Sociologiska institutionen

Building Trust, Reducing Conflict

"An exploration of Micro Interactions between Correctional Transport Officers

and Inmates"

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Vårterminen 2023

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study includes participant observations which were conducted within the transport department of the Swedish correctional service whose main task is to conduct and perform various tasks regarding transports of individuals within the custody of the correctional office. This regarde mainly people awaiting trial who are being transported to court proceedings or to different facilities. The main goal of the study was to map out and explore how officers whose job it was to maintain the custody of an inmate or a person awaiting trial, and the person which were being transported interacted and developed trust in the limited time frame they had together while the officers and inmate maintained their perceived social roles. Fieldwork resulted in 15 observations with one observation averaging around seven hours. From previous research and established sociological interactional theories, such as Goffman and Collins, patterns and operationalization could be made through analysis of the collected data. The study was limited both in time as well as scope, where more time would have resulted in larger amounts of data and a broader analysis of more complex forms of interaction. This is something that could be expanded upon in future research and come to great use in further education in how to establish trust as well as conflict avoidance training.

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1. Introduction

I've spent a summer working for the correctional service in Sweden where my work description consisted of transporting people who either were in custody awaiting trial to the courtroom or transporting people from different facilities either from one kind of facility to another as well as from holding facilities to services such as doctors appointments, dentist appointments et cetera. It's safe to say that in this period of time I got the chance to meet and talk to people I normally do not meet. What initially struck me was the seemingly laid back approach many of my colleagues had towards the inmate in our custody which helped lighten the tension between the two parts. What further surprised me was that in many cases the inmate opened up and communicated rather freely to their captors. This social adaptation to ease the supposed tension between officer and inmate as to make the temporary situation less stressful for both parties intrigued me. It seemed to me that both parties were able to engage in a social transaction where they would treat each other in a more friendly context to subvert the fact that one was clearly in a power position as a captor and the other as a suspect of a serious crime.

During my stay at the correctional service I never once experienced an event where I had to use physical force and very seldom where the people we transported were rude or unwilling to cooperate. I never received a direct threat or insult and the majority of inmates were either polite or not very responsive at all. There were times where inmates started of acting like they were going to be a handful and projected a will to not cooperate, but shortly after this initial performance they monitored our reaction which was calm and often dismissive of this persona without criticizing it but dealing with it in a much more laid back fashion, they changed in to a much more polite and cooperative attitude.

The fact that we only were the transport personnel who only spend maximum a day with the convict, there was a sense of relaxation toward us that we would not stick a round for long and the necessary postering was not really required. The same went for our behavior. We could afford a much more relaxed and friendly demeanor with the inmate due to the fact that we were responsible for the person's custody only for a limited time which helped greatly in the relaxed and many times seemingly friendly behavior from both parties. There seemed to be a sort of unspoken rule of "we won't make your life hard and you won't make our life hard" that both parties subscribed to. This was more common in regards to heavier criminals

who seemed to internalize their status as a criminal, where the act of going to court was not so emotional as it was "just another day at work".

Participant observations (PO) are used in the paper where I as an on duty correctional transport officer have gathered a collection of observations from the perspective of a "captor" thus making me fully included in the interactions being studied.

This paper is concerned with studying these interactions between inmates and officers as well as the underlying motivations and micro interactions that occur between the two parties. My interests are directed towards how trust is built in a relatively short time frame in a set environment where the dynamics are shifted towards one party having all the power over the other. I am interested in what social and commutative techniques are common for officers and how inmates relate and adapt to their seemingly powerless position. These observations are analyzed through a micro-interactional perspective where the theories from Goffman (1956,59,61,82) and Collins (2004) are at the forefront together with modern reachers relevant to the subject.

So what is the importance of this paper? This question has several different answers depending on which perspective you chose to view it from. One reason might be to explore the already set theories from Goffman and Collins and see how they play out in a specific setting where certain preconceptions and set frameworks are at play. Another more practical reason might be the necessity to explore social tools and tactics used by professionals in professions where conflict with seemingly dangerous people can occur and deepen your understanding of this kind of interaction to then better prepare and teach future professionals about what they might expect and what they can do to contribute to a more calm and de-escalating conduct. It is about how one builds trust and avoids unnecessary conflict in a tightly controlled setting with distinct social roles.

1.1 Issue and researcher questions

This paper is about how transport correctional officers interact with convicts. In deepening this line of thinking lies more paths to follow such as, what is the primary goal for correctional officers when interacting with the people they are transporting and how do they achieve these motivations in communication. There is a line between showing authority, "I

am the one in control here", and building trust for the sake of avoiding conflict, "I won't use my power unfairly towards you if you cooperate". Finally there is a path of what happens when communication breaks down and opposite interests clash.

   The purpose is to explore social interactions, rituals, and associated phenomena as well as how trust is formed in and through interactions and rituals, within the setting of prison transports. The thesis will also seek to understand how the involved parties within these interactions maintain and reinforce their social roles. Two questions stand in the center:

1. How is trust built between correctional transport officers and inmates using micro interactions?
2. How do correctional transport officers and inmates use micro interactions to reinforce their roles in a matter that does not result in conflict?

2. Theory

Analyzing the exchange between two or more parties can be done in many ways but in this paper we are going to implement the sociological perspective of micro interaction and interactional chain ritual theory spearheaded by Erving Goffman (1956,59,61,82) and Randall Collins (2004). This field of sociology argues that small scale person to person interactions have a scale up effect on broader society and through complex processes of negotiation and meaning-making. Through the use of language, body language and other non verbal cues to communicate between individuals to establish a shared understanding of social reality. By making and negotiating social rules between parties and individuals through micro interactions as to what is appropriate social behavior. The idea of "saving face" is prominent in the micro-interaction theory of sociology where rules of engagement are negotiated to a point where parties can engage with each other without anyone "losing face" or falling to uphold their presented self as positive social value during social interactions. If social micro-interactions fall apart and fail, someone loses face and therefore can lead to long term negative social consequences. This can lead to further breakdown in communication and lowering of what Collins calls "emotional energy" (Collins, 2004). This idea of losing face is prevalent in Goffman's work on micro social interaction. Micro-interactional theory is a collection of work that shows how bigger social structures are formed through individual

interactions and uses these interactions as a way to explain bigger social structures. In this paper we will be looking at very specific instances and interactions to explain mechanisms of trust building and bridging as a tool in a working environment as well as a way for inmates to make sense of their situation through social interaction. The broader conclusion one can make through these interactions is how trust is built in this specific context. How do these parties make sense of the world through their interactions? This is why this specific perspective of micro-interactional sociological theory has been chosen.

2.1 Goffman

Erving Goffman work is an early and influential take on modern mico-interaction in sociology. His work concerned itself with face-to-face interactions as presenting oneself and managing how one self is perceived by others. One central idea that will be significant in this paper is Goffman's concept of "face", which in his book "*The Nature of Deference and Demeanor*". "Face" refers to the positive social value one claims for themselves and works to uphold in their face-to-face interactions. The act of losing face becomes something that both parties work to avoid and insure that everyone can keep "face" if the interaction is cooperative and good spirited (Goffman, 1956). Goffman mentions the act of getting caught in a lie which then leads to humiliation, feelings of shame and a loss of face (Goffman, 1959, p. 40). Goffman calls this cooperation and mutual respect for the interaction as "deference" as not being able to keep face can lead to negative social consequences (Goffman, 1956). Goffman also formulates a view of "interaction rituals" which refers to a more structured behavioral pattern individuals use to engage in social interaction. These rituals spring from societal rules and norms. In these rituals, symbols are used in order to achieve a common focus that leads to greater emotional energy as well as a shared excitement through a mutual focus during social interaction (Goffman, 1982). Another aspect of why Goffman's work is essential to this paper is the fact that he deals with the subject of what he calls "total institutions" in his book *"Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates"*. Here Goffman studies and explores the inner world of a psychiatric hospital and explores the dynamic between patients and how members of staff interact to establish their power (Goffman, 1961). Issues such as what effect "institutionalization" has on individual people and how it contributes to new roles and identities within the closure of institutions and abusive power dynamics which can lead to dehumanization and stigmatization (Goffman, 1961). This part of Goffman's work provides an excellent theoretic

base in which sociology previously have examined total institutions and how individuals are affected in such a setting. Goffman's focus on face-to-face interaction and how individuals derive identity and meaning in such circumstances such as a total institution is of great use in a paper which attempts to map out how trust and roles of power and identity are constructed and navigated through interactions between staff and subjects of, what Goffman would have called, a total institution.

2.2 Collins

Randall Collins is another and a more recent major contributor to the field of sociology and micro interactions and its rituals. It's clear upon reading Collins' work that he is clearly inspired by Goffman and builds upon Goffman's work. In Collins book "*Interaction Ritual Chains*" he dedicates a large chunk of the first chapter to present Goffman's work as well as Durkheim as cornerstones in face-to-face interaction and micro interactions in sociology (Collins, 2004). Collins contribution towards micro interaction theory is the argument that social events such as face-to-face interactions are not singular events but adhere to a larger construct over time and space. Interactions link together like chains where behavior and dynamics repeat themselves across several interactions (Collins, 2004, p. 41-44). This repetitiveness is aided with the use of symbols and produces emotional energy which in turn leads to a greater sense of belonging and solidarity among groups and people (Collins, 2004). The main work of Collins which this paper will rely on is the already mentioned book "*Interaction Ritual Chains*" where Collins exports how social interaction among individuals, face-to-face, use different components such as, body language, symbols, and interactional rituals to build social belonging and solidarity as well as separate social identities (Collins, 2004). The theme of power and power in groups is also something that Collins spends time on exploring where he argues that through navigating these rituals, individuals within groups or groups as a whole can gain and maintain positions of power and gain broader influence. The book also grapples with how these individuals or groups manage to maintain these social power positions through a longer period of time through social interactions and rituals (Collins, 2004). This in turn translates into broader and bigger social structures in border society which make up larger communities. Again, stemming from the idea of the micro perspective that folds and effects outwards toward larger and larger social institutions and structures in our societies. In Collins micro-interaction ritual theory, there exist four fundamental ritual ingredients which are: group assembly, barrier to outsiders, mutual focus

of attention and shared mood (Collins, 2004). All must be present to generate, through collective effervescence, ritual outcomes such as group solidarity, emotional energy in individuals, symbols of social relationships (sacred objects) and standards of morality (Collins, 2004). These ritual ingredients feed back upon each other, especially the mutual focus reinforces shared mood which then reinforces the mutual focus (Collins, 2004). Through these processes we can reap the rewards of social interaction and mutually focused and emotionally shared attention such as feelings of membership, emotional energy and higher levels of confidence. shared symbolism and feelings of morality as what feels right within the group (Collins, 2004). These natural rituals then have a goal of increasing the mutual focus and shared entertainment and more formal rituals such as more ceremonial gatherings and events. Collins also talks about what happens when these rituals fail and they fail at different levels. Some fade away while some fail miserably (Collins, 2004). Collins also mentioned what he called forced rituals where the actor needs to "put on appearances" of enthusiasm for the ritual to not fail. Both failed and forced rituals are energy-draining while successful, genuine rituals generate emotional energy (Collins, 2004, p.53).

2.3 Previous research

When it comes to more contemporary studies conducted on the subject, there seems to be a fair amount of work done with the focus on prisons and prison culture as well as more modern research concerning prison officer culture and emotional control. One such previous study is an ethnographic study done by Crawley which concerned itself with how prison officers conduct and manage their emotions as well as different emotional techniques in coping with inmates as well with each other (Crawley, 2004). Crawley puts emphasis on emotions which she argues is another form of communication within social interaction. By conducting an ethnographic study for several years in six different prisons, Crawley notes that prisons are a highly emotional place and emotional forms of communication are central for a prison officer in day- to day life both with inmate- officer relations and amongst officers themselves (Crawley, 2004). Crawley doesn't mention Collins or the term "emotional energy" in her work, but her stance on viewing emotions as a form of communication and its weight in face-to-face interactions makes it so that we can draw parallels between Crawley and Collins, as well as Goffman. Crawley puts forward a lot of interesting questions and observations in her work which I recognize in my own observations and which I find relevant towards the context of my work. The prison officer has to manage the emotions of the inmate

as well as their own "inside emotions" to control the inmate and uphold the appearance of a prison officer in front of colleagues (Crawley, 2004). Crawley notes that most officers feel equipped to handle inmates' anger but most of them lack a good response to manage inmates' emotions when a more patient and understanding approach is required (Crawley, 2004). She also highlights the necessity for officers to fit in and prove that they're "up for the job". Crawley also notes that the relationship between prison officer and inmate is much more intimate than example between a police officer and a criminal, which is much more of a fleeting and brief relationship. This of course plays a part in the emotional exchanges and interactions prison officers have with inmates (Crawley, 2004).

Other ethnographic research concerning prisons and prisoners have chosen to look at specific social constructs in relation to identity and social interactions in the context of imprisonment, such as Bengtsson (2016) who focuses on hypermasculinity and its effects on social identity in young confined offenders (Bengtsson, 2016). She argues that through Goffman's ideas of social frames as leading social interactions to establish a social hierarchy, the main dominant frame in especially young offenders is the focus on the hypermasculine idea of what constitutes "a real man". Even though multiple frames can exist in a social interaction at the same time, this dominant frame is what eventually shapes the interaction on a fundamental level (Bengtsson, 2016). Hegemonic and hyper masculine masculinity becomes an interactional symbol, which in turn is acted out in different social interactions to uphold the idea of being "a real man". These societal values are intensified in a setting of confinement where failing to live up to a hypermasculine ideal becomes detrimental (Bengtsson, 2016). Justifying violence to defend yourself when feeling questioned or violated in some way becomes a result of upholding this idea of hypermasculinity (Bengtsson, 2016). It becomes the only way one on the outskirts of society could uphold their gender identity and act out in hyper-masculine ways as "doing gender" (Bengtsson, 2016). Bengtsson has also written about boredom within total institutions and what role it plays in this sort of environment (Bengtsson, 2012). What she mentions as "edge work" or the activity of seeking thrills to avoid or cure boredom which is more prevalent amongst younger criminals and how they later struggle with boredom in total institutions (Bengtsson, 2012). Bengtsson's work delivers a view of total institutions in a Scandinavian setting, as her research is based in Denmark. This is relevant towards this paper as it sheds light on prison researchers close to home. The focus on representation through interaction as well as boredom comes in useful due to it being relevant in building trust through interaction. Where one chooses or feels

compelled to represent themselves has a central part in establishing trust and positive social rituals and higher levels of emotional energy. Boredom comes into play, often to a lesser degree where social interaction can be driven by motives of reducing boredom.

Another contentious topic among prison research is the focus on racism and its effect in the social world of the total institution. Phillips (2008) is a British researcher who has conducted ethnographic research combined with interviews in a prison located in south east England and how young offenders operate through racism and ethnic diversity within a total institution (Phillips, 2008). Here again Goffman is mentioned for his contribution in developing Sykes 'indigenous model' where the 'pain of imprisonment' leads them to an invested sense of identity (Phillips, 2008). This is compared to the 'importation model' which emphasizes individuals' subcultural belonging and racial ethnicity where American studies have shown white and black communities in prisons living in 'separate conflict-ridden social worlds' (Phillips, 2008). Through observations and interviews, Phillips concludes that racial patterns of behavior and ethnic grouping do occur but in general the social norm is to look down upon racism. Other factors such as where you are from in terms of local areas within the country becomes more significant when forming identity and bond with others. Most prisoners reported a positive attitude towards a more diverse blend of people within the prison and were supportive of other inmates' religious practices (Phillips, 2008).
While research on specific interactions between prison staff as correctional officers and inmates are scarce. There is more previous work when studying prison officers' working culture and forming of identity. Focus on security is also more common as well thought patterns, values and attitudes of officers (Nylander, 2011). Ethnographic studies in the US seems to have declined a bit, while the interest for these kinds of ethnographic studies have been more prevalent in Europe where British and French prisons are being studied (Wacquant, 2002).

Previous studies on personal characteristics and work environments effect on punishing or rehabilitating attitudes, are more common within police studies. However, some studies have focused on correctional officers professional attitudes, work environment, personal characteristics such as age, gender and experience, effect on punitive or disciplinary orientation contra more of a rehabilitative orientation (Griffin, 2002). Griffin found that age was a factor in determining professional orientation in correctional officers. Where younger officers showed higher punitive attitudes towards inmates as well as officers who felt they

had less power and authority within the institution. It was also found that officers who expressed greater fear of being victimized by inmates held more of a disciplinary attitude (Griffin, 2002).

When it comes to micro interactional theory, most of the research has been done within the context of police work. Recently Collins interaction ritual theory has been revisited and discussed in the context of policing and face-to-face encounters with police and the public (Henry, 2021). Policing and public interactions take place on a micro- interactional level and cooperation is negotiated and micro levels of social interactions are carried out everyday through face-to-face interactions (Henry, 2021). Interaction ritual theory discusses successful rituals and its production of emotional energy that makes the participants "feel good" and works as a social glue. Interactional rituals with police where the dynamic is somewhat different than everyday social interactions puts more focus on if the participants have been treated fairly instead of "feeling good" (Henry, 2021). Those issues of fairness seem to be more of an issue than just getting along which carries over in the correctional officers experience.

3. Method

The method used in this paper was participating observations where I, through my part time employment through the correctional transport services, got permission to conduct observations of social interaction between staff and inmates. Some practical issues arose. Due to the seriousness of the work and that it would be outright irresponsible, all notetaking was conducted once the work shift had ended so full attention could be given to the job tasks. However due to my previous experience with the work and the social interactions I wanted to study, I felt confident that this wouldn't be too much of a problem. Due to the availability of observations which resulted in a lot of data in a relatively short time frame also reassured the quality of data gathering. The abductive method of analyzing and gathering data, proposed by Tavory and Timmermans (2014), influenced the method due to observations being continually gathered as construction and writing of this paper. As to how the gathering was conducted, inspiration was taken from Emerson, Fretz and Shaw's (2011) book *"Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes"*. Here a more socially invested approach is championed where studying social micro-interactions and international rituals through ethnographic research requires the observer not only to be physically present but also invested and a part of the

social and practical events that are being observed (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011, p. 3-5). This to penetrate into the social ritual to fully be able to understand the complexities and nuances of what's actually happening within these interactions. Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011, p. 3-5) argues that the social world is primarily a subjective field and therefore one must be invested in it to fully draw someone's subjective conclusions compared to a more positivist objective way of observing phenomenon.

3.1 Gathering data

The observations were conducted throughout a day of transport personnel at the Swedish correctional office. A shift is usually around 10 hours and for the most part the crew only deals with one person every day. In the end 15 observations were collected and the average observation of the subject lasted around 6 to 7 hours. The transports are primarily transporting the subject from custody to court and back to custody. This is not always the case where subjects could also be transported to another holding facility. Even though the majority of the working shift was spent with the subject, there was not constant interaction with the subject. For long transports in a vehicle, there was a short greeting and some small talk followed by a long period of mostly silence. This makes it somewhat easy to distinguish when a meaningful interaction takes place due to the fact that many subjects did not seem to talkative with the officers and those who were, talked a lot. Due to previous experience with this work, it became possible to predict and notice when important observations were taking place and patterns were distinguished, often initiated by the officer. Directly after a shift a report was written of what kind of task was performed, what happened throughout the day, the most noticeable interactions and reactions from the subject, as well as side notes of personal thoughts, giving insight into what was happening, putting the observed interaction in more context. Great care needed to be taken to not reveal anyone's identity or any information that could be traced back to an individual. Also, to not reveal too much on what kind of routines the correctional office uses in their day to day operations.

To not lose important information the reports were written as soon as possible to be as close in time to the lived events as possible. They were also written in a raw form as it was purely remembered without any attempt to structure the report, as this was seen as a hindrance to simply extracting as much raw information as possible. This approach is similar to Emerson, Fretz and Shaw's (2011, p.29) idea of "jotting". More structure was added later. The

importance of mnemonics from the abductive analysis approach (Tavory and Timmermans, 2014), was taken into consideration and to make the process of committing information to memory easier, structures and operationalization discovered and named in previous observations was used to categorize events as they happened to easier recall them later when reports were written. This also draws on the use of defamiliarization as well as using revision of observations to structure new observations (Tavory and Timmermans, 2014).

3.2 Sorting and analyzing data

Quickly into the process of collecting observations, patterns of interactions were discovered and written down. Usually these patterns of interaction were used by the officer as a way to effect and manage the subjects behavior or mood in some sort of way but it also occurred that the subject used similar ways of interaction to reassure the officers. Also due to previous experience, side notes on specific interaction or behavior were added to the report as to gain more insight to what was possibly going on. Some of the patterns and operationalization that were noticed in interaction were named; distraction, deflection and dramatization, just to name a few. By then gathering new observations made it easier to notice these patterns in real time as it was happening which resulted in better memory-recall for writing reports. In Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011), an initial lack of insight into the field one is studying is relatively preferable when conducting ethnographic fieldwork. However, I found it to be a great benefit to already have a familiarity as well as a frame of reference when it came to gathering data to be analyzed. I found myself thinking several times while listening to an interaction that "yeah, that seems to be a common way to phrase something like that", in reference to how the parties chose to interact with each other. This in turn gave me an indicator to pay more attention to that part of the conversation due to the fact that it seemed to have some meaning with what was being said as it was a recurring pattern of interaction.

3.3 Issues with data

The first issue with the data was the availability of observation opportunities. The availability was entirely determined by how many work offers I would receive within a set time frame. Another issue was if I was even allowed to conduct these observations though it concerns reporting on people who are not in a position to walk away and are in a vulnerable position. The observations would also be conducted within a government agency that adheres to strict rules and routines. A goal of a minimum of ten observations (each about 6 hours long) to start

with was set and a waver was drawn up which stated my intentions and what I would and would not be doing, as well that my superior would have the ability to read through all the collected data before any information was revealed to the university or the public, to reassure that no personal information as well as classified routines got leaked. Permission was granted and the ten initial observations were eventually collected. Another issue that has already been discussed was the fact that fieldnotes could not be taken during the observation as it would not be appropriate, I was there to primarily do a job. It would probably also be more difficult to get the correct permission to conduct the observations within the first place as my superior most likely would hesitate to sign off on me implementing a distracting element in my work and stating that I would not be taking notes during working hours served as a reassurance that it would not affect job performance. This meant that all information regarding the observation had to be memorized and later after the work, be written down. This, of course is a big potential source of error with memory alone being not reliable enough to capture fine detail to the desired amount of precision. Other problems than a lack of focus on the task at hand could stem from taking notes in the field. The worry of colleagues finding out about what was transpiring was prevalent where the worry that they would simply not understand why I was doing this led to a more serious suspicion that I was actually spying on them and writing down what they were doing to later report it to their senior officers. This would not only damage my reputation and working environment for the future but also interfere with the observations as the officers might change their behavior, not include me in interactions or in some other way exclude the possibility for the observations to come out being as genuine as possible. I was also concerned for the senior officer that signed off on me doing these observations, and that critique might be directed towards him for allowing me to proceed with my work.

3.4 Ethical considerations

As mentioned before, due to the setting and subject of these observations, it was clear that caution was necessary, and a lot of thought went into making sure that all the data that was collected was done in a correct, ethical and safe way for both subjects, officers, me and my senior officer who signed off on me making observations, as well as the reputation of the correctional services. As mentioned before it was of utmost importance that no information presented in this study could be used to trace and identify any inmates or employees. It was also important that the privacy of my colleagues as well as for the subject where being

respected as potential sensitive data they would share with me in good faith was left out of the reports. As the observations were hidden, it became important for me to always keep this in mind and constantly evaluate what I believed was in the limits of this study. Another concern was the fact that my superior officer would have access to the final reports. This meant that it was important that the reported interactions and observations could not be identified with a specific officer from the superior's perspective as that would be inappropriate. The fact that the observations were hidden from the parties involved becomes another contention of ethical methodology where these people had no insight that they are being observed and included in a scientific paper (*Vetenskapliga rådet*, 2017, p. 26,27). The chance to mention this in conversation came up as an alternative after counseling, to get a perspective on the subject's opinion on this collection of observations. However, writing this, the opportunity to mention this in any good way has not presented itself. This way to open up the observations comes with risks as mentioned before. However in previous interactions outside this study, my studies and subjects such as this paper have been talked about with inmates and the majority of the reactions and responses have been positive as well as curious, both from inmates and colleagues. The biggest ethical concern regarding hidden participation observations arise from collecting data by video and audio recording (*Vetenskapliga rådet*, 2017, p. 26,27) which this study has not used.

Another ethical consideration and concern is the integrity and vulnerableness of the subjects who are unknowingly being documented in this paper. They can not choose to leave and they are not being observed in a public place. However these observations are not person focused but concerned more with the interactions itself, and very general and recurring types of interactions. In the end it dose not have any effect on the outcome of who the individual is. The reality is that if these prison studies are to be allowed and the pure fact is there exist inmates in Sweden, then observing them and their interactions is justifiable. It dosent matter who the inmate is and that reflects my data which is not concerned with the individuality and personal details of the subject but displays a focus on interactions. The more reasonable question here is how to correctly execute observations in a way that preserves the integrity and privacy of the subject but at the same time collects enough nuances so in depth analysis can be conducted.

4. Result and Analysis

4.1 Result

The observations resulted in a range of different interactions between officers and subjects which later could be categorized and coded in a way which later aided in newer observations such as mentioned previously in the method section. More could be desired from the results due to the lack of note taking opportunities, however while writing the observations several patterns and recurring themes could easily be identified. The observations also resulted in a wide range of complexities in interactions, from very upfront, direct and honest interactions which are more straight to the point and simple, to more fineline, back and forth interaction which tends to be more subtle and complex. On top of this, the different perceived motivations and reasons interactions started varied. Most interactions had pure practical but not unimportant motivations. What might seem like a trifle for "normal" interaction such as asking for a glass of water, one must keep in mind that the observed subjects are dependent on their caretakers to such an extent that even going to the toilet is a question of asking for permission. Hence the importance of these interactions and the weight they carry compared to more commonplace interactions. In these interactions lies the most basal levels of trust and cooperation. A common interaction on this level is the request from a subject to an officer for a glass of water. Water being one of humans most basal needs of survival carries in these situations a great importance and the act of giving water is a base level of trust which has to be upheld for further cooperation and trust to develop. A refusal from an officer to supply a subject with water would be a clear sign that the officer is not willing to engage with the most basic needs of the subject. The psychological effect this has might even result in confrontation and frustration. On the other hand, the action of giving water is almost always received with appreciation and softness, and in very few cases it is met with ambivalence. The point being that even this basic level of cooperation is not taken for granted by the subject and holds great importance and weight in building trust and further cooperation.

The time spent observing the subject is not the same as time spent observing interactions, long periods of quiet during transport or simply observing court proceedings often makes up the majority of the time spent with the subject. However, this gives us a basis of understanding when and where interactions do happen. To illustrate a typical timeline of a transport as to give some level of understanding of when interactions are more likely to occur see table 1.
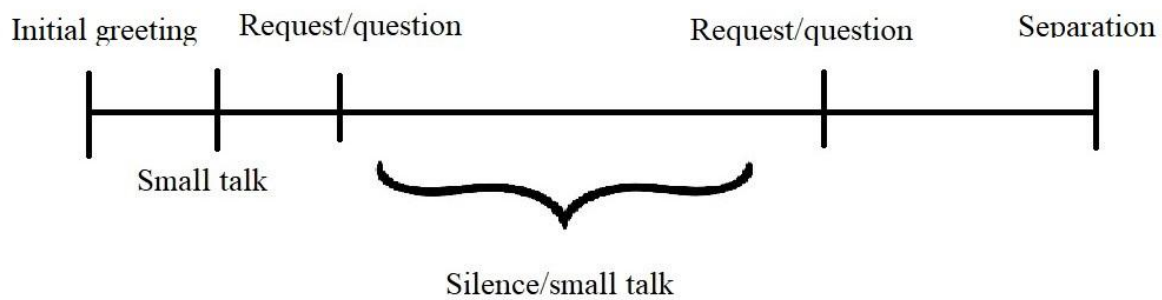
Table 1, an example of interactions within a typical transport

As shown in the timeline there is always an initial greeting in the beginning of every observation. This occurs when the custody of the subject is handed over to the officers and the officers and the subject have a chance to get familiar with each other. This tends to go one out of four ways. The most common one is a quick greeting and a friendly, cooperative demeanor from the subject.

> The man seemed friendly and wanted to talk to us to make sure we got along fine with each other.
>
> From observation #8

The second most common one is an ambivalent attitude where nothing much is said except the necessary greeting.

> At the first interaction the woman didn't say anything. She was smiling and seemed willing to cooperate…
>
> From observation #7

The third is a more grumpy attitude where the subject could be either showing a lack of interest to 'play ball' with the officers or start complaining about the situation which then a officer could be an outlet for.

> When asked how he was feeling that day he responded that the whole proceeding felt boring and unnecessary, downplaying the fact that he was going to a serious court case which involves him.
>
> From observation #4

The fourth one is a defensive attitude.

> Animated. Came across like posturing a little bit but mostly asking for small favors.
>
> From observation # 10

This is less common but does happen. This seems to be more prevalent when the subject doesn't really know what and why something is happening. During a transport it could be an uncertainty of where they are going and why they are being moved. It could also be posturing to maintain a level of control over the situation. The initial greeting is important and usually sets the tone for the rest of the observation as well as interactions. Usually quickly after the initial greeting some level of small talk occurs unless the subject is ambivalent or grumpy. This is usually done in a way so both parties get a feel for each other. If the subject is ambivalent an officer might ask a biennial question like, 'How was the food today?', to get a read on the subject's mood. If the subject still doesn't want to "open up", further interactions are not forced. The same can be done with a grumpy subject to initiate a constructive interaction where the officers share the subjects displeasement which in turn can lead the subject to feel listened to and a sense of 'we understand each other' can be built. If the subject doesn't "open up" further interactions are not forced. When it comes to the defensive start of interaction. It is usually a matter of time until the subject lightens up and relaxes. The point is to not be too strict right from the initial face which would lead to a stronger defensive reaction. Usually after realizing that the officers are not there to punish them and show more of a cooperating and laid back attitude, the subject turns from defensive to friendly.

> He asked if we would stop on the way and I said no, I said where we would be going and he exclaimed loudly "so we will stop on the way" and I said "Oh I thought that was your final destination, we won't take you all the way". He responded calmly that he understood and the back and forth was a temporary misunderstanding that disrupted the even ground (maybe he thought I was keeping something from him or that I was lying) followed by a cooperation to sort the misunderstanding out and return to the even playing field.
>
> From observation #10

After small talk is usually either questions such as 'How long will the drive take?' or 'What time is it?', as well as simple requests such as 'Can I have a glass of water?' or 'Can I go to the bathroom?' occurs. This is the first establishing of cooperation. It is usually after this fundamental establishing of trust where a longer silence takes place, especially during longer transports, where the subject relaxes and small talk ends. Spontaneous questions might occur and towards the end there might be a last request. This is not always the case however where many subjects were very talkative and especially if they got along well with the officer, a more friendly interaction could take place. Some of the subjects were extremely talkative and social, not afraid of sharing intimate information about their lives that usually one would not share with a stranger you just met. Separation is less complex than greeting considering it is the end of the interaction. If officers and subject have gotten along during the interaction the subject might even thank the officers for the time spent together. Often a simple goodbye is said and that is it. In some cases, as soon as the officer's task of transporting the subject ends, the subject simply leaves the interaction cold without formally ending the interaction.

4.2 Analysis

The analytic method chosen for this study was analytic induction as its exploitative nature suited the nature of the abductive method and the studies explorative manner. Analytic induction refers to the use of data to revisit and restructure one's hypothesis. Similarly to how abductive analysis revisits observations due to new discoveries in the data (Alasuutari, Bickman & Brannen, 2008; Tavory & Timmermans, 2014). What we are left with is a very flexible way to work with our limited amount of data. Due to the fact that no initial hypothesis has been presented, gives us a chase to create one as well as revisit and recreate it until we arrive towards our conclusion. This fits the limits of our study which is both constricted in time and amount of data.

Analytic induction seems more fitting in this case as it has come to primarily be used as an analytic method to explain interactional processes through people developing social experiences together as a form of social action in groups (Smelser and Baltes, 2001). Historically this has been used extensively in the study of different forms of deviant sociological patterns (Smelser and Baltes, 2001). Thus making it even more so relevant for this study, even though the context and focus of the observations is not necessarily deviant in

its nature, it falls under a set of circumstances where actors would typically be seen and labeled as deviant. Analytic induction concerns itself more with the study of social phenomena and is also a reason why this method is deemed fitting for this study of social interactional rituals in this very specific set of circumstances (Smelser and Baltes, 2001). Due to the fact that analytic induction concerned itself with the study of social phenomena it does not try to predict certain outcomes based on previous data, but seeks to explain the studied phenomena, and through data-collection redefine the hypothesis until the point where the hypothesis can with a level of accuracy explain the phenomena and the following outcomes (Smelser & Baltes, 2001). No hypotheses have been presented in this study which makes the exploration of social interactions in this setting more explorative but still structured enough to have a clear goal and thus also a clear direction.

In order to process and analyze the observations there needed to be some structure and coding of a typical interaction and what kind of turns it could take. If we then look at the very base of interaction it becomes clear that they are two main parties involved. The officers and the subject, from these two categories we can then further the categorization. Following Collins theory of interactional rituals, some prerequisites need to be met for interaction rituals to take place, the first one being group assembly or bodily co-presence, this being the officers and the subject (Collins, 2004). The second one is a barrier to outsiders (Collins, 2004), which in our case is a given due to the fact that these places are not accessible to outsiders due to it being a closed institution. The third being mutual focus of attention which Collins specifies as being common action or event (Collins, 2004, p.48). This is given in all of the cases observed in this study. However, it's not impossible to think that a subject would simply refuse to comply or cooperate and simply physically refuse to go with the transport personnel. This then would mean a breakdown of social interaction and a shift towards the personnel use of force to carry out the transport. The fourth ingredient of Collins ritual ingredients is shared mood which feeds back to the mutual focus (Collins, 2004, p.48). Here we can delve deeper into how we categorize different interactions. As said a mutual focus needs to be present, in our study this means that both the officers and the subject needs to be "open" for interaction. If the subject shows signs of ambivalence towards officers' open attempt of conversing or even outright rejects it, this will lead to no further interactions except the most necessary practical interactions from officers.

After lunch when I asked the subject how the food had been he simply replied "shit" in a non caring way. There was no attempt to get to know each other or to build some level of trust.

<div align="right">from observation #12</div>

In this example we can see how an invitation from an officer is met with a rejection in the form of an empty reply with a hard stop, ending the conversation. There seems to be no give and take, simply an abrupt stop. In this particular case the subject already had an established interactional trust with another officer which might explain the lack of motivation to reestablish trust with someone else.

He lit up and smiled when he saw my colleague, someone he had "worked with" before and seemed to get along with.

<div align="right">from observation #12</div>

If the subject is open for verbal interaction, this leads us into different shared focuses in interaction. From the subject's point of view, one might be open to interaction due to concerns that need to be addressed and to do so one might turn towards the officers as a way to get answers to their questions.

When the initial conversation took place and usual questions about how long the ride was going to be and how the region we were going to differ from her own region, a moment of silence took place.

<div align="right">from observation #1</div>

Another reason a subject might be open for verbal interaction might be due to a baseline of politeness as to ease the tension and show basic levels of cooperation so any potential tension can be eased and the risk of conflict lowers.

He was polite and didn't wanna be any kind of a pain to us whatsoever. Making small talk in a friendly way and discussing his case and what he felt about the whole trial which had been dragging on for some time

<div align="right">from observation #8</div>

This can be achieved by being "overly" friendly and extending the small talk to more of a concern for the officers.

> He seemed more concerned with making sure that we weren't bothered by him than focusing on his own needs and wants. Attempts of humor were initiated on his part to sort of "get on our good sides" and he showed appreciation when we would do the usual tasks for him like opening up the door for him so he could use the bathroom. He really didn't want to come across as a bother.
>
> from observation #14

The next level of this is small talk. A subject may initiate small talk simply out of curiosity or boredom. It might be due to the fact that the subject has spent a lot of time indoors and is finally in front of different scenery and people and needs to express oneself. Small talk serves however also an important role in building rapport with the officers which could then feed back into the shared mood and the mutual focus. I argue that here deeper levels of trust forms which serves as a basis for relaxation and also feelings of belonging in a sense of escaping the reality of one's situation. Small talk can therefore, if performed successfully turn into more of a relaxed style of conversation where officers and subjects have reached a level of trust and mutual understanding that makes them able to step out of their initial roles and converse as if they were normal civilians talking on the street. This is the desired final stage of the interaction where, from the staff's point of view, inmates are no longer treated and viewed as inmates and officers can relax from (or bracket) their roles and talk relatively freely.

> Engaged in smalltalk and humor and thanked us and said farewell at the end of the day. Seemed cheerful throughout the interaction.
>
> form observation #3

This is one of the clear signs of a successful interaction between correctional officers and intimates or people waiting trial. Here one party is totally responsible for keeping the other party under surveillance and restricting their freedom. When any interaction with these specific dynamic ends with the subject thanking their captors sincerely, it could only be interpreted as a successful interaction beyond formalities, from the parties' point of view.

He made small inside jokes about people in the courtroom and seemed to make the day lighthearted for both him and us… At the same time he would talk about his life and his seemingly upfront opinions… In general the subject seemed grateful for our work and thanked us at the end of the day.

<div align="right">from observation #2</div>

Trying to make the officers laugh does not always have to be in the context of getting on the officer's good side for special treatment. Humor shows a level of responsibility of the interaction wanting for the other parties as well as yourself to have an enjoyable time.

They both talked during the transport about the trial and my colleague was giving his thoughts and opinions of the trial in a sort of common ground as well as being more light hearted and joking about the whole situation.

<div align="right">from observation #12</div>

This can be achieved through humor and mutual understanding with a subject starting the interaction by speaking on his/her situation and life as a criminal. If the officer then meets this with a level of inside understanding and acceptance, the two parties can reach a stage of mutual understanding and thus converse in a more relaxed, bracketed manner. Younger, more inexperienced officers can make up for this lack of understanding by adopting a very accepting style of conversation such as listening and showing consideration towards the subject.

It was clear it was not his first time and he explained how he got into this predicament. That he used to live a criminal lifestyle and that he got dragged back into it again and that he was kept away from the truth of what he was doing. The man became more cheerful and thanked us for today.

<div align="right">from observation #6</div>

Before entering into an opening of this character, baseline trust must usually be established through some kind of action like giving water or basic polite small talk which shows both parties are open towards cooperating in interaction. It is after this basic trust has been formed, a subject will then be able to share more personal details as to "clear the air" and then be able to engage in a relaxed style of conversation, due to the officer's acceptance and teaming.

However this is not always the case as subjects act ambivalent out of lack of care. It's therefore not always the case that the subject wants to strive for this level of interaction. Some of the time the subject has other motivations for going down the friendly route. When I started working I was told to be careful because many of the subjects were said to be "extremely manipulative" and though it is hard to spot when someone is manipulating you. There were cases where friendly behavior was used to get in favor with the officers to be more able to get their way.

> A song started playing and she exclaimed "oh this is my son's favorite song". I asked how old her son was and she replied. Then she asked when she would get her son and if it was possible to arrange it soon. I replied that's something she has to ask the personnel at the facility.
>
> from observation #1

On the other side of this categorization is how the officer chooses to engage in interaction. In almost all cases officers are open to verbal interaction and are often the ones to initiate it. Very few senior, well experienced officers have a distant or somewhat "closed" attitude towards subjects, only really talking to them for practical reasons. A sense of 'not babying the subjects' still remains in this line of thinking. For the majority of officers with a more open attitude towards verbal interaction, use interactions as a way of either changing or avoiding certain behaviors or reactions from subjects. Usually small talk is used to get more comfortable and to establish a friendly connection which can lead to humor and bracketing. However there are distinct ways of interaction that officers use to have a specific effect on a subject. Those I have been able to distinguish are; distraction, deflection, dramatization and teaming. Distraction being the most straightforward way of interaction where the mutual focus is shifted very quickly to avoid either a conflictual spiral in interaction or to change focus from outer irritations that might be affecting the subject

> As we got closer to the court my colleague asked if she felt nervous and if it was her first time in court. The girl answered that it was not her first time but she did feel nervous. They talked a bit about it and suddenly my colleague asked if she got anything good for lunch and when the girl answered she asked if she likes this specific dish. This came across as a pure distraction from the uncomfortable topic of the impending trial and was done to make the girl feel better.

Deflection is a bit more complicated and not as straightforward. This way of interaction can be used in combination with other methods of controlling interaction and it is used as much by subjects as officers. Deflection is a way of avoiding conflict or uncomfortable situations by either trivializing it or simply reacting in an unbothered way or with humor, to give the other the benefit of the doubt. An example of this would be to react surprised and unbothered when faced with potential confrontation instead of challenging it and risk confrontation. In this way deflection is similar and serves a similar purpose as distracting, but instead of changing the focus, the focus is put in another frame of reference or interpretation.

> When the cuffs went on one of my colleagues joked with him that he was getting new jewelry which we all laughed about.
>
> from observation #6

Through the lens of Collins (2004) interaction rituals, here the cuffs could be labeled as a clear symbol of the inherent power dynamic between officers and subjects. Cuffs being both physically restricting and be degrading to one's character to be restricted in such a manner with all the social connotations that comes with handcuffs, here is a successful attempt at deflection to make the symbol into a joke so both parties can laugh at the symbol making the action of putting on cuffs temporary lose its symbolic meaning.

> At one point the subject looked straight back at me and looked straight into my eyes as if I had done something. I met his gaze and raised my eyebrows in a way of communicating "can I get you something?", in a serviceminded way.
>
> from observation #9

Here a clear challenge is turned by the officer into an intentional misread to deflect the challenge into a call for service, showing the officers attitude is closer to service then confrontation which makes the challenge lose its edge. Deflection can be used as a tool by subjects to ease the mood as well as a part of building understanding and reinforcing teaming.

> I unintentionally blocked the view of another subject at trial who told me to sit down in a cocky way. I looked at him and stepped away to the side so he could see. My

subject then told me in a joking way if I was tired and smiled at me. I told him in the same joking fashion that I was but it felt better now when I stood up.

<div align="right">from observation #8</div>

I interpret dramatization as the most complex variant, since it requires more timing and situationally adequate execution to work but if done correctly could be very effective. Dramatization is when an officer "sells" a concept too hard to later fall back on a softer version. Usually this is used to deliver news where the officer plays up the news as being more serious than it actually is to make the subject a bit nervous. Then when the real news is presented, it comes almost as a relief rather than something bad or frustrating. This puts the officers as bringer of relief rather than a source of frustration. At the same time the officer takes control over the situation and strengthens their role by commanding the emotional outcome of the subject.

My colleague who is the most senior officer told the girl "I have some news that you wont like", she responded with "what?", he answered "The decision has been made that you need to wear cuffs in the car", to which the girl responded with "Oh yeah, well I already knew about that.

<div align="right">from observation #13</div>

The far most used and common method of interaction which in some sense encompasses the other methods is the use of teaming. Teaming can be initiated by both parties but are usually used by officers. Teaming is a concept drawn from Goffman's idea presented in the book *"The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life"* where teams are often formed by people to perform social roles and are built upon a cooperative nature for managing social situations (Goffman, 1959, p. 133,134). The method of teaming is the attempt through interaction to establish and reinforce these team-like structures between the parties. This includes showing consideration for one another and interaction in a way which suggests that the parties are on the same team and share the same point of view. Officers also use teaming to control behavior as delivering it as if it was for the subject's best interest.

When I pointed out that it must be exhausting for him to sit all day listening to someone else talk, he responded that he felt more sorry for us because we had nothing to do with it.

In this example the subject shows his consideration towards the officers and puts a clear distinction between us as a group with its members finding the court proceedings boring against the boring court. Thus, reenforcing common ground by sharing a burden as well as complaints. This becomes a common way to create a sense of teams where officers are let in what Goffman would have called backstage performance due to them having no effect on the trial proceedings as officers become somewhat of what Goffman (1959, p.96,97) would have called 'service specialist'. Here there is either a service specialist with higher status, such as a lawyer or a service specialist with lower status, such as a janitor where both get a backstage view of the subject behind the social performance (Goffman, 1959, p.97, 98). The correctional officers in this case seem to have much more of an equal standpoint in terms of Goffman's original high status/low status service specialists which helps in forming a sense of a team.

> During a break he was also told that it looks bad in front of the judge when he tries to communicate with the spectators.
>
> from observation #5

Here an officer uses deflection when correcting a behavior which also is an example of teaming. Here, instead of just telling the subject off, the message is delivered in such a way to affirm the idea of the officers and the subject of being on the same team and the officers are helping the subject with their correction instead of just telling him off. The mutual focus is reestablished against the court instead of against each other (Collins, 2004, p.48,49).

> An officer shared and indulged in his concerns and complaints and started discussing with him about the state of his case as well as how overall the political climate affected the state of things of the legal system
>
> from observation #8

This is a common occurrence where the subject finds an outlet in sharing and talking to officers in a backstage setting. This is a great opportunity to agree with the subject and not question them too much. Usually critique of the legal system and other state institutions is a common theme following this type of interaction. Thus, this is putting the officer and the

subject in the same boat, so to speak, and a level of shared understanding seems to be established. This form of interaction is not inherently disingenuous where a lot of officers share similar complaints as the subjects. Thus, durable connections can be formed.

> The client later started explaining his situation and his complaints with the whole situation and my colleague and myself shared his complaints and added questions as well as statements about his situations to build a bridge of understanding to show that everyone is on the same page and no one looks down on anyone else.
>
> from observation #10

The initial interaction past the initial greeting is usually characterized by an opening up about their own situation which is an opportunity in interaction to teaming. After a successful teaming attempt is made, subsequent interaction can become more relaxed and humorous.

> They both talked during the transport about the trial and my colleague was giving his thoughts and opinions of the trial in a sort of common ground as well as being more light hearted and joking about the whole situation.
>
> from observation #12

After a team is formed it becomes easier for officers to cooperate with the subject and the subject tends to show more understanding and cooperation towards the officers. Even in interactions where officers have to make a decision that affects the subject can be an opportunity for further reinforcement of teaming.

> When the court resumed after a break and the subject hadn't finished his coffee he asked if it was okay to bring it into the courtroom. After some uncertainty from the staff we decided it was okay. I told him in a lighthearted way "We will try" as if to say "lets see if we (together, as to be on the same side) can get away with it.
>
> from observation #14

In the process of teaming the mutual shared focus is, among a lot of things, a critique of the court and the legal system as a whole. Due to the dynamic that officers and subjects have, there seem to be limited opportunities to connect through the roles the parties symbolize in the interaction. Sometimes an experienced officer can connect in their role as someone with a

lot of experience and knowledge of that world could connect with more experienced subjects as individuals who have insight knowledge of a world not accessible to outsiders (Collins, 2004, p.48). However in most cases the focus is shifted towards a mutual "enemy" as to share complaints about the court and legal system as it affects the everyday of correctional officers and individuals awaiting trial.

The goal of most interactions when both parties are open to interaction seems thus to be to establish a baseline of trust, from some level of mutual understanding and solidarity to be able to form a team, thus successfully engaging in the interaction which, Collins means, generates positive emotional energy (Collins, 2004 p.48-50). When interactions fail to create these social structures the interaction either falls apart and ends, sometimes abruptly, or in worst case scenarios, when interests clash and roles as well as personalities feel challenged, quickly descending into an escalation of tension and potential violence. In this study one such incident was observed where the act of service, in this case a glass of hot water for tea, was questioned and thus taken as a provocation towards the subject.

> During a break the subject asked an officer for a cup of hot water and when the colleague questioned the availability of hot water the subject perceived it as a provocation and started an argument which escalated.
>
> from observation #9

While the subject raised his voice to show his displeasure the officer seemed to take this as a challenge to his authority and his role to establish order. In turn the officer raised his voice which resulted in further escalation over a seemingly trivial matter but with great important symbolic and ritual value in this context.

> You think I will back down just because you have other people here?!
>
> from observation #9

A situation occurred where both men stood their ground one (the subject) inside his waiting-cell, on the border towards the entrance. On the outer side of the doorway stood the officer who quickly had the entire staff (ten people at least) behind him, thus resulting in the quote above. The scene clearly represents the symbolic territory or realm of the subject and officers which becomes even clearer when tensions rise.

When informed that he would be moved he questioned it but not as forcefully as before and agreed to be cuffed. Once cuffed it escalated again when he found out that the colleague which triggered the confrontation would be coming with him.

from observation #9

Hereafter de-escalation, the decision is made to move the uncooperative and confrontative subject. He cooperates and agrees to the move and the cuffing. However, after the cuffs come on he flares up again. Being more exposed and cuffs serving as a symbol for officers to inherit power over subjects, maybe he believed it was necessary to become more vocal and offensive to compensate. Collins describes this kind of outburst of anger as a disruption of the conventional flow of emotional energy. Here anger comes from frustration in a subordinate/dominant relationship (Collins, 2004, p. 125-127). This form of anger is described as a form of weakness which in this case could be reformulated as an inherent inferior social position.

5. Discussion

It is evident that a fair amount of sociology research has been conducted concerning itself with the inner workings of prisons or total institutions. However while searching for previous research for this study it became somewhat difficult to find previous work that concerned itself with all the aspects this paper sought out to study. In relation to the aim of this study the outcome of the result displays a multileveled method from both parties in their goal to establish trust and collaboration through social interactions on a micro scale. The patterns presented in the analysis repeats themselves throughout the collected observations. Clear patterns in the frequency and specific occurrences of specific types of interactions could be mapped out on a timeline which roughly corresponds to most observations. In line with Collins' idea of linking interactions together, we can see a clear pattern of how different types of interactions feed into new types of interactions (Collins, 2004, p. 41-44). Initial greetings set the tone for the future interactions which usually feed into small talk and other rituals of service and collaboration/team building to finally arrive at the stage where both parties can relax and treat each other outside their social roles. This level is reached after rituals affirming officers roles as well as building trust and teaming for the security and dignity of the subject, it's then possible for the parties to speak in a more casual, familiar way, often

humor is a part of these kinds of interactions. The idea of humor being an important part of interaction within these kinds of environments has support in the literature. Crawley insists that humor plays a significant role in the working lives of prison officers, in interaction among officers as well as between officers and inmates (Crawley, 2004). Here humor is explained as a mechanism for neutralizing and making tough situations bearable. Its function is to be made collective and communicative as well as lift emotional dissonance (Crawley, 2004). Thus humor can unite and bring an occupational group closer together according to Crawley (Crawley, 2004). I argue that through my observations, humor also includes the subjects in this function as to connect and bridge the gap between officers and subjects. Bengtssons (2012) work on boredom might give us another reason why humor might be so highly valued within interactions between officers and subjects (Bengtsson, 2012). The boring nature of confinement and the constant searching for what Bengtsson calls 'edge work' to combat this boredom might be another potential explanation why humor as a way to remove boredom seems to be highly placed within the hierarchy of interaction between officers and subjects and a crucial piece in building trust (Bengtsson, 2012: Crawley, 2004).
 Cooperation and trust can be built through rituals as simple as supplying subjects with water, or being a source of tobacco which also corresponds to Collins idea of shared rituals such as sharing of tobacco as a group forming ritual (Collins, 2004, p. 306,308,317). Crawley's ideas of considering emotional control in a prison-setting and officers handling of prisoners are displayed in my observations where the officers main objective when it comes to social interaction is to lead the interaction in a successful way which generates positive emotional energy which feeds back towards the mutual focus and to avoid negative outcomes such as frustration and anger by using different methods such as distraction, deflection and dramatization (Crawley, 2004). To be equipped to handle subjects' emotions is a central focus for officers in daily work and becomes a staple of professionalism in the same way Crawley describes in her work (Crawley, 2004). The results also reflect one of Crawleys ideas of officers often lacking an ability to react more patiently to subjects' negative emotions such as sadness but also frustration and anger (Crawley, 2004). The observations suggest officers priorities not having their power position challenged over showing patients with frustrated subjects which in turn could lead to an escalation and confrontation and in turn failed interactions. This is in line with Crawley's (2004) observations in correctional officer culture. In her work she describes a pressure among officers to prove to each other that they are 'up for the job' and won't back down in difficult situations when their dominant role is questioned or in the face of violence (Crawley, 2004). At the same time we can draw parallels

between Bengtssons (2016) work on hypermasculinity within prisons where relying on violence to defend your idea of hypermasculinity whenever you feel questioned or violated in some way (Bengtsson, 2016). This could explain the clash between the officer and the subject mentioned in the analysis.

Earlier research with its roots in police-studies focuses on the working culture and interactions between officers or sole focuses on the lived experiences of inmates in different countries in different circumstances. No previous study could be found which focused solely on the experiences of officers who engage in transport missions where there's a limited time of interactions due to the nature of their work. It was also hard to find any previous literature which concerned itself with observation of interactions between officers and subjects on a micro sociological level. This study, as far as I know, is the first of its kind who has this specific focus and therefore gives a specific insight into a very specific set of circumstances where potential interactions are bound to a short timeframe. In terms of transport it also gives us an insight into a moment of potential rapid change for the subject. They might not even know why they are being moved, and might have no idea what kind of a place their new home is. They might get sentenced to a long prison sentence and get removed from their family. It's clear what Crawley means when she says that prisons are a emotional loaded environment (Crawley, 2004), but what might be even more emotionally charged is the time of change where these realities are laid out and shaped, thus the necessity for officers who are engaged in these specific timeframes to be able to establish control and effectively prevent negative outcomes, which starts at the micro interactional level.

6. Conclusion

So what can then be concluded from this study? Well the study in and of itself is not large enough to come to any broader discoveries with any real theoretical merit. With that being said I do believe that the initial research questions that were presented have been answered successfully to the extent of what has been possible within the limitations of the study. The study in and of itself might however serve as exploration in a relatively new space where previous theories serve as a good basis of understanding of what is taking place in these closed environments with these particular actors. It might serve as an opening to future studies which might broaden the understanding of interactions that contribute towards trust building and conflict management methods within the space of total institutions. Broadening

the general understanding of how to engage in social interactions with people in difficult circumstances can be of great help towards education of future officers or any other profession which requires the use of micro interactions as a tool to prevent violence and build trust in an effective way. My suggestion would be to first make an in depth study resembling this one with complementary interviews of correctional officers. Second, a study which concerns itself with a in depth look at what education and training current officers are given to handle these interactions and how modern research can be implemented in the curriculum of future officers to enhance the knowledge of trust-building as well as conflict-avoidant methods. It was evident that the officers with many years of experience were the ones with excellent social and interactional control over these methods as they had been refined over years and what had shown to be effective had stuck and formed a pattern among several of these veteran officers. If studies like this one could help bridge the gap between this experience and social science to be redistributed, we would speed up the learning process of new recruits. I would argue that with a competent grasp over interactional methods, the confidence of a new officer would grow quicker and lead to an overall safer workplace which in turn would be the ultimate method of building trust and avoiding conflict.

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