H. M. PENITENTIARY

CORRECTIONS

CORRECTIONAL WORKER EXPERIENCES AND IDEAS FOR FUTURE DESIGN AT HER [HIS] MAJESTY'S PENITENTIARY

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- The current qualitative, interview-based study was completed with correctional officers (COs) at Her [His] Majesty's Penitentiary (HMP) in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador in late 2022; in total, interview data were analyzed for 28 participants.

- The study sought to understand how COs at HMP interpret prison design, what they consider essential considerations for the construction of the new penitentiary intended to replace HMP, as well as other considerations to improve work life, training, institutional security, relationships with colleagues and prisoners, and prisoner programming and other needs.

- Officers highlighted issues related to low staffing levels, including safety and security concerns, lack of experienced workers present on-shift, cancelling of prisoner rehabilitation and recreation programs, and a general sense of workplace exhaustion or fatigue.

- Officers believed human resource problems related to staff shortages and poor retention could be attributed, at least in part, to concerns around management (i.e., lack of leader accessibility and presence, mandatory overtime, disconnect from front-line workers).

- Officers identified improvements that could be implemented to enhance safety and security, including more accessible emergency exits, additional pathways to various units inside the institution to prevent problematic/anti-social intermingling among some prisoners, and better staff-to-prisoner ratios.

- Officers spoke to the need for adaptive and expanded training that teaches new recruits about the social dynamics of prison and prison interactions, how to deal with prisoners in this context, how to better meet their diverse needs (i.e., cultural, mental health), and how to appropriately use force.

- Officers believed that mental health and wellness resources, services, and programs could be made more accessible and should be expanded for staff. Such programs include Critical Incident Stress Management (CISM), the revival of the 'wellness officer' position, support during legal accusation/liability, access to a psychologist, and improvements to sick leave and Worker's Compensation. Participants recognized officer mental health is conducive to prisoner mental health and vice versa.

- Officers identified more equitable monetary compensation and fairer access to time off is inherent to staff feeling that their work is valued and appreciated.

- Officers flagged how the current design of HMP challenges the regulation of prisoner interactions, particularly with respect to overcrowding, double-bunking, and the lack of

physical space. They recommended smaller housing units/pods to make reassigning incompatible prisoners and regulating the flow/traffic of prisoners easier, and to provide prisoners with adequate space and privacy on a daily basis, which they believe will improve well-being and reduce the risk of conflicts.

- Officers requested a separate entrance for staff for safety purposes and a protected parking lot removed from the direct observation of prisoners.
- Officers spoke to the need for wider cell doors and larger meal hatches to support managing prisoners requiring assistance or to deescalate situations, particularly when officers must enter cells to preserve life or safety.
- Most officers expressed a preference for indirect supervision systems over direct supervision because of the inherent safety and logistical problems they believe direct supervision poses. They emphasized direct supervision can only effectively work with more officers on the units. Many COs were unfamiliar with how a direct supervision model works in practice, and thus were skeptical of dynamic supervision being safe, and fearful how being implemented may exacerbate occupational strain, fatigue, burnout, hypervigilance, and exposure to vicarious trauma (i.e., listening to disturbing talk and storytelling among prisoners).
- Officers listed many perceived advantages to indirect supervision, including more awareness of blind spots, ability to assess risk levels, plan, and make calculations (i.e., through CCTV) before entering a cell, more downtime from hypervigilance and contact with prisoners, and less vulnerability to physical violence.
- Officers requested modern technology, including an improved camera system to reduce the number of blind spots in the institution, and an improved communication system (i.e., radio systems, intercoms, earpieces, iPhones) to allow for better communication practices among staff and between ranges.
- Officers requested dedicated staff quiet/recreational spaces where officers can take downtime, prepare food/beverages, shower, change uniforms, exercise, relax, decompress, build community, have access to a computer, engage in leisure activities, and recharge.
- Officers similarly requested a separate space where the Emergency Response Team (ERT) could plan and store appropriate equipment (i.e., extra uniforms, protective vests, duty belts, etc.).
- Officers requested ergonomic workspaces and office equipment (i.e., comfortable chairs) to improve worker health.

- In terms of physical prison design, officers stressed the importance of softer lighting—including natural light—and fresh air for staff and prisoners, improved ventilation and air quality, better soundproofing, dimmers that can be used at night by prisoners to counter lighting issues, and more open space.
- In terms of better meeting prisoner program and rehabilitation needs, officers recommended implementing re-entry preparation programs; increased mental health supports (i.e., access to healthcare professionals, more therapeutic environment); more vocational (i.e., trades), educational (i.e., GED), life skill (i.e., hygiene), art (i.e., music), addictions (i.e., AA and NA), cultural (i.e., healing lodges, prayer rooms) and recreation (i.e., outdoors) programs with accompanying staff levels to operate the programs; as well as minimum security units/townhouses to house low-risk prisoners and promote their contact with families and independent function.
- With regard to improving prisoner safety, officers recommended including panic buttons or a duress system in prisoners' cells, and improvements to institutional vehicle maintenance and emergency preparedness to facilitate quicker prisoner transport times.
- Most officers did not agree that segregation should be completely eliminated but envisioned how segregation could be re-envisioned and practiced differently to accommodate prisoner needs and improve prisoner and staff safety, including access to alternative rooms to get fresh air, engage in prosocial activities, leisure, and fitness; increased spatial permeability in the segregation rooms; more staff flexibility to provide prisoners with access to phone calls or items of leisure; and more access to medical professionals to help treat underlying mental health concerns

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The History and Background of Her [His] Majesty's Penitentiary (HMP)

Originally constructed in 1859, HMP is the largest provincial correctional institution in Newfoundland and Labrador (Jesso, 2018). The original 164-year-old building still stands, marking one of the oldest stone structures in the province (Dohey, 2019), but has undergone three renovations, first in 1945, then 1981, and finally in 1994, where additions were made to the original structure.

HMP holds individuals who fall under provincial jurisdiction (i.e., who are serving a maximum sentence of two years less a day), individuals who are on remand (i.e., are not yet sentenced or awaiting trial), as well as select federal prisoners (in attempts to ensure family reunification). The prison has a capacity of 170 prisoners but increases upwards of 190 on weekends when those serving intermittent sentences are accommodated (Jesso, 2018).

The prison has long come under fire for its deplorable conditions. In fact, a report published in 2008 entitled *Decades of Darkness: Moving Towards the Light*, highlighted the many physical infrastructure challenges at HMP, as well as those tied to staffing, policies and procedures, prisoner healthcare, staff safety, and lack of programming and recreation for prisoners (Poirier, Brown & Carlson, 2008). The report authors recommended immediate changes to facilitate a humane and safe environment for both prisoners and staff (Poirier et al., 2008). Regarding the design of the prison, the report highlights the lack of cleanliness and crumbling infrastructure, including the paint peeling off walls, unrepaired holes in walls, a lack of privacy for prisoners held in the original building cells, and the appalling and unsanitary conditions of segregation cells where prisoners experiencing acute mental distress and/or illness were held (Poirier et al., 2008). The report further highlights problems related to excessively hot areas, poor air quality, lack of fresh air, poor condition of mattresses, and an overall lack of hygiene (Poirier et al., 2008). There have been minor updates since *Decades of Darkness* was published 14 years ago, but according to Jesso (2018, p. 35), the prison "remains dilapidated, overcrowded, and in a constant state of disrepair."

A subsequent report surveyed prisoners at HMP about their conditions of confinement (Weinrath & Ricciardelli, 2020). When compared to other provincial prisons in Atlantic Canada, residents at HMP scored HMP concerningly low, finding improvements to be urgent and necessary in areas including programming and activities, perceptions of fairness, decency and humanity, sense of safety, living conditions, and health care, including adequate mental health support for both staff and incarcerated people. Additional concerns related to overcrowding,

double-bunking, understaffing were also prevalent, resulting in prisoners spending too much time locked in their cells (Weinrath & Ricciardelli, 2020).

In the current report, we centre the voices of correctional officers (COs) at HMP—an omitted voice in previous studies. We draw specifically on COs' perspectives of prison design, prison work, and prison living, with the goal of informing the design practices/policies/procedures of the new institution intended, in the future, to replace HMP. Details related to the timelines, status, and history of the new institution, however, are beyond the scope of this report.

We structure the report in sections. First, we briefly present context around CO and prisoner wellness and CO knowledge of prison design and architecture. Second, we unpack our qualitative, interview-based research design and approach to data collection and analysis. Third, we turn to our results, organized around the themes of CO and prisoner safety and well-being, design needs, physical comfort, and training needs. We conclude with recommendations for government and those involved in prison design and with considerations for future areas of inquiry.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Mental Health and Correctional Officers

Research evaluating the psychological well-being of COs is growing, but in some respect, still limited, especially in the Canadian context (Regehr et al., 2021). Available research does show there are several occupational factors and challenges affecting the mental health of COs. In recent years, divestment in rehabilitative programs and reductions in funding for provincial correctional facilities, for example, have contributed to conditions whereby COs endure greater exposure to potentially psychologically traumatic events (PPTE; Carleton et al., 2018; Ricciardelli et al., 2021). Factors impacting officer wellness include being short/under staffed, prison overcrowding, and deteriorating prison conditions (Jessiman-Perreault et al., 2021; Ricciardelli et al., 2018). Shift work, PPTE exposure, vulnerabilities generated from unpredictable situations, and a general sense of uncertainty may also negatively impact CO well-being (Johnston et al., 2021; Ricciardelli et al., 2021). COs also report higher prevalence of posttraumatic stress disorder, major depressive disorder, and general anxiety disorder than persons within the general Canadian population (Carleton et al., 2018; Carleton et al., 2020). For example, provincial COs in Ontario, Canada, prior to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, reported a prevalence of posttraumatic stress disorder at 29.1%, 31.1% for major depressive disorder, 23.6% for generalized anxiety disorder, 12.2% for panic disorder, and 6.8% for alcohol

use disorder. Moreover, 48.4% reported the prevalence of any mental health disorder (Carleton et al., 2020).

The mental health of COs can be informed by the psychological and emotional demands of the job (Ghaddar et al., 2008), but more recently, when federal COs were asked about their most significant occupational stressor, Cassiano and Ricciardelli (forthcoming) found that officers with at least one year of occupational tenure reported that colleagues were more stressful than either management or those in custody. In addition, shiftwork, particularly night shifts, can contribute to a higher prevalence of fatigue and burnout which may underpin negative behavioural changes, delayed reaction time, and distraction, therefore undermining prison safety (Swenson et al., 2008). Moreover, restrictions on the parameters of discretion, which informs every decision made, are also a source of stress (Ricciardelli, 2022). For example, the combination of occupational responsibilities that must be actioned in line with legislative requirements or managerial directives and the investigative potential that can follow any action, creates stress and may prevent or impact officers' actions. In other words, officers have imposed restrictions on their decision-making processes because they are always vulnerable to investigation, including criminally, which may subsequently create job strain (Bourbonnais et al., 2007; Ricciardelli et al., 2022).

Currently, too few support systems exist for COs in Canada, particularly in Newfoundland and Labrador. Despite lack of supports, when such supports do exist, Jessiman-Perreault et al. (2021) note that to be effective, programming must use targeted interventions that address both the individual needs of officers and the structural demands of their workplace to reduce effects of job strain. Furthermore, workplace culture also informs officer mental health, as does the training and needs of the profession. For example, COs must embody a stoic exterior—they cannot personally and/or emotionally react to all that transpires given their professional role as a first responder in situations of crisis. Thus, officers are asked to "bottle" emotions rather than present emotions. Here, displaying emotions or asking for support can sometimes be seen by managers, colleagues, and prisoners as a sign of weakness (Ricciardelli & Power, 2020). The challenge, then, is how do officers ask for support when they are trained to suppress feelings that might reveal such need? This reality must be incorporated into any support programming developed for officers.

Noteworthy, however, are questions related to how improving conditions for prisoners will have beneficial health outcomes for COs, just as improving conditions for officers will benefit prisoners. Johnston and Ricciardelli (2022) found that "Many correctional workers identified that improving rehabilitative, recreational, and mental health care for prisoners or probationers would reduce struggles and conflict among both staff and clients/prisoners" (p. 7). There is a

reciprocity underpinning support for prisoners and prison staff such that it creates a more humane place for people to live and work. This is most evident in how prisoner needs are constitutive of the occupational needs of COs, who are the "lifeline" of people in custody and act to meet their needs. Thus, prison design must consider how best to improve the living conditions of prisoners and the working conditions of staff; accordingly, our focus in this report is specifically COs.

Mental Health and Prisoners

In comparison to the general population, people who are incarcerated are more likely to experience compromised mental health and disorders (Butler et al., 2005; Fazel et al., 2016). In 2017, the Mental Health Commission of Canada (2017) found that 73% of federally incarcerated men and 79% of federally incarcerated women met the current clinical definition for a mental health disorder. This prevalence was higher for First Nations, Inuit, and Métis prisoners.

Psychological distress is a common experience for prisoners and is attributed to the nature and duration of confinement, the emotional challenges prisoners face throughout the course of their incarceration, the psychological tolls of isolation, exposure to or fear of PPTE, among many other environmental, social, or biological factors, including addiction and genetics (Goomany & Dickinson, 2015; Nurse et al., 2003). Researchers have shown how prisoners are often reluctant to seek mental health support when incarcerated (Hobbs & Dear, 2000; Mitchell & Latchford, 2010), for reasons including confidentiality, preservation of self-image among fellow prisoners and correctional staff, or having had a bad experience seeking support in the past (Morgan et al., 2007). Hobbs and Dear (2000) found that prisoners were more likely to approach officers for administrative or practical help (e.g. transfer requests) than for emotional or mental health support. Specifically, 60% of prisoner participants reported infrequently requesting mental health assistance. This finding led Hobbs and Dear (2000, p. 136) to ask: "How are prison officers supposed to identify prisoners with problems if prisoners are not likely to approach them?" Early research indicated that barriers to support seeking are much greater for racialized prisoners and those from lower socio-economic backgrounds (Bebbington et al., 2003).

Increasing the availability of mental health services is required to fully address the needs of prisoners. Studies commissioned by Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) found that transitional mental health care programs (i.e., community mental health initiatives) were successful in preparing prisoners with mental health concerns for their release in communities (Stewart et al., 2018). This, according to CSC, is a necessary part of the continuum of care, which has had beneficial impacts on reducing recidivism and providing support for people following their release (MacDonald et al., 2014). In a study of HMP, Weinrath and Ricciardelli (2020) found that

mental health needs among prisoners were further exacerbated by current organizational structure and prison design limitations. Overcrowding, double-bunking, understaffing, and other logistical challenges required that prisoners were locked in their cells more frequently, did not have adequate access to mental health supports, and, at the time, often did not receive access to the medicines required to treat mental health disorders (Weinrath & Ricciardelli, 2020).

Prison Design

The relationship between prison design and prisoner or officer/staff health is largely under-researched, including the effects of prison architecture and conditions of confinement (Engstrom & van Ginneken, 2022). Since prison conditions are both the living conditions for prisoners and working conditions for COs, Johnston and Ricciardelli (2022) stress the importance of studying the symbiotic relationship between detention conditions and programming and the relative health outcomes for prison staff. This is echoed in the words of van Ginneken and Nieuwbeerta (2020), who write, "Improving prison climate as an important intervention to improve well-being and behavior of incarcerated persons, and prison staff" (p. 1). Acknowledging the interconnected nature of the living and working space that is prison requires recognizing how the spatial/healthcare/behavioural/rehabilitative/programmatic needs of prisoners are also occupational needs for COs.

The role of prisons in public safety demands an emphasis on security, which arguably contributes to a lesser emphasis on the equally important roles of care and custody that prisons occupy. The province of Newfoundland and Labrador is uniquely positioned to centralize the element of care, custody, control, and security into the design of the new prison replacing HMP. Thus, elements from the design of non-correctional workplaces, which generally trend towards spatial design serving "as a means of increasing innovation, collaboration and, ultimately, productivity" can surpass the historical positioning of prison spaces "as having other priorities" (Hancock & Jewkes, 2011, p. 620). To illustrate the latter point, in their systematic review of the prison design literature, Engstrom and van Ginneken (2022) found the conditions and meaningful design of prisoner personal living spaces informed their mental health in several key ways, including via: 1) levels of natural and artificial lighting; 2) type of materials used in building construction; 3) overall aesthetic (i.e., colours, shapes, and building attractiveness); 4) noise levels; 5) views; 6) temperature; and 7) air quality (Engstrom & van Ginneken, 2022).

Lighting

Lighting is central to healthy environments. Jewkes (2018) finds poor lighting negatively affects staff-prisoner relationships, while natural lighting can improve overall well-being and create a healthier atmosphere. Limiting exposure to natural light and regular access to outdoor spaces, for both correctional staff and prisoners, can negatively impact well-being (Moran, 2019). Some studies have noted the detrimental impacts of over-exposure of light and its impact on sleep for imprisoned people (Elger, 2009). Less is known about the role of lighting in the specific workplace needs of correctional staff (Castle, 2008), but lighting can be linked to elements related to overall job satisfaction (Lindquist & Whitehead, 1986).

Material

Building materials affect behaviour and wellness in prison. While hard materials such as concrete and steel are used to reinforce prisons and ensure building longevity, they are often bleak, mundane, and underwhelming. Softer materials such as wood, cork and carpeting, as Engstrom and van Ginneken (2022) note, can create a healthier atmosphere by absorbing noise (Wener, 2012) and increasing overall comfort (Jewkes, 2018), which may in turn have calming effects and improve relationships between staff and prisoners. Hard materials, lauded for their indestructibility, may encourage some prisoners to break it (Wener, 2012). At the same, caution must be exerted when designing with certain soft materials can be fashioned into makeshift weapons. Balancing the need for prisoner and CO safety with the calming effects of alternative materials is a challenge for contemporary prison design.

Aesthetic

Research has also shown that lack of colour in prisons can also have a negative effect on well-being and the use of textured material and a variety of shapes and textures can foster a more positive atmosphere (Johnson, 2008). As Jewkes et al. (2019) suggest, prison infrastructure and how incarcerated people interact with their built environment should not exacerbate feelings of self-loathing or worthlessness. Instead, prisons can be designed to promote positive self-imaging. They further posit that personal areas, especially cells, should provide options for heating, air circulation, lighting, as well as privacy, and that prisoners should have control over these conditions (see, for example, Jewkes, 2018; St. John, 2020). Further, Jewkes et al. (2019) argue incarcerated people should have some choice over the colours in their cells and be allowed access to spaces that foster pro-social skills like cooking and social meals. Prison design

that facilitates prisoner autonomy must also consider and prevent potential misuse. Access to electrical wiring or heating elements can promote pro-social interactions but may also pose fire or other safety hazards. These should be considered in the early design stages.

There is much value in having as much outdoor and interior freedom of movement as possible. For example, views of the outdoors are directly linked to a sense of openness and connection, reduced stress, and better health outcomes (Engstrom & van Ginneken, 2022). Both prisoners and staff in United Kingdom and Nordic prisons identified the benefits of having access to green spaces and frequent contact with nature (Moran & Turner, 2019). Access or views of seascapes or natural bodies of water have also had a positive and therapeutic impact on the psychological health of incarcerated people (Jewkes et al., 2020). Moran and Turner (2019) found that while the benefits of green spaces are widely acknowledged by those in the prison setting, "the consistent impression given by architects, buildings engineers, civil servants, and prison staff was that green spaces were costly in terms of cash, time and labour, and that they created unwelcome potential for risk" (2019, p. 65). Despite these challenges, including green spaces in prison architecture also has infrastructural benefits. Prison farms and other agricultural projects promote ideas of environmental sustainability, and according to Söderlund and Newman (2017), "[r]eduction of energy consumption through green roofs and walls, improved air quality, increased food grown on site, prolonging of building life, cooling of the prison environment, water management plus the health and healing benefits would make economic sense in reducing prison operating costs and even enable greater autonomy in delivering ecosystem services" (p. 764).

Noise

Noise, temperature, and overall air quality are also impacted by design choices, which are often overlooked or under-prioritized in prisons. Exposure to unwanted noise, for example, can contribute to increased stress levels, which are often linked to chronic illness or disease or can contribute to disorientation (Evans & Johnson, 2000; Hemsworth, 2016). Poor and unmaintained prison facilities can contribute to increased levels of stress because they create unnecessary challenges or obstacles in the workflow of COs or contribute to an overall lack of unsanitary or unpleasant conditions for prisoners.

Views

Jewkes et al. (2020) highlight that prison architecture can, and should, incorporate therapeutic designs from other institutions, including those such as hospitals, and therapy or drug treatment centres. While these institutions tend to facilitate healing centred approaches that may not be compatible in all prison environments, they nonetheless promote a healthier space through

environmental design practices. Physical views and natural landscapes, for example, can contribute in positive ways to healing and overall comfort. Natural greenery and/or proximity to natural bodies of water can create a connectedness with the outside world (Jewkes et al., 2020; Jewkes & Moran, 2015).

Temperature

Temperature and climate control are factors that also impact workplace and living conditions within prisons. In fact, some evidence suggests that uncomfortable temperatures within prison can lead to increased aggressive behaviour and assaults (Anderson, 2001; Griffit & Veitch, 1971; Harries & Stadler, 1988). Some studies have highlighted the potential links between uncomfortable temperatures and violent prisoner behaviour. Ensuring that prisons are adequately climate controlled is vital for promoting positive health effects in any working or living environment (St. John, 2020).

Air Quality

Adequate ventilation is a core principle for occupational health safety and has been centralized in prison design since the 18th century (Jewkes et al., 2020). In the contemporary prison context, the importance of ensuring adequate air circulation is amplified by the need to curtail the spread and transmission of COVID-19 (Barnert et al., 2021) as well as other infectious diseases. Prioritizing prison hardening and increased security can often have the effect of restricting fresh air flow and increasing temperature, which can pose serious health risks for prisoners and correctional staff (Turner & Moran, 2019).

In the current study, we used qualitative methods of data collection and analysis to understand how COs at HMP understood prison design and what they consider essential considerations for the construction of the new penitentiary intended to replace HMP. The study was approved by the Research Ethics Board at Memorial University of Newfoundland and a copy of the ethics approval can be found in Appendix 1. Research assistants signed nondisclosure agreements stating that they would keep all information collected during this study confidential and would not communicate this information outside of the research team.

Recruitment was conducted with the assistance of Newfoundland and Labrador Association of Public and Private Employees (NAPE), who sent study information in English to their membership via internal listservs. Several participants explained they had, of their own initiative, assisted with recruitment through word-of-mouth recommendations to their colleagues. Thus, our recruitment efforts were aided by this informal snowball sampling. That said, project interviewers never disclosed any information about participants to other participants or encouraged snowball sampling. In total, we interviewed 28 participants for the study.

We used a semi-structured approach to interviews, which is a qualitative method that permits participants to guide the conversation and share experiences or identify issues they feel are most relevant, while enabling the researcher to follow-up for clarification or probe for elaboration (Brinkmann, 2020). In practice, this method meant that we came prepared with broad interview questions, but let the participant guide the discussion toward topics they felt were most relevant.

Most interviews lasted between 75-120 minutes. Interviews were conducted in the summer and fall of 2022. Due to public health measures and participant comfort and desire, some interviews were conducted by phone and others in-person at a location of the participant's choosing (i.e., at NAPE, over coffee). Although face-to-face interviews are predominant in qualitative research, there is evidence that telephone interviews do not inhibit rapport-building and may permit participants to discuss sensitive topics with greater comfort (Mealer & Jones, 2014; Novick, 2008). The latter advantage of telephone interviews was particularly salient, given that participants regularly discussed difficult or potentially psychologically traumatic occupational experiences. However, most often we found no discernible differences between interviews conducted by phone or in-person.

All interviews were conducted in English, the dominant language in Newfoundland and Labrador. Interviews were transcribed verbatim by research assistants for the purposes of data analysis. Transcripts were coded in an open-ended fashion to determine emergent themes. In

practice, this means that three members of the research team independently and sequentially coded 12 transcripts to develop an initial set of codes. This process ensured inter-rater reliability, that is, consistency in coding between the research team, which is an invaluable feature of robust qualitative research (Hemmler et al., 2022). The remaining transcripts were then coded individually by members of the research team, allowing the initial codes to be refined and new codes to be created as they emerged.

Our approach to data analysis followed a semi-grounded constructed approach (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Ricciardelli et al., 2010), which means that we allowed our thematic findings to emerge from the data (that is, the words of participants) without pre-emptively imposing theoretical interpretation. Despite implementing rigorous methods to build towards objectivity, it is fair to say, to some extent, we were nonetheless guided in our analysis by our scholarly and theoretical backgrounds. Transcripts were analyzed with the assistance of NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software, which facilitated coding data into primary, secondary, and tertiary themes.

Participant Information

Of the 28 participants who took part in the study, we have demographic data on 21 participants, the other data are missing or incomplete (n=7). Of the 21 participants who provided demographic data, 8 participants (38.0%) identified as female and 13 (62.0%) identified as male (see Table 1). Most participants (n=9; 43%) were between the ages 35-54 (see Table 2). The majority of participants identified their race as white (n=18; 86). (see Table 3). Educational attainment of participants is presented in Table 4. Job roles (Table 5) and years of experience in CSC (Table 6) are also presented below.

Table 1. Participants' Gender'

Gender	No. of Participants	% of Participants
Female	8	38%
Male	13	62%
No answer		

Table 2. Participant's Age

Age	No. of Participants	% of Participants
19-24	0	0%

25-34	9	43%
35-44	6	29%
45-54	4	19%
55-64	2	10%
65+	0	0%
no answer	7	33%

Table 3. Participants' Racial Identification

Race	No. of Participants	% of Participants
Asian	1	5%
White	18	86%
Other	1	5%
No answer	8	38%

Table 4. Participants' Level of Educational Attainment

Educational Attainment	No. of Participants	% of Participants
College Graduate	8	38%
Post graduate degree	0	0%
High School Diploma	1	5%
Some High School/Some College	2	10%
Trade/Tech/Vocational Training	3	14%
Some Post Graduate Work	0	0%
Some University	2	10%
University Graduate	5	24%
No answer	7	33%

Of the 20 participants, 19 (95.0%) currently worked at HMP and 1 (5.0%) were on leave, recently retired, or had left the occupation recently (see Table 5). In these instances, participants reflected on their tenure at HMP in the interviews and are counted as COs based on their experience (see Table 6 for years of occupational tenure).

Table 5. Job Role at Time of Interview[1]

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[1] To maintain the confidentiality of participants, we have generalized the roles identified by participants.

Job Role	No. of Participants	% of Participants
Correctional Officer	18	86%
Manager	1	5%
Program Officer or Classification Officer	0	0%
Retired, Leave or Left	1	5%

Table 6. Years of Experience

Years of Experience	No. of Participants	% of Participants
0 to 4	4	19%
5 to 9	6	29%
10 to 14	4	19%
15 to 19	2	10%
20 to 24	3	14%
25+	2	10%
No answer	1	5%

HMP COs spoke at length about prison design, mental health and well-being, occupational safety and security practices, human resource considerations, training needs, relationships with incarcerated people and colleagues, and prison culture. What follows is a presentation and analysis of their words and stories, followed by a discussion of the practical implications and recommendations constructed from these findings.

Context

In this section, we provide the context within which COs work at HMP. Although less impacted by prison design, two realities were pervasive when completing interviews. The first is that certain realities at HMP, tied to how both prisoners and staff were treated, need to be repaired if the new prison and design will effectively resolve tensions. COs started most interviews speaking extensively about the needs—often simple needs—of prisoners, such as increased recreation time and access to fresh air. For example, P09 said:

> If they're looked after and they're happy, you're gonna have less safety concerns. If they're not getting their rec, if they're not getting their visits, like they aren't right now, then they're gonna be upset, and then that staff safety becomes a concern—more of a concern because they're looking at somebody to lash out at. And if it's not another inmate, it's gonna be a staff member.

Participants also spoke about prisoners' basic needs that required response, recognizing in both cases that without resolving these challenges, the new prison would likely continue to be challenged by the current problems. It is in this context that we further unpack how COs perform their occupational responsibilities, shedding light on current challenges, which we argue are mostly organizational in nature and thus can be remedied with structural and systematic attention to change.

Management

> *"People are having a hard time … the morale's the lowest I've ever seen it there" (P08).*

Participants felt that both staff and prisoners needed to be front and centre when making considerations about prison design. They recognized that a new institution would not resolve the systemic and organizational challenges that have historically affected staff at HMP, including those related to low morale or executive decision-making. Participants were largely disgruntled

13

and negatively impacted by decisions made by those in senior management and the government, who were often described as inaccessible and absent. Narratives were forthcoming about how actions at a high level of senior administration were interpreted by staff, who felt ignored, unappreciated, and unsupported. Reports included descriptions of the superintendent "getting lost" in his own prison, being misidentified due to his absence for an electrician, and his lack of presence in difficult moments that most felt required managerial intervention.

On a broader, less individualistic level, participants largely felt they were without "the backing of our management team, the department" (P05). This lack of "backing" was tied to the perspective that persons in management roles need to implement a model for institutional and cultural re-envisioning; here, participants spoke to needing "the right people in the right positions, like in the managerial roles. We need people with common sense because it's not all that common down there. You know take away the nepotism because government is full of it and especially our department and even at the HMP and stuff" (P02). More specifically, participants desired leadership with knowledge of the frontline interworking of the prison—they wanted a present leader who was accessible in person and who demonstrated their care about the facility and people within it. For example, P07 explains that "somewhere along the lines everybody forgets about the staff member who is wearing the brunt of management rules coming down and the inmates' whatever issues they have coming up." P07 feels that "more times than enough the front-line workers taken out of the equation and we're just told what to do and we don't always agree with it, so there has to be some major training pieces on that." Their words evidence that management and government also require training on the interworking of prisons and must give more attention to the equal treatment of staff. P21 explains that "seniority is a thing" where they would prefer equal treatment because "it's a big thing that gets in your way at work." For these reasons, perhaps among others, P13 attributes many of the staffing shortfalls to "mismanagement," explaining:

> Part of it is one hundred percent mismanagement. Just failing to keep on top of retirement and … you're being forced to work extra overtime, there's a lot of burnout. A lot of burnout in corrections. And here lately, like this year I think is the worst year I see for it. I see a lot of coworkers who just recently resigned. They're like fifteen, sixteen years into their career. They only got nine years left to draw a pension and they're getting out. (P13)

P13 explains the relationship between staffing and management, attributing staffing shortages and high attrition rates, at least in part, to "mismanagement"—which in this context, can be broadly defined as repeated errors in judgment and priorities by management.

The challenge of staff retention and recruitment is considerable in the current HMP climate, and in the purview of one participant, will not be remedied by prison design. Here, P14 explains:

You can move all the inmates and all the correctional officers—you can move us all to a new building but unless the government does the basics by maintaining proper staffing level. Like, the new building wouldn't function either. So, I think they'd really need to kind of look at hiring practices and just really try to increase retention of correctional officers and proper hires.

Staff Recruitment and Retention

"So staffing levels are going to be down and in 5 years' time, if we need 200 correctional officers—250 correctional officers to run this institution, I don't think we're going to be able to reach the [staffing level] or having trouble staffing the medics, doctors, [etc.]" (P01).

Participants felt unsafe in certain spaces because of staff shortages. They noted that "most days we don't have the staffing availability" (P02). P15 explains with a sigh, "Right off the bat, we need more staffing" and P13 adds that "definitely the biggest risk to safety is the lack of staff." The lack of staffing appears exacerbated by persons retiring early from correctional work, as occupational leaving was commonly discussed by our participants, often attributed to the conditions of work and the mismanagement of the local prison.

Participant spoke to the seeming endemic of high attrition rates materializing at HMP, which they view as a severe loss given the invaluable skills many of them have learned and practiced in their respective roles, including an understanding of the facets and "politics of correctional life" that can only be realized through significant and lengthy immersion in the institution. The challenge for officer safety as well as prisoner safety remains—that the shortages fail to ensure "we got enough staff around to be able to respond if need be, and stuff like that" (P12). P03 notes that if government is "really so concerned about inmates getting rehabilitated, they really need to look at our staff levels," recognizing the role of staff in facilitating prisoner rehabilitation programs. Staffing levels are also pushing COs toward challenges with their mental health, impacting the prevalence of burnout, and likely mental health disorders, too. P15 explains:

One thing that is kind of hurtin' us now is our forced overtime. If something happens and we have forced overtime, because of our staffing levels are so low, it's wearing people out. There's no one there to cover off for stuff—everyday I go in now I have a double dinner. The way our days work is 12-hour days, is work from 7:30 to 7:30. You get two-hour lunch. So, from 12:00 to 1:00 and from 1:00 to 2:00. Technically, if you don't have a double dinner, you work one of those lunches and you're off the other one. So you have one hour to go do what you want or whatever the case may be. But because of our staffing levels are being so low—jobs—there's so much stuff on the go in the prison, between contractors, and programs, and stuff happening during lunch, that they're making double dinners and it's wearing people out 'cause you're not getting that break. You're not getting that hour to go

unwind. Staffing levels at HMP is a major issue right now. I'd say it's one of the biggest issues. And especially now they're talking about bringing in this new prison, and I think it, they're talking about the increased staffing as to what, 25 percent? I mean, we gotta start building now. (Emphasis added)

P15 not only describes current challenges at HMP with staffing, but also emphasizes that building the adequate workforce must start immediately rather than wait to begin with the new prison. This is viewed as essential to meet prisoner and staff needs, as well as to ensure a safer environment. COs readily highlighted the role of staff in prisoner rehabilitation and they were highly sympathetic to the effects on the lived realities of prisoners when they are short-staffed (see section on Prisoners Needs).

For COs, working alone, which happens, for example, in the reception area, is felt as particularly compromising. P05 reports being at a "bottleneck with your work because you do have a lot of things coming at you at the one time." Moreover, speaking to working in HMP more generally, P07 talks about a need for "manpower... it's a major issue with us. We don't have enough staff as it is and there's times when we've been in the prison and if someone had happened that we don't have enough to cover off like if something happens. We're only get through on the skin of our teeth." With a nod to the future, P14 said "obviously, one of the biggest ongoing issues in the prison is staffing. The new prison, I hope to God, is going to be properly staffed. But anyway, you know, that's obviously an issue that needs to be addressed before much else can be fixed."

Safety and Security

> *"If safety and security was the first and foremost thing on people who are designing the prison that would be like a breath of fresh air and that staff would feel like that they are being listened to" (P07).*

When asked "where in the prison do you feel the least safe?", P01 responded that beyond "more presence of more correctional officers" the prison design required "accessible emergency exits." Many participants spoke about feeling least safe in the HMP reception area, because "it's a single man post and...you're getting unclassified inmates that are obviously intermingling." The challenge then becomes that one officer is responsible if any altercation or incident arises (P05). P15 echoed this reality, explaining:

On the bottom flat, it's our intake. You don't know who's coming in off the street. You could have anybody coming in off the street. It might be people you know or you have a bit of a rapport with 'em because they're comin' and goin'. But if you have a new guy in there—for example, we had a gentleman, we knew nothing about. Not a thing. We had nothing on him.

16

And here—so he come in on the bottom flat and we got an officer walking in by their selves, doin' their job. And this gentleman went to prison for two years and he ended up doing 16 because he was up for manslaughter.

P06 also spoke about the lack of safety tied to the pathways into the gym, where "in the gym you got to go through the bottom flat that was the original prison back in the 1800s then you got to unlock another door to get into the gym" (P06), hoping in the new prison there is no need to "go through a unit to get to a gym." P11 felt working in lockup was least safe, as "there could be times where you have thirty—thirty inmates down there and you only have three staff" (P11), again noting the impact of understaffing. P12 felt working "outside" was the least safe because "you don't have control if somebody walked by to throw something over the wall." Regardless of which space was determined to be the least safe, these excerpts emphasize that staff, as a result of physical prison design and layout, feel unsafe in certain contexts, and as P07 notes in the first passage of this section, having these concerns "listened to" would likely empower staff to know that management takes their concerns for safety seriously.

Training

P05 explained that "training is a huge, huge start to feeling safe." This was echoed widely among participants. Despite the physical and technological improvements of the new prison, without sufficient and adequate training, many COs pointed out that the challenges in the current prison will remain. P15 explains that HMP does not simply need more staff, but also "adequate staff." They continue:

There—as of right now, from my understanding—and the only place they're hiring from is the APA program, which is the Atlantic Policing Academy in P.E.I. On this island we have nowhere to do that. Like we don't have a security course offered anywhere here on the island. So, me coming from the last internal program that we ran, I feel that it's a better suit when you run the internal program than picking from APA. (P15)

P15 speaks to the need for localized and more adaptive training. P02 is certain that "training" will make HMP safer for officers. Training in this context includes learning about prison society and how to work with prisoners, as per P07 who feels "staff are not educated on how to deal with inmates one on one." Participants suggest that officers require more training to learn how to supervise prisoners with diverse needs, including those related to mental health. P11 explains that working with prisoners can be "mentally too hard, too draining. You know the inmates that are coming in now—the vast majority is a lot of mental health people with very

rapidly deteriorating mental health because they're not getting the proper help they need in there."

Overall, participants echoed how training needs to be improved, refined, localized, more expansive, and is integral to the functioning of any prison. P12, for instance, states "training is a big one...Training is key to a lot of stuff like that. It gives you the confidence to be able to go in and do your job." P14 feels "it's important that staff be trained properly." They provide an example: "as simple as use of force training. I didn't get use of force training for like five or six years. But yet we were being scrutinized for our use of force and I said, 'if our employer won't provide use of force training then how could they turn around and criticize me because I did something wrong when I haven't been trained in six years?'" All of these excerpts emphasize the yearning of staff to find ways to best live up to their responsibilities of public safety, including being responsive to diverse prisoner needs.

Mental Health: The Crisis

> *"I've seen a lot of stuff over my career you know. The amount of slashes I can't even tell you how much I've seen, the cut downs, hangs, people in diabetic comas, people making home made knives, slashing their throats in front of me in the window and the blood splash against the window, people trying to rip their veins out with their teeth spitting it on my uniform, like cut their ear off and eating it and swallowing it, you know eating and drinking their feces and urine, spitting it on you, throwing feces on you. The list goes on... I mean we're all burnt out" (P06).*

Participants lamented the lack of mental health services for employees, which they felt were necessary given the inevitable occupational strains they encounter. Simpler processes, such as critical incidents stress management (CISM) or debriefing in the moments following an incident were described as not having enough presence in their workplace. In this vein, P17 explains they only received debriefing training in 2014, noting that "we don't use that a lot, no one has approached me on that." Others, like P01, reminisced about years prior when they "had a really good wellness program for a few years and that has come to a full [stop] so we need our mental health supports and people there to recognize when people need those supports. Some support should be mandatory. People—a lot of people don't realize they're hurting so." P01, like many others, recognized that mental health is on a continuum and thus evolving such that compromised wellness is not always immediately recognized. They put forth a history of "wellness programs" that had ceased, regretfully. P06 also spoke of the historical wellness programs that had ended, saying: "We used to have a wellness officer person [...] She was great. [You could] stop in anytime have a chat, tell her what was going on. She would talk to you, help

you with anything. I mean a lot of staff really enjoyed her; we lost her. They took the funding away from it. Like we need like wellness officers, an onsite psychologist just for us."

P02 further reiterates that many "prisoners [have] complex needs," but also recognizes "we got staff who are alcoholics, drug addictions, gambling addictions, financial problems. I mean throw in on top of a toxic work environment having to deal with what you have to deal with in the daytime but then your own personal life. It's not a healthy recipe." To further complicate the mental health of staff, P02 continued to discuss the "profound" impact of watching their colleagues be charged criminally, explaining: "I would have been one of those ten and it's profoundly affected us all down there. I don't know if we can ever recover from that the level of trust from the department and what they tried to do and the RNC. I mean it's horrendous and we never had a voice."

The central theme here was simply, as per the words of P03, that "There's just not enough support in my opinion. We'll say, oh the inmates get more support than we do and that stuff. Like, they get to talk to a psychologist they want." P03's words also evidence the moral distress/injury that arises when treated in ways that felt inferior to those in their custody, despite their perseverance to continue their ongoing work in care, custody, and control. P03 expresses the challenge in asking: "If we have a major incident, we have a psychologist on site. Like, why not? Why can't we talk to them too? If inmates can talk to them, why can't we? The briefing is one thing. And they always say, oh you have your EAP and this and that."

Here, again, the challenge arises where staff are limited by the supports received. They feel the allocation of support is unjust, far from equitable, and causes them to feel unappreciated and unsupported. The problem, according to one participant, is that "if you got an unhealthy correctional officer you're going to have an unhealthy inmate that he's looking after" (P06), recognizing the symbiotic relationship between staff and prisoners. Likewise, P09 said "I think the mental health of the correctional officers and the staff in the building should be at the forefront, as well...I just hope mental health is at the forefront of it all for both workers and inmates." What is clear from these passages is that staff recognize how foundational staff and prisoner mental health is to building a rehabilitative and supportive prison space, and that by privileging the needs of one group over another, a cultural mentality is built that drives staff to believe they are forgotten—even though, like prisoners, they must continue to work and co-exist in difficult carceral spaces.

Some participants spoke of how their work "changed them." For instance, P03 describes a change in self saying "because I've already seen changes inside me, and my family have. Of just how ah, I'm not trusting of people as easy." They attribute their change in self, at least in part, to "exhaustion," but not from "just with dealing with them [prisoners]. Exhaustion in general where

sometimes it's just too much and you're like, 'yeah alright … I'll do that'." Overall, P06 explains that "PTSD and stress" are very real. They continue to explain how "working in this years ago used to wear you out but being in there all day just hearing the chatter all day and asking and just manipulating you all day long" is exhausting and leading to burnout, too. They felt their sense of self change from being extroverted to becoming introverted such that they relocated personally to a more rural area where "I don't have to see my neighbours, don't want to see my neighbours, don't want to talk to nobody. Over the years I used to call it hidden stress like you don't know until it breaks you." This passage describes the toll of prison work on staff, and how that stress, especially when unresolved, can spill over into their personal lives and change how they perceive others.

However, the challenge remains that the available mental health supports for staff are far from fruitful or effective. P11 explains that "I feel like our policies when it comes to EAP and any access for us to get counselling is—like I've had to avail to it a few times. It was never great, it was never overly helpful." Such practices are essential, as per P13:

A lot of mental health issues developed in the field and we have a lot of people who were off on extended periods of sick leave or extended periods of workers' compensation or long-term disability. They're leaving vacancies and it's just the vacancies are never being filled. They're just leaving it to us to do more with less.

Thus, officers are short-staffed, unwell, and there is neither relief nor support available. This includes how access to mental health leave or even annual leave remains compromised, if at all existent. Discussions of workers' compensation suggested that the "compensation" was far from adequate. For instance, P06 notes "you are supposed to report that as a workforce injury but the reality is nobody wants to report it cause nobody wants to go on workers comp cause they can't afford it. They can't afford it so what do they do they bottle it up inside." They feel "we need a sick leave policy that reflects it cause in the eyes of government we're just abusers right we're just abusing our time…you're coming to work every day with no staff and everything, what happens [is] your mental health is deteriorating." Speaking to needed time off, P21 feels that staff need sick time when ill, but instead explain that "the sick time here is shit." They go on to explain, "I shouldn't have to wait five years to use my vacation time" due to being short-staffed at the institution, nor should they have to "beg and heel-and the annual leave spots" given there are so few—and as a result, people are "trading annual leave spots." Beyond leave, P18 feels that "breaks go a long way. Sometimes when you're short staffed there's not an opportunity for a proper break."

This is compounded by the fact that, as P23 articulates, "all this stuff happened to me it's like the correctional officers, I mean, and it just builds up and builds up and builds up and there's

really no recognition, there's nobody [who] asks you even if you're okay." Reflected in these excerpts is the idea that removing or underfunding mental health programs for staff have driven down morale and caused some staff to feel they have little recourse when they experience mental health challenges, whether they emerge from occupational stress, organizational problems, or personal issues.

Other Correctional Officer Concerns

Lesser mentioned but equally impactful frustrations voiced by COs included the few participants who noted that staff are underpaid (P22), given their intensive role in public safety, institutional security, and that of care, custody, and control of incarcerated individuals, as well as the difficulties tied to acquiring a full time position with annual leave. Here, P18 explains that "getting time off is—is often hard. Generally, you could be working several years before you're into an annual leave spot—like and get time off." Here, the importance of fair compensation and much-needed time off are signalled as inherent to staff feeling that their work is valued and appreciated.

Incompatibility among Prisoners

Interpersonal relationships among prisoners can sometimes pose a fundamental design challenge, especially in terms of the organization of bunking or restricting interactions between certain prisoners. COs felt the current design of HMP makes the adequate regulation of prisoner interactions difficult. Particularly overcrowding and the lack of physical space makes separating incompatible prisoners logistically challenging. As P13 notes, the relatively small communities within Newfoundland and Labrador leaves many prisoners at odds with some of the challenging interpersonal relationships they have formed in free society, which become part of daily life within the prison.

In response, P11 recommends smaller housing units to help reassign incompatible prisoners more easily. P11 states, "Strictly for incompatibility issues, I feel if you had like smaller pod type set ups that housed maybe ten people and have more of those. Maybe if you had 20 or 30 of those, or however many beds they're planning on—planning on doing." Smaller pods were also mentioned by P13, who described that smaller units and lower numbers of prisoners within a single unit could potentially mitigate negative interactions. P11 points out that although prisoners may be incompatible with others, "You can't lock him up all the time." Echoing others, P18 believes an increase in the number of areas to move prisoners throughout the day would allow for more possibilities to separate incompatible prisoners.

Regulating Flow of Prisoners

Regulating the flow of prisoner traffic is central to prison design and required to minimize problematic and potentially violent interactions between prisoners. P05 describes a situation in which moving prisoners to other units creates the potential for conflict. To mitigate any potential escalation in conflict, COs require radio contact to provide notice to others of a potential situation; however, the dependence on radios could be mitigated by architectural design and planning:

> Our [prison] design [has] to take into consideration inmate traffic. If I know I have an inmate or a few inmates that have incompatibles for other ranges. I know this individual is called for a visit for example and he's got to traverse through a common area that there's a potential that he could run into a person that he's not supposed to. That to me, you know, I got to call or communicate with the other officers working to find out the whereabouts of the other individual or just even let them know. I got so and so on the move, they're on the way for a visit just so you're aware. I think I mean with a more efficient [prison design] you would eliminate that. There would be less radio traffic or telephone traffic however we choose to communicate it that's for sure, yeah (P05).

P05's words emphasize an awareness of how interpersonal dynamics and communication strategies/infrastructure inform prisoner safety. P06 further notes that "the way we have now, there's no way to not run into someone. There's always crisscrossing I mean like it's hard to not meet up." Thus, incompatibility is also difficult to avoid, as prisoners are "crisscrossing" despite best efforts due to current infrastructure.

Fundamental to prison design is access control, particularly for restricting the flow of contraband into and within the prison. COs noted some aspects of the current prison design allow for contraband to be smuggled onto prison grounds without detection.

> Right because we got guys going up to visiting, programming—toss the package over the wall and it's right there. We got the garbage inmate working the dumpsters right there by the wall, so he can easily access whatever gets tossed over, like cellphones and drugs and everything else. We need an exterior perimeter. (P11)

In this quote, P11 recognizes how prison architecture can help COs detect drug smuggling operations in the facility, which although is inevitable in most prison environments (European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction, 2022), still requires further regulation and efforts to protect prisoner and CO safety and well-being.

Double bunking

Most correctional officers agree that double bunking practices should be eliminated because they increase the possibility for negative interactions between prisoners, eliminate personal space, create power dynamics, and impinge upon prisoner safety. The need for more cells was an overarching theme across interviews, and many participants noted more cells could mitigate many conflicts between prisoners, offer more privacy, and contribute to the overall safety of prisoners and staff. For example, P08 explains:

> I think, like, their own cells would be a good idea because sometimes a lot of the times now there's a lot of newer guys that come in and they're being put in with people with mental health disorders, and or, like, guys that are, you know, been around a while. So, people that are, you know, not used to the culture of the prison are being mixed with in the same room with other people. And there's a lot of times that the lockup, they got bunkbeds in the lockup, like, the double cells in the prison.

P08's words reveal how double bunking can lead to a clash of personalities between prisoners, particularly new admittances, who may not fully understand or be exposed to the unique prison culture within HMP. Likewise, P15 notes individual cells for prisoners would eliminate minor conflicts that could potentially escalate because "they're not fighting over top bunk, bottom bunk, or along those lines—if anything was to happen." Both excerpts emphasize that ensuring prisoners have adequate space and privacy on a daily basis may ultimately contribute to better well-being and reduce the risk of conflicts.

CONSIDERATIONS IN NEW PRISON DESIGN

Parking

In designing the new prison, officers asked for both a separate entrance for staff for safety purposes (P22) and a protected parking lot removed from the direct observation of prisoners. The latter is our focus here because it emerges as the greater concern, due to the vast number of participants who drew attention to the compromised safety of themselves and their loved ones as a consequence of the exposed parking lot. P03 particularly illustrates the underpinnings of this concern:

Our vehicles need to be protected in some way. Like, right now we just park in a regular parking lot in front of the wall… Even yesterday we had an unknown person to us go around all of our vehicles. And we were there watching her on camera and had to call the RNC twice to try and get her off the parking lot…there's been an officer that had a bomb thrown at his car.

P03 talks about an incident the day prior to their research interview where staff safety and their personal property were compromised. What was most critical here—and of serious concern—was the need for a layer of security that prevents prisoners and visitors from learning what vehicles belong to which officer. P03 continues to note: "they know what I drive…It's not a great situation when you're walking out of the prison at the same time as an inmate. And it just creates opportunity. And we don't like that. We like to have a safe space where—for us." P06 felt "indoor staff parking" would improve safety, "because the way it is now I can walk out and an inmate too just got released and they can walk right next to me and I get in my car. They know what you drive, can follow you home." The idea here is that security around vehicles serves both the safety of their loved ones as well as their own, and these concerns are understandably heightened by the fact that incidents in the past have occurred, such as an officer having a "bomb thrown" at their vehicle.

Prison Culture

Officers felt the need to describe and account for the current prison culture at HMP—particularly the nuances of prison living and working in a highly localized context as is the case at HMP. These participants were aware of the society that is prison and how such a society both is informed by and informs prisoners' needs and wants. They are further aware of what fails to work in practice versus what works in theory, or ideally. Here, P06 explains that an often-downplayed reality is that prison "is where they live, this is their house and stuff. Like if you rent a house or an apartment, I don't think you want your landlord always down around your house. This is the thing. They do their business…this is their life and this is their jail." Prison design thus

must account for the fact they are designing a collective housing space—the temporary (and sometimes revolving) home for many people. To illustrate the need for culturally informed prison design, P22 explained the challenge of working at a "low" security institution:

> Government planners we'll call them, for the new prison—have explained that, 'oh, the inmates want to get to low security'. 'Do they? Repeat offenders who are lifetime criminals?' That's who they are. Those people exist. I see them every day. They're probably nobody on the street, homeless, this and that, they go to jail, fight a bit and that, all of a sudden, they're moving up the food chain and they're somebody in prison. They don't want to go to low security. They want to be the badass, the heavy, the shock collar on their range. That's the best their life is going to get…In these meetings the governments saying there's going to be consequences because they'll get moved. But some of these people just don't care. It's like a badge on their shoulder to assault another inmate or these things. Have a cell extraction done on them, that's like, their resumes getting boosted.

The essence in this narrative is that prison has to be a humane space and recognized for being the home to some prisoners—prisoners who may or may not be competing for power in the institution but nonetheless must live together. Thus, as a living and working environment, the complex positioning of all those housed must be recognized. To this end, a participant recommended that the "heavies" on the units be removed or repositioned to create a safer space for all. Here, P08 explained: "I don't know if they split them up after, there's a lot of—they call them Heavies. Like, the stronger, like, top dog inmates in on the unit. And they pretty much uh try to run the show." To this end, there needs to be a way to split up prisoners, separating "incompatibles" and ensuring everyone has access to the accommodations that are permissible in prison.

Wider Cell Doors

Another participant, in discussion of design, spoke to the need for wider cell doors to support managing prisoners who require assistance or to deescalate situations, particularly when officers must enter cells to preserve life or safety. During discussions of the new prison design, P22 said: "I asked a question of: 'How are the cell doors? How wide are they?' P22 details the problem:

> I'm on the response team, okay? So, there's time you got gear on, that's adding probably six, eight, ten inches of thickness to your body. You got to get through the door, you might have a restrain shield in your hand. It's tight quarters. So, I asked 'how wide are the doors?' And are they, an outswing door or are they a pull across? Like a barn style door. Again, I would like to see meal hatches on all of the doors. And meal hatches—it's a slot but not only are they used to give meals, if a range is locked down or the inmates locked in. They're used during like cell extractions, stuff like this. Give the inmate the opportunity to cuff up, be

handcuffed through the hatch, so it's less use of force needs to take place. And then, with the meal hatch, where is it located? And there's restraints that exist, that basically, they're handcuffs but they're almost on like a tire arm that they use in an anchor so if the inmate tries to pull away from the door they're only getting so far. They're not running and hiding under the bunk, getting their hands out underneath your legs, and being able to fight again. They're tied to the door, essentially. These are all questions I asked. Zero answers did I get. So, it's frustrating because this is all input that could be said in these meetings to members of the government who have zero experience working in a prison. It's frustrating... It's safer for inmates if they can cuff up before. It's safer for them, it's safer for staff, less chance of injury to anyone during that use of force scenario. Because we can essentially cuff them and walk them out instead of having to restrain them on the floor and then like have a tussle and cuff them up and then pull them out of there.

P22 speaks to the realities tied to their experience using force and how to minimize harm to prisoners in such situations, speaking to design needs like larger cell doors, larger meal hatches, and security precautions tied to miscellaneous occupational requirements. It is important to recognize that a simple physical design change could, in the purview of this officer, provide prisoners with the opportunity to be encountered with less force during a critical incident and also preserve the safety of staff, who in this scenario, want nothing more than to resolve these issues calmly and with less aggression.

Direct (Dynamic) vs Indirect (Static) Supervision

Most participants expressed a preference for indirect supervision systems over direct supervision. For many, direct supervision poses inherent logistical and safety challenges. They note that for direct supervision to effectively work, the current supervision structure would require more officers on the units—a human resource and safety problem identified by many staff earlier in this report. Many COs were unfamiliar with how a direct supervision model works in practice, though they were skeptical of dynamic supervision being safe. For example, P08 stated "I'm totally against it and it's, like, everything that I've read...it's caused more problems for staff than it has served purpose."

Some participants were indifferent or had yet to form an opinion on the use of direct supervision, though they expressed direct supervision's benefits had not been clearly communicated nor had they received training on the model. However, despite acknowledging their limited familiarity, participants anticipate its use could exacerbate occupational strain, fatigue, and burnout. For example, P01 explains:

And the mental health of people—you need interaction, and you need—you can't always be vigilant. When you're working in this—these environments and if you're going to be sitting

on the unit in direct supervision models, you're going to be vigilant all of the time. You're going to be—your eyes are going to be moving back and forth, you're going to be in a constant state of tension. And that's not good. That's not good for people's mental health and that's not good for—or you go the other way and you start not paying attention, and then the direct supervision model will make it dangerous.

Several participants noted how these increased prisoner interactions may have a negative effect on mental health, particularly in relation to workplace burnout and fatigue. P03 notes the current indirect supervision model and day-to-day workload are already intense and anticipates that more close-contact interactions with prisoners may further strain their mental health. This perspective echoes that of P11, who said: "It's going to be mentally too hard, too draining. You know the inmates that are coming in now—the vast majority is a lot of mental health people with very rapidly deteriorating mental health because they're not getting the proper help they need in there."

As P21, who has experienced direct supervision, mentions, direct supervision contributes to sensory fatigue, which imposes on a COs' psychological state and capacities:

By your second day, you are done. You can see their face. They're exhausted. They can't hold a conversation. You're mentally drained. You hear fifty plus guys yelling all day. Getting threats or whatever it is. It's draining. I couldn't believe the toll it took on me when I was doing direct supervision.

P21 describes exhaustion and physical as well as psychological fatigue (e.g., "it's draining... the toll it took"). A prevalent concern tied to constant interactions with prisoners also increases their emotional labour, in which COs already partake. Emotional labour refers to the complicated process of 'working' through one's emotions and adapting to the norms and mandates of one's work environment (Hochschild, 1983), which for COs especially, must be done in the most context-sensitive, appropriate, professional way possible (Liebling et al., 2011). Personal interactions, conflict resolution between prisoners, or even addressing broader psychological or behaviour needs from prisoners requires emotional labour, which can further strain compromised wellness. COs expressed concern about the emotional toll that helping meet the needs of dozens of prisoners entails, particularly given mental health disorder prevalence in the population. Officers, like P14, also discussed the emotional labour underpinning the potential for vicarious psychological trauma that can result from listening to or conversing with prisoners, whose biographies are colourful, disheartening, and at times involve violence:

So, for a correctional officer to have to sit and be exposed to this stuff — it's very mentally taxing to listen to this stuff... If inmates are stood up in front of me talking about something

horrific they did to, like they beat on their wife or they assaulted a female on the street. They actually talk about this stuff when they're on the ranges. And that is obviously very vicariously traumatic. If you're quote unquote 'a normal person' and you're trying to live a normal day-to-day life, then I think it's very detrimental to be exposed to the life that they choose to lead. But any normal person doesn't want to hear that stuff to be exposed to that all day [...] I don't think I should be exposed to talks about drugs and violence and be indirect line of inmates going through mental health crisis or whatever, if they're having a bipolar episode. (P14)

P14's words suggest they are concerned about the repercussions of listening to or conversing with prisoners because they feel that the content of discussion may be inappropriate and also notes the potential for vicarious trauma. Perhaps this sentiment underpins a CO, who has experience with direct supervision, expressing how the personalized nature of the interactions in direct supervision required effort toward creating and maintaining professional boundaries with emotional distancing:

But I knew their mom's name, their daughter's name. They'd show you all their pictures of their kids. Which is fine. It was personal but again, it's mentally exhausting because I have so many men coming and talking to me, telling me everything then which is fine. But it's emotionally and mentally exhausting to be that personal with them when you're in the day room with them and they're coming up-and then I'm taking turns in every day room throughout the day that I have all these guys like, 'oh [P21] is in!' (P21)

P21 feels direct supervision impedes on boundaries and creates spaces for mental exhaustion to creep, including when tied to interpersonal connection and potentially vicariously traumatic event exposures. With a sigh, P09 suggests direct supervision is largely focused on improving prisoner well-being at the cost of the mental health of COs: "the direct supervision is more so leaning to looking after the mental health of the inmates and not paying enough attention to the mental health of the staff members who now have to be living with these inmates for their whole twelve-hour shift". To supplement the emotional drain, if direct supervision is to be the model, would require more COs—more staffing, but even adequate staffing is not in supply.

Beyond the "draining" nature of emotional labour and resultant exhaustion, staffing is also required to compensate for the added vigilance that direct supervision is thought to require. P01 explains:

[Although] you need interaction. You can't always be vigilant. When you're working in this— these environments and if you're going to be sitting on the unit in direct supervision models,

you're going to be vigilant all of the time. You're going to be—your eyes are going to be moving back and forth, you're going to be in a constant state of tension.

P01 expresses concern over their "state" when in direct supervision because although direct supervision allows for more direct contact with prisoners, the supervision style requires hypervigilance. This vigilance is required for prisoner and officer safety, preservation of life (e.g., including intervening in self-harm, altercations) and wellness. This is contrasted often with static supervision which provides "breaks" from vigilance when in the bubble with a barrier between prisoners and COs.

Participants also mentioned the safety risk they associated with direct supervision. For example, the close-quarters nature of the supervision style was understood to create blind-spots that may otherwise be revealed with a CCTV system. As P14 stated:

You feel very threatened if you're sitting on the range and they're walking behind you and, you kind of feel like a sitting duck. And basically, the threat to your physical safety becomes a lot more real when, as I say, a female officer or a male officer—when you have to sit on a range with twenty or thirty or forty inmates. And they're behind your back and you feel very physically unsafe. So, I truly think it's the worst thing you could do is have direct supervision in a prison.

P14 reveals heightened fear when engaging in direct supervision, due to limited abilities to monitor persons around them (i.e., blind spots emerge). In juxtaposition, some COs highlight the added safeguards of the static supervision model. Officers, for example, can review camera footage to assess risk levels before entering a cell, make calculations on what to expect, and plan how approach an emergent situation. The invisibility of officers in the bubble also, according to P03, "creates a bit of an element of surprise" and allows for more tactical and effective deployment of resources. P21 felt secure in the bubble adding that it offers an increased level of protection: "If it comes to it and there is something going on, that bubble— actually people that go in that bubble lock the door and I'm safe until I need help-I get help." Additionally, the more physically secure space tied to the bubble awarded by indirect supervision provides downtime from hypervigilance, physical contact, and, accordingly, emotional drain.

A perception exists among participants that direct supervision correlated with more assaults on officers. When asked whether they support implementing a direct supervision model, P18 responded: "I'm not really sure that—I'm not sold on it. From what I know assaults on staff are, [or]seem to be, higher than other methods of supervision." Fear of assaults also shaped the perceptions of P21 who pointed out that the seemingly softer supervision style could be

exploited: "We're in there with fifty-something guys surrounding us while we're trying to break up a fight. You don't know, they could have planned to get me. So, what I noticed was assaults were more planned." P01 and P08 predicted that assaults would increase in the direct supervision model, and as a result, expressed a disinterest in adopting its use. P06 reaffirmed this belief, stating: "Just the statistics of Canada, the amount of assaults on guards and the amount of turnover on correctional officer's because of direct supervision."

Some COs felt a direct supervision model may exacerbate and reinforce existing structural and workplace culture issues at HMP. P01 identified that a more hands-on approach would require far more personnel than currently staffed at HMP. The chronic understaffing issues that affect other workplace logistics would pose a significant barrier to implementing direct supervision models in a safe manner. P22 believed that close supervision would worsen problems with prisoner contraband and smuggling:

> I believe we have a problem currently in our prison with contraband getting in from dirty staff members. Corrupt. So, I think the potential is way worse on direct supervision for that to happen. Yes, they say, "oh, they're screening this and that." But are you putting staff through this body scanner? No, you're not. So, easily could conceal contraband to give to an inmate.

The overall sense generated from this data on direct versus static supervision models is that participants do not feel adequately equipped, trained, or invested in the direct supervision approach, and therefore transitory shifts to this change will need to encompass several change management directives from the institution's leaders if direct supervision is to be implemented effectively and supported by front-line staff.

The Proposed Alternative: A Hybrid Model

Though many expressed cautions with adopting a direct supervision approach, participants understood and recognized the potential benefits to prisoners and prisoner-staff relationships. P12 acknowledged a direct supervision model could foster better relationships between prisoners and staff, though they thought that the model could be more effective in combination with indirect supervision models, particularly on smaller units. P01, for instance, suggests direct supervision was best utilized in small numbers with direct programming initiatives, "But once it comes to our living units, it needs to be static security." Ultimately, the lack of clarity around how direct supervision might be implemented has created serious skepticism around its use.

Blind Spots and Camera System

Participants felt that new technologies in prison design should largely eliminate blind spots, of which there are many at HMP. Their concern about blind spots was nevertheless realistic, as they were aware that not all blind spots could be eliminated, but felt that technologies and design details could remedy most. Here, P02 suggested, "corners probably should be rounded instead of 90 degrees" and "higher ceilings" and "technology" would assist with visibility. The sentiment here was that "design goes a long way. Good sightlines where you can actually see, hear fellow officers" (P18).

To further support the elimination of unnecessary blind spots, P03, like most participants, requested "better cameras" with the ability to "follow people," voicing the challenges with the current outdated camera system in HMP of which "the inmates are very aware" (P04). The knowledge about the camera system and its current functionality reduces the role of cameras for their security function (i.e., prisoners are aware of current blind spots) or as a "deterrent" (P04). P05, who desires an effective camera system in the new prison, mentions that they "don't want to inundate whatever officer is responsible for viewing that too many cameras," but feels that eliminating blind spots through design and camera placement would be effective for security and safety. For P07, this includes cameras in stairwells, in elevators, "more cameras, better cameras" (P11); they continue "you can design a building now that if you put enough cameras in there, there won't be any blind spots," but also asserts, "I don't see that being a huge issue if there are a few blind spots." P14 also reiterates their realistic expectations, recognizing that "blind spots are inevitable in the sense that some areas of the prison are not meant to be monitored," but feels their quantity can be reduced through a state-of-the-art camera system that is maintained.

Communication

"Prison should be set up to facilitate good communication between correctional officers... to maintain general safety in the new prison, then we're going to have a very reliable PA communication system and we're going to have to have very reliable radio communications. Without that then the prison is just unsafe" (P11).

Participants requested better communication for staff on duty—for example, "technology, like radios or iPhones that would be better. We should be able to communicate with each range instead of by phone, like the phones are constantly ringing" (P02). They put forth a need for "intercoms," acknowledging that "technology has to play a role in the creation of the new

institution" (P02). P03 explains that, at HMP, "the PA doesn't work in half the building" such that officers are "depending on phones. So, his phone is ringing off the hook all day long" thus requesting "better radios and maybe earpieces." As P14 said, "basically I think it's important to have the properly working PA system and radio communication." P07 also suggests that prisoners require a way to communicate if they are "having trouble on a range" because currently "there's really no way he can speak to staff without endangering himself." Thus, participants believed communication channels for prisoners in distress required remedy while still respecting the staff-prisoner divisions and social boundaries that tend to inform most prison spaces.

Dedicated Staff Space

Participants desired functional staff spaces, without cameras, where officers could take down time, prepare food, relax, and recharge. Here, P12 asked for a "lounge just basic amenities, gymnasium...showers, working kitchen", while P13 requested a "computer available for you to go write your report on." P03 notes "it would be really nice to have a proper gym" that is not restricted in terms of when the officers can use it. This was echoed regularly, for instance, P02 explains "... maybe a gym with new equipment...just a new coffee pot, hot and cold running water, heat and cool air when it's hot...maybe a picnic table, maybe a wellness garden." Likewise, P08 asked for "an area for a lunchroom with all the amenities involved," while P09 requested "a coffee machine [laughing]." Others, like P14, asked for a staff lounge:

> A staff lounge is obviously very important as well because you know, between duties and stuff, you need a place that's kind of clean and comfortable for you to go eat your lunch or take your fifteen-minute break because one of the bigger problems now is that we don't get to leave the building for lunch. You might be here twenty-four hours here straight, with no lunch break. Obviously if you do get a lunch break it's nice to be able to have somewhere kind of clean and separate from like the industrial areas of the prison where you can sit down and relax.

Again, clear here was a need for a unique and separate space for staff to unwind. With this in mind, others, like P12, asked for "having a rec room—recreation facility, that I can go on my lunch break and either throw some darts, pool table, go work out. Something like that, which would actually debrief you, take the stress [away]." This need for a separate space was very pronounced, where P01 also talks about the "staff house at HM penitentiary outside of the walls where we used to be able to hold our functions—our Christmas parties, our different events, card games and such." They explained that:

Over the last few years that kind of got shut on us, so there's opportunity there—the building of a new facility on all of this land; to possibly join with the union and build a staff house or give the union a piece of land and allow them to own a staff house, on a corner of the land away from the prison but in the same general vicinity.

This request was echoed by many who, like P06, expressed "on my number one wish list [is] a staff house outside the prison walls" or P07 who desired "a place of gathering…a way for staff to decompress. Having that physical space to go to has always been like huge for mental health because no one understands us like we understand each other and incidents we've had, we'd gather up there because we're still on site but yet we're still off site…" There was a strong interest among participants for the new prison to include an area for officers to be able to leave the institution—to go outside the prison walls—to decompress and build up their sense of team. Some described it as something akin to the staff house, while others described the space as a quiet room. P02, for instance, feels that a "quiet room would be awesome", while P03 notes a "quiet room…a room to defuse after a big incident." P08 sought a room that would serve as a space for debriefing after an incident. They explain further:

It would be an area, say, if you and me were involved in an incident and it was pretty heavy, and hard, and whatever, so we could go in and have a chat about it…an area, or areas, for staff to go to debrief if they need to or just to clear their head cause sometimes people are involved in incidents and they're up here to the ceiling. And they just need to go, right. And just their blood is boiling because whatever happened and have an area for them to go so that they can be removed from the situation." The general sentiment here was that, as per P15, "there's days you're going go to work, there are going to be bad days. And there's sometimes you just have to get away from the unit, or you have to get out of the building for a minute." Overall, whatever the environment for staff, participants, like P01, hope that such a staff space has cleaning, because "we don't have cleaners."

Perhaps more practically, P03 would like "a space that we can change" before and after work so they do not have to commute in uniform. On this note, they requested "locker rooms, change rooms, showers" (P03), noting that "Showers are important. If big incidents happen, it would be nice to have a space to go and change and if you're covered in blood or urine or whatever, it would be nice to go and change, take a shower." P07 also desires "a bigger locker room where we can actually go and leave our uniforms so my neighbors don't all know what I'm doing", which was echoed by P11: "have enough lockers there for staff that you have and just have area man where you can leave work, you can have a fresh uniform there if something happens and you can get changed and get a wash, go to the gym." Here, the desire was to first be able to change out of uniform when leaving the prison, but also to have a space to shower and change after incidents or exposures to different bodily fluids or substances—which remains an

inevitable aspect of prison work and in recognition participants are simply proposing hygienic workarounds to partially mitigate the stresses encountered from such exposure and potential health risks.

Those participants who had Emergency Response Team (ERT) experience also describe a need for a planning space for the ERT and an appropriate space for storing the equipment. P05 explains that "when we first established an ERT, we didn't have no space to put and hence our problem you know we're getting more and more things in a prison but we don't have the space for it." To this end, participants also desired a space for ERT planning, where the team the ERT team can sit down and plan how they are going to execute their duties as well as space to store equipment and for the team to suit up. P05 envisioned this space being an "extensive locker room." This desire was echoed often. For instance, P18 said "storage for our extra uniforms and equipment," explaining we do tend to have a lot with our protective vests, and our belts, all our uniforms. Plus, you know, boots and jackets, and hats."

Physical Comfort

Participants expressed a need for ergonomic workspaces. Such spaces should include comfortable chairs that would seat an array of different body sizes. P01 desired "a desk, a good chair. Ergonomics. To have ergonomic assessments on our workspaces." They stressed "good chairs, don't nickel and dime on the quality of the chairs we're sitting in all day long because we are—we do spend a lot of time there...Adjustable desks that you could stand at or sit at" (P01). Many participants lamented the quality of chairs at HMP, hoping for a more ergonomic and comfortable chair in the new institution. P05 described the impetus for this need, stating "work spaces are manned 24 hours a day, 365 days a year so like our chairs go through a bit of a beating and a bit of wear and tear." They illustrate the discomfort and challenge of sitting in an inappropriate chair during a shift, including a chair that flips over if one leans. P06 similarly requested the "government stop being cheap on chairs" given they "sit in these things all day long." This was a common theme with participants requesting "comfortable chairs" (P08), "something that's comfortable—it's good on your back, it offers support and everything [as one sits in them all night]" (P11), "an ergonomic assessment for everybody" (P12), and a "proper seat" (P14).

General physical design problems

Participants were asked about the physical design of HMP and what they might change about the prison in a new design. They identified many problems with the current infrastructure,

including with lighting, sound, colour, air quality, accessibility, and crowded spaces. We found that physical design issues intersect also with concerns about rehabilitation for prisoners, safety for staff and prisoners, and the overall physical and mental wellness for all, such that addressing these physical design challenges would also contribute to other improvements. This section details several design issues that presently exist at HMP, which provides a justification for the vital need for a new prison design to address these problems.

Lighting

Currently, lighting in HMP consists of fluorescent lightbulbs and very little natural light. Many participants shared their dislike for the lighting, finding the lighting "draining" and "buzzing all night and all day" (P07), which results in headaches (P06). Others described the prison's fluorescent lighting as overly bright and irritating, affecting "how [people] are feeling" (P17). Presently, HMP has very small windows covered in bars that do not allow for sufficient natural light. Participants therefore emphasized the importance for both staff and prisoners to have more access to natural light; for example, one participant told us, "For mental health for both staff and inmates, I think natural light is very important. I think each cell and control room should have access to both natural light and fresh air" (P14).

Prisoners also do not have control over the lighting in their cells, given that switches are outside of the cell. They must therefore ask staff to turn on and off the lights to, for example, nap during the day or read a book at night. Some participants described how prisoners tend to find ways around the issue by tying a string to the light switch on the outside of their cell and feeding the string under the door to turn it on and off, and finding ways to reduce the lighting, such as unscrewing a bulb or covering the light with toothpaste. One participant expressed that prisoners should be allowed to control their own lights in their cells without creative intervention, and with the option, of course, for staff to override cell lighting controls. For example, P11 said, "You know lighting in the cells like they all got it—they should have the option to turn the lights off themselves. Like right now—we should have the option to be able to turn the lights on in the cell if need be, but they should have the option to control the lighting." Allowing prisoners to have access to light controls requires balance with maintaining safety; for instance, COs must be able to see that a prisoner is breathing in their cell during a check and not harming or harmed. For these reasons, staff ultimately must be able to override control of the lighting in prisoners' cells and be able to illuminate spaces.

Finally, when participants described the kind of lighting they would like to see in a new prison design, the vast majority described natural light. A few participants suggested different styles of lighting, such as energy efficient, softer white LED lightbulbs, which would reduce the

"buzzing" and overall discomfort felt in relation to the constant florescent light throughout the prison. Another participant suggested "ground lighting" instead of overhead lights at night (P02) and emphasized the need for lighting in cells to be "boxed in a tamper proof container" (P11).

Air Quality and Temperature

When asked what the air quality is like at HMP and how air quality could be improved in a new prison, the majority of participants described the quality of air as highly concerning or "horrible" (P21), noting little to no access to fresh air, and that "it's hot as hell in the summer and it's cold as hell in the winter. There's no happy medium down there" (P11). This is, perhaps, unsurprising given that the oldest part of the building at HMP is 163 years old; nevertheless, it is a serious issue requiring meaningful attention because the mental and physical health and well-being of staff and prisoners are affected.

Beyond the health implications, air quality becomes a matter of security and safety for all when it cannot be improved or adequately controlled. Many participants described the sweltering conditions in the prison during hot summers due to an old and faulty air conditioning unit that is not sufficiently maintained. For example, P14 said: "One issue that we have down here now, is our AC units won't work. So the ranges were super, super hot. Now I mean that was the reason to why our [emergency response] team got called in twice. Because the ranges were so hot, fellas didn't want to lock in." When the prison is hot and there is little to no air circulation or access to fresh air, environmental stress increases, which also increases the risk of an incident occurring: "So, it's really hot in the prison, tension is rising. And when tension rises, we tend to have more incidents which requires more staff which we don't have" (P13). Moreover, staff are working long shifts—especially because of staffing problems—in heavy clothing and equipment. They are "sweating all day long" and get "cranky" (P06). One participant said, "I'm mad just walking around because I'm sweating, I'm soaking. I feel like I can't breathe" (P21). Understandably, a CO's job becomes even more challenging when they are working in overly (and unnecessarily) sweltering conditions.

Prisoners are especially impacted by the poor air quality when they are locked in their hot cells with little air circulation. Many participants told us that prisoners are "baking" (P11) or "cooking" (P21) in their cells. P11 voiced a troubling story of staff doing a nighttime check, and when they "pop the door open to come in and do visual—when [prisoners] hear that door pop there's guys that will get down on that floor and put their mouth under the crack of the door like that so they can get a little touch of a breeze," and another participant said prisoners "literally lay on the floor to cool down" (P21). Conversely, in the wintertime, some cells in the prison are so cold that prisoners are "freezing, like they're actually physically chattering, and they can't get warm, so we

have to give them extra blankets" (P14). The temperature conditions and air quality of the prison are clearly problematic, requiring remedy and consideration in the design of the new facility.

When asked what they hope for a new prison design to include, participants simply hoped for an adequate HVAC system that is properly maintained and with the option to control it themselves (P08). Most also emphasized having more access to fresh air for both staff and prisoners. One suggested "better filtration or air purifiers might be good. Windows that could be opened [and] would also be in certain areas would be a bonus" (P18). Mainly, however, participants expressed concerns and made suggestions about the air quality for prisoners. Because understaffing has led to very limited access to recreation and outdoor time, participants stressed the importance of prisoners being able to open a small window in their cells to let fresh air in because "it's just better for everyone's mental health to have access to fresh, clean air" (P14).

Sound

Sound at HMP, but in prisons generally, is concerningly loud. At HMP, because of the nature of the old building, and, given that the building is comprised of concrete and steel materials, noise levels are high and sound echoes and travels easily among floors and to different units. Without relief, staff and prisoners hear the "chaotic" (P21) sounds of the prison—the banging and popping of doors, "chatter" amongst prisoners, and the banging of desks. The constant noise with little to no sound proofing can be exhausting and very hard on the health of both staff and prisoners. In fact, participants expressed worries about their wellness due to the repetitive loud sounds they experience throughout their shifts, with some saying noise is hard on their mental health and that it is like "walking into a war zone" (P07). There is also a reported physical health toll tied to officer and prisoner hearing. This, of course, has the potential to ripple out into COs' personal lives where they are easily triggered by loud noises outside of work hours.

For staff, being so frequently "auditorily overwhelmed" may result also in feeling physically frustrated, angry, and stressed and may "make you less patient with inmates" (P14). Another participant stated prisoners are then able to feed off of staff feeling flustered and prison can become "a very negative place" (P21) as a result. Like other physical design problems within the prison, problems with sound intersect with the safety and mental and physical wellness of staff and prisoners. It is therefore important for a new prison design to attend to how sound travels through an institution and to ensure the prison is adequately soundproofed—perhaps built with materials beyond concrete and with sound proofing. When asked about how noise levels should be addressed in a new prison, participants expressed that something must be done to "stifle the

noise on these ranges" (P14) and that "sound insulation might be good between, say, floors or between units or ranges or wings" (P18).

Spatial Design Limitations

Participants illuminated spatial limitations and accessibility issues as necessary considerations in prison design. P09, for instance, said they would like to "see more room" so they're "not so squat up" while P15 details the problematic spatial limitations at HMP and some of the resulting issues:

> HMP is just built add on, add on, add on. Our medical unit down there is trailers that were brought in and added on to the building. Our old part of the prison versus our new part of the prison—it was just connected up with a big, long hallway. Because I guess that's all they could do. But, there's really nothin'. We have cells directly over our kitchen. So a gentleman is up there and he floods out his cell with toilet water, and then all of a sudden that's down drippin' in the kitchen. Like that's health and safety issue. There's the layout of our prison right now is absolutely horrible, and there should be nothing taken into account from it.

Accessibility issues impact rehabilitation for prisoners, their mental and physical wellness, the safety of prisoners and staff, and the overall security of the institution. At HMP, safety and security are compromised when prisoners must walk through common areas—and even control rooms—to move around the prison. P15 explains that in "my bubble, inmates are walking through all the time. Anybody who comes up to the west wing, you gotta walk through it." P17 further clarified that "nowhere in prison systems do [prisoners] go through a control room...that's why they call it control room—you're in control of it," evidencing the safety and security violation.

Spatial limitations are also particularly relevant when thinking about incompatible prisoners crossing paths. For example, to enter the gymnasium for recreation time, prisoners must walk through a range which must be locked down while people pass through. The gym is also an older area of the prison and because nearby cell doors are made of metal bars instead of solid "they [prisoners] can still reach in and out" (P03), thus have opportunities to pass contraband.

Another participant further describes how prisoner incompatibility is impacted by spatial limitations:

> We have some high-profile inmates who we have to stop all moments because they need to go to a visit or their lawyer and they want to speak to him. So, the whole prison shuts down for like five minutes and that doesn't seem like a long time but it really is when you have a lot going on and you can't move anybody" (P07). Staff therefore must be in constant

communication with one another regarding incompatible prisoners crossing paths in a common area: "I got to call or communicate with the other officers working to find out the whereabouts of the other individual or just even let them know [...] With a more efficient [layout] you would eliminate that. There would be less radio traffic or telephone traffic. (P05)

Incompatible prisoners crossing paths because of the nature of the prison's layout is a relatively frequent occurrence at HMP and creates an unnecessary high risk safety situation for both staff and prisoners. Traffic and mobility need to be taken into account in the design of a new prison, to limit lockdowns and to more adequately address situations of incompatible prisoners encountering one another. Making a new prison layout "a little more functional" and less "like a maze" would be helpful (P14) for staff and would reduce "zig-zagging" all over the prison (P08) as well as facilitate a more "efficient" and safer space for all (P05). The prison layout, then, must be "designed so that you can—you can get to basically every part of the prison in a short amount of time" (P11). Staff must be able to access emergency exits more easily (P1) and to respond to incidents more quickly.

Finally, participants expressed feeling limited in terms of physical space in the prison for dedicated programs, meeting spaces, visitations, and medical aid. Currently, space is quite restrictive in the prison. One participant discussed the complications related to such limited space:

Today we had St. John ambulance therapy dogs in and then there was an inmate committee meeting and both of them had to happen in the same room at the same time. So, we had to take the dogs and put them in the program room which means it was a smaller room which means say the ten inmates that normally take place in this group was down to 5 or 6. So the physical part of the building restricts us and other people the people doing the programming from doing what they want to achieve too. (P07)

P07 describes how space limitations can impact prisoner programming, and by extension, well-being. Another participant recommended making space for prisoners to do their schooling, or to "get their GED, their high school, or any type of skill or trade that they can learn. There's very little of that [space] right now" (P18). Ensuring that there is adequate space for prisoners to engage in rehabilitative programming would be beneficial for the mental health of prisoners and has the potential to increase their overall wellness during their time inside. Also important is having a dedicated programing space for prisoners to aid in their rehabilitation and so they are able to engage in skills that would be helpful for facilitating pro-social living and desistance from crime post release.

Prisoner Needs

This section details participant responses surrounding the needs of prisoners requiring consideration in a new prison design. Most participants expressed grave concern for the overall mental and physical wellness of prisoners in HMP and suggested rehabilitation in the current conditions of incarceration is not adequately facilitated.

Several participants described prison as having a "revolving door," where they witness many prisoners leaving and returning throughout their occupational tenure. For example, P03 states, "They're so institutionalized that they can't function on the outside. They're just used to being here". P12 also explains, "A lot of times programming is key, but the thing about it is that like I keep seeing the same people over and over again, right. Our population—it's only half a million and you keep seeing the same people over and over again. It's not a good thing. One reason behind the "revolving door" is how there is "not enough support for them on the outside [with regard to] housing and stuff. [...] So [they] feel set up for failure" (P03). Beyond the lack of community re-entry support, participants also felt prisoners were not fulsomely supported in prison:

> Rehabilitation is done through programming and everything else like that. So, the design of the building—like you always want places where they can learn trades and so when they get out they don't fall back into the same routine. We have a lot of mental health issues with some of our inmates. With regard to—*they keep falling through the cracks of our system and they got nowhere else to go but jail because no one will give them a break* or something like that. So, in order to get [...] a roof over their head, they will probably commit a crime to end up in jail. So, I don't know with the design of the new building... if that's going to relieve some of the issues with the inmates that we have or not. (P12; emphasis added)

While a new prison cannot fix greater societal issues, systemic inequalities, and related challenges, there exists an opportunity to centralize re-entry preparation through programming and mental health supports for those incarcerated. It remains imperative that prisoners are offered opportunities to engage in meaningful programming, to access recreation and fresh air, and to seek out mental health supports. In what follows, we unpack participants' suggestions and responses for addressing problems related to rehabilitation.

Programming

Programming was identified as a centralized prisoner need. Related to improving prisoner safety, participants spoke at length about how significant and meaningful improvements to prisoner programming would lessen the burden on staff and keep prisoners more occupied,

happier, and able to develop valuable skills—thus making the prison function better overall. As P1 describes:

> It needs to keep them busy, it needs good security models and good security observations—but you also need— you need the programming and you need to keep them busy and occupied. Once it becomes—places are being locked down more often—once things are more confined with no interactions then inmates become more volatile. I am all for—I'm all for programming for the sake of keeping them occupied—and they're going to learn some life skills, but it's more for me to keep them occupied and keep their mind on something because once all of that stuff gets shut out then they become idle.

P1 points to how an "occupied" prisoner is a safer prisoner, as the mundane and often boring nature of confined institutional life can produce situations that are more "volatile" and likely to erupt. They also acknowledge the importance of some prisoners developing "some life skills" while incarcerated, as well as the impact of social isolation when they are confined to their cells and unable to communicate with other prisoners, especially in the absence of group programs that emphasize and build pro-sociality.

The impacts of insufficient programming were described by other participants, such as P03, who stated:

> We don't have enough programs in my opinion...and the little programs we got. Like, let's say horticulture program. Like, that gets cancelled so much...Because we don't have enough staff to facilitate it. Some programs are dependent on our staff levels... And they—and the inmates would ask about them. Like, hey is there—is there rec today? Is there the horticulture program? Well, no. There's no rec again. And they're like geez, hasn't been rec in ah, so many weeks now. And we're like, sorry bye. Like, I don't know what to tell you. Like, we don't have the staff...That's hard on us too and on them obviously...Because they're stuck in there. But on us it's hard because—for one, they're all asking about it. Two, they're getting agitated. And um, yeah. We're the ones having to deal with that.

P03 expresses the guilt felt by themselves and colleagues who must be the ones to deliver the bad news to prisoners and bear the brunt of their reactions, who in turn become understandably frustrated and "agitated," posing potentially another safety concern.

Although participants felt programming had increased at HMP over the years and "positive changes" (P14) have occurred, such as the addition of a gardening program and an equine program. More programs equates to the prison being "way less tense" and there being "less violence overall" (P14). Participants nevertheless desired "a lot more programming" (P11) given "prisoners are looking for programs" (P15). Programs, however, are dependent on staffing and cannot run when the prison is understaffed—an all too common occurrence at HMP. P03

explains, "programs get cancelled so much because we don't have enough staff to facilitate [them]," which "is a tremendous issue" (P15) that compromises rehabilitative potentialities. Other challenges related to programming include those tied to prisoner sentence length, for example, "It is important to note when it comes to programming that because HMP is a provincial institution, there are limitations when it comes to more rehabilitative or correctional programming" (P15), as well as limitations tied to time and space.

In light of their experiences, when asked how they envision rehabilitation in a new prison, participants often responded by emphasizing prisoners having opportunity to complete meaningful, useful, and impactful programming that "they are actually interested in" (P03) because, otherwise, "prisoners opt out" (P15). Offering meaningful programming, including those tied to educational and trade skill development, provides life skills to support re-entry. For example, P15 says:

> Not programming to go sit down and try to pass drugs around with. Programming to go and get you back out in the work field, or train you, give you some sort of skill, or hobby, or something that you can turn into a job or do something when you get back out.

P15 emphasizes valuable skill development tied to occupational entry. Others spoke consistently about the need for educational opportunities: "We need more teachers down there, we need to be able to keep these people a little bit busy" (P11). P14 told us that prisoners should be given the option of pursuing a general education degree, because "school is important."

With regard to meaningful program alternatives, some participants suggested music programs (P03) or drug rehab programs (P09) and valued keeping prisoners "motivated and excited" (P03) to partake in these programs. This includes providing prisoners with "positive things to think about" (P09). Additionally, P03 discussed the need for a program that teaches basic hygiene and the life skills some prisoners may not have learned in their youth, skills that would be incredibly valuable on the outside:

If you could have somebody to teach you to get up in the morning, brush your teeth, do your bed. I think that would create those healthy habits that they'll need to be on their own on the outside. And teach them that you got to be on time for your job and stuff like that.

Another participant recommended prisoners be offered training programs where their skills can be transferred to employment once released. For instance, partaking in a safety training course could allow a prisoner to seek employment in construction.

Other potential considerations for new programs included school, guitar, basic hygiene, carpentry, yoga, and alcoholics anonymous programs (P03); "dog programs [where] inmates

look after the dogs, and then the dogs get rehomed" (P08); "gardening and fitness programs" (P08); "addictions programs" (P11); prison farm programs (P04/P06/P12); and any program that gets prisoners "back out in the work field...some sort of skill, or hobby, or something that [they] can turn into a job...when [they] get back out" (P09). P04 emphasized the importance of "new, innovative creative programs like this" to facilitate stronger rehabilitation in prison spaces. With respect to creativity, one participant acknowledged the value in some prisoners' graffiti artwork, and suggested:

> I mean even some of the offenders are real good artists, some of their graffiti is beautiful looking...I mean I don't know if there would be a wall and then they could do that...so, they could do their own graffiti on like some spot cause sometimes they do it all over their cells and obviously we make them take it off and we got to paint it over. Some of it is nice so even if they had like a dedicated area maybe outside the rec yard they could do their graffiti and stuff like that. (P06)

This correctional officer recognizes the talent that goes into producing graffiti and envisions there being a communal and dedicated wall space where prisoners could work together to create art and express themselves, rather than doing it in their individual cells which policy forbids.

When asked their thoughts about culturally specific programming, all participants were in favour. Other participants also recognized the importance of having programming for vulnerable and racialized prisoners, such as "Indigenous" populations and "other cultures" (P01), and also emphasized the need for equity; namely, that "the more people that are included, the less problems we have for the most part." More specifically, several participants, such as P02, felt that the addition of culturally specific programs and units such as healing lodges for Indigenous populations would be a helpful addition to the prison. P08 stated: "it's definitely important for all cultures to have access to their religious beliefs, or their cultural beliefs", and P09: "Should they have access to [healing lodges]? A hundred percent...that's their right." P03 elaborated on this need:

> I've seen a sweat lodge built in front of the prison there, ah, a couple of years ago...I don't see the harm in it. Like, sweat lodges and stuff like that. I mean, if it's a spiritual thing—And it can be used for you know, clearing your mind, why not? How is it any different than yoga, let's say.

This passage evidences the cultural sensitivity and open-mindedness of some staff to incorporate the spiritual and cultural needs of prisoners into the programming offered and design of the new facility. P03 still did not know how prisoners in those units would be "kept

safe and all that," but did not state that those security issues should circumvent the need to implement a program that better acknowledges and meets prisoners' spiritual and cultural needs.

Many pointed to other prisons that currently offer programs for Indigenous prisoners and emphasized the benefits of these programs. Here, P06, who was "all game" for healing lodges, described an Indigenous program in Labrador in which they partook:

> We had we used to take them hunting so there would be an officer on skidoo we used to take you know 3 or 4 offenders and the officer would you know shot the caribou and the guys would skin and gut it and bring it back and then we used to cook it up back in the prison.

Such programming that incorporates tradition and the land is essential to meet diverse prisoner needs and provide comforts otherwise removed from the confined spaces of incarceration. In this scenario, the officers and prisoners were able to mutually take part in a meaningful and spiritually relevant practice for Indigenous prisoners outside of the institution, which further demonstrates the humanitarian and cultural potential of developing symbiotic relationships and synergies between staff and prisoners. P11 reiterated the importance of promoting access to this type of cultural programming:

> ...they used to take these guys out on skidoo—take them out in the woods cutting wood. They'd do like a little ice fishing, maybe some trapping...Like you couldn't hunt obviously they couldn't give them a rifle or nothing that's not very secure...But like I know the guys who worked it and they talked about how great it was, you know just that—just to be able to get them out, in the outdoors I mean that's—that's their culture and that's how they're going to heal and everything else, so you know sweat lodges, everything like that...I'm 100 percent for it. You know anything like that for the inmate population that's going to help them. Whatever you can—whatever you can add in.

Further emphasized here is how such programming can help prisoners to "heal," which is an important principle of any trauma-informed rehabilitation framework, especially for vulnerable prisoners who may have experienced significant harms prior to criminalization. P14 especially recognized this reality for Indigenous populations, by stating: "I think aboriginal populations are obviously kind of more disproportionately represented in prison. So, I think it would make sense to invest in like a healing lodge or even like extensive programming. And I think it's important that staff are trained to better understand aboriginal healing practices." Here, P14 acknowledges how criminalization has affected Indigenous populations, but also how correctional officers can

be a part of solution, rather than problem, by building their knowledge of Indigenous healing practices and accommodating such programming.

Given the increasing Indigenous populations in Canadian prisons (Clark, 2019), including more culturally specific programming is a timely need: "it's definitely important to for all cultures to have access to their religious beliefs, or their cultural beliefs" (P08). One participant told a troubling story of a prisoner who she discovered was experiencing suicidal thoughts because of a lack of attention to his race or culture: "He mentioned to the range rep that he thinks there should be more stuff for his culture there. And everyone just kind of shut him down and made him feel unimportant and then he just felt judged and put down and he just broke down to me" (P21). Being a minority on his range, this prisoner had no group or culturally specific programming to provide a sense of belonging. Thus, efforts are required that attend to particular racial, cultural, and religious needs of prisoners and to "invest in even more programming" (P14) to facilitate healing. Further, providing more space for prisoners to engage in religious or cultural practices is necessary, such as healing circles and sweat lodges for Indigenous prisoners (P14) and appropriate spaces for prayer for other prisoners who are practicing Islam (P07):

> And we [have] an international population as well, we have seen some east Indians come in and we observed Ramadan a few years ago because they had to [be] woken up at night so they could eat...and then their meals were changed throughout the day so that was interesting but I remember one time at the lock up I had a guy come in and he had to do his praying and he couldn't do it in the cell where the toilet was so we had to get him out into the interview room. We could only do that if the interview room wasn't being used for lawyers or phone calls or police of whatever...so that created a huge physical problem...and he was understanding but he was disappointed at the same and we felt bad. I'm like sure we'll get you out when we can...but he felt he had to do this and we couldn't do this because of the physical locations in lockup (P07).

P07 laments not being able to fully accommodate the prisoner's religious and spiritual needs and recommended there be a "safe space" for prisoners to access such needs, where they could complete an "application" and ensure that other COs are made aware of, and responsive to, their needs. In this scenario, both the COs and prisoners agree that religious rights should be accommodated, and they are flexible under less-than-desirable physical space circumstances, but still problematize how a physical space problem exists in the first place. Attending more to the particular cultural needs of prisoners would also subsequently improve the overall morale of the prison.

Recreation & Fresh Air

Recreation time and having access to the outdoors are essential for prisoners' mental and physical health. Currently in HMP, however, recreation time for prisoners is limited and being outdoors fails to materialize during the late fall and winter months (more often given staffing challenges). With "not enough staff to facilitate [rec time]" (P03), staff are compromised when asked by prisoners ask if they are having recreation time:

> The inmates would ask about [rec time]. Like, hey is there rec today? Is there the horticulture program? Well, no. There's no rec again. And they're like geez, hasn't been rec in ah, so many weeks now. And we're like, sorry buddy. Like, I don't know what to tell you. Like, we don't have the staff. And um, yeah. That's hard on us too and on them obviously. Because they're stuck in there. But on us it's hard because—for one, they're all asking about it. Two, they're getting agitated. And um, yeah. We're the ones having to deal with that. (P03)

As this participant's words demonstrate, not being able to provide prisoners with recreation time due to staffing issues impacts the overall prison atmosphere and may have consequences for the safety of prisoners and staff. When prisoners are not given time to keep their minds busy, to "blow off steam," or to get fresh air, they become agitated and "officers working the frontline get the brunt of it" (P22).

When asked what rehabilitation looks like for prisoners, many participants responded by discussing access to recreation time and fresh air (in addition, of course, to programming). The vast majority of responses were in relation to recreation and outdoor access—"fresh air is a big one for prisoners' mental wellness and they should be able to receive this daily" (P14). Prisoners require time outside of their cells, to be mobile, to go outside, to be able to get physical exercise if they want it, and to be given such access consistently as opposed to every couple of weeks (which is currently how often it occurs). COs believe time spent outdoors or in recreation can contribute to prisoners' overall rehabilitation and, like programming, keeps them busy during the day as well as reduces the potential risk of violence and volatility in the prison. One participant further suggests that recreation time allows prisoners to "keep their minds off of either why they're in there or how they're gonna get their next lot of drugs to come in or something like that" (P09). This participant also stated, "They're punching hard time as it is, don't make it any worse for them" (P09).

Participants also offered thoughtful suggestions for how to better approach and provide more consistent access to recreation time and outdoor space. P02 mentions, "inmates should have access to rec whenever they want. So, rec yards for them [to] walk in off the range onto their rec yard." Another echoed: "I mean a recreational area that they can access on their own.

Outside time that they can access on their own" (P11). Many of these responses centred around ensuring there is a dedicated recreation space and yard on each range, which would address the issue of not having enough staff to supervise prisoners. Ensuring prisoners have access to fresh air and recreation as a way to "blow off steam" is "good for [their] physical and mental health," in turn, "that should help everybody" (P03). Ultimately, the overall morale in the prison as well as the risk of violence improves when prisoners' mental and physical health are supported.

Mental Health Supports

Mental health and wellness were discussed extensively by participants, who often expressed a serious concern for prisoners' wellness. The inadequate attention to prisoner mental health is an issue that plagues prisons across Canada, as research shows a growing number of prisoners who experience mental health concerns or who have been diagnosed with a mental health disorder (Mental Health Commission of Canada, 2017). Prisoners with mental health concerns or complex cognitive needs may also face additional barriers and challenges related to rehabilitation. To this point, COs adamantly desired more supports for prisoner mental health, recognizing more support will increase the overall security of the institution, including safety for staff and prisoners alike.

Many participants discussed a problematic increase seen in mental health, substance use, and complex needs among prisoners. For example, P03 expressed there is "just so much mental health. [...] It seems like we see a lot more people lately coming in and they're just...their brain is fried. [...] Mental health is just so big, and they're constantly being sent for mental health assessments or they're, you know, going suicidal." Another participant echoed: "These guys are not the same guys they used to be. Their brains are completely fried. And there's so many of them now. There's so many people in our prison who are really more a better fit for a mental hospital" (P13). The lack of community supports during re-entry was also a voiced concern, because prisoners, in consequence, are "in, they're out...a lot of people are coming in because that's the only place they can live or they don't have anywhere else to go, you know?" (P02). In some ways, the prison becomes the "catch all" for individuals who are experiencing serious mental health concerns or cognitive impairments, such as Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorders (FASD). One participant described this as "warehousing" (P06) and, in reflecting on the prison's ability to handle these complex needs, feels that the support is inadequate; prisoners require care from health professionals, not COs. "A serious problem, they should not be jailed, they need to be somewhere else besides our prison [for recovery]" (P06). P06's reflection, resonating with others, draws attention to how prisons are not equipped to handle such severe cases of mental health or complex cognitive needs and disabilities.

COs are also not trained to be mental health workers (i.e., social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists) and may not know how best to respond to complex mental health needs. Participants, like P02, explained they "don't know how to deal with [mentally ill prisoners]. We're not health professionals...we only know to keep them breathing, feed them, cloth them, give them showers, and give them lawyers calls, that's what is expected of us". Thus, despite the many prisoners who are coming to HMP with mental health needs, at the end of the day, COs cannot and should not be expected to do the jobs of mental health workers. As P09 suggests, they are "only taught one way to deal with inmates, no matter if they have a mental illness or they don't. And that's the bad part." This demonstrates a "major gap in services" (P14) for prisoners with mental health needs.

Participants also recognize that how prisoners who are experiencing compromised mental health are handled currently is not always in support of their mental wellness. When "someone's mental health is obviously deteriorating" it is not helpful to "lock them up in an 8x10 cell for four or five days" or even "shining a force of light down on them 24 hours a day because we got to be able to see him to make sure they are safe" (P05). Currently, prisoners in an acute mental health crisis cycle in and out of segregation because their safety must take priority when they are "beating the place up" (P06). The intention is not necessarily one of punishment, but to monitor these prisoners so "they don't self-harm, they don't overdose, they don't physically hurt themselves or others" (P14). The physical design of the prison does not currently, however, lend itself to a more therapeutic or rehabilitative environment for these prisoners. For this reason, several participants expressed the need for a separate, more supportive space for these prisoners, where they will not "feel confined all the time" (P09) and where they may "have the support of a psychiatrist" (P14).

Participants spoke of the need for a "more accommodating" (P09) environment and "better mental health training for staff" (P22). Participants also made clear there should be more supports put in place within the prison—"we need a lot more programming, we need more psychiatrists, we need more addictions counsellors" (P11). These professionals should be more readily available for prisoners to reach out to and for staff to seek out help. P05 suggests there be more collaboration with mental health unit staff and correctional staff to better address the needs of prisoners. Ultimately, "mental health [must be] at the forefront" (P09) of a new prison design, which must involve thorough consultation and progressive changes, while prioritizing the safety and security of prisoners and staff alike.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NEW SPACE

We now highlight how COs envisioned the new facility regarding prison design, particularly with respect to meaningful segregation reform, improvements that can make a difference in prisoner safety, and ideas for new programming to make prisoners' time incarcerated more meaningful, productive, and rehabilitative.

Segregation Reform

Participants spoke frankly about the role they believe segregation plays in preserving prisoner safety and accountability. When asked what segregation's replacement should look like, most participants did not agree that segregation should be eliminated altogether, but their stories varied somewhat regarding their understanding of segregation's purpose, and how segregation should be designed, experienced, and enforced. Though the theme was less common, a select few participants, such as P01, asserted segregation is a useful tool to demonstrate to prisoners there are consequences for their actions while in custody—including when they violate another prisoner or staff who also have worth:

> I'm hoping that's it's going to be something similar that people can be confined to themselves away from the population for a short period, or mediums periods of time, that can be [inaudible]— that can be used to show an offender that you can't just do something, you got to take away some privileges. There got to be an ability to take away the privileges, not make it a better life...Because what's going on in federal corrections now is a lot of these inmates would rather be in these newer models of segregation. They're guaranteed rec time, they're guaranteed living [inaudible] population [inaudible]. They're getting more [inaudible] it's supposed to benefit to go to these units so hopefully that's not the way our model is going to end up.

In this excerpt, accountability is emphasized, especially in relation to institutional safety. The belief described is how using segregation more punitively may deter prisoners from behaving in ways which would constitute a segregative response—it forces prisoners to respect their fellow prisoners as well as staff to avoid consequences. Second, the officer problematizes making segregation "softer" or less harsh to avoid persuading prisoners to want to be moved to segregation, especially if prisoners believe the experience of intense confinement is better than navigating life in the general population or other units.

That said, most participants believed segregation should remain but with significant reform, making it a "friendlier," "nicer," and less harsh practice:

It certainly should be much nicer than it is now. Much friendlier than what it is. There's no reason that it doesn't have all these—same amenities that they would have on other units...because a lot of these folks that are behaving like that, go hand in hand—is the mental health, right? So, you can design it with softer furniture. You know, television...You don't have metal furniture...Right now they don't have access to programming when they're down there. They do but it's behaviour depending. They must be able to somehow avail or have the programming delivered on that unit. They need some things that are instrumental to [help] guys—feel better about themselves or even getting better—such as fresh air and exercise equipment. And access to music or arts...So, whatever way they're creating that space, you can still have a segregated area. Because if that individual is completely out of sync and completely off the wall—because there are folks like that. You can't talk to them and they're just going to be completely uncooperative. At some point some time, they do settle. So, even if you have your segregation space and some are in that same area. Like you open the door and go on the other side of the door. That you have that other alternate room which is like a multipurpose room for them to do arts or listen to music or do exercise or do yoga or stuff like that...And then you have another door that gives them the fresh air. (P04)

P04 is critical of the inadequate and harsher ways segregation is currently practiced. They recognize prisoners can reach a state where segregating them is the only option, for safety reasons, but they believe that segregation could still be practiced therapeutically if designed and practiced differently. Specifically, P04 identifies alternative rooms that could become accessible to prisoners after calming down that, ideally, could provide them with access to fresh air, meaningful and pro-social activities, leisure, fitness, and so forth. The goal being not to further confine or punish prisoners through segregation, but to remove them from an unsafe environment and provide them with a care plan that should, at least hypothetically, improve rather than deteriorate their mental health.

This call for a softer and arguably safer form of segregation was reaffirmed by other participants, such as P05, who stated: "I think for starters more space. I think we still need a segregation and a SHU [special handling unit]. I don't think an abolishment of segregation or the SHU is the answer...I think we need more space to avoid say you know putting for lack of better words piling inmates on top of other inmates." P05 identifies a lack of space as an issue with segregation and custody in general, as "piling inmates on top of other inmates" is not conducive to safety, rehabilitation, or pro-sociality. P05 also mentioned that providing staff with more "flexibility" and resources to provide prisoners with items or experiences such as "phone calls," "coffee" or "tea" would be "immensely helpful" to both staff and prisoners, as current practices cause staff to feel very "limited" in terms of what they can do for prisoners.

In addition to increasing prisoners' spatial permeability and humanitarian items or experiences during segregation, P07, who struggled to imagine in detail an alternative to or

reformed version of segregation, discussed the importance of ensuring that segregation rooms nonetheless prevent self-harm and self-injury:

> I don't know if there is an alternative to segregation to be honest with you…there are times when people are so amped up and out of control and just on max that there's no talking them down and there's no like giving them a cool down in a room where they can hall the sink off the wall or beat out the lights or whatever…so, I know it sounds like archaic and a little bit barbaric to put them in a room when there's nothing for them to hurt themselves with too and that's how I feel. If there was an alternative to it…I mean first thought would be like a room that was padded, we've all seen it on television or whatever…but like basically a room where they can't hurt themselves…I know they're trying to get away from it but just for the safety of that inmate, sometimes that's all there is.

P07 cites the presence of self-injurious practices by prisoners as the central driver for segregation, as placing prisoners in a safe space where they cannot harm themselves may be the only option, if techniques of de-escalation fail. Although they feel the practice appears "barbaric," when weighing safety against confinement, P07 leans towards upholding their responsibility to protect the prisoner from harm. The idea of a "padded" room is consistent with the design of many "safe and secure rooms" in forensic or emergency mental health spaces (British Columbia Ministry of Health, 2012)—where risk to self-injury is lower.

P06, echoing others, describes how the redesign of segregation should create a less stigmatizing and more normalized space: "Maybe if they don't call it segregation, maybe have just a regular looking unit where people maybe are locked in for their time but they get out for a few hours a day in a regular looking unit". P14, like others, envisioned creating different levels of segregation to respond to different incidents and needs:

> I think there needs to be a second level of segregation. Similar to the special handling unit and that's kind of where inmates go if they're suicidal. But you know, maybe it could be a little more aesthetically pleasing. Like, I think fresh air again, getting into these cells is very critical…it would still have to be a safe and secure area but like if someone's having a mental health crisis then it needs to be somewhere where it can be monitored on camera but also you know, maybe the room doesn't look so stark or doesn't, you know, they don't feel like they're being sent down to unit one…that it's not going to be in the basement in the building. Like, I don't know if that will have a different ah, psychological effect on inmates…I don't know how you'd be able to dress that up to make it like safe and secure but also not so damaging for their mental health…maybe there could be like a third form of segregation. Like for instance, we have one inmate now…the only way I can put it is that he like, he seriously assaults other inmates for fun…he's literally almost beaten someone to death and he doesn't, you know, he thinks it's funny.

P14 struggles to imagine a less stigmatizing form of segregation that is also safe. They differentiate between prisoners who may require segregation because of emergency mental health needs and prisoners who require segregation because they are violent, experiencing a violent psychosis or high, who have or intend to assault other prisoners or staff, or who otherwise pose a serious risk to the safety and security of the institution. They acknowledge, again, the "fresh air" component needing to be present in segregation, especially for prisoners with mental health needs for whom segregation should not further contribute to their deterioration or stigmatization, but to recover from an episode of distress. P21 also added that access to "phones," "showers," "windows," and "outdoor" recreation time should be a part of any segregation plan and design. Thus, COs believe a model of reformed segregation is required, one designed to protect prisoners rather than be used punitively and in ways that are not individualized to the various prisoner needs.

Improvements to Prisoner Safety

Participants were cognizant of the many challenges their current workplace posed for prisoner safety, and consequently, they made recommendation for how to better protect prisoners from harm. For example, P14 asserts the need for a prisoner duress system (e.g., "panic button") that would result in quicker emergency response times whereby staff would not have to rely on their own monitoring system or the goodwill of another prisoner, whether that be in the event of a prisoner assault or a medical emergency. Relatedly, they raise the issue of building maintenance and believe their employer could do much more to ensure that the building's All Hazards Plan, such as fire safety, is up to standard as well as all of the institution's technologies, since failures in these areas can greatly jeopardize staff or prisoner safety. P15 presented other measures that could be implemented to reduce prisoner safety impediments, for example, due to concern about boiled water (from a kettle) being weaponized, P15 suggests an alternative mode for hot water provision to the units and recommends installing diverse lighting to counter the contrast between florescent lighting and nighttime darkness. They also express care for prisoners' vision and eyes, as well as comfort during transport, particularly when under duress or in acute situations:

> I'd almost like to see some kind of a line, not even like a dimmer switch, but something that isn't so hard on their eyes…So, the light can be on…they're happy with it being a little bit dimmer and we can still see 'em fine…with regards to our vehicles—I would like to see a covered sally port…when you're bringing an inmate out, you're not gonna have to clean the vehicle off of snow…If we have a hospital escort team and we gotta go right now, are you going to go out and spend 10 minutes coverin'—you know, cleanin' off a vehicle?

P15 believes a balance can be struck between necessary lighting, especially in an emergency, and impinging on the sleep quality for prisoners—mitigating potential harm without sacrificing prisoner rest. Likewise, P15 feels that prisoner transport should not be delayed by car maintenance and preparation during emergency situations.

Mixed Security Living Space

Correctional Services Canada (2019) defines minimum security as institutions with fewer limitations, whereby "movement, association and privileges continue to be monitored and managed by correctional staff with as little restriction as possible. This prepares inmates for their eventual return to the community… [and] promotes personal development, responsible behaviour and interactions with others".
Participants were generally in favour of having different security classified and built spaces, such as minimum-security townhouses for low-risk prisoners. For example, P06 said, "To be honest I'm in favor of [townhouses]… that's much like the idea I had with the people getting out, I mean that kind of stuff is great…just get to see their families and stuff…" However, some participants stressed the importance of staff education around these potential new units and the idea that they should be viewed as an "earned privilege" that could be "taken away" if they did not abide by appropriate use, this includes the prisoners relocation to a more secure unit or living space. P09 also stressed how townhouses could promote reintegration following release:

> There's no harm in trying it…make it—not make it too comfortable so they keep coming back, but make it a little bit easier, more comfortable on them so it's easier for them to go back into home life when they get home…You know, doing the dishes, and cooking their own meals, and this and that. Like, you go home after serving, say, nine or ten months in there of your every meal being given to you at a certain time and all that, and then you try to go home and back to a normal routine, it's probably hard…So, I think a hundred percent it gives them a chance to, you know, reintegrate back and then they're just going, basically, they're moving houses from one house to another.

In addition to better mirroring life in the outside world, P17 spoke about how "positive rewards are better than you know punishments for motivating and helping the inmate rehabilitate." Overall, these passages once again emphasize the rehabilitative and pro-social context many correctional workers want to work towards in terms of prison design, as doing so would provide them with more tools to work positively with prisoners.

In the current report, we present findings based on in-depth interviews with 28 COs with employment experience at HMP. We explored how COs understood prison design, what they consider essential considerations for the construction of the new penitentiary intended to replace HMP, as well as other considerations to improve the conditions within which they work, including training, institutional security, relationships with colleagues and prisoners, and prisoner programming and other needs.

Below, we provide several recommendations for consideration in a new prison design meant to have more positive impacts on COs, staff, and prisoners and to improve the safety and security of the institution, while creating a space more centred on rehabilitation, going forward.

Addressing Staffing Levels: COs have dire and justifiable concerns about staffing levels at HMP. The understaffing crisis the prison faces has had a wide array of problematic effects, including impacting the mental health and well-being of prisoners and staff, safety and security. We recommend a focus on staff recruitment, training, retention, and a hiring strategy oriented toward better meeting the needs of prisoners, to ensure safety, and to improve challenges related to mental health and burnout that are a consequence of understaffing. At the same time, more research is required that investigates the high attrition rates at HMP, the overwhelming intention to leave the occupation, and what measures could be implemented to retain staff.

CO Training: COs voiced a widespread need for more adaptive and expanded training, particularly on the social dimensions of prisons in an effort to better interact with prisoners and be more responsive to their diverse needs. Many participants also stressed the importance of mental health training and available medical personnel to better address the needs of prisoners who experience compromised mental health and psychological distress.

More Mental Health and Wellness Resources, Services, and Programs: Due to the heightened occupational stressors COs face, and the overall lack of mental health supports and funding, more resources should be developed for those working in the prison setting. NL requires a mental health strategy for staff, as well as those incarcerated, that incorporates understanding of the occupational context and work space. When possible, these programs should be tailored to meet the specific needs of staff at HMP and prioritize the concerns expressed by individual COs. Participants requested services such as an on-site psychologist with expertise in the area of correctional services and potentially psychologically traumatic exposure, and more training, availability, and awareness of CISM programs.

Safety and Security of Staff and Prisoners must be Central Consideration in Prison Design: To ensure the safety and security of staff and prisoners alike, the new prison must adequately

address issues such as prisoner incompatibility, the flow/traffic of prisoners, access control, and double bunking. Creating smaller units with fewer prisoners in single cell accommodates will aid in the regulation of prisoner interaction, provide more privacy, and reduce the risk of conflict. In consideration of safety and security, there is also a need for wider cell doors to ensure the safety of staff and prisoners, particularly when prisoners require assistance or when officers are required to deescalate situations to preserve life or safety.

More Education and Training on the Direct (Dynamic) Supervision Model: Participants do not feel adequately equipped, trained, or invested in the direct supervision approach. To increase support for direct supervision approaches, a more thorough and rigorous training model must be developed that ensures COs are aware of the benefits and risks associated with the model. Participants stressed the importance of front-line in-put being accounted for in the implementation of any new security models, and wish to be confident that their needs and concerns will be addressed by management.

Improved Technology in the Prison: The camera system must be updated and maintained to better address blind spots and to ensure the safety of staff and prisoners. Communication systems, such as radios and intercoms, must also be improved to facilitate adequate communication among staff throughout the prison. Participants believe these will increase the precision and speed of coordinated responses and contribute to improved safety. COs requested equipment such as earpieces or iPhones to further improve communication between staff. Also, necessary is that control rooms are not enterable by prisoners to ensure access to the security of the institution is not compromised.

Functional Dedicated Staff Space: Dedicated spaces for staff is an important feature of any workplace design. COs require spaces to hold meetings, debrief, or facilitate social events and leisure during break times. At the same time, many COs highlighted the importance of having recreational spaces to unwind and relax or engage in physical activity. These spaces can help relieve stress, improve communication and social bonding among colleagues, and contribute to positive mental health. Such spaces include access to showers, particularly for decontamination post incident, which are necessary to prevent the spread of infectious diseases and ensure a healthy labour force.

Segregation Reform: Most officers believed that segregation could be meaningfully reformed to accommodate prisoner needs and improve prisoner and staff mental health, well-being, and safety, including access to alternative rooms to get fresh air, access to prosocial activities, leisure, and fitness; more physical space; more staff flexibility to provide prisoners with access to phone calls or items of leisure; and more access to medical professionals to help treat underlying mental health concerns. Segregation reform must be responsive to both the events

leading to such measures being employed and reactive/preventative of the dire mental health outcomes tied to time spent in solitary confinement.

Improved and Available Prisoner Programming: Participants believed in the value of improved prisoner programming and recommended implementing re-entry preparation programs; increased mental health supports (i.e., access to healthcare professionals, more therapeutic environment); more vocational (i.e., trades), educational (i.e., GED), life skill (i.e., hygiene), art (i.e., music), addictions (i.e., AA and NA), cultural (i.e., healing lodges, prayer rooms) and recreation (i.e., outdoors) programs with accompanying staff levels to operate the programs; as well as minimum security units/townhouses to house low-risk prisoners and promote their contact with families and independent function.

Considerations for Sound, Lighting, Air Quality, Sight Lines: In designing the new prison, critical is to consider ways to reduce loudness, to support softer lighting, to improve air circulation and quality, to optimize temperature, and to create infrastructure that ensure sight lines are intact (e.g., high ceiling, curved walls).

Consideration for the Creation of "Training Facility": We urge government to consider staff training in the design of the new facility. There is opportunity to be ground-breaking in that the new prison could be designed with training centralized to ensure a healthier, safer prison space. Applied training will help prepare persons for correctional work, but also exposure to prison during training will help with retention. Training need be considered in developing areas of observation, training cells, control structures, and so on.

Organizational Stress: Organizational stress that tied to shift work, annual leave challenges, management concerns, etc. is rectifiable. Organizational stress is not inherent to the occupation and requires consideration and address to ensure the challenges at HMP do not follow to the new institution. This includes increased staffing to ensure prisoners have recreation time, including access to fresh air. Hungry and uncomfortable prisoners create tensions that can escalate which are all avoidable with compassionate and understanding structures and leadership.

Given that the sources of workplace stress among participants are varied and emerging from different operational and organizational factors, we emphasize how the recommendations put forth by respondents may be tied to different organizational facets, including measures to enhance conditions of work (e.g., improved staffing levels), improve labour security and stability, enhance work life balance, facilitate more positive relations at work between staff, prisoners, and management, and improve staff and prisoner mental health and wellness (e.g., on-site wellness measures, access to mental health resources). Participant recommendations for improvements suggest organizational opportunities to help; however, the respondents also evidenced that

there is no simple or singular solution to many of the problems identified. Embedding wellness and more rehabilitation in the workplace may require inter-connected, but distinct, activities across an array of organizational spheres. We also hope that loved ones of prisoners and staff are considered in prison design—as too often loved ones experience the collateral consequences of correctional work. Thus, we recommend a focus for prisoners on family unification, visitation access, and for staff on supporting COs in order to reduce the stress felt by families due to the working conditions of their loved ones, which will always be risk laden but need not be burdensome. We hope that the findings of this report can be used to promote wellness strategies moving forward.

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