any changes to the project which involve alterations to the essential nature of the agreed work.

8. The Scottish Prison Service reserves the right to terminate access to SPS establishments at any time for any Operational reason that may arise or for any breach by the researcher of the Access Regulations or for any failure on the part of the researcher to conduct the study as agreed with the RAEC. In the event of access being terminated for any reason whatsoever, all data obtained from SPS during the course of the research shall be returned to the Scottish Prison Service.

9. The Scottish Prison Service will not have liability in respect of any loss or damage to the researcher's property or of any personal injury to the researcher which occur within SPS premises. The researcher (or, if applicable, the researcher's institution or organisation) will be responsible for arranging all relevant personal indemnity to cover the conduct of research within SPS premises.

10. In principle, the Scottish Prison Service supports the publication and dissemination of research findings arising from approved work. However, all material resulting from such access and which is intended to be presented publicly, must be submitted to the Chair of the Research Access and Ethics Committee, Research Services, SPS Headquarters, Room 312, Calton House, Redheughs Rigg, Edinburgh EH12 9HW. The Scottish Prison Service reserves the right to amend factual inaccuracies and to make modifications to the text and material intended for publication in order to preserve the confidentiality of the information and the identity of individuals or, where appropriate, of any institution.

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