Visualizing Prison Life: Does Prison Architecture Influence Correctional Officer Behaviour? An Exploratory Study

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Abstract:

How much can prison architecture influence prisoner-correctional officer behaviour? Compared to old style, large and long corridor linear prison units, new style "direct supervision" architecture offers smaller units and a podular design that its proponents claim are expected to encourage greater interaction between correctional staff and prisoners. More interaction is intended to lead to more informal CO influence and less use of coercive relations to manage prisoners. Little research has been done, however, to confirm this rather bold claim, particularly the notion of more time spent interacting. To explore the influence of unit type on CO- prisoner behaviour, we observed and then compared the time officers spent speaking with prisoners on direct supervision units with officers on linear units. Headingley Correctional Centre, a provincial institution in Manitoba was considered an ideal site because it has both old style linear units in their main building, constructed in 1930, and direct supervision units, built in 2000. The direct supervision physical design at Headingley and practice of stationing of the officer right on the unit clearly appeared to increase opportunities and time spent interacting with prisoners. The short periods of time spent on the linear units by correctional officers made it very difficult to use an interactive style of prisoner management. Results indicated that architecture mattered, and direct supervision units promoted more correctional officer-prisoner interaction.

Introduction

At the macro level, prison architecture can say much about cultural values and the way the state perceives its people and how they are best controlled (Evans 1982; Fairweather and McConville 2000; Foucault 1978; Johnston 2000). At the micro level, physical design can have a significant impact on how the primary institutional players—prisoners and correctional—officers, conduct their lives on a daily basis. Consider that prior to the 1970s, adult correctional institutions primarily used a static security style suited to the old linear style prison design in use since North American prisons were first built in the 1700s (Fairweather and McConville 2000; Johnston 1973; 2000). The linear style design saw long cell blocks stacked on top of each other, these blocks often emanating from a central movement area, like spokes from a bicycle wheel (sometimes referred to as a "star" design). The static security style meant that correctional officers (COs) talked to prisoners only when necessary. COs manned closed posts at the end of the tiers and only made contact with prisoners for the purposes of contraband searches, counts, opening and closing doors, escort duties, and responding to trouble. Interaction was either structured along institutional routines (e.g., correctional officer patrols) or reactive (response to misbehaviour), and minimal in either case.

Times change, and so did prison design. In contrast to the more impersonal static security approach, since the 1970s adult prison design has moved in a direction that promotes a more interactive, direct supervision style of prisoner management by correctional officers. Direct supervision (DS) was first proposed back in the 1960s in youth justice systems in the United States and has slowly worked its way into becoming an important feature of contemporary corrections practice in the U.S. and Canada (Wener 2006). Broadly defined, DS sees correctional officers more often being physically on a unit or tier and communicating with prisoners on a regular basis. Correctional officers use this interactive style to gather information from prisoner sources and more proactively manage potential prisoner problems such as fighting or bringing in contraband. Interaction ideally leads to more trusting relations between staff and prisoners and sharing of information. In addition,

many correctional systems now involve their correctional officers in casework duties such as program and release planning, giving COs more to talk about with prisoners (Weinrath 2009; Wener 2006; Zupan 1991). Direct supervision is arguably the most significant development in the correctional officer job in the 20th century.

Architecturally, direct supervision prisons typically conform to a podular design that is more open and inviting both externally and internally (Wener 2006). Ideally, DS features smaller living units (20-40 prisoners), single cells and common areas for prisoners to interact, and offers more privacy by having single-bunked cells. The open design and lower staff-to-prisoner ratio allows for more frequent interaction between prisoners and correctional officers. Open sight lines within podular units allow for staff to directly observe prisoner activity, which discourages misbehaviour. In addition to the officers on the unit, in some designs there is a staff station separating officers from prisoners by glass, and in others an open staff station is right on the unit. There is also usually a staff office on the unit, which makes private or open meetings more convenient, again increasing the potential for communication between correctional officers and prisoners.

Despite the significance of direct supervision as a way to structure prison relations, there is only a limited literature available and very few studies that examine the impact of institutional design on staff-prisoner interaction. Studies have been conducted on some of the behavioural outcomes from DS (Wener 2006), and its implementation (Tartaro 2006). Significantly, there are very few studies that seek to understand how the DS function is actually performed by staff. Methods include either staff/ prisoner interviews or official records of misconduct reviewed, but there are few observational studies of how correctional officers "do" prisoner direct supervision. Also, while comparisons of misconduct are conducted between institutions and using before/after designs on DS units (Senese, Wilson, Evans, Aguirre and Kalinich 1997), there are few comparisons of CO behaviour on DS versus traditional linear units. It is generally assumed that COs will talk more to offenders in DS units, but there is little evidence that this has occurred. Some

scholars have found significant resistance to the implementation of DS by correctional officers (Tartaro 2006), while others have challenged the efficacy of implementing direct supervision in old-style linear facilities. Resistance should not be totally surprising: DS principles fly in the fact of historic subcultural norms demanding silence between correctional officers and prisoners (Ricciardelli 2014; Sykes 1958).[57]

There are some downsides to the application of direct supervision. Most notably, podular design with clear sight lines substantially limits prisoner privacy; they are under the watchful eye of correctional staff or cameras at all times. Such construction starts to replicate Bentham's (1995) "panopticon" ideal of constant surveillance, which may enhance security and feelings of safety, but at a cost of less privacy and perhaps greater tension for prisoners. Thus, ironically, the generally humanitarian aims of DS can sometimes result in less comfortable housing for prisoners (McElligott 2007). Inevitably, however, construction of units with perfect visibility is rarely achieved. For example, the Ontario government hoped to reduce staffing in its new provincial super-jails through less blind spots (more secure). But compromises are often made during expensive construction projects, and their new super-jails had numerous hidden or obscured areas. Thus, staff were still necessary to patrol those areas, resulting in little or no savings (McElligott 2007; 2008).

Crewe (2011) has questioned the beneficence of direct supervision and the building of relationships between correctional staff and prisoners. Is it progress or simply another means of correctional surveillance and control? While humanistic goals of offender

[57] In recent research, Weinrath (2009) conducted in-depth interviews with 62 prisoners and staff across Western Canada in provincial and federal facilities, including 18 prisoners and 4 staff at Headingley Correctional Centre, the site of the study reported here. His subjects reported large changes had occurred in prisoner-staff communication, but this appeared to be more pronounced in places such as the direct supervision units at HCC, compared to the old linear ranges in the main building. Staff and prisoners were generally positive about DS, however the physical plant in the older main building was reported to limit CO- prisoner communication. Other factors he found positively affecting the use of direct supervision included technology (access to prisoner records) and the requirement of correctional officers to perform casework duties (requirement to learn about prisoners and interact).

assistance are espoused, Crewe found that the "soft power" wielded by correctional officers (influential recommendations for release, placement, security level) created anxiety amongst prisoners and could be used in a coercive fashion to obtain information or direct offender behaviour.

Understanding the impact of prison design on prisoner and correctional officer behaviour is of critical importance, especially when one considers the millions of dollars invested in new prisons and their longevity – poorly built prisons may be around for a hundred years. This has particular salience for Canadian correctional institutions, given the projected 6,300 beds slated for construction over the next few years (Piche 2014). Despite a declining crime rate, Canada is expanding its prison capacity, thus it is imperative that we build prisons that will promote humane and effective prisoner -staff relations.

In this paper, we explore the association between prison design and correctional officer behaviour by reporting on observations of correctional officer behaviour on traditional linear and new generation units at Headingley Correctional Centre (HCC), situated just outside of Winnipeg, Manitoba. Using different times of day and adjusting for institutional scheduling, we seek to assess how direct supervision works in new style DS units and also, in linear units not ideally suited to this strategy. This paper also seeks to contribute to social science writings on "visibility," an emergent field. Brighenti (2007) argues that a lens of visibility encapsulates critical domains of aesthetics (perception) and politics (power). What better place than a prison to study prisoner behaviours we expect to be influenced by both the perception of the immediate physical space (institutional unit) and the power exercised by correctional officers?

Review of the Literature

Researchers (mostly American) have found empirical support for the use of direct supervision. There are several beneficial findings for correctional officers. For example, DS units have been found to decrease the likelihood of prisoner-officer assaults (Farbstein and

Wener 1986; Wener 2006). In a review of DS empirical studies, Wener (2006) found that correctional officers working on direct supervision units perceived more personal authority in working with prisoners and felt that they had more control when compared to COs in linear units. He concluded that this contributed to additional findings of increased professionalism and job satisfaction, and led to an enriched working environment. Additionally, most officers felt that strong interpersonal skills were the key to successfully managing their job. Finally, Wener (2006) reported on several studies that found improved staff and prisoner safety and reduced incidents in DS units. Significantly, he also found that many of the operational problems on direct supervision units were the result of insufficient staff training, rather than problems with interaction or physical design features.

Studies also indicate that DS has benefits for prisoners. In their study, Williams, Rodeheaver and Huggins (1999) found that prisoners on direct supervision units had a more positive attitude towards officers than those prisoners on linear style units (486). Likewise, in a Dutch study, Beijersbergen, Dirkzwager, van der Laan and Nieuwbeerta (2014) reported more positive relations between prisoners and staff in DS units compared to those housed on older units. When comparing reoffence rates between offenders from DS or linear prisons, Applegate, Surrette and McCarthy (1999) found no difference, but their data did suggest more prisoner time in DS units discouraged recidivism. In other words, more time spent in a positive environment with close contact with correctional officers improved subsequent behaviour. In several U.S. studies DS units showed lower disciplinary reports and prisoner problems compared to traditional linear (Senese *et al*. 1997; Williams, Rodeheaver and Huggins 1999). Bayens, Williams and Smykla (1997) found that minor violations (e.g., disrespect of officer) increased after offenders were moved to a DS unit, but serious violence, suicides, and escapes were down. They concluded that DS officers supervised prisoners more closely and that minor violations had a suppressive effect on more serious misbehaviour. Despite these optimistic findings, more recent research has not been so favourable. Applying prisoner misconduct as an outcome measure to a survey of 50 U.S. prisons, Morris and Worrall (2014) found that direct supervision, campus

style units actually experienced *more* non-assaultive security violations (threats, violating unit safety rules) and increased property problems (theft from other prisoners) than older prisons.

Differences in outcomes may be influenced by program fidelity. Implementation can be a problem for direct supervision. Wener (2006) found that many of the operational problems on direct supervision units were the result of insufficient staff training. Following a survey of 76 U.S. jails, Tartaro (2002) concluded that many facilities were not being built as close to DS guidelines as they should. Units were often too large (many beds) or did not provide for officer time on the unit. Furthermore, despite a large increase in job complexity, correctional officers were being placed in DS units without necessary training.

Pioneering studies by Farbstein and Wener (1986) used surveys and case study comparisons of indirect versus direct supervision facilities. Likely because of cost, studies similar in scope are not seen today. Their case studies involved seven similar medium security jail and prisons: three direct, three indirect, and one hybrid. They used observation to compare time spent by correctional officers on DS units compared to linear style, as well as the quality of interactions between prisoners and staff. They found that offenders were more likely to initiate interaction in DS facilities, and that staff tended to interact more with prisoners in direct supervision facilities.

Thus, the research suggests that more interaction will be found in a DS facility. To our knowledge, this finding has not been replicated and there is no Canadian research regarding this. Of course, the institutional culture of a facility might well influence the overall tendency of staff to interact, hence Farbstein and Wener (1986) may have overestimated the potential differences in their case studies. A study in a facility with both linear and DS units (as we undertook) offers a means to control for potential institutional culture and environmental effects.

The Study Site: Direct Supervision at Headingley Correctional Centre

Headingley Correctional Centre (HCC) offers some unique features that make it ideal for a study on the subject of direct supervision. Their DS unit was built in 2000, and consists of 96 cells. In contrast, HCC also has a main building featuring old linear style units with "dayrooms" for prisoners. Direct supervision is to be applied by staff in each area of the prison, but the linear style units limit prisoner contact. For example, prisoners are behind the bars when an officer makes his or her rounds, clearly an impediment to establishing rapport. The staff station, and hence work area, is located just off the unit and is not visible to prisoners. If officers need to engage in casework conversations, they must use offices that are located just off the unit. Given the work requirements over a 12 hour shift, finding time for office use is not easy.

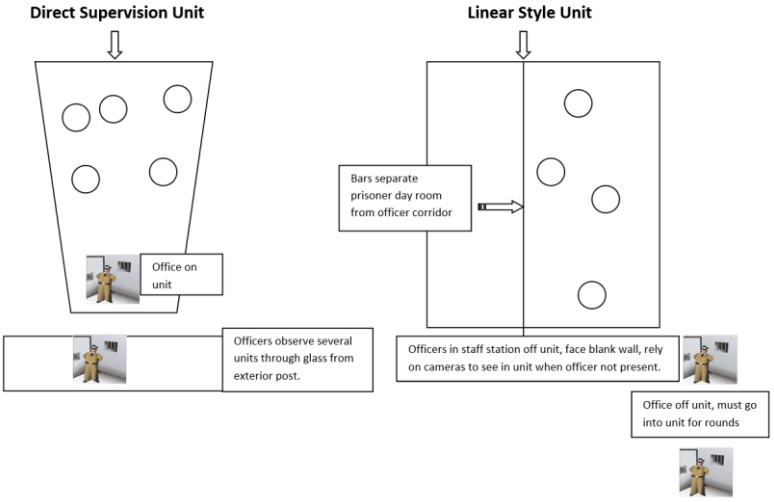

Figure 1. Direct supervision and linear unit layout at Headingly Correctional Centre.

Research Questions

In our study, we first wished to replicate some of the previous work by Farbstein and Wener and confirm whether DS officers:

a. spend more time on the unit than officers in the linear units, and;

b. spend more time interacting with prisoners.

We are interested in both the forms of interaction, and how correctional centre practices and routines might structure communication, particularly on the linear units.

Method

Our principal research feature is an observational strategy that quantifies interaction patterns using videotapes of direct supervision and linear units with comparable prisoner residents. The HCC program manager was the research liaison for the project and provided invaluable assistance in coordinating the videotapes and arranging space in a downtown office to view them. Researchers visited HCC over a period of months, receiving a tour and orientation, observing on the DS units, and asking questions to inform their later analysis of the video observation. Observation consisted of first watching correctional centre videos of a direct supervision unit housing general population prisoners, and secondly, examining tapes of linear units that housed general population prisoners. Interactions between correctional officers and offenders were coded for[58]:

Unit type: DS or linear.

Frequency: How often did CO or prisoner commence an interaction?

Length: How long (in minutes) was the interaction?

[58] We also coded time of day (Morning/Afternoon versus Evening) and time of week: Weekday/Weekend. We found lengthier and more frequent interactions in the evening versus day, but found them lengthier for both DS and linear units (results available on request).

Unit Stay: How much time did the correctional officer spend on unit, per visit?

Unit Stay by Interactions: How often did the CO interact when appearing on a unit?

Percentage Interacting: What percentage of CO time on unit was spent interacting with prisoners?

Gender of correctional officers: Male/Female.

Comparisons were made using percentages, while the stability of associations was made by application of *t*-distribution and chi-square tests of statistical significance.

Sampling

Originally we had intended to view security videotapes of staff and prisoners on a single unit, examining the 16 hour period when prisoners are out of their cells, using consecutive seven day periods. Coordinating the transport of the tapes from HCC to a central secure location downtown proved problematic. VHS tapes were recycled at the prison and in short supply, and the digital tapes that were recorded often did not match the intended viewing time periods. So, our observation times were less than ideal but we came up with several different viewing strategies that we feel gave us a reasonable picture of CO- prisoner interaction on the units.

Sixteen tapes were analyzed from a direct supervision unit and 15 tapes from two different blocks of linear style units. One eight-hour day was coded from each unit to obtain a general understanding of the prison's daily routine. For the remainder of the videos, 3 hour random samples were coded from the morning, afternoon, or evening. We did not use periods before the prisoners were awake in the morning, and never over the staff meeting period, as no prisoner-staff contact was possible at these times. There were no troubling incidents observed on the tapes, and so far as we know, there were no efforts made by HCC administration to review the tapes prior to our receiving them.

Videotape Coding and Data Collection

Our decision to use a video observation was guided by practical, resource, and methodological considerations. First, for a research observer to be allowed on a prison unit to take notes or simply watch was not going to be allowed by corrections because of the risk and intrusiveness. Nor was it economically feasible to place an investigator on a unit because this study was unfunded. Finally, there is the issue of reactivity, whereby the presence of an observer might unduly influence the behaviour of staff and prisoners. The use of videos got around the problem of reactivity and was a cost-effective alternative to direct observation (Jackson and Verberg 2006). This did limit our ability to assess the quality of interaction; the restrictions of the video method in controlling for independent and dependent variables in research has been discussed by Seawright and Sampson (2007). For recording of simple behaviours, however, this method appeared effective (Arnberger and Eder 2007).

Information was gathered regarding number of interactions, length of interactions and total time on the unit**.** In the videos for both linear and direct supervision, conversations were inaudible so body language and hand gestures were heavily relied upon to distinguish between interaction and simply making conducting a security round[59]. It was found that few interactions occurred without some form of body language accompanying them. If an officer was seen playing cards with a prisoner, this was counted as a continual interaction. Also, each conversation with a different prisoner was counted as a new interaction because this best represented the number of interactions an officer had when on the unit.

The video camera was housed in a large staff station that looked downwards on five DS units. Facing the units, the bottom is a solid wall about six feet high with a door in the middle of each unit. Above the wall is glassed in. The external staff station is positioned above the DS units, looking down over the wall. Likewise, the camera was stationed up high in the external staff station and provided a good overview of the DS unit. Regrettably, the steep

[59] A round consists of an officer going through a unit, checking to make sure all prisoners are accounted for and checking for any signs of potential problems. Unit rounds are noted in a log book.

angle of the view cut out any view of people talking right in front of the wall (staff in the external station cannot see either), and the wall also obscured a view of the CO office. When an officer fell out of sight of the camera (and researchers) for ten seconds they were coded as being off the unit. Of course, we could not be sure if they were still on the unit, if they had gone into the office, or if any interactions were taking place, but we decided to record what we saw and make the conservative estimate. While it is unlikely that we missed many interactions in the DS unit (most interactions took place in the middle area and by the cells), we likely did underestimate the amount of time that prisoners spent talking to staff just outside or inside the unit. We have no idea of how long prisoners spent talking to correctional officers just outside or in their office, which was unfortunate because these are more private areas and more intimate (and important) conversations are possible.

In the linear units, the majority of interactions were conducted during escorts, usually to and from the shower and other areas, and CO rounds. We coded an interaction from the time a cell door opened, because inevitably, communication ensued. The opening of the cell door while the correctional officer counted cutlery (meals delivered on units) was recorded as an interaction because there was an invitation for the prisoners to talk to the officer if they wished and they typically did so. It was difficult to see whether or not an interaction was taking place at the far door of the linear unit, for this reason an interaction was only recorded if there were obvious hand gestures, the cell door was open or an officer was leaning on the cell. In cases where the officer left the linear unit and was out of view for more than thirty seconds and then returned, we counted it as two separate appearances on the unit. If an officer was escorting an individual, or dispensing medication or other items, this counted as one interaction unless there was a distinctive pause between interactions. This is because there were a large number of small interactions occurring during this time and it would not be feasible to start and stop the interaction times, because this risked being inaccurate.

Ethics

The research was approved by the University of Winnipeg's institutional review board. When first considered, watching videotapes of individuals who may not be aware that they are being taped seems intrusive. However, prisoners and staff are videotaped every day in the institution for reasons of security and safety, as well as for potential use in the event of an incident, and prisoners and staff are all aware of this. Regardless, we posted notices in affected areas about our research informing offenders and staff that there was a possibility that they might be part of the study, and also assuring them that they would not be identified. In the analysis that follows we omit any references that might disclose staff or prisoner identities.

Study Limitations

The small sample sizes for the videos are limitations for both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of this study. The camera in the direct supervision unit left out the corners of the unit, therefore, we could not see if an interaction progressed or even started if it took place out of view. The view of the linear unit camera was also limited, as it could not account for interactions that took place at the end of the hallway. It was also difficult to code some interactions reliably as we had to rely on body language. Despite these limitations, we believe that the data display provided some important findings about the nature of correctional officer interaction and the limitations of both DS and linear units in promoting dialogue. Larger video samples might help us better specify situations or times of day where interaction is more or less likely between staff and prisoners, but the duration and frequency of day to day interactions is, to our mind, unlikely to change dramatically.

Finally, we cannot rule out the possibility that the tapes may not have included correctional officer deviance that was hidden from official view. Goldsmith (2010), drawing on the work of Goffman (1971) argues that the police (and, we contend, correctional officers) need to demonstrate proper conduct to the public, but that technology and media can impede this, as videos via CCTV or cell

phones have made visible misconduct that was previously "invisible" to most of the public. Likewise, correctional officers have become more easily scrutinized within institutions with the advent of video surveillance, but they have been known to avoid cameras and engage in inappropriate behaviour. For example, in Ontario recently the ombudsman revealed that correctional staff routinely assaulted offenders out of view of cameras, in elevators or other places not being taped (Marin 2013).

Findings

On the direct supervision unit the average interaction is 2.86 minutes long, more than three times the linear unit average of .81 minutes, a 71% difference that is statistically significant (Table 1). Averages are useful for summarizing, but in this case they do not give the whole picture. As the large standard deviations and range variations suggest, the DS officers sometimes engage in very long interactions and will spend a long time on the unit (skewing the data a bit) but this does not occur on the linear units. Overall, however, the mean differences between the linear and DS units are strong and confirm that there are lengthier interactions between DS officers and prisoners.

Table 1

Total minutes of interaction time between COs and prisoners

Unit Design	*N*	Mean	Range	Mean Difference	% Difference	*t*
Direct	293	2.86 (7.52)	51.52	2.05	71.70%	4.63***
Linear	370	0.81 (1.13)	9.47			

Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses. **p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001*

Officers tended to spend much more of their time on the direct supervision unit (Figure 2). Within a three hour block of time DS officers spent 41% of their time on the unit, compared to just 17.5% for linear officers. We do not report statistical significance here because we had to use a smaller sample size (15 three hour videos).

The layout of the unit had a clear effect on the total time an officer spent on the unit per visit. On average, officers spent 5.70 minutes at a time on the direct supervision unit while the average for the linear unit was only 1.34 minutes (Table 2). Note that this total does not include time the DS officer spent in his/her office on the unit.

Unit type was associated with the number of interactions per appearance on the unit. The average number of interactions on the direct supervision unit was 1.97, whereas on the linear unit the average was 1.20. This is a 39% difference that is unlikely to have occurred by chance (Table 3).

Against the trend in findings, direct supervision based COs actually spend a lower percentage of their time interacting with prisoners when they are on their unit (Table 4). On average, DS officers

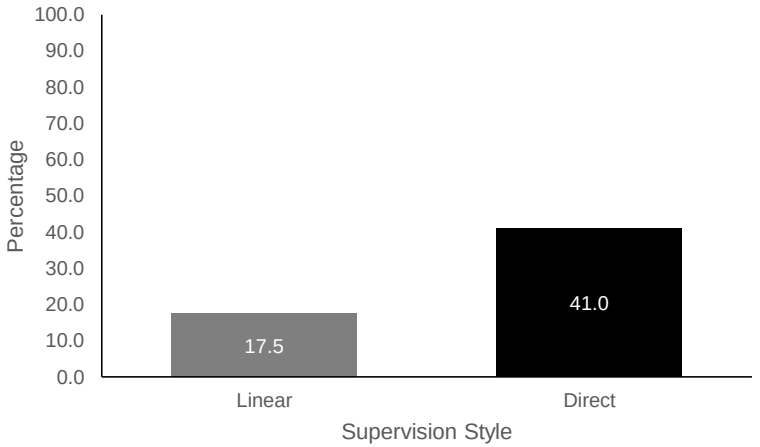

Figure 2. Percentage of time COs spent on unit per 3 hour block.

Table 2

Total time in minutes on unit COs spent per visit

Unit Design	*N*	Mean	Range	Mean Difference	% Difference	*t*
Direct	293	5.70 (9.38)	53.59	4.36	76.50%	7.89***
Linear	370	1.34 (1.26)	9.60			

Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses. **p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001*

Table 3

Number of interactions between COs and prisoners per appearance.

Unit Design	*N*	Mean	Range	Mean Difference	% Difference	*t*
Direct	293	1.97 (3.32)	23	0.77	39.10%	3.82***
Linear	370	1.20 (1.00)	6			

Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses. **p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001*

spend 32% of their time interacting, whereas on the linear unit, officers spend about 50% of the time interacting. Perhaps surprisingly, in both units, some officers might spend an entire visit without interacting. This finding is somewhat counter-intuitive – all our other findings indicate that there is more prisoner communication happening in the DS areas. However, the simple explanation is that DS officers spend substantially more time overall on the unit, so they can still communicate more overall even though

Table 4

Percentage of time COs spent interacting with prisoners

Unit Design	*N*	Mean	Range	Mean Difference	% Difference	*t*
Direct	293	31.90 (36.40)	100	17.6	35.50%	6.30***
Linear	370	49.50 (35.10)	100			

Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses. **p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001*

it may make up a smaller percentage of their time. Linear unit officers do not spend as much time on their units, so the limited time they do spend is more likely to involve speaking with prisoners on casework issues or to address offender requests.

Our qualitative observations of the nature of interactions also suggested differences influenced by routines, which in turn were influenced by unit design. Both DS and linear unit officers were supposed to be "doing" direct supervision, but the nature and tone of interactions were generally different. We observed more frequently a business-like appearance by linear unit officers: they engaged in shorter, more focused interactions with prisoners, quite different from the more often laid-back discussions involving DS officers.

Discussion and Conclusion

Consistent with the extant research, we found that correctional officers spend more time interacting with prisoners in direct supervision units than in linear style units. Even controlling for correctional centre culture and training by running our study in the same institution, correctional officers spent more time on the DS units away from their staff stations and officers, had more conversations and spent more time interacting with offenders and

tended to spend longer amounts of time communicating with offenders.

To a great degree, COs in linear units had their time interacting with prisoners still structured around the routines of the Headingley Correctional Centre. Prisoners would talk with COs during scheduled routines such as escorts, meals, and rounds. This style lent a certain amount of efficiency to correctional officer performance of their duties: interactions during rounds might take place with bars between the prisoner and CO; thus, interactions would take no longer than necessary. From an efficiency perspective, this might leave more time for paperwork or doing other duties. Concerns about correctional officers becoming too close to prisoners, or conversely offenders being too friendly with COs, would be minimized in such relations. To have a private conversation, the correctional officer would have to literally escort the prisoner off the unit to the exterior office to talk in private. The physical structure of the linear section of Headingley certainly limited opportunities for talk.

Direct supervision design certainly provided more physical opportunity for prisoners and staff to dialogue. Architecture made a difference. The correctional officers were often right in the middle of the unit, physically in a position where prisoners would be in the immediate vicinity. We observed conversations being struck up. Aside from day-to-day concerns, general talk could entertain a variety of topics. Relationship building, albeit of a more distant, professional sort, appeared to have greater potential in the direct supervision units. The no-talk prohibitions of past correctional officer- prisoner relations (Ricciardelli 2014; Sykes 1957) were not evident in the DS units, but relations appeared much more restrained in our views of the linear units. Given the likelihood of more prison beds and overcrowding in Canadian correctional institutions (Piche 2014), the building of positive relations between COs and prisoners appears more important than ever.

What about the "new visibility" of correctional officers? As Goldsmith suggested in his case studies of police, did the use of cameras encourage more positive behaviour on the part of correctional officers in both linear and DS settings because they

knew they were under scrutiny? If nothing else, we were reminded in the study about how much physical activity within the prison is not easily observed. Between blind spots, required movement for activities like showers, and the use and availability of private offices, there were still many opportunities for COs and prisoners to interact privately. How much of a deterrent cameras were is difficult to assess, however they were far from pervasive in their use. Bentham's panopticon was far from being realized.

Confirming that there is indeed more interaction in direct supervision units is important but does not provide us with the whole picture. While we see talk happening, of course we do not know the quality of the conversation and whether or not it is helping correctional officers positively influence prisoners. For ethical reasons, tape-recoding CO- prisoner conversations is not feasible, but future research in the form of attitudinal surveys or open-ended qualitative questions could shed light on whether or not progress is being realized. Direct supervision promises better relations, but in our study we can only confirm quantity, not quality. For future research, we need to know more about how to make CO-prisoner interaction useful, and how correctional officers can better exercise their authority in the DS milieu.

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