Understanding the Lived Experience of Older Men in Prison

PhD Thesis

Rosannah Hutton

School of Social Work, University of East Anglia

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2022

Abstract

Older prisoners are the fastest growing prison population with the number of older offenders rapidly increasing in recent years. Whilst this trend can be seen across both male and female offenders, the overwhelming majority of older people in prison are men. Despite this, older men in prison have received limited attention within policy, practice, and academic research. Insight into how they make sense of their everyday realities in prison is particularly scant. This thesis presents a constructivist grounded theory study exploring the lived experiences of older men in prison. A total of 24 in-depth interviews were conducted with 17 older men who had experience of prison in later life, either in prison or recently released, and 7 prison officers. Central to the men's experiences of prison were the nature of the environment, their relationships, and identities, and preparing for and managing release. An overarching theoretical account was constructed from analysis of the empirical data, with two concepts central to this: *prison climate* and *capital*. The older men described various factors that came together to shape the overall feel of the prison environment, or *climate*, and the extent to which this was suitable for their needs as older people. Whilst there was a sense of commonality in that the prison climate was perceived as challenging and hard to navigate, the way in which it was experienced was also shaped by the presence of various individual resources, or *capital*. Based on this, some were afforded more ways in which to negotiate the environment and make sense of their situation constructively. This study therefore contributes an original way of understanding the experiences of older men in prison. The implications of these findings are discussed in relation to both policy and practice. The importance of a unifying policy strategy for older offenders is particularly stressed.

Access Condition and Agreement

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank the 24 individuals who participated in this research. It would not have been possible to write this thesis without your co-operation and willingness to let me hear your stories. To the older men who took part, thank you for sharing what were often painful experiences during extremely challenging periods of your life. To the prison officers, thank you for taking time out of your extremely hectic working lives – particularly those who spared time whilst working through a global pandemic. Similarly, this research would not have been possible with the assistance of prison governors, psychologists, support workers and other prison officers who facilitated the fieldwork.

It is also important to acknowledge those who supported my academic studies and helped make this research a reality. A big thank you to my primary supervisor, Professor Jonathan Dickens, for his enthusiasm, knowledge, good humour, and calm and pragmatic approach – particularly at the later stages of this project. Thank you also to my secondary supervisor, Dr Georgia Philip for your thought-provoking analytic insight. A very special mention is owed to Dr Penny Sorensen. Thank you for nurturing my passion for both qualitative research and social gerontology since I was an undergraduate. Without your belief in my abilities as a researcher I would have never embarked on this PhD journey and without your support and encouragement I would not have finished it. Your input to the earlier stages of this project were so influential to this thesis. To my PhD colleagues, I feel very lucky to have gone through this journey alongside you. I have made some very special friendships. I am particularly grateful to Anne, Meg, Rosie, and Ruth for their support. Also, to Emma, I could not have picked a better person to start my PhD and share all the highs and lows with. Ellie, I fear this PhD would have been impossible without your friendship and support. And Christina, thank you for being an unofficial mentor throughout my project, providing endless encouragement and always making yourself available to talk about grounded theory and my analysis! You have been a great friend to me.

Thank you so much to all of those outside of the PhD who have been patient with my absence and kept me going through the difficult times. Josh, thanks for your company during our many afternoons working in cafes. Alison, Dave, and especially, Dylan – thank you for helping me every step of the way and proofreading so much of this thesis. I am particularly grateful to the incredible and supportive women in my life – Abbie, Albertine, Alex, Chloe, Kim, Phee, and Ruby. Hugh – thank you for coming into my life just at the right time and supporting me so wonderfully through the last stages of writing this thesis. Dad and Kim, thank you for the ongoing support, delicious meals, and (particularly Dad) telling me to 'get it done'. Mum and Richard – thank you for your unwavering faith in me to accomplish anything I put my mind to. The empathy for others that you have instilled in me, Mum, has been so valuable to this project.

Contents

List of tables, figures, and abbreviations

Figures

Figure 1: CGT model

Tables

Table 1: Age and imprisonment status of older men

Table 2: Characteristics of diverging release narratives

Abbreviations

AP   Approved Premises

CGT   Constructivist Grounded Theory

HMPPS   Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service

IICSA   The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse

IEP   Incentives and Earned Privileges

IPP   Imprisonment for Public Protection

MOD   Model of Operational Delivery

NRC   National Research Committee

OMU   Offender Management Unit

PSI   Prison Service Instruction

PSO   Prison Service Order

UC   Universal Credit

VPU   Vulnerable Prisoner Unit

Chapter 1: Introduction

Background

The total prison population in England and Wales currently stands at just under 80,000 (Ministry of Justice, 2022). England and Wales has the highest number of prisoners serving indeterminate sentences in Europe and the highest prison admission rate in Western Europe (Prison Reform Trust, 2019). The prison population has also grown significantly, almost doubling in the last 30 years (Sturge, 2021). Currently, the fastest growing prison population is older prisoners, with the number almost trebling over the past 15 years (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2020; Prison and Probations Ombudsman, 2017).

Prisoners are generally classified as 'older' at 50 years or above and this threshold has been adopted by much of the academic literature and HM Prison and Probation Service (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2020; Merkt, 2020). Although this definition is younger than those considered 'older' within the community, it is based on two reasons. Firstly, some research suggests that ageing may be accelerated for those in prison when compared to those in the community (BMJ, 2012). Secondly, as there is a much higher concentration of young men in prison in comparison to the community, those over 50 are, therefore, positioned as contextually 'older' (Howse, 2011).

The number of those over 60 years has grown the fastest, followed by those 50-59 years (Centre for Policy on Ageing, 2016). At present, there are just under 13,500 older prisoners, making up 17% of the prison population overall (Ministry of Justice, 2021). Although the number of older women in prison has also increased, they comprise a very small minority, reflective of the ratio of female to male prisoners more generally (Ministry of Justice, 2021).

The rapid increase in the ageing prison population has not only been documented in England and Wales but can also been seen in countries such as the United States, Australia, and Japan (Williams, Ahalt and Greifinger, 2014). This trend has generally been attributed to a mixture of influences, including population ageing, an increase in convictions for (often historical) sexual offences, and sentence inflation more broadly (Prison and Probation Ombudsman, 2017; House of Commons Justice Committee, 2013). In terms of the offence profiles of older prisoners, four distinct groups have been identified:

1) Repeat offenders who may have served several different prison sentences throughout their lifetime

2) Those serving a long sentence for an offence committed earlier in life and have, thus, grown old in prison

3) Those entering prison late in life for a short sentence

4) Those entering prison late in life for a longer sentence (Omolade, 2014).

Furthermore, in respect to the nature of these offences, older prisoners are most convicted of sexual offences (45%), violence against the person (23%), and drug offences (9%) (Prison Reform Trust, 2019).

In line with accepted human rights standards, the four tests of a healthy prison are that prisoners are managed safely, treated with respect, have opportunities to engage in purposeful activity that benefits them, and are supported with rehabilitation and release planning (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2019). Moreover, under the Equality Act (2010), those with protected characteristics, such as older prisoners, must receive equitable care in line with the general prison population (HM Prison and Probation Service, 2020). Despite this, two successive reports from the House of

Commons Justice Committee concluded that the prison environment is not set up for older prisoners' age-related needs, and reasonable adjustments have been not implemented consistently across the prison estate (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2013; 2020). Indeed, this is echoed within the academic literature, where it has been demonstrated that the needs of older prisoners are often not met (see Chapter Four).

This thesis examines the perspectives of older men both in prison and released, as well as prison officers. A total of 24 semi-structured interviews were conducted and form the empirical material for the study. The process of data collection and analysis was conducted in accordance with the constructivist grounded theory (CGT) framework developed by Charmaz (2014). In keeping with the CGT approach, an exploratory and data-driven approach was taken to examine the lived experiences of older men in prison. This was shown to be particularly advantageous as it allowed examination of how particular themes were prevalent across various areas of older prisoners' experience. More specifically, this thesis offers an understanding of how the nature of the prison environment, or *climate*, and the presence (or absence) of individual resources, or *capital*, intersect to form how prison is experienced and navigated by older prisoners.

Before moving on, it is important to highlight the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on this study. Older men released from prison were not originally included in the sample. However, in March 2020, around halfway through data collection, Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service halted all research within the prison context based on public health guidance at that time. As a result, an amended recruitment strategy was implemented to allow data collection to be completed. The sampling criteria was, therefore, widened to include older ex-offenders with recent experience of prison living in the community. This, however, is argued to have been highly beneficial to the study. Further details of this amendment are discussed in Chapter Five.

Rationale for the research

As highlighted above, much of the existing literature pertaining to older men in prison has highlighted the extent to which their needs as older people are often not met (see Chapter Four). Research has, therefore, often tended to concentrate on the degree to which specific needs are supported rather than the broader experiences of older male prisoners more generally (see for example, Turner et al., 2018; Aday and Wahidin, 2016; Fazel et al., 2004; Fazel et al., 2001; Fazel et al., 2002; Hayes et al., 2013; O'Hara et al., 2016; and Crawley, 2005). Similarly, there has been a tendency to use quantitative designs to investigate the extent to which needs are 'met' or 'unmet,' without interrogating how this may be experienced. Indeed, exploration of the lived realities of older men in prison, more generally, has been limited (see Crawley and Sparks, 2005; Crawley 2005; Mann, 2012).

The rationale for this study, more specifically, is as follows. Firstly, the period since 2010 has seen the rollout of widespread austerity-based policies. The reduction in prison spending and implementation of the prison benchmarking programme have had a profound impact on the prison environment (Skinns, 2016; Ismail, 2019; 2020; House of Commons, 2015). As will be discussed in Chapter Two, this period has seen a significant reduction in both prisoner safety and care. Indeed, research exploring the provision of health and social care for older prisoners post-2010 has demonstrated that the prison benchmarking programme has constrained prison staff's ability to provide for older prisoners (Turner and Peacock, 2017; Turner et al., 2018). Very little, however, is known about how the altered landscape of the prison environment has impacted upon older prisoners' experiences more generally. Secondly, there has been very limited consideration of how masculinities (particularly those in relation to ageing) may shape older men's experiences of prison. The limited existing literature in this area has suggested masculinities are unproblematic for older male prisoners and, as a result, something they are

'unconcerned' with (Mann, 2012). Finally, the CGT framework has had limited use in prison research. The justification for adopting this approach is outlined in Chapter Five and its value within this particular study will be discussed further in Chapter Ten. Beginning with a broad focus and following the concepts emerging from the data, central to the CGT approach, is argued to have been particularly advantageous.

This study is also important in regard to its timeliness. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, one of the starting points for this research was that there remained no national policy strategy for older prisoners, with previous calls for this denied by preceding governments as they did not want to 'generalise' on the basis of age (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2013). Further research in this area may, therefore, be influential in raising the profile of the needs of older prisoners. In July 2020, the Government agreed to commission an older offenders' policy strategy. However, at the time of writing, this has yet to be published.

Aims and research questions

As highlighted above, the central aim of this study was to explore the lived experiences of older men in prison and produce knowledge grounded in the participants' perspectives. As will be discussed further in Chapter Five, the inclusion of prison officers' views was not to fact-check or corroborate the older men's narratives, but instead to gain an additional insight into the broader landscape of service provision. To move away from investigating a particular 'need,' the aim was to explore what was pertinent to older prisoners' life in prison in relation to their thoughts, feelings, and opinions about their activities, relationships, practices, roles, and routines.

The research questions were designed as a broad starting point for inquiry, in keeping with the CGT approach. The overarching questions constructed were therefore:

- How do older men experience prison?

- How do prison officers experience their work with older prisoners?

Thesis outline

The approach to literature reviewing immediately follows this chapter. Chapter Two, the first of the literature review chapters, then examines how both policy imperatives and dominant socio-political rhetoric have shaped prison conditions and, thus, the environment of older prisoners. The reasons behind the rapid increase in the older prison population are examined. The impact of austerity, marketisation, and the prominence of punitive political rhetoric in relation to the prison system are then discussed. The (limited) existing policy relating to the management of older prisoners is outlined. Finally, this chapter concludes by highlighting the debates relating to the incarceration of older people and how these fit within the purposes of prison.

Chapter Three provides a theoretical background, situating this thesis within the existing knowledge relating to ageing, masculinities, and imprisonment and how these intersect. Dominant social theories of ageing are examined, with a particular focus on what it means to age 'successfully.' Theories of masculinity are discussed with a focus on ageing masculinities and how masculine identities may be threatened and/or reconstructed in later life. Finally, sociological understandings of the prison environment are examined and how these may shape prison masculinities.

Chapter Four, the third and final literature review chapter, contextualises this study within the existing research pertaining to older people in prison. More specifically, research examining physical health, social care, mental health, dying in prison, and resettlement is examined.

Chapter Five outlines the methodology underpinning this study. First, the interpretivist paradigm and social constructionism are discussed as the overarching theoretical foundation. A rationale for and explanation of CGT and semi-structured interviewing is provided. The process of data collection and analysis is then detailed. Finally, ethical considerations are outlined.

Chapter Six, the first of the empirical findings chapters, contextualises the lived realities of the prison environment for older men. It details how they attempted to navigate what is shown here to be a harsh, hostile, and unresponsive system, which is often ill-equipped to meet their needs. The highly varied and inconsistent nature of provision for older prisoners is particularly emphasised. This chapter also draws heavily on prison officers' narratives and highlights the presence of broader structural barriers that constrain their work with older prisoners.

Chapter Seven moves on to explore how the older men attempted to maintain and reconfigure their identities within the challenging prison environment, as outlined in the previous chapter. Both ageing and imprisonment were shown to pose identity threats for the men and a number of strategies were implemented in order to mitigate these. It is emphasised, however, that some strategies appeared more constructive than others. Furthermore, it is argued that across the older men there were varying levels of identity resources at their disposal and some were, therefore, more equipped to defend against identity threats than others.

Chapter Eight outlines empirical findings in relation to the older men's relationships. Their relationships with family, other prisoners, and prison officers are explored. Overall, the presence of positive and supporting relationships was shown to be vital to managing prison life. These relationships, however, were often constrained by various barriers inherent to the prison environment. Furthermore, across the participants, there is shown to be highly varying levels of

social capital, with some having significantly more resources to draw on in order to help navigate their time in prison.

Chapter Nine, the final empirical findings chapter, discusses both the older men's perceptions and experiences of release and resettlement. Those in prison described the prospect of release as daunting, with anxiety around how they would navigate it in later life. The released participants who were included as part of the amended recruitment strategy in light of COVID-19 are particularly foregrounded in this chapter. The realities of release were described as having to endure relentless challenges that were perceived to be particularly trying in later life. Consistent with the themes present in the preceding empirical chapters, the challenging circumstances that the men must navigate were enabled and/or constrained by the individual resources they held.

Following the empirical findings chapters, an overarching theoretical model is presented which subsumes the themes woven throughout the analysis of the empirical material. This is based on two concepts: *prison climate* and *capital*.

Chapter Ten, the final chapter of this thesis, discusses the empirical findings explored in the preceding four chapters. The findings in reference to the theoretical model presented are situated within the existing literature. Strengths and limitations of the research are discussed and recommendations for policy, practice, and future research are then detailed. Finally, the original contribution of this thesis is offered as well as final concluding remarks.

Purpose of the literature review

As outlined in the previous chapter, this study was underpinned by constructivist grounded theory methodology. The approach to literature reviewing had to therefore be consistent with this. There are debates regarding *when* the literature should be examined within a grounded theory study, a point that is discussed further in Chapter Five. In terms of *how* the literature should be examined, it is important to consider that grounded theory approaches are inductive in nature and centre on building theory rooted in the empirical data rather than existing academic knowledge or theory (Holloway and Wheeler, 2010). The aim of the literature review presented in this thesis was neither to provide an exhaustive appraisal of the existing literature in relation to the topic nor to build a conceptual framework or hypothesis for the study. The purpose was instead to give a contextual background to what is already known about older men in prison and to provide a platform from which to explore the participants' experiences. The approach was therefore more aligned with what is often referred to as a narrative review, the goal of which is "to provide the reader with a comprehensive background for understanding current knowledge and highlighting the significance of new research" (Cronin, Ryan and Coughlan, 2008, p. 38). In the later stages of analysis, it was necessary to revisit the existing literature in order to explore broader material in response to concepts unfolding during data analysis.

Process of identifying and reviewing sources

In line with the approach to literature reviewing described above, the use of a systematic framework involving prescriptive formal guidelines for searching, selecting, and appraising the

existing literature was not necessary. A number of rigorous search strategies, however, were employed. Initial searches were constructed to gain a broad sense of the topic area. From this, the three chapter structure for the literature review was developed. More specific and focused search terms were then used in line with the corresponding topic areas of each chapter. Throughout this process, truncation and Boolean search operators were used to make searches more focused. Snowballing techniques, both backward and forward, were also used to explore the base of literature I was examining and reduce the likelihood of missing key texts within the topic area. Reviewing existing systematic reviews pertaining to older offenders was also helpful in this regard (see Di Lorito, Völlm, and Dening, 2018; Merkt et al., 2020; Crookes et al., 2021). In the first instance, large and more general databases were searched. These included Scopus and the University of East Anglia library catalogue (EBSCO). Subject specific databases such as PsycINFO, Social Care Online, MEDLINE etc. were also searched. When appraising the literature, abstracts were initially reviewed in order to establish relevance and thus whether it was necessary to read the full-text. Sources were then reviewed in terms of their bearing and/or relevance on the topic area including the methodology employed, the findings and conclusions, and/or literature that was cited.

When searching and selecting relevant literature I created general inclusion and exclusion criteria. Grey literature from relevant UK organisations such as the Prison Reform Trust and Age UK was included whilst international grey literature was excluded. Literature not written in English was excluded. As this thesis specifically focuses on older men in prison, material focused solely on older female offenders was also excluded. Literature pertaining to the UK context was given primacy unless texts were seen to provide interesting points of comparison, findings were particularly notable or novel, and/or texts were seen to be seminal. While preference was given

to studies published after the year 2000, pieces of research that were deemed to be seminal or highly significant to the area were also included. As discussed above, the majority of the literature searching took place in the early stages of the project. However, further literature was explored later to respond to emerging ideas from the data analysis and in the later stages of the writing up process in order to make efforts to include any recently published findings pertaining to older offenders.

Chapter 2: Policy landscape

Introduction

The experiences of older men in prison do not exist in isolation and must be situated within the broader socio-political landscape in relation to prisons and sentencing. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to discuss the impact of policy imperatives and rhetoric on prison conditions and, in turn, how this may shape older men's experiences. This chapter is split into four main sections. The first section aims to explain the rapid expansion of the ageing prison population. The second section explores wider political influences in relation to the prison system and how this may translate into the management and provision of services for older men in prison. The third section outlines the (limited) existing policy in relation to older prisoners. Finally, the fourth section aims to highlight debates in relation to the incarceration of older men, and how these fit within the purposes of prison and wider notions of punishment and justice.

Understanding the rising number of older prisoners

As outlined in the introduction to this thesis, older men are currently the fastest growing prison population. Between 2002 and 2020 the number of older people in prison almost trebled, rising from just under 5,000 to almost 14,000 (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2020). With this in mind, when researching the experiences of older men in prison it is necessary to first understand why this group has and continues to grow so rapidly. This section, therefore, discusses how the presence of an ageing population, the rise of both recent and non-recent sexual offence convictions, and the toughening of sentencing policies have led to the increase in the number of older prisoners.

Population ageing

One explanation for the increasing number of older men in prison is population ageing. Whilst in 1950 there were 5.3 million people aged over 65 in the UK, comprising 10.8% of the population, in 2018 this figure stood at 11.9 million and comprised 18% of the total population (Office for National Statistics, 2019). This trend has been attributed to both increasing life expectancy and a decreasing number of children being born (Office for National Statistics, 2018). It can, therefore, be argued that the increase in the older prison population simply reflects the increase of the older population more generally.

Measuring the exact contribution of population ageing on the number of older prisoners, however, is a complex task and has led to varying estimates within the existing literature. Whilst there is limited research looking at this within the UK context, studies have investigated the trend in both the US and Australia, where there has been a similar growth in the older prison population (Williams et al., 2014). Findings within the US prison context conclude that the expansion of the general population resulting from the 'baby boom' phenomenon may be responsible for as much as half of the observed increase in men over 50 in prison since the year 2000 (Luallen and Cutler, 2017).

It is important to consider, however, that the US prison system is distinct from that in the United Kingdom, with a significantly higher incarceration rate and differing rates of specific offences (Weiss and MacKenzie, 2010). Therefore, findings based on US data may not be applicable to the UK prison context. Indeed, research on Australian data concluded that population ageing only had a small contribution on the overall increase, with increasing numbers of older people being imprisoned the most influential factor (Ginnivan, et al., 2021). This supports arguments within the UK context that state whilst population ageing has contributed to the number of older

prisoners, a rising number of sexual offence convictions and changes to sentencing have been most influential (Prison and Probations Ombudsman, 2017; House of Commons Justice Committee, 2020).

Rise of sexual offence convictions

Within the population of older prisoners, 44% are convicted of sexual offences (Prison Reform Trust, 2022). The number of men in prison that are convicted of sexual offences has recently increased. Whilst in 2005 those in prison for a sexual offence represented 9% of the overall prison population, in 2021, this group represented 18% of the sentenced prison population (Ministry of Justice, Home Office and ONS, 2013; Ministry of Justice, 2021a). This is consistent with a sharp increase in the number of sexual offences recorded by police as a result of both improvements made to recording practices and more victims and survivors coming forward (Office for National Statistics, 2021a).

The increasing number of individuals coming forward to report both recent and non-recent sexual offences has been influenced in part by the "high-profile coverage of sexual offences, and the police response to reports of historical sexual offending" (HM Inspectorate of Probation and HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2019, p. 15). One of the most notable examples of this being Operation Yewtree, where Jimmy Savile and other high-profile celebrities were investigated following a large number of allegations of sexual offences having been committed, mostly against children. Off the back of this, the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse (IICSA) was launched in 2014 and has investigated institutional failings across a variety of settings (Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse, 2018). The prominence of the investigation has been associated with what has been described as a 'Yewtree effect', where there was an increase in victims and survivors reporting (predominantly non-recent) sexual offences more generally

(Office for National Statistics, 2015). Indeed, following the launch of Project Yewtree the NSPCC experienced a substantial increase of calls from people who had experienced abuse, including many not related to Savile (Gray and Watt, 2013).

Awareness and media exposure of individuals disclosing non-recent sexual offences continued beyond Operation Yewtree. Another example can be seen in organised football, where a large number of individuals spoke out about sexual abuse they experienced as children from staff involved within the sport, resulting in a number of convictions (Sheldon, 2021). Also influential was the 'Me Too' (or #MeToo) movement, where a number of prominent celebrities spoke out about sexual harassment and assault, leading to vast numbers of people posting their own experiences of sexual assault or harassment across various social media platforms. During this period there was a significant increase in calls to sexual assault helplines, with the movement being described in academic commentary as "a call to arms to all victims of sexual assault" (Gash and Harding, 2018, p.1).

Although the number of sexual offences recorded by the police still remains much lower than the numbers reported in the Crime Survey in England and Wales (CSEW) (ONS, 2021b), an observed increase in sexual offences recorded does suggest that the examples above may have influenced a shift whereby victims and survivors are more likely to come forward (Denti and Iammarino, 2022). As those convicted of sexual offences are overrepresented in the older male prison population, increased recording of such offences is, therefore, consistent with the rising number of older prisoners. An increase in historical sexual offence convictions, in particular, has seen a changing profile of sexual offenders in prison, whereby older men are increasingly going to prison for offences committed many years ago (HM Inspectorate of Probation and HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2019). Although the Ministry of Justice does not collect statistics

regarding the number of historic sexual offence convictions, the Metropolitan Police have reported that historic sexual offences recorded by police have increased by 134% over five years (Mayor of London Office for Policing and Crime, 2019). Similarly, both staff and prisoners have witnessed an increase in the number of older men entering prison for historical offences (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2013). Overall, then, the increasing number of victims and survivors coming forward is likely to have been influential on the ageing prison population, particularly the increasing number of those entering prison late in life for a historical offence.

Sentencing changes

In addition to the influence of population ageing and the increase in sexual offence convictions, the toughening of prison sentences has also been implicated in the growth of the older male prison population. The period following the early 1990's has seen a rapid expansion of the prison population generally, increasing 98% between 1993 and 2012 (Ministry of Justice, 2013). This is consistent with the period that has seen the biggest growth in the ageing prison population. Whilst in 1990 older prisoners comprised 4% of the entire prison population, by 2011 this had increased to 11% (Howse, 2011; Prison Reform Trust, 2012). It is, therefore, important to consider the significance of the sentencing changes that took place within this period and the impact they had on the number of older men in prison.

Broadly speaking, the growth of the prison population has been attributed to both more serious offences coming before the courts and the introduction of tougher sentencing, with more people receiving custodial sentences, an increase in the average time spent on a custodial sentence, and growing numbers serving indeterminate sentences (Ministry of Justice, 2013). In particular, the number of people serving sentences in relation to violence against the person (VATP), drug

offences, and sexual offences grew particularly rapidly (Ministry of Justice, 2013), consistent with the most common offences for older prisoners (Prison Reform Trust, 2019).

Although an exhaustive list of sentencing changes is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to highlight the key pieces of legislation that contributed to the increase in the prison population during this era, and by extension, the number of older prisoners. The first notable piece of legislation is the Criminal Justice Act 1993, which reversed aspects of the 1991 Act, including the ability to consider previous convictions when assessing the seriousness of an offence. This resulted in both an increase in the number of offenders receiving immediate custodial sentences and longer sentences for those with previous convictions (Ministry of Justice, 2013; Hay, Farral, and Burke, 2016). It can, therefore, be considered the start of a more punitive sentencing trend (Newburn, 2003).

Another key piece of legislation is the 1997 Crime (Sentences) Act, developed under the then Conservative government and implemented under the newly elected New Labour government (Newburn, 2007). The Act consisted of 'three strike' style mandatory minimum sentences for a third offence for domestic burglary or drug trafficking, and automatic life sentences for serious violent or sexual offences. Thus, extending the length of custodial sentences and likelihood of growing old in prison. It is also important to consider the Sexual Offences Act 2003. This legislation modernised the law on sexual offences, amending previous offences and creating new ones such as 'sexual grooming.' This, unsurprisingly, led to an increase in numbers sentenced for a sexual offence (Ministry of Justice, 2013). Therefore, when considering the number of older men serving prison sentences for sexual offences, this Act is also likely to be implicated in the rising number of older prisoners.

It is also important to consider the impact of the Criminal Justice Act 2003. The Act altered the rules on double jeopardy, allowing retrials in cases where there was new and compelling evidence, such as DNA and, thus, allowing the possibility for older men to be convicted of an offence they were originally acquitted of. Furthermore, the Act also introduced indeterminate sentences for dangerous offenders under the Imprisonment for Public Protection (IPP) sentence. For those serving on an IPP, there is no fixed sentencing tariff, only a minimum prison term provided, with offenders having to satisfy a parole board in order to be released. This means that those who would have previously been given a ten-year sentence, for example, could remain in prison indefinitely.

The introduction of IPPs significantly added to the rising prison population as these sentences were used more than anticipated and criteria for release was often hard to meet (Dickens, 2013). The use of indeterminate sentences was controversial, with criticism including the fact that individuals on an IPP would serve significantly more time than the regular sentence tariff for their conviction (Jacobson and Hough, 2010). In light of these concerns, the use of IPP sentences was restricted under the Criminal Justice and Immigration Act 2008, and later abolished for new prisoners under the Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment Act 2012. However, in 2019 just over 2,400 prisoners remained on IPP sentences (Beard, 2019). Indeed, the number of individuals serving life or indeterminate sentences more than doubled between 1993 and 2012, with IPP sentences making up a significant portion of these (Ministry of Justice, 2013). This, therefore, means people are likely to stay in prison longer, again increasing the likelihood of men in prison growing old during their sentence and, consequently, increasing the number of older prisoners.

Finally, legislation thought to have had the most recent impact on the older prison population is the Legal Aid, Sentencing, and Punishment of Offenders Act 2012. This saw the introduction of

Extended Determinate Sentences and allowed more offenders to be given mandatory life sentences (Ministry of Justice, 2013). The implementation of this legislation correlates with the increasing number of older prisoners since 2012 (Prison and Probations Ombudsman, 2017). Thus, in addition to the influence of population ageing and an increasing number of prisoners convicted of sexual offences, the toughening of sentences also means that more people are entering and growing old in prison.

Wider influences on the management of older men in prison

The previous section explored the influences driving the growth of the older prison population, this section moves on to discuss the wider socio-political landscape in relation to the prison system and how this shapes prison conditions for older men. This will be done by exploring impact of austerity based polices such as the prison benchmarking programme, the marketisation of service provision, and how punitive rhetoric may influence the provision of care for older prisoners.

Austerity

The 2010 general election saw the Conservative and Liberal Democrat Coalition Government come into power, with the primary aim of financial deficit reduction. Over this period, the programme of austerity dominated social policies and prevailing political rhetoric (Bochel and Powell, 2016). The austerity agenda led to widespread financial cuts to most government departments, with some losing more than half of their budget (Gray and Barford, 2018). Indeed, spending on prisons was cut by 21% between 2009/10 and 2015/16, despite the prison population remaining generally consistent (Institute for Government, 2019).

In 2012 the Prison Unit Cost Programme was introduced, sometimes also referred to as the prison benchmarking programme. The programme proposed an increase in the use of commercial models for public sector prisons, with the rationale that it would lower prices and deliver more efficient services with reduced costs, "whilst maintaining safety, decency, security and order" (House of Commons, 2015, p. 61). Prison staffing was most targeted by these spending cuts, with the number of front-line prison officers down 30% by 2017 (European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 2017; The Howard League, 2014). Furthermore, there was a 26% increase in the number of prison officers leaving the profession between 2018 and 2019 (HM Prison and Probation Service, 2019a). Although efforts have been made since to increase the number of front-line prison officers, the loss of long-standing members of staff means that the workforce overall is left much less experienced (Institute for Government, 2019).

Cuts to prison funding and the implementation of the benchmarking programme had a demonstrable adverse impact on the prison environment. It has been argued that there has been an overall toughening of prison regime, with the reduction of prison staff resulting in high levels of confinement and a reduction of meaningful activities (Skinns, 2016). Indeed, the Prison and Probation Ombudsman argued that the implementation of the benchmarking programme led to prisoners losing statutory rights, including access to fresh air, exercise facilities, and a library (House of Commons, 2015). Staffing cuts have also had a detrimental effect on staff-prisoner relations. With frequent moving of prison officers from wing to wing to ensure that the basic regime is in place, the ability to build rapport with prisoners is limited, and, thus, presents challenges to exercising power in a 'legitimate' manner (Liebling, 2019).

Prisoner safety was also impacted. Between 2009/10 and 2017/18, assaults on prison staff almost tripled, assaults on other prisoners nearly doubled, and incidents of self-harm increased by 88% (Institute for Government, 2019). Moreover, insufficient staffing has also been associated with increased levels of gang-membership and violence (Maitra, 2020). The number of deaths per 1,000 prisoners almost doubled between 2009 and 2019, with the number of self-inflicted deaths continuing to rise each year, with a 38% rise between from 2012 to 2014 (Ministry of Justice, 2019c; House of Commons Justice Committee, 2015). Furthermore, drug misuse also increased, with positive tests for 'traditional' drugs rising by 50% between 2012/13 and 2017/18, with synthetic cannabinoids such as 'Spice' worsening the problem (HM Prison and Probation Service, 2019b). Indeed, the adversity associated with the austere prison landscape has been found to fuel demand for novel-psychoactive substances such as Spice as a means of escapism (Gooch and Treadwell, 2020).

Austerity has also had repercussions for prison health. In addition to the drop in living standards described above, there has also been a deterioration in prison healthcare with increased waiting times, and care compromised by insufficient staffing (Ismail, 2019; 2020). There have also been negative implications for prison officer health. Perceptions of job insecurity associated with austerity have been found to result in presenteeism for prison officers (Kinman, Clements and Hart, 2019). Similarly, increased work demands have been linked to poor wellbeing outcomes (Kinman, Clements and Hart, 2017).

At the time of writing, the current Conservative government has made efforts to position itself away from the rhetoric of austerity, stating that we are entering a "new age of optimism" (Chancellor Rishi Sunak as quoted in BBC, 2021). It can be argued, however, that despite this change in language the legacy of austerity continues to have an enduring effect. Some academic

commentary has argued that austerity has provided an opportunity to advance neoliberal aims by reducing the role of the state, diminishing social welfare, and justifying reduced public sector spending (Farnsworth and Irving, 2015; 2018; O'Hara, 2014; Featherstone et al., 2012). Indeed, although there have been commitments from successive governments to increase prison spending these have been limited. In 2016 an investment of just under £300 million to Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS) across three years was announced. However, in 2017/18 spending was still 16% less than in 2009/10 (Institute for Government, 2019). More recently, the current Conservative government announced a significant increase in Ministry of Justice funding, yet, the focus of this was placed on creating additional prison places and aiding COVID-19 recovery rather than improving prison conditions and safety (Ministry of Justice, 2021b). It is also important to consider the ongoing affective dimension of austerity, with recent research finding that feelings of uncertainty and paranoia associated with austerity continue to endure (Hitchen, 2021).

As will be discussed in Chapter Four, the literature, when taken as a whole, suggests that the needs of older prisoners frequently go unmet due to inadequate care and support. The toughening of the prison environment as a result of austerity may, therefore, be implicated in the lack of provision for older prisoners. This has been argued by Turner et al. (2018), who concluded that the prison benchmarking programme has reduced the ability to provide adequate healthcare for older prisoners, predominately due to inadequate resources and staffing cuts. Indeed, insufficient and inexperienced prison staffing is not conducive to the early identification and treatment of at-risk groups, something which has often been lacking in prison healthcare (Senior, 2020). However, knowledge regarding how cuts to prison budgets have impacted on the experiences of older prisoners more generally is limited. A greater

understanding is therefore needed regarding how this has impacted service provision for them more broadly.

Marketisation

It has been suggested that public spending cuts acted as a justification for further prison privatisation, with then Justice Secretary Ken Clarke stating in 2012 that privately-run prisons are cheaper than those run by the public sector (Panchamia, 2012; Bannister, Fox, and Miszczak, 2016). This led to the largest privatisation of the prison estate in the sector's history, with contracts offered for eight prisons (Panchamia, 2012), and HMP Birmingham becoming the first fully privatised prison where the private sector both runs and owns the establishment. However, the control of the prison was returned to HMPPS from G4S in 2018 following the HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2019) concluding that "vulnerable prisoners were living in squalid cells which were not fit for habitation," (p. 28) with the presence of fleas, cockroaches and rodents also reported. In addition to this, prison officers working in private sector prisons are often less experienced and, as a result, this has been associated with higher rates of bullying and violence (Prison Reform Trust; 2005; Crewe, Liebling and Hulley, 2011). At present, there are 14 prisons run by private contractors, such as G4S and Serco, which house 19% of the prison population, up 4% from 2012/13, making the UK the most marketised prison system in Europe (Institute for Government, 2019; Albertson and Fox, 2020).

Prison healthcare has also experienced marketisation. De Viggiani (2013) suggests that as part of the coalition government's reforms to public services, criminal justice health and social care became part of their 'Big Society' vision, which served to "reduce the size of the state and open up public services to a more diverse range of providers, including charities, social enterprises, private companies and employee-owned cooperatives, who could compete to provide services

formerly provided exclusively by statutory organisations" (p. 611). Prison health and social care has been increasingly outsourced, with the delivery of healthcare often contracted out to private companies instead of NHS Foundation Trusts (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2018).

The outsourcing of healthcare has reduced costs in some respects, with competition allowing services to be contracted out to the lowest bidder (Panchamia, 2012). It can also be argued that the outsourcing of public services puts emphasis on profit over provision, with a desire to raise profit margins affecting conditions for both the workforce and service-users (Trade Union Congress and New Economics Foundation, 2015). Indeed, the House of Commons Justice Committee (2018) found that in some cases, prison healthcare outsourcing had led to reduced resources, with no overnight staff cover and fragmented service provision, which led to inconsistencies across the prison estate and gaps in service provision. This, in turn, led to poor health outcomes and may offer one explanation as to why healthcare for older prisoners may be inequitable across prisons.

Commissioned contracts also may not be able to adapt to a prison's needs, with former provider Care UK telling the House of Commons Justice Committee (2018) that "the contracts it has to provide care in prisons do not necessarily reflect the increase in demand its services have seen following the increasing use of novel psychoactive substances" (p. 39). This may provide one explanation as to why the provision of healthcare for older prisoners can sometimes be inadequate (see Chapter Four), as it is possible private contractors may not have factored in the rising older population in prison.

Punitive rhetoric

As highlighted earlier in this chapter, the rapid growth of the older prison population was partially influenced by a shift towards more punitive sentencing strategies. Accompanying and driving this trend was what has been described in academic commentary as the dominance of a punitive penal rhetoric. It is important to consider the nature and impact of this rhetoric in order to situate the experiences of older prisoners within the wider socio-political landscape.

A shift towards more punitive penal politics began in the 1970's with the rise of Thatcherite law and order rhetoric marking a shift away from a previous focus on rehabilitation (Reiner, 2000; Garland, 2001). It was the early 1990s, however, where this particularly intensified. The appointment of Tony Blair as Shadow Home Secretary marked the Labour Party's new position on penal policy, positioning the party as 'tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime' (Blair, 1993). Newburn (2007) argues that this challenged the rhetoric that the Labour Party was 'soft' on crime and allowed them to "occupy the very law and order territory that the Conservative Party had monopolized for the previous decade and a half" (p. 454). The tough on crime message was electorally popular for Labour, and this resulted in the Conservatives adopting an increasingly punitive stance in their own policies, with both parties then trying to prove that they held a more castigatory position (Reiner, 2000).

Punitive penal policies have been regarded as populist, prioritising the public's desire for harsher punishments and disregarding expert opinion (Bell, 2018, Brownlee, 1998, Newburn, 2007). Indeed, there is very limited evidence to suggest that increasing prison sentence length reduces crime, with certainty of punishment shown to be a more effective deterrence than severity (Von Hirsh, et al., 1999). Despite the increased toughening of sentences and rapid expansion of the prison population described earlier in this chapter, there has been no discernible impact on

crime rates (Prison Reform Trust, 2019). Reoffending has also remained generally unchanged during this time, with the reoffending rate stable at just under 30% (Ministry of Justice, 2019b).

It can be argued that politicians use harsher punishments to their electoral advance despite the literature evidencing the utility of welfarist approaches (Dollinger, 2019). Such crime policies have been conceptualised by Bottoms (1995) as 'populist punitiveness', which he states is characterised by "politicians tapping into, and using for their own purposes, what they believe to be the public's generally punitive stance" (p. 40). One of the main consequences of 'penal populism' is imprisonment based on demand for longer and harsher prison sentences, such as those described earlier in this chapter (Roberts et al., 2003; Pratt, 2007).

Punitive rhetoric is not only dominant in political discourse but also embedded in public consciousness (Monterosso, 2009). Pratt states 'penal populism' seeks to break down justice rights, which are perceived as favouring criminals, and putting the community second. This idea can be related to Garland's (1996) 'criminology of the other,' where characterisations of offenders such as 'yobs' perpetuate the establishment's emphasis on family values, individual enterprise, the limits of welfarism, and this, in turn, creates a rhetoric where "offenders are treated as a different species of threatening, violent individuals for whom we can have no sympathy" (p. 454).

The public have been shown to overestimate the extent of crime problems and underestimate criminal sentences (Hough, 2002). Differing explanations of the public's disproportionate fear of crime have been offered. One argument, as outlined by Garland (2001), is that the punitive sentiment from the public is media generated and manipulated by political rhetoric. Another explanation is offered by Hough (2002), who states that high fear of crime can be explained by

the uncertainties of late modernity and economic insecurity. These fears may then "be translated into concerns about the risks of crime and about threats to personal safety" (Hough, 2002, p.4). Bell (2011) goes further with this analysis and attributes the public's punitive sentiment to "unequal neoliberal societies" (p. 192), whereby attention is focussed on moral failings of those who commit crimes instead of the social problems associated with free-market capitalism (Bell, 2013).

Regardless of the root of public fear of crime, Garland (2001) points out that the "emotional investment in crime is widespread and intense, encompassing elements of fascination as well as fear, anger and resentment" (p. 163). It is this emotional element that Pratt (2007) suggests populist debate revolves around, rather than rational judgement. These fears may then be worsened by misrepresentations of the crime in the mass-media, particularly 'red top' tabloids, which further misinform the public (Ryan, 2004), with prison portrayals often extreme, depicted as violent and dangerous or lenient holiday camps (Marsh, 2009), with prisons for sexual offenders usually portrayed as the latter.

In relation to this study, punitive rhetoric not only provides an explanation for the growth of the older prison population but may also provide insight into wider discourses surrounding their treatment and management. For example, the ability to champion the compassionate release of older and dying men in prison, particularly those convicted of sexual offences, may be limited by the dominance of punitive penal rhetoric (Handtke et al., 2017). Due to overrepresentation of sexual offence convictions in the older prison population, it is important to consider the public discourses in relation to sexual offenders, which have come to be seen as "iconic emblems of evil, hunting, and stalking their innocent victims" (Pratt, 2007, p. 96). The response to sexual offenders has become increasingly punitive. William (2006) argues this sentiment has been from

"media induced moral panics, which have generated fear and concern within the general public, thereby offering justification for such draconian legislative developments" (p. 522).

This means that there is not only heightened stigma for older prisoners (particularly those convicted of sexual offences), but such rhetoric may also limit the options for reform or improvements to their care and management. Indeed, investment and improvement in conditions is likely to be unpopular whilst the public hold a punitive attitude based on the dominant political and media rhetoric (Chamberlen and Carvalho, 2019; Monterosso, 2009). The running of prison regimes does not exist in a vacuum. Under Prison Service Instruction (PSI) 38 when planning activities for prisoners it states:

> It is right that resources are spent where they will do the most good, and that what happens inside prisons can be justified to those on the outside [. . .] Governors must consider how they would explain the purpose and benefit of the activity to Parliament or the media, if asked" (National Offender Management Service, 2010, p. 2-3)

Both the sentencing and management of older prisoners is, therefore, shaped by dominant political rhetoric.

Existing policy

As it stands, there is currently very limited policy specific to the management of older offenders. Initial calls for the creation of a national strategy for older prisoners by the House of Commons Justice Committee (2013) were denied by previous Governments on the basis that the older prisoner population could not be generalised about, stating "prisoners should be managed on the basis of individual needs not on the basis of their age" (Ministry of Justice, 2013, p. 17).

Another more recent report on the ageing prison population re-affirmed the need for a national strategy in order to address age-related needs that were not being met in the prison system (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2020). The government has now shifted on its previous position and agreed to develop a policy strategy to ensure that older prisoners: "are held in the most appropriate environments, can access a purposeful regime within prison, can access health and care services equivalent to those within the community, and are prepared for their release and resettled effectively" (Ministry of Justice, 2020, p.12). However, there remains no national strategy published at the time of writing.

In the absence of a national policy strategy, principles regarding the care and management of older prisoners have come from a variety of different guidance and policy documents previously known as Prison Service Orders/Instructions and now referred to as Policy Frameworks. There is, however, very limited explicit consideration of age in much of the existing prison policy. Much of the guidance in relation to older prisoners is derived from PSI 32/2011 'ensuring equality', which emphasises that under the Equality Act (2010) age is a protected characteristic and both younger and older prisoners must therefore receive equitable provision to the general prison population (HM Prison and Probation Service, 2020). Within this, however, there are no formal recommendations as to how this should be achieved (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2013). However, age must be considered in equality impact assessments when, for example, deciding suitable prison accommodation, or in relation to enablers of health, library, education and Jobcentre Plus services within prison (HM Prison and Probation Service, 2022; National Offender Management Service, 2011).

Older prisoners are explicitly mentioned in a small number of other prison policy documents, albeit briefly. However, this tends to take the form of a more general emphasis that their needs

should be considered rather than an inclusion of recommendations. Examples of age-related considerations highlighted include:

- A need to consider age and frailty when using force - PSO 1600 (HM Prison and Probation Service, 2015)

- Age as being an inverse risk factor for violence but associated with increased risk for depression - PSI 64/2011 (HM Prison and Probation Service, 2021)

- Older prisoners being more likely to have care and support needs on release - PSI 04/2015 (National Offender Management Service, 2019)

- A likelihood of support needs from prisoners assisting other prisoners schemes - PSI 17/2015 (National Offender Management Service, 2020)

- The increased importance of health, care, and support for this group - PSI 03/2016 (National Offender Management Service, 2016)

It is particularly notable that prison policy documents relating to the following areas include no mention of older prisoners: activities, sentence planning, reception and induction, safeguarding, regime planning, security categorisation, prisoner employment/training, strengthening family ties, and continuity of healthcare. Policy relating to the compassionate release of older prisoners under medical grounds will be discussed in Chapter Four.

More specific guidance in relation to older prisoners has also been developed by HMPPS (2018), as part of the Prison Estate and Transformation Programme in the form of a Model of Operational Delivery (MOD). The MOD is designed as a 'toolkit' of best practice in relation to managing older prisoners and is based on existing evidence and therefore does "not seek to

change, limit or remove the legislated responsibilities of prisons" (HMPPS, 2018, p. 2). Indeed, much of the language is focused on what individual prison governors *could* or *may wish* to do.

The MOD makes suggestions within three areas: regime and activity considerations; supporting the older prisoner cohort; and end of life and palliative care. Key themes within the resource include:

- Increased age appropriate and/or age specific information: in relation to, for example, entering prison and being inducted into the regime as well as targeted release and resettlement support

- Ensuring equivalence to both younger prisoners and older people in the community in areas such as healthcare and the availability of purposeful activities

- The implementation of reasonable adjustments, for example the provision of library or education resources in-cell or the installation of lifts and/or ramps

- Use of specialist equipment and/or collaboration with professionals with expert knowledge, e.g. consultation with those who have expertise in supporting individuals with dementia

- Increased staff training and awareness both in relation to the needs of older prisoners more generally, as well as specific age-related issues such as end of life or palliative care

- Creation of age specific provision, e.g. activity centres where older prisoners can socialise with individuals their own age and take part in suitable activities to support their wellbeing

- Responsibility of local authorities in providing care and support with collaboration needed between them and individual prisons to ensure no gaps in care provision when both transferring across prisons and being released into the community

- The promotion of 'active ageing' with an emphasis on maintaining independence and preventing premature ageing. For example, keeping those retired engaged in activities, and promoting physical mobility (HMPPS, 2018).

Although the MOD has provided guidance regarding the management of older prisoners, it falls short of the national strategy that has been called for as "provisions are optional, with prison governors under no obligation to implement the guidance it contains" (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2020, p. 42). It is dependent on the engagement of individual prisons. Indeed, the MOD explicitly acknowledges that there may be constraints upon governors' ability to make improvements, not only due to prison infrastructure, but also as "it will only be possible to transform prisons into places of rehabilitation once basic issues such as cleanliness, decency and safety are addressed" (HMPPS, 2018, p.2). The absence of a formal policy strategy may, therefore, shed some light on the 'unevenness' of provision for older prisoners across the prison estate (Turner et al., 2018; House of Commons Justice Committee, 2020; HMI Prisons and CQC, 2018).

Older men and the purposes of prison

The final section of this chapter briefly explores debates in relation to the role and utility of prison for older male offenders and how these are positioned within wider notions of punishment and justice. Under s.57 of the Sentencing Act 2020 the current purposes of sentencing are as follows:

- the punishment of offenders,

- the reduction of crime (including its reduction by deterrence),

- the reform and rehabilitation of offenders,

- the protection of the public, and

- the making of reparation by offenders to persons affected by their offences.

The effectiveness of prison as a means of managing offending behaviour has received much critique in academic commentary. Overall, much prison scholarship has continued to question its utility as a means of managing crime due to the varying forms of harm inflicted upon prisoners, poor rehabilitation and resettlement support, and its lack of efficacy at reducing crime (Chamberlen and Carvalho, 2018). In addition to these criticisms, characteristics in relation to older prisoners arguably make the rationale for imprisonment even more questionable. Indeed, criminality has generally be shown to decrease across the lifespan (Ulmer and Steffensmeier, 2014). In light of this, when analysing the policy implications of an ageing prison population, Psick et al. (2017) concluded that based on high medical vulnerability, high costs to manage, and the generally accepted lower levels of criminality, those eligible should be released from prison where possible.

In terms of sentencing guidance, whilst young age is considered a mitigating factor, older age is not. In the case of historic offences, however, where many years have passed between the offence being committed, judges may take illness or frailty into consideration when sentencing (Sentencing Council, 2015). Crawley and Sparks (2005) argue, however, that considerations of age in terms of the appropriateness of a custodial sentence (by judges) are sidelined by retributive proportionality and risk.

It is important that questions are raised around the consideration of older age as a mitigating factor in sentencing as it can be argued that once in prison, older prisoners receive a heightened sense of punishment compared to those who are younger. Khechumyan (2018), for example, argues that for very old prisoners in poor health, imprisonment could be seen to undermine human dignity in relation to prisoners' human rights. This is particularly salient for those who will die in custody. Similarly, Turner et al. (2018) argue that the imprisonment of older prisoners where their age-related needs are not met constitutes a 'double burden' and results in additional punishment when compared to younger prisoners.

The presence of age-related care needs raises questions about what is and is not part of an individual's punishment. Dementia, in particular, raises questions about the utility of prison for older offenders. The ethical and legal implications associated with incarceration are discussed by Fazel, McMillan and O'Donell (2002). They argue that the presence of dementia may weaken the rationale for imprisonment. For example, rehabilitation courses that aim to tackle offending behaviours require certain cognitive abilities. Similarly, for those whose dementia means that they are no longer a risk to the public, the purpose of incapacitation is weakened. The idea of retributive punishment for those with dementia, they argue, is particularly complex. Under conceptualisations of punishment which rely on the person being punished to be a 'rational' actor, who is aware of their situation, the justification for imprisonment is again weakened (Fazel et al., 2002). The purpose of detaining individuals with dementia may, therefore, serve more of a symbolic role, "reflecting the desire of the state and the public to express their collective disapproval of crime (Fazel et al., 2002, p. 157).

Dying in prison raises similar ethical dilemmas. Older prisoners serving long sentences and likely to die before being released can, therefore, be argued to face a 'de facto life sentence' for an

offence that would not normally warrant dying in prison (Turner et al., 2018). Indeed, in Handkte et al.'s (2017) study, older prisoners in Switzerland put forward a number of reasons as to why older and dying prisoners should receive compassionate release. These included the unsuitable nature of the prison environment, reduced risk to the public, a right to die with dignity, and seeing dying in prison as not being part of their punishment (Handkte, 2017). As will be discussed in Chapter Four, however, applications for compassionate release are rarely successful as the criteria is difficult to satisfy (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2013).

Turner et al. (2018) raises questions about what constitutes 'justice' and links the imprisonment of older men to neoliberal penal policy, whereby the focus is placed on individuals rather than wider power structures implicated in crime. In the case of historical sexual offences, for example, it can be argued that the structural failings by institutions to protect vulnerable individuals receive less attention compared to the focus on individual perpetrators. Indeed, as part of the IICSA, Lovett, Coy and Kelly (2018) found that dominant discourses involving deflection, denial and disbelief were central to institutional failures in preventing and responding to child sexual abuse. This raises questions about the appropriate response for victims and survivors.

Within discussions about the appropriacy and utility of prison sentences for older prisoners, it is important to remember that many are not seriously ill or frail. However, it is clear from the material discussed above that the imprisonment of older prisoners does raise challenging ethical considerations. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to consider whether older prisoners should be given custodial sentences, it is important to hold these broader debates in relation to justice and punishment in mind when considering how prison is experienced.

Summary

Overall, this chapter has examined the socio-political context in relation to older men in prison. The rapid increase in the older prisoner population has happened relatively recently and is shown to be more than just a reflection of population ageing more generally and rooted in broader political and societal changes. Furthermore, older men's experiences of prison do not exist in isolation and the dominance of punitive penal rhetoric, austerity and prison benchmarking, increased marketisation, and a lack of policy all influence prison conditions. Finally, the presence of age-related needs raises challenging questions about the purposes of prison and how older offenders should be managed. In particular, the material highlighted and discussed above raises key questions moving forward:

- How has the absence of a national strategy translated into the provision of care for older prisoners?

- How does the broader socio-political prison landscape shape older men's experiences of the prison environment?

- How do older prisoners construct their experiences and perceive the future in light of a dominance of a punitive penal rhetoric?

- How does the idea of a heightened sense of punishment come through in the participants narratives?

Chapter 3: Theoretical background

Introduction

The previous chapter contextualised the wider socio-political landscape in relation to this thesis. This chapter moves on to examine some of the existing theoretical perspectives relevant to research with older men in prison. Age is often incorrectly rendered meaningless in research, when, in fact, age can be considered "a marker for several distinctive processes within older people's lives" (Arber, Davidson, and Ginn, 2003, p. 3). In a similar vein, prison-based research has received criticism for ignoring the role of gender, with the history of criminology having been regarded as "gender blind" (Messerschmidt, 1993, p. 2). To address this, the chapter aims to situate this thesis within existing theoretical understandings of ageing, masculinities, and imprisonment. The first section considers what is meant by 'older' and moves on to provide a brief overview of some of the dominant social theories of ageing, and how these link to ideas around ageing 'successfully.' The second section considers the interplay between gender and ageing by briefly outlining theoretical understandings of masculinities and with a specific focus on masculine identity in later life. Finally, the last section explores theoretical understandings of imprisonment and what is known about the enaction of masculinity within the prison environment.

Ageing

  Constructing 'older'

Before examining some of the dominant theoretical frameworks of ageing, it is important to briefly consider what is meant by 'older.' In terms of chronological age, in the UK a person is generally regarded as older at 65 years (Age UK, 2019). Chronological age, however, can be a

problematic measure of age for several reasons. Firstly, it is a poor predictor of health and physical decline with substantial variation of health trajectories and outcomes across individuals of the same age (Lowsky et al., 2014). Secondly, individuals may not feel or identify as 'older.' Subjective age, which refers to the way in which individuals define and experience their age, suggests the discrepancy between chronological and subjective age increases more with age, with those in later life generally identifying as younger than their chronological age (Bengtson, and Settersten, 2016; Montepare, 2009). Finally, if 65 and older is used to mark 'older' people, then this group has the potential to span as much as 40 years. Under this definition, older people are viewed as a homogenous group, assumed to experience ageing in a similar way (Victor, 2005). This ignores a diversity of experience and neglects the importance of setting, for example, imprisonment.

Looking at age from a purely chronological perspective also ignores the way in which it is contextually bound. Victor (2005) asserts that, "chronological age of itself has no innate 'meaning' but is derived from the social and historical context within which it operates" (p. 7). For example, constructions of old age are bound by formal rules such as the state pension age (Walker, 2000), as well as informal rules, where expectations around behaviour in older age are dependent on ethnicity, gender, social class and sexuality (Calasanti and Slevin, 2001). Similarly, what it means to be 'old' both in terms of how age is viewed and experienced also varies across cultures. Views of ageing are not universal but shaped by a society's values and beliefs and, thus, culturally constructed (Wilson, 2000; Löckenhoff et al., 2009). Indeed, as highlighted in Chapter 1, the point at which a prisoner is regarded 'older' in the prison context is earlier than those living in the community due to the higher concentration of younger men.

Whilst using chronological age to distinguish between groups may be necessary, it is important to consider the constructed nature of older age and how this varies across cultures, time, and space. A preoccupation with chronological age can also be seen in research on ageing. Bengtson and Settersten (2016) argue that chronological age can be used as an empty variable in ageing research and emphasise the importance of instead "interrogating *why* and *how* age becomes meaningful in explaining particular phenomena" (p. 10). In the context of this thesis, it is important to consider why and how older age may be meaningful in relation to experiences of prison.

Dominant theoretical frameworks of ageing

In order to consider how older age is meaningful in the context of this thesis, it is important to briefly discuss dominant theoretical frameworks in social gerontology and how these have influenced discourses around what it means to age 'successfully.'

Disengagement

One of the original social theories of ageing is disengagement theory, developed by Cumming and Henry (1961). From this perspective, ageing is a process of gradual and inevitable disengagement from society, particularly one's social interactions with others. This process is viewed as biologically determined, universal and independent of other factors, such as health or income (Cumming and Henry, 1961). This perspective presents disengagement as mutually beneficial to the individual and society, reflecting wider functionalist approaches dominant at the time (Estes, 2001). It is seen to benefit the individual as a gradual disengagement from one's social system prepares them for death, as well as benefitting society by facilitating a "smooth transition of power from the old to the young" (Victor, 2005, p. 18). Therefore, ageing successfully involves a gradual reduction of involvement in the social world (Martin et al., 2015).

This approach, however, has received criticism for reinforcing ageist stereotypes of decline and loss. Cook (2008) argues that "the framing of older age as universal withdrawal and decline, and older people as burdensome to younger generations, serves to categorise, generalise, denigrate and homogenise ageing, and perpetuate ageism" (p. 179). These stereotypes are, arguably, pervasive in contemporary discourses, where an ageing population is constructed as an impending crisis and renders older people a social burden (Cook, 2008). Similarly, it has been argued that disengagement theories have had a significant detrimental impact by influencing a policy of indifference towards older people and furthering their marginalisation (Victor, 2005). These critiques, coupled with a lack of empirical support, led to disengagement theory largely being discredited (Johnson and Mutchler, 2013; Bowling, 2008).

Activity and continuity

A contrasting theory to disengagement theory is activity theory, originally developed by Havighurst (1961). Activity theory posits that life satisfaction in older people is dependent on maintaining levels of activity and attitudes associated with middle age, particularly in terms of continued involvement with social networks. Moreover, role losses caused by events such as retirement or widowhood are seen to be negatively related to wellbeing and losses must be substituted with other compensatory activities (Victor, 2005).

Activity theories of ageing remain influential, encouraging older people to stay active has continued to be a policy priority. In 2002, the World Health Organisation (WHO) (2002) set out a policy framework for active ageing and stated, "individuals and families need to plan and prepare for older age and make personal efforts to adopt positive personal health practices at all stages of life" (p. 17). WHO (2020) has now changed the focus from 'active' to 'healthy' ageing. Although the emphasis on activity has been reduced, aspects of healthy ageing still evoke

aspects of active ageing, such as developing and maintaining functional ability, which emphasises mobility and contributing to society. Thus, there is still a prescriptive onus on older people to be active.

The notion of remaining active has become a dominant discourse for older people. Stenner, McFarquhar and Bowling (2010) explored the subjective understandings of 'ageing actively' in a sample of people aged 72 and over. They found that participants understood active ageing as "'physical', 'mental' and 'social' activity, […] [and] tended to be understood as a complex composite of such factors, expressible as 'keeping active' or as avoiding becoming passive" (p. 474). However, participants also highlighted a significant critique of the model, where emphasis on ageing actively created unwanted feelings of being burdensome or that there would be a risk of isolation in those not able to remain independent. Moreover, activity theory prescribes that older people must remain active, therefore neglecting individual differences and the likelihood that some older people may not have a desire to be active. Indeed, Litwin and Shiovitz-Ezra (2006) found, when researching the wellbeing of Israeli retirees, that quality of social ties was more influential on wellbeing than quantity of activities.

The activity theory of ageing also influenced the development of continuity theory (Atchley, 1989). Continuity theory builds upon the activity perspective and posits that older people age 'normally' through a process of continuity, whereby people in old age continue the roles and activities they have developed over the course of life, including maintaining the same needs and values present at earlier points in their lives (Estes, 2001). This theory, unlike disengagement and activity takes a life course perspective. In this case, the loss of previous roles does not require compensation via disengagement or activity, instead roles can be maintained or disregarded based on individual preferences.

Although continuity theory is less prescriptive in the sense it offers more choices for 'normal' ageing, the way in which 'normal' ageing is defined can be considered problematic (Quadagno, 2002). As highlighted by Becker (1993), the definition of 'normal' ageing under continuity theory excludes the presence of discontinuities such as chronic illness. Ageing with the presence of a chronic illness is instead referred to as 'pathological' ageing (Atchley, 1989). As chronic illness is common in older age, an emphasis on continuity excludes common ageing experiences, suggesting those with chronic illness are unable to continue meaningful roles and practices in a way that is conducive to their wellbeing. However, when researching older people recovering from strokes, Becker (1993) found that a sense of continuity was important in the face of disruption. This is important when considering older men in prison, as imprisonment could also be considered a form of discontinuity, particularly for those who have entered prison later in life. The ability to continue the roles and activities present throughout the life course may not be possible. Within this perspective, the ability to age successfully in prison would be significantly limited.

Indeed, Crawley and Sparks (2005; 2006) found that for older men, imprisonment was a catastrophic event in the life course and experienced as a psychological trauma. This was particularly pertinent for those entering prison later in life (often for a historic offence). Whilst some older men emphasised acceptance regarding their situation, others could not come to terms with their imprisonment and remained in a state of distress. Of particular significance are the difficulties imprisonment poses to the 'life review' (Crawley and Sparks, 2005, p. 357), whereby one's life narrative is tainted, and for older prisoners there is limited time in which to rectify this. This suggests that from a continuity perspective some older prisoners may be more

able to continue their former roles and age 'successfully' compared to others. This is an area in need of further explanation.

Successful ageing

Disengagement, activity, and continuity theory all prescribe contrasting routes to successful ageing. However, it is activity theory that proved most influential on subsequent conceptualisations of successful ageing. Bengston and Settersten (2016) argue this was because the "American values of individualism, autonomy, and agency" (p. 73) were more aligned with active ageing than disengagement. Remaining active can be seen as a central premise of successful ageing (Bengtson and Settersten, 2016). Consequently, it can be argued in regard to ageing, 'active' and 'successful' are somewhat synonymous.

Bülow and Söderqvist (2014) explain that whilst the notion of 'successful ageing' has been long present in ageing literature, it was not until Rowe and Kahn's (1998) conceptualisation that it began to dominate ageing research and public discourse. Rowe and Kahn (1998) define successful ageing as the ability to maintain the avoidance of disease, high physical and psychology functioning and active engagement with life. Under this model, age is either 'usual' or 'successful.' The former refers to where the presence of extrinsic factors, such as diet and exercise, exaggerate the ageing process. The latter refers to such factors playing a neutral or 'positive' role (Rowe and Kahn, 1987).

One of the main difficulties with this approach is that it renders those who are unable to age 'successfully' a failure. Minkler (1990) illustrates this in the case of disability, asserting that theories of successful ageing create a distinction between ageing successfully and ageing with a disability. This, in turn, Minker (1990) argues, can perpetuate stigma between older people and

exacerbate victim blaming attitudes towards those with preventable chronic illnesses. Responsibility for success is placed on the individual rather than structural inequalities in relation to healthcare (Minkler, 1990). Indeed, one of the most significant issues within the notion of successful ageing is the failure to consider the structural barriers to achieving it. Estes (2001) argues that successful ageing theories:

> Take little account of the influence of structural factors on individual outcomes, nor do they suggest what to do about race, gender and class as crucial social mediators of the experiences of ageing successfully and productively (p. 27).

A lack of consideration for structural barriers to successful ageing is also reflected in dominant discourses on ageing, where 'ageing well' becomes a personal and moral responsibility for the individual, their family and wider society (Lamb, 2017). With this in mind, Lamb (2017) asserts that the values underpinning successful ageing are:

- Individual agency and control

- The value of maintaining independence and avoiding dependence

- The merit of productive activity

- A vision of permanent personhood or not ageing at all, while pursuing the goals of agelessness and avoiding oldness

An emphasis on values such as individual responsibility and independence can be seen to reflect wider discourses related to neoliberal politics and social theory, where placing an onus on the individual to remain healthy and productive relinquishes the responsibilities of the state (Bülow and Söderqvist, 2014; Lamb, 2017).

With that in mind, Rubinstein and de Medeiros (2015) argue that by placing the locus of responsibility on the individual, the successful ageing paradigm implicitly creates a two-class

system of 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' older people. Whilst the former group are valued, the latter remain unfavourable and neglected (Rubinstein and de Medeiros, 2015). Moreover, income disparities in relation to class, gender, and ethnicity dictate the resources taken into older age, in turn constraining individual choices regarding health and lifestyle, which are vital in the path of successful ageing (Katz and Calasanti, 2015). Here it is important to emphasise that the tenets of successful ageing, as outlined above, are all qualities that are limited within the prison environment. This raises questions around how imprisonment may constrain opportunities to age 'well' for older men in prison.

This critique of successful ageing can also be applied to those in prison where the ability to exert agency, control and choice are considerably restricted. This raises questions around how older men living within the prison environment experience later life when opportunities to engage with values around ageing 'successfully' may be limited. This is particularly significant when considering (as highlighted in Chapter One) that the biological ageing process may be advanced for those in prison (Ginn, 2012) and pursuing a goal of agelessness may, therefore, be more challenging. Whilst the theories above all espouse prescriptive routes to 'ageing well', which may be unattainable for older people, these may be particularly unreachable for those within the constraints of the prison environment. Indeed, from research exploring how older prisoners in the US experience activities, Filinson (2016) argues that activity was not associated with increased positive outcomes such as health or sociability. This was due to reduced agency in their participation and the perception of barriers to and limited benefits from getting involved.

In contrast, Avieli's (2021) study of older male prisoners in Israel found that the prison environment provided an opportunity for 'successful' ageing. They argue that their participants had greater opportunities in prison to find meaning and a sense of purpose in later life,

particularly through learning new skills and taking on a social role for which they felt respected. Thus, there are differing perspectives on the extent to which one can age 'successfully' in the prison environment. Further exploration is needed, particularly in the UK prison context, which may not be comparable.

Political economy and capital

The consideration of structural inequalities in ageing forms the basis for political economy theories of ageing. The political economy perspective emphasises the extent to which inequalities present throughout the life course are continued into old age, with age "conceptualised as a social rather than biological construct and one which is located within the explicit study of capitalism" (Victor, 2005, p. 31).

Central to the political economy perspective of ageing is the notion of structured dependency (Townsend, 1981; Walker, 1981). Townsend (1981) argued that gerontological theory was preoccupied with individualistic explanations of ageing, ignoring wider societal factors and, as a result, perpetuating structural inequalities. Put simply, the structured dependency approach asserts that the nature of dependency is socially constructed by the state and capitalism (Townsend, 1981). Older people are excluded from the labour market, and, for those reliant on state pensions which are substantially lower than average incomes, this leads to exclusion from the social mainstream resulting in poverty and marginalisation (Victor, 2005).

One criticism of this perspective is that a focus on structural level analysis results in an inability to explain micro-level aspects of ageing. However, Estes' (2001) multi-level analytical framework of political economy aims to address this criticism by providing an explanation of how specific social and structural factors come together to construct ageing. Put simply, it is important to not

only attend to different social attributes individually but consider how social class, ethnicity, and gender are all relevant to ageing, and act as 'interlocking systems of oppression' (Estes, 2001, p. 13). Overall, the political economy perspective provides an alternative lens in which to view ageing, highlighting the importance of structural constraints upon older people and, as a result, a lack of homogeneity in the ageing process, which is dependent on socioeconomic status, ethnicity and gender (Calasanti, 2009; King, 2006). This perspective is particularly relevant when researching older people in prison as it may be able to elucidate how issues of inequality are carried into both later life and imprisonment.

It is also important to highlight the ways in which capital beyond its purely economic form is also implicated in experiences of ageing and later life. Bourdieu (1986) differentiates between types of capital and asserts that, in addition to economic capital, social and cultural capital are also central to reproducing inequalities. For Bourdieu (1986), social capital refers to an individual resource which improves one's social status due to their membership in social networks. Whereas, for others such as Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000), social capital relates to the positive benefits an individual receives based on reciprocity and trust amongst members of a social network. Furthermore, Briggs (1998) distinguishes between two elements of social capital, social leverage, and social support. The former referring to one's ability to "get ahead" via opportunities available to them, and the latter referring to one's ability to "get by" and cope with challenging circumstances (Briggs, 1998, p. 178).

In the context of ageing and later life, social capital has been shown to be associated with positive mental wellbeing (Nyqvist et al., 2013), reducing loneliness (Coll-Planas et al., 2017) and aiding transition into residential care or supported living (Cannuscio, Block, and Kawachi, 2003). It is important to consider the salience of social as well as economic inequalities in the

experiences of older age, and in the context of this thesis. Indeed, Jang and Canada (2014) argue that based on the existing evidence, which suggests that social capital helps navigate stressful life events and lower levels of recidivism, it may provide a helpful theoretical framework for research with older prisoners.

Ageing and masculinities

The social perspectives of ageing as discussed above have tended to ignore the role of gender. As emphasised by Bengston and Settersten (2016), **"**there are not generic old people; there are old men and old women" (p. 18). With this in mind, it is important to consider ageing through a 'gender lens' (Calasanti and Slevin, 2001, p. 3). Calasanti and Slevin (2001) explain this as a way to explore taken for granted power relations that underpin multiple constructions of old age, the role gender plays and how this intersects with other social positions, such as socioeconomic status, ethnicity and sexual orientation. Based on this, when considering what we know about ageing in relation to this study, it is essential to consider how this may be shaped by masculinities.

Masculinities

Before examining how gender may shape experiences of later life, it is necessary to briefly consider what is meant by gender and masculinity. It is important to note that this is not exhaustive: there is a wealth of existing literature relating to gender and masculinities and there is not scope within this thesis to explore all of it. Based on this, the social constructionist approach will be focused on due to its increasing dominance in contemporary gender studies (Marchbank and Letherby, 2014) and more specifically the concept of hegemonic masculinity based on its continued influence in studying men and masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2019).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity was developed in response to traditional sex-role theories that were dominant in the late 20th century (Edley, 2017; Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1985; Connell, 1987). From the sex-role perspective, masculinity is viewed as a set of behavioural traits based on 'natural' differences between sexes (Schrock and Schwalbe, 2009; Marchbank and Letherby, 2014). This approach was criticised for reinforcing oppressive gender stereotypes and ignoring the way in which power is implicated in governing what is considered 'normative' gendered behaviour (Edwards, 1983; Connell, 1987). In response to this, Connell (1987;1995, Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1985; Connell and Messerschimdt, 2005) proposed that masculinity cannot be reduced to a single trait, or way of being, and is instead better understood in terms of multiple masculinities that vary across contexts. From this perspective, analysis of gender relations must focus on patterns of masculinity and how they are associated with different positions of power and therefore hierarchy.

The dominant form of this is hegemonic masculinity, which can be defined as "a specific form of masculinity in a given historical, and society-wide, social setting that legitimates unequal gender relations between men and women, between masculinity and femininity, and among masculinities" (Messerschmidt, 2019 p.86). Put simply, hegemonic masculinity is a dominant or idealised form of masculinity constructed in relation to both femininity and inferior (or nonhegemonic) masculinities, dictating what is considered 'appropriate' gendered behaviour across different contexts and settings. Other forms of masculinity that contravene hegemonic principles, such as gay masculinities or those that intersect with other discriminated characteristics such as race or disability, are subordinated or marginalised (Connell, 1995; Coates, 2007; Edley 2017). Indeed, ageing can also be argued to threaten men's hegemonic prowess (King et al., 2021). Overall, this perspective illuminates the way in which unequal gender

relations operate and leads not only to the subordination of women, but also specific masculinities.

Building on this perspective that gender and masculinities are not fixed traits, but fluid and context dependent, social constructionism posits that gender differences are not reflected by social practices, but rather produced by them (Brickell, 2006). From this perspective, masculinity is a collection of discursive practices to be 'accomplished' (Edley, 2017). Indeed, for Schrock and Schwalbe (2009), the category of 'man' is constructed through a set of practices and processes which they entitle manhood acts. These often involve maintaining power through behaviours in line with western hegemonic ideals and "act in ways that can be interpreted as signifying an essential character that includes the qualities of strength, rationality, courage, resolve, and heterosexual potency" (Schwalbe, 2005, p. 76). Similarly, Bosson et al. (2008) argue that whilst femininity is seen as 'natural' state, masculinity is precarious and must be constantly proved to others which means men's masculine identities are particularly vulnerable to threats or challenges. Thus, masculinities are not fixed but context dependent and constructed through interactions and behaviours.

Ageing masculinities

As highlighted above, masculinities are fluid, context dependent and vary across time and locations. Masculinities also have a temporal dimension in the sense that they are also a product of age and, therefore, shift in line with stages in the life course and require reworking (Spector-Mersal, 2007; Tarrant, 2010; Tarrant, 2014a). Whilst, historically, growing older earned men status and respect, it can be argued that Western masculinities have become increasingly ageist and celebrate characteristics associated with younger men (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016). These characteristics are often rooted in hegemonic ideals such as strength, virility and

self-reliance, and are often less available to older men (Springer and Mouzon, 2019; Whitehead, 2002).

Here, it is important to consider the significance of the body in constructing a masculine identity and the highly valued physical capital it can hold for some men (Coles and Vassarotti, 2012). Experiences of ageing are also embodied, both in terms of, for example, the development of age-related health conditions, and in changes to one's appearance that signify growing older, such as wrinkles or grey hair (Clarke and Korotchenko, 2011). Therefore, as with masculinities, the body is also central in the development of ageing identity (Barrett and Gumber, 2020). It is unsurprising that physical bodily ageing poses challenges for the maintenance of older men's masculine identities:

> The dominant masculine values once epitomised by youthful physicality eventually give way to an aged body subordinated in the field of masculinity. Where youth is associated with good health and having a lean, toned body that epitomises the masculine ideal, changes associated with ageing may reshape how men come to understand what masculinities mean for them (Coles and Vassarotti, 2012, p. 334).

These issues are compounded by the discourses around successful ageing, where (as highlighted earlier in this chapter) the key to ageing 'successfully' is to maintain independence and agelessness. Thus, those who are barred from ageing 'successfully' are seen as lesser, not only as older people but as men, not only reinforcing hierarchical divides amongst ageing identities but also masculinities (Calasanti, 2016).

Ageing is not only relevant to masculinities in terms of its physical embodiment but also in terms of what it symbolises. Particularly in Western societies, ageing is often constructed in terms of diminished value and a loss of both social and economic powers (Calasanti and King, 2018). A

noticeable example of this is the transition into retirement (Leontowitsch, Fooken and Oswald, 2019). As the workplace is often seen as a location for the construction of traditional masculine identities, such as the breadwinner or the workman, retirement poses threats to masculinities, which require the reconstruction of gendered identities (Oliffe et al, 2013). Indeed, Pietila et al. (2020) found that older men described retirement as a time of adaption whereby being active was seen as essential in order to be 'successful'. It is important to note they found that those of higher socioeconomic status were seen to have more opportunities for transformation when tackling this transition, which echoes political economy perspective arguments outlined earlier in this chapter.

Due to the losses described above, ageing has been characterised in the literature as a threat to the masculine identity of older men. Hurd Clarke and Lefkowich (2018) in their study of ageing Canadian men found that participants defined masculinity in terms of strength, (hetero)sexuality, and leadership and felt that ageist stereotypes that stand in contrast to those ideals posed a threat to older men's masculinity. Ageing can, therefore, pose a threat to hegemonic ideals of youthfulness, subordinating older men (Calasanti, 2004; Bennett, 2007; Tarrant, 2014a). Calasanti and King (2005) see ageing masculinities associated with fading machismo and "always wanting, ever in need of strenuous affirmation" (Calasanti and King, 2005, p. 10). Whilst older men may make efforts to remain connected to their existing masculine identities from when they were younger, this is undermined by the fact these lie in contrast to constructions of old age (Tarrant, 2010).

Whilst it is important to consider the ways in which discourses around ageing may threaten older men's masculinities, a preoccupation on characterising older men's masculine identity as diminished fails to give attention to "old men's production and performance of "aging

masculinities" and how aging masculinities are contextually and temporally cultivated and performed." (Thompson, 2019, p. 1). It is important to interrogate the ways in which older men can reassert and rework masculinities in line with their experiences of ageing.

The process of reconfiguring gendered identities for older men is not a straightforward task, however, as there is ambiguity in regard to how men should enact ageing masculinities. According to Spector-Mersel (2007), due to Western societies seeing older people as 'ungendered' and socially invisible, there is a lack of cultural guidelines regarding how to meet hegemonic ideals of gendered behaviour whilst being an older man, which makes reworking an acceptable ageing masculine identity a complex endeavour. Thompson and Langendoerfer (2016) reviewed 98 studies and found that in the absence of cultural guidelines, older men relied upon and grappled with traditional masculinities present across their life course. These aligned with Brannon's (1976) conceptualisation of masculinity patterns. Thompson and Langendoerfer (2016) applied and modified these four patterns to illuminate the ways in which older men constructed their gender identities:

1. 'No sissy stuff' refers to the avoidance of weakness and emotion suppression in efforts to distance themselves from perceived femininity.

2. 'The big wheel' in its original conceptualisation centred around status and respect, often associated with a breadwinner identity. In the absence of paid work following retirement, this centres on emphasising physical activity, busyness and finding new areas, such as volunteering or hobbies, in which to affirm their masculine identity.

3. 'The sturdy oak' refers to engaging with, and emphasising, qualities such as resilience, endurance and hardiness. This emphasises control and allows the men to reclaim their manhood through positioning themselves as stoic older men.

4. 'Give 'em hell' originally referred to constructing a masculine identity in terms of risk-taking behaviour. Whilst these kinds of behaviours are often more commonly associated with younger men, this was also found to act as a guideline for older men. Examples of this include being resistant to follow medical advice or the cessation of physical tasks that pose risk to them in later life.

Thus, in the absence of cultural guidelines regarding how older men should enact a gendered identity, men may resort to enacting more traditional identities aligned with hegemonic (and youthful) ideals around manhood, toughness, independence, and even recklessness. This can be problematic, however, as a perceived need to distance oneself from vulnerability and dependence has been found to limit older men's help-seeking and engagement with services (Ratcliffe, Wigfield and Alden, 2019; Leontowitsch, Fooken and Oswald, 2019; Tannenbaum and Frank, 2011; McVittie and Willock, 2006; Bennett, 2007).

In Thompson and Langendoerfer's (2016) study, they acknowledge that the studies reviewed tended to focus on white men of higher socioeconomic status, with stable familial relationships, and employment histories. Thus, it is less clear how more marginalised older men may engage in these traditional masculine identities in later life, particularly those in the prison environment.

Whilst it is evident that older men may continue to enact more traditional masculinities present across their life, it is also important to consider the way in which older men may reconstruct their ideas around masculinity in response to the processes of ageing (Tarrant, 2019). There is evidence that ageing masculinities can both reproduce and renegotiate ideals linked to masculinity. One arena where both can be seen is in older men's relationships. Thompson (2019) argues that partnership status and particularly identity as a spouse (often husband) is a central

means of navigating ageing in later life. Similarly, becoming a grandfather can also provide an opportunity to negotiate ageing masculinities, allowing men to emphasise life experience and acquired wisdom, and, thus, portray themselves as 'sage' older men (Davidson, Daly and Arber, 2003; Tarrant, 2013).

Overall, the material discussed above highlights the complexity of negotiating ageing masculinities. Whilst it is important to acknowledge the ways in which ageing can threaten notions of traditional masculinities, it is also important to not see this time of men's lives simply as a period of emasculation, but to attend to ways in which older men respond to these threats and how later life can provide an opportunity to reconstruct masculinities. In doing this, it is necessary to consider that the ability to negotiate these identities and resist ageist discourses is linked to one's resources and socioeconomic status (Tarrant, 2019). This raises questions around how masculinities may be negotiated in later life for those in more marginalised settings, and in the context of this thesis, the prison environment.

Prison and masculinities

Men are significantly overrepresented in the prison system, making up just over 93% of the prison population worldwide (Walmsley, 2017), and 95% in England and Wales (Ministry of Justice, 2018). Despite this, Sabo and Kupers (2001) have stated that the role of gender in prison contexts has often been neglected by prison staff and researchers, describing prison as "an ultra-masculine world where nobody talks about masculinity" (p. 3). However, subsequent research has developed our understanding of prisons as gendered spaces and how masculinities are performed in prison (Maycock and Hunter, 2018). Therefore, when researching older men in prison, it is imperative to acknowledge men as gendered beings and how performances of

masculinities are shaped by the prison environment. In order to do this, it is necessary to briefly contextualise the prison environment.

Nature of the environment

The prison environment is one form of what Goffman (1961) termed 'total institutions.' He defined these as "a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time together lead an enclosed formally administered round of life" (p. 11). Total institutions are characterised by restricted privacy, and are highly structured, regulated and regimental in nature, with all activities of daily life occurring in that environment. For Goffman (1961), entering prison involves a process of 'mortification', where the removal of personal items or belongings constitutes a stripping of one's "identity equipment" (p. 21) and, thus, impacts on the ability to present the self in the way they would outside of the total institution, which means that the individual needs to rebuild identities in line with their new environment.

Indeed, due to the distinct nature of the prison environment, Clemmer (1958) argued that individuals entering prison must assimilate to prison life in a process which they term 'prisonization,' where values and behaviours associated with prison culture are adopted. Whilst some individuals may be 'prisonized' to a greater extent than others, all are influenced by "universal factors", where it is necessary to adjust to a loss of power and status, learn the social organisation of the prison, and relinquish control in relation to meeting your own needs (Clemmer, 1950, p. 316). However, Crewe (2007) argues that prisoners are not passively socialised into prison culture as earlier literature implies. Instead, a combination of strategies may be drawn on, such as withdrawing from, resisting, and conforming to the environment.

Much of the literature relating to prison life focuses on the deprivations associated with imprisonment. Seminal in this field is Sykes' (1958) the Society of Captives, where he theorised and described these deprivations as the 'pains of imprisonment.' He argues that there are five key deprivations associated with the prison environment. These are losses of: liberty; goods and services; heterosexual relationships; autonomy; and security. He emphasised that such psychological 'pains' were equally as harmful to prisoners as the physical punishments which had been abandoned by the carceral system. Indeed, Foucault (1977) argues that such psychological deprivations replace corporal punishment as a way of maintaining power and control over prisoners.

These 'pains' were revisited by Crewe (2011) in the context of contemporary prisons and modern penal practices. He argued that whilst those original deprivations, as described by Sykes (1958), remain present, changes to the prison system over the past three decades have created additional 'pains.' Although there have been improvements to the physical conditions in the prison environment and there has been a transition towards "soft power" that is less authoritarian, this shift in penal power has led to prisoners experiencing a different kind of oppression. Crewe (2011) identifies three new 'pains':

1. Uncertainty and indeterminacy, which relates to both one's sentence progression and release as well as inconsistency in the way rules and boundaries are enforced and implemented

2. Psychological assessment, which refers to the reduction of one's identity to their risk factors and/or offending behaviours

3. Self-governance where prisoners are expected to take responsibility for their situation and sentence but have limited autonomy in which to do this.

To conceptualise these pains, Crewe (2011) draws on the concepts of the depth and weight of imprisonment (Downes, 1988, King and McDermott, 1995) and adds 'tightness'. Depth refers to the security and control exerted over prisoners, and weight refers to the level of psychological strain posed by the prison environment. Tightness, however, refers to the stress resulting from uncertainty within the prison environment and is defined as:

> The sense of not knowing which way to move, for fear of getting things wrong. It conveys the way that power operates both closely and anonymously, working like an invisible harness on the self. It is all encompassing and invasive, in that it promotes the self-regulation of all aspects of conduct (Crewe, 2011, p. 522).

It is important to consider the ways in which modern penal practices have created additional psychological challenges and how these may be pertinent to older men's experiences in the prison environment.

Overall, the literature indicates that the prison environment poses harm to prisoners in a multitude of psychological ways, both inherent and incidental (for additional examples see Irwin and Owen, 2005; Jewkes, 2002a; Liebling, 2007; Medlicott, 1999). One of the ways that prisoners have been found to try and manage these psychological assaults is through how they portray the self. Self-preservation is an integral part of prison survival and there is a need to be continuously aware of, and alert to, this (Crewe, 2009). This is particularly salient given that the prison environment poses a constant threat of victimisation, not only in terms of more extreme forms of violence, such as murder or sexual assault, but also more subtle ways, such as the possibility of verbal abuse and cell theft, comprising the "day-to-day victimisation which characterises institutional life" (O'Donnell and Edgar, 1998, p. 266).

For Jewkes (2002b), the key to surviving prison and being able to resort back to a former state of being on release is a need to "simultaneously maintain a private, 'pre-prison' sense of self and a public identity for presentation during social engagement with others" (p. 211). Jewkes (2002b) explains this by drawing on the concept of 'frontstage' and 'backstage' (Goffman, 1959; Giddens, 1984), however, others argue that this is better explained by the concept of 'emotional zones', where certain areas within the prison allowed individuals to engage with their emotional identities (Crewe et al., 2014). Examples of this include the visiting area and education classrooms. Regardless of how such domains are conceptualised, it is clear that in order to navigate the prison environment, strategies of emotional suppression and self-preservation are necessary.

These characteristics of the prison environment are also implicated in prisoners' attitudes and behaviours. Sykes (1958; Sykes and Messinger, 1960) argued that the pains of imprisonment led to a sense of solidarity amongst prisoners and a resentment towards prison staff in what he termed the 'inmate code.' Cohen and Taylor (1981) define this as:

> A value system stressing loyalty, not losing one's head, not exploiting fellow inmates, not showing any weakness, asserting toughness and dignity, not being a sucker and not giving any prestige to the guards … The end result is a culture which provides the inmate with a meaningful social group to identify with in his struggle. Minutely controlled, stripped of autonomy, his self-image under severe attack, the inmate solves some of his problems through absorption of the inmate code (p. 66-67).

This concept has also been revisited and re-examined by Crewe (2005) in his study of social life in prison. In light of changes to penal power, as highlighted above, values governing the expected behaviour of prisoners have shifted. For example, he argues that conventions around inmate

solidarity and loyalty have been lessened by improvements to prison conditions, increased recreational drug-use, and the introduction of prison measures that increase conformity to prison rules, such as the Incentives and Earned Privileges (IEP) Scheme and early release systems. Furthermore, previous codes of conduct around not 'grassing' on other prisoners and hostility towards prison staff were also weakened. There was a consensus that there were certain situations where it was acceptable to escalate issues to staff, such as being bullied. Similarly, more amiable relations with prison officers were accepted as changes to prison culture meant that officers could be more helpful and understanding, and introduction of the IEP scheme meant that interactions with officers was now more commonplace. Similarly, there was some understanding that respectful behaviour towards officers was needed in order to progress within the system (Crewe, 2005).

Although relations may have improved, the dynamic between prisoners and prison officers remains complex. Whilst these relationships are "'at the heart' of prison life" (Liebling, 2011, p. 484), there is variation in how prison officers approach their role and exercise penal power and control, which in turn affects the experiences of prisoners (Arnold, Liebling and Tait, 2007; Liebling, 2004). Qualities associated with 'good' prison work have been identified as (but not limited to): compassion, empathy, fairness, professionalism, and patience (Arnold, 2006). Even so, such qualities may be interpreted differently. Care, for example, can be understood and expressed differently by different officers who have been suggested to exhibit varying 'styles' based on both personal and institutional factors (Tait, 2011). Overall, the relationship is complex and characterised by inter-dependency, conflict, and intimacy, with an inherent tension between care and control (Sparks, Bottoms and Hay, 1996; Crawley, 2004; Liebling, 2011) which requires negotiation for both prisoners and prison officers.

Whilst much of the literature characterises the experience of imprisonment in terms of deprivations, it is important to emphasise that an additional perspective sees the qualities of the prison environment as a result of imported factors associated with the characteristics of the prison population (Irwin and Cressey, 1962; Jacobs, 1974). Irwin and Cressey (1962), argue that values and behaviours of those in prison reflect cultures of criminality in the community. Liebling et al. (2005), for example, describe 'imported vulnerability', (p. 216) where prisoners' pre-existing, and often complex, needs are brought with them into the prison environment. Generally speaking, there is a consensus that the qualities of prison life are a combination of both deprivation and importation Crewe (2005).

Masculinities in Prison

Given the distinctive features of the prison context described above, it should not be surprising that enactments of masculinities are shaped by it (Maycock and Hunt, 2018). Due to the deprived and austere nature of the environment, much of the literature emphasises that hypermasculine behaviour is required in order to navigate prison life. One of the first contributions to the field of prison masculinities comes from Sabo, Kupers and London (2001) who developed Sykes' (1958) inmate code to explain how men in prison construct a masculine identity. The masculine prison code dictates that male prisoners must:

> Suffer in silence. Never admit you are afraid…. Do not snitch…. do not do anything that will make other prisoners think you are gay, effeminate, or a sissy. Act hard…. Do not help the authorities in any way. Do not trust anyone. Always be ready to fight, especially when your manhood is challenged…. One way to avoid a fight is to look as though you are willing to fight. As a result, prisoners lift weights compulsively, adopt the meanest stare they can

muster, and keep their fears and their pain carefully hidden beneath a well-rehearsed

tough-guy posture (p. 10-11).

Hypermasculinity is dominant, or hegemonic, within the prison environment as it provides a

sense of status as well as also protecting oneself against victimisation (Toch, 1998). Perpetuating

a tough and powerful image prevents other prisoners from seeing them as weak or vulnerable

(Karp, 2010). It also provides a means of reasserting a masculine identity, which is threatened by

incarceration. Bandyopadhyay (2006) asserts that the loss of masculine ideals such as power,

agency, activity in the labour market and opportunities to assert heterosexuality, renders "male

prisoners in a situation without the resources for masculine accomplishment" (p. 198). This

echoes descriptions of marginalised masculinities presented earlier in the chapter (Connell,

1995). One of the ways in which hypermasculinity is asserted in the prison environment is

through embodiment, with muscularity, size and 'hardness' all important to the cultivation of a

masculine identity in prison (Maycock, 2018). Again, this was also seen to help prevent

victimisation from other prisoners. As highlighted earlier, however, this kind of masculine

embodiment is less available to older men.

The suppression and management of emotions has also been seen as a central component of

prison masculinities. Evans and Wallace (2008) emphasise that whilst some younger men may

resist traditional ideals of masculinity there is still an onus on suppression of emotions as:

Dominant forms and codes of masculinity can serve to legitimize violence, both towards

others and the self, as a means of dealing with emotional pain, while talking about difficult

feelings or asking for help would only leads to a loss of masculine power (p. 486).

In order to keep emotions in check, there is often a need wear a mask or put on a front to others

(Jewkes, 2002b; Crewe et al., 2014; Karp, 2010). Whilst it can be argued that there are similar

expectations around the management of emotions for men in the community, the need to do this is particularly intensified in the prison environment, where portraying oneself as self-assured helps avoid exploitation (de Viggiani, 2012). Only a minority of men within prison are likely to fully meet the masculine ideals discussed above and attempts to do so not only require a lot of effort for the individual and create a strain but may also constrain rehabilitation and/or reintegration (de Viggiani, 2012, 2018).

Whilst it is clear from the above that the prison environment intensifies expectations around masculine behaviour, with hypermasculinity described as the hegemonic form, it can also be argued that this creates an oversimplified picture of how masculinities in prison are enacted. Maycock (2018) argues that research in this area has reduced "portrayals of men in prison... [to] a relatively reductive picture of aggression, emotional coldness and machismo . . . [and] has tended to overlook some of the more subtle, nurturing and emotionally engaged performances of masculinity in prison" (p. 17). Indeed, Morey and Crewe (2018) argue that a focus on hypermasculinity does not allow for examination of the intimacies present in prison friendships. A preoccupation with masculine ideals in the prison environment also means that scholarship focuses on those towards the top of the prison hierarchy and neglects the subordinated masculinities of those of lower status, such as men convicted of sexual offences. Maguire (2021), for example, when researching masculinities within a Vulnerable Prisoner Unit (VPU) found that there were three forms of adaption that took place. The first was protest, whereby men would emphasise their distinctness to the other men and that they should not be housed in a VPU. Secondly, acceptance, where individuals acknowledged that they were unable to manage mainstream imprisonment. And finally, pragmatic adaption, where individuals confront the "emasculating reality of what it means to be VP" (Maguire, 2021, p. 513).

Literature on the maintenance of a masculine identity in older prisoners remains relatively scarce. This area has been explored by Mann (2012), however, who asserts that the older men in her research, despite experiencing victimisation from younger prisoners, were ambivalent to performances of masculinity, feeling comfortable in their manhood with little to 'prove.' In fact, the men reconstructed their masculine identity in terms of defining themselves as a 'father figure' to younger men in the prison as well as female staff members. This was one way of emphasising what Mann (2012) terms 'old school masculinity', centred around demonstrating respect and courtesy. This is explained by Mann (2012) as rooted in generational differences rather than a consideration of how this may relate to ageing masculinities. How ageing masculinities are constructed in the prison environment requires further exploration.

Summary

Overall, this chapter has provided a theoretical background to this thesis. The aim of this was to situate this study in the existing knowledge relating to ageing, masculinities, and imprisonment in order to elucidate the ways in which these may be meaningful to the experiences of older men in prison. What is clear from the material discussed above is that there are expectations which guide behaviour for older men and for those in prison and these are often contextually bound. Particularly, how some behaviour or ways of being may be seen as more acceptable or 'successful' than others. It is also apparent that both ageing and imprisonment pose challenges to maintaining masculine identities and can be considered threatening to one's manhood, or even emasculating. Because of this, it may be necessary to go through a process of adaption or reconfiguration, where strategies are developed to mitigate these challenges.

The literature raises questions about how older men in prison make sense of their identities both as older men and as prisoners. Whilst there are a small number of studies addressing the

identities of older male prisoners, which begin to build a picture, further exploration is still required, specifically around how ageing and prison masculinities operate together. In particular, the material highlighted and discussed raises key questions moving forward:

- How do normative ideas of ageing 'successfully' operate in the prison context?

- How do men enact ageing masculinities as prisoners?

- As the hypermasculine 'prison code' serves as a means of survival, how does this work for older offenders who may be less able to perpetuate a physically tough/powerful image?

- If ageing and imprisonment pose threats to masculinity, then how do older men in prison reconcile this?

Chapter 4: Existing research with ageing prisoners

Introduction

The previous two chapters have provided both a socio-political and theoretical background to this thesis. This final literature review chapter moves on to give an overview of the existing research pertaining to older prisoners. The aim of this is to examine the current base of knowledge, provision, and the ways in which age-related needs are managed within the prison environment. This chapter is divided into five sections, focusing on key themes identified within the literature. These are physical health, social care, mental health, dying in prison, and resettlement.

Health

In order to examine the health of older prisoners, it is necessary to first have an understanding of prison healthcare more generally. Current guidelines state that individuals in prison are entitled to the same level and quality of healthcare as those living in the community (NICE, 2016). In a recent annual report, HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2020) stated that prison health provision was "reasonably good" despite missed opportunities for health promotion (p.44). However, there is an element of ambiguity surrounding what is considered reasonably good, as evidence suggests the health of UK prisoners is significantly worse compared to those in the community (Smith, 2000; Fazel et al., 2001; House of Commons Health and Social Care Committee, 2018).

One explanation for this discrepancy is that many prisoners experience significant health problems prior to entering prison, exacerbated by social issues such as unemployment or homelessness (Marshall et al., 2000; Smith, 2000). Such pre-existing issues are worsened by

reduced access to good-quality healthcare and health promotion in prison and result in substantial health inequalities for prisoners when compared to the general population (Revolving Doors, 2017). This is reflected in prison life expectancy, where the mean age of death in prisoners is 56 years, compared to 79 years for men in the UK general population, with a standardised death rate 50% higher (controlling for the differences between the two populations such as age and gender) (Prisons and Probation Officer, 2012; House of Commons Health and Social Care Committee, 2018).

In recent years there has been a rise in deaths by natural causes, with a 39% increase from 2015-2016 (Ministry of Justice, 2018a). Whilst this rise can, in part, be attributed to the rapidly increasing older population, Inquest (2018) (a charity that investigates state-related deaths) suggest that many prisoners are actually "dying prematurely and unnecessarily due to inadequate healthcare provision" (p. 2). These inadequacies include failure to provide urgent care, failure to use appropriate medical facilities, and a lack of information given to prisoners about their own health conditions and treatment (O'Hara et al., 2016; Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, 2017). Indeed, the Prisons and Probation Ombudsman (2017) reported that diagnoses are often delayed or incorrect, and frequently fall short of NICE guidelines.

Another issue with prison healthcare is the use of restraint on very ill prisoners who pose little risk. Known as the Graham Judgement (Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, 2013), case law states that restraint of ill prisoners must be 'necessary and proportionate.' However, these guidelines are not always met. For example, the Prisons and Probation Ombudsman (2018) outlined a case where a prison manager failed to authorise the removal of restraint on a 60-year-old man who was having a heart attack until an hour before he died. The Prisons and Probation Ombudsman (2018) concluded that, based on the state of the prisoner's health that day and

consequent reduced risk, the restraint used was unjustified. This may arguably have resulted from the ambiguous nature of what counts as 'necessary and proportionate,' and shows there may need to be clearer guidelines in place.

Insufficient healthcare for prisoners has been exacerbated by a series of cuts to prison funding (see Chapter Two). One impact of prison cuts is the reduction of healthcare staff, which has contributed towards a decline in health provision for prisoners, and an inability to manage long-term conditions (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2017). Health provision is also affected by a reduction in the number of prison officers, leading to a lack of staff able to facilitate healthcare. Examples of this include a lack of officers to escort prisoners to healthcare appointments, prisoners kept in cells and unable to attend therapeutic activities, and challenges correctly dispensing medications (Prison Reform Trust, 2017). This is significant in light of the lack of autonomy and control prisoners have over managing their own health and, thus, their reliance on prison staff. The severity of this issue is highlighted by recent deaths of prisoners who were prescribed incorrect doses of methadone (Inquest, 2018).

Problems with medication in prison distinctly affect older men, with previous research finding that they are often not on appropriate medication, experience delays in receiving it, and suffer from changes to type, dosage, and regularity without explanation (Fazel et al., 2004). Furthermore, older prisoners' lack of ability to communicate concerns with prescribers has been suggested to result in feelings of 'enforced helplessness' (Fazel et al., 2004; Sullivan et al., 2016). Sullivan et al. (2016) concluded that these issues particularly affect older offenders as they are more likely to be in receipt of medication than younger offenders and are also more likely to be restricted by mobility issues. Prison dispensaries may be accessed via stairs, with long queues for

medication common place. It has been found that this creates difficulties for those with reduced mobility to collect medication in the allocated time frame (Sullivan, 2016; Turner et al., 2018).

The issues surrounding the healthcare of older prisoners also extend beyond medication. Their physical health has been found to be worse than both their peers living in the community and younger prisoners, with higher rates of chronic illnesses (Fazel et al., 2001). One of the main reasons for this is because they often have high-level health problems distinct from younger offenders. Indeed, some older prisoners have been found to have a biological age 10 years older than someone of the equivalent age in the community (Prison Reform Trust, 2008a). Hayes et al. (2012) found that over 90% of older offenders have a physical health disorder (most commonly hypertension and osteoarthritis) and concluded the health needs of this population are markedly different from younger offenders. They suggested that this may result in the health needs of older prisoners being missed as age-related conditions are not the norm within the prison environment.

Another issue relating to the health of older prisoners is health promotion. Some have argued that the idea of a 'healthy prison' is oxymoronic, as the very nature of the prison environment restricts the ability to lead a healthy life (Smith, 2000; De Viggiani, 2007). This is based on factors associated with the prison environment, such as overcrowding, poor conditions, limited facilities and opportunities, stress and anxiety, as well as increased surveillance and control, all of which negatively impact on health and wellbeing (Smith, 2000). In a recent report the House of Commons Health and Social Care Committee (2018) stated that prison establishments are currently, "unsafe, unsanitary and outdated" (p. 3). The prison system not only exacerbates existing poor health but may also actively cause new problems (Massoglia and Pridemore, 2015). De Viggiani (2007) argues that the prison system cannot be a beneficial environment for

offenders' health without considerable reform. This is, again, particularly true for older offenders. Condon, Hek and Harris (2008) suggest health promotion is particularly challenging for elderly prisoners. They concluded that unless services were specifically put in place for older offenders, such as accessible exercise classes, they were disadvantaged.

One health issue unique to older offenders is dementia. Current research estimates dementia could be prevalent in 8% of the prison population (Forsyth et al., 2020). However, these figures could potentially be much higher. The rigid nature of prison routine may mask prisoner's dementia, as "the rules in prison are constantly reinforced and prisoners have to make few decisions for themselves" (Ginn, 2012a, p. 2). These findings were echoed by Dillon et al. (2018) who found that the onset of dementia may be missed in prison as dementia in the community is often noticed because of an inability to complete day to day tasks which are not present in the prison regime. Similarly, in prison there is reduced family contact and prison officers may lack the ability to notice the initial signs of dementia and make referrals (Brooke and Jackson, 2019; Dementia Action Alliance, n.d.). The Prisons and Probation Ombudsman (2016) found that prisons are often not sufficiently prepared to deal with prisoners with dementia and treatment can be neglectful and poorly resourced.

One way to improve dementia care in prisons is to create specialist facilities. An example of this is HMP Whatton, which has developed a modified cell for prisoners with dementia (Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, 2016). Another example is HMP Norwich, where they run a successful Cognitive Stimulation Programme for prisoners with dementia (CILIP, 2018). Indeed, dementia friendly principles have been implemented within English prisons, however, due to limited funding and the absence of a national strategy for older prisoners, dementia provision may not be prioritised and, thus, varies across establishments (Treacy et al., 2019).

Social care

Older men make up a substantial amount of those receiving social care in prison (HMI Prisons and CQC, 2018). Based on this, as the number of older people in prisons continue to rise, so does the demand for social care provision (Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, 2017). In spite of this, there is currently no existing national strategy for the provision of social care in prisons (HMI Prisons and CQC, 2018), despite responsibility for the social care of prisoners being set out in the Care Act 2014.

Under section 76 of the Care Act, local authorities are responsible for assessing and meeting prisoners' social care needs, and, as with healthcare, there should be an equivalence of care to that in the community. Prior to the implementation of the Care Act 2014, it was often unclear who was responsible for prisoners' care and support, and as a result, their needs were often not assessed or met effectively (Skills for Care, 2015). This was reiterated by the House of Commons Justice Committee (2013) which, prior to the introduction of the Care Act, stated that social care provision for older prisoners was "variable, sparse and "non-existent" (p.29).

HMI Prisons and the CQC (2018) concluded that whilst the Care Act generally appeared to improve the provision of social care in prisons, with many examples of good practice, further reform is still required. When examining the initial measures implemented following the Care Act, Tucker et al. (2018) found that the majority of local authorities had screening measures in place for prisoners upon entry to a prison. However, HMI Prisons and the CQC (2018) concluded that these measures were not "sophisticated or robust enough to pick up every need" (p. 9). Tucker et al. (2018) also found that there was a lack of active case finding, and, as a result, those who develop social care needs during their stay in prison may be missed. There was also an apparent lack of awareness that prisoners could self-refer to local authorities for assessment

and, whilst some prisons had self-referral schemes operating, this was not consistent across all

local authorities, reflecting the significant variation in services across the UK (Tucker et al., 2018).

The disparity in services offered, arguably, stems from the lack of guidance regarding how the

Care Act should be implemented in prisons (HMI Prisons and the CQC, 2018). Improvements

identifying social care needs in those both entering and already in prison are needed (Tucker et

al., 2021).

Providing care and support in prison also poses challenges. One particular challenge is the

physical environment and lack of appropriate facilities, which can be partly attributed to the age

of many prison establishments that were built prior to the rapid expansion of the ageing prison

population and, thus, designed for younger men (Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, 2017).

One example of this is personal care. Turner et al. (2018) found that prison staff reported an

absence of facilities to undertake personal care, and this, consequently, restricted their ability

to manage older prisoners' incontinence. Whilst newer prisons have been better able to

accommodate older prisoners requiring care, the design of older prisons means that they are

often structurally unsuitable, with small cells, narrow doors, and fewer lifts (House of Commons

Justice Committee, 2013). Whilst some adaptations are possible, these can sometimes be

delayed, resulting in cases of prisoners sometimes waiting months to be able to move around

their cell or use the toilet independently (HMI Prisons and CQC, 2018). Whilst there are adapted

cells in operation, these are limited.

Lack of appropriate facilities not only limits staff's ability to deliver care but can also restrict the

extent to which older prisoners are able to participate in activities (Tucker et al., 2020). This

particularly applies to accessibility, with the House of Commons Justice Committee (2013)

highlighting one establishment where the education department was located up two flights of stairs with no lift, making it hard to access for those with mobility issues. This is particularly pertinent in light of the high levels of frailty in older prisoners (Turner et al., 2018) and highlights the importance of ensuring prisons are accessible.

As with healthcare provision, prison staffing also provides challenges in delivering adequate social care. HMI Prisons and the CQC (2018) stated that "the regime, along with staff shortages, can mean that social care staff are unable to access prisoners at the required times to deliver care" (p.31). There have been attempts to cover gaps in care provision via the promotion of care by other prisoners in the form of peer support schemes, or 'buddy' systems. This is where more able-bodied, and often younger, prisoners are matched to an older prisoner requiring assistance with tasks such as collecting meals, making beds, cleaning cells and reporting any deterioration in condition (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2013). Formal schemes where 'buddies' are trained, supervised and monitored have been well received in prisons (HMI Prisons and CQC, 2018) and welcomed by Age UK (2011). However, this is not consistent across prisons, with very few operating formal schemes, and caring roles are often undertaken informally on a voluntary basis (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2016). This means that those providing care may not be suitably trained or monitored, putting both the prisoner delivering care and the individual receiving care at risk of harm.

Despite this, when properly implemented, peer carer schemes have been demonstrated to be highly beneficial. Stewart (2018), when interviewing peer carers in prison, found that the role was satisfying, acting as a form of social bonding for the carers and providing an opportunity for redemption, with training increasing confidence in the role and helping to develop empathy and sensitivity. Whilst peer carers are not allowed to provide personal care, some have been found

to disregard the rules. This has been justified by the absence of formal care staff, with one prisoner stating, "we are their main people; no one else goes down there and sorts them out" (Stewart, 2018, p. 22). This sentiment highlights one of the main issues with peer caregiving schemes, where there is a danger of peer carers being perceived as a replacement to formal care rather than complementing it. This was argued by the House of Commons Justice Committee (2013) which stated that the "reliance on other prisoners for help is indicative of an absence in provision and responsibility for social care of older prisoners" (p. 29). There is evidence, however, that when properly implemented and monitored, peer caregiving is valued by those receiving care as it promotes a sense of independence (Stewart, 2022)

Overall, it is evident that there are significant variations in services across prisons. Whilst there are some examples of excellent practice, this has been highly inconsistent and, as a result, been described as a 'postcode lottery', where the quality of social care services is highly dependent on the establishment that prisoners are sent to (HMI Prisons and CQC, 2018).

Mental health

Another area that presents significant challenges for older prisoners is mental health, issues of which are significantly overrepresented in the prison population. Therefore, before examining the mental health of older prisoners, a brief understanding of the broader context of mental health in prisons is necessary.

There are difficulties knowing the full extent of mental health issues in prisons. This is due to the significant challenges that complicate the measurement of mental health prevalence within prisons. For example, issues often go undiagnosed and prisoners may feel apprehensive about disclosing poor mental health (Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, 2016). Singleton et al.'s

(1998) study conducted on behalf of the ONS remains the most comprehensive examination of psychiatric morbidity in England and Wales to date. They concluded that at least 90% of prisoners had at least one mental health condition, and 70% had two or more. The most common conditions included personality disorders and what they described as 'neurotic disorders,' comprised of conditions related to depression and anxiety. This is reflective of much of the literature around rates of mental health issues in prison, and although more contemporary data is required, rates of mental ill health are commonly accepted to be much higher than in the general population (The Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, 2016).

Self-harm is also overrepresented in the prison population, with just under 50,000 incidents of self-harm in prisons from 2017-2018, a 20% increase in incident rates and a 10% increase in the number of self-harming individuals from the previous year (Ministry of Justice, 2018b). This puts rates of self-harm in prisons at a record high (House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts, 2017). However, due to the stigmatised nature of self-harm, with much taking part in secret (Levenkron, 1998), rates of self-harm could actually be much higher. Self-harming behaviour has been shown to be a risk factor in prison suicide, with half of those who complete suicide in prison having a history of self-harm (Hawton et al., 2014; Fazel et al., 2008). This is significant when it is considered that rates of suicide in prison were found to be 10 times higher than the general population, with a prisoner dying from suicide every three days on average (The Howard League, 2016). Non-suicidal self-harm must also be considered when looking at the mental health of prisoners. Marzano, Ciclitira and Adler (2016) found that non-suicidal self-harmers in prison described their self-harm as a coping mechanism, which acted "both as a means of releasing tension, sadness and frustration, and of being heard in an unresponsive system." (p. 157).

Another issue relating to prisoners' mental health is co-occurring mental health and substance abuse problems, also known as a dual diagnosis. Dual diagnosis is defined as "a mental health problem that incites the use of substances; mental health symptoms or illness resulting from substance misuse and/or withdrawal; and deterioration of a mental health problem due to substance misuse" (Moyes, Heath, and Dean, 2016, p. 14). Like other mental health issues, individuals with a dual diagnosis are also overrepresented in prisons. Research suggests that as many as 75% of prisoners have a dual diagnosis, with 30-35% having an alcohol dependence, and 45-60% having a drug dependence (Singleton et al., 1998; Bebbington et al., 2017; Prison Reform Trust, 2017). Prisoners with dual diagnoses have been found to be particularly challenging to manage and worse outcomes for prisoners with dual diagnosis have been reported, with poorer recovery outcomes and higher rates of reoffending (Moyes, Heath, and Dean, 2016; Wright, Walters, and Strang, 2016).

The clear overrepresentation of mental health issues in UK prisons means that it is important to consider the basis of these issues. As with physical health, one explanation for higher rates of mental ill health in prison is that some prisoners may begin their sentences with pre-existing mental health problems linked with social factors, such as poverty or unemployment (Scott and Codd, 2010). Furthermore, those who do not enter prison with existing mental health problems may be especially vulnerable to develop them during their sentence (Wright, Walters, and Strang, 2016).

It is not only important to consider the existing mental health issues that individuals may enter prison with, but also how prison itself may impact on mental health. There is a general acceptance that prison may cause mental health problems and exacerbate existing ones (Ginn, 2012b; Scott and Codd, 2010; The Joint Committee on Human Rights, 2004). One explanation for

this is the nature of prison environment, which is characterised by uncertainty, insecurity, loss

of privacy, lack of personal control, and fear (Prison Reform Trust, 2010), all of which may

negatively impact mental health. Prison can also be seen as socially isolating. Nurse, Woodcock

and Ormsby (2003) conducted focus groups with prisoners and found that they often felt isolated

(with some instances of prisoners spending up to 23 hours a day in their cell) and had little

mental stimulation. The prisoners felt this, in turn, worsened their mental health, leading to

feelings of anger and anxiety, and substance abuse (Nurse, Woodcock, and Ormsby, 2003).

It is also important to consider the quality of services available to prisoners. Mental health issues

can be poorly identified as screening may only be conducted upon entry to prison and is often

undertaken by staff who are not adequately trained (Ginn, 2012b). This was echoed by Senior et

al. (2013) who stated that prison mental health provision often results in poor assessments and

treatment for prisoners, finding that, out of prisoners with severe mental health problems, as

few as 25% were assessed by in-reach teams and 13% accepted for treatment. This may result

from "delays to service access, lack of appropriate interventions, low staffing levels, limited

specialist support and limited access to supervision, training and reflective practice" (Patel,

Harvey, and Forrester, 2018, p. 17).

NHS mental health in-reach services in prisons may also fall short of the level of provision in the

community, with inconsistent service provision unrelated to prison size or function, with on

average one community psychiatric nurse responsible for 500 prisoners, and one doctor for

3,700 (Forrester et al., 2013). This could perhaps explain the reported high levels of unmet

treatment needs (Jakobowitz et al., 2017). Individuals may enter prison with existing mental

health issues due to wider risk factors associated with criminal activity, however, the prison

environment and treatment available may not sufficiently manage or even further exacerbate such difficulties.

The inadequacy of prisons in dealing with prisoners with mental health problems has informed the development of diversion schemes. Diversion is a "process by which someone who is in contact with the criminal justice system is identified and directed towards appropriate mental healthcare, particularly as an alternative to imprisonment" (Ginn, 2012b, p. 7280). It has been argued, however, that such schemes are underperforming and that individuals with significant mental health problems were often missed and not diverted into mental health care (Centre for Mental Health, 2009; Bradley, 2009; Bebbington et al., 2017).

Although there is a base of research regarding the mental health of prisoners in general, the literature specifically looking at older men's mental health in UK prisons is more limited. The literature that is available shows that mental health is an issue for older prisoners. Indeed, a recent systematic review suggested that the rate of mental illness in older prisoners is more than double that reported in studies with older people in the community (Di Lorito, Völlm, and Dening, 2018). Rates of mental ill health amongst older prisoners are not only high in comparison to those in the community, but also in comparison to younger inmates, with studies finding that as many as 50% of older men in prison hold a psychiatric diagnosis, with rates of depression for this group estimated to be up to five times higher than younger prisoners (Fazel et al., 2001).

One explanation for higher rates of depression in older men is the presence of unmet age-related needs. Indeed, Crawley (2005) found that the prison regime is 'institutionally thoughtless' to the needs of older prisoners. It is also important to consider the often lacking health and social care provision as described earlier in this chapter. O'Hara et al. (2016) found an association between

these unmet needs and depressive symptomology in older prisoners. Although this may provide an explanation for higher rates of depression, no causal relationship can be inferred, and this is only speculative without further research.

Another explanation for higher rates of depression in older prisoners is social isolation. Hayes, Burns, Turnbull, and Shaw (2013) found that almost half of older prisoners were held in prisons outside of their home area, and as many as 40% received no visits. They suggested that this may be due to many of the older prisoners' friends and relatives being of a similar age, finding it too difficult to travel and visit, consequently putting the older prisoners at a higher risk of social isolation and loneliness.

There may also be fewer opportunities for older men within prison. Qualitative research in the USA suggests that there may be higher levels of victimisation for older men in prisons, where younger prisoners may bully and dominate older prisoners (Kerbs and Jolley, 2007). The extent to which this applies to older prisoners in the UK is less clear. However, older prisoners surveyed by Turner et al. (2018) felt reduced staffing exacerbated victimisation, leading to feeling fearful and vulnerable from bullying and intimidation, causing them anxiety.

Although rates of some types of mental illness are higher in the older prison population, such as depression, this is not the case for all mental health issues. For example, lower rates of substance abuse and personality disorders have been found in comparison to the younger prison population (Howse, 2011). Moreover, older prisoners are less likely to die of self-inflicted causes compared to younger prisoners and are more likely to die from natural causes (Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, 2017). There are also smaller numbers of older men self-harming in prison compared to younger prisoners (Ministry of Justice, 2018d). However, as qualitative

research shows that older people who self-harm may harm themselves in more passive ways, such as self-neglect (Wand, Peisah, Draper, and Brodaty, 2017), it is possible that rates of self-harm in older prisoners may be underreported. Self-harm has also been found to be more of a risk factor for suicide in older men in prison compared to those who are younger, mirroring findings in the community (Morgan et al., 2018; Hawton et al., 2014). Therefore, although seemingly less prevalent, self-harm may be a significant risk factor for suicide in older prisoners.

The House of Commons Justice Committee (2013) stated when reviewing mental health in older prisoners that their issues often go unrecognised and untreated. One explanation for this is that mental health problems in older prisoners may simply be perceived as an inevitable consequence of ageing (HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, 2004). This is not only an issue in prison contexts but reflects broader ageist attitudes in society. There is a stigma surrounding older people's mental health, where depression is often seen as expected in later life and, therefore, may be dismissed by others, including GPs (Centre for Policy on Ageing, 2009). This may provide another explanation as to why older prisoners have been found to have high levels of depression when compared with younger prisoners.

Dying in prison

As previously mentioned, high rates of depression have been reported in older prisoners. Another aspect that may impact on older prisoners' mental health is the idea of dying in prison. It is unsurprising that deaths resulting from natural causes in prison mostly occur in older prisoners. Out of the 181 (provisional) natural cause deaths in 2017, 156 occurred in prisoners over 50 (Ministry of Justice, 2018a). With the older prisoner population continuing to rise, the demand on the prison service to manage dying prisoners is increasing (Prisons and Probation

Ombudsman, 2017). This, in turn, means that prisons increasingly have to provide end of life care for older prisoners.

One of the challenges in this area is the resources available in prisons. As many prisons were built before the increase in older prisoners, it can sometimes be difficult for prisons to provide suitable accommodation to facilitate end of life care (Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, 2017). When interviewing staff working with dying prisoners, Turner and Peacock (2017) found that nurses identified the lack of resources in prison as impeding on their ability to provide appropriate and timely medication, making pain management for dying prisoners challenging. Turner and Peacock (2017) also found that this was reiterated by prisoners, who "understood that despite the best intentions of staff, the system might not be flexible enough to deliver adequate palliative care" (Turner and Peacock, 2017, p. 61). The Prisons and Probation Ombudsman (2017) concluded that whilst there were some examples of good practice regarding end of life care (such as the development of specialist wings in some prisons), on a national level this was inconsistent, concluding that "overall, the location of the prisoner will impact the quality of care he or she receives" (p. 20).

The restricted resources within prisons often results in prisoners being transferred to external facilities, with 61% of natural cause deaths in 2017 occurring outside of prisons, in hospitals, hospices, and nursing homes (Ministry of Justice, 2018a). Although these settings may be better equipped to manage dying prisoners, this poses similar issues regarding restraint as previously outlined in the discussion of physical health. Terminally ill prisoners may often be inappropriately restrained, which can result from risk assessments not being conducted and "[the] use of staff discretion leading to inconsistencies and arbitrariness in how rules are implemented" (Robinson,

2019, p. 27). Therefore, whether receiving care inside or outside the prison environment, the nature of being a prisoner may impact on the quality of care received.

The death of older prisoners also poses challenges for family members. Guidelines state that family members should have an involvement in end of life care at the earliest opportunity. However, instances have been reported where families have received poor communication around their relation's condition, with some only having contact shortly before they died (Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, 2017).

It is clear that there are various challenges associated with end of life care in prisons. One solution to this is early release on compassionate medical grounds, where "in cases where death is imminent or where prisoners have conditions that are difficult to treat in prison, it is possible for some prisoners to be released before their sentence is spent," (Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, 2017, p. 23). To do this, however, a number of criteria must be met. These are outlined by the Prisons and Probation Ombudsman (2017):

- The prisoner must be either bedridden or similarly incapacitated, or suffering from a terminal illness with not long to live
- A clear medical opinion as to life expectancy is required, with three months regarded as reasonable
- The risk of reoffending should be minimal. This is particularly the case with offenders whose crimes are of a violent or sexual nature
- Further imprisonment should be thought to reduce the prisoner's life expectancy
- There must be adequate arrangements in place for the prisoner's care and treatment outside the prison

- The prisoner's early release must bring some significant benefit to the prisoner or his or her family (p. 23).

This shows the lengthy criteria dying prisoners must meet before being granted release. One of the main challenges with the criteria is that it is often difficult to gauge when a person has three months to live, and, as a result, compassionate release has been limited in its use (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2013). This was reiterated by the Prison Reform Trust (2014) who found that between 2009-2013, only 45 prisoners in England and Wales were given early release on compassionate medical grounds.

Issues relating to dying in prison have been shown to impact on prisoners. When interviewing American prisoners, Aday (2006) found various responses to death from older men in prison. Some felt ashamed at the prospect, viewing it as the ultimate punishment and feared how it would affect their family. Others felt substantial fear, with some expressing worry that they would not be released in time to spend time with their families, and others that they would die alone with no one who cares about them present when they die. In contrast, some saw it as an escape, with death representing "a prospective end to physical fatigue and pain and suffering" (Aday, 2006, p. 210). This is similar to Crawley and Sparks' (2006) findings with older prisoners in the UK, who had a shared dread at the idea of dying in prison. This study also mirrored Aday's (2006) in terms of its findings on death being presented as an escape, with those on life sentences wanting death to come so that their time in prison would be over. Turner et al. (2018) found that the prospect of dying in prison with potentially poor care caused older prisoners significant anxiety, supporting other findings which state that 'death anxiety' in prisoners was heightened due to perceived healthcare inadequacy (Aday, and Wahidin, 2016). However, the

prospect of dying outside of prison also caused worries, with some reporting that they felt there was nothing left for them outside. This was also found by Aday and Wahidin (2016) who reported that some older prisoners felt dying in prison was preferable as their only friends left were those in prison with them.

Death in prison is not only a challenge for prisoners, but also for staff working with them. As previously outlined, staff face a number of physical challenges when managing dying prisoners (Turner et al., 2018). However, dying prisoners also pose a significant emotional challenge. Turner and Peacock (2017) found that many prison officers reported not expecting to deal with so many older prisoners dying, with one stating that where they worked in the prison was "more like a care home than a prison wing" (p. 62). In general, they found that this caused significant emotional labour for doctors, healthcare staff, and prison officers (Turner and Peacock, 2017). Therefore, growing numbers of older prisoners dying in prison not only poses challenges for the older men, but also has significant implications for staff working with them.

With the trajectory of criminal behaviour generally considered to decrease with age (Ulmer and Steffensmeier, 2014), and the significant strain that the provision of end of life care poses on the prison service (Turner and Peacock, 2017), without vast investment into end of life care provision, a more liberal use of compassionate release may provide a solution to strains on prison resources. Although not appropriate in all cases, an increase in compassionate release for low risk dying offenders would, in turn, reduce the burden on the prison system and, as a result, mean that more resources could be provided for the end of life care for those whose release is not possible.

Resettlement

When considering the experiences of older men in prison, it is not only important to consider the challenges related to dying in prison, but also the resettlement process for those released. Resettlement for prisoners in general poses difficulties, with Williamson (2006) reporting that of those released from prison:

- 42% are released to no fixed abode

- 50% have no general practitioner (GP) upon release

- 50% reoffend within two years

Those newly released from prison have also been found to be at an increased risk of suicide and drug overdose compared to the general population (Pratt et al., 2010; Farrell and Marsden, 2008). This has been found to be particularly pertinent in older offenders, with risk of suicide in the first 12 months after release increasing with age (Pratt et al., 2010). This can be attributed, in part, to a lack of release planning for older prisoners. Despite often having a number of complex health and social care needs, Forsyth et al. (2014) found that "older prisoners perceived release planning to be largely non-existent" (p. 2021). Although they found some examples of good practice, such as adequate provision of medication upon release, Forsyth et al. (2014) argued that there was often poor communication during release planning and a discontinuity of care. They concluded that this caused high levels of anxiety for older prisoners, particularly for those who were due to be residing in Approved Premises. However, upon follow up, those individuals were in fact found to have their needs met better than those living elsewhere (Forsyth et al., 2014). Davies (2012) states that insufficient planning for older prisoners stems from the prioritisation on lowering reoffending and, as a result, the focus is on younger prisoners who pose greater risk, resulting in poor consideration for older prisoners, who often pose lower

risk. This was echoed by Age UK (2011), who stated that resettlement programmes are often centred on the needs of younger adults and may exclude older prisoners. For example, training programmes focused on employment will be less relevant to those of retirement age.

Poor release planning, in turn, creates challenges regarding accommodation for older prisoners as "the likelihood of having accommodation on release from custody decreases the older a person is" (Cornish et al., 2016, p. 17). Indeed, older prisoners are often released with 'no fixed abode' (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2013). Accommodation must also be appropriate for older offenders' complex health and social care needs, as highlighted earlier in this chapter. For example, older prisoners' accessibility needs must be met, meaning any accommodation moved into post-release should account for this. Despite this, those with complex health and social care needs are often housed in inappropriate accommodation, if housed at all (Forsyth et al., 2014). Furthermore, the type of accommodation, as well as its facilities, also impact on older prisoners after release. Older prisoners may be housed in mixed-age hostels, with some reporting that these are dominated by younger men with high rates of drug and alcohol use and are often not supported by staff on these issues (Cornish et al., 2016). Although further research is needed regarding the experiences of older offenders on probation, Cadet (2020) suggests that there may be similar 'institutional thoughtlessness' present in the prison environment.

Institutionalisation also poses challenges for the resettlement of older offenders, where individuals may become habituated to the prison regime. Crawley and Sparks (2006) found that this was prevalent during interviews with older prisoners, who had high levels of anxiety surrounding their ability to cope with life outside of prison. This was often pronounced for those without familial and social networks, often lost during time in prison (Crawley and Sparks, 2006).

Moreover, although social care for prisoners is not without issues, many older prisoners were apprehensive about losing the support from informal care by other prisoners (Crawley and Sparks, 2006).

Resettlement concerns are particularly pronounced for those convicted of sexual offences and, as highlighted earlier in this chapter, are overrepresented in the ageing prison population. Older prisoners convicted of sexual offences may become socially isolated upon release due to a fear of assault or if they are required to move away to an area where they do not know anyone (Cornish et al., 2016). Consequently, this was found to often result in "a self-imposed restriction to the home and a withdrawal from the community" (Thomas, Thompson, and Karstedt, 2014, p. 21). Older prisoners may also be left feeling like they would have to 'start over.' This is particularly pronounced for those who have lost their homes, with many who lived in council housing prior to entering prison, often losing their possessions upon repossession of their property (Crawley and Sparkes, 2006). Crawley and Sparkes (2006) concluding that as a result, some older prisoners faced with release stated that they would rather stay in prison.

To summarise, although dying in prison presents a bleak prospect for older prisoners, release is not always perceived as a better option. Fears surrounding health and social care, personal safety, accommodation, and social isolation result in some prisoners wishing to stay in prison and, thus, have a continued deprivation of liberty rather than face resettlement.

Summary

This chapter has brought together existing literature looking at older male prisoners. More specifically, issues relating to health, social care, mental health, dying in prison, and resettlement. Overall, it is clear that older prisoners face significant challenges and have a

number of complex needs, often distinct from those of younger prisoners. Despite this, their needs often go unmet, receiving inadequate health and social care, mental health support, end of life care and release planning. From examining the literature, it is evident that failings towards older prisoners may stem from three main aspects. Firstly, prisons have, historically, been designed for young, able-bodied men, leaving the prison system significantly ill-prepared to manage the rapidly increasing number of older men. Whilst prisons have put individual measures in place to manage this demographic shift, the system is not responsive to older prisoners' needs and the lack of a unifying national strategy from the government has resulted in highly variable provision for older men. Secondly, although the prison environment restricts the ability to provide adequate care for prisoners generally (with prison culture often at odds with prisoner welfare), this appears particularly pertinent for older prisoners, with much of the literature in this area highlighting the need for care rather than control. Finally, the continued 'benchmarking' of prison costs (see Chapter Two) has led to reduced staffing, long waiting times, scarce resources, and, in some instances, this has resulted in a prioritisation of healthcare over social care.

When considering the literature discussed above in relation to this study, a number of questions have emerged, these include:

- How well do older men feel their needs are met in prison?

- How do older men cope with a challenging prison environment?

- How can the prison environment become more suitable for older men?

- How do prison officers experience the management of older offenders?

- How do prison officers see their role in relation to the ageing population?

Chapter 5: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter explains and justifies the methodological choices and design of this study. A qualitative approach underpinned by social constructionism was adopted for the research. Semi-structured interviews were used, and data collection and analysis were conducted in line with the constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014). This chapter begins by outlining the background to the chosen methodological approach to the research, as well as the aims and research questions. The next section considers the theoretical underpinnings to the study. The process of data collection and analysis is then explained, as well as details relating to the sample. Finally, ethical considerations and precautions are outlined. Rather than providing a stand-alone section on reflexivity, reflections on the research process are instead woven throughout this chapter.

Research aims

An exploratory approach to the research was adopted for two reasons. Firstly, as discussed in Chapter One, there was limited research looking at the everyday lived experiences of older men in prison, with previous studies in this area tending to focus on a specific 'need.' Secondly, consistent with grounded theory approaches, adopting a broad research topic fosters critical inquiry as it allows researchers to follow leads that arise from the data collection and analysis, reducing the extent to which pre-conceptions or taken-for-granted views are reproduced as the analysis remains focused on the data (Charmaz, 2017). The exploratory research question devised was:

- How do older men experience prison?

In addition to exploring the experiences of older men in prison, the perspectives of prison officers were also included. The purpose of this was not to 'validate' or corroborate the men's experiences, but to gain an additional and broader perspective regarding their management as well as a greater insight into the landscape of service provision. Furthermore, prison officers have been found to face complex emotional challenges in their work with older men whilst navigating constraints in the prison environment (Humblet, 2020; Turner and Peacock, 2017; Peacock, Turner and Varey, 2018). The aims were therefore to explore how prison officers experienced and described their day-to-day work with older prisoners, how they related to them, and what structural constraints may limit their work. It was again important to retain the exploratory focus in keeping with main part of the study and these broad aims were explored with the research question:

- How do prison staff experience their work with older men in prison?

Theoretical underpinnings

The following section outlines the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis. Before exploring the constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approach adopted in this study, the research paradigm, epistemological and ontological positions must first be discussed. Research paradigms are philosophical or theoretical frameworks that underpin methodological choices (Blaikie, 2007). As outlined at the start of this chapter, the primary aim of this study is to explore the lived experience of older men in prison and staff who work with them. The notion of lived experience is explained by Boylorn (2008):

Lived experience responds not only to people's experiences, but also to how people live through and respond to those experiences. The body of work on lived experience focuses on everyday life occurrences and self-awareness. As a life history or life story, lived

experience concentrates on ordinary, everyday events (language, rituals, routines) while privileging experience as a way of knowing and interpreting the world (p. 490).

As I was interested in exploring experiences, meanings and perspectives, such objectives are most closely aligned to a qualitative research strategy within the interpretivist paradigm (Hammarberg, Kirkman and de Lacey, 2016; Blaikie and Priest, 2017).

One way to understand interpretivism is by its direct opposition to positivism. From a positivist perspective, the methods which underpin the natural sciences can be applied to social research, whereby universal laws should be sought through the production of objective and value-free knowledge (Bryman, 2016). Under this approach, 'true' facts exist about an objective reality and are there to be 'discovered,' and it is therefore most often associated with experimental research designs and quantitative methods (Ryan, 2018). In direct contrast to this approach, interpretivism states that the methods employed in the natural sciences cannot be used to understand social phenomena as the subject matters are distinct, as social reality or realities are the result of "people [having] to continually interpret their own actions, other people's actions, social situations, the natural world and humanly created objects" (Blaikie and Priest, 2017, p. 98).

The interpretivist paradigm is therefore the overarching theoretical framework for this study, not only due to the congruence between the aims of this study and the aims of interpretivist research, but also because this approach is valuable when conducting research about the experiences of prison. When considering the "separateness of the prison world, where cultural values and norms may be different from the world of the researcher" (Jones, 1995, p. 107), an approach which allows the researcher to explore how individuals make sense of their social world is particularly beneficial.

As highlighted above, it is essential to choose a research paradigm that is consistent with the researcher's beliefs about the nature of reality. It is therefore important to be explicit about what I believe constitutes social reality (ontology) and how it can be studied (epistemology). In relation to both the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of this research, my position can be explained as that of social constructionism.

From a social constructionist perspective, social reality is historically and culturally situated, constructed by actors, and in a constant state of reproduction (Bryman, 2016; Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Creswell, 2013). Social reality is therefore based on common sense or taken-for-granted assumptions about the meaning of the world that emerge through social interaction and discursive practices (Burr, 2015a). This perspective, however, has received criticism for ignoring the role of structure in society. For example, Houston (2001) argues social constructionism's rejection of a singular objective reality undermines the 'realness' of social problems and therefore has limited emancipatory applications. Here, it is important to distinguish between radical and more moderate forms of social constructionism (Willig, 2013). The denial of an objective tangible *physical* reality is more aligned with a more extreme radical approach, rather than a more moderate or 'mild' form which has been most commonly employed in research (Burningham and Cooper, 1999). Indeed, this is where it is important to emphasise the distinction between material and social reality. From a moderate social constructionist approach, there is no absolute denial of a single material and spatial world, rather, our access to it is socially constructed through language and interaction (Fopp, 2008; Sismondo, 1993).

When considering prison in the context of this study, rejecting an objective material reality would undermine the lived realities of those who reside in prison and are physically unable to

leave due to the physical barriers of imprisonment. That is not to say, however, that the notion

of prison as an institution is natural or inevitable. It can be argued that prison is discursively

constructed as the central means of criminal punishment in line with dominant ideology

(Foucault, 1977). The perceived necessity of carceral institutions can thus vary across time and

space. Indeed, as outlined by Burr (2015b), social constructionism "invites us to be critical of the

idea that our observations of the world unproblematically yield its nature to us, to challenge the

view that conventional knowledge is based upon objective, unbiased observation of the world"

(p. 2). From this perspective, taken-for-granted knowledge can be challenged, as meaning is

subjective, arising through our interactions with others (Gergen, 1985).

Social constructionism rejects that there is an objective truth to be discovered, instead,

knowledge is constructed through the research and analytic process (Willig, 2013). Based on this,

researchers are not neutral observers free from bias, as it is inevitable that their beliefs and

values will shape the research process (Ryan, 2018).

Constructivist grounded theory

Data collection and analysis in this research were conducted in accordance with the

constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014). In a general sense, grounded

theory methods consist of systematic procedures for data collection and analysis, with the aim

of building theory grounded in the data. Although there are several forms of grounded theory

methodology which differ mainly in terms of their epistemological underpinnings, there are

several shared key characteristics central to grounded theory approaches, or 'family

resemblances' within a 'family of methods' (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007, p. 11). Although key

features have been summarised differently by a number of grounded theory researchers (Bryant

and Charmaz, 2007), Birks and Mills (2015) state that the following characteristics underpin a grounded theory:

- Multi-level coding and categorisation of data

- Concurrent data collection and analysis

- Memo writing

- Theoretical sampling

- Constant comparative analysis

- Theoretical sensitivity

- Identification of a core category (or theory)

Grounded theory was first developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Their approach to grounded theory was underpinned by positivism, with data and theory therefore seen as 'discovered' by the researcher. In this approach, the researcher must be neutral and objective, in an attempt to eliminate bias. Their development of a systematic qualitative method was a response to criticisms of qualitative research during the 1960s, where it was often viewed as anecdotal or biased (Charmaz, 2014). Instead, grounded theory offered "a foundation for rendering the processes and procedures of qualitative investigation visible, comprehensible, and replicable" (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007, p. 33). Grounded theory was later developed beyond the 'classic' or 'Glaserian' form by Strauss and Corbin (1990). Their approach was influenced by symbolic interactionism, and they refuted the Glaserian notion that "researchers' expert knowledge superseded that of their research subjects" (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007, p. 40). This approach, however, was still underpinned by some positivist principles, such as striving towards theory that explains social phenomena (Rieger, 2019).

The grounded theory was further developed by Charmaz (1990) who laid out a version underpinned by social constructionism, which she later called constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000). Whilst resembling traditional grounded theory in terms of its inductive, emergent, and comparative nature, this approach is distinct from previous versions for a number of reasons. An explanation of the differences between constructivist and 'classic' grounded theory can be best understood through the theoretical positions that underpin the methods. Whilst traditional grounded theory approaches were underpinned by positivism, CGT is rooted in interpretivism and social constructionism:

> If, instead, we start with the assumption that social reality is multiple, processual, and constructed, then we must take the researcher's position, privileges, perspective, and interactions into account as an inherent part of the research reality. It, too, is a construction (Charmaz, 2014, p. 13).

Based on this, Charmaz (2014) rejects the notion that researchers can be neutral observers, arguing "subjectivity is inseparable from social existence" (p. 14). Thus, instead of attempting to erase subjectivity in research, the researcher's values, beliefs, and perspectives must be acknowledged reflexively. Under this assumption, theory is not 'discovered' but co-constructed through interaction between the researcher and the researched (Charmaz, 2014).

The epistemological alignment of the approaches also led to differing perspectives on literature reviewing. For Glaser and Strauss (1967), reviewing the literature prior to data analysis would 'bias' the researcher's perspective with preconceived ideas and should thus be avoided. Whilst Charmaz (2014) agrees that early review of the literature makes it more challenging to stay grounded in the data, she also acknowledges the rigid formats that are often imposed on research projects and highlights the importance of acknowledging practical restrictions. This

point is particularly relevant when undertaking a doctoral research project, as there are a number of practical restrictions that require early examination of the literature. For example, I was required to explore the existing literature for my proposal for PhD funding. Similarly, I was required to submit a literature review chapter to allow me to continue past the first stage of the PhD. Thus, I was required to explore a reasonable amount of literature in relation to the topic before starting data collection and analysis.

Charmaz (2014) acknowledges, however, that it is unlikely for a researcher to have no pre-existing knowledge of the literature in a given research topic. Here, it is important to distinguish between maintaining an open mind rather than striving for an 'empty head' (Dey, 1999, p. 251). Early examination of the literature aids the development of theoretical sensitivity, the ability to attend to subtle nuances in the data and how they relate to an overarching theory (Thistoll, Hooper and Pauleen, 2016). It is important to emphasise that before undertaking this research I had limited knowledge of the prison environment. Similarly, as a young woman I had limited knowledge of what issues may be important to older men. Early examination of the literature was therefore helpful for developing my interview schedule as it enabled me to consider what general areas could be explored. In order to remain focused on building theory grounded in the data rather than drawing my ideas from the existing literature, I made sure to interrogate my ideas during analysis, constantly considering how my reading may have impacted on my analysis (Dunne, 2009).

Rationale for using constructivist grounded theory

In addition to the inherent compatibility between the social constructionist foundation to this research and that of CGT, this approach was chosen for three main reasons. Firstly, CGT was chosen due to its central focus of developing new theoretical understandings. As highlighted in

the preceding chapters, the experiences of older men in prison have received limited attention, with theoretical knowledge in this area being particularly scant. The aim of grounded theory methodologies "to produce an inductively driven theory of social or psychological processes grounded in the material from which it was derived" (Tweed and Charmaz, 2012, p. 132) is therefore particularly advantageous.

Secondly, I was conscious of both the stigmatised and marginalised nature of the participants and wanted to therefore ensure that their voices remained at the forefront of the study. The constructivist approach to inductive theory building is therefore particularly advantageous. Indeed, the participants' experiences are at the centre of the theory building process with efforts to elicit *their* perspectives, assumptions, definitions, meanings, and rules (Charmaz, 2014). Thus, efforts are focused on remaining grounded in the data rather than drawing on existing preconceptions about both older people and offenders which could further stigmatise ideas about the group.

Thirdly, constructivist grounded theory is also particularly suited to research pertaining to critical inquiry, meaning topics relating to social justice, power and inequality (Charmaz, 2017; Charmaz, 2020). One of the ways it is suitable is through its emphasis on reflexivity. The approach encourages the researcher to develop methodological self-consciousness which involves "scrutinizing our positions, privileges, and priorities and assessing how they affect our steps during the research process and our relationships with research participants" (Charmaz, 2017 p. 35). It is therefore important to consider the positions of both researcher and participant. Based on this, I endeavoured to interrogate my assumptions and perspective throughout the research process. The use of reflective writing and memos aided my ability to do this and allowed me to

consider my position in relation to the participants and consider how this may have shaped data collection and analysis. This will be explored in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

Finally, as highlighted earlier, one of the aims of this study was to be sensitive to issues related to gender and masculinities. CGT is compatible with feminist research endeavours due to both its ability to attend to both agency and structure by considering how constructions occur within structural conditions (Charmaz, 2014), and secondly through its emphasis of the importance of reflexive practice in line with feminist approaches (Irwin, 2019).

Rationale for using semi-structured interviews

In order to conduct good quality research, it is imperative that there is a coherence between the method of data collection, the theoretical framework, and the aims of the research (Tracy, 2010). As the aim of this research was to gain insight into lived experiences, it was necessary to adopt a data collection method that would allow participants to share their experiences in the richest and fullest manner. Qualitative interviews were therefore deemed the most logical choice based on their ability to allow participants to talk about their experiences, feelings, and opinions in their own words and provide a picture of their lived realities (Kvale, 2008). Qualitative interviews are also fitting with research orientated within social constructionism. If we view knowledge as culturally and historically situated and emerging through social interaction, then the interview provides an interactional event where the researcher and the participant co-construct knowledge (Koro-Ljungberg, 2008).

Approaches to interviewing can be best explained as a continuum ranging from structured to unstructured (Brinkmann, 2013). As structured interviews involve the use of rigid question schedules comprised of standardised closed ended questions with the aim of acquiring data

suitable for statistical analysis, this type of interview is therefore more aligned to quantitative surveys approaches (Bryman, 2016; Lodico, Spaulding and Voegtle, 2010). At the other end of the continuum, unstructured interviews involve minimal direction from the researcher and often only use one initial question inviting the participant to tell their story, and this approach is therefore often associated with narrative research (Brinkmann, 2013; Bryman, 2016). Semi-structured interviews are positioned somewhere between the two approaches. These usually involve an interview guide consisting of open-ended questions on broad topic areas but allow for flexibility in order to explore emerging ideas based on what the participant deems to be important (Bryman, 2016).

A semi-structured approach was chosen for the following reasons. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, people in prison can be considered to be a significantly disempowered and marginalised group, and my intention was therefore to give the men agency in their participation as much as possible. Building rapport and creating a comfortable environment are some of the ways in which the imbalance of power between participant and researcher can be mitigated, particularly in relation to research pertaining to potentially sensitive topics (Elmir et al., 2011). Based on this, I wanted to make the interviews as conversational as possible to put the participant at ease. However, as there can be challenges when interviewing men about personal or emotional topics (Schwalbe and Wolkomir, 2003; Ogliffe and Mróz, 2005; Smith and Braunack-Mayer, 2014), increased guidance and prompting in a semi-structured approach was seen to be advantageous. Semi-structured interviews are also well suited to constructivist approach to grounded theory as the combination of both flexibility and control allow researchers to pursue emergent analytical ideas whil attending to what the participant deems important to their experience (Charmaz, 2014).

Data collection and analysis

This part of the chapter will now outline some of the practical considerations of the research. Here I will explain the process of negotiating access, recruiting participants, and conducting interviews. I will then go on to detail my sample and finally outline my process of data analysis in line with the CGT approach (Charmaz, 2014).

As this section goes on to explain, the data collection process within the prison environment was a laborious process and I was often confronted with unexpected barriers that had to be overcome. The research process, therefore, often involved navigating, as described by Schlosser (2008), the "methodological landmines" (p. 1501) of prison research. In particular, negotiating access and giving the men agency in their participation were particularly challenging as this was frequently at odds with the prison environment. The decisions detailed throughout the rest of this chapter reflect meaningful considerations to optimise the participants' agency as much as possible in spite of these barriers and portray their voices in the most authentic way possible, keeping their perspectives at the centre of the process.

COVID-19 disruption and subsequent methodological changes

Before outlining the process of data collection for this thesis, it is necessary to highlight the unexpected challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent methodological changes that were employed to mitigate disruption. In March 2020, around halfway through the second year of the project, HMPPS' National Research Committee (NRC) had to halt all research in the prison estate following the worsening of the COVID-19 outbreak. As I was still in the process of conducting interviews at this point, my data collection was paused. This meant I had to be adaptable to the constantly evolving circumstances. Fortunately, at this stage I had

conducted around two thirds of my interviews and was able to make progress analysing my

existing data. However, at this point I had only collected data at one prison site out of the four I

had originally planned to access. I was also unsure when I would be able to recommence data

collection.

 In September 2020 the NRC released updated guidance in relation to conducting research

during COVID-19. The guidance specified that access to those in prison would continue to be

restricted for external researchers, however, remote research with prison staff could be possible

on a case-by-case basis following a risk assessment. Based on this, I applied to restart telephone

interviews with prison officers, and this was approved. However, as it was clear that I would be

unable to recommence my interviews with older prisoners for the foreseeable future, I had to

think about alternative strategies that would enable me to complete my data collection.

Following discussions with my supervisory team, it was decided that conducting interviews with

older men in the community who have recent experience of prison was an appropriate

alternative strategy.

This strategy was chosen as it enabled me to overcome the restrictions on researching in prisons

whilst allowing me to continue collecting data relevant to my research question, as the men

could reflect on their experiences of prison retrospectively. The decision was also based on

emerging findings from analysis of the earlier interviews. This is in keeping with the theoretical

sampling element of CGT in "seeking pertinent data to develop your emerging theory" (Charmaz,

2014, p. 96). The prospect of release was a significant concern for the men I spoke to. The future

was very uncertain and many of the participants were unsure what their life would be like once

released. As such, it made sense to explore how release and resettlement into the community

was experienced. The amendments to my research design were proposed to the University of

East Anglia School of Social Work research ethics committee and accepted on the 30th of September 2020.

Negotiating access to participants in prison

The first stage of data collection involved gaining access to the research sites. Gaining access to participants for qualitative research is often challenging and can be complex and time consuming, even for those researching groups who are not classed as 'hard to reach' (Johl and Renganathan, 2010). Thus, trying to negotiate access to the prison environment for research is a particularly complex task:

> Inmates' institutionalization, coupled with their tendency to be stigmatized and discounted by members of the majority, results in their separation from society and, likewise, often from researcher access. In such cases, when seeking to study institutionalized groups or individuals, researchers must often be innovative, persistent, and most importantly, have some insights into the methodological terrain that lies ahead (Schlosser, 2008, p. 1500).

Before embarking on this research, I had not anticipated how challenging it was for researchers without inside knowledge of the prison environment to navigate the constant negotiation required when conducting prison research (Beyens et al., 2015). As an 'outsider' I often felt that I was lacking the prison-based experience and pre-existing contacts that were needed to gain access. As a result, I was often left feeling like I was speculating the unknown. Even the first step, applying for ethical approval from the university, proved challenging. Without first-hand experience of the inner workings of prisons and the potential regime and security constraints, it was very hard to conceive how the practical aspects of recruiting or interviewing would work.

Throughout the process I was often left feeling like I had more questions than answers. Being an outsider, however, can also be beneficial in research. It can be argued that a researcher who is separate from the world they are studying is therefore able to have different perspective (Hellawell, 2006). Indeed, it encourages participants to be positioned as the experts, as with an absence of assumed knowledge, the researcher can ask participants to explore taken-for-granted language in their own words (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009).

In an attempt to mitigate the practical challenges of being an outsider, I attempted to seek out as much information as possible. I began networking, reaching out to prison researchers and contacts within my university. From this I was able to form connections and access valuable information from other researchers in the field. I attended two separate visits at a local prison with contacts that I made from networking. I also reviewed a significant amount of prison research literature to see how others had designed their research. This information was helpful when undertaking the second stage of gaining access, getting permission from the NRC.

All researchers who want to conduct research in prison establishments must first have approval from the NRC. This process was challenging with limited knowledge of the practical considerations of prison research. I was granted approval from the NRC subject to minor changes in March 2019. Following approval from the NRC, I had to make contact with the individual Governor of each site. This involved sending a large number of letters to prison governors, with prisons closer in distance and containing a higher proportion of older prisoners prioritised. Once permission was granted by the Governor, I was assigned a key contact to help facilitate the research.

Once given permission to conduct interviews at each site I still encountered unexpected barriers. One example was the difficulties I encountered when requesting to bring a digital audio recording device into the prison to record the interviews. At one site my request to use a device was denied by prison security without any explanation as to why. Based on this, I had to speculate why it might have been denied before re-applying for clearance, causing significant delays.

Negotiating access in the community

Following the amendments to my methodology in light of COVID-19, I had to gain access to men in the community who had spent time in prison as an older man. As access to the probation service is governed by the same research governance procedure as the prison service, third sector organisations were instead used to recruit participants. Based on this, no formal approval was required from a review board. As interviews were to be conducted by telephone with no face-to-face contact involved and travelling during the COVID-19 pandemic was not a concern, offender resettlement charities across the country were contacted, with a focus on those who specified that they worked with older men. Two organisations agreed to help identify potential participants. One also invited me to attend a virtual networking event for organisations that support individuals released from prison and allowed me to advertise my study. Following this event, an additional organisation agreed to support the research.

Working with gatekeepers

In the research process the use of gatekeepers refers to "where the participants in question are not approached directly by researchers and instead an intermediary is used to facilitate access" (Clark, 2010, p. 487). In this study, when gaining access to participants both within the prison setting and, in the community, assistance from gatekeepers was necessary. Within the prison

110

setting I had to rely heavily on gatekeepers' assistance as it was stipulated in my approval from the prison service that I was not allowed to introduce prospective participants to the research myself. The rationale given for this was that additional visits to sites would increase strain on resources. I therefore had to rely on my key contact within the prison to recruit participants. Similarly, when looking for participants in the community, the risk of exposure to the COVID-19 virus was high. Based on this, gatekeepers at third sector organisations took an active role in identifying and recruiting participants to minimise any potential risks related to me interacting with potential participants in person.

As the involvement of gatekeepers can have a significant influence on the research process (Crowhurst and Kennedy-Macfoy, 2013), it is important to be reflexive and transparent about how this has shaped the research process. The assistance from gatekeepers was invaluable in many ways. Within the prison setting, the gatekeepers had a wealth of knowledge about their establishments, and this was helpful when discussing how to go about recruitment, as well as navigating any unexpected challenges.

Working with gatekeepers also posed challenges, however. Firstly, as gatekeepers were responsible for identifying potential participants, they were in control of who I did and did not speak to. During the process of data collection, I was given no indication that some participants were given preference over others or that any men were discouraged from taking part. However, as I was not physically present for recruitment, I cannot be certain that gatekeepers had no influence on who did or did not take part. It is also important to consider that facilitating research is not usually part of gatekeepers' workloads but an additional task which can therefore divert resources away from the organisation (Clark, 2010). Indeed, there were often long periods where I was waiting to hear back from gatekeepers which often led to delays. Secondly, there was

sometimes a tension between maintaining good ethical practice whilst also maintaining a good relationship with gatekeepers. Within the prison setting the role of the gatekeeper within the site tended to vary. Whilst some gatekeepers, such as prison psychologists, had more of an awareness of research processes and ethics, others such as prison officers, were understandably less familiar. This therefore sometimes required careful negotiation.

Recruitment

As this study was qualitative in nature, orientated within the interpretivist paradigm and underpinned by social constructionism, I was not seeking a representative sample of the population. Participants were therefore purposively sampled based on specific criteria, details of which are provided below. In line with the CGT approach, theoretical sampling techniques, whereby later sampling is informed by early analysis was also employed.

Older men in prison

In order to be eligible to take part, participants had to be over 50 years old. This age cut off was adopted based on the generally accepted definition of what constitutes an older prisoner (Merkt et al., 2020) as previously outlined in Chapter One. Those who did not have mental capacity to provide informed consent were not able to participate in the research, this was assessed by prison healthcare upon potential participants expressing interest.

 The study was advertised to the older men in several ways. Firstly, the gatekeeper verbally introduced the research to a number of individuals in a communal area specifically used by older residents within the prison. Following this, posters were displayed at various locations in the prison alongside an expression of interest sheet (see Appendix A).

Prison officers

The only criteria staff had to meet in order to participate was that they had experience working with older men within the prison. I initially did not specify what role the staff participants had to have within the prison and would be guided from my initial interviews with the older men. From my initial interviews it became clear that the older men's interactions with prison officers were an important aspect of their experience. Based on this, I decided to focus my staff interviews on prison officers. These participants were recruited from three prisons: a category B/C prison, a category C prison for those convicted of sexual offences and a category D 'open prison.' The study was advertised via a flyer that was sent to prison officers by email from the gatekeeper, as well as by word of mouth (see Appendix A).

Older men in the community

Following the age criteria for those in prison, released older men were required to have had recent experience of being in prison whilst over 50 years old. To be eligible to participate, they must also have been released from prison within the last five years.

As previously outlined, access to participants in the community was gained through third sector organisations working with ex-offenders. At one organisation the gatekeeper predominantly supported those in prison but kept in touch via email with a number of older men who had been released. The gatekeepers advertised the study via email and text to their service-users. An amended version of the recruitment poster was also created (see Appendix A). Potential participants who were interested were either advised to contact me directly or passed on their details for me to contact them. I then explained more about what the participation would involve and arranged the telephone interviews.

Constructing the interview guides

The interview guides used were constructed in line with Charmaz's (2014) approach to CGT interviewing. Separate guides were developed for each participant group (see Appendix B). In line with the semi-structured interview approach (Kvale, 2008), the interview guides were not created as a prescriptive list of questions that had to be used in a standardised way but more as a tool that could be used flexibly to elicit talk. The guides were comprised of two main sections. The first section contained questions about demographic information such as age and relationship status. The second section contained the main open-ended interview questions. These were designed so that the interview started with more relaxed introductory questions to ease the participant into the interview and help build rapport. For example, with all of the older men, the main part of the interview began with me asking the participants to tell me a bit about themselves.

For the interviews with older men in prison, the main questions related to different areas of prison life such as their relationships with others, work and activities, and plans for the future. For the interviews with released older men in the community, the topics were largely unchanged but reframed retrospectively. Some of the questions that were deemed to be less relevant for those in the community were replaced with questions about leaving prison and navigating resettlement. Guides for interviews with prison officers were developed with a similar approach, but the main interview questions were instead focused on their experiences of working with older residents within the prison. With all participant groups, the questions were broad allowing them to focus on what they felt was important to their experience.

Charmaz's (2014) strategies for interrogating taken-for-granted meanings in interviews were also followed. For example, all participant groups were asked if they could talk me through a

114

typical day or week, as this allows the exploration of the temporal aspects of experience and

"implicit qualities of experienced time" for the participants (Charmaz, 2014, p. 34). The guides

were also designed so that the interview ended with more positively framed questions. This was

done to prevent, where possible, participants ending the interview immediately after discussing

distressing experiences or topics. The final question in the guide was 'is there anything that I

haven't ask you that you think is important to your experience?' This was designed to allow the

participant space to share any important aspects of their experience that may have been

overlooked or missed. A number of prompts were also developed to enable further elaboration

if needed.

In keeping with the theoretical sampling aspect of CGT (Charmaz, 2014), interview guides were

amended during the data collection process. This allowed me to follow emerging analytical ideas

in subsequent interviews and thus elaborate and refine conceptual categories. Similarly, it

became clear from the initial interviews that some questions were a little unclear and were

therefore re-worded. Both the initial and amended interview guides are included in Appendix B.

Conducting the interviews

Twenty-four interviews were conducted between November 2019 and March 2021. The setting

of the interviews varied across the participant groups. Face-to-face interviews were conducted

with older men in prison and telephone interviews were used with both the released older men

in the community and the prison officers. All interviews were recorded using a digital audio

recording device and with the participant's permission. Recording was done to help maintain

accurate and detailed transcription of the interviews, as well as to reduce the need for thorough

note taking during the interview. Initial reflections about the interviews were written up as soon

as possible after the interview, and this allowed me to record and reflect on how I conducted

the interview, the relationship with the participant, the content discussed, how the interview made me feel, and any other aspects I felt were important. An example of this is illustrated in Appendix C. Ethical considerations regarding the interviews will be discussed later in this chapter.

Interviews with older men

Interviews with older men within the prison setting were conducted in legal visitation rooms. This was a condition of being given permission to use a digital audio recording device to record the interviews. The setting provided a quiet and private environment as the participants and I had sole use of the room for the duration of the interview. This setting, however, also posed challenges as interviews were restricted to visitation times. As a result, I was limited to a maximum of two hours with each participant, sometimes less if visitation started late. Whilst this is not a particularly unusual amount of time for a qualitative interview, this time had to include giving the participant further information about the study before the interview, as well as time after to debrief and check how they were feeling. The time constraints meant that some of the longer interviews had to be cut short and ended more abruptly as I had to ensure there was enough time to debrief with the participant before visitation time ended.

As outlined earlier in this chapter, my recruitment strategy was amended in light of COVID-19. In September 2020, when I began data collection with older men who had been released from prison, the risk of COVID-19 infection remained high. Considering the age and potential health issues of this group, participants were considered particularly vulnerable to COVID-19. With this in mind, it was decided that the interviews should be conducted via telephone rather than face-to-face. This would therefore protect the participants and myself as the researcher from any potential exposure to COVID-19 in the research setting.

At the start of all the interviews I emphasised that although I had a list of questions to ask, the participant was the expert of their experience and it was important for them to focus on what *they* deemed to be significant. This was perhaps aided by my position as an outsider with little knowledge about their world. It also helped me give agency to the men in their participation. Indeed, one participant commented that it was nice to feel like an expert.

Before conducting the interviews, I was concerned about the extent to which the men would share their experiences with me. However, I found the participants to be generally forthcoming and enthusiastic to tell their stories with many talking at length. Most of the interviews lasted between one and one and a half hours, however some would have lasted longer had we not been restricted to visiting hours. The majority of the participants in prison did not have regular visitors and some emphasised that they had enjoyed having someone new to talk to.

I also had similar concerns before conducting the telephone interviews with the participants in the community as interviews via telephone are often considered to pose challenges to rapport building (Drabble et al., 2014). In an effort to build rapport in these interviews I would try to engage in friendly conversation before starting the interview and demonstrate my active listening throughout the interview to show my interest. Generally, I found that the telephone interviews yielded data similar to that of the face-to-face interviews. The participants were very open with me about their experiences, often sharing very sensitive information, mirroring existing literature that suggests the anonymity telephone interviews provide can lead to participants being more forthcoming about personal information (Elmir et al., 2011; Block and Erskine, 2012). Similarly, I found that these participants still talked at length about their experiences, with two interviews lasting around three hours.

During my interviews with older men in prison and those released and living in the community I got a sense that the some of the participants approached the interview as a therapeutic space (Rossetto, 2014). I felt the interview provided an opportunity for the participants to share their, often painful, experiences with a non-judgemental ear who was focused on listening to what they had to say. There was often emotional material discussed in the interviews with many of the participants becoming visibly upset, yet all wanted to continue often saying they appreciated the opportunity to 'get things off their chest.' Indeed, many commented that they felt better after the interview for sharing their experiences.

Interviews with prison officers

Interviews with prison officers were conducted via telephone to mitigate demands on prison resources. A similar approach to rapport building was taken as described above. For example, engaging in friendly conversation prior to starting the interview. As interviews took place during working hours, I was acutely aware of the limited nature of their time and tried to be as efficient as possible. These interviews therefore tended to be shorter and more to the point, generally lasting around an hour. Conducting the interviews while the prison officers were at work did pose challenges, however. For example, there were a couple of instances where we were interrupted, and the participant therefore had to pause the interview for a brief time which somewhat interrupted the flow of talk.

Reflections on interacting with participants

In addition to reflecting on the interview process, it is also important for me to reflect on my position as a young woman interviewing older men. The disparity in age between myself and the participants undoubtedly shaped our interactions throughout the interviews and the way in which the participants presented themselves and their experiences. Whilst some of the

participants commented on my age explicitly, there were also occasions where the impact of my age and gender on our interactions were more subtle. One example of this was where the participants would censor their language or apologise to me after using mild profanities. I got a sense from these interactions that the men felt like they had to behave in 'gentleman-like' way around me (Leontowitsch, 2012, p. 113), and this left me wondering if the participants may have therefore omitted aspects of their experiences that they deemed unsuitable for a 'young lady'.

On the other hand, as a young woman I may have been perceived as a non-threatening presence. As mentioned earlier, the participants were generally very forthcoming during the interviews and whilst this was possibly influenced in part by an appreciation of having someone new to talk to, it may also reflect the gendered ideas often associated with young women. Femininity is often associated with empathy and understanding, and men can therefore be more open with female interviewers (Leontowitsch, 2012).

There was not only a discrepancy between the age and gender of myself and the participants but also a stark power imbalance as a result of their status as a prisoner. The way this power imbalance was navigated tended to vary across participants. It is important to mention here that the participants that took part in this study were very diverse with significantly differing educational, professional and socioeconomic backgrounds. Some of the participants had led very successful careers and had been educated to a university level. In those interviews I often felt there was a degree of intellectual posturing. For example, some of the participants would use unnecessarily complicated vocabulary which sometimes felt a little forced and one even made a critical comment about the design of the research. I got a sense that in these instances the men were trying stake a claim to a professional space which was no longer available to them in prison.

119

However, in line with Tarrant's (2014b) experiences of interviewing older men, I was aware of negotiating multiple positionalities. More specifically, shifting between multiple positions of power both across and within interviews. Whilst in my interviews with the ex-professional participants I was sometimes rendered a naïve young researcher, I was acutely aware of my power as someone studying at doctoral level when interviewing participants with low levels of literacy.

The sample

A total of 24 interviews were conducted with two participant groups: older men who had current or previous experience of prison in later life and prison officers who had experience working with older prisoners.

Older men with experience of prison

A total of 17 older men with experience of prison in later life took part in semi-structured interviews. The participants ages ranged from 54 to 82 (mean age 67). Five had partners and the remaining participants were single. Prison time, either total served or expected to serve, ranged between 18 months to 28 years (further detailed in Table 1). Whilst the majority had received determinate sentences, four were serving/had served IPPs or life sentences. For the majority of participants, it was their first time in prison, and it was often emphasised that they had been convicted of an historic offence. One participant had been to prison once before in his 30s and another entered prison at a younger age on a life sentence. Much of this group of participants would therefore be classed as late entrants. Prior to disruption from COVID-19, 12 interviews had been conducted with participants at one prison site. Following the altered recruitment strategy in light of COVID-19, another 5 participants who had been in prison as older men were

recruited in the community. The length of time since release ranged between two months and three and a half years.

Pseudonym	Total expected prison time*	Prison status
Peter	0-5 years	In prison
Jack	6-10 years	In prison
Robert	10+ years	In prison
Frank	6-10 years	In prison
Charles	6-10 years	In prison
George	0-5 years	In prison
Roger	0-5 years	In prison
Stanley	0-5 years	In prison
Ralph	0-5 years	In prison
Thomas	10+ years	In prison
Lewis	6-10 years	In prison
Edward	0-5 years	In prison
Brian	10+ years	Released
Bernard	6-10 years	Released
Michael	10+ years	Released
James	0-5 years	Released
Martin	10+ years	Released

Table 1. Imprisonment length and status of older men

*Ranges have been used to help preserve participants' anonymity

As the focus of this study was to explore older men's experiences of prison, it felt unnecessarily intrusive to ask them to disclose their offence. Based on this, no records were accessed, and participants were not asked to disclose why they were in prison. They were, however, not discouraged from talking about their offence. I made it clear at the start of the interview that whilst they were not required to discuss what led them to be in prison, they were welcome to talk about it if they felt it was relevant to their experiences (see interview guide in Appendix B).

Prison officers

Seven prison officers (six male and one female) who had experience working with older men took part in semi-structured interviews. The participants were recruited from three prison sites: ranging from category B to category D open conditions. In terms of their experience in the role, the number of years spent working as a prison officer ranged between 1-20 years, with a mean of 10 years' experience.

Data Analysis

Managing the data

The audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed verbatim. I endeavoured to portray the interviews as accurately as possible, however, transcription is in itself an interpretive and theory driven process as choices must be made regarding how to best reflect participants' talk (Davidson, 2009). Thus, transcripts produced cannot provide an entirely objective or 'true' reflection of an interview. When transcribing the interviews punctuation was used based on a personal judgement of how to best represent what the participant was saying. Any notable features that I deemed to be contextually important were also included such as long pauses or laughter. A small number of the interviews were transcribed by a professional transcriber following their signing of a confidentiality agreement. To maintain a similar closeness to all the

data, I proofread the professionally transcribed interviews whilst listening to the respective audio recordings. Transcripts were imported into NVivo 12 to help manage the data set and aid analysis.

Process of data analysis

Data were analysed in accordance with the CGT framework (Charmaz, 2014). Analysis began by familiarising myself with the data by reading and re-reading the interview transcripts. Transcription and proofing of the transcripts aided the familiarisation process as it helped me to immerse myself within the data. Following this, initial coding began. This involved going through the interview transcripts and coding line-by-line or incident-by-incident (see Appendix D). At this stage of the coding process it is important to remain close to the data and focus on analysing processes and action, this helps avoid jumping to conclusions and ensuring analysis is grounded in the data rather than preconceived ideas about the topic (Charmaz, 2014). Gerunds were used during the coding process where possible in order to maintain focus on preserving action and highlight implicit processes within participants' talk (Charmaz, 2008).

Throughout the process of initial coding data were compared with data and the 'fit' of codes assessed, reassessed, and often renamed as analysis progressed. During this stage a vast number of initial codes were generated (over 2000) and sometimes codes that were deemed to be capturing a similar process were merged to help make the analysis more manageable. In addition to using my own words to label the codes, *in vivo* codes were sometimes used whereby the participants' speech was used as a code in its own right to preserve meaning.

The next stage of analysis consisted of focused coding (Charmaz, 2014). This involved reviewing, refining, and reducing or combining the vast number of initial codes and pursuing those most

salient and meaningful. This involved the creation of higher-level codes or elevation of significant

initial codes which subsumed a number of related initial codes (see Appendix E). Throughout this

process the focused codes were reviewed and compared with one another as well as against the

initial codes generated. The links between focused codes were explored and tentative

conceptual categories were created (see Appendix G). Memos were used throughout the

analytical process as a means to document, reflect on and develop emerging ideas (see Appendix

F).

The links between categories were interrogated and an overarching theoretical account of the

data was developed in line with the aims of the grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2014). This

theoretical account, *the intersection of prison climate and capital*, is presented at the end of the

empirical findings chapters that follow and discussed and situated within the existing base of

literature in Chapter Ten.

When using a grounded theory method, data collection and analysis should ideally be conducted

concurrently (Charmaz, 2014). The extent to which I could conduct interviews and analysis

concurrently, however, was limited when interviewing in the prison setting. As outlined earlier

in this chapter, conducting fieldwork in the prison environment required navigating various

restrictions. In order to reduce demand on the site's resources I was required to conduct multiple

interviews in a day across two periods. This therefore limited my ability to analyse previous

interviews before conducting the next. In spite of this, I attempted to keep the process as

iterative as possible. Examples of this include considering content from previous interviews

when asking follow-up questions in subsequent interviews and focusing the interview guides

with released older men based on the ideas that emerged from analysis of the prison interviews.

I also employed theoretical sampling where possible. During my first period of data collection within the prison I mainly spoke to individuals who lived on a specialist wing for men aged over 65. In these initial interviews the men emphasised the value of age segregated wings but also questioned how those living on mixed population wings would feel. Based on these initial interviews I sought out participants who did not live on segregated wings for the next period of data collection in order to further develop and refine my findings.

Data collected was ended upon the completion of 24 interviews, a sample size comparable with other doctoral level work utilising a grounded theory approach (Mason, 2010). Within the CGT approach, data collection should finish once theoretical saturation is reached. This refers to when "fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of your core theoretical categories" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 213). Although there were certainly avenues that would warrant further inquiry (these are outlined in Chapter Ten), I was satisfied that an overall picture had emerged as later interviews were no longer offering additional dimensions to the core categories in my analysis.

Ethical practice

The prison environment poses significant ethical challenges when conducting research and careful consideration is required to maintain ethical practice (Abbott et al., 2018). Full ethical approval was obtained from the School of Social Work Research Ethics Committee, University of East Anglia. In addition to this, the approved application to the HMPPS National Research Committee included a section on ethical practice which the committee were satisfied with.

It was important, however, that ethical practice was an ongoing consideration throughout the research and not just at the beginning of the project when seeking formal ethical approval. I

therefore endeavoured to interrogate my ethical decision making throughout the research and this was aided by the use of reflecting, particularly on the fieldwork, in my research journal.

All participants were given comprehensive information about the aims of the research, what participation would involve and the ethical procedures in place to protect them. This was done both verbally and via a study information sheet (see Appendix H). Two versions of the information sheet were initially developed, one directed at older men in prison, and one directed at prison officers. An additional version was also developed for released older men in the community following the adapted recruitment strategy in light of COVID-19. For participants within the prison setting, the NRC stipulated that I must report anything disclosed in relation to the following:

- Behaviour that is against prison rules and can be adjudicated against (please see rule 51 of the Prison Rules 1999).

- Undisclosed illegal acts (previous and planned).

- Behaviour that is harmful to the research participant (e.g. intention to self-harm or commit suicide) or others.

- Information that raises concerns about terrorist, radicalisation or security issues.

This disclosure protocol was therefore clearly outlined in the information sheet to ensure transparency.

Before the interviews took place, I would revisit the information sheet with the participant to make sure they understood what was involved. I aimed for the participants to receive a copy of the study's information sheet at least 24 hours before taking part in an interview in order for them to have time to consider their participation. It is generally accepted that people in prison

have significantly lower levels of literacy compared to that of the general population (Prison Reform Trust, 2021). Based on this, recruitment materials were developed using simple and non-academic language. Additionally, I read through the information sheet with every participant when meeting them and checked they understood what was involved.

Once I was satisfied that the participant was fully aware of what participating in the research would involve and they were still happy to continue, informed consent was taken. For interviews conducted in person, written consent was taken using a consent form and explained using a verbal guidance document (see Appendix I). One participant had very low levels of literacy and therefore did not want to give consent in written form. On this occasion verbal consent was recorded on the audio recording device. For interviews conducted via telephone verbal consent was recorded in the same way.

One of the main ethical concerns I had during the research was that participants may feel coerced to take part due to the power imbalance between themselves and the gatekeeper. I tried where possible to work with gatekeepers in more pastoral roles within the prison rather than prison officers to mitigate this. When meeting the participants, I strongly emphasised that there was no obligation for them to take part and there should be no negative impact on the care they receive if they did not want to take part.

The wellbeing of my participants was a priority throughout the research. Throughout the interviews I made sure to look out for any signs of distress. When reflecting on difficult experiences, some became visibly upset. On these occasions I asked participants if they wanted to take a break or stop the interview, but as mentioned earlier, all wanted to proceed. Being aware of any potential distress was harder during telephone interviews and I therefore made

sure to check in with the participant a few times during the interview to ask how they were feeling. Similarly, I was very careful when prompting to make sure that I was not asking the participant to elaborate on distressing material.

Following the interview, participants were given a copy of the debrief sheet (see Appendix J). All participants were given up to four weeks to withdraw their data from the date of the interview. For the older men in prison, they were advised that they could withdraw their data via the gatekeeper. Prison officer participants were advised to withdraw their data by contacting me directly and released older men in the community were instructed to get in touch with me directly or via the gatekeeper. Under NRC guidelines I was not allowed to compensate participants within the prison for their time. Those released and living in the community, however, received a £20 shopping voucher to thank them for taking part. Three versions of the debrief sheet were developed and tailored to the type of participant. This included a list of relevant services they could contact or seek support from if they experienced any distress after the interview.

All data was anonymised to protect participants' anonymity. When the interviews were transcribed any information that could potentially identify the participant was not included. All participants were given a pseudonym to protect their identity. As the majority of older male participants came from one prison site and many staff were aware of who was taking part, only age ranges will be presented with the pseudonyms. Similarly, where quotes are presented in the findings chapters that include information which could reveal the participants' identity when coupled with other quotations provided, 'Anon' will be used instead of the pseudonym.

All data pertaining to the participants was stored securely in accordance with the Data Protection Act (DPA) (2018). All paper-based materials were stored in a locked cabinet and all electronic files were stored on a password protected computer and files containing the identity of the participant such as the interview recordings were encrypted. Recordings were deleted as soon as possible when transcription and analysis was complete. Interview transcripts will be stored securely for a maximum of five years.

Protecting myself

I also took several steps in order to protect myself throughout the research process, particularly during fieldwork. When conducting face to face interviews within the prison setting, I took a number of practical steps to keep myself safe. For example, making sure to sit closest to the door. As a young woman interviewing men convicted of sexual offences, I had made sure to prepare a strategy regarding how I would manage any inappropriate behaviour during the interviews. This situation fortunately did not arise. I omitted sharing personal information where possible and on the few occasions the participants did ask (seemingly well intentioned) questions about me, I would deflect back to the research or provide vague answers.

Summary

This chapter has outlined the theoretical position underpinning this study, as well as the rationale for adopting a CGT approach and using semi-structured interviews. The process of data collection, analysis and consideration of ethical issues have also been explained. The challenges presented by the prison environment have been highlighted, as well as the changes to the research design because of COVID-19. The benefits and ways in which CGT have shaped this study will be discussed further in Chapter Ten. The next part of this thesis moves on to explore the empirical findings of this research.

Introduction to the research findings

This introduction provides a brief overview of the structure and main arguments of the empirical material in this thesis and sets out the overarching theoretical account of the research findings. The conceptual categories developed from analysis of the data fell into four areas of experience and were therefore divided into the following four findings chapters:

- Chapter 6: Navigating the prison environment

- Chapter 7: Managing threatened identities

- Chapter 8: Negotiating constrained relationships

- Chapter 9: Looking to the future, release and resettlement

Whilst both conducting the interviews and analysing the data, I was struck by the extent to which the experiences of the participants were simultaneously both similar and diverging at the same time. Whilst there was an overall commonality of experience that was shared across the participants, the ways in which they were able to navigate and make sense of this significantly varied, reflecting the differing resources they had available to them. This led to the development of a substantive constructivist grounded theory based on two concepts: *prison climate* and *capital.* This will be presented in full at the end of the empirical findings chapters and explored further in Chapter Ten. However, a brief explanation is offered here to help understand the empirical material that follows.

Prison climate refers to the way in which multiple characteristics come together to shape the way in which a prison is experienced (see for example Moos, 1989; Ross et al., 2008; Auty and Liebling, 2020). This concept therefore provides a helpful way of considering how different aspects of the environment come together to create the overall feel or atmosphere. In this case, how different factors come together to shape how a prison is experienced by older men. In the

following empirical findings chapters, and particularly in Chapter Six, it is shown that the following aspects were important in shaping the prison climate for older men:

- The approach taken by prison officers

- Barriers/facilitators to maintaining ties in the community or developing ties within prison

- The physical layout and accessibility of prison buildings

- The presence of younger prisoners

- Responsiveness and/or flexibility in relation to making necessary adjustments

- Harshness of the regime

- Awareness and consideration of the needs of older prisoners

- Presence of age-related provision

- Availability and/or quality of health and social care

- Feelings of safety or perceived threat of victimisation

There is shown to be a high degree of inconsistency across the prison estate in terms of the climate for older people both across and within prisons. However, the factors above were commonly described as being central to the extent to which the environment was sensitive and/or suitable to their needs as older people.

The ability to navigate and make sense of what was generally described as a challenging prison climate, however, was described as being dependent on the resources available to the older men, or levels of capital they held. Here, the Bourdieusian definition of capital is used in a broad sense and taken to refer to assets beyond that of purely economic value which enable advancement within a particular context (Bourdieu, 1986; Moore; 2008). Indeed, woven throughout the empirical material presented in the remainder of this thesis is how various forms

of capital afforded some men more ways to manage and make sense of life in prison. The way in which various forms of capital intersect to form an overall 'bank' of capital which can be drawn upon to cope with adversity is also important in this context (Tew, 2013). In order to understand the differing levels of capital held by the older men, an awareness of their contrasting life experiences is needed. A brief overview of the older men's life histories will now therefore be provided.

During the interviews with the older men, depictions of their early life experiences varied. Several of the participants defined their childhoods by the adversity they had encountered. This included physical and sexual abuse, neglect, bullying, death of a parent, and domestic violence. One, for example, had experienced physical and sexual abuse throughout his childhood, both at school and from multiple family members within the home:

> *He [dad] got a lighter and actually held it across my fingers and burnt my fingers with a lighter. Y'know what I mean? Err he used to punish me, I never seemed to be doing anything right. [. . .] My grandfather was very abusive as well. Towards my dad. And I don't know how he was to his Mum, but he was… err not a very good grandfather. He was a step-grandfather, he touched me and my sisters.* (Anon)

Reflecting on these incidents often appeared to be distressing for the participants and there was sometimes a sense that the effects of these early experiences were long lasting and, for some, unresolved despite the number of years that had passed.

Other participants presented their early life experiences differently. This does not preclude these participants from having also experienced childhood adversities: many provided little to no information or gave remarkably matter of fact accounts of their early life. It is possible that they

may not have wanted to volunteer this information. What did become apparent, however, was that participants came from considerably varied socioeconomic backgrounds. Whilst many of the participants described growing up in low-income households, others reflected on more affluent upbringings.

Experiences of education also ranged significantly. Many of the participants reflected on their struggles at school. For example, some spoke of truancy and expulsion; others reflected on having special educational needs which were often not adequately supported. Several of the participants engaged in substance misuse as children, further compounding their difficulties at school. One, for example, had begun smoking cannabis at age nine and described regularly taking "acid" by the time he was 11 years old. Levels of educational attainment profoundly varied across the older men. Although several reflected on leaving school with no (or very few) formal qualifications, some had been educated at university level:

> *Well, essentially a bourgeois suburban, bourgeois family. Father was a, worked for a large company, a management role, my mother was a school teacher. Local grammar school umm went on to university after that.* (Anon)

Whilst some of the participants' educational backgrounds were more consistent with the prison population more generally, with attainment considerably lower than the general population (Prison Reform Trust, 2022), others were significantly more highly educated. This echoes the characterisation of older prisoners within the existing literature, particularly those convicted of sexual offences (Mann, 2012; Crookes, et al. 2021).

The narratives also diverged when older men reflected on their working lives. Many of the participants had predominantly worked in lower paid manual-based jobs, often moving between

a variety of occupations. Several of the participants, however, emphasised professional success and achievements in their careers:

> *I mean my wife travelled round the world with me, the Company paid for it. I mean we had five nights in [international destination] at a five-star hotel [. . .] We had a hell of a life.*
> (Anon)

This again mirrors the existing literature that has suggested older prisoners may have earned higher incomes than younger prisoners (Kakoullis, 2010). However, as highlighted above, this was notably not consistent across the participants. Life beyond the men's occupation again also varied. Whilst, as the above excerpt illustrates, some participants looked back on their life before prison fondly, this contrasted with other narratives defined by hardship and struggles. Several of the participants reported difficulties with relationships, harmful substance misuse, and mental ill health:

> *I was suicidal, really really really was suicidal [. . .] all I wanted to do was get drunk, crash out.* (Anon)

Overall, whilst there were commonalities in their experiences of life before prison, the ways in which the older men depicted their social worlds varied significantly across the narratives. As such, they can be considered as having significantly diverse 'pre-prison identities' (Schmid and Jones, 1991). Therefore, it should be noted that the participants are not a homogenous group and, subsequently, have varying individual circumstances and resources at their disposal. This should be taken into account throughout the remainder of this thesis when considering how the men constructed their experiences of prison.

Chapter 6: Navigating the prison environment

Introduction

Before considering how the older men made sense of their identities, relationships, and future in the subsequent empirical findings chapters, it is necessary to have an understanding of how the prison setting was experienced more broadly. This chapter therefore contextualises the day-to-day lived realities for older men in prison. Overall, it is argued that the harsh and challenging climate means that it is often ill-equipped to provide care for older people, particularly those with more complex needs. This chapter draws heavily on prison officers' accounts and highlights the institutional and structural constraints that arise when working with this group. The absence of a national policy strategy is shown here to result in a need for ingenuity and creativity on behalf of the prison officers in implementing measures on an ad hoc basis. The older men's narratives, however, suggest that this was not done consistently as their experiences were described as being vastly different both across and within prisons.

"The system *is,* in itself, a harsh system"

The first section of this chapter focuses on the day-to-day realities of prison life for older men. The environment was commonly described as challenging, with the hostile and adverse nature of the climate a prominent feature of both the older men's and prison officers' narratives.

Adapting to prison life

Consistent with the characterisation of the prison environment in the sociological literature presented in Chapter Three, prison was described as "a different culture". This therefore required the older men to acclimatise to norms that significantly differed from those in the community. Due to what was depicted as a rigid and inflexible regime, it was important to quickly

adapt to the routines and procedures of the prison. The necessity to "learn the rules" was therefore emphasised. This process of assimilation was demanding, seen as both complex and confusing, and was exacerbated for those who did not know what to expect. Indeed, participants felt that there was often a lack of consideration of how this might be difficult for them:

Maybe they might be able to give us a booklet. For umm the older prisoner. To let 'em know sorta thing what to expect [. . .] you get what they call the induction booklet. But when you get older it's harder to digest things that are written down. I think they could make it more simple. (George, 70s)

As well as having to learn the formal requirements of prison life, the older men also had to grasp the more implicit informal rules. This echoes the process of 'prisonisation' described in the existing literature (see Clemmer, 1958). An example of this was a need to learn and conform to the cultural conventions within the prison around social hierarchy and accepted behaviour. This was also described as being challenging:

So, if you like there are lots and lots of unofficial rules amongst the prisoners. Some of which are enforced and some of which aren't and some of which I think are enforced in some places and not others. (Ralph, 80s)

Relationships with other men within the prison were crucial when learning to navigate an alien environment. Several of the participants described being unofficially inducted into prison life by another resident both in terms of the formal and informal rules. For example, strategies were passed down relating to the more tacit aspects of navigating prison life. This included strategies for maintaining safety:

I met one chap and in actual fact he's here now and I see him occasionally and he kind of took me under his wing and pointed out don't let them in your cell, keep away from them,

they are the ones to look out for, watch out for the gangs, watch out for the drugs and kind

of directed me, let me do my own thing but helped me. (Stanley, 70s)

In addition to having to learn the rules, there was also a need to adjust to the prison setting and new surroundings more generally. Those who had entered prison for the first time later in life found the experience particularly intimidating, describing the experience as a "shock to the system":

How can I say, for an older person coming into prison for the first time, umm… it's very

daunting. You say, you don't know what to expect. You never thought you'd be in prison

anyway, y'know. (Charles, 60s)

Whilst there were distinct challenges for the late entrants, there was also a sense that the process of entering prison had also had a lasting impact on those who had entered prison many years ago and were serving long sentences. Although these men had not had to learn the environment as older people, having spent many years in prison they emphasised the differences in the regime from when they had entered prison. More specifically, they noted how it used to be significantly more austere and hostile:

In them days, when I was in prison, you didn't have electric, you didn't have TV. You had

buckets to use the toilet and get washed and everything else. It was basically 23 hours a

day locked behind your door. So, it was not the way it is now [. . .] In them days, you used

to get beaten and everything else, y'know what I mean? Not the same nowadays (Michael,

50s, released)

The process of entering prison, therefore, not only posed challenges for those going into prison in later life but appeared to have had a lasting impact for older men who first entered many years ago.

Contextualising the physical environment

When reflecting on their experiences at a variety of prisons, the participants generally described the environment as harsh, hostile and often characterised by deprivation. There was an emphasis on the monotony of prison life, with one participant describing life in prison as an "existence". This loss of liberty coupled with the highly controlled nature of the environment translated into very limited opportunities to exercise choice. As a result, the men often had very little agency over the most basic aspects of day to day living:

> *But no one understands or… comes to terms with the lack of liberty. But the lack of choice, you've got no choice err… You can't make any decisions about anything. Yeah, it's just a slap in the face to anyone.* (Jack, 70s)

The men also had to contend with prolonged periods of 'lock up' where they were confined to their cell. This involved extended periods of isolation where they were deprived of social interaction and stimulation. This could sometimes occur at a moment's notice without any explanation of why this was happening. The unexpected nature of this could be particularly distressing, reminding them of their lack of control over their situation:

> *[Category B prison] was basically a shock, I was locked up 23 and a half hours a day. Nothing to read… y'know… it'll drive you nuts basically. Luckily, I draw, I had some scrap paper. What I could see I drew. What I could see out of the prison window.* (Bernard, 60s, released)

> *You're sitting there, and you think, quarter past 8, why haven't they unlocked the door? What's gone wrong now? Why are we doing over time? All these are flashing through your mind then.* (Frank, 80s)

The participants also had to contend with especially unpleasant conditions in some of the prisons they had been in, compromising their ability to maintain a sense of dignity. For example, Lewis

spoke about the presence of rats on a wing at a former prison. There was also an acute lack of privacy, particularly for those sharing a cell with others. Another participant, Jack, said that due to the limited space in his previous cell that he shared, he was often forced to eat his meals sat on the toilet. Similarly, James emphasised the dehumanising aspects of his experience:

> *You know, just to share a loo with someone, a stranger you've never met before is horrible. And there wasn't even a curtain, a screen, nothing. Just absolutely appalling.* (James, 70s, released)

The majority of the older men also emphasised the threatening and hostile atmosphere in the prison setting, particularly in when living in a normal location[1]. They had to contend with the presence of aggressive behaviour, bullying, stealing, drug use, and shouting. This resulted in sometimes feeling unsafe, with a need to remain alert and "look over your shoulder all the time". Threatening behaviours were often associated with younger men within the prison who were seen as particularly rowdy and unpredictable, a point that will be further explored in Chapter Seven. Based on this, the majority of the older men asserted their preference for age segregated accommodation within the prison away from younger men. Several participants recalled experiencing violence whilst in prison. The pervasive nature of this is underlined by one participant who had not experienced violence in prison describing himself as "lucky". Two of the men explicitly recounted being assaulted. One of these men, Michael, directly attributed his experience of being assaulted to his vulnerability as an older man which he felt had been overlooked by the prison system:

> *I was gang raped. I was left for dead. Four men come in my room, beat me to a pulp and raped me. I was found in a puddle of blood. These were from lads in their 20s [. . .] Now, I*

---

[1] Normal locations refer to those housing the general prison population

ended up with post-traumatic stress disorder. I've had that for the last 11 years because of their actions. And the fact of it is, not one of them care [. . .] I was taken to hospital and everything but when the governor was there and one of the senior prison officers they turn around and say, 'we're sorry, but it happens, you know what it's like.' If I wasn't the age, I was put into a high-risk environment by the prison service who was there supposed to be caring for me and taking care of me and everything else, that wouldn't have happened. (Michael, 50s, released)

Those convicted of sexual offences in particular described the perceived threat of violence as especially heightened, even when residing in a vulnerable prisoner's location. This was sometimes attributed to the stereotype that older men in the prison are convicted of sexual offences against children. Verbal attacks were described as fairly commonplace for some of the men. Some of these came from other blocks where people would shout abuse from their cell windows (colloquially known as 'window warriors'):

They look upon older prisoners as umm… filling a certain niche, because of historical crimes. And err… there has been an incident of one chap who'd been umm… pretty awful to me. This person has called me a y'know vermin… hope that death would come soon to my cancer ridden so and so body. Various other things, which are very unpleasant. (Peter, 70s)

There was also an acute sense of frustration at the unresponsive nature of the prison system which was depicted as being slow to react and characterised by long waits and delays. Examples of this included long waits for healthcare, appropriate accommodation within the prison, and cell maintenance. Resentment towards what was perceived as prison officer apathy was also

common. The older men often felt like they were made to wait unnecessarily for assistance from the officers:

> *The golden rule seems to be, they never come out of the office, unless they have to [. . .] There seems to be a very sort of… lackadaisical attitude throughout the system. I mean you put an application in, you can actually wait 4 weeks to get an answer. Umm… I've put in two appeal forms for various things and never been answered.* (Robert, 50s)

Both the older men and the prison officers emphasised that generally the older men tended to be quieter and more mild-mannered and as a result could be overlooked due to a need to focus on those who are more disruptive:

> *I'll know that if I have ten things to do, I know that he won't mind waiting longer, so I'll deal with him later. You have to have that utilitarian perspective where you just can't help everyone. You've gotta do it like according to need and it's the older prisoners that do fall through the cracks.* (Ben, prison officer)

There were similar frustrations regarding the management and running of the prison service. This was often described as disorganised, lacking coordination and communication across agencies or different departments in the prison. Again, this left the older men generally feeling resentful, overlooked, and discouraged by the prison system:

> *I was waiting three or four years to do courses and everyone else who came after me was getting on the course before me. Umm and I thought, when's my sentence plan going to come up? And they forget, I had no sentence plan for three year [. . .] To cut a very long story short, they had forgotten, I was lost in the system. They'd forgot about me.* (Brian, 60s, released)

The wider context of austerity-based polices and reductions to prison funding (as discussed in Chapter Two) were stressed by participants. Both the older men and prison officers linked

challenges within the prison to a lack of resources as a result of being "cut back", the impact of which was depicted as being long-lasting:

You're juggling the balls, but they just keep dropping because there's so many different things that probably need looking at but will never be resolved. Umm, y'know, go back seven or eight years ago when we were seriously um destaffed basically when we were what they call 'benchmarked.' And literally got rid of all staff possible and left us bare bones [. . .] because of things like that we don't have the provisions to change much. (Chris, prison officer)

The slow and unresponsive nature of the prison system, as described above, was particularly spoken about against the backdrop of austerity and attributed to resource scarcity. The long waits the older men experienced, for example, were explained by prison officers as stemming from a need to prioritise when trying to manage with inadequate staffing:

We don't really have enough staff, enough resources, to like help them straight away, and the things in the prison service take a long time sometimes to umm adapt, you know, to find ways to help them. (Jacob, prison officer)

Taken together, the findings within this section illustrate the way in which the prison system was perceived by the older men as being unpleasant, complicated, hostile and unresponsive. As a result, the nature of the environment overall was experienced as harsh and demanding. These issues were described as being exacerbated by the lasting effects of austerity, not only posing challenges for the older men but also the prison officers in their work.

"Prison ain't a place for older guys"

This section moves on discuss how the harsh nature of the prison environment, as described above, resulted in it being ill-equipped to respond to and meet the needs of the participants as older people. This is shown to be particularly pronounced for those with complex health and social care needs.

Constrained work and activities

Under Prison Service Instructions, those in prison must have "access to a range of activities that encourage their engagement with the regime and the offender management process and tackle self-esteem, behavioural and safer custody issues" (National Offender Management Service, 2010, p. 1). Similarly, as highlighted in Chapter One, the availability of 'purposeful' activity is one of the tests of a 'healthy' prison (HM Inspectorate of Prisons, 2019a). The older men interviewed appreciated the ability to take part in suitable work and activities within the prison. Whilst those over 65 years older are considered 'retired' and therefore not obligated to engage in paid work, many chose to and seemingly found much enjoyment in it. Roger, for example, spent his mornings as an orderly in the healthcare department:

> *I go to work, yeah five days a week. Err that's quite good, I do my little job yeah. They're quite friendly, make teas, coffees, do a bit of clearing up, just keep the place nice and clean and tidy.* (Roger, 60s)

Non-work activities geared towards older men in the prison were also highly appreciated. At the prison where the majority of the interviews took place, a day centre for older men had recently opened, which ran for three mornings a week. Here, the men could play games, take part in quizzes, and socialise with other older people. The older men also enjoyed creative activities, which was emphasised as benefiting their well-being. Examples of these included creative

writing and an older men's choir. James valued being able to attend a guitar group at a former prison that was run by a charity:

> *We put on a Christmas concert for the lads. So, that was a hoot. By the time you're up on stage and you're performing and you're singing, it takes you away and you don't feel as if you're in prison.* (James, 70s, released)

Also emerging within the older men's narratives was that the availability of activities they considered 'meaningful' was particularly important to them and provided them with a sense of achievement and satisfaction. These activities often involved helping others and were centred around the idea of 'giving back'. Examples of this included volunteering as a Samaritans Listener and working as a learning support assistant in the education department. Stanley worked as a prison carer helping other residents who needed assistance and found it to be a profoundly rewarding experience. He described it as being somewhat transformative:

> *It's strange umm I didn't think before I ever had anything to do with prison that I would ever do something like this [. . .] and it's not a case of filling in time, I can fill in time by sitting in my room and doing sudokus and reading my books and watching TV. There's plenty of things like that to do but I am finding it wasn't quite the same. I'm quite happy helping people out and that's fab.* (Stanley, 70s)

Whilst it was apparent that the ability to engage in both suitable and meaningful activities was important to the older men, they also described a number of barriers that impeded their ability to do this. The under resourced nature of the prison climate was particularly cited as a constraint. One example of this was long waiting lists associated with accessing some activities. Jack, for instance, had applied to take part in embroidery but emphasised there was a nine-month waiting list.

Activities were also often disrupted, sometimes affected by the unexpected periods of lock-up described earlier as well as last minute cancellations. The aforementioned highly valued older men's day centre was looked forward to by many of the participants. However, they would sometimes arrive to find it had been cancelled that day with no explanation as to why. Furthermore, the unresponsive nature of the prison environment meant that it was slow to adapt to meet the requirements of those with more complex needs who could not engage in the organised activities in the same way. George, for example, had a visual impairment and very limited sight, meaning that there were very few ways for him to occupy his time in prison. He explained during the interview that although in-cell televisions were available (to those eligible as part of the IEP scheme), his impairment prevented him from getting much enjoyment from this. Instead, he wanted access to a radio. However, acquiring this proved to be an arduous process:

> *I can't get a radio here unless I buy one myself and at the moment, I'm waiting for a letter from the Governor to send to my bank to ask them to transfer the money into the bank-into this one. But I've been waiting two months now and I keep on about it and it don't seem to get any further.* (George, 70s)

The nature of the prison environment meant that meeting even a seemingly straightforward request such as George's was complex and slow. The system was thus further restricted in its ability to adapt for older men with more complex needs who could be disadvantaged as a result. Peter had been a Samaritans Listener at his previous prison and found it a very rewarding experience. However, he was unable to continue this at his current prison as the physical environment was less accessible:

> *So, with my disability I could manage to get around. This is a much much more spread around campus. So, for example, listening is now... the door of that is umm... is closed.*

145

Because I need a wheelchair and I have pusher to push me in the wheelchair. And I couldn't… y'know do the 24-hour… 7 days a week, umm… listening if I need somebody to push me there or to go up the stairs and… So, I can't do that. (Peter, 70s)

The challenges relating to activities were not only emphasised by the older men, but also by the prison officers who described their capacity to deliver such activities as somewhat restricted. Financial constraints meant that the prisons had to operate on a restrictive budget, and this sometimes limited what they were able to offer. Alex, for example, emphasised that they had not been allocated any funding for the older men's day centre and therefore relied on the residents to fund it:

It's like the day centre that we're running. I run that a few times a week and it is all self-funded. I said I can do the free games off the internet, so I get questions and do the quizzes for them but everything else is literally tea, coffee, milk, sugar, raffle prizes, are just literally all funded by themselves. (Alex, prison officer)

Whilst the prison officers were limited in what they were able to do, they were also aware that increased provision for older men was needed. This therefore created a tension, with some of the officers expressing frustration at not being able to put more in place:

Our Governor he's trying to make changes, but again, its money, its facilities, stuff like that. So, y'know, I don't think you'll ever change everything cos I just don't think we'd get the finances for it. So, you can only deal with whatever you've got in front of you, really. (Chris, prison officer)

Overall, whilst the availability of suitable ways to occupy the older men's time was shown to be central to their experiences of prison, the nature of the prison climate was often at odds with this.

Care and support

Consistent with the existing literature pertaining to older prisoners as outlined in Chapter Four, both groups of participants emphasised the high prevalence of health and social care needs. Whilst overall health and mobility varied significantly across the participants, there were several in the sample who had particularly complex needs. These included both a variety of chronic conditions, such as diabetes and arthritis, and more acute conditions, including one participant with a neurological disorder and another with acute heart failure. Two participants revealed that they had received heart bypasses not long before entering prison and three of the men used wheelchairs. Prison officers saw the health needs of older men as one of the biggest challenges when working with this population:

> *Medical needs, major challenge. Obviously, we can't do anything medically. Yet there are so many medical needs. You know, some have bottles of oxygen in their cells. Umm some of them take hundreds of pills a day, there's pills everywhere.* (Kevin, prison officer)

Despite the prevalence and severity of some of the men's health issues, both groups of participants emphasised the prison system's struggles to manage this. The prison environment was not only seen as lacking in provision but also restricted by the nature of the regime. Chris, for example, worked in an open prison and felt that they were not equipped to meet the needs of older people:

> *We're catered as a prison, we're not catered, without sounding offensive, but we're not catered as an older people's home. We don't have that... y'know, we have got a bit of social care, but we haven't got that care they'd get out in the community.* (Chris, prison officer)

Social care arrangements were often external to the prison and this led to gaps in provision. For example, care workers were only able to assist those who had been formally assessed and thus could not respond as and when others required assistance. Care provision was also sporadic and

those able to assist with personal care were therefore not always available: in one prison, for example, social care staff only came in twice a day.

As outlined earlier in this chapter, the prison setting could often be unpleasant. As a result of this, some of the accommodation was especially unsuitable for those with complex health needs as the conditions were not conducive to positive health outcomes. One example of this included the presence of damp and/or mould in the cells. Similarly, some of the facilities within the prison were depicted as being in desperate need of updating, particularly in some of the older prison buildings. Issues with heating and hot water, for example, were seemingly commonplace:

> *The cells, because of the type of prison I was in in [city], the cells were very Victorian and old. Basically, I'd say they were well ventilated, so… Y'know what I mean, very cold. Umm y'know, you're restricted to only having one blanket, one sheet. Y'know what I mean, so when it was cold, you were frozen.* (Lewis, 50s)

In addition to inadequate facilities, some prisons were not designed with older people with limited mobility in mind. For example, many cells were unable to fit wheelchairs in and, in some cases, there was a lack of cell availability for those with reduced mobility. Not only was this difficult for the older men with physical accessibility issues but it also posed challenges for the prison officers:

> *If all our spare cells are upstairs and we need to move a prisoner up because we've got a prisoner in a wheelchair coming on, often it's difficult to get a prisoner to move up because their mobility is no better. And then, of course, when you get things like double cells, fortunately we don't have any on here [. . .] you try and put the older prisoners together but then how does one get on the top bunk?* (Ashley, prison officer)

As well as being ill-equipped, some participants felt that the environment actively negatively impacted on the health of older men, particularly those who had served or were serving long sentences. This was attributed to a range of factors including (but not limited to) a lack of stimulation, inconsistent food quality, and reduced opportunities for exercise. Michael, for example, had spent almost 30 years in prison and felt that, as a result, he both looked and felt like someone 20 years his senior. Additionally, some felt that the stress of the environment also had a detrimental effect on their health whilst in prison:

> One of my friends here had a stroke [. . .] between the prison service and his probation they were messing him about something horrible. One said he was gonna get parole and another one said he wasn't gonna get parole. He had high blood pressure, the next time I see him he'd had a stroke, we have no idea how long he was laying on the floor for. [He is] paralysed down one side, can't speak. He's finally got his parole, he had to do another eighteen months in prison. Yeah, rather than be let out. I mean what's he gonna do now?
> (Thomas, 50s)

The nature of the environment also impacted upon the men's care as they often had to wait for prolonged periods to access services. Some of the men reported that their health issues had worsened due to the amount of time they had waited for assistance. For Roger, this had a clear impact on his day to day functioning:

> I have got these hearing aids which don't work very well. I've been waiting two years now to try and see an audiologist, so that particular need isn't dealt with very well [. . .] its restricted me a bit and isolated me a bit because I can't hear a lot of the time what people were saying so I tend now not to talk to people. (Roger, 60s)

The rigidity of the regime and lack of joined up provision also affected the ability to adapt to changing circumstances within the prison. For example, at the start of the Covid-19 pandemic the externally operated social care team were stopped from entering the prison. This meant that those who had been in receipt of support from the team were subsequently left without the care they needed. This again not only had a negative impact for the older men but also the prison officers trying to support them:

I went to a gentleman who, who is, you know, can't control his bowels, he's in a wheelchair. I went to his cell. He hadn't made a mess, but he wears those err… they're like nappies basically? And he didn't have any [. . .] Healthcare, it doesn't come from their budget, it's social care that supply all that sort of stuff. I'm rooting around the wing thinking, well, no… I've gotta give him something, I've gotta try and help him. And all I could find, is them, y'know, the like flat pads that go on the beds in hospitals? Absorbent pads? Big square things and all I could really do was hand him them and shut his door and basically go you're on your own mate. It must… It weren't until later on I went home and I thought, how must he have felt? (Kevin, prison officer)

A particular challenge for both the older men and the prison officers was dementia. Aside from one prison officer who had worked in dementia care prior to becoming a prison officer, the rest had no experience with the condition, with one describing it as a "learning curve". There was uncertainty around both identifying and supporting those with dementia and a lack of provision in terms of assisting them. This was described as demanding:

There's one old boy on the wing, I was chatting to him the other day and y'know he was telling me about how his wife's coming to see him, he kept saying to me, 'can I go home

soon?' And you're like no… not for another five years but he's obviously struggling now to

remember what it was he did to be here in the first place. (Andrew, prison officer)

The environment made it more difficult to respond to individuals with dementia. Jacob had previous experience working in residential care for older people and felt that providing this was more challenging within the prison context. The absence of a unifying policy strategy for managing dementia in prison meant that arrangements were ad hoc and based on staff's judgement. Jacob explained that this often meant going against procedures. For example, he recalled keeping one individual with dementia in the induction unit permanently as there were more staff present to support him and manage his behaviours. However, putting things in place that went against procedure was reported as being arduous with limited provision:

Obviously care home is profiled for umm, you know, helping people with dementia. When

at prison, we don't really have probably enough staff levels, staffing levels, and resources.

Especially in open prison, when, you know, there isn't really [. . .] even like healthcare is

only available in certain hours of the day time. So, it's those little things. (Jacob, prison

officer)

Some prisons were more equipped to manage individuals with dementia than others. Whilst open prisons permit their residents more freedom, with the aim of supporting those soon to re-enter the community, this meant that there was not as much support in place for those with more complex needs. This was explained as having the potential to disadvantage some individuals who may not be able to progress with their sentence in the same way:

If we can't manage it here, we'd have to move him back to a closed prison where there is

a permanent healthcare in the area. And again, it's a detriment to that person, because

it's not their fault they've got dementia, but we're punishing them by throwing them back

into a closed jail where there's all the un-niceties of the umm with the assaults and everything going off around them. (Chris, prison officer)

Managing end of life care was also challenging. It was emphasised, particularly by those who worked in an older men's wing, that natural deaths were a fairly common occurrence. Some of the prison officers found this hard to deal with, particularly when they had built a rapport with the individual:

It can be a little bit upsetting sometime because erm… a couple of months ago I was looking after one of the guys and I used to go in and see him every day and you could see his health deteriorating and then when he passed away, that sorta like left a little bit of a hole. (Alex, prison officer)

Several of the prison officers felt unsupported when managing deaths within the prison, particularly with regard to being given the appropriate space to process these events. Kevin described how after coming back from leave, he was informed that one of the men that he had worked closely with had died. He was expected to carry on with his duties without a second thought or consideration that he might need a moment to process what had happened. Furthermore, managing death was not only difficult for formal staff within the prison. Robert, who worked as a prison carer, was still visibly affected by the death of one of the men he had assisted. He reported feeling that security was prioritised over care and acting in an individual's best interests:

He had the option to go… to a hospice, on the outside hospice. But he refused and said he wanted to stay with his friends. Umm… but come lock-up… he was given a second morphine patch, because he had cancer, he was given a second morphine patch. He wasn't expected to exist for the night. And I did request to stay with him for the evening, with the door open of course, and an officer on standby. Umm… but for security reasons they

wouldn't allow that. Which was a shame really, because it would've been nice just to…

y'know sit there and hold his hand until he actually went. (Robert, 50s)

Generally, it was evident from the interviews with the officers that the lack of provision for the older men presented many challenges in their work and most of the time they felt like they were having to "muddle through" in the absence of a formal strategy for caring for older men. Two of the officers interviewed had previously worked in health and social care settings. Other interviewees, however, felt very unprepared to work with older people and emphasised that, in the absence of formal training, they were required to learn on the job:

*You have no training whatsoever [. . .] there's no formal training to work on [older men's wing]. Your name is picked out of a hat. You would work in, I don't know, doing escorts all the time and then suddenly you're put on here for the next three years and **it's sink or swim**.* (Ashley, prison officer, emphasis added)

One of the solutions to the lacking provision for those with high levels of need was the creation of peer carer schemes as described in Chapter Four. This involved employing other, more able-bodied, men within the prison to work as prison carers and wheelchair pushers to bridge the gaps in care:

We're very reliant on prisoners doing a lot of the work for us, so we have an on-wing care team umm of trusted prisoners. They'll be slightly younger, fitter, mobile and they'll help, they'll clean the prisoner's cell if he's unable to, they'll be wheelchair pushing and stuff like that. And they're invaluable to us. (Ashley, prison officer)

The reliance on other men in the prison to help manage those with more complex needs was sometimes viewed as a deflection of responsibility from the prison system. This was reported as being another source of resentment towards the prison officers:

It can be frustrating for me, as well as for them, when you've got no care and support from the actual staff. As, far as they're concerned, well, you're the DLO [disability liaison officer], you get on with it, it's your job. [. . .] unless somebody's threatening to kill somebody else then… the staff don't wanna know. (Robert, 50s)

Overall, the ability to provide for older prisoners was constrained by the nature of the prison environment which was ill-equipped to respond to their age-related needs. It is clear from the material discussed above that this not only had negative implications for the men but also posed practical and emotional difficulties for prison officers.

"Different prison, different atmosphere"

While the overall picture that emerged from the interviews was that the harsh nature of the prison environment often led to poor provision for older men, there was also recognition from participants that the extent of this varied both across and within prisons. As outlined in the preceding chapters of this thesis, there is currently no national policy strategy regarding the management of older men in prison. As a result, it has been suggested that provision for older people in prison, particularly social care, can be considered somewhat of a 'postcode lottery' (see HMI Prisons & CQC, 2018). During the interviews it became clear that whilst some establishments had implemented particular initiatives or approaches relating to older prisoners, this was not consistent. The extent of the issues highlighted above therefore tended to vary.

Both the older men and the prison officers asserted that the management, general atmosphere and attitudes of staff profoundly differed from prison to prison. The suitability of an establishment for older people therefore varied in line with this. Indeed, the men reported highly differing and inconsistent experiences across their sentences. Generally, it was emphasised that

some prisons had more of an awareness of the needs of older prisoners and had endeavoured to implement more age-related provision as a result. Similarly, many of the initiatives described by the participants were run by third sector organisations and therefore not available consistently across the prison estate.

The climate could also profoundly differ across different types of prison. Category B local prisons were described as particularly hostile and hard to cope with. As these prisons serve the courts and hold individuals on remand or post-conviction, the older men reported a higher prevalence of anger and violence and found the atmosphere particularly threatening. This exacerbated the challenges the participants described when entering prison, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Differences were also noted in the comparison of public and private sector prisons. Some of the men echoed arguments within the existing literature relating to private sector prisons prioritising profit over provision (as discussed in Chapter Two). Bernard, for example, recalled issues with staffing at a former private sector prison:

> *A private prison is totally different, totally different. And y'know, to me, people shouldn't*
>
> *be allowed to make money on incarcerating people [. . .] Some of the officers, well, they're*
>
> *not officers, are they? They're security guards [. . .] they were putting guys together that*
>
> *they know don't get on. They put them in the same cell to get them to fight. Y'know, not*
>
> *very good.* (Bernard, 60s, released)

In some prisons, however, efforts had been made by staff to make them more hospitable for older men. Kevin, for example, worked at a prison which endeavoured to make the establishment more appropriate for older men as a result of having a more ageing population:

> *I was doing like the first night interviews and that's when you really see them, like petrified*
>
> *people and you're trying to explain, 'look, you're at [prison] now, it's different'. You know,*

155

'you're gonna be alright, you'll come on to the induction wing and we'll get you over to one of the OAP wings as soon as space is available'. (Kevin, prison officer)

One result of such variation across the prison estate was that older men could end up with highly differing experiences and treatment dependent on which prison they were sent to. This variation not only pertained to the atmosphere within the prison, but also the quality of care available. As mentioned earlier, some prisons were much more accessible than others and those with mobility issues could therefore be particularly disadvantaged at older establishments. The availability of peer carer schemes was also not universal and dependent on what prison the men were sent to.

There was also a high degree of variation reported in terms of health care provision. Whilst the participants who were in prison at the time of interview stressed that they felt the healthcare department in their current prison was very good, this was not the case at previous prisons they had been to:

I've had more visits to the umm… cardiac nurse and visits to the doctor since I've been here in 6 months than I had in the 3 years while I was in [former privately managed prison]. (Anon)

I ended up receiving the wrong medication, and I said, 'I don't take this, this is not for me'. And they'd got me mixed up with another prisoner and that's a terrible thing to do, you know. I mean, it was rectified within about a week. But for that week, you know I was having to, you know, go without my medication, which isn't ideal. You know, when you've got high blood pressure problems. (James, 70s, released)

Provision for older men not only varied from one prison to another but also from wing to wing. As highlighted earlier, the majority of the older men asserted their preference to be located on age segregated wings away from younger men. Wings for older people, however, were seen as

'privileged' environments and not available at all prisons. Or where they were available there would not always be enough space to keep up with demand:

> *The only problem is that there is always a long waiting list for that particular unit and there is loads of prisoners interested. Because on the induction unit there's always older prisoners who always ask straight away, 'can I go somewhere with older people? I don't want to be around young people'. That's a really common thing you know.* (Jacob, prison officer)

Taken together, this section highlights the way in which provision for older men was highly variable across the prison estate. Whilst there were some examples of good practice and an awareness of a need to implement more initiatives for the ageing prison population, this was described as highly inconsistent. This may, in part, stem from the lack of a national policy strategy. In the absence of unifying guidance on how the needs of older people should be responded to, the availability of age-related provision is reliant on efforts made on a local level.

Summary

This chapter has provided an insight into the day-to-day challenges within the prison environment for both the older men and prison officers working with them. Overall, the environment was described as harsh and inhospitable and thus not conducive to meeting their needs. This was worsened by the rigid and inflexible nature of the regime as well as the lack of resources within the prison system more generally. This led to the prisons generally being ill-equipped to care for the men specifically as older prisoners. Although there were many instances of good practice, with some prisons making efforts to adapt, this was not a straightforward process and institutional constraints presented further challenges for prison officers. Similarly, provision was not consistent and highly varied depending on what prison and

157

even what wing the older men were sent to. This highlights the detrimental impact of the lack

of a formal policy structure for the management of older prisoners. Finally, it is also notable that

some of these institutional constraints led to resentment towards prison officers, a point that

will be discussed further in Chapter Eight.

Chapter 7: Managing threatened identities

Introduction

This chapter presents findings that relate to how the older men navigated their identities in the context of the challenging prison environment described in the previous chapter. The findings indicate that the combination of ageing and imprisonment acted as threats to both the men's masculine and moral identities. Attention is also paid to the way in which the older men's sense of 'home' was lost when coming into prison and how this was exacerbated by the harshness of the prison setting. In light of this, several compensatory identity strategies are shown to have been adopted by the older men in order to defend against these threats. Some strategies, however, appeared to be more helpful in terms of regaining a positive sense of self and allowing the older men to make sense of their changing circumstances more constructively. The availability of such coping strategies is also considered. Some of the strategies drawn on by the participants appear to have been aided and/or constrained by their pre-prison identities and individual circumstances. As a result, some older men are shown to possess more options in their ability to defend against threats and emphasise socially valued identities.

Reaffirming and reworking ageing masculinities

Echoing the characterisation of prison masculinities in the existing literature (see Chapter Three), the prison environment was described as a hypermasculine space. Within this, a particular standard of masculinity must be enacted in order to successfully navigate prison life and avoid victimisation. Physical strength, toughness and, to some extent, displays of aggression were described by the older men as being necessary to negotiate the environment safely:

If you start walking around with your head down and that, you're a victim straight away. Some creep will come and pick on you. But if you walk around, even if you're not a nasty person, like you belong here and this is nothing new, they leave you alone. (Bernard, 60s, released)

This standard of behaviour, however, was described as being associated with the younger men in the prison who were generally viewed as being unruly, disruptive, volatile, and at times, threatening. Here, it is important to consider that younger men are overrepresented within the prison system. Subsequently, the normative conventions of masculinity were defined by them. This was described as challenging by the participants who were required to enact a masculine identity that was less available to them as older people. One example of this was the extent to which they were able to embody masculinity:

It's that fight or flight scenario, does come to you sometimes. Yeah, so are you gonna run or are you gonna fight? Yeah, and that, the problem is a sixty-three-year-old won't have a lot of impact against someone who's thirty and has been working out at the gym in theory. (Thomas, 60s)

The need to perpetuate physical power is particularly significant in light of arguments within the existing literature. These suggest that fading physical strength and muscularity can be seen to undermine older men's masculine identity (Coles and Vassarotti, 2012; Whitehead, 2002; see Chapter Three). This also chimes with Maycock's (2018) arguments around the importance of embodied 'hardness' in the prison environment in signifying masculine power and defending oneself against potential violence. Indeed, those who described feeling less able to defend themselves physically (and therefore less able to embody such masculinity) emphasised feelings of vulnerability:

I'm very wary of the younger inmates, erm… 'cos some of 'em can kick off now and then

like. Y'know… and err I'm not as fit as I used to be like. But umm… I wouldn't say I give 'em

a wide berth but I'm wary of 'em. (Charles, 60s)

It is important to re-emphasise that, as highlighted in the previous chapter, some of the

participants had significant health concerns, reduced mobility and were frail. In an environment

where such importance is placed on the way in which masculinities are embodied, the challenges

for these men were particularly heightened.

Overall, across the narratives there was a sense of tension as the older men described having to

grapple with the hypermasculine behaviours aligned with the younger men in the prison. As

these were depicted as being less available to them as older men, a sense of strain became

apparent. This appeared to pose a threat to their masculine identity. In order to defend against

such threats, the men employed several compensatory strategies to both reaffirm and

reconstruct their masculinities. These strategies are discussed in the following sections.

"A different class of prisoner" – creating a mature masculine identity in prison

One of the ways in which the older men tried to mitigate the prison environment's threats to

their masculine identity was by positioning themselves as distinct from the younger prisoners.

This was done by presenting themselves as mature and civilised, in contrast to the perceived

immature and unruly conduct of younger men within the prison. Across the interviews, they

differentiated their behaviour from that of their younger peers, emphasising what they

perceived to be a calm and dignified demeanour:

We don't stick our heads out the window screaming and shouting, we don't run down the corridor f'ing and blinding at each other, yeah, we don't walk around as if we are plastic gangsters, do you know what I mean? (Thomas, 60s)

When reflecting on the differences in their behaviour and attitude, these were explained in reference to younger prisoners' bravado. The older men saw this as the younger men trying to cultivate and maintain a particular image in order to be respected. This was often condemned and regarded as juvenile and immature:

They're on the unit blaring out their music, they're swagging around, they've got their chests puffed out like chickens, you know what I mean? (Martin, 50s released)

I feel the younger ones seem to use prison as, I don't know if it's a millennial thing or what, but it seems to be like some kind of status. Like a badge [. . .] 'I'm a bad boy, I've got this award, don't come near me or else I'm gonna hurt you', sort of attitude. (Lewis, 50s)

Across the narratives it was often stressed by the older men that they did not need to 'prove' their manhood as this was something they had matured beyond. They instead placed importance on behaving respectfully and responsibly. This is something that has been noted within the existing literature and has been suggested to mean that older prisoners are 'indifferent' to masculinity (Mann, 2012; see Chapter Three). Rather than being indifferent, the participants were able to re-define and resist the dominant discourses relating to masculinity within the prison by positioning themselves as sage and mature. They asserted that life experience had given them a maturity where they no longer felt that they needed to behave in this way. This enabled them to present a wise masculine identity:

There's a lot of… it's all about image for the younger ones. Umm… with the older ones, all that's gone by the board now. We don't even, don't care about that. (Robert, 50s)

As highlighted in the previous chapter, the majority of the participants emphasised their preference to be in the company of people their own age. This was partly on a practical level due to increased feelings of safety. However, being in the company of other older prisoners also allowed them to share common interests and talking points. Furthermore, it allowed them to solidify their position as mature and civilised older prisoners. The majority of the participants who were in prison at the time of interview were residing in an age segregated wing. For these men, there was a sense that this acted as an affirming environment which encouraged what they deemed to be respectable behaviour, thus reinforcing the masculine identity they had cultivated:

> *Being on the older wing, that's… that's great. I'm… I'm very happy there, because I've got people around me who are in my vintage and we can share stories of… y'know not exactly war stories but we can tell stories of the umm 1940's and 1950's and whatever. And umm… we have a lot more, in a sense, in common.* (Peter, 70s)

The older men's wing was referred to as a "different world" and was depicted as allowing them to create their own culture within the prison.

Despite the perceived differences between themselves and the younger men, the participants felt that their treatment from the prison service often did not reflect this distinctness. The features of their surroundings acted as a reminder that, despite how they viewed themselves, they were still prisoners within the same system:

> *All these high fences everywhere [. . .] No 80-year-old is going to vault walls and escape! The security you know, what?! These guys aren't going to run away or escape, maybe the younger ones might.* (Jack, 70s)

Whilst the older men were keen to position themselves as distinct, their capacity to do this was hindered by the inherent nature of the prison environment.

"I just have to get on with it"

Whilst the men worked to redefine the notions of manhood within the prison environment, they also simultaneously reaffirmed discourses relating to traditional masculinity. This was done by giving importance to strength and courage. Another strategy the men adopted to defend against threats to their masculine identity was to thus engage in stoic and sometimes even avoidant coping mechanisms. When reflecting on the adversities they had encountered within the prison environment, the men often reported experiencing feelings of frustration, helplessness and distress. However, it was common for them to later contradict their earlier sentiment and minimise the impact this had on them. Peter, for example, recalled some upsetting instances in a former prison where he had been harassed by younger residents. At the same time, he spoke stoically about his ability to cope with these incidents:

> *I was anxious and so that sort of thing in a sense, made you a little bit more anxious. Made you a little bit more vulnerable. Umm… But err… As far as that was concerned, **I learnt to live with it**. I was only there for two months*. (Peter, 70s, emphasis added)

As indicted in the excerpt above, and indeed across the men's narratives, there was a sense of the participants wanting to highlight their perseverance. This allowed them to emphasise their resolve and reject weakness. This was also present when the men reflected on their ability to cope with prison more generally. Some of the men stressed their ability to handle prison life, despite this often contradicting earlier comments made during the interview. This sometimes felt forced:

> *Int: You said that you think prison can be a bit rough earlier?*

Roger: Yes.

Int: So, would you say that there's been rough points?

Roger: No, for me, no.

Presenting themselves as stoic allowed the men to portray a masculine self in the absence of other means to accomplish this. This echoes existing literature that suggests older men may project a 'sturdy oak' masculinity. This refers to the ability to endure and be resilient in the face of hardship and allows men to mitigate age-related threats to manhood (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016; see Chapter Three). In this case, with these challenges further compounded by the nature of the prison environment, this strategy may be of particular importance.

As evidenced by the findings presented thus far, several of the older men were keen to avoid seeming 'weak'. However, they did not choose to omit the difficulties they had faced in the prison environment. Instead, it seemed that their acknowledgment of these difficulties aided their ability to present themselves as tough and capable older men. One of the ways they did this was by emphasising how they were more resilient than other older prisoners:

It miffs you when, you… I can handle it, but a lot, I can see a lot of the older ones, it does get them down. It really does get them down. (Jack, 70s)

Whilst the men were often limited in their ability to embody the dominant form of masculinity within the prison, they were able to reaffirm ideas relating to traditional masculinity in other ways. This was most often achieved through emotional stoicism and their ability to present themselves as resilient older people, drawing on discourses of strength and toughness.

Whilst the extent to which the older men emphasised a stoic masculine self varied, attempts to avoid being seen as weak or vulnerable were common across the narratives. Discourses around being strong and remaining positive in the face of adversity may have been helpful for the men in some respects, the long-term feasibility of this strategy and possible impacts this could have for the men should be considered. For example, the need to present themselves as strong could affect their desire to seek help or ask for assistance. Similarly, those with mental ill health and/or limited social support may find this strategy difficult to employ. Lewis, who became very distressed during his interview, was unable to portray a stoic self and this appeared to be challenging for him:

> *Y'know… and a lot of things happened, err… which ended up with me committing my crime that I committed. And then ending up in here and then the divorce. So, my life in prison was losing everything. I feel so isolated and alone in here. I feel no one cares for you anymore.* (Lewis, 50s)

Resisting stigma

The older men also reflected upon grappling with the acquisition of a stigmatised or 'spoiled identity' (see Goffman, 1963; Crawley & Sparks, 2005). This stigma was associated with a perceived loss of status and societal respect. This not only compounded the threats to the older men's masculinities but also compromised their moral identities. It should be noted that the majority of the older men interviewed had been convicted of sexual offences. For these men, threats to their sense of moral identity were particularly pronounced:

> *It is the worst. You are the worst. You are less than, much less than a murderer, much less than drug pushers, as an older prisoner who's been accused of sex offences.* (Peter, 70s)

That being said, the men stressed that there was a stereotype that older prisoners had committed sexual offences against children. Regardless of their offence, this was seen to affect how they were perceived both within prison and in the community:

> *Straight away they turn around and says, 'wasn't in for any kids or anything like that, was it?' And I'm going, 'nah, it wasn't anything to do with children or anything like that.' They automatically think and have assumptions based on a 50-year-old bloke, just come out of prison.* (Michael, 50s, released)

This label was sometimes described as defining their interactions with others within the prison setting. Some of the men reported feeling "vilified" and recalled harassment from other residents. This included receiving death threats and being spat at. This was compounded by how they felt they were viewed by prison officers:

> *You heard it occasionally when you heard them talking amongst themselves, you heard them go 'oh, load of nonces' and all this type of thing, not knowing what some of us are in here for.* (Stanley, 70s)

The men not only had to cope with the way they were viewed and treated by others but also had to manage their own self-concept. Some struggled to come to terms with their offence and the harm they had caused, often reflecting on feelings of guilt and shame:

> *I feel that everyone hates me. Y'know. The whole world hates me. I hate myself [starts to cry] … I literally hate myself for what I done.* (Lewis, 50s)

It is particularly notable that the majority of the older men who were interviewed had entered prison in later life and for the first time. The acquisition of a stigmatised identity appeared particularly pronounced for these men. There was a sense that their imprisonment threatened

long-standing and fully formed moral identities which they had developed within the community:

> *You haven't changed but the way you are perceived has changed, being perceived you are now an anathema where you weren't before even though you're the same person [. . .] we don't go out with a bell shouting out 'unclean unclean' but as near as damn it.* (Ralph, 80s)

This was also seen as heightened for those who had been convicted of historic offences that had occurred many years ago. Such challenges were also reflected upon and recognised by the prison officers:

> *With the old guys, a lot of them are here for historic crimes. So, they've done their crimes sort of 20, 30 years ago and then it sorta like comes to light. So, to them, they've lived a law-abiding life for 20, 30 years and then all of a sudden, they've been called a convicted sex offender and they find that a bit hard*. (Alex, prison officer)

As outlined in the introduction to the empirical findings, some of the older men's lives were depicted as being defined by professional success. Their conviction was therefore associated with a marked loss of status. These men reported experiencing a 'fall from grace', with their reputation being tarnished:

> *When you're used to the sort of life that I was living. It's like… It sounds arrogant, but I don't mean it to sound arrogant. It's like going from **hero to zero**, you know.* (James, 70s, released, emphasis added)

Taken together, the excerpts detailed here indicate that in addition to the threats posed to the older men's masculine identities, their convictions and experiences in prison had also compromised their sense of moral identity. In response to this, two strategies were employed in

order to present a socially valued self and reclaim a sense of moral identity: emphasising agency and responsibility, and derogating stigma.

Emphasising agency and responsibility: *"I'm a model prisoner"*

The first strategy that some of the older men drew on to reassert a sense of moral identity was by emphasising independence and activity. This enabled them to present themselves as conscientious and responsible older prisoners. One of the ways in which this was done was by highlighting health and fitness. Despite most of the participants expressing that they felt there were limited opportunities to keep fit and healthy (as highlighted in the previous chapter), some asserted that they were in good health and remained active:

> *I've also had help with physiotherapy and instructions on keeping fit. I'm fitter now than I've ever been. Because I think I am almost unique in doing regular exercise routines. But anyway, I keep myself fairly fit and probably as fit as I would do if I was on the outside, maybe fitter.* (Ralph, 80s)

For some of the men, remaining active in prison was often spoken about in terms of keeping busy. Participants commonly expressed that keeping themselves occupied helped pass their time. There was also a sense that emphasising their busyness provided them with a means of presenting themselves as 'successful' older men. Pertinent to this are the themes discussed in Chapter Two, where it is argued that discourses related to ageing 'successfully' centre around remaining active and independent. Responsibility for this is generally placed on the individual. By presenting themselves as active older people, the participants were able to emphasise socially valued qualities:

> *Again, I was very active [at previous prison]. I was in full-time employment, I was in the tailor's workshop in the morning, I was classroom assistant in the afternoon. I was*

programme's peer mentor. And I also took active part in the umm… in the err… in the

induction process [. . .] So, I was active, very active in the community. (Robert, 50s)

Giving importance to productivity and busyness thus provided the older men with a way to resist the stigmatised identity they had acquired and reassert a moral self. This also echoes what has been termed the 'big wheel' discourse within the existing literature. This refers to the way in which older men may reconfigure the 'breadwinning' masculine identity by emphasising productivity and achievements in the absence of paid work (Thompson and Langendoerfer, 2016; see Chapter Three).

There was often a sense in the interviews that the men not only wanted to portray themselves as 'successful' ageing men but also as accomplished prisoners. Several of the participants prided themselves on being "model prisoners". Navigating prison was framed as a personal endeavour rooted in individual responsibility and choice, with value placed upon self-reliance and independence. Emphasising their achievements and 'constructive' use of their time thus allowed the men to reassert a claim to a moral identity as active agents. Success in prison was constructed as an individual choice:

*Prison is what you make it in the end, it can be rough but **if you want to try and make it** **better then you can** if, I think I have proved myself that like becoming a Red Band and having the sort of trust* (Roger, 70s, emphasis added)

Similarly, Edward spoke about this in terms of personal perspective:

*I always say it, people shouldn't knock prison until you've been in prison. It is a bit like umm it's how you view it really. I mean, I view it almost like an umm retreat**, it's a sabbatical,** it's a time to really reflect on where I've gone wrong.* (Edward, 50s, emphasis added)

The idea that prison acts as a period of reflection or a 'sabbatical' was not shared across participants, however. Instead, conceptions of prison were shown to be dependent on individual circumstances. Edward, one of the younger men, was serving a relatively short sentence and in good health. It was his first time in prison, and he had already retired from a successful and high-paid career with a significant private pension waiting for him upon release. Similarly, he was planning on returning to his family home with his wife and children. For him, time in prison had caused limited disruption to his life and was depicted more as a 'blip'. As such, he was able to frame his time in prison as a 'sabbatical' in a way that wasn't available to other men. Edward held more of what has been termed within the existing literature as identity capital (Côté, 1996). Broadly, this idea relates to the extent to which individuals hold resources which assist with the construction of socially valued identities in the face of adverse experiences.

Michael, on the other hand, had served a very long sentence and developed post-traumatic stress disorder during his time in prison. As a result, he seemingly lacked the resources at Edward's disposal, and was unable to frame his experience positively. The long-term impact of imprisonment meant he was less able to recount his time in prison in terms of positive growth:

> *Prison can actually take more from you than what you've ever taken in society. Like I say, for instance, I got done for robbery, right. Now, I did robberies to get money. It doesn't matter, I could have robbed a million pound and what prison took away from me as a person mentally and physically, could never ever be valued up to that million. It's got to be 10 times that.* (Michael, 50s, released)

The framing of prison as a time for self-improvement was also present when many of the participants spoke about their achievements. Many of the older men emphasised their engagement in prison education and highlighted their successes. This tended to be more

pronounced for those who had esteemed professional careers before they went to prison. For these men, they depicted prison as giving them time to 'get around to' things they had not had time for in their busy working lives. Their pre-prison identities thus afforded them more cultural capital in comparison to others. Consequently, these men had greater resources at their disposal with which to reassert a moral identity:

> *I found myself in the situation I wanted to write down the stories of my own life umm and I've done that. This is through basically advancing these courses, the creative writing courses. Which I wouldn't have done otherwise and quite interesting to look back on things and write stories which have, there's a system where they, you can put them in for prizes and I get lots of prizes.* (Ralph, 80s)

The ability to frame prison in terms of achievement was less available to some men. George, for example, was visually impaired and his disability left him unable to take part in many activities. This resulted in him holding less identity capital in comparison to some of the other men. As such, he was unable to emphasise accomplishments in the same way:

> *I normally go and sit out on the wing. I have a chap that I play chess with, but I do find it difficult because I have a job to see the chess pieces. They're about as big as my little finger, the chess pieces. And I have to sort of keep looking at them from different angles to see what I'm looking at. But I can't play pool or snooker or anything like that because I can't see the balls properly. And I can't play dominos or cards or anything or scrabble.* (George, 70s)

For George, there were fewer opportunities to engage in activities that provided a sense of achievement. As a result, he was less able to frame his time in prison as an opportunity for self-improvement and draw upon the strategies adopted by the other participants.

Some participants were also more able to emphasise self-sufficiency and independence than others. As discussed in Chapter Three, these qualities are often given value within dominant discourses relating to ageing. Presenting themselves in this way appeared to allow the participants to distance themselves from deplored notions of dependence for older people and thus occupy a positive sense of self. For example, when asked how he felt his needs were met in prison, Charles responded:

Umm… how can I say, I'm a bit self-sufficient anyway. If you know what I mean. (Charles, 60s)

Again, this was less available to some of the participants. Frank, who needed use of a wheelchair, was constrained in his ability to present himself self-reliant:

The bed's high and you have to be so careful that… because err umm… the [wheel]chairs can't get in the cell [. . .] I have to sit on the bed, and I have to try and dress while I'm on the bed, y'know what I mean? Because I can't stand for more than a few seconds at a time. (Frank, 80s)

A sense of resignation permeated the reflections of those less able to frame their experience of prison in constructive and positive terms. Regarding this, the way in which some of the men's needs as older people were not met (as discussed in the previous chapter) should be considered. This further constrained their ability to present themselves as active and 'successful'. George explained during the interview that he had an ulcer on his leg. This had worsened due to inattention from healthcare staff and prevented him from walking and "getting around". His attitude towards his situation was one of acquiescence:

I was getting it dressed one day and then it wouldn't be dressed for a week or more, then another day, and then two days running. And it wasn't satisfactory, it was getting bigger

and bigger and bigger [. . .] ***I wasn't very happy about it but what can you do?*** (George,

70s, emphasis added)

Taken together, the excerpts above highlight the ways in which some of the older men held more

identity capital within the prison than others. Based on this, some appeared more able to

reassert a sense of both moral and masculine identity by drawing upon discourses around

activity and responsibility. This allowed them to present themselves as both 'successful' older

men and 'successful' prisoners, enabling them to resist the threats posed to their identities by

stigma. However, as highlighted throughout this section, this was not equally available to all of

the older men. Health, mobility, individual circumstances, and pre-prison identities were all

central in the participants' ability to frame their time in a challenging prison environment

positively. Subsequently, the capacity to mitigate threats to their identity and resist stigma was

not equally available across the older men.

Derogating stigma: "*We're not as bad as everyone thinks*"

Another strategy for resisting stigma and attempting to reclaim a sense of moral identity was by

derogating the sources of stigma and reducing the threat posed to their sense of self. One of the

ways this was done was by challenging the dominant pejorative rhetoric in relation to prisoners.

This was especially pronounced for those convicted of sexual offences where there was an

awareness of both dominant public and media rhetoric. As outlined in Chapter Two, these

individuals are often characterised as 'evil'. The men stressed their rejection of being seen as

'bad' people and related this to what was perceived as a highly punitive sentiment within public

opinion:

My brother's wife would say, somebody like me should be put against a wall and shot until

she met somebody like me. Until she goes, 'actually, you're my husband's brother and

you're a really nice guy and yet you've done this, so I need to rethink the way I think.'

(Edward, 50s)

Like Edward, many of the participants felt misrepresented or misunderstood. It seemed important for them and their moral identities to reject misconceptions and challenge stigma. One of the main frustrations from the participants was the portrayal of prison as a "holiday camp". This was often attributed to how prison is referred to in the mainstream media:

I think really in the press, the 'oh, they've got televisions in their room, they got this, that and the other!' And they'll probably go 'woah! Take it off 'em!' and all that. Umm… Perhaps they should come to prison for a few months and see what it's like. That might change their opinion a bit like. (Charles, 60s)

The derogation of stigma also took more unsettling and troubling forms. This included some of the older men minimising their offences and describing themselves as victims of unfair treatment by the criminal justice system:

When you go through it, the system, you suddenly find out that hang on that's not right. Umm the example I give you the, who are, for a sex crime as it stands now, this idea about innocence until proven guilty, forget it, forget any of that at all. (Stanley, 70s)

This seemed to allow some of the men to distance themselves from the stigma and thus reduce threats to their moral identity. Similarly, some of the men convicted of sexual offences would deflect blame onto their victims:

Mine happened thirty year ago and I can't even prove my innocence it's her word against mine, yeah, there's no evidence whatsoever but the jury have been told 'you have to believe that woman, it happened, you have to believe it happened.' (Thomas, 60s)

Whilst the majority of the men emphasised their guilt and the shame they felt, some vehemently denied their offence. This aligns with existing research on older men convicted of sexual offences (Mann, 2012b). Others, however, found this difficult to navigate. They asserted that denial was not a helpful strategy for those individuals:

> *You know, a lot of the guys are just… There are those that say they're innocent, those that think they're innocent, and obviously everything's against them. So, when you ask them how they are, they're very much downbeat because they shouldn't be here in the first place and whatever.* (Jack, 70s)

The men drew on two strategies to resist stigma and maintain a moral identity: emphasising agency and responsibility, and derogating stigma. The former appeared to provide a more constructive and helpful way of navigating the identity threats posed by both ageing and being in prison. The ability to engage in this strategy, however, appeared to be constrained by individual circumstances. This was particularly salient for those possessing fewer resources, or identity capital, with which to do this (Côté, 1996).

Bounded identities – losing and recreating 'home'

As highlighted earlier, the majority of participants entered prison in later life. The findings presented in Chapter Six indicate that this was experienced as a "shock to the system". The men were not only forced to adapt to a harsh and complex environment but also had to contend with the loss of their previous social and material environment. Across the narratives there was a sense that this loss challenged their pre-prison identities and a sense of personhood. This echoes the existing literature which has suggested that space and place are significant in the maintenance of older peoples' identities (see for example Peace, Kellaher and Holland, 2006;

Falk et al., 2012). Peter reminisced about his way of life before prison. He anticipated that this would be lost upon re-entry into the community and found this difficult:

> *My old friends- I used to go every morning, for coffee every morning umm I'd get up early and then until about quarter to eight, quarter to nine umm… we'd meet or half past eight we'd meet at the local coffee shop and we'd… Bit like last of the summer wine really. Y'know. We'd all be sitting down and drinking and joking. That probably won't happen anymore* (Peter, 70s)

Some participants also struggled to come to terms with the loss of connections to their past which were described as anchoring their pre-prison identities. This was especially pronounced for those whose imprisonment had forced them to leave a house that they had lived in for many years. Ralph, for example, had left his home of thirty years. Several of the participants also commented that they had lost important and meaningful possessions in the process of leaving their homes and entering prison:

> *But I have no family, no photos [starts to cry]. Nothing. Nothing of my past. Nothing. Nothing at all [crying] [. . .]* **I've got no history.** *I've got my belt, which I've had for years and my Omega watch is in reception, but apart from that, I've got nothing, nothing from my past. Nothing.* (Jack, 70s, emphasis added)

The losses experienced by the men chimes with Paddock et al.'s (2019) concept of 'bounded identities' experienced by older people entering residential care. They posit that the home encourages the expression of personal identities, which are then restricted within the care home setting. This can be helpful in making sense of the losses posed by the prison environment for the older men:

> *[INT: How did you find entering prison?] Horrendous. As I say, it was almost dream like. It was as if it wasn't really happening to me and you're just processed. You know, you go in*

and you're literally stripped of your identity. You're given a number. And umm you go through a humiliating process. (James, 70s, released)

This also echoes with what Goffman (1961) termed the process of 'mortification' (as discussed in Chapter Three), in which those entering institutions are stripped of their identity equipment. The participants were constrained in their ability to engage with pre-prison identities due to the losses associated with entering prison. The loss of home was also compounded by unpleasant prison conditions (discussed in the previous chapter) and the reduced feelings of decency associated with this environment.

In order to combat these threats to their personhood there was a sense that the men were attempting to emulate normality when talking about their life in prison and navigating the associated adversities. Roger reflected on how he managed long periods locked in his cell:

I just treat it as a day in like you would at home and think 'oh I'll have a day in today and watch the telly' or do a bit of this and a bit of clearing up or clean the cell and sometimes I just rip all the cell out and put it on my bed and wash it all by hand and dust it all down and just give it a good old spring clean. (Roger, 60s)

The engagement in domestic chores as one would in the home again chimes with the existing literature pertaining to older people entering residential care settings. It has been argued that engaging in housework allows older people to create a sense of attachment to place (Falk et al., 2012).

In the interviews, the cell was often presented in a comforting and homely way and I often got a sense that the older men were trying to emulate a sense of 'home' within the prison

environment. Some of the participants were very creative in doing this and even made furniture for their cell:

> *I've made a cardboard armchair which I rest against. It's like five layers of cardboard you see, it's thick. So, with one flap [folds paper to demonstrate] I can put it up against the wall that like. Then I can put my pillow up against it and I can sit on that just like an armchair, my toes there. I fall asleep half past nine.* (Jack, 70s)

Others spoke about the creation of homely routines which evoked a sense of belonging and a means of connecting with the space:

> *We even poach our eggs in the kettle. We get the toast made up in the kitchen. And then you just poach your eggs in the little- it's like a little cup [mumbles] and you just put a little bit of butter and you break the egg in there and you let the kettle boil. Only takes about a couple of minutes [. . .] it's… It's little things like that.* (Frank, 80s)

Overall, the loss of their existing material and social environment prior to prison appeared to limit both the men's connections to their personal identities as older people and to a sense of personhood. Attempts to try and emulate normality and a sense of 'home' within the prison were therefore adopted as a way of coping with the environment.

Summary

This chapter has explored the ways in which older men navigated threatened masculine and moral identities as well as a sense of personhood within the prison environment. It highlights the resourcefulness of this group to make sense of and reconfigure their identities and suggests that older men do draw on existing discourses in relation to ageing that are present in the community. These included re-affirming yet also redefining dominant discourses in relation to

179

ageing masculinities and what it means to be a 'successful' older person. However, it is also apparent that the ability to draw on these discourses may be more challenging within the prison environment, and some are better equipped to do this than others based on the identity resources or capital at their disposal.

Chapter 8: Navigating relationships

Introduction

This chapter presents empirical findings in relation to how the older men experienced relationships with people both outside and within the prison. Whilst experiences of relationships were generally varied, challenges to forming and maintaining relational ties were a consistent theme across the men's narratives. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first explores the factors which constrained the men's interpersonal relationships with family in the community and other residents, and the resulting challenges to social connectedness. The second section moves on to explore the men's experiences with prison officers: more specifically, how they felt they require a different and more respectful approach than that which they often received. Furthermore, some officers were described as being more adaptable and able to facilitate this than others. This section also draws heavily on prison officers' accounts which echo the perspectives of the older men.

Navigating constrained relationships and challenges to social connectedness

Family

When asked about their relationships outside of prison, participants tended to focus on their experiences and contact with family members. Involvement and support from family varied significantly across the participants. Some described their relationship with family in quite perfunctory terms. Ralph, for instance, defined his relationship with his niece in a functional manner which focused upon the practical help she provided managing his affairs outside of prison. Other men, however, emphasised the extent to which their families provided emotional support:

> *I felt very humbled by their love and their encouragement. And umm… They've been excellent. They visit me regularly and I speak to them regularly on the phone. So, I'm one of the lucky ones, really.* (Peter, 70s)

For Peter, his family's support was vital. He would often seek advice and guidance from his wife and children on various matters in relation to how to navigate the challenging prison climate. For example, consulting with them when he was struggling with low mood and discussing what steps he could take to improve his wellbeing. This appeared to be essential in helping him cope with his life in prison.

Support from family not only helped the men to cope with their present circumstances; the enduring nature of the relationship also provided comfort when thinking of the future and release from prison (explored further in Chapter Nine). Connections to family provided social support which enabled the men to manage their time in prison and optimised their ability to 'get by', echoing the notion of social capital in the existing literature (Bourdieu, 1986; Briggs, 1998; see Chapter Three). For these men, there tended to be a stronger sense of hope for life after prison:

> *I'm lucky because I've got my children, so I am never gonna be… you know what I mean, I'm lucky, I've got a strong family and they are still with me. You know what I mean, that they will be with me.* (Thomas, 50s)

Both Peter and Thomas described themselves as 'lucky' as many of their peers' relationships with family members had deteriorated over time. Here, it is important to emphasise that most of the participants had been convicted of sexual offences. This mirrors the older prison population more generally, in which those convicted of a sexual offence are overrepresented (Prison Reform Trust, 2022). A breakdown of familial relationships was therefore fairly

commonplace for the men, as their families were unable to come to terms with the nature of their offence. This was particularly pertinent when the victims of the offences were members of the men's own families. One participant noted that his offence had been against his daughter and, as a result, his children had ceased contact with him.

Some of those whose relationships had deteriorated still had some contact with their family, albeit minimal. One participant relied on second hand news in the form of infrequent letters from his daughter-in-law, whilst Stanley's son wanted very little to do with him:

> He said, 'I must make it understood there is no way on earth I condone what you've done' and I turned round and said, 'if you did I wouldn't want to talk to you again'. I said, 'because I can't condone what I've done - end of story.' He said, 'right, because of that, I still want to keep in contact with you. So, when you do come out, I don't necessarily want to have your address, but I want to know that you're okay, that you're safe'. (Stanley, 70s)

Many of the participants were not only faced with adjusting to life in prison but also simultaneously trying to come to terms with the breakdown of their relationships. During the interviews there was often an overwhelming sense of loss which was very distressing for some of the participants:

> Where initially, I did have my sisters, who did speak to me, now they don't. Y'know what I mean. Eventually, over the years, the longer I'm in prison, the more I seem to have lost on the outside. So, it's been very stressful. Losing my wife, not being able to see my children [. . .] So, my life in prison was losing everything. I feel so isolated and alone in here. (Lewis, 50s)

Lewis became visibly upset during the interview and explained that he had never met his child as his wife was pregnant when he entered prison. As a result, he was struggling to accept that

he may never have the opportunity to try and form a relationship with them. His lack of external support appeared to severely impact his ability to manage his time in prison, emphasising throughout the interview how hopeless he felt. Across the narratives, there were highly diverging levels of social capital.

For those who still had a relationship with their family, the extent to which they were able to provide the necessary support was sometimes restricted by a number of barriers posed by the prison environment. One such barrier to family contact was the presence of restrictive regimes where time outside of the cell was limited. For Thomas, this meant that he would sometimes lose out on the opportunity to speak to his daughters as many people tried to use the telephones simultaneously, limiting his ability to invest time into maintaining these relationships. Whilst these kinds of barriers may apply to the prison population more broadly, some were specifically related to the men's age. Frank, for example, found it very difficult to use the telephone and explained that his peer carer was not allowed to support him with this in case they stole his phone credit:

> *I don't use the phone. No… not because I've got anything against it [. . .] I don't understand the combinations. You have to put this code in, you have to put that code in. You have to wait until that code comes through. And by time you've keyed in the code, then you've lost the number what you wanted to ring anyway.* (Frank, 80s)

Similarly, as the participants themselves are older, so are their family members, and several of the men spoke about their relatives being unable to attend the prison for visits due to illness or frailty. This was compounded by the long distances that family members would need to travel to the prison:

184

The only person I have out there now is my mother. She doesn't drive, she's err… 80. Public transport and getting around is difficult for her. She's 120 miles away. So, I've not had a visit in 8 years. (Robert, 50s)

Robert explained that he worried a lot about his mother, particularly that she would be concerned about him. In addition to managing their own experiences of prison, there was therefore also a desire to protect vulnerable family members. In an attempt to stop her worrying about him, Robert would only communicate through letters in order to censor the information his mother received:

You've got all this noise and banging and shouting going on. And it's echo-y umm… So, I don't want her thinking that… [pause] umm… there's any kind of threats. So, all she gets to know about is what I write to her and what I choose to tell her [. . .] I can tell her I'm not having a good day. I can be quite emotional in my letters. Umm… I can express myself emotionally, but she hasn't got all the extra worry and the concerns about all the noise. (Robert, 50s)

A sense of strain was therefore present where participants wanted to support vulnerable family members but were very limited in their ability to do this. Peter worried about the toll his imprisonment had taken on his wife. Before going into prison, he had asked some of his friends to look out for her. Whilst many did, some avoided contact with her because of Peter's conviction. As a result, he was concerned about her becoming isolated:

Mary is… very umm… very laidback. And she's brilliant, 'doesn't worry me at all, don't worry' but I know she spends more time on her own. Family go and see her as much as possible. She spends more time obviously on her own. And sometimes she feels I think, that vulnerability. (Peter, 70s)

Participants also had to cope with bereavement whilst in prison. Two of the men were widowed

shortly before entering prison and were still grieving for wives and became upset when reflecting

on their deaths. Others feared that their family members may die before their release:

> *How much time have I got left with them now? These are the things, these are the things*
>
> *that go through your head, they shouldn't go through your head yeah but when you get to*
>
> *a certain age these things do go through your head now, so these are my worries.* (Thomas,
>
> 50s)

Experiences of bereavement were particularly common and heightened for participants who had

served or were serving longer sentences. Michael had lost multiple family members during his

time in prison:

> *Remember, I'd just got out of prison after doing about 20 odd year, nearly 30 years in*
>
> *prison. I had no family [. . .] When I went to prison I… I had my family around obviously*
>
> *until they all basically died apart from one [. . .] Apart from one more sibling, I'm the only*
>
> *one who's left.* (Michael, 50s, released)

Taken together, this section highlights the importance of family involvement for older men in

coping with prison life. Attention should be paid to how this support was not equally available

to all the participants and the extent to which this profoundly varied. This meant that some were

substantially more limited in findings ways of managing the inherent challenges of living in the

harsh environment of the prison. Similarly, for those who were trying to come to terms with the

breakdown of interpersonal relationships or the death of relatives, having to manage feelings of

loss compounded difficulties associated with the absence of support.

Relationships with other residents

A useful way of conceptualising the older men's relationships in prison is through the 'strength' of their social ties. This broadly refers to the intensity of emotions and intimacy and is also related to the duration of a relationship (Granovetter, 1973). In the absence of strong family ties, there was a particular emphasis placed on the importance of interactions with other older men in the prison. For example, the participants' talk often evoked a strong sense of camaraderie during the interviews. Many of the men spoke fondly about the jovial 'banter' they engaged in. Similarly, some commented on how they bonded through complaining together about prison life:

> *We're always moaning… We moaned because the canteen sheet had gone up! Another £2 on this and on that. So, we had another moan! [. . .]. We have what we call 'Monday moaning day'. Monday's moaning day. We all have a moan on Mondays. Not that it makes a lot of difference, ma'am, but we do do it!* (Frank, 80s)

There was often a sense from the interviews that the camaraderie between the men was important when navigating the prison environment and its associated challenges. One example of this was the sharing of resources to help navigate the limited financial allowance. The men would often pool their resources to make sure that they all had what they needed:

> *A guy will buy a paper and then he'll pass it to me, and I'll pass it to someone else and then they'll pass it to someone else. And someone will give him a carton of milk. But I'll get someone to pay for a paper, costs a lot of money! When you're budgeting ten pound a week, you know, it doesn't buy a lot.* (Jack, 70s)

The sharing of resources provided practical support and enabled the men to access more items. This also appeared to extend beyond a practical strategy, with some participants detailing thoughtful and affectionate interactions between themselves and other men. Stanley explained

how his 'cell-mate' would buy him a packet of his favourite biscuits every week, commenting: "*he does little things for me, I do little things for him*".

Whilst the men often spoke about their relationships in quite light-hearted terms, they also emphasised that they could also provide each other with emotional support. There was often a sense of mutual care and some of the men emphasised their consideration of others. This was particularly pronounced among those residing in age segregated locations:

> *If anyone seemed to… perhaps not coming out of their cell, then somebody'll go and… 'Are you alright?' have a word and that like [. . .] We're just like our own, as I say, community in a community. We look after one another, y'know… Try to best we can help one another out like.* (Charles, 60s)

Charles' observation that the older men formed a "community in a community" within the age-segregated wing was reflected by several of the older men. Two participants, for example, wrote letters for others who had low levels of literacy and struggled with writing. This support enabled them to overcome some of the barriers to family contact inherent to the prison environment. Similarly, Jack was involved in producing a play within the prison. He emphasised his intention to involve those with accessibility issues and make sure that they were included:

> *I've got eight guys who I'm auditioning, my thespians on the wing. It's a half hour comedy play. And I've gone down and asked all the guys on the wings, downstairs in wheelchairs, 'would you like to see a comedy?' 'Oooh yeah please'. [. . .] we'll wheel them all to a place so that they can all see a half hour comedy play.* (Jack, 70s)

Similarly, Jack felt there could be a lack of engagement in activities, with some needing more encouragement to be involved. Based on this, he explained that he made sure to personally call at every cell to advertise the play in order to get people involved, evoking a sense of solidarity.

The men's relationships within the prison also appeared to provide a sense of safety and security. Many of the participants reflected on the importance of peer support when entering prison (as highlighted in the previous chapter), particularly for those who were entering prison for the first time in later life. Some of the men also emphasised how much they valued supporting others:

> *I'd been in for about a week when he came in and he said to me really early on that he'd seen me smiling on the landing and things couldn't be that mad because I looked happy. So, which is just so, that's the kind of thing that makes you go, actually god, I can see why I'm in this situation and I'm gonna do what I can to try and help other people while I'm in here.* (Edward, 50s)

Thus, within what was often described as a hostile and threatening environment in Chapter Six, there was also a sense of care and support between the older prisoners that emerged across the narratives.

Although the participants often spoke fondly about the other men in prison and emphasised how they would look out for one another, discrepancies between how they spoke about their relationships and how they defined them became apparent. This seemed to create a tension: many participants rejected the idea of referring to other men as 'friends' despite detailing interactions that would be commonly associated with friendship. Like many of the participants, Lewis strongly rejected the idea of friendship in prison:

> *So, I had various different cell mates. I don't know, I wouldn't say they're mates really, 'cos they're not mates, they're just people you share a cell with. I wouldn't call anyone 'mates' in here. They aren't mates really.* (Lewis, 50s)

Whilst a small number of participants spoke about having 'friends' in prison, several of the participants felt that 'acquaintance' was a more fitting way of referring to their relationships with other men. For Morgan (2009), acquaintances can be defined as "not so much as people who are not intimates but as people with whom there are some slight echoes or fragments of intimacy" (p. 4). Indeed, whilst the participants often spoke about their interactions with the other men in a way that conveyed a sense of emotional intimacy, there was also a sense of distance present. This seemed to be holding the participants back from developing deeper relationships or strengthening what could be considered 'weak' ties.

Barriers to building deeper relationships

One aspect that appeared to limit the building of deeper relationships and strengthening ties within the prison was the need to maintain a masculine identity. As discussed in the previous chapter, there was a need for the older men to reassert their manhood in light of threats posed by both ageing and the prison environment. This was also present when the participants reflected on their relationships within the prison, where there was a sense of them having to restrict displays of intimacy in order to perpetuate a particular masculine image:

> *I would be out there playing cards or something and he'd stick his head out 'hey Stan, tea or coffee?' 'Coffee please mate' and I would carry on playing and he'd come out, give me a cup of coffee and then the other lads said 'oh' and this is the comments you get in there 'oh, whose bitch are you?' this type of thing and they would say, and I'd turn round and say 'do you want a smack?'* (Stanley, 70s)

As highlighted in Chapter Three, the existing literature suggests that dominant or hegemonic ideals of manhood are often centred around heterosexuality (Connell, 1995; Coates, 2007). As the prison environment was described as a hypermasculine space, overt displays of affection or

care had to therefore be enacted in an acceptable form else they could receive negative feedback from other men. It is not surprising then that the older men often described their relationships with the other residents as lacking overt emotional intimacy. Roger, for example, described his interactions in terms of exchanging pleasantries or "general chit chat". The lack of emotional intimacy was attributed by some to the threatening nature of the prison environment which necessitated that vulnerability was avoided:

> *Prison is a false environment. The moment that door- you can only be you when that cell door's locked. That is the only time you can feel safe. When that door opens for breakfast, meals, showers, work, you have got to become another person, you never ever can be yourself, not your true self* (Michael, 50s, released)

Maintaining both emotional and physical distance was also described as a conscious choice by some of the older men. As highlighted in the previous chapter, the men were grappling with a stigmatised identity. During the interviews the older men would often emphasise how they wanted to remain detached from the other residents and therefore limited their involvement with others. As a result, this limited the relationships available to them within the prison:

> *Even though I'm convicted of a crime myself and it's a sexual crime, I still don't want to associate with criminals. If you know what I mean?* (Lewis, 50s)

> *I sort of don't associate too much with people, I think in prison you have to be a bit careful as to who you associate with.* (Roger, 60s)

This approach appeared to allow the men another means of distancing themselves from undesirable identities. This is consistent with what has been has been conceptualised within the existing literature relating to marginalised and stigmatised groups as 'othering' (Patrick, 2014; 2016). Even for those who did form relationships with other older men in the prison, they would

emphasise the differences between them. This was particularly prevalent among those who had entered prison later in life and were of higher socioeconomic status:

> *Harry for example is a ruftie tuftie y'know spit and sawdust type of bloke. And I'm a white wine and fancy restaurant type of bloke, you know on the outside that's how I am. I had the money for it, I've still got the money for it. Umm but in here you get thrown together and you get to appreciate different things umm outside if I saw Harry walking past me in the street would I speak to him? I doubt it very much.* (Stanley, 60s)

There was thus a sense that relationships formed would not be long-lasting. A lack of permanence for relationships in the prison was prevalent across the men's narratives. For those convicted of sexual offences, contact with other residents was restricted upon an individual being relocated to a different prison or when they were released. The potential losses of investing into a relationship that is unable to be long lasting should therefore be taken into consideration. Several of the older men recalled incidents where individuals had formed strong bonds with others in prison. Subsequently, they had had to process the loss of the relationship when one of them was transferred to another prison or released:

> *He just come up and he said to me, he said, 'I'm going home now, Frank.' I said, 'well take care of yourself, boy.' He said, 'I'll write.' I said, 'no, no no no, you're not allowed to, boy. You're not allowed to write to each other.' 'Oh', he said, 'so, it's goodbye?' I said, 'yeah, it's goodbye,' I said. 'But take care of yourself.' We both had a little hug and a cry and he just…* (Frank, 80s)

This lack of permanence was therefore another aspect acting as a barrier to fostering stronger ties between the older men. This was particularly significant for those with limited support from outside of the prison and who held less social capital with which to navigate the adversities of prison life.

Relationships with prison officers

In addition to the older men's personal relationships discussed above, relationships with prison officers were also reported to be central to their experiences in prison. Both groups of participants depicted the relationship between them as complex and multifaceted. During the interviews it was often emphasised how interactions could be jovial and humorous, with both the men and the prison officers engaging in and appreciating friendly 'banter'. Similarly, a level of intimacy was also described by the prison officers. This was attributed, in part, to the amount of time they had spent with the men and thus the enduring nature of the relationship, and also as a result of seeing them in particularly vulnerable states, such as in distress or mental health crisis. Alongside this rapport and intimacy, however, was a need to maintain authority and control. There was a sense of mistrust from both the older men and the officers, with some of the men feeling they had to "earn the trust" (Roger, 60s) of the staff. Providing support therefore had to be balanced alongside maintaining security:

> *I try very hard to be very open about things like mental health, so I'm approachable to prisoners. Umm and I don't really mind them telling me things, and like a laugh and a joke. Like I'm all up for it [. . .] But I also know that I'm there for work, I'm a prison officer, y'know if you tell me about something that is, y'know, gonna affect the security of the prison, if it's any good intelligence I'm gonna report it, I'm gonna get your cell searched.* (Ben, prison officer)

The relationship between the older men and the prison officers was therefore complicated and, at times, blurred. There were limits to the nature of the relationship that could be formed between the men and the officers as a result of needing to maintain control. This echoes what has been characterised within the existing literature as a conflict between providing care and support while maintaining authority (see for example, Tait, 2011; Liebling, 2011).

The men's experiences of prison officers varied quite significantly both across participants and within individual narratives, depending on the prison or wing they were residing in. Some, as mentioned earlier, spoke about jovial and friendly relations with prison officers, others the support they received. Others, however, described their relationship in a more perfunctory way or even referred to the absence of any form of relationship. A common feature of the older men's narratives was around struggling with the approach taken by some of the prison officers and how they treated older men. Here, it is important to consider how participants described prison officers as approaching their work differently from each other, particularly the way in which they exercised penal power:

We all have different tactics to be a prison officer. There's no set way of doing it. So, some people will be the sort of shouty hollering, 'get to the back of the queue!' sort of person. Whereas, I'm a bit more, go and talk to them, explain the situation. (Ashley, prison officer)

The differing approaches were challenging for the older men who struggled with the more authoritarian prison officers. Some of the officers were described as lacking empathy, playing mind games, and even as bullies. A common frustration was around those officers who were seen as overly punitive:

'You're here to be punished!' I had one officer once say to me in the exercise yard and he said, 'it's my job, my job here is to make sure your stay is as unpleasant as possible, so you won't ever reoffend.' And that's the mentality of so many, y'know. (Jack, 70s)

Some of the men felt they were picked on by prison officers. For example, George recalled being mocked for his disability:

I was queueing up the other day and this officer turned 'round to me and said to me, 'are your glasses bullet proof?' And I said, 'what do you mean?' 'Well, they're bloody thick

enough, aren't they?!' And I said, 'that's not very nice, is it?' And one of them said to me,

'can't you see?' I said, 'you know I can't see.' (George, 70s)

Whilst struggling with the unpleasantness of some of the officers, the men had very little power

over their situation. George emphasised that, despite being upset by the officer's comments,

there was a need to "bite your tongue" for fear of negative ramifications such as jeopardising his

IEP status. This chimes with the depth of soft penal power in the existing literature, as outlined

in Chapter Three (see Crewe, 2011b).

The attitude and approach of these officers was also a common frustration for the prison officers

interviewed as they did not advocate for this approach to the work, particularly with older

prisoners. However, they also expressed feeling limited in their ability to address this:

There are an awful lot who are old school [. . .] I call them dinosaurs. Bear in mind some of

these guys are younger than me. They do not see the prisoners as people, they see them

as prisoners [. . .] I get on with them because they're my professional colleagues, but I do

not share their views and I do not approve of their attitudes, but I can't change their

attitude. (Andrew, prison officer)

This harsh and punitive approach was described as having a significant adverse effect on the

older men. Some recalled taking it personally and others reported feelings of worthlessness and

paranoia. Roger, for example, reflected on how a lack of respect impacted him:

I have actually heard one officer say to a prisoner, the prisoner was calling someone Mr so

and so and the officer said to the prisoner 'don't call him Mr' and he went 'why not?' 'I

*wouldn't.' So, that's wrong, it's wrong and it's again, **it makes you feel small.*** (Roger, 60s,

emphasis added)

There was also a sense that the older men's frustrations with the prison officers often led to resentment. When recounting their experiences, they would sometimes criticise the prison officers, describing them as unprofessional and unemployable:

> *Sadly, being a prison officer is one of the jobs you can do with no qualifications. Very easy to get the job, so if you can't get a job doing everything else, you come in to be a prison officer*. (Edward, 50s)

These feelings of resentment were not conducive to positive prisoner-staff relationships, and instead had the opposite effect of creating animosity.

Overall, there was a sense that the so called 'old school' approach, characterised by a more punitive and authoritarian mentality, was not suitable for older men. As highlighted in the previous two chapters, older men tended to be perceived as quieter and more mild-mannered than the younger men in the prison. Similarly, the main challenges were described in relation to their age-related health and social care needs and a lack of resources rather than difficulties maintaining authority and control. Confrontational and bullish behaviour from the prison officers was therefore seen as both disproportionate and unnecessary:

> *Well, just one very large ex-solider, elderly guy in his 80's in his wheelchair and was late for something and standing at the side of his wheelchair bending down and shouting in his ear. It was reported and went away, y'know, but there are some who are out and out bullies.* (Jack, 70s)

There was a general consensus amongst both the prison officers and the older men regarding the need for a different approach. Both groups of participants advocated for a more empathetic and softer attitude. This was seen as more appropriate to and reflective of the needs and behaviour of the older men:

You have to be lenient a lot more, more understanding, very much more patient [. . .] **You**

can't really be a proper prison officer. (Kevin, prison officer, emphasis added)

The sort of shouting and hollering ones doesn't work as well on here [older men's wing], is

that they don't need to. You can go and reason with them and speak to them and then

*you'll get a lot more respect from them for doing that as well. (*Ashley, prison officer)

Based on this, the prison officers emphasised the importance of being adaptable and able to

alter their approach depending on who they were interacting with. This was particularly

important when working long shifts that may involve going from a wing comprised of younger,

more disruptive men to one with older, more settled residents. Both groups of participants

emphasised that this was often more challenging for younger prison officers who were lacking

experience. It is important to note that, as discussed in Chapter Six, formal training in relation to

the needs of older men was lacking and relevant skills were acquired from learning via

experience as a result.

Whilst there is an expectation that prisoners are treated with respect regardless of age (HM

Inspectorate of Prisons, 2019), it is important to re-emphasise the more civilised and mature

identity that was important to the older men (see Chapter Seven). Distinguishing themselves

from the younger men in the prison allowed them to mitigate threats to their masculinity and

present themselves as respectable older people. The treatment from some of the prison officers,

however, undermined this identity. This was due to a lack of respect and distinction from

younger men in the prison:

[older men's wing] it's a completely different environment. But the officers treat us exactly

the same, as though we are children, or we are undesirable or whatever [. . .] Yeah, there's

> *no… They say that the officers are going through training to look after older people… but*
>
> *that's not evident.* (Robert, 50s)

The need to treat older men more considerately was also echoed by the prison officers who felt this was a more appropriate way to treat older people. This was often explained in relation to wider societal discourses relating to 'respecting your elders':

> *I think I'm from a generation where I was brought up with always to respect my elders. So, actually, showing respect and things like that. And I do, you know, with all my residents here [. . .] if you respect them, and you listen to them, half the time they're gonna start conforming with your rules and regulations really.* (Chris, prison officer)

One of the ways in which the older men felt they could be shown respect was not feeling reduced simply to their status as a prisoner. It was common in the interviews for the men to emphasise that they wanted to feel acknowledged as people who were more than their offence. Even seemingly simple acts of courtesy went a long way in making the older men feel respected. Small gestures such as prison officers being polite and friendly by greeting the men with 'good morning', for example, were highly appreciated by the men and made a substantial difference to their experience:

> *A lot of the officers were really good. If you know what I mean? [Interviewer: what makes them good?] They treat you like a human being. They talk to you man to man. You know they're an officer, but you still talk to them man to man.* (Bernard, 60s, released)

A common frustration from the older men was how they were addressed by the officers. Whilst this could be perceived as trivial, for the older men this was significant in making them feel

respected and developing rapport with the prison officers. When this was done, it was described as being greatly appreciated:

> *The officers, almost without exception, referred to me by my first name. Which was in itself, you know, heart-warming [. . .] they were calling not just me by my first name, but they were calling other prisoners by their first name as well. Which is, you know, really helps to establish a decent rapport and you feel more inclined. (*James, 70s, released)

This viewed was also shared by some of the prison officers:

> *I always address them by Mr and their surname. Umm and I think that's more, I feel like, obviously I'm not English, it's probably a cultural thing as well. Umm but when I address them with Mr, I feel that's appropriate for older prisoners.* (Jacob, prison officer)

As previously highlighted in Chapter Six, the older men sometimes felt that the prison officers (and the prison system more generally) deflected their care giving responsibilities onto the residents. Thus, when prison officers did get more involved with the residents and made an effort to get to know them, this was highly valued and again seen to convey respect. For example, some prison officers had become very involved with the older people's day centre:

> *There's one officer who is very good. Erm he's a member of some [name of organisation] or something like that. Re-enactment, and he comes in and he does a speech or a talk on them and different things and that's very interesting, it is like. Yeah… when it's his turn to be there like. So, some of the officers get involved themselves as well like*. (Charles, 60s)

The men also felt respected when they felt supported by the prison officers. Examples of such support included the officers being sensitive to their needs, approachable, patient, understanding and compassionate. Two participants spoke about valuing the officer's checking in on them to make sure they were okay:

[prison officer] will poke his head in the door and he'll say, 'alright Frank?' 'yes, Gov,' What time you gonna settle down?' 'I'll probably get in bed about half passed seven.' 'Alright then.' [. . .] He'll shut the door… and then they look into my cell about… (pause) … half passed 12 they'll look in through the flap and check I'm alright. And we'll get it again about half two and then again about five. They keep an eye on me at all times, y'know. (Frank, 80s)

What is clear from the material discussed above is that some prison officers were perceived as not being appropriate for working with older men. Others, including those interviewed, felt better able to meet the needs of older people. As a result, some felt that those deemed less suitable should not be working with older people:

If you're umm… sort of like someone that wants to be rolling around fighting all day long, then you don't wanna be working on a wing with OAPs. Because a lot of, some staff sign up just for the adrenaline rush. (Alex, prison officer)

There was a consensus amongst the prison officers interviewed that they enjoyed working with the older men. In particular, they reported feeling more respected by them and safer in their company. They also emphasised how they felt more able to have engaging conversations with the older men and learn about their life experiences. This was contrasted with their experiences working with the younger prison population. There was a sense that both the older men and the prison officers would benefit from a more thoughtful way of allocating staff to work with older residents. Kevin, who worked on a wing for older men, advocated for more selective staffing:

When these wings first opened, there used to be an interview process where staff would be interviewed. It'd be like an expression of interest to work on these wings. You'd have a little interview with the residential governor, and they'd decide whether 'yep, you can go

and work on there.' But that doesn't happen now. For whatever reason, whether it's

operational reasons, or just staff shortages, who knows (Kevin, prison officer)

The excerpts in this section demonstrate that a more considered approach to staffing would be beneficial to both the older men and the prison officers working with them.

Summary

This chapter has discussed findings pertaining to older men's relationships. What becomes apparent is that despite the importance of relationships when navigating a challenging prison environment, these relationships are not straightforward. Connectedness to strong social ties in the community was highly varied across the older men. For those who had contact with family, maintaining positive relationships was sometimes constrained by institutional barriers. Others had little social support from outside the prison and thus held significantly less social capital than some of the participants. Among this group, developing meaningful relationships with other older prisoners was particularly crucial but was again restricted. Finally, whilst there was evidence of supportive and positive relationships with prison officers, this was not consistent. As a result, the men's ability to emphasise their identity as mature older prisoners was undermined.

Chapter 9: Looking to the future – release and resettlement

Introduction

This chapter outlines the last of the empirical findings in this thesis. Material is presented relating to the older men's future, particularly their release and resettlement. As a result of the revised recruitment strategy in light of the government's Covid-19 restrictions at the time of data collection (as previously discussed in Chapter Five), a small number (N=5) of older men who had been released from prison were also interviewed. Based on this, the voices of those who had been released and were navigating resettlement are foregrounded in this chapter and begin to provide an indication of how this process is experienced as older men. Overall, those in prison at the time of interview were apprehensive at the prospect of being released and resettling back into the community, with uncertainty around how they would cope. These concerns were well-founded: those who had been released described their experiences of leaving prison as extremely demanding and complex. These challenges were seen as particularly hard to manage in later life. Finally, the heterogeneous nature of the group meant that some had more resources to draw on in order to help them navigate the process. Particular attention is paid to how, based on this, the men's narratives evoked a sense of either repairing or rebuilding.

Feelings about the future

When reflecting on their plans for the future, many of the older men emphasised their positive intentions for life after release. In addition to their desire to stay out of prison and move forward with their lives, several of the men reflected on their goals and aspirations for life in the community. These included building relationships, engaging in activities they enjoyed, finding suitable accommodation, and for those not yet at retirement age, finding paid employment. Robert's aspirations revolved around building connections:

Yeah, I just wanna get on, wanna get on and do me own thing. I want to err… interact

within the community, I'd like to take up… I don't know, playing bowls or country walking.

Whatever the case may be, I wanna be interacting, I wanna be building relationships.

(Robert, 50s)

Several of the men emphasised their plans were, as referred to by Stanley as "low key". This was in part due to the fear that other people near them, such as neighbours, would ask questions about their life. This fear was particularly prevalent among those who had been convicted of a sexual offence. It also resulted from a desire for peace and quiet, especially after being in the loud and often chaotic prison environment (as outlined in Chapter Six):

I want a quiet life. I don't want all this music blaring out at two o'clock in the morning stuff

yeah. I mean, I'm a very quiet person. In like the flats I'm in at the moment, you can't hear

a dicky bird. It is so quiet yeah. That's the life I wanna live. I don't want all this noise

anymore. (Brian, 60s, released)

There was often a sense that these aspirations for the future provided a sense of hope which helped the men to manage the lived realities of the prison environment. Although released, when reflecting on what was helpful in managing his time in prison, Michael emphasised the need for something to look forward to:

You've gotta have something to strive for, you've gotta have something to fight for, you've

gotta have something to live for, and it's gotta be something meaningful to you. It might

not mean anything to other people but it's gotta have something meaningful for you.

(Michael, 50s, released)

Whilst the goals held by the older men, such as finding a quiet place to live or connecting with others, can be seen as relatively modest, the men's narratives show that these goals were not always easily attainable. Making such aspirations a reality was described by those who had been

released from prison as a complex and challenging task. This is a point that will be discussed later.

Although the men expressed hope about what they wanted their future to look like and how they were looking forward to being released, an acute sense of anxiety and apprehension was apparent. This mainly related to how they would cope with leaving prison and adjusting back into the community. There appeared to be a tension within their narratives, where there was a presence of both hope and hopelessness. How they would manage this transition in later life was a particular concern:

> *I'm looking forward to it immeasurably. No, it's a bit like a two-edged sword really, the sword of Damocles [. . .] I'm worried when I get out… We live in a very small town and people in the town… know about what's happened to me. So, going back to that community umm, how it will be received, that's a concern and I think the older you get umm… the more that becomes a big concern because if you're younger you can possibly say, well look… oh I'll go over here… I'll move there.* (Peter, 70s)

Having to negotiate reintegration into the community was seen as a daunting prospect in later life. The men's age was not only seen as a hindrance to their ability to take on the challenge of resettlement but also to engage with opportunities available to them in the community. For example, for those who were not yet eligible to receive a state pension there was an additional concern around finding work and their employability as someone both older *and* newly released from prison:

> *Anxiety does start creeping into it as soon as you start hearing things that you may get parole and things like this is when I get outside. When I get outside, I'm sixty-three am I*

going to get a job? I've always been labelled now as a sex offender yeah or a child molester.

(Thomas, 60s)

Once again, it is necessary to emphasise that most of the older men were convicted of sexual offences. This was seen to pose additional hurdles to overcome. The men not only had to contend with the heightened sense of stigma discussed in Chapter Seven but also expected their ability to live a 'normal' life would be limited within their license conditions.

It is also important to highlight that in thinking about the future, several men feared they may not be released and would instead die in prison. This was a particular concern for those who were older and had significant health conditions as well as those on longer sentences or without a fixed release date:

*I'm very fortunate in that I have good friends who've stuck by me. Yeah, otherwise it will be quite hard to survive on the outside when I leave**, if and when I leave this place I don't know**.* (Ralph, 80s, emphasis added)

This echoes previous findings around 'death anxiety' for older prisoners (Crawley and Sparks, 2006; see Chapter Four). For many of the older men release was not certain and coping with prison by focusing on hopes for the future was not equally available to all.

Preparing for the future

When reflecting on moving forward in prison and eventually being released, a consistent feature across the narratives was a need for an increase in both the quantity and quality of rehabilitation provision. The system was viewed as ineffective and "setting you up to fail". A particular frustration was a perceived absence of resources aimed at tackling what the men considered the root causes of offending such as childhood trauma and abuse as well as mental ill health and

205

substance misuse. Thomas had struggled with mental ill health and suicidal thoughts before entering prison and highlighted that his mental health was "just waiting to erupt again". This was thus not conducive to successful resettlement in the community. Attempts at rehabilitation overall were seen more as a tick box exercise than a genuine attempt to support the men to address the causes of their offending. This was described as a source of frustration:

> *In here they don't seem to be doing that [rehabilitation], especially with older ones [. . .] it is just like a holding pen for older people that's what it's like.* (Roger, 60s)

> *The bit that isn't catered for is understanding why people have behaved in the way that they have [. . .] Y'know we're gonna be your neighbours when we're released, you've either got to make a decision that we're going to keep people locked up forever or you need to sort the problems out.* (Edward, 50s)

Progression through their sentence and a sense of moving forward was emphasised as being very important for the older men. As mentioned in Chapter Six, the prison system could often be slow and unresponsive. This resulted in delays to sentence planning and reviewing as well as to enrolment in rehabilitation courses. Similarly, contact with offender supervisors was sporadic. A small number of the men described being in a double bind in terms of their progression. These men were assessed as being too low risk to attend courses designed to lower risk of offending but were simultaneously seen as too high risk to progress, such as into open conditions. Some felt that they had to push to access the courses they needed and there was sometimes a sense of the men feeling stuck:

> *When I've come here, I've been on standby for two and half years… They're not progressing me at all. Err… I had to fight to get the HSP, which is called the Healthy Sex Programme. Which I'm doing now.* (Robert, 50s)

I know what I gotta do to put myself right. And I think, I'm 90% there. I won't say 100%.

But umm… getting very little help from OMU, y'know. (Charles, 60s)

These frustrations around progression and rehabilitation appeared to preclude feelings of optimism relating to the future. This is particularly significant considering the earlier emphasis on the importance of having hope in navigating day to day life within the prison environment. Additionally, the experience of imprisonment and the toll that the prison environment had taken on the men negatively impacted how they perceived their future. The men described feelings of distress and worthlessness as a result of their time in prison. These appeared to have a long-lasting effect on them and affected their ability to maintain a positive sense of self. This further compounded their negative feelings towards the future and both the prospect of release and their ability to manage life outside of prison:

I've been for counselling with [charity]. So, I had to have that because I was in a hell of a state really [. . .] my head had been so screwed up with prison and everything else that's happened. Y'know, I was there for quite a long time with [charity] and the post-traumatic stress counselling thing. (Bernard, 60s, released)

A particular area of support that was seen as lacking was around preparedness for release and transitioning back into the community. Those who were released asserted that they were not equipped to navigate life in the community. This partly related to the challenges that they would face upon release (discussed later) and partly around a lack of information that would help them to navigate issues relating to resettlement. Accessing accommodation or healthcare were highlighted as particular issues. There was also a lack of information specifically directed towards their requirements as older people. This meant that the men could not always find appropriate support and assistance for what they needed as the available information centred around the needs of younger people:

There was a lot of people in the AP was lost. They couldn't get anywhere. They was running around like headless chickens. They didn't know what to do. There wasn't enough information. That's the downside. More information pack for that age group. Agencies they can contact. I found a lot of agencies I got information from, it wasn't specialised for older people. Like a mix. When you go to these interviews, they didn't know what to do. It's more focussed on someone who is much younger. (Brian, 60s, released)

As highlighted in Chapter Six, the prison system was not always sensitive to the needs of older people and the nature of prison environment often resulted in a reduced ability to make adjustments to meet this population's needs. Release planning was seen as another area where a more age-sensitive approach was needed to make sure the needs of older men were fully considered and met. The potential value of a national strategy for older offenders was reiterated:

You gotta think, what about when they're released? Are they suffering anxiety because they might not have anyone to go out to when they're released? They might be of an age where they can't get a job, so they've got no money. I don't think, as a service, we quite cater for all of that. (Chris, prison officer)

"It all depends on what they're going out to"

Leaving prison posed challenges for all of the men who were released and was described as an anxiety provoking prospect by all of the older men interviewed. Despite this commonality of experience, it also became apparent that the men's varying degrees of resources both enabled (or constrained) their resettlement and had the potential to define their experiences post-prison. As highlighted in the introduction to the empirical material and throughout the preceding findings chapters, the men interviewed were not a homogenous group. There were significant

differences in terms of their life histories, socioeconomic status, health, and relational support. Individual resources and/or circumstances appeared to affect the older men's ability to navigate release and even shielded some from additional adversities to overcome. This was recognised by prison officers:

> *If they already had a settled life when they came in and they maintain that settled life and family ties and stuff like that, it's not so bad then going out. But if you've got, say like a lifer, or someone who's committed quite a heinous crime and the family have given up on them and friends have given up on them. You know, they've spent all this time in prison, they become quite institutionalised and they're used to a regime, yet when you kick 'em out they're going out to probably nothing.* (Chris, prison officer)

As highlighted in the previous chapter, across the older men there were varying levels of social support from family and thus varying levels of social capital across the participants. When it came to leaving prison, relational support was seen by both the older men and prison officers as highly important in being able to navigate the challenges associated with release:

> *I was collected from [open prison] by a long-standing friend of mine. And umm… it was a dark and dank and damp December morning and I was still hobbling with my bad knee. And my bags, polythene bags full of my possessions and my guitar. And err we piled stuff into the car, and he drove me back to my son's house. And there waiting for me was my son and my daughter and err we had a nice few cups of tea and some nice buttered crumpets, as I recall [laughs]. I think they felt I needed feeding up.* (James, 70s, released)

For James, whilst release was still a daunting prospect, support from family and friends enabled a relatively positive experience in comparison to others. Michael, by contrast, had served a life sentence. In addition to many of his family dying whilst he was serving his sentence, he felt it

was necessary to cut ties with previous friends in the community as they had been associated with his offending. consequently, the support James' family provided was unavailable for Michael:

Remember, I'd just got out of prison after doing about 20 odd year, nearly 30 years in prison. I had no family. I have no friends. I was coming to a completely different area where I knew nobody. The only other connection I had was probation. (Michael, 50s, released)

Involvement from friends and family was not only important for providing comfort and emotional support but also helped navigate practical challenges. For example, whilst four of the five released older men resided in AP hostels upon release, Bernard went to live with friends, shielding him from the challenges posed by living within the hostel environment. James, despite having alternative accommodation with family available, was advised to stay in AP accommodation. He described this as a daunting experience:

I… felt a bit vulnerable there, if I'm honest. I was in a strange city, that I knew only very slightly, and I was of a certain age and I was clearly, you know, slightly incapacitated, hobbling around on a crutch and it got to about six o'clock at night. And I thought, I've got no option. I've gotta go out and get myself something to eat. So, I asked where the nearest convenience store was and they said,' oh, it's just up the road, you can't miss it,' type of thing. And I found myself, y'know it was dark, you know, six o'clock at night or whatever it was in December and I did feel a bit vulnerable then. (James, 70s, released)

Although this presented difficulties for James, his social support helped him to overcome these challenges and feelings of vulnerability. He had friends visit him during his time living in the hostel and was able to go and spend time at his daughter's house. This gave a sense that James was more supported and better able to navigate adversities than others.

Sentence length was also significant for the older men in terms of their transition into the community. Whilst the majority of the men had entered prison for the first time later in life, three of the released participants had served life sentences and spent between 22-28 years in prison. There were additional challenges for those transitioning into the community in later life after having spent so long in prison. As noted previously, those who had served longer sentences tended to experience more breakdowns in relationships over time. However, there was also the need to contend with societal changes following their time in prison:

> *It's very very hard when your whole life is gone. There's a lot of things have changed out here completely yeah.* (Brian, 60s, released)

Adjusting to life in the community after so many years in prison not only consisted of acclimatising to these societal changes, such as changes in dress and behaviour, but also with more practical changes. Whilst adjusting to new technology was challenging for many of the men, this was acutely felt by those who had spent a long time in prison, especially as technology was seen as essential in navigating day to day life:

> *I'm like a bloody caveman. You know, when I first came out, seriously, I was like a caveman [. . .] So, the first time I got a town visit, I was expecting to get change out of my pocket to pay for the bus driver… They don't take money. It's Oyster card or credit card. So, I'm like, what?! And then you had to buy a ticket from a machine before you've even got on the bus. So, all these little things and changes, for somebody who's been out of society for nearly 30 years, it is horrendous.* (Michael, 50s, released)

Other practical challenges included obtaining photographic identification and new bank accounts. An example was recalled by Martin, who had lost his credit rating over the course of his long sentence. As a result, he was unable to borrow money that would facilitate his resettlement into the community. These practical challenges were described as particularly

pronounced for those who had served very long sentences. This was seen to be associated with increased stigma as it signified the severity of the offence committed. Michael, for example, emphasised having "so many, so many doors shut on me."

The men also had varying financial situations and thus held differing economic capital. Some of the men who had entered prison in later life and held substantial private pensions emphasised that money was not a concern for them. Edward, for example, had taken early retirement which helped reduce challenges for him on release:

> *I think I'm in a very fortunate position that umm… I'm retired, so I haven't got that stress of thinking 'how am I gonna rebuild my life when I get outside?'* (Edward, 50s)

Those without such capital either had to try and rebuild their lives in the community from their state pension (which is suspended whilst in prison) or, for those not yet eligible to receive state pension, try to find paid employment. The latter was described as difficult both in relation to being an older person and having a criminal record. Overall, many of these challenges were seen as much easier to overcome if one was financially stable:

> *I think it depends on the individual really and their economic background really. If they've got a bit of money, they're alright, in a way.* (Bernard, 60s, released)

Generally, the resources available to the men were described as significantly impacting upon on their ability to manage their transition back into the community. Some of the participants who held greater resources with which to navigate their release explicitly regarded themselves as being "one of the lucky ones". This idea more broadly chimes with the concept of 'recovery capital' (Tew, 2013). This refers to a range of economic, social and relational assets that encourage an individual to repair from challenging or traumatic circumstances. Although this concept emerged within the existing literature relating to those recovering from mental ill

health, it is helpful in conceptualising the men's transition back into the community. As no one type of resource was prominent for navigating release, it is more useful to view these factors in terms of how they combine to form a 'bank' of capital which may enable or restrict positive resettlement.

Repairing or rebuilding

Within the older men's accounts, there seemed to be two broad forms of narrative that were constructed when talking about release and resettlement. The narrative constructed was shaped by the recovery capital at their disposal. Some spoke about the future or reflected on release with reference to the need for *rebuilding* their lives. For others, there was more of a sense of *repairing* the life they had before entering prison. Men such as Thomas would have to "start from scratch," and thus were faced with the task of rebuilding what they had lost. Other men emphasised trying to fit back in with their old way of being. Some of these factors are summarised in the table below:

Repairing	*Rebuilding*
Mending of existing relationships	Cultivating of new relationships
Returning to existing housing	Finding and accessing accommodation
Drawing on existing funds	Accessing funds
Returning to similar state of being	Adjusting to dramatically changed circumstances

Table 2. Characteristics of diverging release narratives

The culmination of different factors listed above dictated the scale of the challenge facing the older men on their release. Those with greater recovery capital gave a sense of viewing the process of release in a different way. The older men who were returning to their homes and/or families with significant finances behind them were *repairing* their former way of life as opposed

to *rebuilding* it. A more extreme example of this comes from Edward. He had served a relatively short sentence and was also one of the younger men in the sample. He had no financial concerns and was still married to his wife. For him, release was more centred on restoring and developing aspects of his life that were present before entering prison. Consequently, he was shielded from the additional challenges that faced other men:

> *I'm super excited about starting a new life outside. And I know it will difficult and I know the state will come and they'll be all kinds of hoops and stuff I need to jump through but umm my wife and I will have the proper relationship that we should've had from the outset. So, y'know, I think we're both super excited about that.* (Edward, 50s)

For others, such as Thomas, who held less recovery capital and had fewer resources to draw upon, release posed a much greater challenge:

> *So, coming to prison I would've said I've lost everything, I've lost my job, I've lost my pension. I've got nowhere to live now [. . .] there's a lot of things that I can't do no more, so at sixty-three this is your twilight years, yes or no, it is supposed to be the year that you start relaxing, yeah, taking things easy instead when you're leaving prison at the age of sixty now, you have now got to, you have got to try and find a job, yeah. You've also got to mix with people now.* (Thomas, 60s)

The significant challenge of rebuilding their lives when released from prison was seen to be compounded by age. As emphasised by Thomas above and earlier in this chapter, the men's aspirations for the future often centred around settling down and living a quiet and relaxed lifestyle. The task of having to rebuild their lives sat in conflict with this:

> *When I go out, name change, different area, start again. Start again sounds wrong. No, finish my life shall we say? Because by then I am going to be seventy-three, going on seventy-four. So, what am I going to do?* (Stanley, 70s)

'There's all these little hurdles'

There were a number of barriers to resettling back to life in the community for the older men. This was particularly apparent for those whose adjustment evoked a sense of rebuilding and thus had more hurdles to overcome. Those who had been released asserted that a significant number of factors negatively impacted on their ability to adjust to life outside of prison. Navigating these different barriers was challenging and for those with limited recovery capital managing the release process was described as both a harsh and complex process with little assistance or support:

> *It's just as hard out here as what it is in prison. It's just you haven't got the violence or the intimidation around. It seems, once you're actually out of the system it can get easier but at times you can feel very alone and on your own. The system doesn't account for that.*
>
> (Michael, 50s, released)

One barrier described by the men was around needing to adjust back to the community after living within an institution defined by such rigid regime and routines. This was commonly seen as an onerous and overwhelming task that not only involved adapting to the ways in which life outside of prison had changed (as highlighted earlier) but also remembering how to behave outside of the prison environment. Many emphasised the challenges associated with getting out and about and interacting with others:

> *Cos' you get institutionalised. I can imagine I will just stay in the room for the first few months, you won't venture out [. . .] Umm… It's the routine, every day, seven days a week.* (Jack, 70s)

Although this was more common for those who had spent long periods in prison, it was also present for those who had served comparatively shorter sentences. Bernard, for example, spent just over six years in prison and found it hard to adjust upon release:

I found it really frightening. My friend, she err… came to get me from [Category D prison] because I live the other side of [the country] basically. It's quite a way. I don't remember the journey back at all. Yeah. I don't remember it. I know she took me into a motorway café for a coffee and it's just a blur. I've forgotten how to react in a café [laughs]. She had to go and tell me to sit down. It's stupid, really stupid. And most of that day, I can't remember at all. (Bernard, 60s, released)

This difficulty in adapting to 'everyday' situations was compounded by feelings of paranoia and distrust. There was a sense that there would still be a need to 'look over your shoulder' and a fear that people would somehow know that the men had been in prison. This was again heightened for those convicted of sexual offences.

Feelings of paranoia were not helpful for those who had the task of cultivating new relationships on release. As highlighted in the previous chapter, many of the older men had experienced relationship breakdowns. Similarly, relationships developed in prison were often prevented from lasting either due to license restrictions or a perceived need for a 'fresh start'. For those who were not returning to pre-existing relationships there was a need to make new connections in the community. This was not seen as a simple task, however, due to fear of judgement in relation to the stigma associated with being an ex-offender. Again, this was more pronounced for those convicted of sexual offences and who have or expect to have conditions around disclosure of their offence:

Because that's what it's gonna be, is living my life in fear. I feel that I'm unable to socialise anymore, be able to have friends, have a relationship, y'know what I mean? [. . .] Also, knowing that when I do go out, now I'm divorced, knowing that when I do go out, the other

one that's going to be very difficult is disclosure and if I do ever have a relationship with

anyone, I have to disclose my past with them. (Lewis, 50s)

Those that did not have family or friends to accommodate them on release, or who were

required to stay in an AP, faced the additional challenge of staying in a hostel. These

environments were not always welcoming and as highlighted above, could be daunting. Martin

had been building up his belongings at the hostel during his home leave but upon arriving there

on his release found they had been stolen. Much like the prison environment, the hostels were

mainly comprised of younger men. As such, the older men struggled with their bravado and

rowdy behaviour in a similar way to when they were in prison. The younger men were described

as often making noise at night, failing to abide by hostel regulations, and generally having a

different attitude to the older men which led to frustration. Mirroring the depiction of many

prison environments, it was highlighted that hostels were not set up with the needs of older men

in mind and thus lacked the facilities and support that may be needed by some:

There's no carers. There's staff but if someone is in a wheelchair, [name of resident], he

was blind in one eye yeah. He's blind in one eye and he couldn't hear and there was no one

out there to help him walk around. I ended up helping him. I said, 'well, I'm going down

town, you coming down the town [name]?' He said, 'oh yeah'. I said, 'come on then, come

with me' and he put his arm like he put his hand on my arm yeah and I walked him to town.

I said, 'stop here, left one, traffic'. I used to tell him. But other than that, if he didn't have

*me or another bloke what offered, he wouldn't be able to go out. (*Brian, 60s, released)

In the absence of formal provision there was a reliance on assistance from other men within the

hostel to help those with more significant needs. This echoes arguments outlined in Chapter Six

around the necessity of peer support in the provision of age-related care.

Problems with accommodation did not end at the AP hostel. Finding and accessing appropriate housing after this stage was extremely challenging for those who were not returning to their existing home and were thus rebuilding their lives. Those who had been released and needed to find accommodation described this as an exhausting experience and saw managing to find somewhere as "potluck". Michael had been in contact with 28 different agencies before finding housing. Many of the places available to them had no space whilst other housing associations and private rented accommodation would not house those with a criminal record or who had been recently released from prison. These barriers were exacerbated for those who were in receipt of Universal Credit and in precarious financial positions. Some of the men described what seemed like endless enquiries that led to dead ends. Over time this began to take its toll:

> *Probation done a referral to somewhere called [local housing charity for ex-offenders]. They phoned me yesterday umm I got three numbers off of them. I phoned these three numbers this morning umm all three of them said they're full, got nowhere to rent. They're full. So, it's demoralising.* (Martin, 50s, released)

Delays to finding permanent accommodation also meant that some of the men were put in precarious positions as their stay in AP accommodation was time limited. Despite a need for secure and stable housing Brian nearly ended up residing in a night shelter:

> *I waited so long in AP. They couldn't find me anywhere to live. In the end they were struggling, they couldn't find anywhere. So, I was with [name] housing people. Council. They offered me an overnight stay for I think it was 6 weeks. Where you gotta book in at night, stay and you had to walk about all day, and you go back again and sign-in again.* (Brian, 60s, released)

Once housing was eventually found, this was often of low quality and detrimental to their health and wellbeing. Michael had post-traumatic stress disorder and the only accommodation that was available to him was particularly challenging in light of his mental ill health:

> *The first house I got was a shithole. It was full of damp. I was living in the roughest area of [large town]. I've been burgled. Police were called on a day-to-day basis in the same street* (Michael, 50s, released)

The lack of appropriate housing is particularly pertinent considering the presence of additional health and social care needs across the participants. Furthermore, environmental factors in prison meant that their needs were not always met. Whilst there were steps that could be taken when the older men were still in prison, making sure that those with higher levels of need were provided for upon release was not always a straightforward process. This, again, was not helped by the absence of a unifying policy strategy for older offenders:

> *I've heard about people being sent off to care homes, especially if they get like really old and to the stage where they are infirm and stuff like that, you know. But it's not an easy move, that one. That takes a lot of work and a lot of effort to try and find people who'll do it. But there's so many different agencies who are outside of the prison that we have to work with just to move one person, it's quite an… umm a split system where actually it should be easy.* (Chris, prison officer)

The absence of support arrangements for those with higher levels of need was felt by those still in prison and thinking about the future. As mentioned in previous chapters, George was visually impaired and was anxious about how he would cope outside of prison:

I'm not ready for when I'm outside because as now I can't see very well, when I was

outside, I had to be ever so careful where I walked because I couldn't tell whether

the pavement was up or down. The number of times I fell over. (George, 70s)

There could also be barriers to accessing healthcare once released. Having been recently

released from prison, Martin reflected on an on-going struggle to register at a GP surgery. This

had knock on effects in relation to accessing medication he needed. He therefore had to

implement strategies in order to try and manage this:

Instead of me taking four, I'm taking one. So, it can last me. So, I'm taking one a day, right,

you've just gotta balance out which is the best one to do. Umm… or when to take it. Then

they, they told me now there's an emergency place where you can go to get medication.

So, I've gone there to try and get the medication and it's like 'well, how do we know you're

on medication?' And I said, 'well, here's the box with my name on, right, this is the

medication I need'. 'Nope, can't do that, can't do this'. And it's like argh… (Martin, 50s,

released)

Another barrier for those not eligible to receive their state pension was trying to access Universal

Credit (UC). Participants described being wrongly told that in order to access UC they were

required to have photographic ID which many were without when leaving prison. Similarly, the

process of applying for UC was described as convoluted and difficult to navigate. This was

particularly prevalent for those who had spent a long time in prison and thus struggled to

manage the requirements of receiving UC such as updating the 'journal' (record of task

completion) and keeping to appointments. Much of the process was done via the internet and,

as mentioned earlier, technology was another point of adjustment. Without sufficient support

the process posed yet another 'hurdle' for some of the men to overcome:

That was the most challenging thing, trying to get my benefits sorted out within the month after moving [. . .] Terrible that was, corr! That was a headache that was, yeah. I went down there, they had all these forms. I said, 'oh, I'm not good at forms'. Universal Credit, you got to unemployment office. They give you forms to fill in, if you're no good with forms, and you ask them to help you, they goes, 'we haven't got time, we're not here to fill out all your forms, take them away and get someone else to help you'. But I found it very difficult at first. (Brain, 60s, released)

In light of all these different hurdles which the men had to navigate there was a sense of resignation and hopelessness. The majority of the older men interviewed alluded to the 'revolving door' within prison and the high levels of reoffending. This was often associated with the lack of support available:

They need to have a serious look of umm helping people go out [. . .] Because that's enough to turn you back to crime again if you're not strong willed because you're demoralised. (Martin, 50s, released)

It just defeats the whole object you know if you are going to go out you've gotta give people something worth going out for but it's the system, the system it just doesn't work. (Roger, 60s)

Whilst many of these challenges are not unique to older men, the lack of support available when transitioning back into the community was especially pronounced for those in later life:

One old guy, he just got his £46 basically. That's what you get on the gate when you, that's all they gave me when I left the prison. Luckily my friend picked me up. He didn't even have… and he was a lot older than me. He didn't even have anywhere to live. They gave him an address in, on the south coast, I've forgotten the name of it now [. . .] Given him an

address there to try and see if they could put him up for the night. That's just bad and

you're out of the door. Y'know, especially an older prisoner. (Bernard, 70s, released)

Overall, the extracts in this section give a sense of the challenges facing older men upon release. It should be re-emphasised that for those with more resources or recovery capital at their disposal, there were both fewer difficulties to overcome and any difficulties that were present were less challenging to navigate.

For those who were tasked with rebuilding their lives, the capacity to persist was seen as essential. Listening to the narratives of those released, it was evident how much time and energy was needed to navigate this experience. As the extracts in this section demonstrate, accessing housing, benefits and healthcare were all examples of how demanding and complex this was to navigate. All of the men emphasised how this experience had taken its toll on them and how they had been very close to giving up trying. Those interviewed, with the exception of Martin (who was still residing in AP accommodation at the time of interview), had eventually found permanent housing and 'succeeded' in navigating other aspects of resettlement. However, there are concerns relating to potential outcomes for those who may not have the capacity to endure such challenges and setbacks.

Summary

The final chapter of the empirical findings has explored the older men's experiences regarding the future, mainly relating to release and resettlement. Overall, there was both a sense of hope and hopelessness expressed by those awaiting release. Whilst the participants looked forward to life back in the community, this was marred by anxiety about how they would cope with the transition. Those who were released at the time of their interview emphasised the complexity

and arduousness of this process. Success on release was seen to be particularly hindered by a lack of age specific release services and/or provision for older offenders. Consistent with the themes running through the empirical material, there was an overall commonality of experience. However, some had more resources from which to draw on and were thus in a better position cope.

Constructing a grounded theory: Navigating a challenging prison climate through capital

I think really, I have been one of the lucky ones. Because umm... y'know I've not had to

face anywhere near the traumas and the tribulations… the trials that a number have.

(Peter, 70s)

Before moving on to the discussion chapter of this thesis, this section outlines the overarching

theoretical model developed from the empirical material presented in the preceding four

chapters. The aim of grounded theory methodologies is to provide a central theoretical account

rooted in the empirical data which subsumes the themes present across categories and

delineates the relationships between concepts (Charmaz, 2014). Looking across the narratives,

the extent to which the men's experiences were so similar yet also so diverging was startling.

Whilst there was a commonality of experience which was shared and consistent across

participants, the ways in which participants were able to navigate and make sense of this

significantly differed based on the resources available to them. Throughout the analysis, the data

evoked a sense that the participants were weathering the same storm in different sized boats.

Indeed, some of the participants commented that they were "one of the lucky ones" based on

factors that eased both their time in prison, and their perception and/or experience of release

and resettlement. It is this reoccurring idea that influenced the construction of the substantive

constructivist grounded theory: *the intersection of prison climate and capital.* The central

argument to this is that older men's experiences of prison are shaped by both the quality of the

prison climate in catering to their needs as older people and the forms of capital held on an

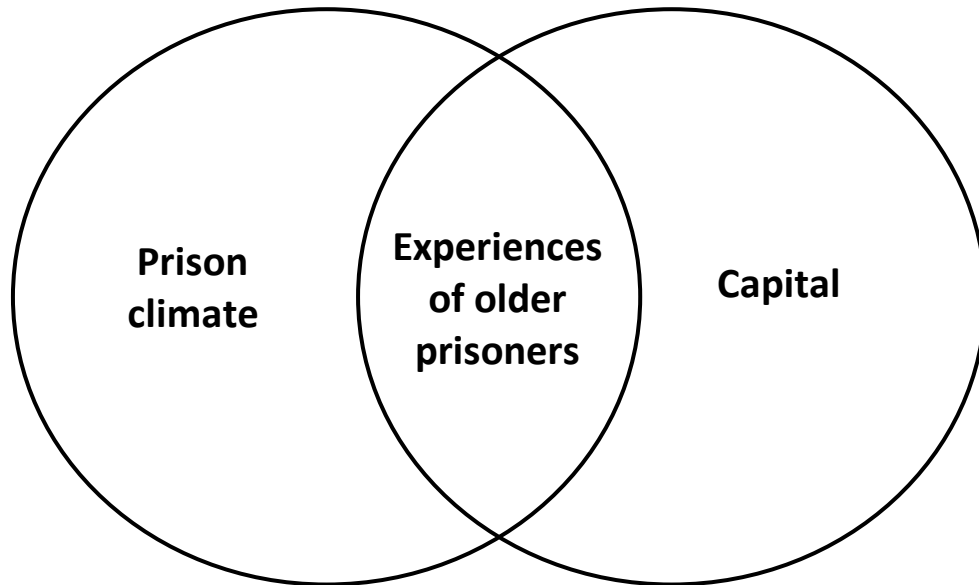individual level, as illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Understanding older men's experiences of imprisonment: the intersection of prison climate and capital.

Within the existing literature various definitions of prison climate have been offered, however, all refer to the way in which different dimensions or properties of a prison come together to shape the overall perception of the environment and how it is experienced (see for example Moos, 1989; Ross et al., 2008; Auty and Liebling, 2020). Although this concept is often used as a psychometric construct in questionnaire-based research, the idea in a broader sense is useful in this context as a way of emphasising the multi-faceted nature of the prison environment in which various factors come together to create an overall 'feel' or perception of a prison for older men. Indeed, across the empirical findings chapters and particularly in Chapter Six, the ways in which multiple factors in the environment came together to create a climate that was more or less sensitive to the needs of older people became clear.

In Ross et al.'s (2008) conceptualisation, prison climate is divided into four areas: social, emotional, organisational, and physical. Whilst the men themselves did not overtly categorise or distinguish between the different dimensions of the prison, the aspects of the prison environment that they identified as meaningful were aligned to this conceptualisation. This provides a useful way of considering the features that emerged to be significant for the older men in this study. Social characteristics emphasised within the narratives included the presence of younger prisoners, the approach taken by prison officers, barriers and/or facilitators to maintaining social ties in the community, and the quality of relationships with other men in the prison. Organisational factors shown to be significant included: the prison's responsiveness and flexibility in managing age-related difficulties and making adjustments, the 'harshness' of the regime, as well as the extent to which there was an awareness and consideration of older prisoners' needs. Pertinent physical characteristics included: the presence of age-specific provision such as age segregated wings, the hostility of the atmosphere, the condition and accessibility of the site, and the availability and quality of health and social care. Finally, emotional factors included: feelings of safety and perceived threat of victimisation, as well as overall feelings of distress posed by the nature of the other characteristics outlined above. Here, it is important to briefly re-emphasise the significantly varied and inconsistent levels of provision for older people across the prison estate, as discussed in Chapter Six. Participants asserted that their experiences across different prisons were profoundly variable and dependent on the climate of the prison they were in.

Whilst the challenges posed by prison climate were a consistent feature of the narratives, these alone did not tell the full story of the older men's lived experience of prison. Here, it is important to re-emphasise that the older men interviewed had highly contrasting life histories prior to

entering prison and come from significantly varied socioeconomic backgrounds. For some, their lives were described in terms of the adversities they experienced, whereas for others, their time in prison was characterised as a 'blip' within an otherwise stable life. Furthermore, whilst some detailed low educational attainment, leaving school with little to no formal qualifications, others had been educated at a university level. Similarly, some had spent their working lives in typically lower paid manual-based jobs, whilst others emphasised their success in higher paid professional careers. Thus, the older men had diverse pre-prison identities.

As highlighted in Chapter Eight, relational support outside of the prison was also significantly varied. Whereas some still had strong ties to their community, others had little to no external support (often related to either the nature of the offence they had committed or the length of their sentence). There were also significantly varied health and social care needs across the participants. Whilst some regarded themselves as fit and healthy with high levels of mobility, others had serious health issues and/or were disabled.

The participants, then, had markedly differing resources at their disposal which in turn afforded them varying amounts of capital in which to navigate the prison climate. This strongly resonates with Bourdieu's (1986) conceptualisation of capital which refers to the way in which particular resources enable advancement within certain contexts. There was therefore a wide range in the different forms of capital held by the older men, and this was central in their ability to negotiate the prison climate. More specifically, varying forms of capital (a) helped the older men overcome challenges, and (b) acted as a buffer and/or shielded some of the men from additional adversities.

There were certain forms of capital that were particularly pertinent to managing prison in later life. These included, social, identity, cultural, economic and personal/mental capital. These will be discussed and related to the existing literature later in this chapter. Although it is important to recognise these as standalone factors, the way in which these come together to form an overall spread and breadth of capital which can be drawn upon must also be considered. Pooled together, these resources not only led to a greater capacity to endure what was often a challenging prison climate but also promoted the ability to construct and take on a more positive sense of self. This echoes the idea of recovery capital (discussed in Chapter Nine) which refers to the 'bank' of different forms of capital that an individual is able to access in order to help them overcome challenging life experiences (Tew, 2013). Although Tew's (2013) conceptualisation is used in the context of recovering from mental ill health, the personal and social disruption associated with mental health difficulties has parallels with the way prison was described by the participants.

Overall, this allows us to think about the how different forms of capital come together to help older men navigate what is often a challenging prison climate. That is not to say, however, that for those who hold greater capital that the experience is not still difficult or distressing. But rather, that there are more resources to draw upon to help cope with and make sense of their situation.

Chapter 10: Discussion and Conclusions

Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to gain greater insight into older men's lived experiences of imprisonment by exploring the perspectives of older men in prison, older men recently released, and prison officers. The purpose was not to obtain an objective 'truth' but to instead interrogate how older men made sense of and understood imprisonment in later life. Similarly, it is important to re-emphasise that the inclusion of prison officers in the sample was not to corroborate or fact-check the perspectives of the older men but instead to gain an additional viewpoint on the profile and needs of older men in prison, and the considerations that arise when working with this population. As outlined in Chapter Five, a broad and exploratory approach was taken in order to gain a sense of older men's lived experiences overall without focusing on a particular 'need', and also to remain focused on what the participants deemed to be important. This was also done in an attempt to avoid simply reproducing taken-for-granted ideas and to instead remain grounded in the data – something integral to studying issues related to social justice (Charmaz, 2017). These aims were therefore explored through two exploratory research questions:

- How do older men experience prison?

- How do prison officers experience their work with older prisoners?

Whilst the previous four chapters outlined the empirical findings from this study, this chapter moves on to consider how these come together as a whole to answer the research questions above. More specifically, the findings are discussed and situated within the existing literature in reference to the overarching theoretical model presented at the end of the empirical material. Recommendations for policy, practice, and future research are outlined, and limitations of the

research are also highlighted. Lastly, the contribution of this thesis is considered, as well as final concluding remarks.

Importance of prison climate

As examined in Chapter Four, the existing literature on this topic has consistently indicated that the needs of older men in prison often go unmet, and that this is the case across many dimensions of their experience (see for example, Turner et al., 2018; Mann, 2012; Aday and Wahidin, 2016; Fazel et al., 2004; Fazel et al., 2001; Fazel et al., 2002; Hayes et al., 2013; O'Hara et al., 2016; and Crawley, 2005). This raised questions regarding if and how these issues translated into the narratives of the participants in this study and shaped their day-to-day experiences of prison life. In line with the existing literature, participants' narratives consistently highlighted the highly challenging nature of the prison environment and the ways in which environment was incongruous to supporting older people. Moreover, while participants did highlight specific aspects of the prison experience to be particularly difficult, what was made apparent by the empirical material was that it was generally the culmination of multiple aspects of the environment – the climate – that shaped their overall experience of prison. As such, focusing only on very specific needs of older prisoners and the way in which these are or are not met may result in the bigger picture of what it means to be an older man in prison being overlooked.

Chapter Two highlighted debates relating to the purposes of prison for older men. In particular, how the presence of age-related challenges may lead to a heightened sense of punishment (Turner et al., 2018; Khechumyan, 2018). This raised questions about if and how a heightened sense of punishment would appear in the participants' narratives. Throughout the data there

was a sense that the difficulties they faced as older people increased the 'weight' of imprisonment (Crewe, 2011, Downes, 1988, King and McDermott, 1995). Both the older men and prison officers cited instances where the experience was perceived as more onerous. For example, entering prison and having to adapt to a highly complicated system consisting of numerous formal and informal rules was seen as especially challenging for someone in later life.

Questions were also raised within the literature review around how the prison environment can be made more suitable for older men (see Chapter Four). Across the findings, various factors were seen to preclude the creation of a healthier prison climate for this group. These can be broadly grouped into structural and cultural influences and will now be discussed in turn and situated within the existing literature.

Structural influences on the prison climate

Chapter Two contextualised the broader socio-political landscape relating to prison conditions for older men and raised questions regarding how both policy imperatives and political rhetoric have translated into their everyday experiences. In particular, the impact of the current lack of national policy framework for older prisoners was considered. As highlighted in Chapter Two, austerity-based policies such as the prison benchmarking programme have been found to have had a profound effect on the prison setting. Turner et al. (2018) have argued that a lack of resources and staffing have negatively impacted upon the health and social care of older prisoners. Evidence regarding the extent to which the legacy of austerity is still present and how prevalent this is in provision for older prisoners more generally, however, has been limited. In this study, the austere nature of the environment was emphasised by both prison officers and older men and reflected throughout their narratives where barriers to creating a

more suitable prison climate was often attributed to a lack of resources, funding, and staffing. Indeed, there was often explicit reference to the prison system having been 'cut back'.

One example of how this manifested was lengthy waiting times associated with accessing health and social care, appropriate purposeful activities, and suitable locations within the prison such as those that are age segregated. Findings from this study therefore echo previous research which found that older prisoners were faced with long waiting times for healthcare due to both staff shortages and restricted resources (Turner et al., 2018). More broadly, this also supports the existing evidence that austerity based polices have had and continue to have a profound impact on prisoners' quality of life and health (Ismail, 2019a; 2019b; 2020).

Previous findings have characterised the way in which prisons manage older offenders as 'institutional thoughtlessness', whereby there is a lack of consideration that ageing prisoners may require additional assistance or adjustments for particular tasks (Crawley, 2005). Whilst this resonates with the difficulties experienced by older men, these did not appear to stem from thoughtlessness per se, but rather environmental constraints. Indeed, there seemed to be an awareness and consideration of the older men's age-related needs, but the physical and organisational barriers outlined above, and discussed in Chapter Six, hindered the ability to address them. This could be explained in part by the sharp growth of the ageing prison population since Crawley's (2005) work and thus a likely increase in awareness of their needs as a group as a result. Similarly, although participants drew on their experiences at a variety of different prisons they had been incarcerated in, the majority of the older men were residing in one institution at the time of interview. This prison had a high concentration of older prisoners, and many were located on an older men's wing. Thus, the awareness of age-related needs

described by the participants may reflect the priorities of that particular establishment and may not be present across the prison estate.

This study also highlights how inadequate resources create particular challenges in the absence of a national policy strategy. In Chapter Six it was shown that the absence of policy regarding the management of older offenders had led to a need for staff ingenuity in devising ad hoc measures. In light of limited resources, however, the ability to implement interventions and make necessary adjustments at a local level was constrained. Whilst there were examples of good practice with particular initiatives and approaches for older prisoners implemented at some prisons, participants emphasised that the extent to which the prison climate was suitable for older men was highly variable. This therefore suggests that the 'postcode lottery' that has been reported in relation to social care for older prisoners (HMI Prisons and CQC, 2018) extends beyond this, to many areas of their prison life. This study has thus provided greater insight regarding the way in which an absence of a national policy strategy has translated into older prisoners' everyday experiences.

These issues were not only present in the older men's narratives but also reflected in prison officers' experiences. In the absence of a unifying policy strategy officers described their work with older men in terms of having to 'muddle through' and 'learn on the job.' Strain placed on officers working with prisoners with dementia or who required palliative care, for example, was intensified by the absence of any formal training on how these issues should be approached. Similarly, where there was a sense of what needed to be done, the rigidity of the regime and lack of resources could preclude this from happening or make this more difficult to achieve. Overall, this could result in feelings of guilt and seemed to exacerbate emotional challenges, as

there could be uncertainty around the 'right' thing to do. This chimes with existing evidence that has suggested organisational constraints, particularly the continued impact of the benchmarking programme, create additional challenges for officers working with older prisoners (Peacock, Turner and Varey, 2018).

Cultural influences on prison climate

Chapter Four of the literature review raised questions around how prison officers experienced their work with older men and how they saw their role. In Chapter Eight, the relationships between older men and prison officers were examined and shown to be an integral element of the prison climate. Both groups condemned what was described as a more traditional or 'old-school' approach taken by some of the prison officers. This was characterised by a more punitive and authoritarian style. Here, it is important to re-emphasise arguments presented in Chapter Three where prison officers' use of authority and the extent to which it is perceived as 'legitimate' and acceptable is not objective. Instead, it emerges from a process of interaction, or "a continuing dialogue between those who hold power and the recipients" (Liebling, 2011, p. 486). The loud and bullish displays of authority adopted by some officers can therefore be considered 'illegitimate' practices in the context of working with older men. This echoes arguments within the literature which suggest that 'good' prison work "lies in selecting the right 'tool' for the 'job'; knowing when it was appropriate to use which skill, and to what degree, when dealing with different situations and people" (Arnold, 2006, as cited in Arnold, Liebling, and Tait, 2007, p. 477). The more authoritarian approach adopted by some officers was not only seen as excessive and unnecessary in light of the older men's conduct in the prison, but also counterintuitive to building positive relationships and made them less amenable. This re-

emphasises that when authority is perceived as 'legitimate' there is increased compliance from prisoners (Liebling, 2011).

In terms of the prison officers' experiences of day-to-day work with older men, there was a consensus that the main challenges when working with this group, when compared to younger prisoners, were not related to safety or maintaining control but instead dealing with the older men's age-related needs and managing the associated emotional demands. Indeed, throughout the prison officers' narratives a variety of emotions emerged including sadness, pity, frustration, disgust, anxiety and guilt. Whilst the presence of emotional labour is not unique to work with older prisoners, as all prison officers must contend with both prisoners' emotions and their own (Crawley, 2004), the frailty and sometimes dire circumstances of some of the older men could be particularly difficult to manage.

Tensions present in some of the staff-prisoner relationships evoked a sense of what the existing literature has identified as a conflict for prison officers in providing care whilst also maintaining control (Halsey and Deegan, 2017; Cheek and Miller, 1983; Johnson, 1977; Sykes, 1956), something heightened in the context of the older prison population (Humblet, 2020). The findings from this study suggest that some officers were able to negotiate this tension more successfully than others in the context of working with older prisoners. This aligns with Tait (2011), who argues that prison officers have differing understandings of what 'care' looks like in the prison setting and that there is thus variation in how this is approached in their work. Both groups of participants in this study asserted that the most important characteristics when working with older prisoners were empathy, compassion, understanding and patience. These echo Tait's (2011) description of the 'true carer' in her typology of prison officer approaches to

care. Central to this type were officers who saw prisoners as individuals rather than simply reducing them to their status as a prisoner. Indeed, all of the prison officers in this study emphasised the importance of this, particularly when reflecting on working with those with ill-health compassionately, despite their personal feelings toward their offending histories.

A focus on the older prisoners' humanity was often associated with showing respect. This resonates with existing research where prisoners reported feeling respected by officers when they were spoken to 'like a human being' or 'as a normal person' (Liebling, with Arnold, 2004, p. 209). Similarly, for the older prisoners in this study, respect was spoken about in terms of officers being courteous, taking an interest in them, and feeling supported. They also felt respected when assistance from prison officers was forthcoming and reliable, consistent with what Hulley, Liebling and Crewe (2011) term 'organizational respect' which refers to "a willingness and ability among staff to assist and support prisoners in relation to their daily needs and requests" (p. 11).

As discussed above, a softer approach when working with older men was advocated for by both participant groups. However, it was also stressed that this attitude was not shared by all prison officers. Crawley (2004) argues that de-personalisation and emotional detachment are key emotion management strategies employed by prison officers and part of the 'feelings rules' in most prison officer cultures. She argues, "they are warned, during basic training, not to get too friendly nor too relaxed with prisoners, on the grounds that this may lead to 'conditioning' and hence to compromises of security" (p. 420). This is somewhat incongruous with the approach advocated for by the officers in this study where the importance of compassion and empathy was stressed. The blurring of care and control thus appeared to increase emotional labour for

the officers, and some had to deal with managing difficult emotions when those they had built a rapport with died, for example.

This theme is consistent with existing literature that has reported significant emotional demands on prison staff involved with palliative care (Turner and Peacock, 2017; Peacock, Turner and Varey, 2018). This sits in contrast, however, with Humblet's (2020) findings where prison officers in Belgium dehumanised older prisoners and physically distanced themselves in order to avoid the emotional demands of their work. Humblet (2020) concluded in their research that officers subscribed to the 'sameness principle', and therefore believed older prisoners should be treated the same as any other prisoner regardless of their additional needs. This lies in contrast with prison officers interviewed in this study, however, who asserted that "you can't really be a proper prison officer" when working with older prisoners.

Capital

One of the questions that emerged from an examination of the existing literature was how older men cope with a challenging prison environment. In line with previous research (see for example Mann, 2012), this study has re-emphasised the highly heterogenous nature of older offenders. As discussed earlier in the chapter, whilst the prison climate posed challenges for all of the older men in this study, individual levels of capital led to differing levels of resources which could be drawn upon.

The first form of capital that helped the older men navigate the prison climate was social capital. Whilst Chapter Eight revealed that relationships between older men within prison were valuable and provided a source of companionship and support, these relationships tended to be

constrained and were seen to lack depth. The lack of permanency in particular meant that the older men tended to describe the other men as 'acquaintances' rather than 'friends.' Indeed, this resonates with academic research where acquaintanceship has been characterised as a relationship combining both intimacy and distance (Morgan, 2009).

In light of the constrained nature of relationships inside the prison, contact with those in the community becomes particularly salient. Central to the empirical material discussed in Chapters Eight and Nine was the importance of both the presence and quality of relational ties outside of prison. Whilst some participants appeared to have more extensive networks of friends and family who provided support and advice and thus helped the older men through their sentences, others were extremely isolated. Such ties were not only helpful in managing the inherent challenges of prison life but also the extent to which the men could feel optimistic about their future and their ability to cope with life after release. Social capital was therefore central to navigating the prison climate and specifically what Briggs (1998) terms "social support" which enables individuals to manage adversity. This supports some of the existing literature which proposes that enhancing older prisoners' social capital may improve overall positive outcomes for this population (Jang and Canada, 2014). Indeed, in the prison population more generally social capital has been linked to lower levels of recidivism (Agnew, 1985; Cullen, 1994; Hochstetler et al., 2010; Pettus-Davis et al., 2011; Wolff & Draine, 2004).

Another form of capital that enabled older men to cope within the harsh prison climate was, what the existing literature refers to as, masculine capital (de Visser, Smith, and McDonnell, 2009). Chapter Three outlined debates in relation to how men reconstruct a masculine identity in later life and raised questions around how those in prison enact ageing masculinities. Chapters

Six and Seven highlighted the hypermasculine nature of the prison environment and how this was often associated with embodied masculinity. Consistent with the material discussed in Chapter Three, physical 'hardness' and ability to convey a tough persona were central to signifying masculine power and avoiding victimisation (Maycock, 2018). Thus, those who remained fit and muscular had more currency in the hypermasculine prison climate and therefore experienced fewer threats to their masculine identity in comparison to someone frail. In contrast with some existing research that has characterised older men as indifferent to masculinity in prison (Mann, 2012), the participants in this study actively responded to this threat by reconfiguring what masculine identity means as an older prisoner. Indeed, the older men emphasised that they felt hypermasculine behaviours were immature and associated with younger prisoners, positioning themselves as civilised and wise in comparison. In this sense, the narratives here resonate with the way in which men in the community have been reported to reconstruct their masculine identity in relation to their role as grandfathers. As discussed in Chapter Three, becoming a grandfather provides a means of taking on an identity as a wise and sage older man (Davidson, Daly and Arber, 2003; Tarrant, 2013).

Another form of capital that was shown to be pertinent to navigating the challenging prison climate was what has been termed identity capital (Côté, 1996). Broadly, this refers to the tools one has to manage identities in the face of disruption. In Chapter Seven, it was discussed how both ageing and imprisonment posed threats to the older men's masculine and moral identities. Here, it is important to re-emphasise the dominance of a pejorative and punitive rhetoric in relation to offenders, particularly those convicted of sexual offences (as discussed in Chapter Two). The participants appeared acutely aware of this, and throughout their narratives often made explicit reference to the general public's perception of them. However, some of the

239

participants had significantly more resources available to them in terms of reconstructing a positive sense of self and resisting stigma. One example of this was the ability to reclaim a sense of moral identity through emphasising a 'busy ethic' (Ekerdt, 1986), rooted in their engagement in purposeful activity and framing themselves as independent, active, and 'successful' older prisoners. The older men therefore distanced themselves from deplored notions of ageing such as inactivity and dependence. This supports debates outlined in Chapter Three around how successful ageing is often associated with activity and agelessness and demonstrates how these ideas are present within the prison context. Furthermore, this also resonates with recent research on older prisoners in Israel, where finding a sense of purpose provided them with a means of ageing successfully (Avieli, 2021). However, not all of the older men were able to do this as those who were frail, experiencing ill-health or disabled were not able to draw on this identity strategy in the same way.

Engagement with activities or work in the prison not only provided a means of emphasising success in terms of activity but also in terms of achievements, particularly in relation to engagement with prison education. In contrast with existing literature which suggests older prisoners saw education as somewhat pointless at their age (Mann, 2012), some of the participants in this study highlighted their achievements in courses such as creative writing and how this provided them with a sense of accomplishment. Others found meaning in their work in roles such as being a teaching assistant or working as a Samaritans' Listener. These men, however, tended to be those who had come from more affluent backgrounds, been educated to a higher level, and were therefore more able to engage in such endeavours than those who had low levels of literacy, for example. There was thus a sense that these men held greater cultural

capital (Bourdieu, 1986) which afforded them more opportunities within the prison climate, echoing Mann's (2012) findings.

Woven throughout the narratives and highlighted explicitly in Chapter Nine was a need for inner strength and capacity to persist in spite of adversity, conceptualised within the existing literature as personal or mental capital (Tomer, 2003). Personal capital also relates to the strategies one has in order to cope and problem solve. This is particularly significant in light of the mental health issues some of the older men were experiencing. There was a sense that some of the participants had more capacity to endure and persist than others who may have histories of traumatic experiences and severe mental ill health. Thus, those holding greater personal capital would be better able to navigate the adversities present in the prison climate and upon release.

Furthermore, when faced with the prospect of release, economic capital was also significant for the older men. Although assets were not much assistance for coping with the prison climate, knowing there were funds to fall back on upon release shaped the way in which the older men thought about the future. Those with greater economic capital had more options for their life once out of prison and this seemed to provide more hope for the future. Indeed, those who had been released emphasised how having (or not having) funds was an important factor in their transition back into the community.

Overall, it is clear from the empirical findings that varying forms of capital were important in navigating a challenging prison climate for older people. This therefore broadly aligns with Machi et al.'s (2011) assertion that "internal and/or external coping resources acted as a protective factor with the potential to ameliorate the adverse physical, mental, and behavioural

consequences of stress and trauma among prisoners" (p. 413). As highlighted earlier in the chapter, however, it is not only important to consider the forms of capital as individual resources but also how they come together to form an overall 'bank' of capital to help older prisoners navigate imprisonment and recovery from adversity (Tew, 2013). Indeed, just as many factors were important to how the overall prison climate was experienced, the spread of capital held by the men appeared most important in navigating prison life.

Release and resettlement

Although the primary aim of this study was to gain further insight into older men's experiences *in* prison, the importance of life after prison coupled with insights from those who were released (due to the amended data collection strategy) mean that the findings from this study can also contribute to understandings about release for older prisoners. Chapter Nine showed that the older men in prison generally had constructive and relatively modest aspirations for life after prison. Consistent with findings in the existing literature, however, any optimism for the future was tainted by feelings of anxiety related to how they would cope with release in later life and worries for their safety (Crawley and Sparks, 2006). As described in Chapter Four, the existing literature suggests that release anxiety is particularly heightened for older men due to inadequate release planning (see Forsyth et al., 2014). Both the older men and prison officers in this study emphasised that a more age sensitive approach to release planning was needed, particularly an increase in information specifically aimed at older offenders. Moreover, prison officers emphasised a need for a less fragmented approach when working with external agencies to plan older prisoners' release, echoing previous arguments put forward for the creation of a more joined up system of working between local authorities and probation services (Robinson et al., 2021)

Less attention, however, has been paid to how feelings towards the future are also associated with older men's perceptions of their progression and rehabilitation. In this study, there was an increasing frustration with feeling 'stuck' in an ineffective system. Some of the men described their aversion to attending programmes aimed at reducing offending behaviour, particularly those aimed at individuals who committed a sexual offence. Some felt that they did not 'need' to go, and this was often explained in reference to denying their offence. This may have therefore been a strategy to avoid responsibility and feelings of guilt, something documented in the literature pertaining to older men convicted of sexual offences (Mann, 2012b). On the other hand, it is important to highlight that some of the men were convicted of offences that occurred many years ago and may therefore find it difficult to accept they need to attend (Cadet, 2020). Conversely, some of the men asserted that rehabilitation programmes were perceived as failing to tackle the 'root' causes of previous offending such as mental ill health, unresolved trauma, and/or substance misuse. Interventions aimed at reducing the risk of reoffending were also seen to be centred on the needs of younger men, supporting existing arguments in the literature (Cadet, 2020).

There was also a perceived lack of provision aimed at helping older men re-integrate into the community, particularly for those on long sentences. This meant that the men felt unprepared to navigate certain aspects of resettlement such as using new technology, finding suitable accommodation, or applying for Universal Credit. Alongside this is the continuing impact that the prison climate had on the older men. A lack of rehabilitation coupled with the inhospitable and unrelenting nature of the prison environment (see Chapter Six) left the men feeling 'worse than when they came in', echoing the similar findings where prison caused older offenders

psychological "hidden injuries" (Maschi et al., 2011, p. 412; Crawley and Spark, 2005). This further heightened the release anxiety they experienced. Here, it is important to consider existing literature which suggests that the nature of the prison climate is important to both prisoner mental health (Goomany and Dickinson, 2015) and rehabilitation (Harding, 2014; Woessner and Schwelder, 2014; Stasch et al., 2018; Ware and Galouzis, 2019; Blagden, 2022; Auty and Liebling, 2020). Creating a more appropriate climate for older men in prison may therefore have implications for outcomes upon their release.

Challenges in relation to resettlement described by the older men who were released both confirmed the fears present in relation to release and also mirrored some of the adversities posed by the prison climate. Anxieties related to unpreparedness and lacking support were well founded. In the same way the prison climate was often challenging and not suitable for the needs of older men, this was also present when leaving prison. Returning to the community was described as a harsh and complicated process and thus difficult to adjust to in a similar way to adapting to the prison climate. Tasks such as registering at a GP surgery and/or obtaining medications, applying for up-to-date identity documents, and accessing Universal Credit were all examples that were perceived as overly arduous. These difficulties were heightened by the presence of institutionalisation as discussed in Chapter Nine. Although more pronounced for those with long sentences, there was still a sense that it was hard to adapt to life back in the community for those with comparatively shorter sentences, possibly due to the disruption to their former lives (Crawley & Sparks, 2006).

Finding suitable accommodation was one of the most significant challenges for the men upon release, consistent with previous findings that having no accommodation upon release was one

of the biggest unmet needs for older men in prison (Hayes et al., 2013). Whilst finding suitable housing poses difficulties for all offenders, the prevalence of age-related needs amplifies this, as well as the barriers for those convicted of sexual offences who are likely to have additional restrictions imposed upon them which may limit the options available (Bows and Westmarland, 2018). Four out of the five released older men who were interviewed in this study stayed in AP accommodation upon release and many of those in prison who were interviewed were also expecting to. Overall, there was a sense that the environment posed similar challenges to that in prison. Participants emphasised that being around the younger men in the hostels could be intimidating and struggled with what they perceived as loud and disruptive behaviour, echoing findings in relation to an age divide between sex offenders in AP accommodation (Reeves, 2013). There were also parallels to the prison climate in regard to the facilities that were available at AP accommodation, which were not always accessible for older prisoners with reduced mobility (Bows and Westmarland, 2018). This study therefore begins to build a picture of how release is experienced by older men, an area where knowledge is currently very limited.

A further parallel to the older men's experiences of prison was the importance of capital in navigating the prison-community transition. As discussed in Chapter Nine, narratives were often diverging in terms of how the men viewed release based on the resources they had available to them. Various forms of capital both helped the older men cope with adversities and for some, shield them from certain challenges. Overall, these conveyed a sense of some of the men *repairing* a former way of life, yet others were required to *rebuild* a new life or "start from scratch." Although the existing literature does not conceptualise this in terms of capital per se, the importance of individual circumstances for older men leaving prison is supported. In

particular, employment, finances and housing status, as well as health status and presence of family support (Hagos et al., 2021; Crawley and Sparks, 2006; Bows and Westmarland, 2018).

Limitations

It is important to consider potential limitations in relation to this study. As discussed in Chapter Five, the COVID-19 pandemic emerged during fieldwork and therefore had significant impact on the data collection. This in turn affected the size and nature of the sample that could be obtained. For example, it would have been beneficial to conduct further interviews with older men at additional prisons (as originally intended), such as prisons holding mixed populations rather than just those convicted of sexual offences and those with a lower concentration of older prisoners. Although the older men drew on their experiences from the range of prisons they had been to, the majority were in a prison with a high concentration of older men at the time of interview. This was described as being relatively well-equipped for older people in comparison to other prisons. This may have therefore shaped the way in which they reflected upon their experience of prison as a whole.

In order to mitigate the disruption to the study as a result of COVID-19, the amended recruitment strategy was implemented (see Chapter Five). The addition of older men recently released from prison was advantageous to the study overall as it allowed exploration of retrospective accounts of prison in later life and also began to build a picture of how release was experienced. However, due to the stage of the project at which this was implemented, time constraints meant that there were only a small number of released participants interviewed and more of a balance of both groups within the sample would have been desirable. However, overall, this unexpected alteration has been insightful and provided an opportunity to develop the research further.

Finally, the sample could have been more diverse in some regards. Firstly, the majority of the participants were convicted of sexual offences. There was thus a particularly heightened sense of stigma for this group of men and this may have shaped their experiences and therefore the findings as a whole. However, this does somewhat reflect the overrepresentation of those who committed sexual offences within the population of older prisoners. Furthermore, the study was also limited in diversity in terms of both sexual orientation and ethnicity. Only one of the older men who participated was not white. During his interview he briefly emphasised the impact of this on his experiences, however, no firm conclusions can be drawn from this study in relation to how ethnicity may intersect with age in the experiences of older prisoners as the majority of the participants identified as white British. In addition to this, no demographic information was collected regarding sexual orientation and no participants made reference to being LGBT+, thus no conclusions can be drawn about the experiences of non-heterosexual older prisoners.

Contribution and strengths

As discussed in the literature review chapters of this thesis, there is an existing body of literature highlighting the ways in which prison poses challenges for older people, particularly in terms of meeting their needs. Whilst this study re-emphasises these challenges, it also provides a novel way of viewing older men's lived experiences of prison and release more generally through the constructivist grounded theory of *prison climate and capital.* For example, it has highlighted the ways in which multiple factors come together to shape the overall climate in relation to their age-related needs. Furthermore, it has elucidated how this is managed and the ways in which the resources held by some make them better able to navigate a challenging climate. Similarly,

research with released older prisoners is currently very limited and this study is thought to be the first to include older men both in prison and released in the sample.

It is also important to emphasise that the use of Charmaz' (2008; 2014) constructivist grounded theory when researching older prisoners is also thought to be novel. This approach is seen to have been significantly beneficial to this study. The broad and exploratory starting point was particularly advantageous, as well as the focus on remaining grounded in participants' perspectives. If a narrower starting point had been taken, for example, continuing the focus on particular areas of older men's needs in prison, the importance of capital in negotiating various aspects of the prison climate may have been overlooked. This thesis therefore re-emphasises the merit of CGT in that it reduces the likelihood that researchers will "reify conventional definitions of empirical problems" and therefore encourages criticality through different ways of theorising social issues (Charmaz, 2017, p. 39).

Recommendations for policy and practice

Overall, the empirical findings from this study re-emphasise the need for greater consideration of the needs of older offenders in both policy and practice. Whilst there has previously been resistance from government to calls for an older offender's national strategy (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2020a), it is welcomed that the current government has now recognised the urgent need for this and begun to develop such a strategy (Ministry of Justice, 2020). Although it is unlikely to address all the recommendations made below, it is hoped that this will mark a move toward a standard of care for older people equal to that in the community. What follows is an outline of key policy and practice recommendations that emerged from both the analysis of the data and suggestions made by participants.

Recommendation 1: Increase in age-specific provision and services

This thesis has highlighted how a lack of provision and services targeted at older offenders has had a negative impact on both their experiences and prison officers working with them. Whilst it is clear that older offenders are not a homogenous group in terms of life experiences or capital that they hold, there is an apparent commonality of age-related needs that must be addressed. As the data emphasised that older prisoners were distinct from the younger prison population in many ways, facilities must therefore reflect this. Although some prisons were already doing this, increased availability of age-specific services is necessary and the development of such facilities in prisons where this is currently limited is particularly urgent. Specific examples of important age-specific provision include:

- Increased availability of age-segregated wings/units. Whilst this should, of course, not be mandatory, older prisoners must be given the opportunity to move to such a location. In prisons where these already operate, efforts must be made to reduce waiting times to access these and thus reduce time spent in wings unsuitable for their needs.

- A requirement for prisons to have purposeful activities geared towards the interests and needs of older prisoners that can be taken part in regardless of ability, ideally via the roll out of older people's day centres across the prison estate.

- The creation of an age-specific induction procedure and information booklet.

In order to accomplish the recommendations above, both an increase in and ring-fence of funding must be introduced to support this. Similarly, whilst the use of peer support programmes was seen as beneficial to both the prison carers and older prisoners they were assisting, this must be run *alongside* formal care provision and not *instead of*.

Recommendation 2: Continued drive for more equitable provision through unifying policy

There must be less variation in the suitability of prison climate, and it is imperative that provision is made more consistent across the prison estate to end the 'postcode lottery.' There must therefore be investment and commitment to increasing suitability for older prisoners. Whilst it could be argued that there should instead be a focus on sending older offenders to prisons with a more appropriate prison climate rather than adapting the prison estate, it is feared that this would exacerbate the strain upon maintaining ties in the community posed by the large distances that their visitors must travel. Moving forward, efforts must therefore be made to raise standards of care for older people in prisons that are under performing in this area to make sure that older men receive equal care to those in other prisons. It is hoped that the creation of a national strategy will help with this.

Recommendation 3: Increased investment and funding in prison sector more broadly

In addition to increased funding to support the creation and extension of age-specific provision for older prisoners, there is also a crucial need for increased prison funding more generally. Given the inherent institutional challenges in caring for older prisoners that were generally associated with lack of staff and resources (Chapter Six), an increase in funding more broadly is also needed. Specifically, the following areas in particular need attention:

- Renovation and improvements to living standards to promote decency.

- An increase in prison staffing levels.

- Increase in healthcare capacity and availability.

- Reduced waiting lists for purposeful activities.

- Increased health promotion e.g. renewed commitment to the Healthy Prisons Agenda (Ismail, 2020).

Taken together, these changes would improve the prison landscape more generally and reduce the harsh and austere climate that constrains the ability to cater to the needs of older prisoners. It is regrettable, however, that an increase in spending to raise the conditions of the prison estate under the current Government seems unlikely. Although there is currently a commitment to expanding and modernising the prison estate (Ministry of Justice, 2021c), it is feared that the former will take priority in light of the electoral popularity of punitive rhetoric (Roberts et al., 2003; Newburn, 2007; Pratt, 2007; Monterosso, 2009, see Chapter Two). In the absence of raising standards across prisons generally, segregating older prisoners into locations that can meet their needs will be increasingly important.

Recommendation 4: Alternatives to prison

Increased use of alternatives to prison for both older prisoners and the prison population more generally is also encouraged. Here it is important to consider that "age is one of the most consistent predictors of desistance from criminal offending" (Psick et al., 2017, p. 59) and as this thesis has reaffirmed the inherent challenges to meeting the needs of older people in prison, alternative models of justice and decarceration strategies should be pursued where appropriate. Examples of these could include restorative justice practices due to their effectiveness in terms of both increased satisfaction for victims and reduced recidivism (Latmier, Dowden, and Muise, 2005), as well as the use of residential care facilities or Home Detention Curfew. A widening of the criteria for early release on compassionate grounds is also encouraged to reduce the strain on the prison system and optimise the care for older and dying prisoners as the current guidance is very hard to satisfy (Prisons and Probation Ombudsman, 2017). The use of such alternatives is

complicated in the case of those convicted of sexual offences, particularly historic offences where victims have been denied justice for many years (Turner et al., 2018). So, increasing the suitability of the prison climate for older offenders where there appear to be no sustainable alternatives to incarceration remains imperative. However, more can also be done to reduce the prison population generally which would in turn ease pressures and thus be conducive to improving care for older offenders. For example, increased use of diversion strategies where offenders with mental-ill health are diverted out of the criminal justice system and into mental health services (Centre for Mental Health, 2009) and the eradication of short sentences (less than 12 months) for non-violent offences that have been found to be counter-productive (Cracknell, 2018).

Recommendation 5: Supporting positive relationships

The empirical material in this thesis has highlighted the ways in which older prisoners' relationships may be constrained. There is therefore a need to enhance their relationships both within prison and in the community to enable them to lead positive and meaningful lives. Suggestions for promoting more constructive relations with prison officers drawn from the interview data include:

- Increased training for prison staff in areas related to the needs of older prisoners such as end of life care, identifying signs of and supporting those with dementia.

- A better 'matching' process to ensure the right officers are working with the older population.

- Greater consideration and promotion of the approach advocated for by all groups of participants in this study e.g. less authoritarian in style with increased focus on compassion, patience, and understanding.

In regard to relationships with friends and family in the community it is recommended:

- Increased promotion of engagement with support systems outside of prison. One example of this could be a roll out of scheme to support frail and/or ill relatives to travel to the prison for visits.

- Supporting families through the process of their older relative entering prison to try and maintain ties.

- Increased promotion of pen pal or befriender schemes.

Recommendation 6: Utilisation of person-centred approaches to prisoner care and release

As highlighted throughout the empirical material, the older men in this study had varying levels of capital at their disposal and markedly varied personal circumstances. Thus, it is imperative that policy responses attend to the diverging resources in this population. Similarly, interventions and services must also factor this in and draw on the resources older offenders have available to them and build up areas that are lacking. For example, supporting older prisoners by raising the social capital of those isolated by creating stronger ties in the community or focusing on financial assistance and housing for those with little economical capital and are in a precarious position on release. Indeed, release and resettlement support must be more tailored to the needs of both older offenders more generally and also in terms of individual needs and resources. Examples of this in practice could include:

- Increased age-related provision within AP accommodation and/or greater consideration of appropriate alternatives e.g. supervision from residential care.

- Increased training for parties involved in the resettlement of older offenders e.g. local authority workers, probation officers, social workers and staff working in AP accommodation.

- Streamlined approach for working with external agencies to allow a smoother process of releasing older offenders into residential care, for example.

- Increased utilisation of person-centred approach highlighted above.

Potential avenues for future research

Based on the empirical findings in this thesis and the limitations highlighted above, the following areas for future research are recommended to further advance understanding of the experiences of older men in prison.

Suggestion 1: Use of longitudinal methodologies

Throughout the older men's narratives there was an element of liminality. Experiences were often explained in terms of the process of transition or in reference to different timepoints. Similarly, there is lacking understanding of how older prisoners' experiences may compare at different points of their sentence. The use of longitudinal methodologies would therefore be beneficial to this area. This could include following a group of late entrants throughout their sentence from entering prison to release. Furthermore, although Forsyth et al.'s (2014) findings investigated older men's experiences of release before leaving prison and four weeks after, the persistent nature of challenges the released older men experienced in this study suggest that mapping their release across a longer time period would provide more advantageous.

Suggestion 2: Focus on the experiences of release and resettlement

Research specifically exploring older men's experiences of release in the UK is particularly scant. Although this study helps build a picture of how release from prison is experienced in later life, further research utilising larger sample sizes is needed. Examples of areas requiring further research in relation to release could include:

- Older men's experiences of staying in AP hostels on release.

- The process of finding suitable accommodation.

- The experiences of being reunited with family as an older ex-offender.

- Further exploration into the differing experiences of those rebuilding vs repairing their former way of life upon release.

Suggestion 3: Larger scale study on typologies of older prisoners and their trajectories

Although there is a clear commonality of experience for older offenders, further understanding of how their differing levels of capital enable and/or constrain their time in prison and upon release on a larger scale would be beneficial. The utilisation of a larger study exploring the experiences of different groups both in terms of their sentence length and/or offending history as well as the resources at their disposal would further elucidate the way in which individual resources help navigate and/or shield from adversity. Similarly, further insight relating to how the experience of old age in prison may intersect with other protected characteristics such as sexual orientation or ethnicity is also needed.

Suggestion 4: Continued focus on inherent tension of care and control for prison officers

As staff-prisoner relationships were shown to be important in shaping the prison climate for older men, further research in this area would be valuable. In particular, greater exploration regarding inherent tension in providing care whilst maintaining authority is welcomed. The

findings in this study suggest that those who subscribed to a more compassionate and caring approach faced significant emotional demands, however, further insight is welcomed. Similarly, due to the highly variable nature of provision for older people across the prison estate, a greater understanding of how the culture at different prisons may shape approaches to work with older men is also needed.

Evaluating the value and applications of the theory developed

Before moving on to the final concluding remarks of this thesis it is important to assess the value of its focal contribution: the theory developed from the empirical material. From a CGT perspective, theories are interpretive, with the central purpose of developing theory being to enhance understanding of social phenomena rather than generate causal explanations (Charmaz, 2014). In the case of this study, the theoretical model constructed is highly valuable in furthering understanding of the lived experience of older men in prison, an area where theoretical scholarship has so far been limited. More specifically, the theory developed elucidates not only the way in which multiple factors come together to shape how the prison environment, or climate, is experienced by the older men but also the importance of individual circumstances or resources in navigating and making sense of their incarceration.

The value of the theory constructed also lies in its usefulness to others beyond this specific study. As highlighted in the sections above, the theoretical model of prison climate and capital has applications for research, policy and practice. The theory holds significant value in providing directions for future research. For instance, further exploration into prison climate, specific forms of capital or indeed the interplay between the two would provide fruitful starting points for new research with older offenders. The theory also holds value in its applicability to policy and practice. Central to the notion of prison climate is the way in which it is multifaceted and

thus how many different elements are important in shaping how the prison environment is experienced by older offenders. Thus, this conceptualisation can be valuable on a local or national policy level. Specifically, as a way of breaking down what it means to create a suitable environment for older offenders and reviewing what elements are already being addressed and where more work is needed.

The concept of capital also holds value for practitioners working with older offenders. As highlighted above, practitioners working with older offenders could adopt a more person-centred approach focused on assessing the levels of capital at an individual's disposal. This could then provide a useful way to consider where additional support is needed, and/or highlighting existing resources which could be built upon and developed further. Finally, the overarching theory presented in this thesis holds potential as a wider lens that could be utilised more broadly in understanding the experiences of other sub-sections of the prison population. What this thesis highlights is that central to understanding experiences of prison is the interplay between the nature of the prison environment and the personal resources held by an individual. The concepts of prison climate and capital may therefore be applicable to wider groups and useful as a broad theoretical framing.

Conclusion

Overall, this thesis has provided crucial insight into the day-to-day realities of what life is like for older men in prison, a group whose experiences are seldom heard in both research and policy discourses. The focal question underpinning this research asked how prison is experienced by older men, and in answer to this, this thesis demonstrates that their lived experience lies at the intersection of prison climate and capital. Indeed, it has been shown that whilst several aspects of the prison environment present challenges to all older men, their capacity and ability to

257

manage these challenges was highly dependent on their individual circumstances and capital available to them. The commitment from the prison officers who took part in this study and examples of positive changes that had been made in some prisons show that good practice is possible and provides hope for the care of older offenders moving forward. However, this thesis has also shown the extent to which organisational and system level barriers have hindered the ability to improve life for older men in prison. It is hoped that the creation of a national policy strategy for older offenders will see a more consistent application of the principles advocated for in this thesis. Without the much needed increase to prison funding, however, the ability to create a more equitable prison landscape will be significantly restricted.

References

Abbott, P., DiGiacomo, M., Magin, P., and Hu, W. (2018) 'A scoping review of qualitative research methods used with people in prison', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 17, pp. 1-15.

Aday, R. H. (2006) 'Aging prisoners concerns toward dying in prison' *Omega,* 52(3), pp. 199-216.

Aday, R. H., and Wahidin, A. (2016) 'Older prisoners' experiences of death, dying and grief behind bars', *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice,* 55(3), pp. 312-327.

Age UK. (2019) *Older prisoners.* Available at: https://www.ageuk.org.uk/globalassets/age-uk/documents/policy-positions/care-and-support/ppp_older_prisoners_en_wa.pdf (Accessed: 13 May 2022).

Age UK (2019) *Later life in the United Kingdom 2019.* Available at: https://www.ageuk.org.uk/globalassets/age-uk/documents/reports-and-publications/later_life_uk_factsheet.pdf (Accessed: 10 July 2019).

Agnew, R. S. (1985) 'Neutralizing the impact of crime', *Criminal Justice and Behavior,* 12(2), pp. 221–239.

Albertson, K. and Fox, C. (2020) 'The progress of marketisation: The prison and probation experience', in Albertson, K., Corcoran, M. and Phillips, J. (eds.) *Marketisation and privatisation in criminal justice.* Bristol: Policy Press, pp. 75-91.

Arber, S., Davidson, K., and Ginn, J. (2003) *Gender and ageing: Changing roles and relationships*. Maidenhead, England: McGraw-Hill Education.

Arnold, H. (2006) *Identifying the high performing prison officer.* PhD thesis, University of Cambridge.

Arnold, H., Liebling, A., and Tait, S. (2007) 'Prison officers and prison culture', in Jewkes, Y. (ed.) *Handbook on prisons.* Cullompton, Devon: Willan, pp. 423-446.

Atchley. R. C. (1989) 'A continuity theory of normal aging', *The Gerontologist,* 29(2), pp. 183-190.

Auty, K.M. and Liebling, A. (2020) 'Exploring the relationship between prison social climate and reoffending', *Justice Quarterly,* 37(2), pp. 358-381.

Avieli, H. (2021) ''A sense of purpose': Older prisoners' experiences of successful ageing behind bars', *European Journal of Criminology,* 00(0), pp. 1-18.

Bandyopadhyay, M. (2006) 'Competing masculinities in a prison', *Men and Masculinities*, 9(2), pp. 186–203.

Bannister, J., Fox, C., and Miszczak, P. (2016) 'The 2010–2015 coalition and criminal justice: Continuities and contradictions', *Safer Communities,* 15(2), pp. 110–120.

Barrett, A.E. and Gumber, C. (2020) 'Feeling old, body and soul: The effect of aging body reminders on age identity', *The Journals of Gerontology: Series B,* 75(3), pp. 625-629.

Beard, J. (2019) *Commons Briefing papers 6068: Sentences of Imprisonment for Public Protection*. London: House of Commons Library.

Bebbington, P., Jakobowitz, S., McKenzie, N., Killaspy, H., Iveson, R., Duffield, G. and Kerr, M. (2017) 'Assessing needs for psychiatric treatment in prisoners: 1. Prevalence of disorder', *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology,* 52(2), pp. 221-229.

Becker, G. (1993) 'Continuity after a stroke: Implications of life-course disruption in old age', *The Gerontologist,* 33(2), pp. 148-158.

Bell, E. (2011) *Criminal justice and neoliberalism*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bell, E. (2013) 'The prison paradox in neoliberal Britain', in Scott, D. (ed.) *Why prison?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 44-65.

Bell, E. (2018) *The decline of penal populism in the UK*? Available at: https://www.britsoccrim.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/BSCN83-Bell.pdf (Accessed: 13 May 2022)

Bengtson, V. L. and Settersten, R. A. (eds.) (2016) *Handbook of theories of aging*. New York, NY: Springer Publishing Company.

Bennett, K. M. (2007) '"No sissy stuff": Towards a theory of masculinity and emotional expression in older widowed men', *Journal of Aging Studies*, 21(4), pp. 347–356.

Berger, P. and Luckmann, T. (1966) *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge.* London: Penguin Books.

Beyens, K., Kennes, P., Snacken, S. and Tournel, H. (2015) 'The craft of doing qualitative research in prisons*', International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy,* 4(1), pp. 66-78.

Birks, M. and Mills, J. (2015) *Grounded theory: A practical guide* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE Publications.

Blagden N. (2022) 'Prison climate and rehabilitating men with sexual convictions', in: Uzieblo, K., Smid, W.J., McCartan, K. (eds.) *Challenges in the management of people convicted of a sexual offence. Palgrave studies in risk, crime and society.* Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 173-189.

Blaikie, N. (2007) *Approaches to social enquiry.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Blaikie, N. and Priest, J. (2017) *Social research: Paradigms in action.* Cambridge: Polity.

Blair, T. (1995) *From the archive: Tony Blair is tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime.* Available at: https://www.newstatesman.com/2015/12/archive-tony-blair-tough-crime-tough-causes-crime (13 February 2022)

Block, E. S. and Erskine, L. (2012) 'Interviewing by telephone: Specific considerations, opportunities, and challenges', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 11(4), pp. 428-445.

Bochel, H. and Powell, M. (2016) *The coalition government and social policy: Restructuring the welfare state.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Bottoms, A. E. (1995) 'The philosophy and politics of punishment and sentencing', in Clarkson, C. and Morgan, R. (eds.) *The politics of sentencing reform.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 17–49.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) 'The Forms of Capital', in Richardson, J. G. (ed.) *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. New York: Greenwood, pp. 241-58.

Bowling, A. (2008) 'Enhancing later life: How older people perceive active ageing?', *Aging and Mental Health,* 12(3), pp. 293-301.

Bows, H. and Westmarland, N. (2016) 'Older sex offenders – managing risk in the community from a policing perspective', *Policing and Society,* 28(1), pp. 62–74.

Boylorn, R. M. (2008) 'Lived experience', in Given, L.M. (ed.) *The sage encyclopaedia of qualitative research methods: Vol. 2.* Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp. 490.

Bradley, K. (2009) *The Bradley report*. Available at: https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130105193845/http://www.dh.gov.uk/prod_consum_dh/groups/dh_digitalassets/documents/digitalasset/dh_098698.pdf (Accessed: 10 May 2019).

Brannon, R. (1976) 'The male sex role and what it's done for us lately', in Brannon, R. and David, D. (eds) *The forty-nine percent majority.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, pp. 1–45.

Brickell, C. (2006) 'The sociological construction of gender and sexuality', *The Sociological Review,* 54(1), pp. 87-113.

Briggs, X. (1998) 'Brown kids in white suburbs: Housing mobility and the many faces of social capital', *Housing Policy Debate,* 9(1), pp. 177–221.

Brinkmann, S. (2013) *Qualitative interviewing*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Brooke, J. and Jackson, D. (2019) 'An exploration of the support provided by prison staff, education, health and social care professionals, and prisoners for prisoners with dementia', *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology*, 30(5), pp. 807–823.

Brownlee, I. (1998) 'New Labour – New penology? Punitive rhetoric and the limits of managerialism in criminal justice policy', *Journal of Law and Society,* 25*,* pp. 313-335.

Bryant, A. and Charmaz, K. (2007) *The SAGE handbook of grounded theory.* London: SAGE Publications.

Bryman, A. (2016) *Social research methods* (5th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bülow, M. H. and Söderqvist, T. (2014) 'Successful ageing: A historical overview and critical analysis of a successful concept', *Journal of Aging Studies,* 31, pp. 139-149.

Burningham, K. and Cooper, G. (1999) 'Being constructive: Social constructionism and the environment', *Sociology,* 33(2), pp. 296-316.

Burr, V. (2015a) 'Social constructionism', *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 2(22), pp. 222-227.

Burr, V. (2015b) *Social constructionism* (3rd ed.). London, England: Routledge.

Cadet, N. (2020) 'Institutional thoughtlessness and the needs of older probation clients*', Probation Journal,* 67(2), pp. 118-136.

Calasanti, T. (2004) 'Feminist gerontology and old men'*, The Journals of Gerontology: Series B*, 59(6), pp. S305–S314.

Calasanti, T. (2009) 'Theorizing feminist gerontology and sexuality: An intersectional approach', in Bengtson, V. L.., Silverstein, M., Putney, N. M., and Gans, D. (eds.) *Handbook of theories of aging.* NY: Springer, pp. 471-486.

Calasanti, T. (2016) 'Combating ageism: How successful is successful aging?', *The Gerontologist*, 56(6), pp. 1093-1101.

Calasanti, T. and King, N. (2005) 'Firming the floppy penis: Age, class, and gender relations in the lives of old men', *Men and Masculinities*, 8(3), pp. 3-23.

Calasanti, T. and King, N. (2018) 'The dynamic nature of gender and aging bodies', *Journal of Aging Studies,* 45, pp. 11–17.

Calasanti, T. M. and Slevin, K. F. (2001) *Gender, social inequalities, and aging.* Oxford: England.

Cannuscio, C., Block, J. and Kawachi, I. (2003) 'Social capital and successful aging: the role of senior housing', *Annals of Internal Medicine,* 139, pp. 395-399.

Carrigan, T., Connell, B. and Lee, J. (1985) 'Toward a new sociology of masculinity', *Theory and Society*, 14(5), pp. 551–604.

Centre for Mental Health (2009) *Diversion*. Available at:
https://www.centreformentalhealth.org.uk/sites/default/files/2018-09/Diversion.pdf
(Accessed: 10 May 2019)

Centre for Policy on Ageing (2009) *Ageism and age discrimination in mental health care in the United Kingdom: A review from the literature*. Available at: http://www.cpa.org.uk/information/reviews/CPA-ageism_and_age_discrimination_in_mental_health_care-report.pdf (Accessed: 14 April 2022)

Centre for Policy on Ageing. (2016) Diversity in older age – older offenders. Available at: http://www.cpa.org.uk/information/reviews/CPA-Rapid-Review-Diversity-in-Older-Age-Older-Offenders.pdf (Accessed: 9 May 2022)

Chamberlen, A. and Carvalho, H., (2019) 'The thrill of the chase: Punishment, hostility and the prison crisis', *Social and Legal Studies*, 28(1), pp. 100-117.

Charmaz, K. (1990) "Discovering' chronic illness: Using grounded theory', *Social Science and Medicine,* 30(11), pp. 1161-1172.

Charmaz, K. (2000) 'Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods', in Denzin, N.K., and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) *The Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, pp. 509-35.

Charmaz, K. (2008) 'Constructionism and the grounded theory method', in Holstein, J.A., and Gubrium, J.F. (eds.) *Handbook of constructionist research.* New York: The Guildford Press, pp. 397-412

Charmaz, K. (2014) *Constructing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE Publications.

Charmaz, K. (2017) 'The power of constructivist grounded theory for critical inquiry', *Qualitative Inquiry,* 23(1), pp. 34-45.

Charmaz, K. (2020) '"With constructivist grounded theory you can't hide": Social justice Research and critical inquiry in the public sphere', *Qualitative Inquiry,* 26(2), pp. 165-176.

Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals (2018) *Libraries change lives winner 2017 – cognitive stimulation therapy at HMP Norwich library*. Available at: https://www.cilip.org.uk/page/LCLAWinner17 (Accessed 8 April 2019).

Cheek, F.E. and Miller, M.D.S. (1983) 'The experience of stress for correction officers: A double-bind theory of correctional stress', *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 11(2), pp. 105–120.

Clark, T. (2010) 'Gaining and maintaining access', *Qualitative Social Work: Research and Practice,* 10(4), pp. 485-502.

Clemmer, D. (1950) 'Observations on imprisonment as a source of criminality', *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1931-1951)*, 41(3), pp. 311.

Clemmer, D. (1958) *The prison community* (2nd ed.). Chicago, IL Holt: Rinehart and Winston.

Coates, J. (2007) "Everyone was convinced that we were closet fags': The role of heterosexuality in the construction of hegemonic masculinity' in Sauntson, H. and Kyratzis, S. (eds.) *Language, sexualities and desires: Cross-cultural perspectives.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 41–46.

Cohen, S. and Taylor, L. (1981) *Psychological survival: The experience of long-term imprisonment.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Coleman, J. S. (1988) 'Social capital in the creation of human capital', *American Journal of Sociology,* 94, pp. S95–S120.

Coles, T., and Vassarotti, T. (2012) 'Ageing and identity dilemmas for men', *Journal of Religion, Spirituality and Aging*, 24(1-2), pp. 30–41.

Coll-Planas, L., del Valle Gómez, G., Bonilla, P., Masat, T., Puig, T. and Monteserin, R. (2017) 'Promoting social capital to alleviate loneliness and improve health among older people in Spain', *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 25(1), pp. 145–157.

Condon, L., Hek, G. and Harris, F., (2008) 'Choosing health in prison: Prisoners' views on making healthy choices in English prisons', *Health Education Journal,* 67(3), pp. 155-166.

Connell, R. (1987) *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics.* Cambridge: Polity.

Connell, R.W. (1995) *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity.

Connell, R.W. and Messerschmidt, J.W. (2005) 'Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept', *Gender and Society,* 19(6), pp. 829–859.

Cook, P. S. (2008) 'Continuity, change and possibility in older age: Identity and ageing-as-discovery', *Journal of Sociology,* 54(2), pp. 178-190.

Corbin Dwyer, S. and Buckle, J. L. (2009) 'The space between: On being an Insider-Outsider in qualitative research', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 8(1), pp. 54–63.

Cornish, N., Kimmett, E., Hewson, A. and Ware, S. (2016) *Social care or systematic neglect? Older people on release from prison*. London: Prison Reform Trust.

Côté, J. E. (1996) 'Sociological perspectives on identity formation: The culture-identity link and identity capital', *Journal of Adolescence,* 19(5), pp. 417–28.

Cracknell, M. (2018) 'Post-release reforms for short prison sentences: Re-legitimising and widening the net of punishment', *Probation Journal,* 65(3), pp. 302–315.

Crawley, E. (2004) *Doing prison work: The public and private lives of prison officers*. Devon: Willan.

Crawley, E. and Sparks, R. (2005) 'Older men in prison: survival, coping and identity', in Liebling, A. and Maruna, S. (eds.) *The effects of imprisonment.* Cullompton: Willan.

Crawley, E. (2005) 'Institutional thoughtlessness in prisons and its impacts on the day-to-day prison lives of elderly men', *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice,* 21(4), pp. 350-363.

Crawley, E. and Sparks, R. (2005) 'Hidden injuries? researching the experiences of older men in English prisons', *The Howard Journal,* 44(4), pp. 345-356.

Crawley, E. and Sparks, R. (2006) 'Is there life after imprisonment*?', Criminology and Criminal Justice,* 6(1), pp. 63–82.

Crawley, E.M. (2004) 'Emotion and performance', *Punishment and Society*, 6(4), pp. 411–427.

Creswell, J. W. (2013) *Qualitative inquiry and research design.* London: Sage Publications, Inc.

Crewe, B. (2005) 'Codes and conventions: the terms and conditions of contemporary inmate values', in Liebling, A. and Maruna, S. (eds.) *The effects of imprisonment.* Cullompton: Willan.

Crewe, B. (2007) 'The sociology of imprisonment', in Jewkes, Y. (ed.) *Handbook on prisons.* Cullompton: Willan, pp. 123-151.

Crewe, B. (2009) *The prisoner society: Power, adaptation and social life in an English prison.* Oxford: OUP, Clarendon.

Crewe, B. (2011a) 'Depth, weight, tightness: Revisiting the pains of imprisonment', *Punishment and Society,* 13(5), pp. 509-529.

Crewe, B. (2011b) 'Soft power in prison: Implications for staff–prisoner relationships, liberty and legitimacy', *European Journal of Criminology,* 8, pp. 455-46.

Crewe, B., Liebling, A. and Hulley, S. (2011) 'Staff culture, use of authority and prisoner quality of life in public and private sector prisons', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 44(1), pp. 94-115.

Crewe, B., Warr, J., Bennett, P. and Smith, A. (2014) 'The emotional geography of prison life', *Theoretical Criminology,* 18(1), pp. 56–74.

Cronin, P., Ryan, F. and Coughlan, M. (2008) 'Undertaking a literature review: A step-by-step approach', *British Journal of Nursing*, 17(1), pp. 38-43.

Crookes, R.L., Tramontano, C., Brown, S.J., Walker, K. and Wright, H. (2021) 'Older individuals convicted of sexual offenses: A literature review', *Sexual Abuse*, 34(3), pp. 341-371.

Crowhurst, I. and Kennedy-Macfoy. (2013) 'Troubling gatekeepers: methodological considerations for social research', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* 16(6), pp. 457-462.

Cullen, F. T. (1994) 'Social support as an organizing concept for criminology: Presidential address to the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences', *Justice Quarterly,* 11, pp. 527–559.

Cumming, E., and Henry, W.E. (1961) *Growing old: The process of disengagement.* New York: Basic Books.

Davidson, K., Daly, T. and Arber, S. (2003) 'Exploring the social worlds of older men', in Arber, S., Davidson, K. and Ginn, J. (eds.) *Gender and ageing: Changing roles and relationships.* Maidenhead: Open University Press, pp. 168-185.

Davidson, C., (2009) 'Transcription: Imperatives for qualitative research', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 8(2), pp. 35-52.

Davies, M. (2011) 'The integration of elderly prisoners: An exploration of services provided in England and Wales. *International Journal of Criminology*, 1–32.

de Viggiani, N. (2007) 'Unhealthy prisons: exploring structural determinants of prison health', *Sociology of Health and Illness,* 29(1), pp. 115-135.

de Viggiani, N. (2012) 'Trying to be something you are not: Masculine performances within a prison setting', *Men and Masculinities*, 15(3), pp. 271-291.

de Viggiani, N. (2013) 'A clean bill of health? The efficacy of an NHS commissioned outsourced police custody healthcare service', *Journal of Forensic and Legal Medicine*, 20(6), pp. 610-617.

de Viggiani, N. (2018) '"Don't mess with me!" Enacting masculinities under a compulsory prison regime', in Maycock, M. and Hunt, K. (eds.) *New perspectives on prison masculinities.* Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 91-121.

de Visser, R.O. and McDonnell, E.J. (2013) '"Man points": Masculine capital and young men's health', *Health Psychology,* 32(1), pp. 5.

de Visser, R.O., Smith, J.A., and McDonnell, E.J. (2009) "That's not masculine': Masculine capital and health-related behaviors', *Journal of Health Psychology,* 14, pp. 1047–1058.

Denti, D. and Iammarino, S. (2022) 'Coming out of the woods. Do local support services influence the propensity to report sexual violence?' *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 193, pp. 334-352.

Dey, I. (1999) *Grounding grounded theory.* San Diego: Academic Press.

Di Lorito, C., Völlm, B., and Dening, T. (2018) 'Psychiatric disorders among older prisoners: a systematic review and comparison study against older people in the community', *Aging and Mental Health,* 22(1), pp. 1-10.

Dickens, J. (2013) *Social work, law and ethics.* Oxon: Routledge.

Dillon, G., Vinter, L.P., Winder, B. and Finch, L. (2018) '"The guy might not even be able to remember why he's here and what he's in here for and why he's locked in": residents and prison staff experiences of living and working alongside people with dementia who are serving prison sentences for a sexual offence', *Psychology, Crime and Law*, 25(5), pp. 440–457.

Dollinger, B. (2019) 'Help wanted? A narrative look at penal welfarism 'from below'', *Youth Justice,* 19(2), pp. 120-136.

Downes, D. (1988) *Contrasts in Tolerance*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Drabble, L., Trocki, K.F., Salcedo, B., Walker, P.C., and Korcha, R.A. (2014) 'Conducting qualitative interviews by telephone: Lessons learned from a study of alcohol use among sexual minority and heterosexual women', *Qualitative Social Work,* 15(1), pp. 118-133.

Dunne, C. (2011) 'The place of the literature review in grounded theory research', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* 14(2), pp. 111-124

Edley, N. (2017) *Men and masculinity the basics.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Edwards, A.R. (1983) 'Sex roles: A problem for sociology and for women', *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology,* 19(3), pp. 385-412.

Ekerdt. D.J. (1986) 'The busy ethic: Moral continuity between work and retirement', *The Gerontologist*, 26(3), pp. 239-244.

Elmir, R., Schmied. V., Jackson, D. and Wilkes, l. (2011) 'Interviewing people about potentially sensitive topics', *Nurse Researcher,* 19(1), pp. 12-16.

Estes, C. (2001) *Social policy and aging.* Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE.

European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (2017) *Report to the government of the United Kingdom on the visit to the United Kingdom*. Available at: https://rm.coe.int/168070a773 (Accessed: 15 February 2022)

Evans, T. and Wallace, P. (2008) 'A prison within a prison? The masculinity narratives of male prisoners', *Men and Masculinities*, 10(4), pp. 484–507.

Falk, H., Wijk, H., Persson, L.O. and Falk, K. (2013) 'A sense of home in residential care', *Scandinavian Journal of Caring Sciences,* 27*(*4), pp. 999-1009.

Farnsworth, K. and Irving, Z. (2015) 'Austerity: More than the sum of its parts' in Farnsworth, K. and Irving, Z. (eds.) *Social policy in times of austerity: Global economic crisis and the new politics of welfare.* Bristol: Policy Press, pp. 9-43.

Farnsworth, K. and Irving, Z. (2018) 'Austerity: Neoliberal dreams come true?' *Critical Social Policy*, 38(3), pp. 461-481.

Farrall, S., Burke, N. and Hay, C. (2016) 'Revisiting Margaret Thatcher's law and order agenda: The slow-burning fuse of punitiveness', *British Politics,* 11(2), pp. 205-231.

Farrell, M. and Marsden, J. (2008) 'Acute risk of drug-related death among newly released prisoners in England and Wales', *Addiction,* 103(2), pp. 251-5.

Fazel, S., Cartwright, J., Norman-Nott, A., and Hawton, K. (2008) 'Suicide in prisoners: A systematic review of risk factors', *Journal of Clinical Psychiatry,* 69(11), pp. 1721-1731.

Fazel, S., Hope, T., O'Donnell, I. and Jacoby, R. (2004) 'Unmet treatment needs of older prisoners: a primary care survey', *Age and Ageing,* 33, pp. 396-398.

Fazel, S., Hope, T., O'Donnell, I., Piper, M. and Jacoby, R. (2001) 'Health of elderly male prisoners: worse than the general population, worse than younger prisoners', *Age and Ageing,* 30(5), pp. 403-7.

Fazel, S., McMillan, J. and O'Donnell, I. (2002) 'Dementia in prison: ethical and legal implications', *Journal of Medical Ethics,* 28(3)*,* pp. 156-159.

Featherstone, D., Ince, A., MacKinnon, D., Strauss, K. and Cumbers, A. (2012) 'Progressive localism and the construction of political alternatives', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37(2), pp. 177–182.

Filinson, R. (2016) 'A day in the life: How time is spent doing time among older inmates', *Activities, Adaptation and Aging*, 40(2), pp. 125–149.

Financial Times. (2021) *Autumn Budget and spending review 2021: The chancellor's speech in full, 27th October 2021.* Available at: https://www.ft.com/content/c3531f48-6640-4c9b-bdef-459291c3c580 (Accessed 16 February)

Fopp, R. (2008) 'Social constructionism and housing studies: A critical reflection', *Urban Policy and Research,* 26(2), pp. 159-175.

Forrester, A., Exworthy, T., Olumuyiwa, O., Sessay, M. Parrot, J., Spencer, S. and Whyte, S. (2013) 'Variations in prison mental health services in England and Wales', *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry,* 36(3-4), pp. 326-332.

Forsyth, K., Senior, J., Stevenson, C., O'Hara, K., Hayes, A., Challis, D. and Shaw, J. (2014) "They just throw you out': Release planning for older prisoners*', Ageing and Society,* 35(9), pp. 2011-2025.

Forsyth, K., Heathcote, L., Senior, J., Malik, B., Meacock, R., Perryman, K., Tucker, S., Domone, R., et al. (2020) 'Dementia and mild cognitive impairment in prisoners aged over 50 years in England and Wales: a mixed-methods study', *Health Services and Delivery Research*, 8(27), pp. 1-116.

Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Garland, D. (1996) 'The limits of the sovereign state - strategies of crime control in contemporary society', *The British Journal of Criminology,* 36(4), pp. 445-471.

Garland, D. (2001) *The culture of control – crime and social order in contemporary society.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gash, A. and Harding, R. (2018) '#MeToo? Legal discourse and everyday responses to sexual violence', *Laws*, 7(21), pp. 1-24.

Gergen, K. J. (1985) 'The social constructionist movement in modern psychology', *American Psychologist,* 40(3), pp. 266-275.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The constitution of society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Ginn, S. (2012a) 'Elderly prisoners', *BMJ,* 345*,* pp. e6263-e6263.

Ginn, S. (2012b) 'Dealing with mental disorder in prisoners', *BMJ,* 345*,* pp. e7280.

Ginnivan, N.A., Chomik, R., Hwang, Y.I.J., Piggott, J., Butler, T. and Withall, A. (2021) 'The ageing prisoner population: Demographic shifts in Australia and implications for the economic and social costs of health care', *International Journal of Prisoner Health*, 6 September [epub ahead of print].

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967) *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research.* New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Goffman, E. (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* New York: Anchor.

Goffman, E. (1961) *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates.* New York: Doubleday Anchor.

Goffman, E. (1963) *Stigma: Notes on the management of a spoiled identity.* New York: Simon and Schuster Inc.

Gooch, K. and Treadwell, J. (2020) 'Prisoner society in an era of psychoactive substances, organised crime, new drug markets and austerity', *British Journal of Criminology,* 60, pp. 1260-1281.

Goomany, A. and Dickinson, T. (2015) 'The influence of prison climate on the mental health of adult prisoners: a literature review', *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing*, 22(6), pp. 413–422.

Granovetter, M.S., (1973) 'The strength of weak ties', *American Journal of Sociology,* 78(6), pp. 1360-1380.

Gray, D. and Watt, P. (2013) *Giving victims a voice: Joint report into sexual allegations made against Jimmy Savile.* London: MPS/NSPCC.

Gray, M., and Barford, A. (2018) 'The depths of the cuts: the uneven geography of local government austerity', *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 11(3), pp. 541-563.

Hagos, A.K., Withall, A., Ginnivan, N.A., Snoyman, P. and Butler, T. (2021) 'Barriers and enablers to health and social services for older prisoners transitioning to community', *International Journal of Prisoner Health*, 4 November [epub ahead of print].

Halsey, M., Deegan, S. (2017) 'In search of generativity in prison officer work: Balancing care and control in custodial settings', *The Prison Journal,* 97(1), pp. 52–78.

Hammarberg, K., Kirkman, M. and de Lacey, S. (2016) 'Qualitative research methods: When to use them and how to judge them', *Human Reproduction,* 31(3), pp. 498-501.

Handtke, V., Bretschneider, W., Elger, B. and Wangmo, T. (2017) 'The collision of care and punishment: Ageing prisoners' view on compassionate release', *Punishment and Society*, 19(1), pp. 5-22.

Harding, R. (2014) 'Rehabilitation and prison social climate: Do "What Works" rehabilitation programs work better in prisons that have a positive social climate?', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 47(2), pp. 163–175.

Havighurst, R. J. (1961) 'Successful aging', *The Gerontologist*, 1(1), pp. 8–13.

Hawton, K., Linsell, L., Adeniji, T., Sariaslan, A. and Fazel, S. (2014) 'Self-harm in prisons in England and Wales: an epidemiological study of prevalence, risk factors, clustering, and subsequent suicide', *The Lancet,* 383(9923), pp. 1147-1154.

Hayes, A., Burns, A., Turnbull, P. and Shaw, J. (2012) 'The health and social needs of older male prisoners', *International Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry*, 27(11), pp. 1155-1162.

Hayes, A., Burns, A., Turnbull, P. and Shaw, J. (2013) 'Social and custodial needs of older adults in prison', *Age and Ageing,* 42(5), pp. 589-593.

Hellawell, D. (2006) 'Inside–out: analysis of the insider–outsider concept as a heuristic device to develop reflexivity in students doing qualitative research', *Teaching in Higher Education,* 11(4), pp. 483-494.

Hitchen, E. (2021) 'The affective life of austerity: Uncanny atmospheres and paranoid temporalities', *Social and Cultural Geography,* 22(3), pp. 295-318.

HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2004) *'No problems – old and quiet': Older prisoners in England and Wales.* Available at: https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprisons/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2014/08/OlderPrisoners-2004.pdf (Accessed: 9 May 2022).

HM Inspectorate of Prisons and Care Quality Commission (2018) *Social care in prisons in England and Wales: a thematic report.* Available at: https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprisons/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/10/Social-care-thematic-2018-web.pdf (Accessed: 5 May 2022).

HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2016) *Annual report 2015-16.* Available at https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprisons/wpcontent/uploads/sites/4/2016/07/HMIP-AR_2015-16_web.pdf (Accessed: 10 May 2019)

HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2017) *Annual report 2016-17.* Available at

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_da
ta/file/629719/hmip-annual-report-2016-17.pdf (Accessed: 12 February 2022)

HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2019a) *Inspection framework.* Available at:

https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprisons/wp-
content/uploads/sites/4/2019/03/INSPECTION-FRAMEWORK-2019.pdf (Accessed: 4 April
2022).

HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2019b) *Annual report 2018-19.* Available at:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_da
ta/file/814689/hmip-annual-report-2018-19.pdf (Accessed: 9 May 2022).

HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2020) *Annual Report 2019–20*. London: The Stationery Office.

HM Inspectorate of Probation and HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2019) *Management and
supervision of men convicted of sexual offences.* Available at:

https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprobation/wp-
content/uploads/sites/5/2019/01/Management-and-Supervision-of-men-convicted-of-sexual-
offences-2.pdf (Accessed: 2 May 2022)

HM Prison and Probation Service (2014) *Prison service order 1600: Use of force.* London: HM
Prison and Probation Service.

HM Prison and Probation Service (2018) Model for operational delivery: Older prisoners.
Available at https://www.dementiaaction.org.uk/assets/0004/2423/MOD-for-older-
prisoners__2_.pdf (Accessed 10 February 2022)

HM Prison and Probation Service (2019a) *HM Prison and Probation Service workforce quarterly:
March 2019.* Available at:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_da

ta/file/801838/hr-publication-tables-march-2019.xlsx Accessed on February 21, 2020.
(Accessed: 3 October 2019).

HM Prison and Probation Service (2019b) *Prison drugs strategy.* Available at:
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_da
ta/file/792125/prison-drugs-strategy.pdf (Accessed: 17 May 2022).

HM Prison and Probation Service (2020) *Prison service instruction 32/2011: Ensuring equality.*
London: HM Prison and Probation Service.

HM Prison and Probation Service (2021) *Prison service instruction: 64/2011: Management of
prisoners at risk of harm to self, to others and from others (Safer Custody).* London: HM Prison
and Probation Service.

HM Prison and Probation Service (2022) *Certified prisoner accommodation framework.* London:
HM Prison and Probation Service.

Hochstetler, A., DeLisi, M. and Pratt, T. (2010) 'Social support and feelings of hostility among
released inmates', *Crime and Delinquency,* 56(4), pp. 588–607.

Holloway, I. and Wheeler, S. (2010) *Qualitative research in nursing and healthcare* (3rd ed.).
Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hough, M. (2002) 'Populism and punitive penal policy', *CJM,* 49, pp. 4-5.

House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts (2017) *Mental health in prisons.* Available
at: https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmpubacc/400/400.pdf
(Accessed 10 August 2021).

House of Commons Health and Social Care Committee (2018) *Prison health.* Available at:
https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmhealth/963/963.pdf (Accessed
20 April 2020).

House of Commons Justice Committee (2013) *Older prisoners.* Available at:

https://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons-committees/Justice/Older-prisoners.pdf

(Accessed 9 May 2022).

House of Commons Justice Committee (2015) *Justice ninth report. Prisons: planning and*

policies. Available at:

https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmselect/cmjust/309/30902.htm (Accessed

9 May 2022).

House of Commons Justice Committee (2020) *Ageing prison population.* Available at:

https://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons-committees/Justice/Older-prisoners.pdf

(Accessed 20 February 2022)

Houston, S. (2001) 'Beyond social constructionism: Critical realism and social work', *British*

Journal of Social Work, 31, pp. 845-861.

Howard League for Penal Reform (2014) *Breaking point: Understaffing and overcrowding in*

prisons. Available at: https://howardleague.org/wpcontent/uploads/2016/03/Breaking-point-

10.07.2014.pdf (Accessed 5 March 2021).

Howard League for Penal Reform (2016) *Preventing prison suicide.* Available at:

https://howardleague.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Preventing-prison-suicide-report.pdf

(Accessed 9 May 2022).

Howse, K. (2003) *Growing old in prison: a scoping study on older prisoners.* Available at:

http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/uploads/documents/Growing.Old.Book_-_small.pdf

(Accessed: 20 April 2020)

Hulley, S., Liebling, A. and Crewe, B. (2011) 'Respect in prisons: Prisoners' experiences of

respect in public and private sector prisons', *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 12(1), pp. 3-23.

Humblet, D. (2020) 'Locking out emotions in locking up older prisoners? Emotional labour of Belgian prison officers and prison nurses', *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice,* 61, pp. 1-13.

Hurd Clarke, L. and Korotchenko, A. (2011) 'Aging and the body: A Review', *Canadian Journal on Aging,* 30(3), pp. 495–510.

Hurd Clarke, L. and Lefkowich, M. (2018) '"I don't really have any issue with masculinity": Older Canadian men's perceptions and experiences of embodied masculinity', *Journal of Aging Studies*, 45, pp. 18–24.

Inquest. (2018) *Inquest submission to the Health and Social Care Committee Inquiry into Healthcare in Prisons*. Available at: https://inquest.eu.rit.org.uk/Handlers/Download.ashx?IDMF=b60fe35b-0e93-40f9-89c6-3ad4718c3538 (Accessed 10 February 2022)

Institute for Government (2019) *Prisons*. Available at: https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publication/performance-tracker-2018/prisons (Accessed 9 May 2022).

Irwin, J. and Cressey, D. (1962) 'Thieves, convicts and the inmate culture', *Social Problems,* 10, pp. 142-155.

Irwin, J. and Owen, B. (2005) 'Harm and the contemporary prison', in Liebling, A. and Maruna, S. (eds.) *The effects of imprisonment.* Cullompton: Willan, pp. 114-137.

Irwin, K. (2019) 'Grounded theory methods in the context of masculinity and violence', in Bryant, A. and Charmaz, K. (eds.) *The SAGE handbook of current developments in grounded theory.* London: Sage, pp. 374-391.

Ismail, N. (2019a) 'Rolling back the prison estate: The pervasive impact of macroeconomic austerity on prisoner health in England', *Journal of Public Health*, 42(3), pp. 625-632.

Ismail, N. (2019b) 'Contextualising the pervasive impact of macroeconomic austerity on prison health in England: a qualitative study among international policymakers', *BMC Public Health,* 19(1), pp. 1043-1047.

Ismail, N. (2020) 'Deterioration, drift, distraction, and denial: How the politics of austerity challenges the resilience of prison health governance and delivery in England', *Health Policy,* 124(12), pp. 1368-1378.

Jacobs, J. (1974) 'Street gangs behind bars', *Social Problems*, 21, pp. 395–409.

Jacobson, J. and Hough, M. (2010) *Unjust deserts: imprisonment for public protection.* Available at: http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/uploads/documents/unjustdesertsfinal.pdf (Accessed 5 February 2022)

Jakobowitz, S., Bebbington, P., McKenzie, N., Iveson, R., Duffield, G., Kerr, M. and Killaspy, H. (2017) 'Assessing needs for psychiatric treatment in prisoners: 2. Met and unmet need', *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology,* 52, pp. 231-240.

Jang, E. and Canada, K.E. (2014) 'New directions for the study of incarcerated older adults: Using Social Capital Theory', *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 57(8), pp. 858-871.

Jay, A., Evans, M., Frank, I. and Sharpling, D. (2018*) Interim report of the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse.* London: Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse.

Jewkes, Y. (2002a) *Captive audience: Media, masculinity and power in prisons.* Cullompton: Willan.

Jewkes, Y. (2002b) 'The use of media in constructing identities in the masculine environment of men's prisons', *European Journal of Communication*, 17(2), pp. 205-225.

Johl, S.K. and Renganathan, S. (2010) 'Strategies for gaining access in doing fieldwork: Reflection of two researchers', *Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods,* 8(1), pp. 25-34.

Johnson, K. J. and Mutchler, J.E. (2013) 'The emergence of a positive gerontology: From disengagement to social involvement', *The Gerontologist,* 54(1), pp. 93–100.

Johnson, R. (1977) 'Ameliorating prison stress: Some helping roles for custodial personnel', *International Journal of Criminology and Penology*, 5(3), pp. 263–273.

Joint Committee on Human Rights (2004) *Third report*. Available at: https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/jt200405/jtselect/jtrights/15/1507.htm (Accessed 9 May 2022).

Jones, R.S. (1995) 'Uncovering the hidden social world: Insider research in prison', *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice,* 11(2), pp. 106-118.

Karp, D.R. (2010) 'Unlocking men, unmasking masculinities: Doing men's work in prison', *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 18(1), pp. 63–83.

Kakoullis, A., Le Mesurier, N. and Kingston, P. (2010) 'The mental health of older prisoners', *International Psychogeriatrics*, 22(5), pp. 693-701.

Katz, S. and Calasanti, T. (2015) 'Critical perspectives on successful aging: Does it "appeal more than it illuminates"', *The Gerontologist*, 55(1), pp. 26-33.

Kerbs, J. and Jolley, J. (2007) 'Inmate-on-inmate victimization among older male prisoners', *Crime and Delinquency*, 53(2), pp. 187-218.

Khechumyan, A. (2018) *Imprisonment of the elderly and death in custody: The right to review.* Oxfordshire, England: Routledge.

King, N. (2006) 'The lengthening list: Age relations and the feminist study of inequality', in Calasanti, T. M. and Slevin, K. F. (eds.) *Age matters: Realigning feminist thinking.* New York: Routledge, pp. 47–74.

King, N., Calasanti, T., Pietilä, I. and Ojala, H. (2021) 'The Hegemony in Masculinity', *Men and Masculinities*, 24(3), pp. 432-450.

King, R. and McDermott, K. (1995) *The state of our prisons*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kinman, G., Clements, A. J. and Hart, J. (2017) 'Job demands, resources and mental health in UK prison officers', *Occupational Medicine*, 67(6), pp. 456-460.

Kinman, G., Clements, A.J. and Hart, J. (2019) 'When are you coming back? Presenteeism in UK prison officers', *The Prison Journal,* 99(3), pp. 363-383.

Koro-Ljungberg, M. (2008) 'A social constructionist framing of the research interview', in Holstein, J.A. and Gubrium, J.F. (eds.) *Handbook of constructionist research.* New York: The Guildford Press, pp. 429-444.

Kvale, S. (2008) *Doing interviews.* California: Sage Publications.

Lamb, S. (2017) *Successful aging as a contemporary obsession: Global perspectives*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Latimer, J., Dowden, C. and Muise, D. (2005) 'The effectiveness of restorative justice practices: A meta-analysis', *The Prison Journal,* 85(2), pp. 127–144.

Leontowitsch, M. (2012) 'Interviewing older men', in Leontowitsch, M. (ed.) *Researching later life and ageing: Expanding qualitative research.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 103-123.

Leontowitsch, M., Fooken, I. and Oswald, F. (2019) 'The role of empowerment and agency in the lives of older men living alone', *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults,* 10(3), pp. 231–246.

Levenkron, S. (1998) *Cutting: Understanding and overcoming self-mutilation.* New York, NY: Norton.

Liebling, A. (2007) 'Prison suicide and its prevention', in Jewkes, Y. (eds.) *Handbook on prisons.* Cullompton: Willan, pp. 423-446.

Liebling, A. (2011) 'Distinctions and distinctiveness in the work of prison officers: Legitimacy and authority revisited', *European Journal of Criminology,* 8(6), pp. 484–499.

Liebling, A. (2019) 'Prisons, personal development, and austerity', in Ugwudike, P., Graham, H., McNeill, F., Raynor, P., Taxman, Faye., and Trotter, C. (eds.) *The Routledge companion to rehabilitative work in criminal justice.* London: Routledge, pp. 193-206.

Liebling, A., and assisted by Arnold, H. (2004) *Prisons and their moral performance: A study of values, quality, and prison life.* Oxford, U.K: Oxford University Press.

Liebling, A., Durie, L., Stiles, A. and Tait, S. (2005) 'Revisiting prison suicide: The role of fairness and distress', in Liebling, A. and Maruna, S. (eds.) *The effects of imprisonment.* Cullompton: Willan, pp. 209-231.

Litwin, H. and Shiovitz-Ezra, S. (2006) 'The association between activity and wellbeing in later life: what really matters?' *Ageing and Society,* 26*,* pp. 225–242.

Löckenhoff, C.E., de Fruyt, F., Terracciano, A., McCrae, R.R., de Bolle, M., Costa, P.T., Aguilar-Vafaie, M.E., Ahn, C. (2009) 'Perceptions of aging across 26 cultures and their culture-level associates', *Psychology and Ageing,* 24, pp. 941-954.

Lodico, M., Spaulding, D., and Voegtle, K. (2010) *Methods in educational research: From theory to practice.* San Francisco: John Wiley and Sons.

Lovett, J., Coy, M., and Kelly, L. (2018) *Deflection, denial and disbelief: social and political discourses about child sexual abuse and their influence on institutional responses.* Available at: https://www.iicsa.org.uk/key-documents/5381/view/social-political-discourses-about-child-sexual-abuse-their-influence-institutional-responses-full-report-.pdf (Accessed on: 16/03/2022).

Lowsky, D. J., Olshansky, S. J., Bhattacharya, J. and Goldman, D.P. (2014) 'Heterogeneity in healthy aging', *The Journals of Gerontology: Series A,* 69(6), pp. 640–649.

Luallen, J. and Cutler, C. (2017) 'The growth of older inmate populations: How population aging explains rising age at admission', *Journals of Gerontology: Social Sciences,* 72(5), pp. 888-900.

Maguire, D. (2021) 'Vulnerable prisoner masculinities in an English prison', *Men and Masculinities,* 24(3), pp. 501-518.

Maitra, D.R. (2020) "If you're down with a gang inside, you can lead a nice life': Prison gangs in the age of austerity', *Youth Justice,* 20(1-2), pp. 128-145.

Mann, N. (2012a) *Doing harder time? The experiences of an ageing male prison population in England and Wales*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate.

Mann, N. (2012b) 'Ageing child sex offenders in prison: Denial, manipulation and community', *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice,* 51(4), pp. 345–358.

Marchbank, J. and Letherby, G. (2014) *Introduction to gender: Social science perspectives* (2nd ed.). Oxon: Routledge.

Marsh, I. (2009) 'Representations of prisons in the British media – or are we being fair to holiday camps?', *Criminal Justice Studies,* 22(3), pp. 367-374.

Marshall, T., Simpson, S. and Stevens, A. (2000) *Health care in prisons: A health care needs assessment*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham.

Martin, P., Kelly, N., Kahana, B., Kahana, E., Willcox, B., Willcox, D. and Poon, L., et al. (2015) 'Defining successful aging: A tangible or elusive concept?' *The Gerontologist,* 55(1), pp. 14-25.

Marzano, L., Ciclitira, K., and Adler, J.R. (2016) 'Non-suicidal self-harm amongst incarcerated men: a qualitative study', *Journal of Criminal Psychology,* 6(4), pp. 157-172.

Maschi, T., Dennis, K.S., Gibson, S., MacMillan, T., Sternberg, S. and Hom, M. (2011) 'Trauma and stress among older adults in the criminal justice system: A review of the literature with implications for social work', *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 54(4), pp. 390-424.

Mason, M. (2010) 'Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews', *Forum qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: qualitative social research*, 11(3).

Massoglia, M. and Pridemore, W.A. (2015) 'Incarceration and health', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 41, pp. 291-310.

Maycock, M. (2018) '"They're all up in the gym and all that, tops off, fake tan." Embodied masculinities, bodywork and resistance within two British prisons', in Maycock, M. and Hunt, K. (eds.) *New perspectives on prison masculinities.* Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 65-89.

Maycock, M., and Hunt, K. (eds.) (2018) *New perspectives on prison masculinities*. London: Palgrave.

Mayor of London Office for Policing and Crime. (2019) *Beneath the numbers, an exploration of the increases of recorded domestic abuse and sexual offences.* Available at: https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/201902_beneath_the_numbers_-_an_exploration_of_the_increases_of_recorded_domestic_abuse_and_sexual_offences_v1.pdf (Accessed 9 February 2022)

McVittie, C. and Willock, J. (2006) '"You can't fight windmills": How older men do health, ill health, and masculinities', *Qualitative Health Research*, 16(6), pp. 788–801.

Medlicott, D. (1999) 'Surviving in the time machine: Suicidal prisoners and the pains of prison time', *Time and Society*, 8(2-3), pp. 211–230.

Merkt, H., Haesen, S., Meyer, L., Kressig, R.W., Elger, B.S. and Wangmo, T. (2020) 'Defining an age cut-off for older offenders: A systematic review of literature', *International Journal of Prisoner Health,* 16(2), pp. 95-116.

Messerschmidt, J.W. (1993) *Masculinities and crime*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Messerschmidt, J.W. (2019) 'The salience of "hegemonic masculinity"', *Men and Masculinities*, 22(1), pp. 85–91.

Mills, J., Bonner, A. and Francis, K. (2006) 'The development of constructivist grounded theory', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(1), pp. 25-35.

Ministry of Justice, Home Office and Office for National Statistics. (2013) *An overview of sexual offending in England and Wales.* Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/214970/sexual-offending-overview-jan-2013.pdf (Accessed: 12 February 2022)

Ministry of Justice (2013a) *Story of the prison population: 1993 – 2012 England and Wales.* Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/218185/story-prison-population.pdf (Accessed: 9 May 2022).

Ministry of Justice (2013b) *Government response to the Justice Committee's fifth report of session 2013–14: Older prisoners.* Available at:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/256609/response-older-prisoners.pdf (Accessed: 22 February 2022).

Ministry of Justice (2018a) *Statistics on women and the criminal justice system 2017.* Available at:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/759770/women-criminal-justice-system-2017..pdf (Accessed: 8 May 2022).

Ministry of Justice (2018b) *Deaths in custody statistics: Deaths annual tables 1978-2017.* Available at:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/750584/safety-in-custody-deaths-dec-17-final.xlsx (Accessed 12 May 2019).

Ministry of Justice (2018c) *Safety in custody statistics, England and Wales: Deaths in prison custody to September 2018, assaults and self-harm to June 2018.* Available at:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/750582/safety-in-custody-bulletin-2018-q2.pdf (Accessed: 8 May 2022).

Ministry of Justice (2018d) *Self-harm in prison custody 2004 to 2017.* Available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/safety-in-custody-quarterly-update-to-june-2018#:~:text=Self%2Dharm%20in%20prison%20custody%202004%20to%202017 (Accessed: 8 May 2022).

Ministry of Justice (2019a) *Safety in custody statistics, England and Wales: Deaths in prison custody to June 2019 - Assaults and self-harm to March 2019.* Available at:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/820627/safety-in-custody-q1-2019.pdf (Accessed: 7 July 2020).

Ministry of Justice (2019b) *Proven reoffending statistics quarterly bulletin, July to September 2017.* Available at:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_da

ta/file/832662/proven_reoffending_bulletin_July_to_Sept_17.pdf (Accessed: 20 February 2022).

Ministry of Justice (2020) *Ageing prison population: Government response to the committee's fifth report.* Available at:

https://committees.parliament.uk/publications/3459/documents/33165/default/ (Accessed 22/02/2022).

Ministry of Justice (2021a) *Prison population: 31 December 2021*. Available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/offender-management-statistics-quarterly-july-to-september-2021 (Accessed: 16 February 2022).

Ministry of Justice (2021b) *Offender management statistics quarterly: April to June 2021.*

https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/offender-management-statistics-quarterly-april-to-june-2021 (Accessed: 5 February 2022).

Ministry of Justice (2021c) *Ministry of Justice outcome delivery plan: 2021-22.* Available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/ministry-of-justice-outcome-delivery-plan/ministry-of-justice-outcome-delivery-plan-2021-22 (Accessed 15/02/2022).

Ministry of Justice (2022) *Population bulletin: Weekly 18 March 2022.* Available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/prison-population-figures-2022 (Accessed: 20 April 2022).

Minkler, M. (1990) 'Aging and disability: Behind and beyond the stereotypes', *Journal of Ageing Studies,* 4*(*3), pp. 245-260.

Montepare, J. M. (2009) 'Subjective age: Toward a guiding lifespan framework*', International Journal of Behavioural Development,* 33*(*1), pp. 42-46.

Monterosso, S. (2009) 'Punitive criminal justice and policy in contemporary society', *Law and Justice Journal*, 9(1), pp. 13-25.

Moore, R. (2008) 'Capital', in Grenfell, M. (ed.) *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts*. Durham: Acumen Publishing, pp. 101–118.

Moos, R. H. (1989) *Ward Atmosphere Scale manual* (2nd ed.). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Morey, M. and Crewe, B. (2018) 'Work, intimacy and prisoner masculinities', in Maycock, M. and Hunt, K. (eds.) *New perspectives on prison masculinities.* Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 17-41.

Morgan, C., Webb, R., Carr, M., Kontopantelis, E., Chew-Graham, C., Kapur, N. and Ashcroft, D. (2018) 'Self-harm in a primary care cohort of older people: Incidence, clinical management, and risk of suicide and other causes of death', *The Lancet Psychiatry,* 5(11), pp. 905-912.

Morgan, D (2009) *Acquaintances: the space between intimates and strangers*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Moyes, H., Heath, J. and Dean, L. (2016) 'What can be done to improve outcomes for prisoners with a dual diagnosis?' *Advances in Dual Diagnosis,* 9(1), pp. 14-25.

National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE) (2016) *Physical health of people in prison (NICE guideline 57).* Available at: www.nice.org.uk/guidance/ng57 (Accessed: 9 May 2022).

National Offender Management Service. (2010) *Prison service instruction 38/2010: Activities in prison.* London: National Offender Management Service.

National Offender Management Service. (2011) *Prison service instruction 04/2012: Enablers of health, library, education and Jobcentre Plus services in prisons.* London: National Offender Management Service.

National Offender Management Service. (2016) *Prison service instruction 03/2016: Adult social care.* London: National Offender Management Service.

National Offender Management Service. (2019) *Prison service instruction 04/2015: Rehabilitation services specification - custody.* London: National Offender Management Service.

National Offender Management Service. (2020) *Prison service instruction 17/2015: Prisoners assisting other prisoners.* London: National Offender Management Service.

Newburn, T. (2003) *Crime and criminal justice policy.* Harlow: Pearson.

Newburn, T. (2007) '"Tough on crime": Penal policy in England and Wales', *Crime and Justice,* 36(1), pp. 425-470.

Nurse, J., Woodcock, P. and Ormsby, J. (2003) 'Influence of environmental factors on mental health within in prisons: focus group study', *BMJ,* 327(7413), pp. 480-483.

Nyqvist, F., Forsman, A.K., Giuntoli, G. and Cattan, M. (2013) 'Social capital as a resource for mental well-being in older people: A systematic review', *Aging and Mental Health,* 17(4), pp. 394-410.

O'Donnell, I. and Edgar, K. (1998) 'Routine Victimisation in Prisons', *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 37(3), pp. 266–279.

O'Hara, K., Forsyth, K., Webb, R., Senior, J., Hayes, A., Challis, D., Fazel, S. and Shaw, J. (2016) 'Links between depressive symptoms and unmet health and social care needs among older prisoners', *Age and Ageing*, 45(1), pp. 58-163.

O'Hara, M. (2014) *Austerity bites*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Office for National Statistics (2015) *Violent crime and sexual offences – overview.* Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/compendium/focu

sonviolentcrimeandsexualoffences/2015-02-12/chapter1violentcrimeandsexualoffencesoverview (Accessed: 8 May 2022)

Office for National Statistics (2018) *Living longer: How our population is changing and why it matters.* Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/ageing/articles/livinglongerhowourpopulationischangingandwhyitmatters/2018-08-13 (Accessed 9 May 2022).

Office for National Statistics (2019) *Living longer: is age 70 the new age 65?* Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/ageing/articles/livinglongerhowourpopulationischangingandwhyitmatters/2019-03-15 (Accessed 4 February 2022).

Office for National Statistics (2021a) *Sexual offences prevalence and trends, England and Wales: year ending March 2020.* Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/articles/sexualoffencesprevalenceandtrendsenglandandwales/yearendingmarch2020 (Accessed: 6 February 2022).

Office for National Statistics (2021b) *Sexual offences in England and Wales overview: Year ending March 2020.* Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/bulletins/sexualoffencesinenglandandwalesoverview/march2020 (Accessed: 6 February 2022).

Oliffe, J. and Mróz, L. (2005) Men interviewing men about health and illness: Ten lessons learned. *The Journal of Men's Health and Gender,* 2(2), pp. 257-260.

Oliffe, J.L., Rasmussen, B., Bottorff, J.L., Kelly, M.T., Galdas, P.M., Phinney, A. and Ogrodniczuk, J.S. (2013) 'Masculinities, work, and retirement among older men who experience depression', *Qualitative Health Research*, 23(12), pp. 1626–1637.

Omolade, S. (2014) *The needs and characteristics of older prisoners: results from the surveying prisoner crime reduction (SPCR) survey.* London: Ministry of Justice.

Paddock, K., Brown Wilson, C., Walshe, C. and Todd, C. (2019) 'Care home life and identity: A qualitative case study', *The Gerontologist,* 59(4), pp. 655-664.

Panchamia, N. (2012) *Competition in prisons.* Available at: https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/Prisons%20briefing%20final.pdf (Accessed 20 February 2022)

Patel, R., Harvey, J. and Forrester, A. (2018) 'Systemic limitations in the delivery of mental health care in prisons in England', *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry,* 60*,* pp. 17-25.

Patrick, R. (2014) 'Working on welfare: Findings from a qualitative longitudinal study into the lived experiences of welfare reform in the UK', *Journal of Social Policy,* 43(4), pp. 705-725.

Patrick, R. (2016) 'Living with and responding to the 'scrounger' narrative in the UK: Exploring everyday strategies of acceptance, resistance and deflection', *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice,* 24(3), pp. 245-259.

Peace, S. M., Holland, C. and Kellaher, L. (2006) *Environment and identity in later life.* New York: Open University Press.

Peacock, M., Turner, M. and Varey, S. (2018) "We call it jail craft': The erosion of the protective discourses drawn on by prison officers dealing with ageing and dying prisoners in the neoliberal, carceral system', *Sociology,* 52(6), pp. 1152-1168

Pettus-Davis, C., Howard, M.O., Roberts-Lewis, A. and Scheyett, A.M. (2011) 'Naturally occurring social support in interventions for former prisoners with substance use disorders: Conceptual framework and program model', *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 39(6), pp. 479–488

Pietilä, I., Calasanti, T., Ojala, H. and King, N. (2020) 'Is retirement a crisis for men? Class and adjustment to retirement', *Men and Masculinities*, 23(2), pp. 306-325

Pratt, D., Appleby, L., Piper, M., Webb, R. and Shaw, J. (2010) 'Suicide in recently released prisoners: A case-controlled study', *Psychological Medicine,* 40(5), pp. 827-835.

Pratt, J. (2007) *Penal populism.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Prison Reform Trust (2005) *Private punishment: Who profits?* Available at: http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/portals/0/documents/private%20punishment%20who%20profits.pdf (Accessed: 16 February 2022).

Prison Reform Trust (2010) *Prisons can seriously damage your mental health.* Available at: http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/uploads/documents/Mentalhealthsmall.pdf (Accessed: 16 February 2022).

Prison Reform Trust (2012) *Bromley briefings prison fact file: June 2012.* Available at: http://www.thebromleytrust.org.uk/Indexhibit/files/BromleyBriefingsJune2012.pdf (Accessed: 6 October 2019).

Prison Reform Trust (2014) *Bromley briefings prison factfile: Autumn 2014.* Available at: http://www.thebromleytrust.org.uk/files/bromleybriefingsautumn2014.pdf (Accessed: 10 October 2019).

Prison Reform Trust (2017) *Bromley briefings prison factfile: Autumn 2017*. Available at: http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/Portals/0/Documents/Bromley%20Briefings/Autumn%202017%20factfile.pdf (Accessed: 6 October 2019).

Prison Reform Trust (2019) *Bromley briefings prison fact file: Summer 2019.* Available at: http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/Portals/0/Documents/Bromley%20Briefings/Prison%20the%20facts%20Summer%202019.pdf (Accessed: 5 March 2022).

Prison Reform Trust. (2021) *Bromley briefings prison fact file: Winter 2021.* Available at: https://cdn.literacytrust.org.uk/media/documents/Winter_2021_Factfile_final.pdf (Accessed: 20 April 2022).

Prison Reform Trust. (2022) *Bromley briefings prison fact file: Winter 2022.* Available at: http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/Portals/0/Documents/Bromley%20Briefings/Winter%20 2022%20Factfile.pdf (Accessed: 18 February 2022).

Prisons and Probation Ombudsman. (2012) *Learning from PPO investigations: Natural cause deaths in prison custody 2007-2010*. Available at: http://www.ppo.gov.uk/app/uploads/2014/07/learning_from_ppo_investigations-natural_cause_deaths_in_prison_custody.pdf (Accessed 5 May 2019)

Prisons and Probation Ombudsman. (2013) *Learning lessons bulletin: Fatal incidents investigation issue 2.* Available at: http://www.ppo.gov.uk/app/uploads/2014/07/LLB_FII_Restraints_web_version.pdf (Accessed 7 May 2019).

Prisons and Probation Ombudsman. (2016a) *Learning lessons bulletin – dementia.* Available at: http://www.ppo.gov.uk/app/uploads/2016/07/PPO-Learning-Lessons-Bulletins_fatal-incident-investigations_issue-11_Dementia_WEB_Final.pdf (Accessed 7 May 20219).

Prisons and Probation Ombudsman (2016b) *Learning from PPO investigations: Prisoner mental health.* Available at: https://www.ppo.gov.uk/app/uploads/2016/01/PPO-thematic-prisoners-mental-health-web-final.pdf (Accessed 11 May 2022).

Prisons and Probation Ombudsman (2017) *Older prisoners*. Available at: https://s3-eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/ppo-prod-storage-1g9rkhjhkjmgw/uploads/2017/06/6-3460_PPO_Older-Prisoners_WEB.pdf (Accessed 11 May 2022).

Prisons and Probation Ombudsman (2018) *Annual report 2017-2018.* Available at: https://s3-eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/ppo-prod-storage-1g9rkhjhkjmgw/uploads/2018/10/PPO_Annual-Report-2017-18_WEB_final.pdf (Accessed: 30 April 2019)

Psick, Z., Ahlat, C., Brown, R.T. and Simon, J. (2017) 'Older and incarcerated: Policy implications of aging prison populations', *International Journal of Prison Health,* 13(1), pp. 57-63.

Putnam, R. (2002) *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Quadagno, J. (2002) *Aging and the life course: An introduction to social gerontology* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Ratcliffe, J., Wigfield, A. and Alden, S. (2019) '''A lonely old man': empirical investigations of older men and loneliness, and the ramifications for policy and practice', *Ageing and Society*, 41(4), pp.794-814.

Reeves, C. (2013) "The others': Sex offenders' social identities in probation Approved Premises', *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice,* 52(4), pp. 383-398.

Reiner, R. (2000) 'Crime and control in Britain', *Sociology,* 34*(*1), pp. 71-94.

Revolving Doors. (2017) *Rebalancing Act.* Available at: http://www.revolving-doors.org.uk/file/2049/download?token=4WZPsE8I (Accessed: 12 May 2019).

Rieger, K.L. (2019) 'Discriminating among grounded theory approaches', *Nursing Inquiry,* 26(1), pp. e12261.

Roberts, J. V., Stalans, L., Indermaur, D. and Hough, M. (2003) *Penal populism and public opinion.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Robinson, C. (2019) 'Prison 'rules' and the use of restraints on terminally ill prisoners', *Prison Service Journal*, 241, pp. 27-31.

Robinson, L., Tucker, S., Hargreaves, C., Roberts, A., Shaw, J. and Challis, D. (2021) 'Providing social care following release from prison: Emerging practice arrangements further to the introduction of the 2014 Care Act', *The British Journal of Social Work,* 52(2), pp. 982-1002.

Ross, M.W., Diamond, P.M., Liebling, A. and Saylor, W.G. (2008) 'Measurement of prison social climate', *Punishment and Society*, 10(4), pp. 447–474.

Rossetto, K.R. (2014) 'Qualitative research interviews: Assessing the therapeutic value and challenges', *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships,* 31(4), pp. 482–89.

Rowe, J. and Kahn, R. (1987) 'Human aging: Usual and successful', *Science,* 237(4811), pp. 143-149.

Rowe, J., and Kahn, R. (1998) *Successful aging.* New York: Random House.

Rubinstein, R. and de Medeiros, K. (2015) '"Successful aging," gerontological theory and neoliberalism: A qualitative critique', *The Gerontologist,* 55(1), pp. 34-42.

Ryan, G. (2018) 'Introduction to positivism, interpretivism and critical theory', *Nurse Researcher,* 25(4), pp. 14-20.

Ryan, M. (2004) 'Red tops, populists, and the irresistible rise of the public voice(s)', *Journal for Crime, Conflict and the Media,* 1(3), pp. 1-14.

Sabo, D., Kupers, T. and London, W. (eds.) (2001) *Prison masculinities.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Sentencing Council (2015) *How sentencing of historic offenders works.* Available at: https://www.sentencingcouncil.org.uk/news/item/how-sentencing-of-historic-offenders-works/ (Accessed: 26/03/2022).

Schlosser, J.A. (2008) 'Issues in interviewing inmates - navigating the methodological landmines of prison research', *Qualitative Inquiry,* 14(8), pp. 1500-1525.

Schmid, T.J. and Jones, R.S. (1991) 'Suspended identity: Identity transformation in a maximum security prison', *Symbolic Interaction,* 14(4), pp. 415-432.

Schrock, D. and Schwalbe, M. (2009) 'Men, masculinity, and manhood acts', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 35(1), pp. 277–295.

Schwalbe, M. and Wolkomir, M. (2003) 'Interviewing men', In J. Holstein and J. Gubrium. (eds.) *Inside interviewing: New lenses, new concerns*. London: SAGE, pp. 55-71.

Schwalbe, M. L. (2005) 'Identity stakes, manhood acts, and the dynamics of accountability', in Denzin, N. (ed.) *Studies in symbolic interaction*. New York: Elsevier, pp. 65–81.

Scott, D. and Codd, H. (2010) *Controversial issues in prisons*. Berkshire, England: McGraw-Hill.

Senior, J. (2020) 'Uneasy bedfellows: Imprisonment, mental health and public service austerity', in Taylor, P., Morley, S. and Powell, J. (eds.) *Mental health and punishments: Critical perspectives in theory and practice.* London: Routledge, pp. 87-106.

Senior, J., Birmingham, L., Harty, M.A., Hassan, L., Hayes, A.J., Kendall, K., King, C., et al. (2013) 'Identification and management of prisoners with severe psychiatric illness by specialist mental health services', *Psychological Medicine,* 43(7), pp. 1511-1520.

Sheldon, C. (2021) *Independent review into child sexual abuse in football 1970-2005.* Available at: https://www.thefa.com/-/media/thefacom-new/files/about-the-fa/sheldon-

report/independent-review-into-child-sexual-abuse-in-football-1970-2005.ashx (Accessed: 5 February 2022).

Singleton, N., Meltzer, H., Gatward, R., Weir Coid, J., Deasy, D. (1998) *Psychiatric Morbidity among Prisoners in England and Wales.* London: Stationery Office.

Sismondo, S. (1993) 'Some social constructions', *Social Studies of Science,* 23(3), pp. 515-553.

Skills for Care. (2015) *Briefing: Care and support for people in prisons and approved premises.* Available at: https://www.skillsforcare.org.uk/Document-library/Standards/Care-Act/learning-and-development/care-and-support-for-people-in-prisons-and-approved-premises-briefing.pdf (Accessed 11 May 2022).

Skinns, D. (2016) *Coalition Government penal policy 2010-2015: Austerity, outsourcing and punishment*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Smith, C. (2000) "Healthy Prisons': A contradiction in terms?', *The Howard Journal,* 39(4), pp. 339-353.

Smith, J. A. and Braunack-Mayer, A. (2014) 'Men interviewing men: The benefits and challenges of using constructed mateship as a tool to build rapport when interviewing Anglo-Australian men about their health', *International Journal of Men's Health,* 13(3), pp. 143-155.

Smith, J. A., Braunack-Mayer, A., Wittert, G. and Warin, M. (2007) '"I've been independent for so damn long!": Independence, masculinity and aging in a help seeking context', *Journal of Aging Studies,* 21(4), pp. 325-335.

Sparks, R., Bottoms, A. and Hay, W. (1996*) Prisons and the problem of orde*r. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Spector-Mersel, G. (2006) 'Never-aging stories: Western hegemonic masculinity scripts', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 15(1), pp. 67–82.

Springer, K.W. and Mouzon, D.M. (2019) 'One step toward more research on aging masculinities: Operationalizing the hegemonic masculinity for older men scale (HMOMS)', *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 27(2), pp. 183–203.

Stasch, J., Yoon, D., Sauter, J., Hausam, J. and Dahle, K.P. (2018) 'Prison climate and its role in reducing dynamic risk factors during offender treatment', *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 62(14), pp. 4609–4621.

Stenner, P., McFarquhar, T. and Bowling, A. (2010) 'Older people and 'active ageing': Subjective aspects of ageing actively', *Journal of Health Psychology,* 16(3), pp. 467–477.

Stewart, W. (2018) 'What does the implementation of peer care training in a U.K. prison reveal about prisoner engagement in peer caregiving?', *Journal of Forensic Nursing,* 14(1), pp.18-26.

Stewart, W. (2022) "Helping not hurting': Horizontal care and learning to peer care in prison', *Ethics and Social Welfare*, 16(1), pp. 90-105.

Strauss, A., and Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Sturge, G. (2021) *UK prison population statistics*. London: House of Commons Library.

Sullivan, V., Forsyth, K., Hassan, L. and O'Hara, K. (2016) "You can't have them in here': experiences of accessing medication among older men on entry to prison', *Ageing and Society,* 26(6), pp. 1254-1271.

Sykes, G.M. (1956) 'The corruption of authority and rehabilitation', *Social Forces,* 34(3), pp. 257–262.

Sykes, G.M. (1958) *The society of captives*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Sykes, G.M. and Messinger, S.L. (1960) 'The inmate social system', in Cloward, R. (ed.) *Theoretical studies in social organization of the prison*. New York: Social Science Research Council, pp. 5-19.

Tait, S. (2011) 'A typology of prison officer approaches to care*', European Journal of Criminology*, 8(6), pp. 440–454.

Tannenbaum, C. and Frank, B. (2011) 'Masculinity and health in late life men', *American Journal of Men's Health,* 5(3), pp. 243-254.

Tarrant, A. (2010) '"Maturing" a sub-discipline: The intersectional geographies of masculinities and old age*', Geography Compass*, 4(10), pp. 1580–1591.

Tarrant, A. (2013) 'Grandfathering as spatio-temporal practice: conceptualizing performances of ageing masculinities in contemporary familial carescapes*', Social and Cultural Geography,* 14(2), pp. 192-210.

Tarrant, A. (2014a) 'Grandfathering and the embodiment of ageing masculinities', in Tarrant, A. and Watts, J. (eds.) *The representation of older people in ageing research series: Studies of ageing masculinities: Still in their infancy?* London, England: Open University and Centre of Policy on Ageing.

Tarrant, A. (2014b) 'Negotiating multiple positionalities in the interview setting: Researching across gender and generational boundaries', *The Professional Geographer,* 66(3), pp. 493-500.

Tarrant, A. (2019) '"Maturing" theories of ageing masculinities and the diverse identity work of older men in later life', in Gottzén, L., Mellström, U. and Shefer, T. (eds.) *Routledge international handbook of masculinity studies.* Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 192-200.

Tew, J. (2013) 'Recovery capital: what enables a sustainable recovery from mental health difficulties?', *European Journal of Social Work,* 16(3), pp. 360–374.

Thistoll, T., Hooper, V. and Pauleen, D J. (2016) 'Acquiring and developing theoretical sensitivity through undertaking a grounded preliminary literature review', *Quality & Quantity,* 50, pp. 619-636.

Thomas, T., Thompson, D. and Karstedt, S. (2014) *Assessing the impact of Circles of Support and Accountability on the reintegration of adults convicted of sexual offences in the community.* Leeds: University of Leeds.

Thompson, E.H. (2019) *Men, masculinities, and aging: The gendered lives of older men.* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.

Thompson, E.H. and Langendoerfer, K.B. (2016) 'Older men's blueprint for "being a man"', *Men and Masculinities*, 19(2), pp. 119–147.

Toch, H. (1998) 'Hypermasculinity and prison violence' in Bowker, L. H. (ed.) *Masculinities and violence*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 168-178.

Tomer, J. (2003) 'Personal capital and emotional intelligence', *Eastern Economic Journal,* 29(3), pp. 453-470.

Townsend, P. (1981) 'The structured dependency of the elderly: A creation of social policy in the twentieth century', Personal capital and emotional intelligence, *Ageing and Society,* 1(1), pp. 5–28.

Tracy, S. (2010) 'Qualitative quality: Eight "big-tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research', *Qualitative Inquiry,* 16(10), pp. 837-851.

Trades Union Congress and the New Economics Foundation. (2015) *Outsourcing Public Services.* Available at: https://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/TUC%20and%20NEF%20Outsourcing%20Public%20Services.pdf (Accessed: 20 February 2022).

Treacy, S., Haggith, A., Wickramasinghe, N.D. and Van Bortel, T. (2019) 'Dementia-friendly prisons: A mixed-methods evaluation of the application of dementia-friendly community principles to two prisons in England', *BMJ Open*, 9(8), pp. e030087.

Tucker, S., Hargreaves, C., Roberts, A., Anderson, I., Shaw, J. and Challis, D. (2018) 'Social care in prison: Emerging practice arrangements consequent upon the introduction of the 2014 Care Act', *The British Journal of Social Work*, 48(6), pp. 1627-1644.

Tucker, S., Hargreaves, C., Cattermull, M., Roberts, A., Walker, T., Shaw, J. and Challis, D. (2019) 'The nature and extent of prisoners' social care needs: Do older prisoners require a different service response?', *Journal of Social Work*, 21(3), pp. 310-328.

Turner, M. and Peacock, M. (2017) 'Palliative care in UK prisons: Practical and emotional challenges for staff and fellow prisoners', *Journal of Correctional Health Care,* 23(1), pp. 56-65.

Turner, M., Peacock, M., Payne, S., Fletcher, A. and Froggatt, K. (2018) 'Ageing and dying in the contemporary neoliberal prison system: Exploring the 'double burden' for older prisoners', *Social Science and Medicine,* 212*,* pp. 161-167.

Tweed, A. and Charmaz, K. (2012) 'Grounded theory methods for mental health practitioners', in Harper, D. and Thompson, A. (eds.) *Qualitative research methods in mental health and psychotherapy: A guide for students and practitioners*. London: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 131–146.

Ulmer, J. T. and Steffensmeier, D. (2014) 'The age and crime relationship: Social variation, social explanation', in Beaver, K.M., Barnes, J.C. and Boutwell, B.B. (eds.) *The nurture versus biosocial debate in criminology: On the origins of criminal behaviour and criminality*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, pp. 377-396.

Vandello, J. A., Bosson, J. K., Cohen, D., Burnaford, R.M. and Weaver, J. R. (2008) 'Precarious manhood', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 95(6), pp. 1325.

Victor, C. (2005) *The social context of ageing.* London: Routledge.

von Hirsh, A., Bottoms, A., Burney, E., and Wikstrom, P. (1999) *Criminal deterrence and sentence severity.* Oxford, England: Hart Publishing.

Walker, A. (1981) 'Towards a political economy of old age', *Ageing and Society*, 1(1), pp. 73–94.

Walker, A. (2000) 'Public policy and the construction of old age in Europe', *The Gerontologist,* 40(3), pp. 304-308.

Walmsley, R. (2017) *World female imprisonment list.* Available at: http://www.prisonstudies.org/sites/default/files/resources/downloads/world_female_prison_4th_edn_v4_web.pdf (Accessed: 11 May 2022).

Wand, A., Peisah, C., Draper, B. and Brodaty, H. (2017) 'Understanding self-harm in older people: a systematic review of qualitative studies', *Aging and Mental Health,* 22(3), pp. 289-298.

Ware, J. and Galouzis, J. (2019) 'Impact of prison climate on individuals with sexual convictions: Desistance and rehabilitation', in Blagden, N., Winder, B., Hocken, K., Livelesley, R., Banyard, P. and Elliott, H. (eds.) *Sexual crime and the experience of imprisonment.* London, UK: Palgrave McMillan, pp. 35–60.

Weiss, D.B. and MacKenzie, D.L. (2010) 'A global perspective on incarceration: How an international focus can help the United States reconsider its incarceration rates', *Victims and Offenders,* 5(3), pp. 268–282.

Whitehead, S. M. (2002) *Men and masculinities: Key themes and new directions.* Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Williams, A. (2006) 'Paedophiles, panics, and protests: Understanding penal populism', *Japanese Journal of Sociological Criminology,* 31, pp. 52-73.

Williams, B.A., Ahalt, C. and Greifinger, R. (2014) 'The older prisoner and complex chronic care', in Enggist, S., Galea, G. and Udesen, C. (eds.) *Prisons and health*. Copenhagen: World Health Organization Publications, pp. 165-72.

Williamson, M. (2006) *Improving the health and social outcomes of people recently released from prisons in the UK: A perspective from primary care.* Available at: http://www.antoniocasella.eu/salute/Williamson_health_care_after_prison_2006.pdf (Accessed: 11 May 2022)

Willig, C. (2013) *Introducing research in psychology.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Wilson, G. (2000) *Understanding old age: Critical and global perspectives.* London: Sage.

Woessner, G., and Schwedler, A. (2014) 'Correctional treatment of sexual and violent offenders therapeutic change, prison climate, and recidivism', *Criminal Justice and Behavior,* 41(7), pp. 862-879.

Wolff, N. and Draine, J. (2004) 'Dynamics of social capital of prisoners and community reentry: Ties that bind?', *Journal of Correctional Health Care,* 10(3)*,* pp. 457–490.

World Health Organisation (2002) *Active ageing: A policy framework.* Geneva: WHO.

World Health Organisation (2020) *Ageing: Healthy ageing and functional ability.* Available at: https://www.who.int/news-room/q-a-detail/ageing-healthy-ageing-and-functional-ability (Accessed: 6 October 2020).

Wright, N., Walters, P. and Strang, J. (2016) 'Dual diagnosis in prisons: Management of co-existing substance use and mental health disorders', *Advances in Dual Diagnosis,* 9(1).

Appendices

Recruitment poster for older men in prison

Would you be interested in talking about your life in prison?

Rose Hutton, a PhD researcher,
is interested in talking to **men over 50** about their experiences.

The research aims to develop a greater understanding of what life is like for men in prison who are over 50.

If you think you may be interested in taking part in an interview and would like further information: please speak to [gatekeeper]

UEA University of East Anglia

What are your experiences of prison and release?

Rose Hutton, a PhD researcher, is looking for volunteers to share their experiences of prison and release in later life.

Your voluntary participation would involve a telephone interview about your experiences

I am looking to speak to men who both:

- Spent time in prison whilst **over 50** years old
- Left prison within **the last 5 years**

The research aims to develop a greater understanding of what prison and release are like for men over 50 and make suggestions for improvements to support

If you think you may be interested in taking part in an interview and would like further information, please email me at rose.hutton@uea.ac.uk or call/text me on 07920 708970

University of East Anglia

Researching older prisoners

University of East Anglia

My name is Rose Hutton and I am a PhD researcher from the School of Social Work at the University of East Anglia in Norwich.

From working in the prison service, I am sure you will all be aware of the dramatic rise in older offenders over the last 15 years. Despite this, there still remains very little academic research on the experiences of older men in prison. Based on this, my PhD research aims to explore the day-to-day experiences of older men in prison.

In addition to interviewing prisoners, I am also looking to conduct telephone interviews (or face to face if preferred) with staff who work directly with older prisoners to gain more insight into what it is like to work with this group and therefore gain a different perspective surrounding the experiences of older men.

I understand how busy you all must be, but any time you could spare would be invaluable to my research and greatly appreciated.

If you would like further information or are interested in taking part, please contact me, Rose Hutton at:

Email: Rose.hutton@uea.ac.uk
Research telephone: 07920 708970

Original guide for interviews with older men in prison

First of all, I would like to know a few things about you, are you happy to share your age and ethnicity etc.?

Demographic questions:

- How old are you?

- What is your ethnicity? E.g. white, black British, mixed ethnic groups

- Do you have a partner?

- What type of sentence are you on?

    - I don't need to know why you are in prison unless you think it is relevant

    - I am interested in what kind of sentence you are serving e.g. determinate, indeterminate or life.

- What was your age when you entered prison?

- How long have you been in prison? Always in this one?

- Do you expect to be released, if so, when?

- Which wing of the prison are you on?

Main interview questions:

1. Could you tell me a bit about yourself?

   - *Where did you grow up?*

   - *What do you enjoy doing?*

2. How would you describe your time in prison?

   - *Could you tell me a bit about your time here or in other prisons?*

3. Could you talk me through a typical day/week?

   - *What do you do?*

   - *Who do you see/spend time with?*

4. What do you think people don't know about life in prison?

5. Could you explain to me what it is like being in prison as an older man?

   - How does it differ from when you were younger? (if applicable)

6. How well do you feel your needs are met in prison?

7. What, if anything, do you find helpful for managing on a day to day basis?

8. Is the prison experience different for older prisoners compared to younger ones? If so, how? Can you give me any examples?

9. How would you describe growing older in prison?

- *Has your role changed within the prison?*

- *Do you do different things now?*

10. How do you get on with the other people here?

- *Staff or other prisoners*

11. Could you tell me about any friendships you have in prison?

- *E.g. those who support you or you spend time with*

12. How do you manage your relationships with people outside of prison?

- *Role within the home? How has that changed?*

13. Can you tell me a bit about your plans for the future? [tailored to their response regarding how much time they have left in prison e.g. plans upon release or plans during the rest of sentence]

- *Skills?*

- *Education?*

- *Worries about the future?*

14. What do you think are the main problems, if any, within the prison system at the moment?

15. Do you think there are any benefits as an older prisoner?

16. What would make life better for older people in prison?

17. Is there anything you would like to talk me about that I have not asked you?

18. How do you feel after talking to me?

19. Is there anything you would like to ask me about the research?

Amended guide for interviews with older men in prison [changes to original highlighted]

First of all, I would like to know a few details about you, are you happy to share your age and ethnicity etc.?

Demographic questions:

- How old are you?

- What is your ethnicity? E.g. white, black British, mixed ethnic groups

- Do you have a partner?

- What type of sentence are you on?

  - I don't need to know why you are in prison unless you think it is relevant

  - I am interested in what kind of sentence you are serving e.g. determinate, indeterminate or life.

- What was your age when you entered prison?

- How long have you been in prison? Always in this one?

- Do you expect to be released, if so, when?

- Which wing of the prison are you on?

Main interview questions:

1. Could you tell me a bit about yourself?

   - Where did you grow up?

- Who did you grow up with?

- School/jobs?

- What do you enjoy doing?

2. How would you describe your time in prison?

    - Could you tell me a bit about your time here or in other prisons?

3. Could you talk me through a typical day/week?

    - What do you do?

    - Who do you see/spend time with?

4. Could you explain to me what it is like being in prison as an older man?

    - How does it differ from when you were younger? (if applicable)

    - Changes from first entering prison to now?

5. Do you think the prison experience different for older prisoners compared to younger ones?

    If so, how? Can you give me any examples?

6. How well do you feel your needs are met in prison?

    - I'm interested in the way any care needs are supported

    - Are there any particular aspects you need help with?

    - Who supports your needs? Staff, other residents, yourself?

7. What, if anything, do you find helpful for managing on a day to day basis?

8. How would you describe growing older in prison?

    - Do you think behaviour or outlook changes?

    - How do you think other people here see you e.g. residents/staff? Has that changed?

    - Do you do different things now?

9. How do you get on with the other people here?

    - Staff or other residents

10. Could you tell me about anyone you hang out with here?

    - E.g. those who support you or you spend time with, friendships etc.

11. What about friends or relatives outside the prison?

    - Role within the home? How has that changed?

12. Can you tell me a bit about your plans for the future?

    - Skills?

    - Education?

    - Worries about the future?

    - Support on release or developing skills?#

13. What do you think people don't know about life in prison?

14. Do you think there are any particular problems within the prison system at the moment?

Closing questions:

15. What would make life better for older people in prison?

   - *Could you name three things? Or 'top tips'?*

   - *What you think about separate wings for older residents?*

16. Is there anything else you think is important to your experience of prison that we haven't

   covered?

17. How do you feel after this interview?

18. Is there anything you would like to ask me about the research?

Guide for interviews with prison officers

Demographic questions:

- How long have you worked in prisons?

- How long have you worked with older male prisoners?

Main interview questions:

1. Could you tell me a bit about your role in the prison?

2. What do you think people don't know about working in a prison?

3. Could you tell me about what a typical day/week at work is like for you?

4. How would you describe your experiences of working with older prisoners?

5. Do you think older prisoners face particular challenges?

6. Can you describe those challenges/give examples?

   - *Has this changed over time?*

7. What do you think the main challenges are, if any, for those who have grown old in prison?

   E.g. been in prison since younger and grown older 'inside'

8. What is different about working with older prisoners compared to those who are younger?

9. Could you tell me a bit about any experiences where you have worked with an older

   offender with more complex health and social care needs

10. How do you find 'getting to know' the older prisoners?

11. What is the main challenge for you when working with older prisoners?

12. To what extent do you feel prepared to work with older prisoners?

- In terms of training, support, knowledge of support for older men

13. What do you think are the main challenges within the prison system at the moment?

- *Has this changed over time?*

14. Are there any benefits when working with older prisoners? Could you give me some

examples?

15. What would make working with this group easier?

16. Is there anything you would like to talk me about that I have not asked you?

17. How do you feel after talking to me?

18. Is there anything you would like to ask me about the research?

Guide for interviews with released older men

First of all, I would like to know a few details about you, are you happy to share your age and ethnicity etc.?

Demographic questions:

- How old are you?

- What is your ethnicity? E.g. white, black British, mixed ethnic groups

- Do you have a partner?

- What type of sentence were you on in prison?

    - I don't need to know why you were in prison unless you think it is relevant

    - I am interested in what kind of sentence you were serving e.g. determinate, indeterminate or life.

- How old were you when you entered prison?

- How long were you in prison?

- How long ago were you released from prison?

- What kind of prisons were you in?

Main interview questions:

1. Could you tell me a bit about yourself?

- Where did you grow up?

- Who did you grow up with?

- School/jobs?

- What do you enjoy doing?

2. How did you find your time in prison?

  - Did this differ across prisons?

  - How did you find entering prison?

3. Could you explain to me what it was like being in prison as an older man?

  - How did you find being around younger prisoners?

  - How does it differ from when you were younger? (if applicable)

4. What sort of things did you do with your time in prison?

  - Jobs? Education? Activities?

5. Do you think the prison experience differs for older prisoners compared to younger ones at all? Can you give me any examples?

6. How well did you feel your needs were met in prison?

  - Healthcare needs? Social care needs?

  - Who supported your needs? Staff, other residents, yourself?

7. What, if anything, was helpful for managing on a day to day basis?

8. How did you get on with the other people in prison?

- How would you describe your relationship with the other residents?

- Was there anyone in particular you spent time with?

- Have you kept in touch with anyone since leaving prison?

9. How did you get on with the staff in prison?

- Prison officers

- Other staff members

10. What about friends or relatives outside of prison?

- During prison?

- After release?

11. Could you tell me a bit about your transition back into the community?

- How prepared did you feel?

- Where did you live when released?

- Have there been any barriers for you?

12. What is an average day/week like for you since you were released?

13. Do you think there are any particular problems within the prison system or probation

service at the moment?

Closing questions:

14. What, if anything, was helpful for you after being released?

15. What would make life better for older people in prison or released from prison?

- *Could you name three things? Or 'top tips'?*

- *What you think about separate wings for older residents?*

16. Is there anything else you think is important to your experience of prison that we haven't

covered?

17. How do you feel after this interview?

18. Is there anything you would like to ask me about the research?

Appendix C: Excerpts from reflexive diary

Example 1: Reflections following interview with older man in prison

[Participant] was already in the room when I entered. He had no mobility aids and seemed pretty mobile. He had hearing aids in both ears, I had already been told that he was partially deaf. He was polite and friendly. Almost as soon as we sat down, he said "I just need to make something clear". I didn't really know what to expect but he went on to assert that he was innocent, denies his offence and is currently going through appeal process (although only has a year left and has already spent three and a half years in prison). It seemed very important to him that I thought he was innocent. Whilst he was quite personable, there was something a little off and he had quite a fixed stare whilst talking. He later said something along the lines of "the girl said I took her out alone, her mum said I didn't and so did my wife" in relation to his offence. This made me feel a little uncomfortable. He made a comment towards the end of the interview about not trusting the court system and as he felt victims are always believed over the defender and said, "well I don't know what you think?" I deflected the question but felt there was a little tension after that. Whilst he was talkative and we talked for just over an hour, I felt that he was quite closed off. He didn't give much away, and I felt like there was a bit of a wall that I didn't manage to break.

Example 2: Reflections following interview with prison officers

As there had been two 'no shows' leading up to this interview, I was apprehensive that this would also no go ahead and was surprised when [participant] answered the phone. [Participant] was quite matter of fact but friendly. He cracked jokes during the interview. I wondered if this was a

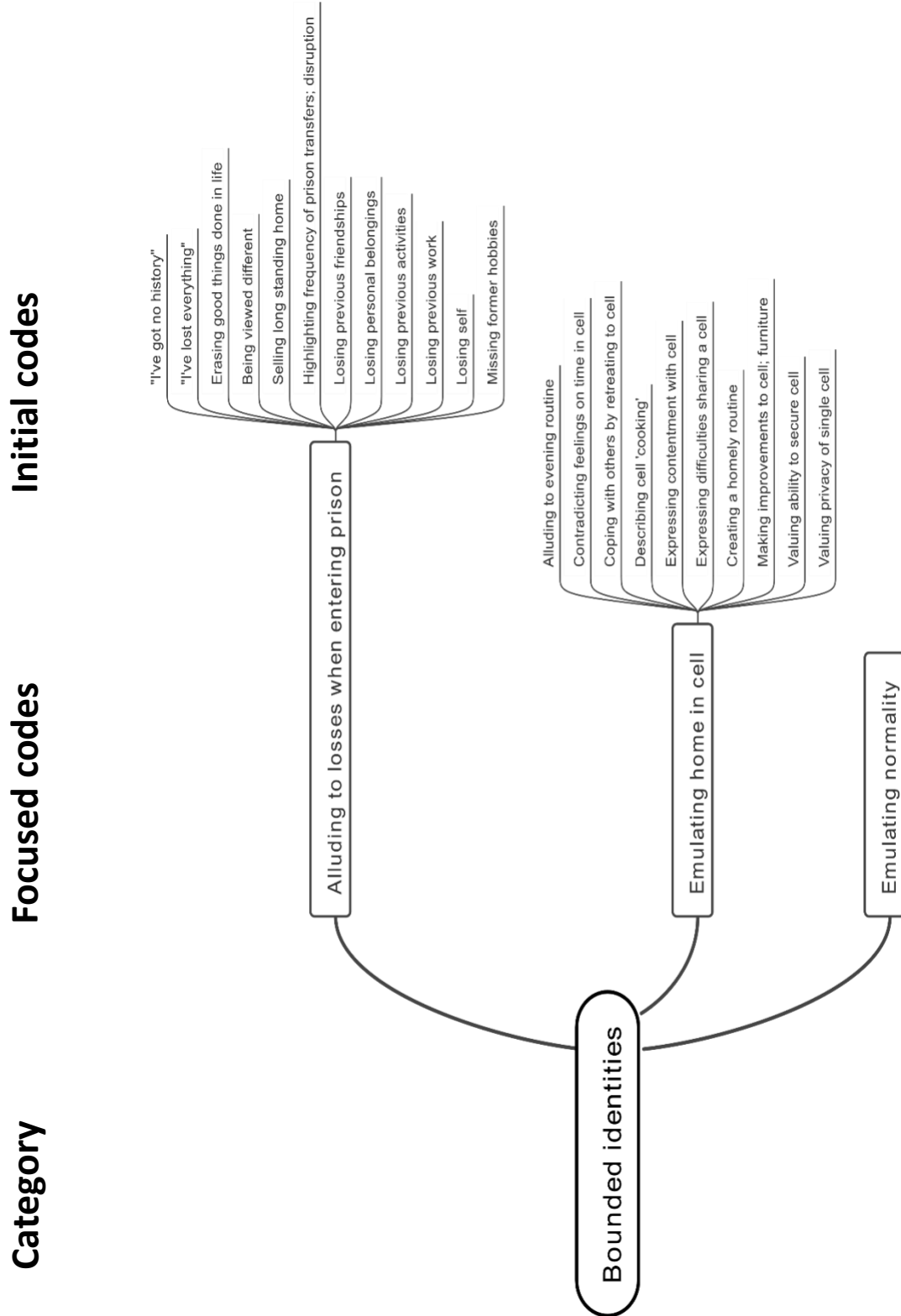way of him managing his emotions or how he would be perceived. An example of this being when I asked him to talk me through a typical day, he said something like 'well in the morning I unlock them and check that they're all still alive!' [Participant] had to excuse himself to go and deal with things on a few occasions during the interview which I felt interrupted the flow of talk to some extent.
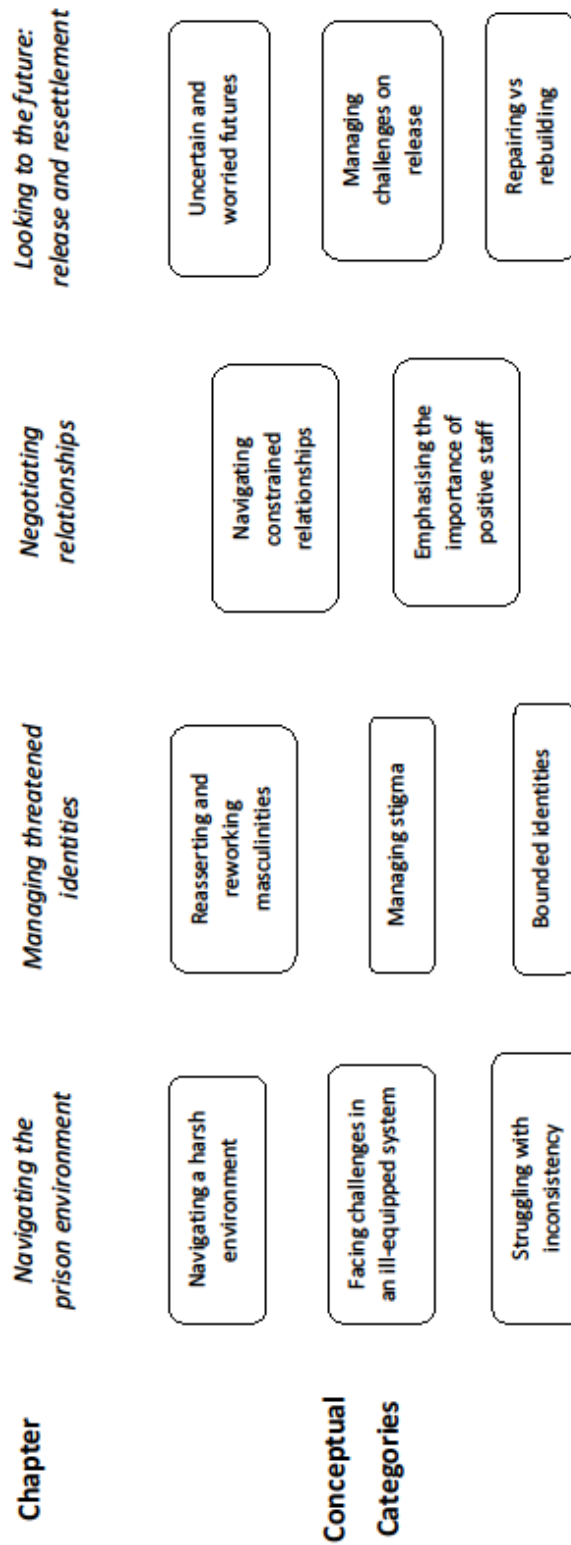
Appendix D: Example of initial coding

Initial coding from interview with Jack, older men in prison

Interview data	Initial codes
Ummm… I was… I'm getting emotional… Umm… I was married for thirty years and three kids, all through university, all got good careers. And… I haven't heard from them, since… [becomes upset]. Just a stupid stupid mistake, nothing horr- well… not horrific, consensual but arguably consensual. And I accept it and I have to be duly punished and I accept my lot. Umm… It is a shock to the system, prison for the first time. Sometimes you hear people, and they've been in prison two, three, four, five times, so obviously… But unlike the Daily Mail [chuckles], I have never once on the wings in three years heard any two paedophiles discussing or exchanging chat of their crimes. Never! There are so many profess- I mean I was a sales and marketing manager for [company] England. [Disclosive information removed] bigwig y'know, responsibility. Retired, made redundant. Different things! Umm… Taxi driver the last two years, doing disabled children to schools y'know. And all that's gone. Done. My wife… [Sighs]… I understand y'know, had to flee the family home y'know. Her home she loved, this that and the other, upset her, I think. Umm… But you see, I just know nothing. Y'know, nothing about my family.	**Feeling upset by lack of family contact** **Minimising crime's seriousness** **Accepting punishment** **Alluding to harsh transition** **Challenging media representations** **Presenting self as successful** **Expecting to lose previous work** **Emphasising impact of conviction on wife** **Lacking information about family**

Appendix E: Example of category with coding hierarchy

Category	Focused codes	Initial codes
	Alluding to losses when entering prison	"I've got no history" "I've lost everything" Erasing good things done in life Being viewed different Selling long standing home Highlighting frequency of prison transfers; disruption Losing previous friendships Losing personal belongings Losing previous activities Losing previous work Losing self Missing former hobbies
Bounded identities	**Emulating home in cell**	Alluding to evening routine Contradicting feelings on time in cell Coping with others by retreating to cell Describing cell 'cooking' Expressing contentment with cell Expressing difficulties sharing a cell Creating a homely routine Making improvements to cell; furniture Valuing ability to secure cell Valuing privacy of single cell
	Emulating normality	

Appendix F: Conceptual categories organised by chapter

Chapter	Navigating the prison environment	Managing threatened identities	Negotiating relationships	Looking to the future: release and resettlement
Conceptual Categories	Navigating a harsh environment	Reasserting and reworking masculinities	Navigating constrained relationships	Uncertain and worried futures
	Facing challenges in an ill-equipped system	Managing stigma	Emphasising the importance of positive staff	Managing challenges on release
	Struggling with inconsistency	Bounded identities		Repairing vs rebuilding

Example 1 – June 2020

Maturity and masculinity

Whilst proofing Thomas' transcript he made explicit reference to maturity (in comparison to the younger inmates) and this also linked to a masculine identity. When I asked why he thinks there was more respect between the older prisoners he said:

> I think that comes from maturity, isn't it? Actually, where you're growing up, you've already been in the situations these youngsters have been in. You've already done your hissy fits and your testosterone and your fighting for [football club] forty year ago, do you know what I mean? And as you get older, you know, I don't feel the need no more to wreck someone's car because [football club] has lost or hang around on the station for [football club] or, y'know what I'm saying is, that was seventies and I done that in the seventies when I was seventeen, y'know what I mean? I don't have to prove anything. When you get to my age, **we don't have to prove anything to anybody**.

This idea of having to 'prove yourself' is particularly interesting. One way of looking at this is that they don't have the physical strength/appearance to construct themselves as threatening but perhaps there is more to it than that? Something about creating a matured masculine identity? Does emphasising age-related maturity/wisdom lessen the importance of constructing a hypermasculine identity?

Example 2 - August 2020

I am still finding it really hard to pinpoint what is going on with this idea in my coding that I originally termed 'pushing prison as time of development.' Whilst there are some aspects around the men developing, what they are actually doing with their talk is quite distinct from that. It is about framing their time in prison positively but positively isn't the right word. In some ways it is demonstrating a kind of resilience e.g. it's about *your* perspective, *your* ability to make the most of it. Where does it leave those who aren't able to make the most of it? Who don't have

the resources to draw on to frame their experience in an alternative way? Those who are on long sentences, are older, have poor health, have no money upon release, have no support networks - there is no way for them to frame it as anything positive because their whole experience of prison about loss. There is no way that Lewis could frame prison as a 'sabbatical' in the same way that Edward does.

It's made me start to think about the extent to which that the participants are:

- diverse group of people

- with varied personal resources

- living in facilities that range across the prison estate in terms of their suitability for older men and the support they can offer them

Example 3 - 24th May 2021

Having to work around 'normal' procedure

> And it's loads of like little things we try to change for him, even like hospital appointments. Normal procedure will be going down to umm main gate, collecting the licence and leaving with another [prisoner and the driver? 20:01], going to hospital. With this particular prisoner, he usually goes with a mental health nurse and he doesn't have to go through the gates. Umm because that would be too confusing for him. So, we would get licence ready for him, he just leaves from the unit with this mental health nurse he knows already, so that there is something familiar for him. Which, you know, makes a difference.

This quote got me thinking about something which has been prominent throughout the data. Because prison is not set up for older people and the existing procedures are so strict because of security considerations, everything that is done to help older prisoners is an exception where they have to work around 'normal' procedure. E.g. try to deviate from the norm which is

much harder in the context of prison. Thus, any measures put in place are therefore extraordinary because older people aren't considered in the regime and this can be linked to absence of policy strategy for older offenders.

Intervention for older people > deviating from the norm > which is even harder within a system where procedures are so strict because the running is dictated by security rather than welfare

Information sheet for older men in prison

Information Sheet

'Exploring the lived experiences of men over 50 in prison'

What is the research about?

This research is looking at the experiences of older men in prison and hopes to learn more about what prison is like for you on a day-to-day basis.

What is the research for?

I am a researcher at the University of East Anglia studying for a PhD. This research will form part of my thesis which focuses on how older men experience prison.

What is involved?

I would like to speak to you about what life is like for you as an older resident. This includes your experiences, feelings, and opinions. There is no time limit for this, but interviews tend to last between 30-60 minutes. I will use a recorder so that I can create a written copy of what we talked about during the interview without taking notes. When this is written up, no personal data such as names or locations will be included, and the recording will be deleted as soon as it is no longer needed.

Do I have to take part?

There is **no requirement** for you to take part in my research and there will be no negative outcomes for you if you choose not to or change your mind. It should not affect any care or treatment you receive.

What if I want to stop?

You can have a break or end the interview at any time. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not feel comfortable with or talk about anything that you don't want to talk about.

Will other people know what I have said?

I will not share your interview with anyone in the prison. However, following prison regulations I have a duty to report any information that relates to:

- Behaviour that is against prison rules.

- Undisclosed illegal acts (previous and planned).
- Behaviour that is harmful to yourself.
- Information that raises concerns about terrorist, radicalisation or security issues.

If that is the case, I will need to tell a relevant person within the prison.

What is in it for me?

I hope that you will find it interesting to talk about your experiences of prison. My research will also hopefully help build more of an understanding of what life is like for older prisoners and be able to make suggestions for improvements.

How do I know that this research is safe for me to take part in?

My research has been approved by the ethics committee at The University of East Anglia and Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service. This is where all research is looked at by an independent group of people, called a Research Ethics Committee, to protect your safety, rights, wellbeing and dignity.

How will the data be stored?

All information you provide during the study will be stored in accordance with the 2018 General Data Protection Regulation and kept strictly confidential. The chief investigator (Rose) will be in

charge of the anonymous research data. Any information that could identify you will be stored separately in a password protected file and will be disposed of as soon as it is no longer needed and within 5 years. Any paper-based data relating to you will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and electronic data stored on a password protected computer in an encrypted folder.

How will the data be used?

The data collected from the interviews will be written up and parts of it will be presented in my thesis and may be presented in journals and at conferences. However, anonymised data will be presented, and individuals will never be identified.

What if I change my mind after the interview?

If you decide you no longer want to be in the research, you have the right to withdraw your interview from the study for **up to four weeks after the day of your interview**. You can do this by letting [member of staff] know or asking another staff member to contact them.

This research is led by Rose Hutton at the University of East Anglia (UEA)'s School of Social Work. The project is supervised by Professor Jonathan Dickens and Dr Penny Sorensen.

To get more information or to make a complaint please speak to [member of staff]

Information Sheet

'Exploring the experiences of older men in prison and those who work with them'

What is the research about?

This research will be looking at older men's experiences of prison and staff members' experiences of working with them.

What is the research for?

I am a researcher at the University of East Anglia studying for a PhD. This research will form part of my thesis which focuses on the lives of older men in prison.

What is involved?

The main part of my research involves interviewing older residents. In addition to this, I would like to speak to staff about their experiences of working with/supporting older prisoners, to gain an additional perspective on this group. To make minimal impact on your time, I am looking to conduct telephone interviews lasting around 30-60 minutes. I will also use an audio recorder so that I can create a written transcript of the interview for analysis. No personal data

such as names or places will be included in the written transcript and the recording will be deleted once I have finished my research.

Do I have to take part?

There is **no requirement** for you to take part in my research and you can change your mind and withdraw at any time during the interview.

What if I want to stop?

You can have a break or end the interview at any time. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not feel comfortable with or talk about anything that you don't want to talk about.

Will other people know what I have said?

Your **interview will be anonymous**, this means you can't be identified in the research. However, exceptions to this rule are set out by HMPPS and if any information relating to the following is spoken about, then I have a duty to report it:

- Behaviour that is against prison rules and can be adjudicated against (please see rule 51 of the Prison Rules 1999).
- Undisclosed illegal acts (previous and planned).
- Behaviour that is harmful to you (e.g. intention to self-harm or commit suicide) or others.
- Information that raises concerns about terrorist, radicalisation or security issues.

If that is the case, I will need to tell a relevant person within the prison.

What is in it for me?

There is no financial reward for taking part in the research. But it will give you an opportunity to express your experiences of working with older residents. My research will also hopefully help build more of an understanding of what life is like for older men in prison. The experiences of staff members will allow me to make more informed recommendations regarding potential training of prison staff and positive changes for this group.

How will you store the information that I give you?

All information which you provide during the study will be stored in accordance with the 2018 General Data Protection Regulation and kept strictly confidential. The Chief investigator will be the custodian of the anonymous research data. Any identifiable data will be stored separately in a password protected file and will be securely disposed of as soon as it is no longer necessary, and within 5 years. Paper based data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and electronic data held on a password protected computer. All participants will be given pseudonyms to hide their true identity.

How do I know that this research is safe for me to take part in?

All research has been approved by the ethics committee at The University of East Anglia and Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service. This is where all research is looked at by an independent group of people, called a Research Ethics Committee, to protect your safety, rights, wellbeing and dignity.

How will the data be used?

The data collected from the interviews will be written up and presented in my thesis and may be presented in journals and conferences. However, group data will be presented, and individuals will never be identified.

What if I change my mind after the interview?

If you decide you no longer want to be in the research, you have the right to withdraw your interview from the study for **up to four weeks after the day of your interview**. You can do this via the contact details listed below and I will withdraw your data.

This research is led by Rose Hutton at the University of East Anglia (UEA)'s School of Social Work. The project is supervised by Professor Jonathan Dickens and Dr Penny Sorensen.

To get more information or for any enquiries about the research you can contact me at:

Email**:** rose.hutton@uea.ac.uk

Research telephone: 07920 708970

For any complaints or concerns about the research please contact:

Dr Georgia Philip, Ethics Chair

School of Social Work, Elizabeth Fry Building, University of East Anglia, Norwich, NR4 7TJ by letter or email G.Philip@uea.ac.uk. Tel: 01603 593297

![UEA University of East Anglia logo]

Information Sheet

'Exploring how men over 50 experience prison and release'

What is the research about?

This research is looking at older men's experiences of prison and release. The aim is to learn more about what everyday life is like in prison and how resettlement is experienced later in life.

What is the research for?

I am a researcher at the University of East Anglia studying for a PhD. This research will form part of my thesis.

What is involved?

I would like to speak to you over the telephone about what life was like in prison and how you have experienced your transition back into the community. This includes your experiences, feelings, and opinions. There is no time limit for this, but interviews tend to last around an hour. I will use an audio-recorder, so that I can create a

written copy of what we talked about during the interview without taking notes. When this is written up, no personal data such as names or locations will be included, and the recording will be deleted as soon as it is no longer needed.

Do I have to take part?

There is **no requirement** for you to take part in my research and there will be no negative outcomes for you if you choose not to or change your mind.

What if I want to stop?

You can have a break or end the interview at any time. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not feel comfortable with or talk about anything that you don't want to talk about.

Will other people know what I have said?

What you say in the interviews will be written up and parts of it will be presented in my thesis. It may also be presented in publications and presentations. However, anonymised data will be presented, and **you will not be identified**. The only time I would need to identify you is if you say something that leads me to believe that you pose a risk to yourself or other people.

What is in it for me?

You will receive a £20 store voucher for you time and as a thank you. I also hope that you will find it interesting to talk about your experiences. My research will also hopefully help build more of an understanding of what life is like for older men in prison and after and be able to make suggestions for improvements.

How do I know that this research is safe for me to take part in?

My research has been approved by the ethics committee at the University of East Anglia. This is where all research is looked at by an independent group of people, called a Research Ethics Committee, to protect your safety, rights, wellbeing and dignity.

How will the data be stored?

All information you provide during the study will be stored in accordance with the 2018 General Data Protection Regulation and kept strictly confidential. I will be in charge of the anonymous research data. Any information that could identify you will be stored separately in a password protected file and will be disposed of as soon as it is no longer needed and within 5 years. Any paper-based data relating to you will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and electronic data stored on a password protected computer in an encrypted folder.

What if I change my mind after the interview?

If you decide you no longer want to be in the research, you have the right to withdraw your interview from the study for **up to four weeks after the day of your interview**. You do not have to give a reason. You can let me know using the contact details below.

Contact details:

This research is led by Rose Hutton at the University of East Anglia (UEA)'s School of Social Work. The project is supervised by Professor Jonathan Dickens and Dr Penny Sorensen.

To get more information or for any enquiries about the research you can contact me at:

Email: rose.hutton@uea.ac.uk

Research telephone: 07920 708970

For any complaints or concerns about the research please contact:

Dr Georgia Philip, Ethics Chair

School of Social Work, Elizabeth Fry Building, University of East Anglia, Norwich, NR4 7TJ by letter or email G.Philip@uea.ac.uk. Tel: 01603 593297

NB. This version was slightly altered when used with released older men to include mention of release in the study title

School of Social Work

Consent Form

'A study of the lived experiences of men over 50 in prison'

Name of Researcher: Rose Hutton

1. I have read and understood the study information sheet, or it has been read to me. I have been able to ask questions about the study and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. ☐

2. I understand that taking part in the study involves an audio-recorded interview and that a written copy will be made from the recording, but all personal identifying information will be removed. ☐

3. I understand that what I tell you will not be shared with prison staff aside from the exceptions to this listed in the information sheet. ☐

4. I consent voluntarily to take part in the study, and I know that I can stop the interview at any time and refuse to answer questions without giving a reason. ☐

5. I understand that I can withdraw from the research for up to four weeks after the interview has been conducted, without giving any reason and without it affecting me at all. ☐

6. I understand that the information I provide will be used in the researcher's thesis (in anonymised form) and may also be presented in conferences and publications. ☐

Participant's
signature……………………………………………Date………………

*Verbal guidance sheet used to assist process of gaining consent from older men*

Verbal Guidance Sheet for Consent Form

1. I have read and understood the study information sheet, or it has been read to me. I have been able to ask questions about the study and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

This means
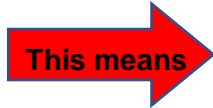
- You have been shown the information sheet (show the sheet to the participant to remind them)
- Do you understand what this is about?
- You have read this through or have had it read to you to your satisfaction
- You understand what the research is about & what it is for
- You have had all your questions answered and are happy with the answers to your questions.

2. I understand that taking part in the study involves an audio-recorded interview and that a written copy will be made from the recording. But no personal identifying information will be presented.

This means
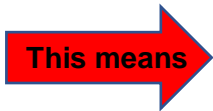
- You understand that during our interview there will be a recording device used to record what we have talked about – this is so I don't have to take notes
- After our interview I will create a written copy of the recording
- Your name or any other information that someone could identify you with such as place names, nicknames etc. will be left off the written copy

3. I understand that what I tell you will not be shared with prison staff aside from the exceptions to this listed in the information sheet.

[read out list if required]

4. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in the study, and I know that I can stop the interview at any time and refuse to answer questions without giving a reason.

This means →

- With all the information considered, you are happy to be interviewed for the research
- You understand this is completely voluntary – which means there is absolutely no obligation for you to take part.
- If you choose not to take part this will not affect your treatment or the care you receive
- You can tell me to stop the interview at any time or say that you don't want to answer a question and don't have to give me a reason.

5. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the research at any time during the interview and up to four weeks after the interview has been conducted, without giving any reason and without it affecting me at all.

This means →

- You can change your mind about taking part up to four weeks after the day of your interview with me.
- All you need to do is tell [member of staff name] that you have changed your mind and don't want to take part anymore
- If you decide to do that I will delete everything relating to you, this includes your interview recording and written copy.
- Again, you do not have to tell me why you have changed your mind and this will not affect the treatment or care you receive.

6. I understand that the information I provide will be used in the researcher's thesis (in anonymised form) and may also be presented in conferences and publications.

This means →

- What we talk about during the interview may appear in my thesis (the written-up report of my research)
- This may include direct quotes of things that you say
- This will be anonymised using a pseudonym (a fake name) and your true identity will not be revealed
- There is also a chance that parts of your interview could feature in academic articles or at conferences – again this would be anonymous and your identity hidden.