



**Guards' and inmates' perspectives regarding
communicative dynamics in smaller jail context**

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Abstract

Objectives: To provide a comprehensive understanding of the communicative dynamics between guards and inmates, and of the role that these dynamics play in a small (≤ 50 inmates) jail context. Specifically, to look at the perspectives of inmates and of guards about communication dynamics between them. **Methods:** We conducted individual semi-structured interviews with all 33 inmates and 18 guards who accepted to participate in the study. The interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed into a word document and content-analysed in NVivo10. **Results:** General agreement existed between guards and inmates on their communication being frequent and good (not only about questions and problems regarding the jail but also about personal life and difficulties), which was often attributed to the small prison size. Both parties considered communication and relational qualities of the guards (e.g., respectful treatment, caring), and even guard's routine morning greeting, as effectively preventing problems such as suicide, offenses to other inmates or guards, drug trafficking and riots, by increasing guard-inmate proximity, leading to personal disclosure, and thus to extra knowledge on current states of mind, problems and difficulties which can then be addressed with talking, practical solutions or referrals. These qualities allow guards and inmates to bond, creating what they described as a family-like environment. There were some aspects in which guards disagreed with inmates e.g., not treating inmate by name is disrespectful or the effects of reclusion on inmates' communication. **Conclusions:** Guards should have in mind the importance of communicating with inmates' in a respectful manner to avoid problems and provide a safer, secure and easy manageable environment.

Resumo

Objectivos: Fornecer uma compreensão mais abrangente das dinâmicas comunicacionais entre guardas e reclusos, e o papel que estas dinâmicas tem em um estabelecimento prisional pequeno (≤ 50 presos). Especificamente, olhamos para as perspetivas de reclusos e de guardas sobre as dinâmicas comunicacionais entre eles. Métodos: Foram realizadas entrevistas individuais semi-estruturadas com todos os 33 reclusos e 18 guardas que aceitaram participar no estudo. As entrevistas foram gravadas, transcritas em um documento de texto e o conteúdo analisado com NVivo10. Resultados: Guardas e reclusos entram acordo que comunicação nesta prisão é frequente e boa (não só acerca de questões e problemas relacionados com a prisão, mas também sobre a vida pessoal), que foi muitas vezes atribuída ao pequeno tamanho prisão. Ambas as partes mencionam a comunicação e as qualidades relacionais dos guardas (por exemplo, o tratamento respeitoso, assistência à família), e até mesmo a rotina dos guardas pela manhã, como factores que previnem eficazmente problemas como suicídio, ofensas a outros reclusos ou guardas, tráfico de drogas e motins. Estas qualidades permitem aos guardas e reclusos relacionarem-se, criando o que eles descrevem como um ambiente familiar. Houve alguns aspetos nos quais guardas não concordavam com os reclusos, nomeadamente: não tratar os reclusos pelo nome é desrespeitoso, e relativamente aos efeitos da reclusão na comunicação dos reclusos. Conclusões: Os guardas devem ter em mente a importância de comunicar com os reclusos de forma respeitosa para evitar problemas e proporcionar um ambiente mais seguro e fácil de gerir.

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1) Introduction

Prison traditionally had an incapacitation function over the individuals. Rehabilitation was not the goal (Sykes 2007). During the 1950s and 1960s, rehabilitation was seen as a promising approach to reducing recidivism. However, after 230 evaluations of offender treatment, in 1974, Robert Martinson arrived at the conclusion that ‘nothing works’ in reducing recidivism (Bonta and Andrews 2007). Martinson’s work propelled the ‘get tough’ movement in jails. This movement increased incarceration rates and time spent in prison (Andrews and Bonta 2010). Foucault (1975) states that the prison has the role of distribution and cataloging of inmates’, taking from them as much time as possible so that they can become docile bodies useful for society.

‘Get tough’ movement however, had hardly any impact on offender recidivism and, in some situations, actually increased it (Bonta and Andrews 2007). Programs that adhere to the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) model have been shown to reduce offender recidivism by up to 35% (Andrews and Bonta 2010). Hence the importance of rehabilitation, and this approach (see Risk Needs Responsivity; Bonta and Andrews (2007). This model describes: a) who should receive rehabilitation services (moderate and higher risk cases), b) the appropriate targets for rehabilitation services (criminogenic needs), and c) the powerful influence strategies for reducing criminal behaviour (cognitive, social learning).

The application of the law concerns the protection of legal interests and the reinstatement of the agent in society (Portuguese Penal Code, 2015). The jail does not have the sole purpose of punishing crimes, but a purpose of rehabilitation for a future re-entry into society. The goal of contributing to inmates’ functioning properly in society will depend on conditions that limit the detrimental effects of detention itself,

including inmates' rights, needs, and activities (van Zyl Smit and Snacken 2009). Staff behavior is one that influences inmates' experiences of quality of prison life more significantly than other contributing factors, such as jail design and material conditions (Crewe, Liebling and Hulley 2011).

Many studies focus on the dynamics constructed between guards and inmates', examining variables such as fairness in treatment, respect, empathy, ability to listen and Problem resolution (e.g., Haney, Banks and Zimbardo (1973); Liebling (2011); Crewe (2011); (Beijersbergen, Dirkzwager, Molleman et al. 2015); Molleman and van Ginneken (2015). Guards' attitudes in their daily contact with inmates' can influence their experiences of incarceration (Johnsen, Granheim and Helgesen 2011). However, staff and inmates' may have different perceptions and perspectives on the indicators of confinement quality such as security, safety, order, care, activity, justice, and conditions of management (Logan 1992).

Johnsen et al. (2011) tested the assumption that smaller jails equals more quality of life and better relations between inmates' and guards. In both Europe and the US, small jails have less than 50 inmates' AJA (2015) and Johnsen et al. (2011). In Europe, medium prisons have between 50-100 inmates', and large prisons have more than 100 prisoners. In the US, medium prisons have a 50- to 249-bed capacity, large prisons have a 250- to 999-bed capacity, and mega prisons have a 1000-plus bed capacity AJA (2015). Johnsen et al. (2011) concluded that larger size is a factor that increases problems in prison.

Small institutions are better regarding efficiency, and quality because problems can be more visible to staff and, therefore, more easily resolved (Johnsen et al. 2011). Small jails had a significantly higher score than other size jails in 'Relationship with jailers' and less 'Social distance' (Johnsen et al. 2011). Inmates' in small jails rated their

relationships with officers significantly better than jailers in medium or large jails. As for guards in the small jails, nearly one-third mentioned that in their working environment their relationship with inmates' as one of the three most positive factors (Johnsen et al. 2011).

Studies such as (Beijersbergen et al. 2015, Blagden, Winder and Hames 2014, Crewe 2011, Johnsen et al. 2011, Stinchcomb 2011) reveal the importance of treating inmates' with respect, dignity and with the adoption of empathic strategies in communication. From this point of view, communication plays a central role in the dynamics between guards and inmates'. Crewe et al. (2011), in particular, suggests that studies should look at staff's attitudes behaviors, practices, and boundaries.

Greater emphasis on staff training and interpersonal communication skills can help diminish the potential for overreaction by inmates' (Stinchcomb 2011). This focus helps fulfill one of the jail objectives, the rehabilitation. Since guards spend much of their times interacting with inmates', effective interpersonal communication skills are an essential ingredient of their work. The manner in which guards build their relationship with inmates' can determine whether they can proactively control inmates or whether they will have to use harder measures to achieve the same goal (Stinchcomb 2011).

To be available to listen can work as a 'safety valve' that might prevent violence (Stinchcomb 2011). Therefore, this ability can be an officer's most effective asset. It represents building a two-way dialogue, more than simply issuing orders and commands. Active, non-evaluative listening can be stronger than reactive manners in reducing inmates' frustration, anxiety, and tension. (Stinchcomb 2011).

Blagden et al. (2014) also mention the importance of the positive attitudes of the staff and high belief that offenders could change their behavior promotes offender

rehabilitation in offending behavior. Meeting one of the purposes of today's jail. Constructive relationships are critical, not just for therapists, but for all jail staff in contact with jailers. One relational aspect between inmates' and guards that appears critical was that relationships were genuine (see Crewe (2011)). Therefore, providing a safe and constructive environment can facilitate change.

Reisig (1998) suggests three types of prison management approaches: i) control, ii) responsibility and iii) consensual models. The control model concentrates the power of authority in prison staff; the responsibility model gives back some power of control to inmates', and the consensual model balances some aspects of the other two models.

DiIulio (1990) saw the differences among the approaches as a reflection of the assumptions jail administrators make about the appropriate use of power to control inmates' and to encourage cooperation among jail staff and inmates'. In the control model, staff uses firm, strict controls on all aspects of the penitentiary life. According to Reisig (1998), this control model did not generate significantly lower rates of disorder than did prisons using the other models. In fact, responsibility model and consensual model jails 'reported lower levels of serious and less serious disorders'.

Therefore, the cooperation of the jailers is fundamental to exercise the control over the prison (Craig 2004). Guards are people with power, not over big things but things that matter like mail (Willet 1983).

Crewe et al. (2011) found some issues about the relationship between staff attitudes and inmates' quality of life. Hence, problems arise if staff are too anti-management and anti-jailer or too favorable towards inmates'. Therefore, they recommend guards to be confident, know the boundaries, be clear, be vigilant and knowledgeable instead of cynical, petty, disrespectful and preoccupied with control. The first can contribute to higher levels of safety and fairness.

Though these studies consider important aspects, each deals with one or only a few of the variables, but not with all of them. For a better understanding of prison dynamics, these variables need to be considered together and analyzed in a qualitative manner. Such an approach allows the exploration of communicative dynamics and of their importance in prison life based on the experience of the main actors. The purpose of this study is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the communicative dynamics between guards and inmates, and of the role that this communication plays in a small prison from the point of view of inmates and of guards. Specifically, we ask i) What communicative dynamics emerge between guards and inmates in a small jail?; ii) What is the importance, or the effects of these communicative dynamics on prison life?; and iii) What needs to be improved regarding communicative dynamics? We compare the perspectives of guards and of inmates regarding these aspects. Such a comparative approach is lacking in the literature despite its importance for the understanding of how guards' and inmates' needs and views agree and disagree, or how important the aspects are and for whom.

Communication comprehends diverse aspects and can assume many forms. This study focuses on the interpersonal communication that represents the exchange of information between two or more people (Reece and Brandt 2008), the face-to-face communicative interactions between two or more individuals (Clark 1996), in this case between guards and inmates'.

2) Methods

2.1) Procedure

To understand small jail communicative dynamics from the point of view of their actors, this study consisted of a qualitative approach based on semi-structured

interviews with inmates and with guards in a small prison. Qualitative research seeks understanding of the nature and form of the phenomena, to unpack meanings, and requires the inclusion of appropriate populations who can illuminate and inform what we are researching (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). We took a criterion-based approach to sample selection, choosing participants who enable detailed exploration on the topic under study (Patton 2014, Ritchie and Lewis 2003).

This qualitative study involves conducting semi-structured interviews with inmates' and guards of a small jail context. The interviewing process occurred between January and March of 2016 in a small jail in the north of Portugal. The Directorate General of Rehabilitation and Prison Services and the Warden of the Jail authorized the study. The two researchers are external to the prison, and participation was voluntary and anonymous. All inmates and guards who agreed to participate in the study signed an informed consent form (Appendix V).

2.2) Sample

At the time of this study, the prison had 20 guards and 40 inmates. Eighteen guards (two of whom were women) and 33 inmates accepted to participate. Most inmates and all guards had previous experiences in bigger prisons. Due to prison restrictions, other information on the sample was unavailable.

2.3) Instruments

The semi-structured interview is one the most used techniques of data collection in qualitative research (Flick, von Kardoff, Steinke et al. 2004, Mack, Woodson, Macqueen et al. 2005, Rubin and Rubin 2005). Respondents are guided by the interviewer, and the interview allows exploration and clarification of the aspects from

the point of view of participants. We created an interview guide according to the purposes of our study (Appendix VI). This guide was pilot-tested and content analyzed with a former inmate before the study interviews began in the jail.

2.4) Analysis

We tape-recorded all interviews and transcribed them into a word document. A content analysis was then applied to the data in the software program NVivo 10. The two researchers independently analyzed the interviews, and final coding was reached through consensus. Guards' and inmates' interviews were analyzed separately to enable the extraction of more information on each party's perspectives, as well as the comparative analysis.

3) Results

The themes emerging from the interviews were organized in the following categories, expressing guards' and inmates' views: i) communication in the prison, ii) quantity of communication, iii) quality of the communication, iv) topics of conversation, v) communication as re-education, vi) listening and problem resolution, vii) effects of privation time on communication, viii) aggressive physical contact and communication, and ix) the guard-inmate relationship: guards' qualities. We start with inmates' perspectives, then present the perspectives of the guards', and finally provide a synthesis of points of agreement and disagreement between the two groups of perspectives. We identify inmates with an I and guards with a G throughout the text.

3.1) Inmates' views

i) Communication in the prison

Most inmates described the atmosphere of this prison as different from others. A recurring theme was that inmate-guard communication is more proximal than in other prisons due to the small size of this jail. According to the inmates, this leads to guards and inmates spending much time together, which creates a family-like atmosphere (“In a small setting like this, everything becomes very family-like. [This jail] is a very particular and special case.” [I27]).

Lack of inmate discrimination, mutual respect and being treated by name and not by number are part of this special communication (“There is no discrimination” [I20]; “There is a lot of respect between guards and inmates. We respect them, and they respect us” [I16]; “Treatment is by the name. We are all treated by our names.” [I18]). According to inmates, this proximal communication contributes to guards possessing a good sense of whom each inmate is, leading to increased trust in the inmates because they can distinguish between those who are more and less dependable:

Trust is established because there are few inmates, and the guards get to know the inmate and the inmate’s reaction. And they already know who they can expect to escape or not. [I6]

This trust is mutual and helps prevent conflicts and the use of coercion (“There is mutual trust, there are no conflicts with anyone” [I16]; “Even ... going outside to run errands with these guards, they treat me in a totally different manner. In [a different jail], they are all armed, afraid that I’ll run away” [I10]).

An increased sense of protection arises, and the way in which surveillance mechanisms are explained contributes to this sense of protection (“When people know

each other, they tend to respect each other in a safer and more efficient manner” [I7]) and,

They explained that they had to defend from violence and that in other prisons there is no safety. Then I really understood the reason. First, I thought it was a Big Brother, a reality show, a ton of cameras and always watching. [I1]

Finally, according to inmates, communication is vital in preserving the good atmosphere of the prison (“I think so. Because all communication is important. It is communication that can give a good or a bad atmosphere to a jail. [I27]). Talk and playfulness, in particular, help inmates go through their incarceration times (“If the guard talks with the inmate and even plays and we laugh, that is good ... because it doesn’t make this so heavy” [I10]).

ii) Quantity of communication

Most inmates’ consider that communication with the guards is constant on the premises (“Whenever we are not locked” [I12]; “Practically all day” [I1]). Others pointed times and places at which communication tends to occur: at the cafeteria, in the morning or the last part of the day, and when going out with guards.

Inmates also said that the amount of communication depends on the guard. Some guards are more communicative than others (“Depends on the guards on duty” [I16]; “Hum, no. I mean, there are some guards with whom I talk a little bit more. But nothing special. Nothing special. [I12]). The amount of communication also depends on the inmate’s personality (“It is rare, I do not speak much, I am very isolated” [I18]; “We all have different needs for communication” [I3]).

Most inmates did not have any complaints regarding the amount of communication with guards, considering it to be sufficient (“Communication between guard and inmate is sufficient in this jail” [I2]; “They have to give us messages, or call us, or open the gates. It is a good communication. I never had any complaints” [I5]). One inmate considering that communication with guards was insufficient, explained that it nevertheless meets inmates’ needs, without necessity for more (“It is not sufficient. There isn’t an intention to create it, and even we ourselves don’t have that necessity ... I don’t have much necessity to talk” [I3]).

Whereas communication inside the jail is mostly considered sufficient, some inmates reported that communication with the exterior is largely insufficient, with consequences for the relationships outside (“With the exterior, they are clearly insufficient. We can’t keep bonds because of the lack of communication ... We are entitled only to a five-minute call per day” [I2]).

iii) Quality of the communication

Most inmates agreed that there is plenty of communication between guards and inmates in the prison, that communication is “already very good, for a jail” [I11] and that, like life in the exterior, it depends on affinities (“One relates ... more to some than to others. It’s like, in every group, it’s a matter of affinities, even inside the jail.” [I10]) and, for some, on a bit of strategy (“Sometimes, things should stay with you. Those things that can harm you more than they can help” [I23]).

Several aspects contribute to this “very good communication”, all producing a sense of dignity in the inmates. These include lack of discrimination by the guards and respect for the inmates, regardless of their crimes, treatment by the name and not by a number, and communication adapted to each inmate (“We are all equal, here. There

are no first-class and second-class prisoners, we are treated with respect and dignity” [I11]; “Everyone likes to be treated by the name . . . It’s luck that it’s that way here, they treat us by the name” [I8]) and,

They have to adapt their speech to each inmate, regardless of the crime he committed . . . You’re not going to act foolishly with a guy who never harmed you. The way they approach each of us is adapted. [I26]

Non-verbal communication is also important (“It’s more the way they talk, I think, their attitude when they talk” [I16]). Thus, some guards deliver orders as “indications”, more than as orders,

And the guards are polite. It’s not, “Go to your cell!” They are a bit more polite, “Look, it’s time to go to the cell.” There is that concern on their part in the way they treat us. [I1]

Explaining the orders is important for some inmates,

Some tell us that it has to be that way for this reason. Others tell us, “It’s this, period.” They don’t explain. And when we stay ignorant, it’s bad. I think it’s important to say why. [I13]

especially because they might find it difficult to receive orders (“It’s this f** life, it’s like they are my bosses. In the beginning, it was complicated” [I1]). Inmates can also side with guards when it is apparent that guards deliver orders against their own will,

They follow their superiors’ orders. If they say it has to be like this, guards have to do it, even if they tell their superiors that it’s going to create problems . . . that it’s not the best or the most correct [choice], but he has to apply it. [I3]

Additionally, guards communicate worry about the inmates, providing instrumental and emotional support (though some inmates noted that this caring attitude might come naturally for some guards, but it is an obligation for others). They

listen, give advice and solve problems (“Having a conversation, giving us advice, that’s the best . . . They are always calm and listen to us, and that’s really important” [I31]; “I talk with them [guards]. They communicate and solve [the problem] on time” [I2].

In inmates’ views, communicating with dignity has positive effects on the prison’s functioning. It increases inmates’ involvement and trust, as well as their respect for the guards (“If we want to talk with guards, they are really our psychologists, sometimes we open up with them” [I13]; “There is that respect, but also that friendship. One is correct with them, They also are with us” [I12]). Dialogue and guards’ calm attitude leads to increased well-being in the prison and helps to prevent problems:

[Guards] help you. For us, it’s very good, even their dialogue. They are very calm. Some, I almost consider like they’re my parents . . . If they see someone arguing, they go there and talk with them, all cool. They calm them down and do a very good job at it. It’s to preserve an atmosphere of order and peace. [I22]

Even daily greeting plays an important role in inmates’ views, and some inmates direct their greeting at guards and higher ranks alike. Gate-opening “good-morning”, frequently accompanied with a handshake between guards and inmates and often repeated later in the morning, works as an ice-breaker and gives guards an idea of inmates’ good nature (“To create a good atmosphere for guards and show them that perhaps I’m not who they think I am. I’m good.” [I15]). Even though there are faults with the greeting methods,

I don’t like when they call me James because I’ve always been called Jim or Jay . . . There are people who don’t shower, people with no hygiene, who are dirty. Even I wouldn’t like to shake a hand like that. [I1]

greeting also provides a sense of normalcy (“It’s as if I were at work outside ... everything is good” [I10]).

iv) Topics of conversation

According to inmates, conversations with guards are about life and shared interests, such as sports, current issues (“Everything: current issues, what’s on television, certain situations outside, a bit of everything” [I33]), family and work. Guards open up too (“Even guards talk about their families and children” [I28]). Life in prison, including trials and criminal law, are also topics of conversation, and guards act as consultants (“Guards take me to court sessions, and I don’t understand. So they read the document to me and ask if I understood. And they explain” [I29]; “About the court, to be calm, temporary leave from prison, and how the court session went” [I33]).

v) Communication as re-education

Inmates view communication with guards as “extremely important” and as part of the re-education process. Constant communication and guards’ availability are beneficial (“Guards are always available. That is always good. It’s beneficial for re-education” [I10]). Guards give concrete advice about life outside the prison, making inmates think of the crime (“Guards say, ‘change your life, be wise’, and in that sense of socialization, they help a lot” [I19]; “And we think, ‘Is it worth it to be away from the family?’” [I21]). However, communication with guards is not enough for re-education, in inmates’ perspectives. Life circumstances (job market, the amount of debt) also matter (“You don’t learn anything good in here. If your life was already f*** outside, after you leave jail it’s even worse. And then we come back and there are no alternatives” [I8]). In some inmates’ views, more contact with the exterior would help re-education, namely by better allowing maintenance of relations (“From

the perspective of reintegration, there should be more contact with the outside. Communication with the guards is sufficient in this jail. They are clearly insufficient with the exterior” [I8]).

vi) Problem resolution

Inmates consider that communication is necessary to resolve problems, but problem resolution depends on the guards (“Guards who are well with themselves try to resolve things as quickly as possible and don’t let them drag. Communication is necessary for things to work well [I12]”). Nevertheless, problem resolution was generally described as effective (“A very good response, very good. We have an order, and it’s a jail with few of us, you just request and quickly we are called to solve the problem. No complaints about that” [I8]). In addition to the small number of inmates, effective problem resolution was attributed to guards’ availability to listen, to establish an alliance with, and accept inmates (“Their complicity with us in the sense of respect and acceptance. They are people who listen and treat us well” [I23]).

vii) Effects of reclusion time on communication

Most inmates reported that communication changes with time. Inmates go through a process of adaptation, and, usually, bigger sentences lead to more communication with guards (“Here, no one is the same way as when they entered ... My communication with the guards changed, it became adapted” [I14]; “In the beginning, it was hard... Often, I had to learn and adapt. I think I got better” [I1]). Some inmates indicated that they had become less communicative, more isolated and less aggressive (“I became calmer, more isolated” [I18]). Some also reported becoming more mature (“What might have changed is that I have grown and gained maturity” [I12]).

The amount of time in reclusion matters: inmates become tired, and the burden of the loss of freedom is difficult to overcome (“Many things have changed, you don’t know what it is like to really want a fried egg ... or to catch a little sun” [I14]).

Few inmates reported that their communication did not change during reclusion (“I maintained myself the same as when I entered” [I10]).

viii) Aggressive physical contact and communication

Inmates revealed that aggression from guards occurs in the prison when situations cannot be ignored, to maintain security and to ensure compliance. In these situations, guards rightly need to use force (“Their reaction is well founded ... If we are there and chairs start to fly, it’s a matter of security” [I1]; “Guards like to help, but they also like that people comply” [I13]). Inmates pointed out some critical factors that could lead to aggressive physical contact from guards. These include inmates’ fights, ignorance of, or forgetting rules (“Many people forget rules and protest, and they get into trouble. All unnecessarily” [I13]), and guards taking issues personally (“He caught me outside the cameras’ vision and, holding an iron, required satisfaction, whether I didn’t like him” [I17]). Some inmates suggested that providing information can replace aggression:

Since I saw [a bottle] in another inmate’s cell, I put some in mine too. [When the guard] saw the bottles ... he pushed me ... He said, “You can’t do anything right!” I told him I didn’t know [that it was forbidden], that he could have communicated, he didn’t need to push me. [I17]

In inmates' perspectives, the effects of guards' physical aggressions on guard-inmate communication depends on the fairness of the act for the inmate ("If the inmate sees that the guard was right, he even apologizes and respects the guard more. But if he thinks it was unfair, then communication with the guard worsens" [I29]). But most inmates stated that they never saw or experienced the use of force in this prison ("Not in my experience here" [I11]). Regarding coercion, society can be harsher than the prison ("[I've suffered coercion] in life, not in this jail. We are all coerced ... by society. It's inevitable." [I10]), and coercion can be mutual between guards and inmates:

I can say without a problem that inmates can also do that [coerce] to guards. Abuse of power comes from both sides. That usually doesn't happen, but I've seen situations like that. [I3]

Like for physical aggression, inmates stated that threats and coercion from guards happen when situations cannot be ignored, to force compliance (an example of how coercion could be felt was, "If you don't do this, I'm going to hit you, punish you, like probation or other measures" [I1]), or for personal reasons ("Only one guard, I think he doesn't like me ... He comes with unpleasant conversations" [I17]). Coercion is also rightly applied when an inmate mistreats guards ("If an inmate mistreats a guard, he has to retaliate ... The guard isn't going to hit the inmate, he goes by the rules, reporting, filing a complaint, punishments, processes. And for the inmate, that's terrible" [I1]).

The general experience, however, is lack of coercion in this prison, and close proximity with the guards, instead ("It's not normal for guards to do that [coerce].

They create a more family-like atmosphere” [I10]). According to inmates, this lack of coercion is not specific of this prison (some “issues are normal in jail” [I24]), rather “You should keep yourself way from trouble” [I24].

ix) The guard-inmate relationship: Guards’ qualities

Guards’ qualities that contribute to a good relationship with the inmate were, in inmates views, human qualities such as being humane (“Humanity is something that underlies everything, it’s a basic condition” [I14]), possessing a sense of justice (“I feel that they look at me as a person independent of the crime you are condemned for” [I4]), treating all inmates equally (“To treat everybody the same, even though we are all different” [I23]) and being polite (“First of all, be polite” [I14]).

Professional qualities that emerged from the interviews were competence (“The competence ... interpersonal communication skills and a trusting attitude” [I10]) and availability (“They’re professionals. They’re always available to help the inmate when we need.” [I11]). One inmate offered, “Opening doors, that’s their most important function [laughing]” [I1]).

Communication qualities also emerged in the interviews. These included being communicative, warm (“Guards that talk, that aren’t closed, that aren’t cold, that are more fun, in good mood” [I1]), patient (acting calmly, intervening only at the right moments: “Sometimes it’s better that they do not intervene” [I5]), leaving personal problems outside (“If they have a fight with the wife and then unload on the inmates, that’s terrible” [I2]), maintaining mutual respect and a non-judgemental attitude (“Regardless of any crime we have committed, I think that treating us with dignity is the best” [I12]). Providing psychological social, and spiritual support was also viewed as a crucial quality of the guards:

They come to us and ask if we are calm and if everything is fine. The guard asks if you are better, that is very good. There is no need for violence, on this subject they are actually very good. [I20]

As a result of these qualities, guards and inmates bond:

We start a friendship ... Some of them are really great, “Do you want to go for lunch?” “Sure!” Really good people, the best. There’s a guard that now is in [another prison] and once in a while I send him a letter, we create these bonds. [I15]

3.3) Guards views on communication

i) Views on communication in the jail

Guards state that this is a different jail, a smaller jail, that favors communication and creation of a family-like environment:

In this jail, there is much more communication between guards and inmates’ because it is a different and small environment. We treat everyone almost as part of a family ... We live most of the inmate's problems. That does not happen in other jails [G1]

Everyone is respected, and inmates’ treated by his names wich according to guards decreases discrimination (“Being called by the name they feel less discriminated.” [G2]). Compared to other jails guards say, inmates’ fell more protected and trust them more: (“At affection level, they can feel more protected”[G2]), (“ Sometimes talking with them they open up and trust us more because we are few” [G1]).

The proximity increases knowledge and alertness to inmates' problems reducing the use of coercion and the re-entry level due to the availability of the guards ("It is better because we end up knowing their problems. That turns us more aware"[G4]), ("I felt that in here the use [coercion] is vastly less than in a bigger jail ... it is the inmate that makes the jail ... in bigger jails they are more violent and try to create more problems" [G4]).

Guards pointed that this proximity can be a problem resulting in abuse of trust from part of the guard and part of the inmates ("Some contexts and words can be used which are no longer proper." [G15]).

One of the other problems was because this jail receives inmates' that are not yet convicted. This increases the chance for them to create problems and revolts themselves ("The ones that are not convicted are angry and revolted this can cause problems." [G12])

ii) Views on the quantity of communication

Communication was constant on the premises ("All day we are dealing with them" [G1]). Some places emerged as boosters of communication: the cafeteria ("Only at mealtimes. Maybe in the cafeteria for example." [G2]), the morning time ("In the morning we started the day and are more available. At night we hung up a little and want to come outside." [G6]), and when guards and inmates' were more together ("When we more are together, I communicate a bit more sometimes also because if there is anything to solve they come to me to solve the problems." [G2]).

Most guards stated communication levels as being sufficient ("In my case, it is capable of being. Because of the time I spent with them, may be sufficient in my case. Others I do not know." [G4]).

Few guards pointed that some inmates' complaint about communication being insufficient. Guards said that they cannot be at all places at once and don't do more because they do not have the means ("I try to solve some things that concern me, but I am not omnipresent. I try to solve and do not like to leave things behind." [G4])

iii) Views on the quality of the communication

Greeting according to guards is a double greet process with a good morning and a handshake. When they open gates, they always say good-morning. Usually, in the cafeteria, most inmates' handshake the guards ("They come to the cafeteria and most of them greet us by handshake"[G5]). For guards, this results in icebreaking effect for inmate ("Yes, the inmate feels better, becomes freer and not so shy. So he approaches more." [G11]), allowing an increased proximity between parties and helping guards assess how inmates' are feeling ("By saying is everything okay? It is a way to know if they have a problem that affects them or so." [G1])

One guard said that the downside is that this proximity can lead to abuse and sometimes they need to maintain a necessary distance ("However, one must always be careful in this regard. We have to know how to keep distance. The guard fulfills a function, and the jailer is doing what it deserves." [G3]).

Most guards stated that they never saw that abusive trust in this jail and that inmates' greet guards out of their good will ("Sometimes excess of trust can overcome this barrier that has to exist between guards and inmates'. Here it never happened." [G3]).

Guards also said that greet is a way for inmates' to seek respect from guards ("I think it is very important for them to feel that they are respected." [G3]). According to

some guards, communication can be little too much (“Communication in this jail is plenty and sometimes a bit too much [laughing] ”[G7]).

All guards admitted that their communications between parties went according to their definitions of dignity. Excluding when calling for visitation, they always treat inmates’ by their name (“I know all their names, not their numbers”[G1]). Guards also said that they adapt their communication to the inmate's characteristics: type of crime, amount re-entry in jail (“They are all the same, but I cannot treat the same an inmate that keeps on robbing and raping and one that had one misfortune in life”[G7]). Guards stated that in this matter it also helps that there are some flexible guards and some more hard to create a balance in order.

Guards solve most of the inmate's problems sometimes going beyond their jobs (“[Regarding Problem resolution] They come to us ... it is not our job but it is important . . . we do everything, nurses cooks, boss, Warden.”[G6])

Most guards admitted to giving good advice on inmates’ every time they asked. In particular, according to one guard (“I intervened and said: ‘talk because to the judge, he wants to know, and he will take years off your sentence’. He spoke. And the judge took him two years of the sentence.”[G6]).

One of the most fulcrum points for guards was that inmates’ have a need to be heard. Listening to them is a powerful tool because they tell guards everything. This also helps to reassure inmates’ and prevent them from going into distress

When the individual commits suicide, he does not want to kill himself he wants to end his problems and suffering. . . . ‘My mother, my father.’ Now if we let him call the family to ask something they immediately change. ‘Hey! If you do that’. They immediately stay better. We can not send them back [G16].

In particular, since this jail has preventive inmates' some of those would rather be cuffed and next to a guard than in their cell alone so they can talk ("I've had people who preferred to be handcuffed near the guard than to go alone in the cell. Once I stayed an hour and a half talking to an inmate." [G1])

All guards referred that they do not need to give many orders, just some pointers. When they do give orders, normally they never harm inmates' dignity and are according to rules ("They are therefore orders within the jail environment. Regarding the inmate's situation and my personality. These are orders that do not hurt the dignity of the person." [G5])

For guards, it helps that inmates' understand the orders, and they normally do because it is a common sense of the jail ("If he does not take the order he can ask why, and we explain." [G2]). Guards mentioned that when they study to be guards, they are taught to give imperative orders. In this jail, they need to adapt

Of course, of course, whether we like it or not when we study to be guards they taught to give imperative orders but in this jail, we need to adapt since there is not a reason to give orders that way most of the times. Because they obey [G5]

This kind of care and treatment to inmates', according to guards helps prevents problems, increase respect and jail wellbeing ("It helps to create a wellbeing, prevent problems and helps better jail environment." [G9]), ("Yes it is important, they feel more confident, feel more involved more respected." [G2]).

Guards state that inmates' feel more involved and can get more respect from them ("In here we can get much more respect, there is no doubt." [G4])

iv) Topics of conversation

Guards reported that most topics are themes that you also talk outside jail environment. Sports and football were the most recurring topic (“We share their interest. Normally we talk about football.”[G5]). They also talked about current issues like catastrophic events, security, politics (“Current issues, security, all sort of thematics. Professional situations or political. Day-to-to things.”[G9]).

About life in jail, family and the difficulties of being arrested was a frequent topic as well as trials and criminal law (“They come to us and ask us what do we think of their criminal process; we give our opinion” [G1]).

v) Views on communication as rehabilitation

Guards stated that in this matter they almost did the work of the social worker because inmates’ were longer periods of time communicating with guards than the social worker

Talking with him is key. It is really, really important. The individual says: ‘no guard has ever handshake me before’. They come here distance from society, why should we maintain that distance? How will we rehabilitate the individual marginalizing him? [G16]

Guards stated the importance of this environment in rehabilitation, although they are aware that life circumstance outside matter:

I see many cases of success and failure that does not have to do with communication. We give advice. We do our part. At least the minimum. The free will out there, cannot get a job, his wife left him. He had nothing and now has nothing, is almost a snowball. A mountain of problems that he can not manage and ends up coming here [G4].

vi) Views on listening & problem resolution

Most guards reported that they quickly dealt with the problems of inmates'

Here is the service is completely different. It is like riding the subway in rush hour and ride the subway in normal time. Here they can more easily resolve issues because there are few inmates' and access to the solution is simpler. That does not happen in a bigger prison where responsiveness is not the same. Here are few inmates' and it is easier to solve certain problems. [G2]

Some guards preferred that inmates' file a petition to solve their problems because that way everything stays written, and it is easily forward.

vii) Views on the effects of privation time on communication

According to guards, inmates' begin to know guards and other inmates' better over time. They also start to understand how the jail system works and how to move around. This is even more present when inmates' are career criminals

No doubt a first timer. The first time is a situation then they start to be savvy. Jailers know the guards. They know the jail. And when they do, they deepen

communication and knowledge on one another. . . . Communication between them on that aspect of reintegration does not change them. Their knowledge of things is what causes them to change. The connection between guard and inmates' remains the same. [G5]

Some guards point that over time inmates' become less aggressive

We have examples of aggressive inmates' with the guards and colleagues that cause a lot of problems in other prisons, and they changed completely. Because of the attitude of the guards in this jail, the conditions that exist here causes them to change completely and not give problems. [G3]

Short sentences for some guards was not enough to cause a change in the individuals.

More time in jail equals more interiorization of the sentence

A condemnation of 5 years does not internalize the punishment. They come here to take a vacation . . . 'I will be here 15 years I have to do something to get more positive so I can access privileges for good behavior.' [G2]

Guards pointed that the number of successful probation should indicate the individual deserves a chance to get parole. They state that this helps to break the bond to society because they keep coming back to jail when probation ends

Sometimes they do not come back because of that; it does not happen in the firsts probation, they flee on the others. It increasingly costs more to come again and

again to jail. They go eight days outside and come back worse ... then they begin to break more bonds because they keep coming back inside jail [G1].

The number of relapses of inmates' represents less change in their communication that is why they try to work first-time inmates' better

It begins to be more problematic when they keep coming back. Two three or four times, this will be their life. The first time you may want to work them better for them not to come the second time [G4].

Due to human stability, some guards think inmates' do not alter much ("If there are changes? Probably not many. I think they all come men already. They come with an all made education. I think that they change very little." [G6]).

viii) Views on aggressive physical contact and communication

Critical factors according to guards are the refusal to accept orders from guards. In this situation, they need to use the coercive methods sometimes force ("And when they do not carry orders, and they exceed limits we have to resort to using coercive means. Physical force being one of those means." [G7]). Guards recognize that sometimes if there is the excessive force, they lose reason:

It can have a negative or positive impact, depends on. If there is excessive zeal in physical strength, we lose the reason. The inmate ends up being right because he wanted to speak and the guard would not let him speak jumping to aggression. [G3]

There is also the case that some inmates' are naturally violent by themselves ("Due to the system, and the violence of the inmates'. There are inmates' who are violent by nature." [G7]), or have secret agendas behind their bad behavior, for instance, if they want to change jail ("I remember an inmate who a time ago wanted by force, with violence and aggression to be transferred to another jail." [G3])

One critical time for physical contact is lunch time since they are more together there ("At time for lunch. Here is a critical hour. In all jails is a critical hour." [G2]) Preventing factors of violence according to guards is listening to inmates' and preserving a calm attitude

It is talking that we understand what the inmate as to say. Being able to hear the inmate above all. If we do not listen, it can become worse later. Now if we listen and we take things calmly. Eventually, they calm themselves. [G3]

Inmates' also have a limited power because most inmates' do not want any trouble, so even if one inmate seeks problems, it is dissuaded by guards numbers

The inmates' reach a point that he sees that he has no chance and gives up . . . If the thing is too complicated, a guard will ask who wants to go to the cell? Those who want to go are closed. Then, those who did not want to get in the cell we talk with them and solve it. [G5]

For guards, it was important to have more formation in coercive means and tactics of approach ("Our training in coercive means is not regular. And there should be more training in informing about coercive means." [G5]).

According to guards coercion occurred when situations cannot be ignored. Against organized gangs inside the jail and inmates' conflicts. Their coercion was using force to end the problematic situations ("At first, we had some gangs, and these were rather problematic." [G1]), ("He tried to frighten an inmate violently, and he put a knife to harm another inmate. We see this, and we can not accept. We had to be harder on him but nothing special." [G4]).

Sometimes inmates' feel frustrated and can create problems that lead to coercion by guards. One guard referenced that yelling is a form of vocal coercion sometimes used to end problems:

Hmmm, coercion, verbal yes, in rather extreme moments, I have had from time to time to give a yell, and it is all over. Finished. It is a coercion not in the sense of coercing but to stagnate a problem [G2].

For guards, inmates' see the closing time as coercion over them ("The former director closed earlier and the next day there was a group of inmates' had to go in a disciplinary cell. Today everything is calmer" [G1]).

Adverse effects of threat and coercion are characterized by guards as changing the relation between guard and inmate ("The connection with the inmate can no longer be the same" [G8].) A colder kind of respect seems to emerge after situations of this sort ("Looks like they lose their joy. It is a different kind of respect" [G4]). Daily proximity to inmates' does not seem to facilitate to forget these issues ("Here is the problem that we deal with the inmates' every day and it is not so easy to overcome and forget a more complicated situation." [G2])

Most guards point that normally coercion and threat are overcome with time. They become distant at first but then they apologize and come back to normal behavior:

After a while, they apologize. For example 'oh guard I am sorry, you did your job I should not have brought a phone inside'. Moreover, I say 'this to me has been something that you had the unfortunate luck of getting in too.' And then they return to normal [G1].

Most guards also pointed that in this jail they never felt the need to use coercive behavior or threats to inmates': ("Here lately no. In here now is calm." [G1]); ("No, not in this jail, no." [G2]).

ix) The guard-inmate relationship: Views on guards' qualities

Human qualities mentioned by guards were: being humane: ("First of all one must be humane." [G1]), possessing a sense of justice ("I think the sense of justice is very important." [G6]), treating all inmates' equally ("Treat everyone equally." [G1]), being honest and transparent, ("Honest. For me is enough. Honest and serious. [G7]), being humble and polite ("It must be honest, humble and polite mainly." [G11]).

Professional qualities were: Being competent and disciplined ("Be suitable, respectful and have discipline." [G9]), leaders of men, assertive:

In particular, the jail guard has to be a good leader of men. What is a good leader of men? It must be an example regarding person he is. It must be assertive. It must be positive. Especially must be assertive [G2].

To be incorruptible

In here you are dealing with people with behavioral problems if you are not correct, and upright you will have many situations where they will try to corrupt you somehow. If you are an honest person, there is no chance ... Be incorruptible. You may not have a price if you have a price you are a bad element and can not do anything in jail [G11].

To enjoy your job ("Above all think I could put the priority is to like what is done first. I think it's crucial we like what we do." [G8]), keeping up with new crimes: ("We do have to join the maximum number of characteristics and keep ourselves updated. The type of crime is changing, and we have very intelligent inmates'." [G2]), and establishing good communication ("We must be prepared for it all. We must be good communicators transmitting the message clearly." [G14]).

Communication qualities were: acting calmly not irrational ("One is what I always say. Not having the 'heart in mouth'. Have to put the heart aside and not bring trouble here." [G5]), and maintaining an open dialogue with respect for boundaries

Maintain an open dialogue with the inmates' but you know it has a limit. It is not a highway and we stop when is needed. There is a barrier. They know it. They are inmates' we are guards [G10].

Not showing softness to inmates' and not judging them by their crimes. With inmates' provide psychological, social and spiritual support ("A guard has to be a physiologist, and educator, a priest." [G2]).

They also found necessary to bond:

There may be one or two whom I sympathize less, but as far as possible I have nothing against them. Now it is logical that there are some we like more. I maintain contact with them. Tomorrow when you leave jail we can have lunch together, coffee. We created bonds of friendship [G5].

3.4) Comparison between guards' and inmates' views on communication

Many themes on communication were common to both inmates and guards. Points of disagreement were comparatively fewer. In particular, inmates and guards who had experienced other prisons tended to take a comparative approach to the various settings that they knew. Generally, they considered the atmosphere of the current prison completely different from the others, and special in many ways. They referred the size of this prison as having an enormous effect on communication, suggesting that its small size is conducive to increased contacts between guards and inmates:

In the other prisons, there was almost no communication between guard and inmate. Here, everything is closer together, almost like a family ... this doesn't happen in other, bigger prisons. [G1]

The number of inmates was another important differentiating factor for guards and inmates. Both pointed out that the smaller number of inmates in this prison increased communication and trust between the two parties ("There is trust because we are few inmates, and guards get to know us better and our reactions" [I6]). Other aspects that both guards and inmates highlighted as specific to the current prison were treatment of inmates by name (not by number) and greeting ("good-morning" and "good-night", often with

handshakes, when opening and closing the gates, respectively). The handshake between guards and inmates was described as occurring naturally in this prison and as having positive effects (“I personally always extend a handshake to the guards ... I have this habit. For me, we become closer. We feel safer” [I29]).

Guards’ availability to listen to inmates and to solve their problems also emerged as a factor positively associated with communication that is specific to this prison (“Above all, their complicity, respect and acceptance of us. They are people who listen to us, who treat us well” [I23]; “We are few inmates, and it’s easier to solve certain problems” [G2]). Finally, this prison jails inmates waiting for trials, and guards consider that this can sometimes raise problems:

This jail has one drawback. This is a pre-trial detention prison. When inmates are already convicted, they don’t want trouble so that he can take advantage of everything for good behavior. Half sentence, parole. The ones who are not convicted are angry and revolted. This can cause problems. [G12]

i) Communication in the prison

Both inmates and guards considered that the prison had a family-like atmosphere (“We treat everyone almost as part of a family ... We live most of the inmates’ problems. That does not happen in other jails” [G1]); “In a small place like this, everything becomes very family-like. [This jail] is a very particular and special case.” [I27]). Both parties mentioned that inmates are treated by their names, that mutual respect prevails, as well as less inmate discrimination, more inmate protection, and guards’ better knowledge of inmates than in other prisons (“There’s no discrimination” [I20]; “There’s a lot of respect between guards and inmates. We respect them, and they

respect us” [I16]; “At an affective level, they feel more protected” [G2]; “Sometimes talking with them, they open up and trust in us more because we are few” [G1]).

Agreement between the two parties also emerged regarding the proximity created between guards and inmates having advantages and disadvantages. For inmates, this proximity is positive, and communication is vital for maintaining a safe atmosphere, although, since guards are very close, it can be more difficult to punish certain inmates when they misbehave. Guards stated that the proximity could lead to less use of coercion. However, it can also make guards more susceptible to inmates’ abuse of trust. Guards additionally mentioned that the revolt of inmates who are not yet convicted could be problematic.

ii) Quantity of communication

Most guards and inmates agreed that, comparing to other jails, communication between them is very frequent, occurring randomly at various times of the day, in any place (thought more likely at lunch time, recess and before closing time). A few guards and inmates referred that communication was insufficient. In these cases, it was either because the inmate admitted being reserved and introverted or because guards admitted lacking time and other resources (e.g., clothing for inmates) (“I could do more if I had the means. This jail does not have funds available.” [G4]).

Only inmates referred that communication was or not necessary (“I don’t have much need to talk” [I3]) or insufficient with the outside. Guards viewed the frequent interactions as both beneficial and potentially problematic. Frequent contact with inmates provides guards with better knowledge of potential problems, which can then be prevented through anticipation. However, guards noted that attention to a specific inmate decreases their surveillance over the others. Only the guards reported that it is

sometimes difficult to listen and attend to inmates because of other tasks to which they also need to attend. But some of the inmates were also aware of this issue and only addressed the guards when they were more available.

iii) Quality of the communication

Both inmates and guards pointed out that communication is abundant between guards and inmates. Communication begins with the opening of cell gates (with a verbal good-morning from guards, reciprocated by inmates if they are awake). Both parties also agreed that greeting with a handshake is common and plays an important role in the relation between guards and inmates. For inmates, this is a function of icebreaking and of showing guards their good nature. For guards, the handshake (accompanied by “How are you?”) has the function of assessing inmates’ states.

Only inmates pointed out the occasional lack of hygiene that could lead guards to avoid extending their handshakes to inmates. Only guards observed that this kind of greeting could produce too much proximity, and that maintaining some distance is important to avoid abuse of trust.

Treatment with dignity was a very important element for both guards and inmates. For inmates, being treated with dignity represented guards respecting them, treating them by the name, being polite and non-discriminative. Guards agreed that it is important to call inmates by their names and treat them all equally (“We treat them all with dignity. Treat everyone equally no discrimination. That’s basically it. What exists is for everyone or is not for anyone” [G10])

Guards and inmates also agreed that guards adapt the way of talking to the specific characteristics of the inmate. They adapt words, their speech and the amount of trust

in the inmate, depending on whether the inmate enters the jail for the first time or has been entering and exiting the system for some time:

Humm, honestly the dialogue happens in day-to-day contact, and we analyze [inmates]. We act, analyze, talk. If we see that someone doesn't deserve our trust, we cut our trust. [If] this person is serious and landed jail like anyone else, then we can offer them trust. Inmates are all equal, but inside, as people, we have to adapt according to the inmate. Although they are all the same. An individual who spends his life entering and leaving jail, robbing and raping, I cannot deal with him in the same way that I do with a person who had a misfortune in life and who is a person and has a normal personality. [G7]

Guards pointed out that placing trust in an inmate is a matter of establishing boundaries. They need to understand if the inmate is going to understand that trust or if he is going to use it for his benefit.

Inmates and guards agreed that guards provide support to inmates. When inmates have problems, they mainly resort to the guards, who typically either resolve the problem or refer it to someone who can ("There are few of us, you just place the request and we are quickly called to solve the problem" [I8]). Guards concurred that they are the ones in prison who are closest to inmates, thus inmates can easily first come to them for a solution and then file a petition.

Guards and inmates agreed that they did not need to give/receive many orders. Also, when given, these orders do not hurt inmates' dignity ("They normally obey, I don't give many orders" [G6]; "I don't receive many orders, we know what we have to do. It's as if I'm working and they're my bosses" [I1]). Inmates pointed out that,

when receiving an order, it helps to know why they are being asked to do it and said that guards were aware of this, since some did it.

Both guards and inmates consider that communicating with respect and dignity has positive effects in the prison's atmosphere, and guards pointed out that treating inmates with respect will lead inmates to return that respect to the guards ("There is respect but exists friendship. A person that is correct with them they will also be with us." [I12]).

One inmate reported that some of the guards were false, though, and only tried to keep up appearances, treating inmates well when in their presence, but calling some inmates names (e.g., rapists) behind their backs. Accordingly, some guards admitted their difficulty about tolerating some crimes (e.g., child abuse), and they seek distance from the perpetrators as a coping strategy.

iv) Topics of conversation

Guards and inmates agreed that they share several interests which become topics of conversation, namely sports, family-related issues, work, trials and criminal law. Most inmates stated that they like to discuss their cases and sentences with guards due to the latter's' experience, and guards corroborated, usually listening, giving their opinion and helping.

The lawyer kept saying to him not to speak, but then I intervened and said, "Talk, because the judge wants to know, and he will take years off your sentence." He spoke. And the judge took him two years off the sentence. Maybe if it were another guard, he would not care, not all guards are the same and create the same relationship with them. [G6].

The two parties additionally mentioned that they talk about the difficulties of being arrested. Only inmates referred that sometimes guards also open up with inmates regarding their own problems.

v) Communication as re-education

Guards and inmates agreed that the guard is always available to help the inmate, to listen, to talk, and give advice, and both mentioned that this empathic behavior has a very positive effect in reducing re-entry:

We have the ambition to re-socialize. The individual is in the mud, and that's why we have to put ourselves in the place of others. "I'm a bandit, I'm this, I'm that." Talking with him is key. It's really, really important. The individual says, "No guard has ever shaken hands with me before." They come from society with distance, why maintain that distance here? How will I socialize the individual if I marginalize him? [G16]

Guards and inmates alike referred that, though conversations between the two parties help re-education, it is not enough, and life circumstances also matter. For example, sometimes the individual keeps on going back to jail because there are no alternatives outside ("It's a mountain of problems they cannot solve, the wife left him, he has debt, and no one employs him" [G4]).

Only inmates complained that the contact between the jail and the exterior was avowedly insufficient, and also that guards have the effect of making them think about the crime committed ("In the perspective of reinsertion, there should be more contact

with the outside. Communication with guards is enough in this jail. With exterior is clearly insufficient” [I8]).

The reduced conflict and coercion in this jail, according to guards is important in re-entry in the society. Guards described bigger trust on inmates’ and less use of coercion.:

Guards almost do the job of the educators. We are closer to [inmates] and talk to them. In this jail, we do more than educators. Educators listen to inmates from time to time, and guards are always listening. Several days with the same guard. A person unwittingly knows things. They feel at ease with the guards and tell us their lives. They leave this jail different [than when they came in]. [G1]

vi) Problem resolution

Both parties agreed that mechanisms in this jail for resolving problems are efficient due to small number of inmates (“It is a jail that there are few of us, you just request and quickly we are called to solve the problem.” [I8]). Guards and inmates also affirmed the importance of guards listening to inmates’ problems as key to solving them. Only inmates pointed out that some guards are more intended in resolving problems than others: (“Depends on the guards, most of them solve it quickly and don’t let it drag.” [I12])

vii) Effects of reclusion time on communication

Guards and inmates agreed that more time in jail entails increased knowledge of the inmates’ regarding the jail environment and guards. Also, with time, inmates’ aggressiveness decreases and their communication becomes more adapted. Most

guards said that inmates do not change much, but very few inmates described themselves as being the same way as when they entered the jail. Inmates considered that they become more mature, less communicative, tired, and that new desires appear (“Many things have altered, you do not know what it is like to really want a fried egg or to catch a little sun” [I14]).

Only some guards pointed out that short sentences sometimes are not enough for the the sentence to be interiorized by the inmate and cause a change in behavior. Most guards pointed out that the number of probations can break the bond with society. It is difficult for inmates to come back after being outside for a few days. According to guards, the more inmates relapse, the less they change during incarceration.

viii) Aggressive physical contact and communication

Most inmates and guards said that the need for force and coercive methods is very little or inexistent. Inmates agreed with guards in some critical factors that potentiate aggressive and physical contact. Refusal or forgetting to accept orders, guards ending fights or problems that emerge between inmates, guards taking matters personally or not listening. Only guards mentioned lunch time as a critical time for aggressions to occur, and only they referred that some inmates are naturally violent.

Regarding factors preventing the use of physical aggression in the prison, guards mentioned the key function of listening to the inmates and having a calm attitude when addressing these issues. They also mentioned inmates’ limited power in the prison. Inmates referred situations of fairness: the importance of treating everyone equally. If they perceive guards to be right when using force, inmates respect them even more.

Most guards and inmates reported that they never saw the use of coercion in the prison. For guards, coercion is used to end problems in specific situations and to

address complicated inmates- or gang-related issues. Yelling was one of the emerging methods of coercion. Inmates stated that coercion also comes from society, and guards can coerce inmates as inmates can coerce guards. Inmates agreed with guards that typically coercion from guards occurs as a means to end problems, or security is at risk or if guards are insulted. Only one inmate stated that a guard coerced him for personal reasons: (“ I think he does not like me because I’m Brazilian” [117]).

ix) The guard-inmate relationship: Guards’ qualities

Guards pointed out that they needed more resources, and also that they cannot be omnipresent. Some inmates and guards pointed this jail as an example of communication. Both added that other prisons should adopt this level of communication and treatment of the inmate.

Guards and inmates’ contributed with many suggestions to what communication should be, and what characteristics are important to find in guards from bigger prisons. They provide examples of what their experiences in this smaller jail are and give suggestions on what is important to be extrapolated to other bigger prisons they experienced before. Both parties highlighted the human qualities of the guards: sense of justice, equal treatment of inmates and politeness. Guards added: honesty, transparency and humility.

A professional quality common to guards’ and inmates’ interviews was competency. A joking inmate stated the importance of guards opening doors. Guards added: to be incorruptible, to enjoy the job and keep up with new crimes.

Communication qualities that both guards and inmates thought were important in guards were: Being communicative, calm, non-judgemental (especially based on crimes committed), providing psychological, social, and spiritual support, and the

ability to bond with inmates. Inmates added mutual respect and patience. Guards added avoiding being soft with inmates, acting rationally and good leader of man.

4) Discussion

Our purpose is providing a more comprehensive understanding of the communicative dynamics between guards and inmates', and the role communication plays in a small jail life environment.

i) What communicative dynamics will emerge in smaller jail context and are they similar\diffent from bigger prisons?

Most inmates and guards described the atmosphere of this jail as different from others. A recurring theme was that inmate-guard communication is more proximal than in other prisons due to the small size of this jail. According to the inmates' and guards, this creates a family-like atmosphere where guards and inmates' spend much time together.

Most inmates' did not have any complaints regarding the amount of communication with guards. From the experience of other bigger prisons, inmates' and guards, described communication as stressful, distant and insufficient. This goes according to Johnsen et al. (2011) which concluded that prison size is a factor that increases problems.

Valentine (2010) found that inmates especially miss being able to communicate without constant surveillance. In our study, one inmate, in particular, said that the cameras at the beginning were difficult to adapt, describing jail almost like a 'big brother'. Then, guards explained him and he understood it was for the safety of everyone, now he barely notices the cameras.

In this jail, both parties pointed the lack of inmate discrimination, mutual respect and being treated by name as important features in communication. When talking about other bigger prisons, both parties described that inmates' were treated by number and not name. Although, only inmates' complained of bigger prisons discrimination on the number of convictions, type of crime convicted and no respect from guards. Guards said they did not need to treat inmate by name to respect him but confirmed it was easier to get respect in this small jail than in a bigger one. This confirms the results of Johnsen et al. (2011) that inmates' in small jails rated their relationships with officers significantly better than jailers in medium or large prisons.

Regarding dignity guards and inmates reference these communication aspects: Greeted with 'good-morning' & 'handshake,' non-verbal communication, solving inmates problems, giving them good advice, worry about inmates and listening to them. Studies such as (Beijersbergen et al. 2015, Blagden et al. 2014, Crewe 2011, Johnsen et al. 2011, Stinchcomb 2011) reveal the importance of treating inmates' with respect, dignity and with the adoption of empathic strategies in communication. Guards and inmates in our study appear to confirm this importance.

When compared to other prisons both guards and inmates' said that in bigger prisons exist 'good-morning' with the opening of cell doors but no 'handshake' at that time or even during the day. Few guards mentioned that in bigger jails they only handshake inmates that work and have been in jail for long. Guards and inmates' also stated that in bigger prisons it is impossible to communicate since there is just too many prisoners. Both agreed communication in larger prison is insufficient.

Giving more indications than orders was something crucial that emerged from both guards and inmates'. ("And the guards are educated, is not 'go to the cell', they are a bit more educated: 'Look it's time to go to the cell'. There is concern from them

in the way they treat us.”[I1]). According to inmates and guards explaining the reason of some orders can help the way orders are carried. According to inmates orders can sometimes be difficult to receive. In bigger prisons, inmates stated that orders were direct, and they just have to follow even if they do not know why. Both parties confirmed that in this smaller jail they could ask the reason of the order if they do not know already and everything would be clarified.

According to Lahm (2009), to keep prison staff safe, officials need to pay closer attention to the actual balance of guards to inmates. Our study goes in the same direction since guards and inmates pointed the ratio inmate\guard as vital for preserving a safer environment in jail generating trust and respect between the parties.

Despite the harshness of prison context, assaults on staff are still very personal and psychological in nature (Lahm 2009). In our study most inmates’ stated that they never saw or experience the use of physical strength. This might be explained by the bond created by guards and inmates. Since both parties did not mention personal problems with each other hence the reduced number of assaults reported.

There was one inmate that complained. He stated the guard could have talked with him and did not have the need to use force and verbally insult him to resolve the issue with the forbidden item. Only inmates’ said that bigger prisons were very insecure. According to inmates and guards violence and problems came from inmates to inmates and not between guards and inmates. For inmates bonding with inmates’ and providing them psychological social, & spiritual support is seen as a vital quality of the guards that was not present in bigger prisons.

According to Crank and Brezina (2013), the ‘pains’ of life in jail are many and have been well documented. In our study, we found that some of these pains do appear evident in this smaller jail context: Loss of freedom, fear of victimization, limited

contact with family and friends, and other deprivations (Fleisher 1995, Rocheleau 2013, Santos 2003)

I wanted to switch cells, but I was afraid of going to the bathroom. I was really afraid. Then went to talk to the guard and explained what was happening. He turned to me and said: 'Mr. C you can ask to switch cells, no one will mess with you, you will have no problem at all'... Later I found out that the guard went asking to see if anyone was messing with me.[I20]

Communication in this jail helped inmates' fell more secure and reduce the fear of victimization. We also found inmates' that complained about the amount of communication with family and loss of freedom.

According to Visser and O'Connell (2012), all of the family-related variables were significantly related to optimism among inmates' about returning to the community. Family support, the number of children and being married were all associated with higher levels of optimism, while family dysfunction, domestic drug use and incarceration, was related to a less optimistic outlook. In our study, we corroborate the importance of family to inmates'. Both guards and inmates described this jail has a family like environment and family was a frequent topic of conversation between the parties. Also important was the way guards communicated and acted with their families during visitation.

They are fantastic, and even my family only speaks well of them. For example, with my father, there is a funny story. Has my father had mobility problems and had a loosened cord in one of the shoes, the guard tied the cord of the shoe without

him even asking. They are so polite, they respect. My family also treats them well.

[I7]

Bonta and Gendreau (1990) suggested a positive relationship between social density and physiological indicators of stress and subjective reports of discomfort. With the introduction of age as a moderator, they showed a correlation between population density in prison and misconduct (Bonta 1986, Ekland-Olson, Barrick and Cohen 1983, Flanagan 1995). Both guards and inmates referred stress and discomfort whenever comparing the density of inmates' in larger prisons compared to this smaller jail.

I came from a bigger jail. This here is paradise, the Ibis Hotel of the corrections facilities. An environment of 400 or 600 so you can access drugs and knives [referring to bigger jail]? Here we are all the same, no difference between inmates' convicted once or twice. We are treated with respect and dignity. What more can we ask?[I21]

Most inmates' referred the size of the jail and how guards communicate with inmates' has the success for having close to none problems of security. We can see the inmate compares this smaller jail to a Hotel. According to inmates' and guards in this jail, they have treatment with respect, dignity, and safer environment compared to others to bigger prisons.

Carceral and Bernard (2006) found that the higher a staff person[guard rank] is, the more that person tends to use communication that emphasizes force coercion, including communication that is insulting and degrading. Our findings diverge in this

matter; most inmates' did not describe their communication with guards this way pointing out their good communication, trust, and respect. Although, one inmate pointed that one guard caused him trouble and had insulting and degrading communication with him: ("One of the guards does not like me, perhaps because I am Brazilian. He comes with unpleasant talks, but I respect his uniform" [I17]).

ii) What is the importance\effects of these communicative dynamics in smaller jail?

Liebling, Arnold and Straub (2011) found that some prisoners had developed relatively trusted relationships with staff who actively listened to them, responded honestly to their requests and offered support. Our study goes in the same direction hence the proximity, ability to listen and family-like environment increased mutual trust between guards and inmates'. Both shared the opinion that this helps to prevent conflicts and the use of coercion and threat. Useem (2006) found that prison systems could turn from order to disorder, or the reverse, fairly rapidly. By altering the relationships among prison management, staff, inmates order can be maintained or lost (Homel and Thomson 2005, Useem 2006). Guards and inmates pointed that this jail this happens for example when a guard's excess use of force they lose the respect of inmates and can cause more problems. Although when force is well used he wins respect from the inmates.

Inmates' also stated that guards communication and their playfulness, in particular, helped them go through their incarceration times smoothening the weight of privation. From inmates' experience, our study confirms Crewe et al. (2011) and Johnsen et al. (2011) findings, that guards behavior is one that influences inmates' experiences of quality of jail life.

Overcrowding, quality of food, regrets about the past, concerns about the future, and following rules were negatively associated with misconduct (Rocheleau 2013).

According to guards and inmates' since these problems are smoothed in this smaller jail. Although some inmates point their difficulty in following orders and concerns of the future.

Both parties said that communicating with dignity produced an increased prison well-being. It contributed to breaking fights with listening, calm attitude, dialogue and also increased trust and respect between the parties. This corroborates what Stinchcomb (2011) found that guard's availability to listen could work as a 'safety valve' that might prevent violence. According to inmates and guards, some threats are normal in a prison environment. Active, non-evaluative listening can be stronger than reactive manners in reducing inmates' frustration, anxiety, and tension. (Stinchcomb 2011).

Most inmates and guards reported that communication changes with time. Inmates go through a process of adaptation, and normally bigger sentence leads to more communication with guards. On the other hand, some inmates' indicated that they had become less communicative, more isolated and less aggressive. The amount of time in privation matters because inmates' become tired, and the heavy weight of the privation of freedom is very hard to surpass. Some guards and inmates' reported that communication does not change much during incarceration time.

Inmates see communication with guards as part of the rehabilitation process, constant communication with guards and their availability is beneficial: ("Guards are always available. That is always good. That is beneficial to rehabilitation."[I10]). Inmates' stated that guards advise to life outside jail help socialization. Guards agreed in this matter but referred that the problems inmates have outside make it very complicated to rehabilitate.

Inmates described that effective Problem resolution could be achieved by being few inmates' in jail wich allowed guards more time for them and faster process.

Incarceration weakens social ties, causes the deterioration of employment and social functioning skills. Being away from the community is linked to more institutionalization and fewer community-based connections, as time in jail depreciates human, social and financial capital (Tonry 2004, Wolff, Shi and Schumann 2012, Wolff and Draine 2004). Guards in this study also referred that the during successful paroles it stayed harder each time to come back to jail. This is explained by breaking the bond with society coming back to jail repeatedly. Inmates complained of insufficient contact with exterior and family.

According to Wolff et al. (2012) Serving three years in jail before release has a shorter depreciation period than someone who served three years but also served five years on a previous conviction. They suggest that multiple short convictions in jail combined have a cumulative effect on time away from the community. Listwan, Hanley and Colvin (2012) found similar results, significant predictors of unsuccessful termination from parole were: some felony convictions, prior violence, among others. In our study, guards point that more convictions can increase time away from the community:

It begins to be more problematic when they keep coming back. Two, three, four times this will be their life. The first time you may want to work them better for them not to come the second time. . . . We give very good advice to them . . . we do our part. At least the minimum. . . . It is almost like a snowball. A mountain of problems that they can not manage and end up coming here. [G4].

Jail is suffered by some inmates' as highly punitive; other inmates' experience time in prison as being easier than life outside (Akerstrom 1985, Crank 2010, Laub and Sampson 2009, Wood and Grasmick 1999). Our study found few inmates' that life in jail is easier over life outside:

I am here for almost three years now. Will make three years soon. I never had to change the voice; never my requests were misunderstood ... That is funny. Problems? Problems I do not have them. I had them when I was outside jail [laughs]. It sounds easy, right? I am talking serious, in here I have no problems [I22].

Carlson (2013) States that a well-run institution is clearly one that has open communication, less tension among staff members, and between guards and inmates'. Major riots and disturbances have often resulted from a lack of understanding and open communication. Our findings point in the same direction:

They have more knowledge of the inmate because here, you know. Every night they hit the iron bars of the cells. Many guards do not go through my cell. . . . It is a trust that is established because there are few inmates', and the guards can get to know the inmate and the inmate's reaction. They already know whom they can count. And they know who can escape and no [I6]

More knowledge to prevent disturbances and to better manage inmates' reactions.

Misis, Kim, Cheeseman et al. (2013) found that prison guards who saw inmates' as being manageable had lower levels of stress. Our study corroborated since guards

consider their communication with inmates' helps them know inmates' better-avoiding disturbances and facilitating their job.

Guards who see inmates as devious are worried about being assaulted, being manipulated by inmates' that works as a job stressor (Misis et al. 2013). We found similar results because guards often referred to other bigger prisons having more inmates' with devious intents when compared to this smaller jail. They agreed this jail has a calmer and less stressful environment due to the communication and trust between guards and inmates'. Inmates' and guards pointed some critical factors that could lead to physical contact: forget the rules and creating problems.

Views of inmates' as being amiable was positively associated with job stress for guards (Misis et al. 2013). Our study diverts in this matter since for most guards inmates' who are amiable did not appear to raise their stress levels, on the contrary. Although, there was one guard that pointed inmates' being too amiable is because they are trying or plotting to get something so guards should conserve their distance.

Prison guards are commonly worried about inmate violence, overcrowding, and prison gangs (Black 2001, Finn 1998, Higgins, Tewksbury and Denney 2012, Misis et al. 2013, Rocheleau 2013). Fear of being assaulted; violent incidents among inmates' is a source of stress for guards. Our study did not show this since guards and inmates' shared the idea that this jail there is close to none physical assault, threats or coercion. This was largely explained by them as creating a family-like environment with excellent communication trust and respect. Disrespect is the leading cause of violence which inmates commonly fight over (Butler and Maruna 2009, Owen, Wells, Pollock et al. 2008, Trammell and Rundle 2015). In our study, guards and inmates agree that respect plays a vital role in preserving a safe environment.

There is evidence that female staff may have a calming effect on male inmate aggression because they are more inclined to use their interpersonal communication skills (Stohr, Walsh and Hemmens 2012). Our study supports this finding not only on female guards but also male guards. Both reported that if you cannot control an inmate by 'word' it will be even harder to control by force.

iii) What needs improving regarding communicative dynamics?

A curious finding was most inmates' did not point anything that could be improved regarding communication with guards in this jail. Guards pointed they needed more resources, and also they cannot be omnipresent. Some inmates' and guards pointed this jail as an example regarding communication. Both added that other jails and prisons should adopt this level of communication and treatment of the inmate.

Guards and inmates' contributed with many suggestions of what communication should be, and what characteristics are important to find in bigger prisons guards. They provide examples of what their experiences in this smaller jail are. Moreover, suggestions on what is important to be extrapolated to other bigger prisons they experienced before. Both parties pointed human qualities of the guards: Humane, sense of justice, equal treatment and polite. Guards added: honest, transparent humble.

Professional qualities in common were competent. Inmates' stated the importance of opening doors. Guards added: to be incorruptible, enjoying the job and keeping up with new crimes. Communication qualities in common were: Communicative, calm, not judging by crimes committed, providing psychological, social, spiritual support and the ability to bond with inmates'. Inmates' added, mutual respect and patience. Guards added, not being soft with inmates', acting rationally and good leader of men.

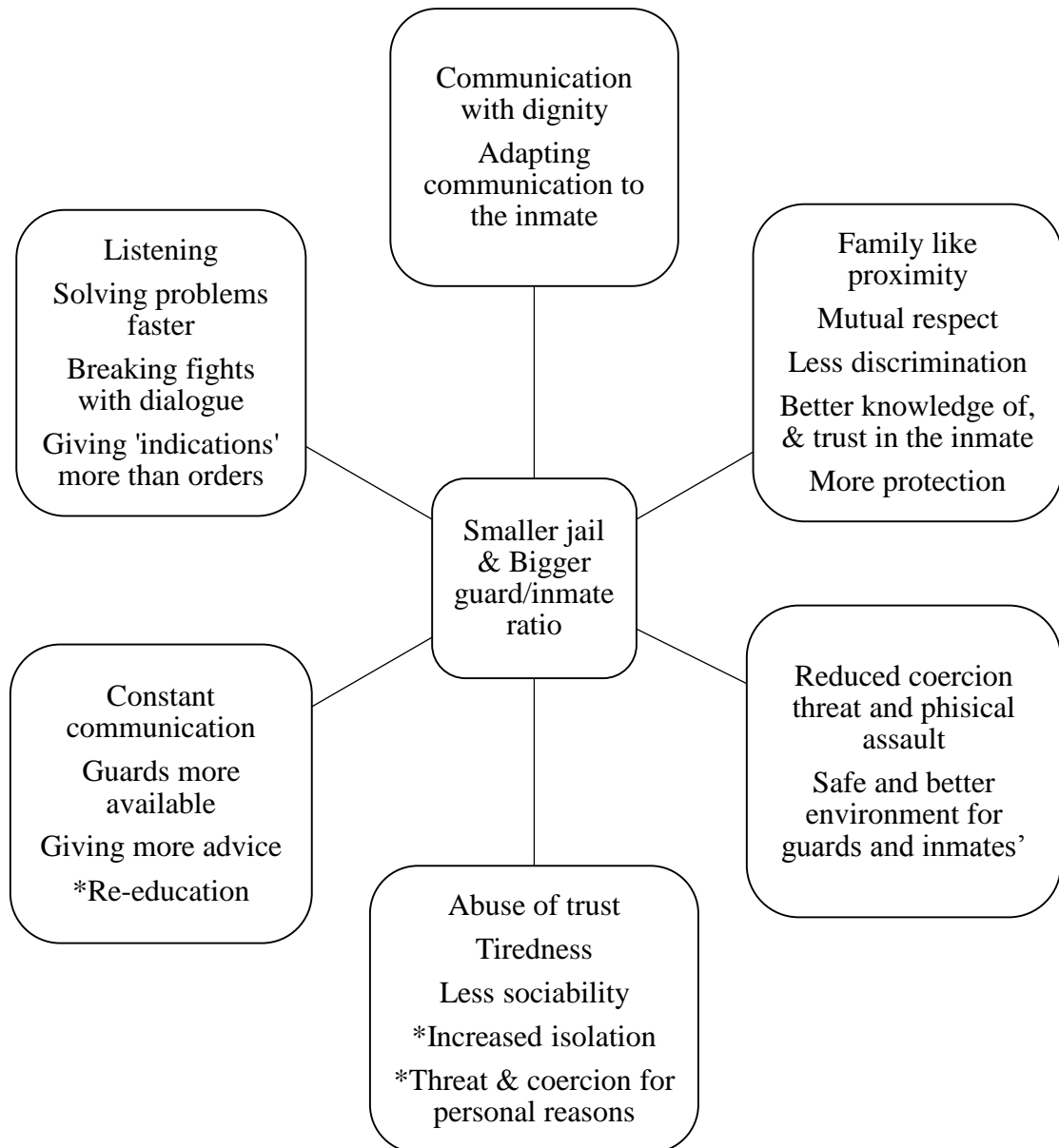
5) Conclusion

This jail and the communication between guards and inmates' is very different from what we expect in prison. Guards and inmates' frequently communicated not only about questions and problems regarding the jail but also about personal life and difficulties. Most guards voluntarily helped inmates' solve their problems and inmates avoided creating problems for the guards.

This study allows us to understand the vital role communication plays in a small context jail. Guards influence inmates' life in jail and can smoothen or harden their 'sentence' depending on the way they build their communication. Hence, the emphasis that guards should have in mind the importance of communicating with inmates', listening to them, giving more indications than orders and use a respectful approach. This way it becomes easier to avoid problems and provide a safer, secure environment for both parties and easy manageable environment for the guards. In sum, respect, trust, and communication helped create what they called the family-like environment. Being able to communicate more and to obtain extra knowledge of the inmate allows the guards to prevent problems such as suicide, offenses to other inmates' or guards, drug trafficking, and riots.

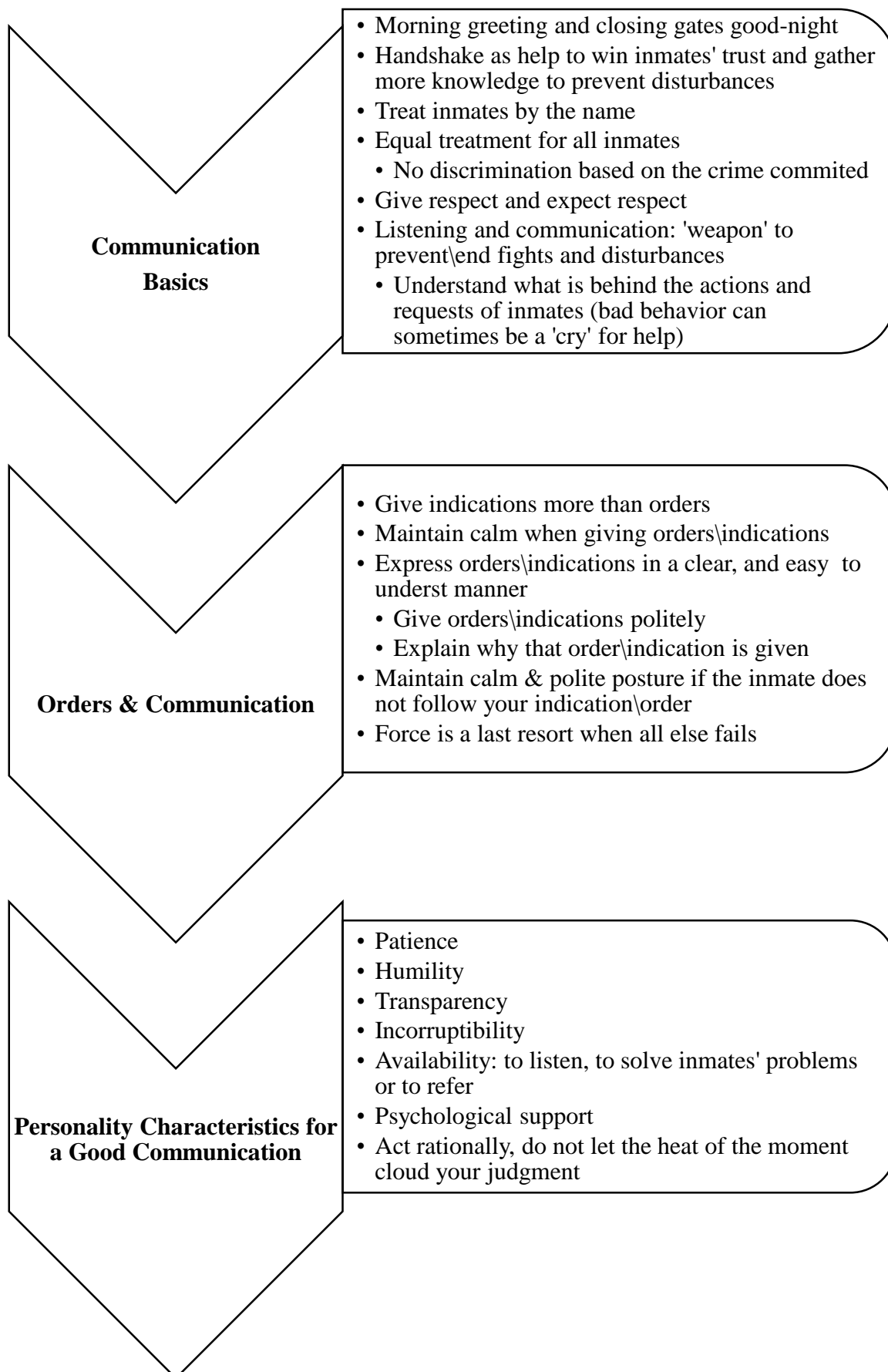
6) Annexes

i) Most frequent reported effects in small jail environment regarding guard to inmate communication



*Only a few inmates' or guards reported

ii) Most frequent good practices indicators according to inmates & guards



iii) Inmates' indicators examples

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category	Indicators
Views on communication in the jail	Guard-inmate communication is proximal	Small jail, 'family-like' proximity	Humm, the relationship is very different from other jails the guards have a position that is normal for them different from other jails, and there is a closer relationship between the guards and inmates'. [I10] They end up being inmates' like us, here are very closed. In a small environment like this, it becomes all too familiar. Here is a very particular and special jail. The guards treat us in a much better way because they spend a lot of time with us [I27]
		Treatment by inmates' names	The treatment is done by name. Here we are all treated by name. You are the inmate number in other bigger jails. A jail like where there are thousands of inmates', here we are few. [I18]
		Mutual respect	There is a lot of respect between guards and inmates'. We respect them, and they respect us [I16]
		Less discrimination	There is no discrimination. The guard's respect. That is fundamental. [I20]
		More protection	After they had explained that they had to defend us from violence and in other jails, there was no security. I really understood the reason. Initially, I felt it was a Big Brother, reality show, a lot of cameras always watching [I1] So this is an advantage. Obviously. When people know each other better, they tend to respect more in a safe and effective way [I7]
		Better knowledge of, & trust in the	They have more knowledge of the inmate because here, you know. Every night they hit the

		inmate		irons the bars of the cells. Many guards do not go through my cell. (...) It is a trust that is established because there are few inmates', and the guards can get to know the inmate and the inmate's reaction. They already know whom they can count. And they know who can escape and no. [I6]
		Mutual trust, without conflicts		There is mutual trust here. There is no conflict with anyone. [I16] So I think here there is that care and with care, we collect its benefit. There is no confrontation or violence because of preventable things. They know the inmates'. [I7]
		Less need for coercion, (treatment is natural)		Even in diligences, I go with those guards out there, and they treat me in a totally different way. Custodias jail they are all armed all afraid that I run away. [I10]
		Communication is important for a good environment		I think so. Because all communication is important. Communication can give a good or bad environment to jail. [I27]
			Less heavy with talk & laughter	If the guard talks with the inmate and even plays and we laugh, that is good (...) because it doesn't make this so heavy. [I10]

Interview topics	Category		Sub-category	Indicators
Views on the quantity of communication	Constant in the premises			As this is a very small space I contact with them practically all day. The contact is daily. [I1] Yes, we talk with them. When we are not closed. During meals. [I12]

Restricted to certain times and places	When together	At the cafeteria	There is some communication in the cafeteria, with the guards [I7]
		In the morning	Yes, usually in the morning before lunch. An organic matter of the service itself, I talk more with them at that time. It also depends on the guards who are on duty at the time. [I16]
		In the last part of the day (before lock up)	[More communication]The last bit of the day before were are closed in the cells. [I7] At that time we communicate more, not only because we are more together but also because we are waiting for closing time [I7]
		Depending on the guards	Hum, no. I mean, there are some guards with whom I talk a little bit more. But nothing special. Nothing special. [I12]
		Depending on the inmate	It is rare, I do not speak much, I am very isolated [I18] Good-morning or handshake. And then I isolate myself. (...) But about my relationship with the guards I have nothing to point. Nothing to anyone. Taking the day to day things, I speak little with them. [I26]
Sufficient			Because between inmate and guard communication is sufficient. In this jail. [I2] I think it is. For example. I go to court, and I come to the car commenting on them, and things get a little clear. It's like I tell you, I think it's essential. [I16]
	No complaints	They have to give messages, call us or open the doors. It is good communication. I never had any complaint. They communicate to us, and we fulfill our duties. [I5] I have no reason for any complaint in six years that I am here. I never had any process with no guard. [I12]	
Insufficient		With the exterior	With the exterior, they are clearly insufficient. We can't

				keep bonds because of the lack of communication (...) We can only do a 5-minute call per day [I2]
			Not necessary	It is not sufficient. There isn't an intention to create it, and even we ourselves don't have that necessity (...) I don't have much necessity to talk [I3]

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category		Indicators
Views on the quality of the communication	Plenty communication			Because there is a lot of communication between us. Humm, in fact sometimes we are taking coffee, and there is a guard talking to us [I9]
	Good communication (for a jail)			The guards often say we are in jail. Things are not better because we are in jail. For communication in jail, it is already very good. [I11]
	Communication with dignity	Respect & no discrimination		Yes, I think they share respect and dignity. [I11] Here we are all the same no inmates' convicted once or twice we are treated with respect and dignity. What more can we ask[I21] Oh yes, obviously. There's this feedback. If someone respects them, they respect us. But they are respectful by themselves. [I13]
			Way of talking, non-verbal communication	I think it's the way to talk the posture to speak. As here we are treated by the name, better (...) Yes,

				it is a more dignified way. It may be one of the important aspects. [I16]
		Treating inmates' by the name		Everyone likes to be treated by the name (...) The name is the name. It's almost to be out here.[I8]
		Adapting communication to the inmate		They have to know how to talk to me and how to talk to someone else, they have to adapt their speech to the inmate independently of the concrete crime. They must be little therapists. You will not disrespect a guy who never did you wrong. The way to approach each inmate is adapted [I26]
		Communicating worry (providing instrumental and emotional support)	Listening	Having a conversation, giving us advice it is the best (...) They are always calm and listen to us; that is very important.” [I31 [I31] For example yesterday I had a few hours talking with a guard about my situation and that I should not even be here. [I13]
			Solving problems	Yes, I never felt any obstacle. [I14] I talk to them. And they communicate and resolve it in time. [I2]
				Giving advice

			<p>out to be as an introduction to what we will meet out there. Because a person gets out of here. This is like a school as well. We leave different people, and we can get out of here angrier than we entered. Only these words and they give good advice will ultimately begin to be a reintegration. That's what I think. [I15]</p>
		Giving 'indications' more than orders	<p>And the guards are educated, is not 'go to the cell', they are a bit more educated. 'Look it's time to go to cell.' There is concern from them in the way they treat us. [I1]</p>
		Disagreeing with superiors	<p>Humm is somewhat subjective, they follow the orders coming from above. They follow superiors orders. If they say like this it has to be like this, even if guards say to superiors it is going to create problems. [I3]</p>
		Understanding/ explaining of orders is important	<p>Some say 'it needs to be like this because.' Some say 'it is like this.' They do not explain. When you stay without knowing why is bad. It is important to know why. [I13]</p>

		Orders are orders		Yes, they give orders like orders, it is like orders. [I11] No, they already have this concern[dignity]. When giving an order is because it is to be fulfilled no? [I10]
			Receiving orders can be difficult	It is this f** life; it is like they are my bosses, at beginning was complicate [I1]
	Communication by affinities		Natural in groups	It is like this in every group, it is a matter of affinities even inside the jail. [I10] Treat as equals but the personalities are different. There are many guards who speak more with one inmate than the other [I29]
			Obligation vs. natural inclination	Because there are teams withguards who care more, then we have teams who care less [I9] Many of the guards, this behavior [providing emotional support] comes from them, others do not show this. We cannot judge all by one, you know? We speak of several guards. Some of them are already worried, care for us, others only if obligated. [I11]
	Strategic communication			Some things can harm you more than they can help. So they should stick you. [I23]
	Effects of communicating	Increased jail well-being,	Guards' calm	They help you. For us, it is very good

	with dignity	preventing problems	attitude Breaking fights with dialogue	their dialogue. They are very calm. Some of them I consider almost has my parents (...) If they see anyone arguing, they go there and talk with him in a good manner. They calm them down a do a very good job at it. It is good to preserve order peace in the environment [I22]
		Increased inmate involvement and trust		If for example we want to talk to a guard they are even our psychologists. Sometimes we open about our life with all those we have more trust, feel more comfortable, and we talk. [I13]
		Increased respect from inmates'		There is respect but exists friendship. A person that is correct with them they will also be with us. [I12] In this jail, there is respect for the guard. A lot of respect [I25]
Views on greeting as communication	Morning (double) greeting	1 st guards (gate-opening) 2 nd inmates' (when awake and ready) – spoken or with handshake	Yes, during the opening because they open doors and say good morning and you sometimes you are still asleep. Around 10 am I shower and then take medication. When we pass thru the control, they open the door then we handshake. [I1] Usually, greet is only spoken [I3] In the morning they wake up and greet,	

				good morning and handshake [I1]
			Directed at guards & higher ranks alike	Guards or superiors I treat the same. [I1]
		Positive effects/functions of greeting	Ice-breaking for the sake of guards	Yes that's right, create a good atmosphere for us and the guards [I15]
			Showing guards who inmates' are	Helps to create a good environment for guards and showing them that I am not whom they think I am. I am good. [I15]
		Faults with the greeting methods	The name guards call wrong	I don't like when they call Andre, prefer to be called Nuno or Mario [I1]
			Handshake is not hygienic	There are some inmates' that don't take shower; they are dirty (...) many have so guards don't handshake them [I1]
		Inmates'' attitudes toward greeting	Positive – sense of normalcy	It is like work outside (...) everything is good.. [I10]

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category	Indicators
Topics of conversation	Shared interests	Sports	No, not all but some. Because they also practice sports and talk about it because they like Some are football fanatics.Many times we talk about football clubs [I18]
		Family	We talk a bit; we unburden with the guards. We talk about our families [I28]
		Work	Hmm, we speak of work we talk about everything. It's a bit of everything. [I15]
		Current issues	We talk about all. Current issues, what is on television, some outside situations. A little bit of everything [I33]
	Guards also open up		Even guards talk about their families and children [I28]

	Topics pertaining to life in jail	Work	When it is about work, we talk about work. [I15]
		Trials and criminal processes	Guards have to take me to court session and sometimes I don't understand. So they read me the documents ... and explain. [I29] For some inmates', we also speak of the court. To be calm and paroles. And how the audience in court went [I33]

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category	Indicators
Views on communication as re-education	Communication with guards re-educates	Via constant communication and guards' availability	Guards are always available. That is always good. That is beneficial to re-education. [I10] Yes, availability for us. Because sometimes the guard also has personal problems and still they help us, right? Or they try to help within their reach [I23]
		Via guards' advice	Guards say 'change your life, win some reason' with this they help a lot of socialization [I19]
		Making inmates' think of the crime	It helps. From my point of view, they help to talk with us regarding the crime we committed, put us to think about it. And they talk and we think if it is worth (...) being away from family. [I21]
		Due to being incarcerated	[Regarding re-education] I believe that it is really very important (...) Communication with guards is vital. [I13]
	Communication with guards is not enough to re-educate	More contact with the outside is needed	In the perspective of reinsertion, there should be more contact with the outside. Communication with guards is enough in this jail. With exterior is clearly insufficient [I8]
		Life circumstances also matter	If your life was f*** outside, after you come to jail is even worse. We come back because there are no alternatives. [I8]

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category	Indicators
Views on listening & problem resolution	Effective problem resolution	Depends on the guards	Depends on the guards, most of them solve it quickly and don't let it drag.[I12]
		By virtue of being few inmates'	It is a jail that there are few of us, you just request and quickly we are called to solve the problem.[I8]
	The importance of listening to inmates'	Guards' acceptance and alliance	Above all their complicity, respect and acceptance of us. They are people who listen to us who treat us well. They are spectacular. Authentic not hypocritical. When they say 'do not do it' is because it is bad for you [I23]

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category	Indicators
Views on the effects of privation time on communication	Communication changes with time	Inmates' begin to know guards and other inmates' better	At beginning was hard (...) Many times I have had to learn and adapt, I guess it got better [I1]
		Lowered aggressiveness, increased isolation	I stayed more calm, more isolated. [I18]
		More adapted communication	Inside here no one is the same way they entered ... My communication with the guards changed, it was adapted. [I14]
		Less communication	I think I speak less. I communicate less. [I12]
		Less playfulness, less sociability	What might have changed is that I've grown and won some maturity. In were you cannot be to sociable. [I2]
		Tiredness	I feel myself a bit tired a bit molested, it grinds me. [I15]
		Invisibility of surveillance mechanisms	Almost like a reality show, a mountain of cameras always surveilling. It was

			complicated at the beginning. [I1]
		Appearance of new desires	Many things have altered, you do not know what it is like to really want a fried egg or to catch a little sun. [I14]
	Communication does not change with time		I maintain myself the same I have entered. [I10]

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category		Indicators
Views on aggressive physical contact and communication	Aggression applies well when situations cannot be ignored	To maintain security		Their reaction is done well. If they see they can do something they intervene. For example to stop aggressions and avoid confusion they intervene (...).If we are there and starts flying chairs they have to do something it is a matter of safety. [I1]
		To ensure compliance		Of course, they like to help, but people also have to obey. [I13]
	Critical factors	Inmates'' fights		When there are fights guards must intervene. [I10]
		Inmates'' forgetfulness & ignorance of rules		Some people forget rules and get into trouble all unnecessarily. [I13]
		Guards taking things personally		That same day he was with iron in his hand

				ready to hit the bars of the cells and caught me outside of the cell. With the iron on his hand ask for satisfaction if I did not like him. [I17]
	Preventing factors	Providing information can replace aggression		I saw a college with a forbidden object wich with did not know was prohibited. So, I also put one in my cell, and when the guard saw it, he pushed me and said I could do nothing right. [I17]
	Effects on the guard-inmate communication	Depends on fairness, for the inmate		It depends. If we see the guard was right, we respect him more and apologize, if not, it worsens the communication. [I29]
	No physical aggression here			From my experience here in this jail, no. [I11]
	Views on threat & coercion.	Coercion comes from society		Humm, it is life here in the jail. We are here all coerced by society. It is inevitable [I10]
		Coercion is mutual between guards and inmates'		I can say without a problem that inmates' can also make coercion on guards. Abuse

				of power can come from both sides. That normally does not happen, but I have seen some situations it did. [I3]
		Threat & coercion occur when situations cannot be ignored	Inmates'' non-compliance	I am going to hit, to punish you if you do not do something [I11]
			Inmates' mistreating guards	If inmate disrespects a guard, he has to retaliate (...) he won't hit you, he goes by the rules and reports you. For the inmate that is very bad [I1]
		Threat & coercion occur for personal reasons		One of the guards does not like me, perhaps because I am Brazilian. He comes with unpleasant talks, but I respect his uniform. [I17]
		No threats/ coercion here	Family-like jail	No, I have never been in a situation like that [I11] It is not normal for guards to do that [coercion]. They create a more family like environment. That is better for us [I10]

The guard-inmate relationship: Views	Human qualities	Humane	With me humanity is everything, is something that
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on guards' qualities			underlies it all. I think this is a basic condition. [I14]
		Possessing a sense of justice	An envious person, who wants to do justice individually is very dangerous here. There is no doubt. As I told you, I have not witnessed anything like that. No such behavior. [I14] Here no one is superior to anyone. I feel like they look at people independently of the crime you are condemned. [I4]
		Treating all inmates' equally	They should treats all equally even knowing we are not all the same [I23]
		Polite	First of all being polite. [I14]
Professional qualities		Competent attitude (interpersonal communication skills, trusting, & availability for inmates')	The competence. Show interpersonal communication skills and trustworthy spirit. [I10] Posture, for me it is posture. (...) They are professionals. They are always available to help the inmate when we need [I11]
		Function of opening the doors	Opening doors. That is the most important job [Laughing]. [I1]
Communication qualities		Communicative	Of course, we prefer a guard who speaks and talks more, that is not closed, so cold and more fun. That is in a good mood. [I1]
		Patient, acting calmly, (intervening timely)	They even have to keep patience and calm and not intervene. There are situations that is worse if they intervene. One of the main points is that they have a lot of patience. [I5]
		Leaving personal problems outside	If they have a fight with their wife and them comes here and starts to arrange problems for inmates' is terrible. [I1]
		Mutual respect	But I think there is respect of the part of the inmate and of

			the part of the guard. I think things go better like this. [I12]
		Not judging inmates' crimes (treating with dignity)	Independently of any crime we have committed they should treat us with dignity; that is the best [I12]
		Providing psychological social, & spiritual support (& being available)	Yes of course. But to be available to me he also has to be for others too. I think we are all equal, and they treat us that way. But they are available. (...) And they are always available to help the inmate when we need something. [I11] They come to us and ask if we are calm and if everything is fine. The guard asks if you are better, that is very good. There is no need for violence, on this subject they are actually very good. [I20]
		Bonding with guards	They are people that are worth; there is a guard that went to another jail, and I still send him letters, we create these bonds [I15]

iv) Guards indicators examples

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category	Indicators
Views on communication in the jail	Guard-inmate communication is proximal	Small jail, 'family-like' proximity	In this jail, there is much more communication between inmate guard because it is a different jail, smaller. Custodias for example, there was no communication between inmate and guard. Here we are almost like family. It is much closer; we live most of the inmate's problems. This does not happen in other jails [G1]
		Treatment by inmates' names	This jail at the level of communication works differently from other establishments, particular how we treat inmates' (...) This jail is a specific jail;

			everybody treats inmates' by his or her name. [G2]
		Mutual respect	That is why, I mean, to be respected I have to give myself to be respected. I have to respect people for them to respect me. I respect them as they respect me. [G15]
		Less discrimination	Here to be called by their name, makes them feel less discriminated.[G2] We treat them all with dignity. Treat everyone equally no discrimination. That is basically it. What is, it is for everyone or is not for anyone. [G10]
		More protection	And they may feel, at affection level better protected. [G2]
		Knowledge of, & alertness to inmates' problems	It is better because we end up knowing their problems. That turns us more aware [G4] In the sense that we come across them and see they have family problems and so. We talk a little with them, and we notice when something is not right. [G1]
		Inmates' trust	Sometimes talking with them they open up and trust us more because we are few [G1]
		Less need for coercion	Undoubtedly. Inmates' are not all the same. Even here. What I notice is that here is exponentially smaller [regarding coercion] than in a large jail. Santa Cruz increases Custodias is complicated. The conclusion I draw is who does the jail are the inmates' because in Custodias is totally different. They are more violent and try more to create problems. But I have had to use. [G4]
		Low re-entry rates (due to the attention inmates' receive)	On my way of seeing things, if the jail is smaller, there is less recidivism. They talk a lot about social reinsertion and in a big jail it is impossible. They are so many; there is no attention [G17] We are here to reinsert them, but I am not rehabilitation professional. Although perhaps

			we do more than the technician. Because of the proximity it is almost as proximity policing [G5]
	Guard-inmate communication is problematic	Abuse resulting from too much proximity	It has advantages and disadvantages. We cannot look only to one side. The advantage is what I told before. The disadvantage is that there may be abuse by the guards or inmates' side. Abuse of trust. Sometimes to treat a guard by is name might open a door to a closer proximity. That can lead to contexts and words that may not be the most appropriate [G15]
		Revolt among those not yet convicted	This jail has one drawback. Here it is a preventive inmates' jails. When they are already condemned to a sentence, the subject does not want to have problems so he can take advantage of everything for good behavior. Half the sentence, parole. The ones that are not convicted are angry and revolted this can cause problems. [G12]

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category		Indicators
Views on the quantity of communication	Constant in the premises			Usually, I'm always, I can not specify? It is always talking to them; it is constant. I think, I think it is every day, being in jail area is all day with them. When the service is with them. It is all day. And we began to know the inmates'. [G1]
		Restricted to certain times and places	When together	At the cafeteria
				In the morning

				are more available. At night we hung up a little and want to come outside, we are already in another line of thought. In the morning is a perfect time. [G6]
			When more together	When we more are together, I communicate a bit more sometimes also because if there is anything to solve they come to me to solve the problems. [G2]
	Sufficient	Time available		In my case, it is capable of being. Because of the time I spent with them, may be sufficient in my case. Others I do not know. [G4]
	Insufficient	Inmates'' complaints		No, because they actually make some complaints. [G4]
		Unresolved affairs		I try to solve some things that concern me but I am not omnipresent. I try to solve and not like to leave things behind. [G4]
		Lack of time and means		I do not do more because I do not have the means [G4]

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category		Indicators
Views on the quality of the communication	Plenty communication			Communication between inmate and guard in this jail is plenty and perhaps too much (laughs). [G7]
	Communication with dignity	Treating inmates' by the name		Here [the treatment] is by name. When calling for visits, we are adapting the number to be a distinction. In the jail area, they

				are all treated by name. I know the name of them all, the number I do not.[G1]
		Adapting communication to the inmate		Humm, honestly the dialogue arises from day to day contact, and we are analyzing them. We talk, and we are analyzing. If we see that one does not deserve great trust, we cut trust. Jailers are all equal but as people inside they are different, we have to adapt to the inmate. Although they are all the same. An individual who spends his life to enter the jail and go out and rob, and rape. I cannot talk the same way to a person that had the misfortune of falling here once, and some that keep on stealing, raping. [G7]
		Guards' consistency		There must be hard guards and also more flexible guards to preserve a balance. It should not be the hard guard to be flexible to compensate and maintain the balance.[G5]
		Communicating worry (providing instrumental and emotional support)	Solving problems	They come to us. They have an easy process that is writing petitions, and they are forwarded to the director to a psychologist. This method is more effective but they often come directly to the guard. [G4] [Regarding Problem resolution] They come to us (...) it is not our job but it is important (...) we do everything, nurses cooks, boss, Warden. If we limited ourselves to our job this would be terrible. [G6]
			Giving advice	The lawyer kept saying to him not to speak, but then I intervened and said: talk because the judge wants to know and he will take years off your sentence. He spoke. And the judge took him two years of the sentence. Maybe if it were another guard he would not care, not all guards are the same and create the same relationship with them. [G6]

			Facilitating communication with significant others	When the individual commits suicide, he does not want to kill himself he wants to end his problems and suffering. (...) My mother my father. Now if we let him call family to ask something they immediately change. "Hey! If you do that. ". They immediately stay better. We can not send back.[G16]
			Listening	Some come to us. I know of some. There was an inmate who stayed an hour and a half talking, and I gave him my opinions and so. He even ended up telling me all his court process, and felt himself supported and told me everything. [G1]
			Reassuring to prevent inmates' distress	Yes because look at it this way. If the inmate has these problems and does not talk about it he can commit suicide. Sometimes these thoughts get into the head and beat them to suicide. We have to talk and say that everything will be solved, and they already stay better. [G1]
			Easing jail entry	It happens a lot, and it is expected when it is the first time in jail. They are detained and for them is a shock entering the jail. I've had people who preferred to be handcuffed near the guard to go alone in the cell. Once I stayed an hour and a half talking to an inmate. [G1]
		Giving 'indications' more than orders		Honestly is not necessary to give many orders is more indications. Here we do not give many orders. [G6]
			Orders that do not harm dignity	They are therefore orders within the jail environment. Regarding the inmate's situation and my personality. These are orders that do not hurt the dignity of the person. [G5]
			Orders that are explained	It depends, if we give an order the inmate realizes what he has to do normally he accepts the order. Otherwise, if they complain and

			d/understood	they may ask why we explain. Often there is no need to explain why. I assume there is no need. We are talking about common knowledge rules. Is assumed that they know why. [G2]
			Orders that meet general acceptance	Of course, of course, whether we like it or not when we study to be guards they taught to give imperative orders but in this jail, we need to adapt since there is not a reason to give orders that way most of the times. Because they obey [G5]
	Effects of communicating with dignity	Increased jail well-being, preventing problems		It helps to create a well-being, prevent problems and helps better jail environment. [G9]
		Increased inmate involvement and trust		Yes it is important, they feel more confident, feel more involved more respected. I think it is different. [G2]
		Increased respect from inmates'		There is no comparison. Working here or bigger jail has nothing to do. Here you can get more respect without any doubt. I worked at the bigger jail and did not feel this respect from the inmates'. If you treat them well, there is no chance. It is sacred. [G4]
	Views on greeting as communication	Morning (double) greeting	Gate-opening 'good-morning.'	In the morning when we open doors is always good-morning. It is during the opening. (...) At the opening of the doors, there is always a good-day to all of them. [G1]
			Handshake in the cafeteria	When we shake hands, we are in the cafeteria. (...) Then usually when they bathe and go to the cafeteria most inmates' greet us by handshake [G5]
		Positive effects/functions of greeting inmates'	Ice-breaking for the sake of inmates'	They are happier and stay more uninhibited when greeting. [G1] Yes, the inmate feels better, becomes freer and not so shy. So he approaches more. [G11]
			Increasing	I note that proximity is different (...) we know points of view,

			proximity	opinions, and they know more of us too. [G6]
			Assessing inmates' by asking 'How is everything.'	By saying is everything okay? It is a way to know if they have a problem that affects them or so. [G1]
		Negative effects/functions of greeting	Abuse: distance is necessary	However, one must always be careful in this regard. We have to know how to keep distance. The guard fulfills a function, and the jailer is doing what it deserves. [G3]
			None here	Sometimes excess of trust can overcome this barrier that has to exist between guards and inmates'. Here it never happened. [G3]
		Guards' opinions of inmates' greeting attitudes	Willingful greeting	I think inmates' greet us also of good will. They make it their objective to greet us. (...) I think so. [G1]
			To seek respect	They have the objective to greet us. (...) I think it is very important for them to feel that they are respected. [G3]

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category	Indicators
Topics of conversation	Topics also spoke outside the jail, shared interests	Sports	Hmm, normally they usually talk about football. Outside jail they talk about it and in here, it does not escape the rule. [G3] Between them and us. We share interests. Most often football. [G5]
		Current issues	Current issues. Security. All kinds of issues. Even professional or political situations or disasters. Day-to-day things. [G9]
	Topics about life in jail	Family and difficulties of being arrested	They speak about the court, speak of the family, and speak of what it costs to come stuck in jail. They tell us that certain stories. [G1]
		Trials and criminal law	It depends on. They sometimes ask for opinions on crime. There are inmates' that go to court very often, so we know all about it. We have an idea of what he did, and they

			come to us and ask what we think of the case, and we tell them. [G1]
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Interview topics	Category	Sub-category	Indicators
Views on communication as re-education	Communication with guards re-educates	Via constant communication	Besides the educators, they talk a lot with the guards. The guards almost do the job of the educators. We are closer to them and talk to them. In this jail, we do more than educators. Educators who hear from them time to time and the guards are always listening. Several days with the same guard. A person unwittingly knows things. They feel at will with the guards and tells us things. They leave this jail different. [G1]
		Via empathic communication	We have the ambition to re-socialize. The individual is in the mud, and we have to put ourselves in their place of others. I am a bandit; I am this, I am that. Talking with him is key. It is really, really important. The individual says: no guard has ever handshake me before. They come here distance from society, why should we maintain that distance? How will we socialize the individual marginalizing him? [G16]
	Communication with guards is not enough to re-educate	Life circumstances also matter	It is a mountain of problems they cannot solve; the wife left him; he has debt, and no one employs him [G4]

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category	Indicators
Views on listening & problem resolution	Effective problem resolution	By virtue of being few inmates'	Here is the service is completely different. It is like riding the subway in rush hour and ride the subway in normal time. Here they can more easily resolve issues because there is few inmates' and access to the solution is simpler. That does not happen in a bigger jail where responsiveness is not the same. Here are few inmates' and it is

			easier to solve certain problems. [G2]
	The importance of listening to inmates'	Writing down and referring	A person tries to solve it? Sometimes I prefer they write because it is many things. And if it is in writing is all faster. In this case, I speak with the director or boss and say that the guy is not well or something and they forward to psychiatry. [G4]

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category	Indicators
Views on the effects of privation time on communication	Communication changes with time	Inmates' begin to know guards and other inmates' better	No doubt a first timer. The first time is a situation then they start to be savvy. Jailers know the guards. They know the jail. And when they do, they deepen communication and knowledge on one another. (...) Communication between them on that aspect of reintegration does not change them. Their knowledge of things is what causes them to change. The connection between guard and inmates' remains the same. [G5]
		Aggressiveness lowers	We have examples of aggressive inmates' with the guards and colleagues that cause many problems in other jails, and they changed completely. Because of the attitude of the guards in this jail, the conditions that exist here causes them to change completely and not give problems. [G3]
		Interactions become more effective: surrounding replaces direct confrontation	I do not think so; it is natural that as time passes they themselves can see the difference and I can also. There are inmates' that I have already met them ten years ago in other jails that now are much more peaceful. They know better around things and do not 'hit head on the wall.' More experienced and more

			men. Ten years is a long time. [G6]
	The amount of privation time matters	Short sentences are not enough for a change	All the inmates' who enter jail their paths oscillate. Some more than others during the execution of the sentence. A condemnation of 5 does not internalize the punishment. They come here to take a vacation. If there is higher condemnation the link established with the jail is different. 15 years. 'I will be here 15 years I have to do something to get more positive so I can access privileges for good behavior'. [G2]
	The number of times in probation		Every time they go on paroles, it costs them more to come back. (...) If they have been without problems 3 4 paroles, they could give him a conditional to set him free. Sometimes they do not come back because of that; it does not happen in the firsts probation, they flee on the others. It increasingly costs more to come again and again to jail. They go eight days outside and come back worse. That should change a little. [G1]
		Bond breaking	And then they begin to break more bonds because they keep coming back inside jail [G1]
	The number of relapses matter	More relapses represent less change in communication	It begins to be more problematic when they keep coming back. Two three four times this will be their life. The first time you may want to work them better for them not to come the second time. (...) We give very good advice them ... we do our part. At least the minimum. (...) It is almost like a snowball. A mountain of problems that

			they can not manage and end up coming here. [G4]
	Communication does not change with time	Due to human stability	If there are changes? Probably not many. I think they all come men already. They come with an all made education. I think that they change very little. [G6]

Interview topics	Category	Sub-category	Indicators
Views on aggressive physical contact and communication	Critical factors	Refusal to accept orders	And when they do not carry orders, and they exceed limits we have to resort to using coercive means. The physical force being one of those means. [G7]
		Guards' aggressiveness/not listening	It can have a negative or positive impact, depends on. If there is excessive zeal in physical strength, we lose the reason. The inmate ends up being right because he wanted to speak and the guard would not let him speak jumping to aggression. [G3]
		The system & inmates' nature	Due to the system, and the violence of the inmates'. There are inmates' who are violent by nature. [G7]
		Inmates' agendas	I remember an inmate who a time ago wanted by force, with violence and aggression to be transferred to another jail. He arranged problems because he could not be closed due to lack of air. [G3]
		Lunch critical time	Usually, we are more together and

			have possibility [aggression] at a time for lunch. Here is a critical hour. In all jails is a critical hour. [G2]
	Preventing factors	Listening & a calm attitude	It is talking that we understand what the inmate has to say. Being able to hear the inmate above all. If we do not listen, it can become worse later. Now if we listen and we take things calmly Eventually, they calm themselves. [G3] If we cannot control by the word by force is even harder. The problem increases rather than decreasing. [G10]
		Inmates' limited power	Not here, there have been situations that this was going to happen, but it always stops. (...) The inmates' reach a point that he sees that he has no chance and gives up (...) If the thing is too complicated, a guard will ask who wants to go to the cell? Those who want to go are closed. Them, those who did not want to get in the cell we talk with them and solve it. [G5]
	Guards' needs for more training on coercive means		Our training in coercive means is not regular. And there should be more training in informing

			about coercive means. The younger staff who enters now is better formed than us. [G5]
	No comment		I would rather not to talk about that [G2]
Views on threat & coercion.	Threat & Coercion occurs when situations cannot be ignored	Against suicide attempts	We once had an inmate who said he wanted to kill himself, and we even had to go with a shield inside the cell. [G1]
		Against Gangs & inmates' conflicts	At first, we had some gangs, and these were rather problematic. [G1] For example, in this particular case, we had an inmate that would not go to a disciplinary cell and him through himself to the wall. He tried to frighten an inmate violently, and he put a knife to harm another inmate. We see this, and we can not accept. We had to be harder on him but nothing special. [G4]
		To force compliance	Often in the heat of emotion inmates' threaten us. It has happened. In here we have to follow certain rules and regulations. Some do not understand them and get upset and are frustrated. It has already happened. It is normal to happen. [G8]

		Vocal coercion (yelling) to end problems		Hmmm, coercion, verbal yes, in rather extreme moments, I have had from time to time to give a yell, and it is all over. Finished. It is a coercion not in the sense of coercing but to stagnate a problem. [G2]
		Jail is closing times, a form of coercion		[Coercion] When it opened it had to do with how we used to operate the jail Because it required us to be more severe and more closed time for inmates'. The former director closed earlier and the next day there was a group of inmates' had to go in a disciplinary cell. Today everything is calmer. [G1]
		Negative effects of threats & coercion	Guard-inmate relation changes	Well, the impact is negative in general. [G7] Threats they exist depends on is how we value them. (...) They have much impact, plenty impact. If you receive a threat from an inmate, your connection with him is no longer the same. [G8]
			A colder kind of respect	Continues to treat me with respect. Already apologized to me. No problem. Is already condemned. However, it is a colder respect. (...) If we marked one, it

			seems he lost his joy. Moreover, he lost that comfort with the guard. He feels that there is a tougher hand and has a greater distance. It is a different respect. [G4]
		Daily proximity does not help forget	Here is the problem that we deal with the inmates' every day and it is not so easy to overcome and forget a more complicated situation. [G2]
	Negative effects are overcome		Normally we overcome these issues. [G2]
		Initial distance & resentment	At first, they are more distant. Yes, yes, when we use coercive means they are always looking a little aside. [G1]
		Apology & return to normality	However, after a while, they apologize. For example 'oh guard I am sorry, you did your job I should not have brought a phone inside'. Moreover, I say this to me has been something that you had the unfortunate luck of getting in to. And then they return to normal. [G1]
		Daily proximity helps repair the relation	And in a bigger jail that did not happen. Because we never see each other again so soon. [G17]
	There are no inmate conflicts or		Here lately no. In here now is calm. [G1]

		threats currently		No, not in this jail, no. [G2]
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Interview topics	Category	Sub-category	Indicators
The guard-inmate relationship: Views on guards' qualities	Human qualities	Humane	First of all, one must be humane. [G1]
		Possessing a sense of justice	I think the sense of justice is very important. [G6]
		Treating all inmates' equally	Treat everyone equally. [G1]
		Honest & transparent	Honest and frank. For me is enough. Honest serious and frank. [G7]
		Humble & polite	It must be honest, humble and polite mainly. [G11]
	Professional qualities	Competent, disciplined	Be suitable, respectful and have discipline [G9]
		Leaders of men (assertive, positive, setting an example	In particular, the jail guard has to be a good leader of men. What is a good leader of men? It must be an example regarding person he is. It must be assertive. It must be positive. Especially must be assertive. [G2]
		Incorruptible	In here you are dealing with people with behavioral problems if you are not correct, and upright you will have many situations where they will try to corrupt you somehow. If you are an honest person, there is no chance (...) Be incorruptible. You may not have a price if you have a price you are a bad element and cannot do anything in jail. [G11]
		Enjoying the job	Above all think I could put the priority is to like what is done first. I think it's crucial we like what we do. [G8]
		Keeping up with new crimes	We do have to join the maximum number of characteristics and keep ourselves updated. The type of crime is changing, and we have very intelligent inmates'. [G2]

		Establish good communication	Being a communicative transparent correct person. [G3] We must be prepared for it all. We must be good communicators transmitting the message clearly. [G14]
Communication qualities		Acting calmly, not irrationally	One is what I always say. Not having the ‘heart in his mouth’. Have to put the heart aside and not bring trouble here. [G5]
		Maintaining an open dialogue with the respect for the boundaries	Yes Yes. Each one in its space, nothing of mixtures. When we enter a conversation with them, we know where we can go, and they know it as well. Maintain an open dialogue with the inmates’ but you know it has a limit. It is not a highway and we stop when I is needed. There is a barrier. They know it. They are inmates’ we are guards. [G10] The respect it is the guards that have to put it. It is up to each one for himself to know how far you can let them go. [G9]
		Without showing softness	We cannot show that we are soft. We have to learn to do things. The inmate in the other side has to feel that we are a person to trust for good or for bad. Too bad in the sense of [inmate feels] ‘if he scolds me is because I deserve it.’” [G6]
		Not judging inmates’ crimes	You should not blame anyone for the crime they are condemned. [G1]
		Providing psychological, social, & spiritual support	Including, for example, a guard has to be a psychologist to work as a psychologist, as an educator, as a priest. It happens some situations. [G2]
		Bonding with some inmates’	There may be one or two whom I sympathize less, but as far as possible I have nothing against them. Now it

			is logical that there are some we like more. I maintain contact with them. Tomorrow when you leave jail we can have lunch together, coffee. We created bonds of friendship. [G5]
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v) Informed consent

Título: Perspetivas dos guardas e dos reclusos relativamente às dinâmicas comunicacionais em contexto prisional específico
Candidato: Vitor Alberto Ferreira Bermudes Santos
Orientação: Professora Doutora Irene Palmares Carvalho

Introdução Objetivo: Este estudo visa explorar e compreender aquelas que são as dinâmicas comunicacionais contruídas entre reclusos e guardas prisionais em ambiente prisional. A colaboração contribuirá para um melhor entendimento destas dinâmicas baseado na experiencia dos principais intervenientes que aceitarem participar.

Procedimentos: Este é um estudo científico que envolve várias entrevistas e conversas em local e horário que sejam oportunos para o Estabelecimento Prisional e intervenientes. Será então pedido que falem das experiencias no domínio das dinâmicas comunicacionais criadas entre reclusos e guardas prisionais em ambiente prisional para um gravador de voz.

Riscos: A participação neste estudo não envolve riscos. Tudo o que acontece durante as entrevistas é estritamente confidencial e não terá qualquer implicação em domínios exteriores ao contexto deste estudo. O único risco possível é sentir pouco à-vontade em abordar certos assuntos. Se isto acontecer, poderá ser comunicado em qualquer momento e o assunto será imediatamente mudado.

Benefícios: A participação neste estudo pode não trazer benefícios diretos, excetuando o facto de que a falar sobre assuntos importantes pode constituir uma experiencia agradável. O benefício indireto esperado é contribuir, com este estudo, para um conhecimento mais profundo acerca das dinâmicas comunicacionais entre guardas e reclusos em ambiente prisional.

Confidencialidade: Tudo o que acontece no contexto de este estudo é estritamente confidencial. Nomes e qualquer outro tipo de informação identificadora serão alterados e não serão disponibilizados a nenhum outro grupo, agência ou instituição.

Direitos: A decisão de participação cabe inteiramente aos intervenientes. Em caso de aceitação, é possível a desistência a qualquer altura. Podendo também recusar-se a qualquer um dos procedimentos. A desistência é confidencial e não tem qualquer implicação em termos de outros serviços que possa estar a receber de momento ou possa vir a receber no futuro.

Contatos: Qualquer questão relativa a este estudo pode ser dirigida aos seguintes contatos: Vitorbermudes@outlook.pt ou 936 279 497 (Com Vitor Bermudes) ou 225 023 963 da Unidade de Psicologia da Faculdade de Medicina da Universidade do Porto.

Aceito participar no estudo de investigação descrito acima e fico com uma cópia deste consentimento informado.

Participante:

Data:

vi) Interview topics

Tópicos a explorar	Reclusos	Guardas
Introdução	V	V
Cumprimento como comunicação	V	V
Dignidade nas comunicações	V	V
Coerção / Ameaça nas dinâmicas comunicacionais	V	V
Escuta ativa (por parte dos guardas)		V
Frequência de comunicação	V	V
Qualidade da comunicação	V	V
Alturas em que ocorre mais comunicação	V	V
Temáticas habitualmente abordadas	V	V
Comunicação como forma de socialização	V	V
Contacto físico como forma de comunicação	V	V
Efeitos da reclusão na comunicação	V	V
Importância da idade nas dinâmicas comunicacionais	V	V
Importância do género nas dinâmicas comunicacionais	V	V
Ordens e seus efeitos a nível da comunicação	V	V
Linguagem não-verbal (Explorar em possível observação direta)	V	V
Linguagem verbal:	V	V
Encerramento:	V	V

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