

Climate Survey

P1 Norderhaven, Annex of Ullersmo Fængsel



Measuring the Quality of Life at Norgerhaven Prison

Berit Johnsen, Tore Rokkan, Alison Liebling, Kristel Beyens, Miranda Boone, Mieke Kox, Bethany Schmidt, An-Sofie Vanhouche, and Kristian Mjåland,

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A. Introduction and context

'It's the best prison in Holland: the space, the freedom, the work ... the sport, the play, the trees ... It's unique. You always see green, from wherever you are. You see the seasons change ...' (Officer)

'What can the future of this village be [without its prisons]?' (Officer)

'I didn't know there were these differences. I thought we were all the same. I have learned about myself. I have been inspired and energised by it.' (Senior manager)

A1. Norgerhaven prison

Norgerhaven prison is located in Veenhuizen in the Netherlands, which was originally a 'pauper village'. It has a capacity of 242 beds. It is located next to Esserheem prison (which is physically identical). The houses surrounding the prison grounds express the values under which this historically unique prison system was founded: 'work is life' and 'humanity'. The prison grounds are spacious and distinctive, due to a large grassy courtyard which contains 53 mature trees, a volleyball court, several park benches, picnic tables, and a fitness area, surrounded by a concrete perimeter for walking or jogging. The houseblocks lie at the edges of this mostly grassy courtyard, meaning that there is considerable 'built in' freedom of movement. From the yard, the old brick-built houseblocks with large windows give a pleasant and soft image, but inside they are more 'prison-like'; the cells are quite small while the socialising areas are spacious. The atmosphere is relaxed, and prisoners are often found outside, sitting, playing sports, walking and chatting in small groups. Staff are present unobtrusively, and can often be seen shaking hands with prisoners or exchanging pleasantries as they pass.

Norgerhaven prison has been rented to the Norwegian authorities since September 1, 2015 for a period of 3 years, renewable for 2. It houses Norwegian prisoners serving their sentences in accordance with Norwegian law.¹ The prison is operated by Dutch prison staff, though Norwegian authorities are present in the prison, providing a senior leadership team and a small group of case managers. Norgerhaven is formally organised as a unit of Ullersmo prison in Norway, but the Norwegian Governor and Deputy Governor effectively manage and lead the prison, having a direct line to the Governor in the East Region of the Correctional Service in Norway and the Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Service (KDI). They do this in collaboration with a Dutch leadership team. The Norwegian leadership team have primary responsibility for the care and management of prisoners, and the Dutch team have primary responsibility for the care and management of staff and the facilities.

¹ This arrangement is regulated by an Agreement (2015), a Co-operation Agreement (March 2, 2015) and Guidelines for the execution of sentences in the Netherlands (2015). Like all 'contracted' prisons, Norgerhaven operated to a well-specified contract underpinned by these changes made to the law. Aspects of the contract did not work as intended or posed challenges in practice (e.g., medical services, and religious provision).

Norgerhaven houses male prisoners over the age of 18 from other prisons in Norway. The transfers are based on explicit criteria, excluding those with any legal connections to the Netherlands, those with significant or chronic health care needs, those having regular visits of their children, or those entitled to receive education according to the Education Act and who have commenced education in Norway. As part of the transfer procedure, a health check and a police security assessment are carried out. Norgerhaven staff can return prisoners back to another prison in Norway if they encounter difficulties, but have rarely done so.

A2. The study

The study, which aimed to explore the quality of life in Norgerhaven, was carried out on behalf of KDI, by an international research team with highly relevant experience. The research was based on the 'MQPL+' (Measuring the Quality of Prison Life) methodology developed by the Prisons Research Centre at Cambridge University, which facilitates an in-depth examination of the cultural and moral climate of a prison in a relatively short period of time. The research involved observations of most areas and functions of the prison, interviews with staff and prisoners, meetings with members of the senior management and leadership team, and the administration of the MQPL prisoner and SQL staff surveys in which prisoners and staff were asked to agree or disagree with over 100 carefully identified statements on a 1-5 Likert scale.² In the analysis 1 is ranked as the lowest score, and 5 is ranked as the highest or best score. A team of ten made three research visits to the prison: February 13 – 15 (familiarisation and meetings with senior leaders), May 12 – 13 (SQL), and August 28 - September 1, 2017 (MQPL). The fieldwork was typically intensive and considerable dialogue took place between members of the research team, as well as between the team and senior staff members, throughout the process.

Whilst there were some challenges in the administration of a complex survey to a very varied population who spoke many different languages, the process was facilitated exceptionally well. The response rate was good overall with 90 valid surveys (a better sample than in most MQPL studies in England/Wales as the prison, in this context, is relatively small and the sample relatively large). We achieved representation from all of the wings and from most nationalities, with Norwegians as the largest responding group (43 out of 46). We are confident that the results are generally reliable, with some under-representation by some nationalities. As is often the case, the quantitative survey results confirm the account of the prison derived from the qualitative (observational and interview) data. A two-day meeting was held at KRUS (November 29 – 30) to discuss the main results once they were available. This report constitutes a brief summary and discussion of the key findings.

B. Results³

B1. Prisoner results and key findings

The prisoner survey results were very good, and very much in line with our positive overall assessment of the prison and its quality (see Table 1, p. 1/ Figure 1, p. 2)⁴. 19/21 dimensions were scored positively, above the neutral threshold of 3.00, and the two below ('bureaucratic legitimacy' and 'personal

² The prisoner survey was administered in five languages, and was translated into Norwegian, English, Polish Lithuanian and Spanish for the purposes of this study. The staff survey was translated into Dutch.

³ For both the staff and prisoner surveys, negative statements are recoded positively so that a higher mean score *always* reflects a more positive response. Thus, scores above the neutral threshold of 3.00 are positive/good, and scores below are less positive or indicate areas of concern where improvement is needed.

⁴ See tables and figures with the results in the Appendix.

development')⁵ only narrowly below this threshold, at 2.96 and 2.95 respectively, although these are clearly important dimensions. The scores for 'respect/courtesy', 'staff professionalism' and 'prisoner adaptation' were especially high, at 3.64, 3.55 and 3.64 respectively. These are good scores by any standards, and reflect very high quality relationships and practices in the prison. The overall quality of life score was also high, at 7.39 out of 10. The only prison in England and Wales to score as high on overall quality of life is Grendon therapeutic prison, at 7.32 (results from their most recent MQPL in 2015). Grendon's staff professionalism score is higher, at 3.79, but its role is unique in the English Prison Service.

The high scores at Norgerhaven compare favourably to the scores found in both open and small closed Norwegian prisons generally, and are similar to those found in the open prison Bastøy with its score of 7.43 on overall quality of life.

Some therapeutically inclined high scoring prisons in England/Wales and Norway score higher on 'personal development' (e.g. some PIPES, PD units, Grendon in England/Wales at 4.15, 3.65 and 4.11 respectively; and Leira, Hassel and Bastøy in Norway at 4.05, 3.76 and 3.21 respectively). Norgerhaven's overall score was 2.95, which is significantly higher than the average score in small closed prisons in Norway of 2.71. This rating differed significantly between groups of prisoners at Norgerhaven, so for non-Norwegian citizens, the score was 3.13; for Norwegian citizens the score was 2.77 (see Table 2, p. 3/Figure 2, p. 4). It is a significant finding, and very much to the credit of the Norgerhaven project, staff and senior management team, that those non-Norwegians who completed the survey did not score any dimension below 3.00. This is exceptional. Norwegians only scored two dimensions below 3.00 ('bureaucratic legitimacy' and 'personal development'). This is also a significant and positive finding, but it would be worth reflecting on the reasons for these interesting differences.

We found most differences between prisoners who were voluntarily sent to Norgerhaven (those who had applied to be transferred) and those who were non-voluntarily sent (those who did not want to be sent, but did not meet the exclusion criteria) (see Table 3, p. 5/Figure 3, p. 6). We will discuss these differences further below. One of the arguments for not sending prisoners to Norgerhaven non-voluntarily was to avoid difficulties in maintaining family relations. We did not find any significant differences between these two groups on the dimension, 'family contact', which were both high (3.42 for voluntary and 3.27 for non-voluntary prisoners). These scores were also very similar for the Norwegian (3.35) and non-Norwegian (3.38) groups. One reason for these positive scores is likely to be the unique possibility in Norgerhaven for prisoners to stay in contact with families and friends by Skype. This was frequently cited as one of the most positive aspects of the prison.

B2. Staff results and key findings

The staff results were also very positive. All dimensions scored over 3.00 (see Table 4, p. 7/Figure 4, p. 8). The score for 'attitudes towards the Director' was very high, at 3.89. Likewise, the score for 'treatment by senior management' was very high, at 3.85. The highest scoring dimensions were 'commitment' (4.12) and 'relationships with peers' (4.31). Whereas in English prisons, very high scores on 'relationships with peers' can indicate a somewhat 'resistant' orientation towards senior managers (and prisoners), or some negative aspects of staff culture, this is clearly not the case here. Staff were loyal, positively oriented towards senior management, and professionally committed to and serious about their work. The dimension, 'positive attitudes towards prisoners' was among the lowest scoring positive score (at 3.07). Two of the four items in this dimension ('you get to like most prisoners in here over time' and 'I trust the prisoners in this prison') scored below 3.00, at 2.60 and 2.90 respectively.

⁵ See dimension definitions at the end of this report. Table A.

The proportion of staff disagreeing with the item, 'it is important to have compassion for prisoners' was high, at 55 per cent. These are interesting findings, and raise one of the themes staff talked about in the prison: the difference in orientation to trust between the Norwegian and Dutch prison systems/staff. These themes will be discussed further below.

In all other areas, the staff results suggest a very high quality of life, satisfaction with senior management and with their roles, and decent relationships with and attitudes towards prisoners. The overall quality of life score was 7.59 out of 10. These are very positive results.

B3. Explanation of basic results

There are several factors that may help to explain the generally positive results found at Norgerhaven: a) the location and history of the site; b) the competent execution of a complex project by a skilled senior management team; and c) the presence of a motivated and experienced staff team. The deliberative approach to the task (which was in turn influenced by the style of leadership and relationships developed between the Governor and his senior team) significantly influenced the successful implementation of the project. There has been a great deal of learning, open-mindedness and collaboration throughout its implementation.

C. More detailed findings

C1. Differences between prisoner population groups: Norwegian citizens and non-Norwegian citizens, and voluntary/non-voluntary prisoners

On August 30, 2017 the population of Norgerhaven prison consisted of 46 prisoners with a Norwegian citizenship and 178 non-Norwegians, i.e. foreign national offenders (total 224 prisoners).⁶ The Norwegian group consisted mainly of ethnic Norwegians but also included prisoners from other Nordic and European countries and Asia. The latter group consisted of prisoners who had a Norwegian residence permit, prisoners who used to have a Norwegian residence permit which was withdrawn due to their criminal conviction, and prisoners without legal status to reside in Norway. These prisoners were mainly from other European countries but also included prisoners from Africa, America and Asia. Some of these prisoners had strong ties in Norway as they had spent over half of their lives in this country and/or their families were living there, while others were arrested shortly after they crossed the border into Norway.

A comparison of the survey results of both groups of prisoners showed that Norwegian and non-Norwegian prisoners scored most of the dimensions of prison life in Norgerhaven similarly (see Table 2, p. 3/Figure 2, p. 4).⁷ The scores are on the whole high for both groups. The non-Norwegians score the 'respect/courtesy' dimension slightly less positively (overall 3.64, non-Norwegians 3.51, Norwegians 3.79), suggesting that they perhaps felt the staff did not 'speak on a level' with them quite as much as Norwegian prisoners felt. This might be explained by language or cultural barriers between staff and non-Norwegian prisoners, but this is also the only matter where we experienced some

⁶ This table is based on data from KOMPIS, the Norwegian correctional service internal production system on August 30, 2017 as the MQPL + study in Norgerhaven took place on this date.

⁷ The response rate to the MQPL survey was 91% among Norwegians and 27% among foreign national offenders. Even a considerable lower participation from the non-Norwegians, this figure is reasonably high for a survey of this nature. The difference in the response rate between the groups could be explained by language and cultural barriers among non-Norwegian prisoners, and increased interest among Norwegian prisoners to participate in this Norwegian study.

contradictions between the results in the survey and the field-study (see below). Norwegian prisoners were less positive on the dimension 'drugs and exploitation' (overall 3.49, non-Norwegians 3.69, Norwegians 3.26); they believed that there were more drugs and drug use in the prison and that this resulted in threats/bullying, increased vulnerability and related problems. The qualitative data indicated that certain non-Norwegian groups might be more involved in the drug business inside of the prison. The third statistically significant difference was that Norwegian prisoners were markedly less positive about their personal development in prison. We will return to this issue below.

In general, several foreign national prisoners expressed a feeling of lack of legitimacy in relation to their punishment, especially if they were convicted for a violation of the entry ban or another migration crime that would not be a criminal offence if they were to hold Norwegian citizenship or legal status. This was often one of the first topics non-Norwegian prisoners raised in their conversations with the research team. For example: *'I go and talk to a prisoner from XX who is imprisoned due to a violation of the entry ban (although I do not understand correctly whether this is a sentence in combination with another sentence). He tells me that he lives in YY together with his wife and some of his children. He wanted to go to XX where his daughters are living (it is important that they learn the XX culture and are not raised in the YY culture, that is why they live separated from their father). He used a Norwegian airport as he was living closer to that airport and it was better to fly from there. However, he got arrested in this airport when he wanted to pass through the border control. Instead of being deported to XX right away, he got imprisoned. He was very angry about that; he did not want to stay in Norway and was on his way to XX, but instead of letting him go to XX they imprison him for a year. [...] He does not understand this and gets angrier as he talks about it.'* (Fieldwork notes, August 2017). This experienced lack of legitimacy of the terms of their imprisonment influenced some prisoners' perceptions of their quality of life in prison.

When we analysed the scores for the two groups of prisoners who were voluntarily and non-voluntarily sent to Norgerhaven, there were eight dimensions where the voluntarily group had a significantly more positive rating than the non-voluntarily group; 'entry into custody', 'respect/courtesy', 'staff-prisoner relationships', 'humanity', 'staff professionalism', 'organisation and consistency', 'personal development' and 'wellbeing' (see Table 3, p. 5/Figure 3, p. 6). Many non-voluntary prisoners we spoke to had been apprehensive about or resistant to the transfer, but had since come to settle into life at Norgerhaven reasonably well and were now positive about their experience. The survey results suggest that overall non-consensual transfers lead to less positive evaluations of the prison and its legitimacy.

C2. Negotiating difference

No prison has ever been found to follow its own rules precisely: discretion is inevitable where complex rules are many and 'open-textured'. To the surprise of many of the staff involved, who assumed a basic 'likeness' between the two jurisdictions in their philosophy and practice, the original aspiration to 'implement a Norwegian model of the rules and regulations' in a Dutch prison site at Norgerhaven did not work in practice. Aspects of the Norwegian model (including escorted moves) did not fit the physical or professional resources available. Others (for example, 'due process' disciplinary procedures) were required by law. The model was reconfigured, sometimes 'in a Dutch way' to suit the more 'pedagogical' or pragmatic Dutch approach, and sometimes in a 'Norwegian way', to honour those areas of prison life regulated most strictly by law, which tended to be related to deprivations of liberty. The most pressing areas where compromise was less possible in the eyes of Norwegian senior managers were: a) prison discipline/early release, b) responses to incidents, c) case management, and d) privacy. In other areas (the staff attendance schedule, the split shift system for prisoners, levels of prisoner autonomy and movement, and the attitudes of staff) a 'Dutch flavour' was successfully defended. This mixed or negotiated model often led to improvements and learning on both sides.

One of the most important professional differences between the Norwegian and the Dutch way was in the basic orientation to work with offenders. The Norwegians used the framework of the sentence, and the system of case management, for managing prisoners. This approach was explicitly linked to the aim of addressing or 'confronting' offending behaviour (future focused). The Dutch were more clearly focused on managing behaviour in prison (present focused). Relationships with prisoners were 'for order' (and justice) rather than 'for change'. 'Small talk' with prisoners was more important than 'offence talk'. This was both less intrusive, and less paternalistic, than the Norwegian 'treatment-oriented' model. On a good day, according to the Dutch model, 'nothing happens'; that is, officers have used their refined peacekeeping skills to create order. According to the 'Norwegian model', a good day involved a *'meaningful conversation with a prisoner ... that changes something about the way he thinks'* (Staff, Norwegian).

On the other hand, the Norwegian 'style' was also more 'sensitive to prisoners' rights' and 'the use of power', a concern that explained a much slower 'due process' approach to prison disciplinary offences, and lower use of solitary confinement. In this sense, the Norwegian approach was more protective. This 'traditional-welfare oriented' approach could be contrasted with the Dutch 'traditional-professional' approach.⁸

Although this observation is speculative, it seemed to us that both models contained a paradox: where 'the Dutch model' (as represented at Norgerhaven) seemed to prioritise equality, difference, humanity and rights, and yet tended to use more unchecked power, the Norwegian model seemed to prioritise safety, protection and prevention of crime, thus demanding more of prisoners and (put critically) exerting a more idealised, 'moralising' or one-dimensional vision of what a good citizen should be. Each seemed to attribute a different meaning to the term *liberty* (e.g., 'freedom from', versus 'freedom to'). The Dutch system was more *present*-oriented, and placed greater trust in *prison officers*, where the Norwegian model was more *future*-oriented and placed greater trust in *prisoners* and *formal procedures*. These differences (which reflect the 'conflicting aims of imprisonment' debate between 'humane custody' versus 'rehabilitation' evident throughout penal history) is not reflected in the rather different emphasis that each system places on the professional training of staff (the Norwegian training was longer and more general, yet Dutch prison staff arguably use more power, on a day-to-day basis). We found these possibilities to constitute important territory for further deliberation and reflection for both services.

C3. Personal development

One of the two dimensions to score lower than 3.00 in the prisoner survey was 'personal development' (higher scores on this item have been found in other research to be potentially linked to lower risk of reoffending). The score for this item was lower for Norwegian prisoners (2.23) than for non-Norwegian prisoners (2.72), and lower for involuntary prisoners (2.77) than for voluntarily prisoners (3.13). The item, 'on the whole I am doing time rather than using time' received the lowest score in the survey (2.49), suggesting that most prisoners did not feel that their time at Norgerhaven was *useful* or productive time. Some prisoners described their time in Norgerhaven as 'idle': *'I have been here for 12 months, and these months have been a complete waste of my time'* (prisoner, Norwegian). Several, especially Norwegian, prisoners would have liked to engage in more constructive rehabilitative activities like education and more intellectual/creative activities. We spoke with

⁸ It was pointed out to us many times by staff that the 'Norgerhaven model' was distinctive within the Dutch prison system, due to its history, location, and its previous work with lifers. Staff felt that it should be distinguished from the increasingly 'new penological' model being implemented elsewhere, including in the approach to prison design, in the Netherlands. We cannot comment on this argument, except to say that it was an important aspect of the professional self-concept of staff working in the prison.

prisoners who had commenced education whilst serving their sentence in Norway, but who found it difficult or impossible to continue their learning in Norgerhaven. Some were unable to bring their textbooks to the prison and others no longer had instructional expertise available. During our research visit in August, some prisoners were selected to participate in a drug treatment program, which they welcomed.

Both Norwegian and Dutch staff agreed that there should have been more focus on the provision of rehabilitative and meaningful activities during the negotiations between Norway and Holland at the outset of the project.

C4. Bureaucratic legitimacy

The second dimension to score lower than 3.00 in the prisoner survey was 'bureaucratic legitimacy', or the ability of the prison and its staff to persuade prisoners that their sentence made sense, and that there were open, fair and transparent ways of navigating through their sentence. There were three problems: expertise, location, and communication. Long case management times made progression difficult, and created frustration: *'I feel that by staying calm and playing by the rules, my voice is not heard. I wonder if I have to take drugs or be quarrelsome – is that what it takes to be sent home?' (prisoner, Norwegian)*. Prisoners repeatedly asked for progress to be made in the handling of their cases. Many felt 'stuck in the system' (this item, 'I feel stuck in this system', scored 2.76). Prison officers and Dutch case managers attempted casework tasks, but Norwegian staff had to handle much of the casework that was normally dealt with by prison officers and middle managers in Norway:

'In a Norwegian prison, there are personal officers and senior officers that filter the requests from the prisoners. They can answer many questions from the prisoners themselves, because they know the answers. Here the prison officers don't know the answers and there is no filter – all the requests from prisoners are sent to us ... We are so few, but even so, we manage to keep our heads above water. The pressure of getting the work done is enormous.' (Staff, Norwegian)

Many Dutch officers were eager to learn and wanted to do a good job in this new area of work. We saw officers standing in or outside the hall of the Norwegian staff, trying to find a chance to have contact or get help. It was difficult for Dutch staff to help prisoners with Norwegian processes (and practical matters of employment or accommodation). The lack of systems or arenas for communication between Norwegian and Dutch staff, together with insecurity and limited knowledge of Norwegian laws and rules among Dutch staff, made the serving of the sentence unpredictable for the prisoners: *'They say I can go back after 2/3 when I behave well. I try to understand, but nobody tells me what they expect from me There are not many things you can ask them [prison officers] about' (prisoner)*. Several prison officers found the writing of reports in English difficult, and when writing reports, they often used 'Google translate' to translate the text from Dutch to English. Details and nuances easily got lost in this process, which presented problems for the 'legal security' of prisoners. This illustrates that language constitutes a larger problem than initially anticipated.

C5. Staff professionalism and experience

'They [Dutch officers] are good people. They have lots of experience; they could do a lot for us. But the Norwegian prison management don't let them.' (Prisoner)

The score for 'staff professionalism' was especially high, at 3.55. Both the quantitative and qualitative parts of this study highlighted prisoners' high satisfaction with staff professionalism and orientation to their work. Dutch officers were often characterized as highly experienced and good at relationships.

Prisoners often drew comparisons between young and inexperienced 'casual' officers in Norway and the older and more experienced Dutch officers, whom they appreciated. For prisoners this meant that Dutch officers were relaxed and able to handle situations without imposing strict rules. Prisoners noted that discretionary power was often used to differentiate between possible interventions by taking into account prisoners' particular situations. While discretion was used in the handling of day-to-day problems, prisoners still felt that privileges were fairly distributed. In line with this level of attention paid to a person's characteristics, prisoners also noted the ability staff showed to treat the highly multicultural population with equal professionalism. Prisoners told us that, in contrast to some respondents' reported experiences in Norway, no distinction was made between people with different nationalities, cultures or religions. When asked for particular examples, prisoners referred to Dutch staff giving non-Norwegian prisoners trusted jobs such as those for cleaners on the wing, a practice that was, according to some prisoners, uncommon in Norway. Prisoners felt supported by staff when they asked for help. The kind of help sought from Dutch staff mainly related to practical needs or daily life in Norgerhaven prison. Prisoners were clear that staff reacted to prisoners' requests where possible and did their best to find solutions. However, when prisoners did not report their difficulties, problematic situations remained hidden. The approach staff took was on the whole 'reactive' rather than 'proactive' (see further below). While prisoners often appreciated this reactive and 'respectful distance' relationship, this approach hampered the protection of a number of vulnerable prisoners.

C6. The model of authority, safety, and security

'If they isolate, that's their choice. They can do their time however they want to. If they need assistance or want to talk, they know where to find us.' (Officer, Dutch)

Staff-prisoner relationships were generally positive, well-boundaried, and respectful at Norgerhaven. Prisoners appreciated that officers were 'laid back', 'friendly', and 'approachable, but not overbearing'. Prisoners rated most of the 'harmony/relational' dimensions very positively on the MQPL survey, especially 'respect/courtesy', which was scored at 3.64. But staff tended to operate at a distance: that is, to be reactive rather than proactive. Many prisoners talked about the 'human side' of Norgerhaven, specifically as a way to contrast it to their experiences in particular Norwegian prisons and the racism/discrimination they reported experiencing there.

From other studies conducted in the UK, we tend to model prisons on a diagram with two axes: 'heavy-light' and 'absent-present', to describe the approach to order and the type of authority staff use (see Figure 5, p. 9). The 'best' quadrant, in terms of prisoner quality of life (and legitimacy) is 'light-present', whereby staff are engaged and alert, but unobtrusive and not overbearing in the way they use power. Norgerhaven staff exhibited characteristics of both a 'light-present' and a 'light-absent' orientation. The 'lightness' of staff came from their 'hands-off', non-judgmental approach. Officers wanted to provide a safe and supportive environment for prisoners to serve their time in (*'we're not here to punish'*). They were responsive and helpful when asked for assistance. Prisoner perceptions were that the Dutch staff as 'more forgiving', flexible, and better able to use discretion in maintaining everyday order, whereas they sometimes described Norwegian staff (from their vantage point in Norgerhaven) as 'too strict', 'rigid', and 'by the book' – with 'no room to be human' (or to make mistakes). We observed the 'presence' of staff in how they used intelligent discretion with prisoners and in deescalating situations. Officers were able to maintain order without 'heavy' or oppressive methods of control. Prisoners discussed this in positive terms. But the staff were somewhat 'absent' in one respect: they were not 'present' or 'switched on' enough to police the prison effectively. There was a trade-off in this model of custody: staff operated at 'a respectful distance', but this sometimes compromised security and policing. There was a relatively low level of dynamic security, or relational engagement. Conversations between staff and prisoners were friendly

and casual, but kept at the surface. Most of the staff did not 'really know' their prisoners, their stories, who was on or off the wings, or what their prisoners' routines were like. They viewed this as being 'intrusive'. This may relate to the difference identified earlier between the Dutch and Norwegian approaches to custody and how 'rehabilitation' is conceptualised and practiced, but it is also a distinct area of work to do with what we have called in other studies the 'dynamic use of authority'.

The item, 'positive attitudes towards prisoners' was the lowest rated dimension score for staff (3.07) suggesting, amongst other things, that their faith in rehabilitation was relatively low. It would be interesting to compare this score with those of other Norwegian and Dutch prisons.⁹

C7. Relationships between prisoners

The particular design of the prison combined with a quasi-open prison regime with a full schedule of day-time activities allowed the prisoners to meet daily in the yard, to cook together and spend leisure time in the communal rooms. This was highly valued by most prisoners. Many were very positive about the freedom to move autonomously and their feelings of safety were generally good (3.53). 81 per cent of surveyed prisoners agreed with the statement, 'I have no difficulties with other prisoners here' and the score for 'prisoner adaptation' was also good (3.60). The atmosphere generally felt relaxed, and was described as such by both prisoners and prison officers. No open conflicts or tensions between prisoners were observed, although there had been some significant incidents in the prison since it opened. In general, prisoners got along well, and lived with differences amicably, in exchange for a decent life in the prison. There were very few alarm bells (we did not observe any during our research visits). Prisoners were paid well, so they did not often get into debt – aside from some gambling. The cost of living (e.g. price of tobacco) differed substantially (6 v 28 Euros), to the considerable advantage of prisoners.

However, some isolated, asocial and vulnerable prisoners were underrepresented in the survey, as we learned in interviews. This 'present, but distant'/hands-off approach was positive, constructive, or liberating for those who could adequately cope with it. For those who were more vulnerable, susceptible to victimisation, or who had an offence that made them a target, there were fewer safeguards in place. The lack of policing by staff amplified some feelings of helplessness expressed by these prisoners. Russian prisoners told us that they chose not to fill in the questionnaire as they distrusted this research 'from the government'. Romanian prisoners were reserved and reluctant to talk openly, reflecting a general lack of confidence in authority. We met and talked to prisoners who said they did not feel safe, who did not want to have contact with other prisoners, or who barely came out of their cell for various reasons. The presence of a 'vulnerable few' in open regimes with high levels of freedom, choice and responsibility, is typical of prisons of this type. A prisoner of one religion told us that he did not want to make himself known by his religious identity, as he was 'afraid to be killed' by prisoners of another religion. A prisoner from one country, who felt abandoned by and rebellious towards the Norwegian justice system, mentioned bad relationships with the other prisoners from another country with whom he did not want to have contact as there was '*a lot of trouble due to the open door system*'. Both examples illustrate the importation of geopolitical problems in this very mixed prison.

Although contact between staff and prisoners was friendly and amicable overall, staff generally did not mix with the prisoners during outside or association time. This created space and opportunities for prisoner hierarchies and divided communities to flourish. During association prisoners hung around in the yard in groups, which were mainly constructed around ethnic or linguistic/national divisions (e.g., Eastern European, Russian, Norwegian, African, Muslim). Some hostility to

⁹ This dimension has not been included in the earlier studies of the quality of life in Norwegian prisons.

Norgerhaven's policy was expressed by non-Norwegian prisoners who were resistant to sharing prison space with sex offenders.

D. Summary

Norgerhaven prison is exceptionally well and closely managed, with outstanding cooperation between the Norwegian and Dutch staff involved. The complexity of the task (of combining Norwegian and Dutch practices and cultures) has generated a level of dialogue and reflection among the staff at all levels that is very impressive, and this in itself could be very valuable in practice and policy development. The staff were exceptionally reflective and thoughtful. The 'moral and relational' quality of life in the prison - or its 'interior legitimacy' - is relatively high. This is related to the very professional orientation, engagement, and level of experience of the staff and senior managers working in the prison (as well as to the prison's highly rated outdoor facilities and layout). Much can be learned from the Norgerhaven experience about what makes a prison and its staff operate at their best, including the importance of having a clear 'mission' and strong leadership.

There are some areas of concern, mainly relating to low levels of personal development and bureaucratic legitimacy - that is, opportunities to progress, and prepare for life outside, and the fairness and transparency of procedures. Prisoners seemed to be 'doing' rather than using, calm, foreign time. Both of these scores are related to the prison's structural properties: accommodating Norwegian prisoners in Holland, and relying on English as the main language in which to communicate, are bound to raise problems of 'exterior legitimacy' that will be difficult to overcome. Whatever its 'interior' qualities, Norgerhaven prison poses challenges: it represents 'privatisation' or contracting out of a new kind, its dual jurisdiction arrangements are complex; almost no-one can speak in their own language (this leads to the loss of 'small cues' on which prison work depends), the costs, purpose, and longer-term effects of imprisoning a population from one country in another are unclear. There is little 'resocialisation' built into the regime. Many (especially Norwegian) prisoners are disadvantaged, despite access to Skype. The notion of 'consent', built into the agreement, does not always operate as assumed; and some questions of accountability remain opaque. That it has operated so well suggests that any 'legacy' should include capturing the important lessons learned and reflecting on what 'staff professionalism' means at its best. The Norgerhaven project has required the interactive translation of prison policy into practice, and the deciphering and articulation of the taken-for-granted assumptions of two penal cultures. This has been managed in a cooperative and creative way. Many interesting and surprising findings, and lessons, have emerged.

Table A: MQPL - Prisoner quality of life dimension definitions

<i>Harmony/relational dimensions</i>	
Entry into custody	Feelings and perceived treatment on entry into the prison
Respect/courtesy	Positive, respectful and courteous attitudes towards prisoners by staff
Staff-prisoner relationships	Trusting, fair and supportive interactions between staff and prisoners
Humanity	An environment characterised by kind regard and concern for the person, which recognises the value and humanity of the individual
Decency	The extent to which staff and the regime are considered reasonable and appropriate
Care for the vulnerable	The care and support provided to prisoners at risk of self-harm, suicide or bullying
Help and assistance	Support and encouragement given to prisoners for problems including drugs, healthcare and progression
<i>Professionalism dimensions</i>	
Staff professionalism	Staff confidence and competence in the use of authority
Bureaucratic legitimacy	The transparency and responsiveness of the prison/prison system and its moral recognition of the individual
Fairness	The perceived impartiality, proportionality and legality of punishments and procedures
Organisation and consistency	The clarity, predictability and reliability of the prison
<i>Security dimensions</i>	
Policing and security	Staff supervision and control of the prison environment
Prisoner safety	The feeling of security or protection from harm, threat or danger
Prisoner adaptation	The need or pressure to get involved in trade and allegiances
Drugs and exploitation	The level of drugs, bullying and victimization in the prison environment
<i>Conditions and Family Contact dimensions</i>	
Conditions	The extent to which living conditions are considered decent
Family contact	Opportunities to maintain family relationships
<i>Wellbeing and development dimensions</i>	
Personal development	An environment that helps prisoners with offending behavior, preparation for release and the development of their potential
Personal autonomy	Prisoners' feelings of agency and self-determination
Wellbeing	Feelings of pain, punishment and tension experienced by prisoners
Distress	Feelings of severe emotional disturbance

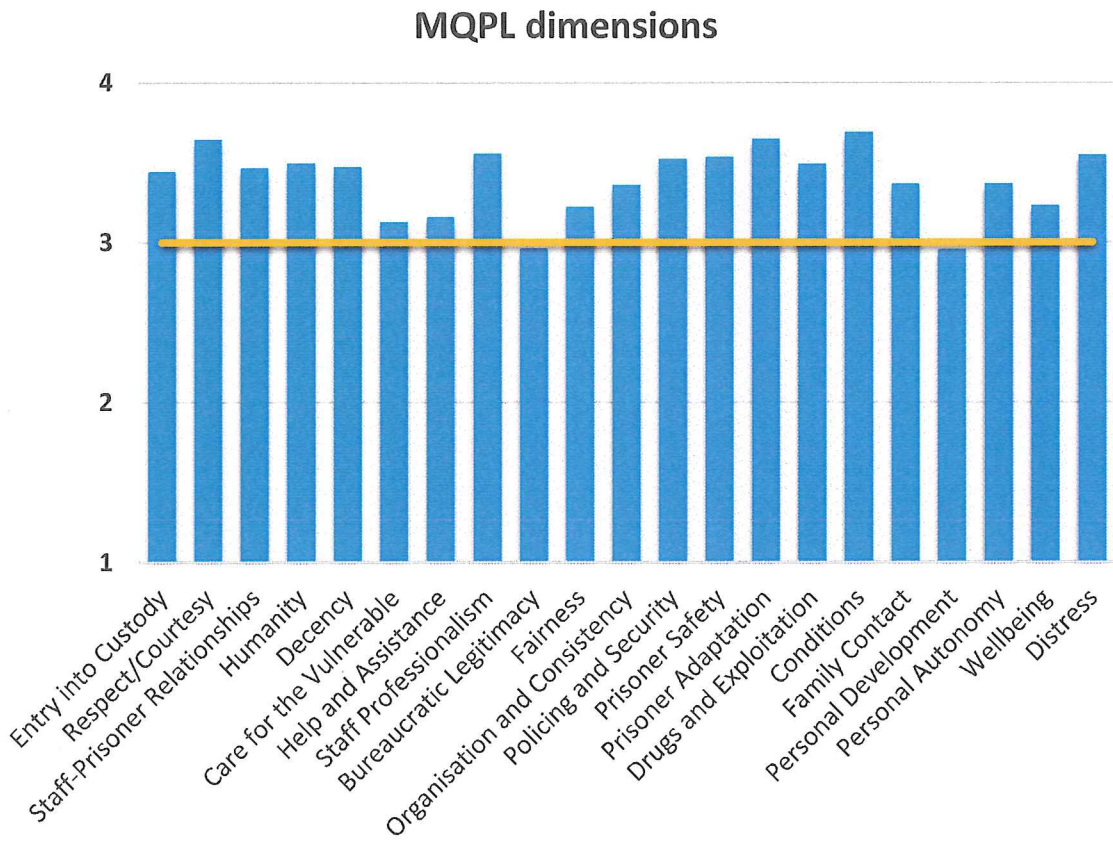
Norgerhaven Appendix

Table 1: MQPL overall score

MQPL Dimensions	N	Mean	Alpha
Entry into Custody	87	3,44	.627
Respect/Courtesy	85	3,64	.792
Staff-Prisoner Relationships	86	3,46	.816
Humanity	88	3,49	.774
Decency	81	3,47	.415
Care for the Vulnerable	79	3,12	Too few cases
Help and Assistance	78	3,16	Too few cases
Staff Professionalism	89	3,55	.837
Bureaucratic Legitimacy	85	2,96	Too few cases
Fairness	83	3,22	.717
Organisation and Consistency	86	3,36	.736
Policing and Security	83	3,52	.674
Prisoner Safety	89	3,53	.659
Prisoner Adaptation	83	3,64	.540
Drugs and Exploitation	89	3,49	.773
Conditions	87	3,69	.706
Family Contact	84	3,36	.628
Personal Development	81	2,95	.770
Personal Autonomy	81	3,36	.568
Wellbeing	83	3,23	.715
Distress	89	3,54	.472
Overall scale (1 - 10)	80	7,30	
Valid N (listwise)	71		

Norgerhaven Appendix

Figur 1: MQPL overall score



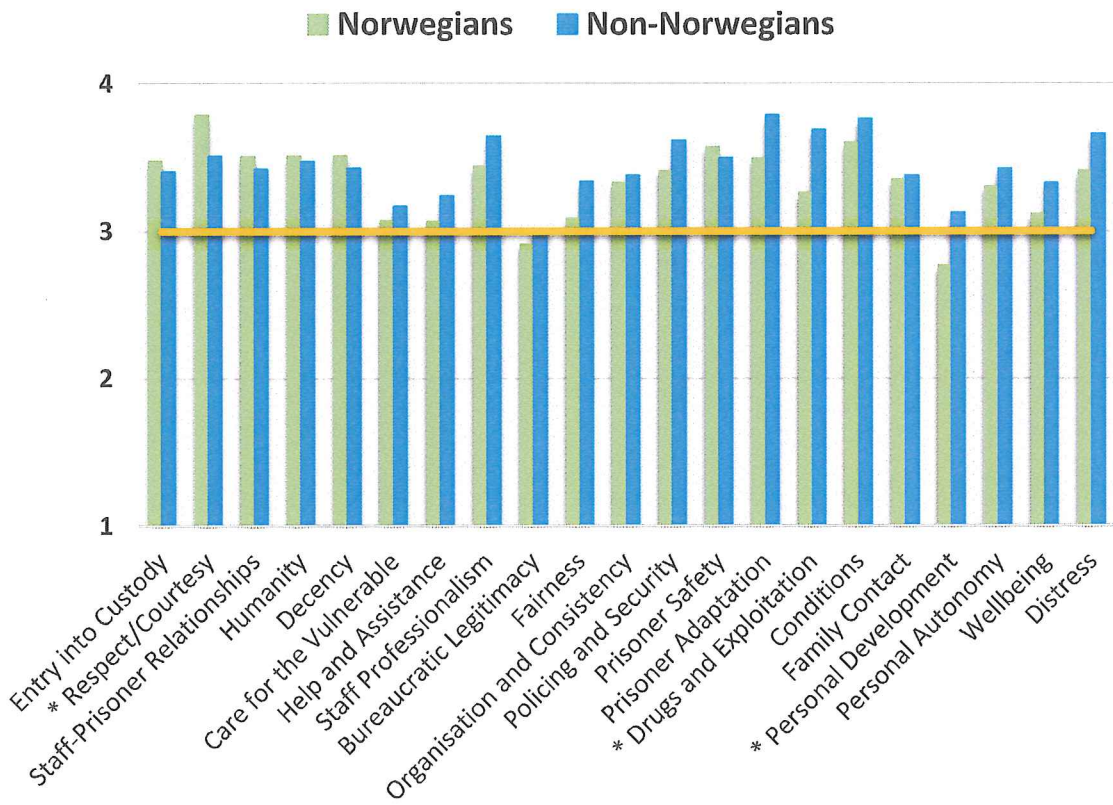
Norgerhaven Appendix

Table 2: Norwegians vs Non-Norwegians

MQPL Split	Norwegians		Non-Norwegians	
	N	Mean	N	Mean
Entry into Custody	41	3,48	46	3,41
* Respect/Courtesy	40	3,79	45	3,51
Staff-Prisoner Relationships	40	3,51	46	3,42
Humanity	41	3,51	47	3,47
Decency	39	3,51	42	3,43
Care for the Vulnerable	38	3,07	41	3,17
Help and Assistance	38	3,07	40	3,24
Staff Professionalism	41	3,44	48	3,65
Bureaucratic Legitimacy	40	2,91	45	3,00
Fairness	40	3,09	43	3,34
Organisation and Consistency	41	3,33	45	3,38
Policing and Security	39	3,41	44	3,61
Prisoner Safety	41	3,57	48	3,50
Prisoner Adaptation	40	3,49	43	3,79
* Drugs and Exploitation	42	3,26	47	3,69
Conditions	40	3,60	47	3,76
Family Contact	40	3,35	44	3,38
* Personal Development	39	2,77	42	3,13
Personal Autonomy	39	3,30	42	3,42
Wellbeing	39	3,12	44	3,33
Distress	41	3,41	48	3,66
Overall scale (1-10)	39	7,21	41	7,39
Valid N (listwise)	35		36	

Norgerhaven Appendix

Figure 2: Norwegians vs Non-Norwegians



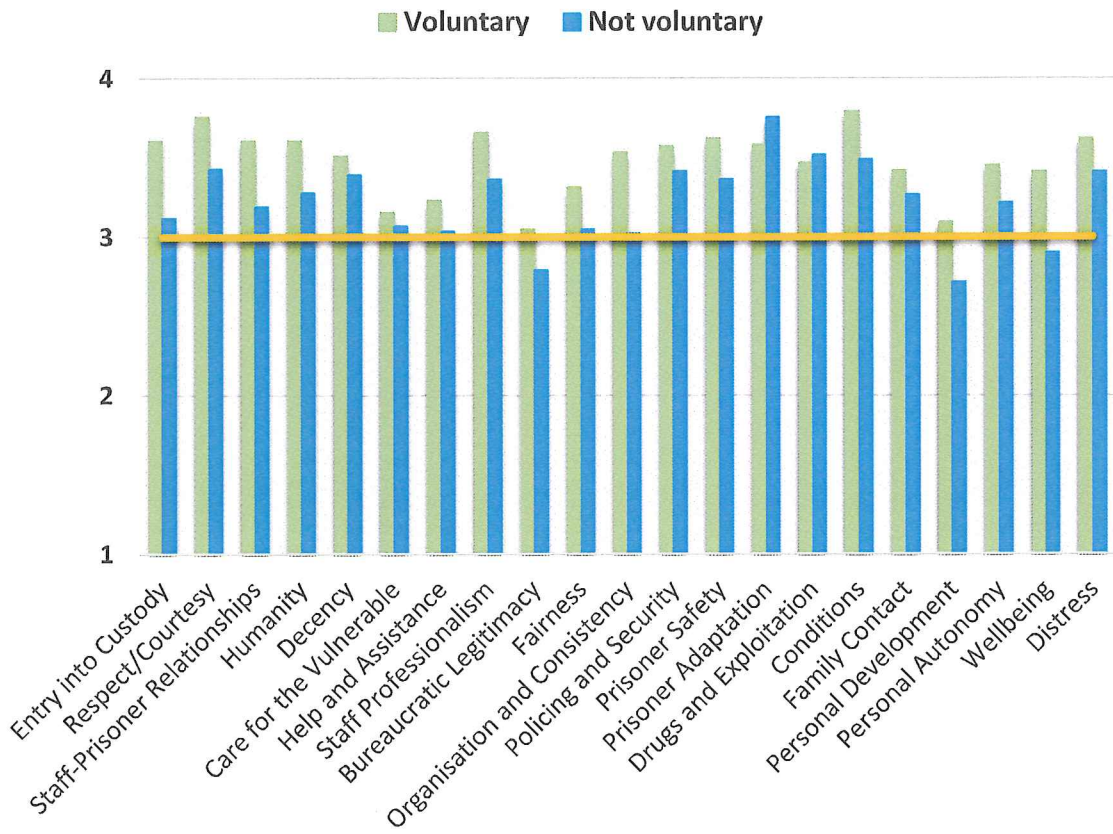
Norgerhaven Appendix

Table 3: Voluntary vs non-voluntary

MQPL Split	Voluntary		Not voluntary	
	N	Mean	N	Mean
* Entry into Custody	57	3,61	30	3,12
* Respect/Courtesy	55	3,76	30	3,43
* Staff-Prisoner Relationships	56	3,61	30	3,19
* Humanity	57	3,61	31	3,28
Decency	52	3,51	29	3,39
Care for the Vulnerable	50	3,16	29	3,07
Help and Assistance	48	3,23	30	3,04
* Staff Professionalism	57	3,66	32	3,36
Bureaucratic Legitimacy	55	3,05	30	2,79
Fairness	53	3,31	30	3,05
* Organisation and Consistency	56	3,53	30	3,02
Policing and Security	53	3,58	30	3,41
Prisoner Safety	58	3,62	31	3,37
Prisoner Adaptation	53	3,58	30	3,76
Drugs and Exploitation	58	3,47	31	3,52
Conditions	57	3,79	30	3,49
Family Contact	54	3,42	30	3,27
* Personal Development	51	3,09	30	2,72
Personal Autonomy	51	3,45	30	3,22
* Wellbeing	53	3,41	30	2,90
Distress	57	3,62	32	3,41
Overall scale (1 – 10)	50	7,52	30	6,93
Valid N (listwise)	43		28	

Norgerhaven Appendix

Figure 3: Voluntary vs non-voluntary



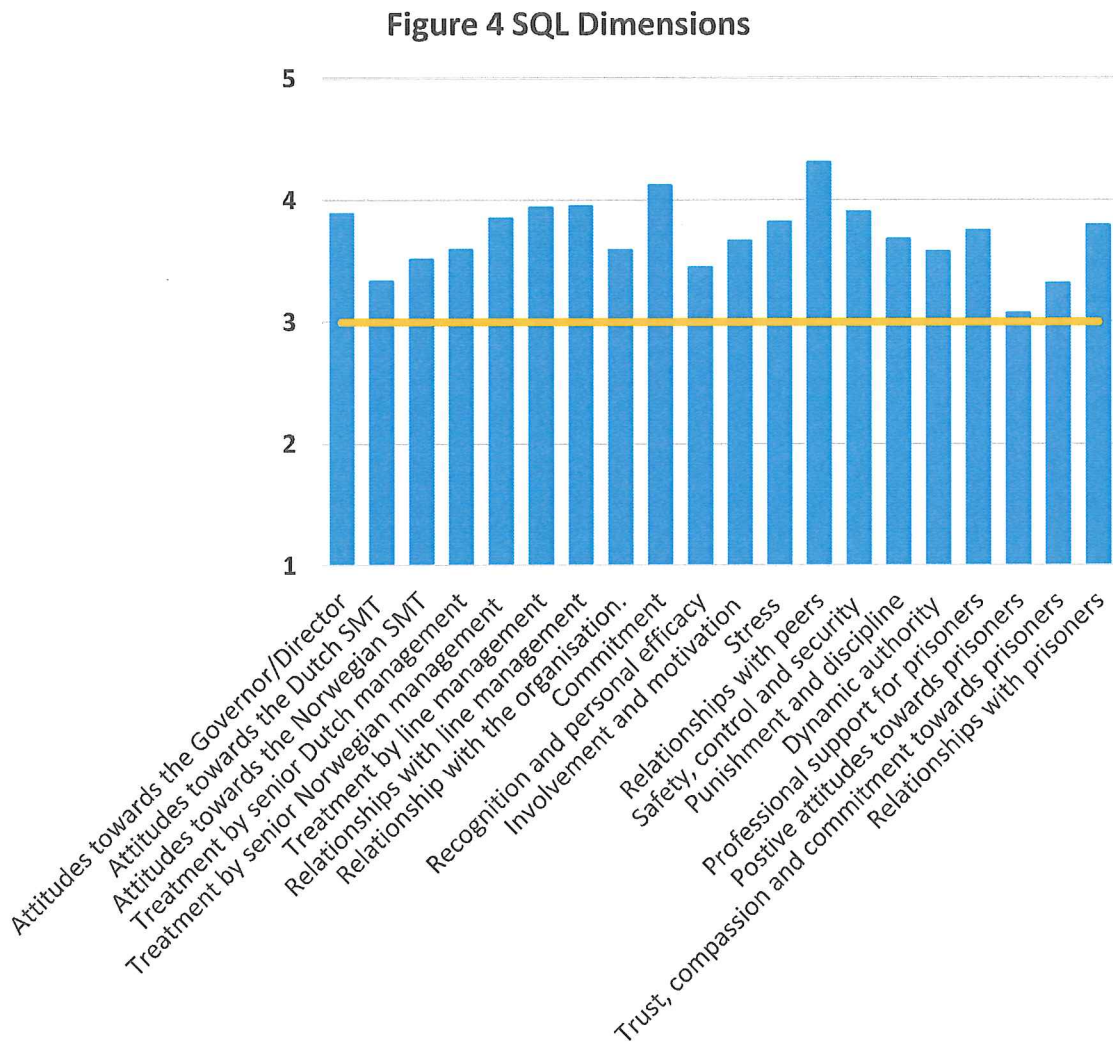
Norgerhaven Appendix

Table 4: SQL Dimensions

Staff (SQL) survey scores	N	Mean	Alpha
Attitudes towards the Governor/Director	98	3,89	.653
Attitudes towards the Dutch SMT	97	3,33	.872
Attitudes towards the Norwegian SMT	99	3,51	.805
Treatment by senior Dutch management	96	3,59	.940
Treatment by senior Norwegian management	99	3,85	.918
Treatment by line management	99	3,94	.657
Relationships with line management	99	3,95	.867
Relationship with the organisation.	98	3,59	.791
Commitment	99	4,12	.789
Recognition and personal efficacy	99	3,45	.829
Involvement and motivation	99	3,67	.634
Stress	99	3,82	.796
Relationships with peers	97	4,31	.898
Safety, control and security	96	3,91	.627
Punishment and discipline	92	3,68	.545
Dynamic authority	95	3,58	.615
Professional support for prisoners	93	3,75	.427
Postive attitudes towards prisoners	93	3,07	.513
Trust, compassion and commitment towards prisoners	99	3,32	.455
Relationships with prisoners	87	3,80	.779
Quality of working life (scale 1-10)	99	7,59	

Norgerhaven Appendix

Figure 4: SQL Dimensions



Norgerhaven Appendix

Figure 5: Heavy-Light / Absent-Present

