Improving the management of prison-based education staff through an examination of multi-agency psychological contracts

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Improving the management of prison-based education staff through an examination of multi-agency psychological contracts

Abstract
This study is set in the context of prison education. Contracted-out employment arrangements are becoming increasingly common and prison education services were put out to tender in 1993. Currently 27 contractors are responsible for education provision within the 138 state run prisons in England and Wales. One consequence of this employment arrangement is that prison-based education staff, working often exclusively within a prison, are employed by an organisation that is not necessarily geographically close to the prison in which they work. This study explores this employment relationship in the context of the psychological contract through investigating the contents of the psychological contracts of prison-based education staff perceived with their employer and with the host prison.

Eighty-five semi-structured interviews, carried out across eleven prisons, used the critical incident technique to uncover prison-based education staff's perceptions of the obligations owed to them by their employer and by the host prison along with their perceptions of the obligations owed by themselves to their employer and to the host prison. Content analysis was carried out on the interview transcripts to reveal a hybrid psychological contract including relational and transactional items with both the employer and the host prison. The results suggest that prison-based education teams develop a strong sense of team identity and demonstrate their commitment to the team through pro-social behaviour in the form of team citizenship. There is also evidence that suggests prison-based education teams operate in a culture of intergroup differentiation which has implications for the way in which prison-education teams are managed.

The academic contributions made by the study along with strategic implications for organisations employing prison-based education teams are discussed and recommendations for practice, both strategic and operational are made.
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Introduction
Chapter 1: Introduction

Context
This research examines an aspect of educational leadership and management that has relevance to the management processes involved in ensuring that members of staff within a particular educational context are able to deliver the most effective service that can be achieved. The specific educational context is that of prison education. In excess of 2000 teachers, trainers, administrators and managers are employed to provide education and training for prisoners in England and Wales and this study explores some of the issues surrounding the management of these staff.

The impact of prison-based education and training
The Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate report that as at July 2005 there are in excess of 76,000 men and women remanded in custody or serving a custodial sentence in England and Wales. Carter (2003) suggests that sentencing is becoming more severe. One hundred and seven thousand offenders were given a custodial sentence during 2001, a 25% increase from 1996 when the figure was 85,000. One consequence of an increase in sentencing is that spending on prison and probation rises. Carter (2003) reports that there has been an increase of over £1 billion in real terms over the last decade and suggests that it is not clear that this money is being targeted effectively. Prison sentences do not appear to reduce re-offending. Of those prisoners released in 1997, 58% were convicted of another crime within two years and 36% were back inside, serving another sentence (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002). The statistics are worse for younger offenders, 72% of whom were reconvicted over the same period with 42% receiving another custodial sentence. An evaluation of criminological and social research (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002) suggests there are nine key factors that influence re-offending rates:

- education;
- employment;
- drug and alcohol misuse;
- mental and physical health;
- attitudes and self control;
- institutionalisation and life skills;
- housing;
- financial support and debt; and
They report that being in employment reduces the risk of re-offending by between a third and a half and having stable accommodation reduces the risk by a fifth. An effective, well managed education and training provision within an establishment can provide targeted interventions to address these factors including basic skills development, life skills programmes, vocational skills and attitudinal development such as anger management and thinking skills.

One barrier to entering employment is a lack of basic skills in literacy and numeracy at National Qualification Framework level two (Moser, 1999). Offenders are described by the Adult Basic Skills Agency (2003) as one of the hard to reach groups whose need for basic skills is particularly acute. Fifty two percent of male and seventy one percent of female prisoners have no qualifications. Half are assessed at or below level one in reading, two thirds at or below level one for numeracy and four fifths at or below level one for writing. Level one is equivalent to that expected from an eleven year old.

The Prison Service introduced a Key Performance Indicator (KPI) in 1999 to 'reduce the proportion of prisoners discharged at, or below level 1 for basic skills by 15% by March 2002' (Braggins, 2001). This meant that prison governors had, for the first time, specific targets for the achievement of level two basic skills accreditations.

In addition to the introduction of targets for education the Prison Service transferred responsibility for education services from the Home Office to the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) in 2001 and established a new unit within DfES; The Prisoners Learning and Skills Unit (now known as the Offenders Learning and Skills Unit (OLSU))

Whilst there has been significant improvement in the provision of constructive regimes for prisoners, for example 41,300 basic skills awards were achieved during 2002 (Carter, 2003) the Chief Inspector of Prisons reports that the quality of intervention a prisoner experiences varies greatly depending on the prison to which an offender is sent (National Audit Office, 2002). The effectiveness of prison management to provide appropriate, targeted interventions such as education could be a significant contribution
to crime reduction and the effectiveness of the team of staff providing education and training for prisoners may be influenced, positively or negatively, by the way in which it is managed by its employer.

The provision of prison-based education and training

The provision of education and training for prisoners has developed alongside changes in public and political perceptions of the nature and function of prisons. During the 19th Century, education for prisoners took the form of religious instruction. There was, as indeed there is still, much debate about the purpose of educating prisoners and the impact this has on recidivism and whilst progressive penal opinion at the time accepted the link between a lack of education and the commission of crime (Priestley, 1999), remedial instruction remained the responsibility of the chaplaincy. The Gaol Act of 1823 established the office of 'prison schoolmaster' and introduced daily religious practice along with the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic. By the end of the century assistant schoolmasters extended this function to formally test the competence of prisoners and to provide 'instruction' for those who failed. During the 1920s and 30s, volunteers were sought to teach prisoners. Vocational training was introduced into HMP Maidstone and HMP Wakefield during 1939 – 1945 and the 1948 Education Reform Act gave responsibility for the education of prisoners to Local Education Authorities (LEAs).

LEAs remained the providers of prison education until the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act, which led to the contracting out of education services in prisons. Contracts to provide education and training for prisoners were awarded in 1993. Forty-five external contractors held the contracts to provide educational services for prisoners. After 5 years the contracts were put out once again to compulsory competitive tender and a second round of five year contracts to provide education services for prisoners within prisons were awarded. This process resulted in 27 contractors (mainly Further Education Colleges but also including a private firm and two local authority adult education providers) being responsible for the education provision within the 138 state run prisons in England and Wales. Privately run prisons, of which there are 11, make their own arrangements.

One consequence of these new contracting arrangements was a change in the employment relationships of staff working in prison education. Education staff working, often exclusively, within an individual prison, are
now employed by an organisation that will not necessarily be geographically close to the prison in which they work. Physical contact with their employer may therefore be limited and this has potential implications for the way in which they interact with their employer and how their employer interacts with them. Braggins (2001) reported that although three quarters of education managers felt well supported by their contractors, over a third felt that the distance impacted on communications between them.

The process of contracting out parts of an organisation's business is not a new phenomenon. As long ago as 1986 Morgan commented that the complexity of issues in managing people within the education sector was increasing within the context of rapid educational and societal change. Since then a number of researchers have attempted to explain the development of a variety of employment relationships and others have sought to examine the impact of such changes on employees.

For instance, Drucker (2002, p. 70) suggests that a 'staggering number' of people who work for organisations are no longer traditional employees and that a growing number of organisations have outsourced employee relations in that they no longer manage major aspects of their relationships with their workforce. Drucker argues that one reason for this change in employment practice is the nature of specialist knowledge. He describes the practice within hospitals in the United States of outsourcing specialities to a range of specialist providers. For example, the group that administers blood transfusions may be managed by a company that specialises in this procedure and simultaneously runs the transfusion departments at several other hospitals. This model is analogous to the arrangements for providing prison education in which a specialist provider of education services supplies and manages a team within a number of prisons.

The impact of contracting arrangements on the service provided to learners has also been reviewed. A national core curriculum for prisons was introduced in 1997. It defined the purpose of prison-based education as to '...address the offending behaviour of inmates by improving employability and thus reducing the likelihood of re-offending on release.' (Her Majesty's Prison Service Standing Order 4205). The core curriculum defined, in broad terms, the content of the curriculum offered to those in custody, namely:

- Literacy;
• Numeracy;
• English as a Second or Other Language;
• Information Technology and
• Social and Life Skills.

Prior to the introduction of the core curriculum the nature of the provision within each establishment was largely at the discretion of the governor.

The introduction of Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) and the establishment of the Offenders Learning and Skills Unit, discussed above, have both had an impact on the provision of education as evidenced by Braggins (2001, p. 33) who comments that the introduction of the KPI: ‘...has probably done more to affect the programme delivered in prisons than the core curriculum...’. However, Braggins later expressed concern (Braggins, 2004) about the division of responsibilities under current contracting arrangements. Witnesses to the All Party Parliamentary Group Inquiry (2004) suggest that the boundaries regarding the accountability for education and training are blurred. The official view as expressed by the Director General and the Offenders Learning and Skills Unit to the inquiry panel is that the Governing Governor is responsible for achieving targets and assuring quality for the whole prison population and the Contractor is responsible for providing an education programme to meet the needs of individual learners. In practice, however, the lack of a stable population, inconsistencies in facilities, resources and sentence planning mean that this separation is not seen. The contracts, which were due to end in February 2004, have now been extended for up to a maximum of three years whilst new models of contracting via the Learning and Skills Council are trialled. One recommendation from the All Party Parliamentary Group Inquiry into Prisoner Education is that the morale and professional development of all teaching and training staff be recognised as crucial to the delivery of a first class service. The effective management of this group of staff is central to delivering this.

One of the keys to understanding the components of effective management is a deeper understanding of the relationships between prison-based education staff and the contractors providing the service on one hand and, on the other, between prison-based education staff and prison management. This thesis examines these relationships within the context of what Argyris (1960) termed the “psychological contract".
The aim of this thesis is to investigate the nature of the psychological contract perceived to exist between prison-based education staff and their employer and to investigate the nature of the psychological contract perceived to exist between prison-based education staff and the host establishment (the prison). These issues are important for understanding how such groups of education staff can be managed effectively and in exploring these issues a number of implications for the management practice of those responsible for managing prison-based education staff are revealed and recommendations for strategic and operational practice are made.

The thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 1 (this chapter) describes the context of prison education in which this investigation is set; Chapter 2 reviews the literature related to the psychological contract and the relationship of the psychological contract to employee attitudes and behaviour, specifically organisational commitment and group identity, and to differing types of employment relationship. Chapter 3 describes the methodology used to gather data: Chapter 4 presents the data and its analysis: Chapter 5 forms the discussion. Chapter 6 presents recommendations for practice and possibilities for future research and the overall conclusions drawn from the results of the study.
Literature Review
Chapter 2: The Psychological Contract – an overarching framework within which to understand the employment relationship.

Argyris (1960) first used the term psychological contract to describe the relationship between employees and their foremen in a specific factory context. He argues that a relationship evolves between them in which the employees commit to high productivity and low grievance and the foreman respects the norms of the employees' culture. Argyris describes this relationship as an unwritten agreement that exists between an individual and an organisation when undertaking terms of employment. As such, the psychological contract provides a useful framework within which to explore employment relationships (Guest, 2004). Guest and Conway (1997) undertook evaluative research into the state of the psychological contract. They surveyed 1000 employees and concluded that there is a link between the state of the psychological contract, commitment and job satisfaction. Guest (2004) suggests that a number of employment relationship related factors impact on the psychological contract and influence employee attitudes and behaviours. Figure 2.1 illustrates the direct and indirect influences that the employment relationship has on developing and maintaining a psychological contract all of which shape attitudes and behaviour.

![Figure 2.1: Model of psychological contract adapted from Guest, 2004, p. 6](image)

Guest's model (2004) focuses on the attitudes of organisational commitment and job satisfaction and the behaviours of citizenship and
performance to explore the relationship between employment contract factors, shown on the left of the model, and the outcomes, shown on the right. He acknowledges that these are not the only attitudes and behaviours impacted but that much research has centred on them. Hodgkinson (2003) argues that research into social identity and how people categorise themselves as members of particular groups has contributed greatly to an understanding of workplace behaviour. He suggests that such an understanding, when combined with an appreciation of the development and formation of psychological contracts in the workplace can ‘advance significantly our understanding of the behaviour of people and organisations at work’ (p.17). Group identity has therefore been included as an attitudinal outcome on the right hand side of the model and the relationship between group identity and the psychological contract will be explored.

In the following discussion Guest’s model is used as the conceptual framework within which the outcomes of the employment relationship in terms of employee attitudes and behaviour is explored. An understanding of the psychological contract will help managers ensure their activities are directed towards those issues that contribute to the maintenance of the contract. Without this understanding, management activities may damage the psychological contract and thus impact negatively on attitudes and behaviour.

This chapter starts by considering psychological contracts themselves, how they are formed and what types of psychological contract are typically described. This unpacks the middle section of figure 2.1. The observable outcomes of attitudes and behaviours, shown on the right hand side of figure 2.1, are then explored and the ways in which the psychological contract can influence both attitude in the form of commitment, job satisfaction and group identity and the behaviour resulting from those attitudes in terms of citizenship and performance are reviewed. Finally, the ways in which employment contract related factors influence the psychological contract is considered.

Definitions and meanings
Building on Argyris’ (1960) initial definition of the psychological contract, Anderson and Schalk (1998) describe Levinson, Price, Munden, Mandl and Solley’s (1962, p 638) clarification of this description by conceptualising the
relationship as 'the sum of mutual expectations between the organisation and the employee.'

This early conceptualisation of the psychological contract is derived from the legal metaphor of the contract. A contract implies mutuality and agreement between the parties to a contract, or at least that there is acceptance by all parties of the terms of the contract. The psychological contract differs in that it is not written down or signed. A contract in the legal sense can only be changed by the consent of all parties to the contract. In the case of the psychological contact it can be changed arbitrarily and without the knowledge of one or more of the parties. The use of the term "contract" to describe the construct of the psychological contract is as such a metaphor that serves to 'frame our understanding in a distinctive yet partial way.' (Morgan, 1986, p.13).

Marks (2001) suggests that there are two main broad definitions of the psychological contract. The first is that described by Herriot and Pemberton (1995) as the 'classic' definition. In this definition the psychological contract is seen as the perceptions of mutual obligations held by the two parties in an employment relationship i.e. the organisation and the employee. The concepts used are firmly rooted in the works of Argyis (1960) and Levinson et al (1962) with mutuality being a central assumption underpinning the definition. The definition includes the concept of perception as important to the psychological contract and acknowledges the individual dimension to the construct. Schein (1965, 1980), for example, describes the psychological contract as a set of unwritten expectations that exist between each member of the organisation and others in the organisation at a particular moment in time. Whilst it is unwritten, Schein argues that it is an important determinant of behaviour.

Literature underpinned by this definition of the psychological contract, which is based on the concept of mutuality, describes those factors implicit in the agreements made between employer and employees (Milward and Brewerton, 1999). Mutuality infers that both parties to the psychological contract know about the terms and benefit from them. Herriot and Pemberton (1995) suggest the psychological contract comprises the perceptions of both the employee and the employer of their relationship and the things they offer each other. Herriot, Manning and Kidd (1997) report for example, the feelings of inequity experienced by those remaining employed
as they saw opportunities for promotion lessen through a restructuring of management posts. Promotion, or at least the opportunity for promotion, was perceived as an obligation owed by organisations in exchange for loyalty and effort and the removal of such opportunities are perceived as a breach, on the employer's part, of the psychological contract. Whilst there has been extensive research focussed on the breach or violation of the psychological contract (McLean Parks, Kidder and Gallagher, 1998) it is not the focus of the present study, which seeks to explore the content of the psychological contracts perceived by prison-based education staff rather than the state of any such contracts.

Anderson & Schalk (1998) describe the approach drawn from the 'classic' definition of the psychological contract as one that is based on the assumption that the psychological contract is essentially an exchange relationship between employee and employer. The relationship is a reciprocal one, with both parties receiving mutual benefit. If the concept of an exchange relationship between employer and employee is accepted then the expectations and obligations of both parties need to be taken into account when examining the psychological contract. One difficulty with this approach is that it requires a definition of whom or what represents the organisation. Schalk and Freese (1993) question the extent to which an organisation can be considered as a single entity with a single set of expectations.

The second definition of the psychological contract challenges the utility of mutuality in understanding and explaining the construct. Rousseau (1995a) asserts that the psychological contract is formed only in the minds of the employee and it is therefore comprised of the beliefs an individual has about mutual expectations between themselves and their organisation rather than the expectations themselves. This definition centres on the importance of individual perceptions in understanding the concept of the psychological contact. In forming a model of the psychological contract Rousseau drew on the work of Kotter (1973) who argued that it is not appropriate to view an organisation as a single entity with a single set of expectations. Kotter insisted that it is not organisations which hold perceptions but the individuals within it. Rousseau (1990) suggests that the psychological contract is therefore more usefully defined as the individual's beliefs about the mutual expectations. This does not deny the reciprocal nature of the psychological contract but circumvents the need to define the
organisation's expectations. From this perspective, the psychological contract is subjective. It can be conceived of as an individual perception of the employee's obligations to the organisation and the organisation's obligations to the employee. When defined in these terms, mutuality is not a necessary component of the research into psychological contract.

This conception of the contract is not without its critics. A debate around the centrality of mutuality was played out in a series of correspondence in 1998 between Guest and Rousseau. Guest (1998a) suggests the contract resides in the interaction between a specific individual and the organisation. The difficulty in defining who or what represents the organisation gives rise to the problem of agency in that there are likely to be a number of individuals or groups within the organisation who are agents to the psychological contract, each of whom may have their own agenda and may not be aware of the agenda of the other party. Whilst this is a difficulty, Guest argues that to adopt a reductionist approach that focuses purely on the perceptions of the individual moves too far away from the concept of reciprocity and therefore loses some of the richness behind the concept of the contract. In responding to Guest, Rousseau (1998a) agrees that reciprocity rightly underpins the concept of the psychological contract but asserts that it is the perception of the mutuality and not the mutuality itself that is the heart of the contract. Centring the definition of the psychological contract on individual perceptions rather than actual obligations has significant methodological implications. Rousseau (1998a) argues that as the contract exists only as a perception, it is valid to consider the contract only in the light of that perception and therefore it is appropriate to focus research on an individual employee's perceptions.

This second definition, which centres on the psychological contract being an individual perception, presents a challenge for researchers in that the beliefs held by one individual may be different from the beliefs of others or from what exists in writing. The focus of research to operationalise the contract is therefore the subjective experience of the individual. An individual can hold beliefs about his or her own obligations and reciprocal obligations owed by another. The individual is the direct source of the contract because it is the perception of mutuality that constitutes the contract, not the mutuality itself (Rousseau, 1998b). The present study explores the content of the psychological contract as defined in these terms, that is, that the psychological contract is an idiosyncratic set of
beliefs that an employee holds about their obligations and entitlements, i.e. what they owe their employer and what their employer owes them. This sharp focus on the individuality of psychological contracts may imply that as a concept it has limited utility for understanding or illuminating collective attitudes or behaviours in the workplace. However, Rousseau (1990) distinguishes between two separate contracts that can impact on an individual’s attitudes and behaviours at work: The individual’s psychological contract, and normative contracts: which are shared psychological contracts understood by a number of individuals. Thus, through investigating the individual perceptions of the psychological contracts of a work group, it is anticipated that conclusions may be drawn about the normative contract perceived by that specific work group.

Psychological contract formation

Rousseau (1995a) suggests that there are many agents within an organisation who have a role in shaping the psychological contract. These multiple contract makers include colleagues, managers and mentors. Individuals or teams along with other institutional signals, such as human resource practices including the recruitment process, performance reviews, policy and procedure contribute to the development of an individual’s mental model of their own image of what the psychological contract is. Early experiences in particular, from recruitment to the initial work on the job have a significant impact on the psychological contract as they shape the mental model that the individual develops. Guest and Conway (2000) refer to these mental models as schema and describe how, as an individual’s schema of the psychological contract develops through experience, it changes to accommodate or assimilate new information and this guides the way information is organised. Some schema would be shared by people who work in the same occupation and would represent broad truisms about that occupation, for example that prison education operates all year round and thus teachers will normally work through the traditional academic holiday periods. Others may be idiosyncratic tied to particular experiences with either current or previous employers.

Guest and Conway (2000) suggest that schema are communicated through promises, verbal or implied made by the organisation’s agents and through the individual’s experience of whether or not these promises are met. An organisation’s capacity to communicate effectively with their employees is therefore a critical element in effective promise making and psychological
contract formation and maintenance. With the multiplicity of contract
makers described above different agents may imply or demonstrate
different or even incompatible messages about the organisation's
expectations and one employee's schema may therefore be very different
from another's. This notion of individual schema existing alongside shared
schema has congruence with the concept of idiosyncratic perceptions of an
individual's psychological contract existing alongside a shared normative
psychological contract. As discussed above, in forming a psychological
contract with their employer an individual develops their own mental model
to represent the construct. This mental model is shaped by experience and
the early experiences of employment are influential. The organisation's
ability to communicate with an individual is therefore critical to the
development of the mental model and the role of managers is significant in
reinforcing or undermining the organisational perspective.

The roles of managers and supervisors are central to the development of
suggests managers are primary contract makers and can play an influential
role in making or breaking the psychological contracts of their employees.
An individual's immediate line manager provides information that shapes
the psychological contract and sends strong signals about promises and
expectations. For example Rousseau (2004) states that many employees
view the departure of their immediate line manager as a breach of their
psychological contract. She argues that the personal nature of the
construction of psychological contracts generates intense reactions when
perceived obligations are not met. It is likely that individuals who come to
identify with their employer will personify commitments made to them by
their manager as reflecting the larger organisation (Rousseau, 1998b).

In a later work Rousseau (2004, p124) describes the role that managers,
both immediate line managers and higher level ones, play in shaping the
psychological contract as by far the most important aspect of the employer
side. She suggests that a supportive line manager has the opportunity to
play down or play up messages sent by human resource practices. Guest
and Conway (2000) explored the way in which managers represent the
organisation's psychological contract and report that managers consciously
use the concept of the psychological contract when they reward or seek to
motivate or in any way signal to the employee what is expected of them by
the organisation.
The state of the manager's own psychological contract can also influence the contract created with colleagues. Coyle-Shapiro and Kessler (2002) suggest that managers who perceive their own contract to offer career development in return for high performance are likely to reinforce this in their contract shaping behaviour with their staff and encourage them to engage in staff development. Similarly a manager who views their role as a stepping stone to elsewhere is less likely to encourage their team to participate in staff development. Managers who feel their employer has violated their own contract are less likely to commit to their team or signal that their employer is trustworthy.

This manipulation can work two ways and Hallier and James (1997) argue that middle managers can consciously disguise employee disaffection to manipulate the impressions of senior management. In their investigation into line and personnel managers responsible for introducing change into the air traffic control industry they describe middle managers as contract makers with subordinates. They suggest that the process of large scale restructuring may create conflicts for middle managers whose own roles are also subject to change. Thus, whilst organisational change decisions are located in senior management, responsibility for implementing them rests in middle management. In this context the middle managers, as agents to the psychological contract, have a dual role – both to represent the employer, and to be a party to the contract in their own right. Findings of the research, which was based on interviews carried out with 20 middle managers over a two year period, establish that managers not only place their own contractual priorities above those of their subordinates, but in order to protect their own status, they disguise the dissatisfaction of their subordinates and in doing so damage the psychological contracts of their staff. Thus, Rousseau (2004) suggests, the selection, training and motivation of managers is critical to the effective formation and maintenance of psychological contracts.

Types of psychological contracts
Rousseau (2004) distinguishes between transactional, relational and hybrid psychological contracts. She suggests that relational contracts are socio-emotional in nature and are based on trust and reciprocity. One that involves loyalty and length of service in exchange for job security is considered relational. Transactional psychological contracts in contrast are
economic in nature, for example a psychological contract in which the employee perceives there to be an exchange of longer hours and additional responsibilities for higher pay is considered as transactional. The third type of contract, which Rousseau (2004) describes as a hybrid or balanced psychological contract combines relational elements alongside transactional features.

Rousseau and McLean Parks, (1993) described hybrid psychological contracts through considering the transactional or relational nature of five dimensions:

- **Time frame**: the extent to which the duration of the contract has a defined end date.
- **Focus**: the extent to which the employee perceives economic or extrinsic aspects of the contract such as pay as important, or if other, socio-emotional need fulfilment is important.
- **Stability**: in connection with the agreed tasks the employee has to perform and how likely or how often the nature of the tasks will change.
- **Scope**: the extent to which the work influences the identity and self esteem of the employee.
- **Tangibility**: the extent to which the employee's responsibilities are clearly demarcated.

Table 2.1 identifies how transactional and relational psychological contracts differ with respect to these dimensions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Relational</th>
<th>Transactional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time Frame</td>
<td>Not determined – open ended</td>
<td>Fixed end point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>Socio-emotional</td>
<td>Economic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stability</td>
<td>Flexible &amp; dynamic – agreed tasks can be negotiated</td>
<td>Stable &amp; inflexible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scope</td>
<td>Aspects related to private lives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangibility</td>
<td>Responsibilities of employee not clearly demarcated</td>
<td>Clear boundaries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus a hybrid psychological contract would be considered relational on some dimensions and transactional on others. It is generally acknowledged that employee needs and expectations are diverse and
therefore psychological contract management requires individualised strategies (Guest, 1998b; Herriot, Hirsh and Reilly, 1998; Sparrow, 1998).

Rousseau (2004) agrees that psychological contracts are unique to the individual but suggests that the differing dimensions of the transactional and relational contracts can differentiate between general patterns of behaviour and thus understanding the nature of the psychological contract can indicate general management strategies. For example those employees who perceive a transactional psychological contract have a tendency to stick to its specific terms and to look for alternative employment when they perceive the contract to have been breached. Similarly the employer is likely to end the employment relationship if it fails to meet their needs. Rousseau (2004,) suggests that transactional contracts tend to form around roles with narrow duties for employees who are perceived as less critical to the organisation’s comparative economic advantage, typically in an unstable market. She describes call centres as the “archetypal transactional employer” (p122). For instance call centre employees can be easily replaced, performance can be explicitly monitored, there is a minimal requirement for individuals to co-operate with others and the employer makes few obligations about the future. This practice, Rousseau (2004) maintains, shifts the risks surrounding economic uncertainty from the employer to the employee.

In contrast, employers with relational psychological contracts take more of the risks from economic uncertainly and protect the employee from economic downsizing. Relational psychological contacts are framed by loyalty on both sides and by stability, typified by an open ended commitment to the future. Commitment to the organisation is embedded in the psychological contract and employees with relational contracts are more likely to be willing to work extra hours, support colleagues and support organisational change. According to Rousseau (2004) employees prefer this type of psychological contract and employers are more likely to develop such contracts with valued workers.

A hybrid or balanced psychological contract combines relational elements alongside transactional features such as performance monitoring. They include commitment from both parties to develop employees and expect the employee to be flexible and adjust to changing economic conditions. Balanced contracts share the risk of economic uncertainty and Rousseau describes the large US corporation General Electric as a classic balanced
contract, where limited job security is offset against opportunities for skills development that make the individual more employable and the firm more competitive.

If the characteristics of the psychological contract held by an individual shape their behaviour in the workplace, it is important for an organisation to be aware of the types of contract their workforce hold. Robinson and Rousseau (1994) suggest that the increased use of contracted staff will lead to an increase in transactional psychological contracts, in other words, of transactional contracts built on remuneration and other short-term benefits. Millward and Brewerton (1999) argue that whilst the shift towards an increasing proportion of the workforce being employed via external contracts sharpens the distinction between employee–employer relationships based on social exchange and those based on economic exchange, the economic nature of the employment relationship is not sufficient to predict the nature of the psychological contract. They suggest that factors such as the extent to which an individual identifies with an organisation can influence and support the development of relational contracts, irrespective of contractual status.

Miles and Snow (1984) suggest that the nature of the organisation can also influence the type of psychological contracts formed. They distinguished between "make" organisations and "buy" organisations. "Make" organisations directly employ their staff and develop them on a long-term basis, "buy" organisations in contrast buy in their labour from external organisations. They suggested that "make" organisations are more likely to hold relational contracts with their employees based on long-term organisational investment and identification than "buy" organisations. Purvis and Cropley (2003) describe the National Health Services as such a "make" organisation and argue that nurses for whom the job is an important part of their identity also aspire to developing relational contracts with their employer.

The above research suggests there is a relationship between the type of psychological contact and the employees' attitudes and behaviour at work. Understanding the typology of the psychological contract is therefore important as it can assist in understanding the attitudes and behaviours. Figure 2.1, presented at the opening of this chapter, illustrates that employment contract related factors influence the nature of the
psychological contract and that the interaction of these factors on the psychological contract influences employee attitudes and therefore employee behaviour. This chapter now discusses in more detail the employee attitudes and behaviour that are influenced, beginning with organisational commitment, then job satisfaction and moving on to group identity.

Employee attitudes and behaviour: organisational commitment and job satisfaction

Guest and Conway (1997) and Marks (2001) suggest that the psychological contract mediates the relationship between organisational factors, the influencing factors shown on the left hand side of figure 2.1, and work outcomes shown on the right hand side of figure 2.1. The concept of organisational commitment is a complex one and has attracted many definitions (Bennet and Durkin, 2000). Porter, Steers, Mowday and Boulian (1974 p. 605) define commitment as 'the strength of an individual's identification with, and involvement in, a particular organisation.' Their definition goes on to identify two salient aspects of organisational commitment. It distinguishes between attachment based on exchange (involvement with the organisation in return for an extrinsic reward) and moral attachment where involvement is based in value congruence, a distinction that to some degree reflects the distinction between transactional and relational psychological contracts. This conceptualisation of organisational commitment can be traced back to Weber (1947) who in his research into organisational structure and bureaucracy described zweckrational action; rational action in relation to goals and wertrational action; rational action in relation to values (Fores, Glover and Lawrence, 1991).

The concept of organisational commitment is in common usage outside academic circles and commitment by the employee to the organisation is, in human resource management terms, seen as a desirable attribute (Shepherd and Mathews, 2000), Bratton and Gold (1999, p. 357) comment that human resource practices

'...seek to elicit high commitment from workers and therefore cultivate pro-active behaviour with committed workers expending effort levels 'beyond contract”

Shepherd and Mathews (2000) conducted a survey of 97 small and medium sized employers (organisations employing less than 500
employees). All respondents indicated that their organisation regards employee commitment with a high degree of importance. They expressed a belief that organisational commitment may manifest itself in better-motivated and more productive employees. As Guest (1995, 1998a) expresses it, in employees who are willing to go that extra mile.

Turnley, Bolino, Lester and Bloodgood (2004) suggest that breaches of the psychological contract may decrease commitment to an organisation. In other words when employees believe their organisation has treated them well and the psychological contract is fulfilled, they are likely to feel positive and demonstrate this through behaviours that support the organisation. If, however, they perceive their employer to have treated them badly and the psychological contract is breached, they are likely to reduce their commitment to the organisation and demonstrate fewer supportive behaviours (Lester, Turnley, Bloodgood and Bolino, 2002). This view supports the earlier work of Freese and Schalck (1996) in which a study of Dutch educationalists and health care workers revealed that the less fulfilled the psychological contract, the lower the commitment to and identification with the organisation and the greater the intention of the employee to leave the organisation.

The recognition of the importance of organisational commitment is not based upon strong empirical evidence that high commitment leads to high performance. Swailes (2002, p164) suggests that the evidence for such a link between commitment and performance is ‘patchy’. Swailes argues that this may not be because there is no link but because there have been methodological inadequacies in the way in which commitment has been measured. Traditional measures address only narrow aspects of performance and exclude other aspects such as attitude or behaviour beyond the employees’ role. Over and above traditional performance measures, organisations rely on individual commitment for the success of initiatives such as the quality of management (Speller and Ghobadian, 1993) and programmes of organisational change (Iveson, 1996). High commitment is described by Swailes (2002) as a critical success factor in situations where intellectual contributions are needed and where successful implementation of a plan is dependent on the behaviour of individuals. Conventional performance measures Swailes suggests can be impacted on by organisational factors such as policies, systems, poor management or the poor performance of colleagues. Any of these factors could prevent a committed employee from demonstrating their commitment through
improved performance outcomes. Organisational citizenship behaviour was originally defined by Organ (1988) and describes ‘discretionary actions that in the aggregate promote organisational effectiveness’ (Zellars, Teppar and Duffy, 2002, p.1068). Examples of such behaviour would include helping colleagues with work related problems, engaging in pro-social behaviour, being positive about the organisation to those outside it and not complaining about minor issues.

Research exploring the relationship between commitment and citizenship behaviour suggest that citizenship behaviour, which is under the control of the individual, could be an alternative method for an employee to demonstrate their commitment (Gouldner, 1960) but that this would not be measured using traditional commitment measures. Figure 2.1 illustrates this relationship between the psychological contract and its influence on the employee attitude of organisational commitment and the employee behaviour of citizenship. Coyle-Shapiro and Kessler (2002) explore organisational citizenship within the public services. They agree that organisational citizenship behaviour is voluntary, not specified within a job description and not subject to the constraints of organisational systems. Importantly, they stress that such behaviour is positive and brings benefits to the organisation. Coyle-Shapiro and Kessler (2002) hypothesise that there will be differences in the extent to which individuals demonstrate organisational citizenship behaviour dependent on the form of employment contract. They suggest that those employed on anything other than traditional, standard employment contracts, who they term ‘contingent’ employees will report lower commitment to the organisation and demonstrate less organisational citizenship behaviour than their colleagues employed on traditional employment contracts. They propose that the psychological contract is the moderator and that the stronger the psychological contract, the stronger the relationship between an employee’s attitudes and their behaviour. They anticipated that contingent workers would have a weaker psychological attachment to the organisation and thus a weaker psychological contract.

Coyle-Shapiro and Kessler (2002) surveyed an entire local authority (23,000 employees) and received nearly 7,000 responses. The results suggest that, as hypothesised, contingent employees, including those on temporary contracts or those employed via a sub-contract, are less likely to have positive views of the organisation and less likely to engage in organisational citizenship behaviour. However, contrary to the hypothesis
about the strength of the psychological contract and the psychological attachment to the organisation they found that benefits received from their employer have a greater impact on the attitudes and behaviour of contingent employees than permanent employees suggesting a strong psychological contract. These results suggest that the psychological contract is a useful one in predicting organisational citizenship behaviours as it is linked to a number of the dimensions that contribute to such behaviour. This has congruence with Guest’s (2004) conceptual framework illustrated at figure 2.1 which shows the influencing factors of the employment relationship exerting their influence on the outcomes of attitude and behaviour through the psychological contract.

Kelman (1958) distinguished between commitment based on compliance (behaviour or attitudes linked to specific rewards or costs) identification (behaviours or attitudes aimed at associating with a valued third party) and internalisation (behaviour and attitudes congruent with an individual’s own value system). Compliance commitment suggests a transactional psychological contract where as identification commitment and internalisation commitment suggest a relational relationship. O’Reilly and Chatman (1986) develop Kelman’s (1958) three themes and identify psychological attachment as the central theme underpinning commitment. They define psychological attachment as reflecting the degree to which the individual internalises or adopts characteristics or perspectives of the organisation. More recent research (Shepherd and Mathews, 2000) proposes four distinct frameworks for describing organisational commitment:

- attitudinal commitment: based on acceptance of a belief in the goals of an organisation or group
- normative commitment: based on feelings of loyalty and obligation
- behavioural commitment: based on binding behaviour
- calculative commitment: based on socio-economic factors

Addittudinal commitment arises from positive attitudes towards the organisation and has become the dominant paradigm in the literature (Swailes, 2002). Shepherd and Matthews (2000) report that the most widely used method of investigating employee commitment is through exploring an individual’s attitudes or feelings towards his or her employer. Three
elements of attitudinal commitment can be identified: identification, involvement and loyalty. These manifest themselves as an understanding of and strong belief in an acceptance of the organisation's goal and values as discussed above; a willingness to "go the extra mile" (Guest, 1995, p. 113) for the good of the company and a strong desire to remain in the employ of the organisation.

For contracted staff, the question of which organisation to commit to becomes relevant. This may not be an issue if the goals and values of the employer and the host organisation are similar but may cause tension if they are disparate (Rubery, Earnshaw, Machington, Lee Cooke and Vincent, 2002). Attitudinal commitment suggests that the employee perceives the psychological contract to be relational. Research in this area often uses the Organisational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ) (Porter, Pearce, Tripoli and Lewis, 1998) or the British Organisational Commitment Scale (BOCS) (Cook and Wall, 1980) and measures the three components of identification, involvement and loyalty. Such research has shown that attitudinal commitment is negatively correlated with employee turnover, that committed individuals will have a good attendance record and work hard for the good of the organisation. (Allen and Meyer, 1990, Mowday, Steers and Porter, 1982).

Normative commitment explains employee behaviour in terms of their perceived moral obligations. Weiner (1982) suggests that individuals attach themselves to one organisation because they perceive it is the proper way to behave. Individuals exhibit behaviours solely because they believe this is the "...right and moral way to behave." (p. 421). Strength of commitment in this model is based on the strength of an individual's personal obligations and their personal commitment to the organisation's expectations and values. Employees, acting individually or as a social group, internalise the organisation's norms and values. Shepherd and Mathews (2000) report that whilst this model has not been explored widely in the literature, it provides a motivational framework that can underpin attitudinal commitment. Normative commitment may suggest a normative psychological contact in which a group of employees share values and their behaviour demonstrates commitment to those values.

Behavioural commitment (Staw and Salancik, 1977), explains commitment in terms of the individual's past actions rather than in the context of organisational actions. It incorporates the concept of cognitive dissonance
(Festinger, 1957) in which individuals reframe their attitude towards an event in the light of experience as they attempt to achieve congruence in their organisational lives. ‘I didn’t really want that promotion; it would’ve meant working long hours’ for example. The model suggests that individuals identify with a behaviour (of their own) and adjust their attitude to fit that behaviour. According to this model individuals construct definitions of appropriate behaviour. Gellatly and Luchak (1998), for example, argue that the level of individual absence is influenced by the collective behaviour of others. Peer socialisation influences the expected level of absenteeism to the extent that some individuals may feel under pressure to be absent more or less often. Actions over time bind employees to a greater or lesser extent to a course of action and to an organisation. Behavioural commitment suggests that there is a mechanism for developing a normative psychological contract that evolves through individuals within a group changing their mental models in the light of experience and the behaviour of others and illustrates the significance of the group in influencing the psychological contract of an individual.

The fourth framework, calculative commitment, represents a relationship with an organisation based on a notion of exchange in which individuals balance what they give the organisation and what the organisation gives them. It can be defined in terms of the number of investments an individual makes against the costs of leaving. Kanter (1968) describes this as continuance commitment – a commitment to remain in the employ of the organisation. He describes it in terms of the investments and sacrifices made by the individual who comes to feel that they have too much to lose by leaving. It includes the concept of ‘side bets’ (Becker, 1960) in which decisions to send children to a particular school, living near a place of work, accrued pension or other benefits are examples of behaviour that contribute to feelings of continuance commitment. At its heart, calculative commitment is centered on economic decision-making and is underpinned by an employment relationship based on economic rather than social exchange. This framework for explaining commitment has resonance with the concept of a transactional psychological contract.

The four frameworks described above, when set in the context of the psychological contract, need not be considered mutually exclusive. They suggest ways in which employee attitudes and behaviour may be shaped and in each adopting a different perspective provide an insight into the mechanisms of psychological contract formation.
The results of the Shepherd and Mathews survey (2000) (discussed above) indicate that HRM practitioners’ conceptions of employee commitment resemble most closely attitudinal commitment as described by Porter et al (1998). Attitudinal commitment has been used as a concept to explore how or if commitment differs across occupational groups. Howell and Dorman (1986) using the OCQ found that role clarification was an important predictor of commitment for both professionals and non-professionals. Supportive leadership was significantly positively correlated to commitment for professionals but not for non-professionals. Cohen (1992) and Cohen and Gattiker (1994), found broad differences between blue-collar, white-collar non-professionals and professionals. These results are consistent with the model shown in figure 2.1 representing an interaction between employment factors and the work outcomes of attitude and behaviour.

The way in which job satisfaction and commitment interrelate is central to developing an understanding of employee behaviour. Brunetto and Farr-Wharton (2002) describe job satisfaction as a multi-dimensional construct. They refer to Fogarty (1994) who suggests that job satisfaction refers to the extent to which employees gain enjoyment from their efforts in the workplace. Mael and Tetrick (1992) argue that high organisational identification enhances employees’ job satisfaction. They define organisational identification in terms of internalisation of beliefs, loyalty and continuance commitment. Some researchers define the relationship as a two way construct. Beckham (1995) for example concludes that loyalty is a two way construct where each party benefits from mutual concern for the other. Mutuality as addressed earlier, is a key concept underpinning the psychological contract and Guest and Conway (2002) suggest that the state of the psychological contract explains a large amount in the variance in job satisfaction. They propose that any association between type of employment contract and job satisfaction is fully mediated by the state of the psychological contract.

Organisational Commitment has also been linked to job satisfaction (Mathieu and Farr, 1991). Mathieu and Zajac (1990) suggest that there is a positive relationship between job satisfaction and continuance commitment, thus the greater the level of job satisfaction perceived by an individual, the lower the intention to leave the organisation. Brunetto and Farr-Wharton (2002) assert that the psychological contract that exists between employees and their managers as representatives of the employer
mediates issues of job satisfaction. The psychological contract, as discussed above, includes beliefs about what each party is expected to contribute to the relationship, and Jones and George (1998) argue that trust is an essential aspect that underpins the formation of the psychological contract. Organisations, they suggest, must create environments that facilitate the development of trust, as, when a level of trust is developed, employees are encouraged to behave cooperatively. Brewer (1994) suggests that without trust employees tend to develop an attitude of self-interest, which can act against organisational goals and values. Rousseau (2001) discusses the implications of an employer failing to meet their expected obligations as perceived by employees. This perceived breach of trust and resulting breach of the psychological contract can lead to a lessening of job satisfaction and an increased possibility of employees acting negatively towards the employer. Rousseau also argues that as employees and employers have access to more information over time, the obligations of each side become clearer. As employees become aware of the difference between the perceived and the real nature of the employment relationship they may experience a reduction in job satisfaction. Trust between the parties may be compromised as beliefs and expectations about what the other party can or will deliver are reformed. For example, if it is discovered that the appraisal and promotion processes, as defined by published procedures, are not implemented in practice. Thus perceptions of equity may change over time as employees refine their beliefs about the organisation and reframe their psychological contract.

The nature of the employment contract may also impact on levels of job satisfaction. Lee and Johnson (1991) found that voluntary temporary workers had significantly higher levels of job satisfaction and organisational commitment than permanent workers and involuntary temporary workers. Jacobsen (2000) also examined relationships between part-time work and commitment. He tested the general assumption that part-time workers are less committed due to insufficient attachment to a particular organisation. His research centred on staff working in care homes. The results suggest that there is a relationship between part-time work and affective commitment, however the direction of the relationship in Jacobsen's study is that part-time workers are more, not less affectively committed to the organisation. This degree of commitment Jacobsen (2000) argues is linked to the extent to which part-time staff can participate in the decision making processes of the organisation. Jacobsen's (2000) findings about the degree
of commitment expressed by part-time workers support earlier work by Allan and Sienko (1997) in which job satisfaction of those employed in different employment arrangements was measured. In this study results measured by Hackman and Oldham’s (1976) job diagnostic survey indicate no difference in general job satisfaction between 149 permanent workers and 48 temporary workers.

Biggs, Senior and Swailes (2002) question Allan and Sienko’s (1997) and Jacobsen’s (2000) findings and suggest that when drawing conclusions about relative levels of job satisfaction between permanent and temporary workers it is necessary to consider the impact that the presence of temporary or part time workers may have on permanent workers. Porter (1995) suggests that the presence of part time and temporary workers has a negative influence on the attitude of permanent workers specifically around issues to do with work load and pay. Biggs et al (2002) in a quantitative study involving 157 call centre workers in the UK explored this impact. The findings indicate that call centre workers who work with and around agency workers express a lower level of job satisfaction than permanent call centre workers who work without agency colleagues. Biggs argues that this suggests agency workers may influence the way permanent call centre workers feel about their jobs. This echoes the findings of Pearce (1993) that the presence of contractors is associated with less employee trust in the organisation.

The relationship between the psychological contract and organisational commitment is so strong that some writers suggest that the psychological contract provides no additional predictive or explanatory benefit that cannot be provided by the concept of organisational commitment, (Marks, 2001). Guest and Conway (1997) suggest that attitudes including organisational commitment and job satisfaction and behaviours such as motivation and organisational citizenship can be better understood as consequences of the psychological contract and that as such it offers a framework for interpreting employee attitudes and behaviours. They suggest that there is indeed, a strong correlation between the psychological contract, commitment and job satisfaction and that whilst such a correlation does not necessarily signify a causal relationship, it clearly has implications for effective management. This view is shared by Millward and Hopkins (1998) who argue that the concept of the psychological contract has utility because it is concerned with an individual’s own experience of work rather than the
collective experience of an organisation, thus it is a separate concept which is related to but distinct from the concept of organisational commitment.

Organisational commitment, like the psychological contract, is dynamic and can change over time (Swailes, 2002). If an aspect of the job or organisation changes then the focus of commitment might change. Morrow (1983) described 29 related concepts and measures of commitment and five broad foci:

- To work itself: a commitment to work itself irrespective of the job or the organisation;
- To a specific job;
- To a union or staff association;
- To a career or profession; and
- To an employing organisation.

Rubery et al (2002) suggest that within the public services, commitment can be conceived of as commitment to public service provision and not to commitment or loyalty to a public service organisation. This is of particular relevance to the prison education context in which the present study is set. Hackman and Oldham (1976, 1980) theorise about the extent to which the job itself can motivate the job holder. They suggest that specific job dimensions, task significance or uniqueness; autonomy and feedback from the job itself or agents will all impact on an individual’s organisational commitment. Dimensions of the job include task/skill variety, task identity.

Cohen (1995) and Van Dyne, Graham and Dienesch (1994) are among researchers who suggest that foci of organisational commitment are not mutually exclusive and that employees will have more than one focus of their commitment. They also suggest that non-work commitments, such as family, religion or voluntary activities are also important and may for some people at some times be their primary focus of commitment. Indeed Cohen, (1995) shows that organisational support for non-work issues, such as an employer supporting an employee in a non-work related activity, associates positively with commitment to the organisation. Earlier work (Reichers, 1985) suggested that committed employees are likely to be committed to multiple sets of goals and values such as colleagues, customer and other
groups within the organisation. This assumes that an organisation is not an
homogenous single entity but that the goals and values of one part of the
organisation may differ from other parts. Employees may therefore be
committed to some parts and not to others.

Becker (1992) and Becker and Billings (1993) found four patterns of
commitment:

- To the supervisor or work group (a local focus)
- To top management or the organisation (a global focus)
- To both (a local and a global focus)
- To neither

This raises questions about the concept of loyalty and is consistent with
studies that show loyalty can be given to some groups within an
organisation and not to others (Fielder, 1992). Hunt and Morgan (1994)
suggest that commitment to top management and the supervisor are both
forms of global commitment. They found that there need not be a conflict
between local and global commitment and that a local focus was
independent from any global commitment. The focus of organisational
commitment becomes more complex when a sub-contracted working
arrangement is considered. Higher levels of commitment to the client were
also shown in an Australian study of contract maintenance workers
(Benson, 1998). Guest and Conway (2000) did not find a direct association
between the nature of the employment contract and organisational
commitment. They did, however, find that a positive state of the
psychological contract was associated with higher levels of organisational
commitment.

Randall and Cote (1991) propose that multiple relationships exist between
organisational commitment, the perceived importance of work and career in
one’s life, commitment to a work group, job involvement and the Protestant
Work Ethic. This differs from Morrow’s (1983) analysis in that it replaces
commitment to a specific job with commitment to a work group. Social
identity theory is of relevance to this debate. According to this theory
people classify themselves as belonging to social categories according to
variables such as age, gender, interests and skills (Tajfel and Turner,
1987). It is usual for people to be members of more than one group at any
one time. Therefore, within the workplace, an individual may identify themselves not only as part of the organisation but also as belonging to some groups and not others within the organisation. Employees gain self esteem from belonging to an organisation generally or a group within the organisation. Group identity is one of the attitudes identified in Figure 2.1 as being directly and indirectly influenced by the development and maintenance of the psychological contract. This is discussed more fully in the next section.

**Employee attitudes and behaviours: Group identity**

Braggins (2004, p. 18) commented that the morale and professional development of all teaching and training staff be recognised as crucial to the delivery of a first class service. She reported the ‘schism’ between education, delivered by contracted staff, and training, delivered largely by prison staff, as a feature of a contracted out service that is unhelpful to staff and learners. These comments indicate that education and training is delivered by two distinct groups of staff. Within a prison context, the team of staff delivering education is one of a number of groups involved with prisoner activity including prison officers, prison governors, probation staff and psychologists. Hodgkinson (2003) argues for the utility of combining conceptual and theoretical frameworks when seeking to understand the behaviour of people at work. He suggests that the concept of social identity when considered alongside other theoretical frameworks including the psychological contract can ‘advance significantly our understanding of the behaviour of people and organisations at work’ (pp. 17.) Millward and Brewerton (1999) also comment on the sense of team spirit reported by contracted staff both temporary and permanent. They suggest that ‘feeling part of a team’ is more about a local sense of belonging than that of identification with an organisation. This suggests that group identity is important for contracted staff and thus can add to an understanding of the psychological contract and its relationship to the behaviour and attitudes of individuals within a prison education team.

Group identity has been extensively studied over the past three decades. (Tajfel, 1981; Abrams and Hogg, 1999; Robinson, 1996; Brown, 2000). Jackson (2002) suggests that whilst much attention has been given to investigating its causes and consequences, the concept of group identity
itself has received little attention in its own right. Tajfel (1981, p63) defined group identity as

‘...that part of an individual’s self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership.’

Within this definition Tajfel (1981) articulates three dimensions to the conception of group identity:

- a cognitive dimension – that the individual knows and can identify the group;
- an evaluative dimension – that the individual values membership of the group and
- an affective dimension – that the individual attaches emotional significance to group membership.

Tajfel (1982a) asserts that in order for a group to exist and intergroup behaviour to be observed there must be both external consensus that a group exists and internal criteria of group identification. Turner, Oakes, Haslam and McGarty (1994) support this view and suggest that individuals are more able to categorise themselves as part of a group, and therefore have a strong sense of group identity, when members of the group they are part of, the 'ingroup', are seen as having more in common with each other than with members of an external group, the 'outgroup', and when outgroup members are perceived as being more similar to each other than they are to ingroup members. In other words, when there is a perceived contrast.

Subsequent researchers have supported a multidimensional model of group identity, with some research suggesting an alternative dimension to an evaluative dimension; that of a common fate (Jackson and Smith, 1999, Brewer and Silver, 2000). Mael and Tetrick (1992) describe cognitive elements of group identity in terms of group members being able to articulate shared characteristics and affective elements in terms of shared experiences. Group members are concerned with group image, they talk about the group in terms of 'we' and they interpret group success as 'my success.'
There is some research explicitly linking group identity with the psychological contract and studies have shown how team factors can buffer, moderate or compensate for transactional psychological contracts by introducing relational pressure. Membership of a strong team may introduce relational aspects into an individual's broadly transactional psychological contract. Rousseau (2004) describes this phenomenon as the operation of a normative or shared contract that forms the backdrop for the generation of psychological contracts. Millward & Brewerton (1999) suggest that being part of a team in a local sense is particularly important for contracted staff, as it is within the team that their job derives meaning and location within the corporate whole.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) posited a distinction between personal and social identity, Social Identity Theory assumes that social identity is derived primarily from group membership and that people strive to achieve a positive social identity as this is important for self esteem. This positive social identity comes from making favourable comparisons between the ingroup, to which they belong and the outgroup, to which they do not belong. It can develop into a perception of kinship, loyalty, common fate and unity among group members (Jackson and Smith, 1999) that may create an emotional attachment to the group. When emotional attachment is high, positive attitudes toward the ingroup are expected to be exaggerated, which will translate as intergroup bias. In this way, perceptions of group identity and team membership may influence the behaviour of employees towards other groups or teams within the institution. Whilst developing a team culture may be desirable for building relational aspects into a transactional psychological contract, there may be consequences for the attitudes and behaviours of employees. If group identity leads to intergroup bias then the consequences may not be positive.

An example of intergroup bias is where there is a systematic tendency to evaluate one's own membership group (the ingroup) or its members more favourably than a non-membership group (the outgroup) or its members. Bias often consists of withholding positive emotions from outgroups but could also include hostile behaviour towards the outgroup. Most group members are likely to be moderate as opposed to extreme in their approach to intergroup bias and as such will rarely express open hostility but may withhold basic liking and respect. Fiske (2002) describes this as
cool neglect. Favouritism towards one’s own group in the form of biased intergroup evaluations is explainable in terms of the need to frame a positive social identity – people show intergroup differentiation partly to feel good about themselves by feeling good about the group to which they belong. This is the ‘self-esteem hypothesis’ (Brown, 2000). In psychological contract terms a shared set of perceptions as evidenced by a common attitude to outgroups suggest a strong normative contract. As shown in figure 2.1 the nature of the psychological contract influences attitudes of group identity which shape employee behaviour.

The nature of intergroup bias reported in social-psychological research tends to be ingroup favouritism. However Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherall (1987) suggest that being aware of a contrasting outgroup is central to forming group identity. An extension of ingroup favouritism and stereotyping can be outgroup derogation (Brewer 1999). Trust, for example, is extended to the ingroup but not the outgroup (Insko, Schopler and Sedikides, 1998). Hewstone, Rubin and Willis (2002) suggest that whilst outgroup derogation is not a necessary extension of intergroup bias, strong emotions may lead to hostility and antagonism against outgroups (Brewer, 2001). Smith (1993) argued that an outgroup that violates ingroup norms may elicit disgust or avoidance, if the outgroup is seen to benefit unjustly this may lead to resentment and even conflict between groups. Intergroup behaviours shaped by ingroup bias can be considered a form of stereotyping (Tajfel, 1982b). Stallybrass and White (1986, p601) define a stereotype as:

‘an over-simplified mental image of (usually) some category of person, institution or event which is shared, in essential features, by large numbers of people...Stereotypes are commonly but not necessarily, accompanied by prejudice, i.e. by a favourable or unfavourable predisposition toward any member of the category in question.’

Stereotyping is a powerful and emotive concept and much research into intergroup behaviour has focussed on understanding and explaining large scale racist or other discriminatory actions. Intergroup conflict can also be based on scarce resources for which the groups compete. This can be applied to the workplace and Tajfel (1982b) suggests that resources do not need to be physical and can include scarce resources that have no value outside the competition e.g., rank, status, prestige. When located within an organisation this competition for scarce resources can become
institutionalised. Sherif, (1966); Gurr, (1970); Olson, Herman and Zanna, (1986); Runciman, (1966); Walker and Smith, (2000) are amongst those who subscribe to this relative deprivation theory. This suggests that the driver behind feelings of discontent and collective action is a perception of discrepancy between what a group currently experiences and what it is entitled to expect. A number of studies suggest that strong social identification is linked to relative deprivation (Tropp and Wright, 1999, Kelly and Breinlinger, 1996). This concept shares much with studies exploring breaches of the psychological contract and reinforces the need to understand the content of the psychological contract to illuminate individual expectations of entitlement. If fair access to resources is perceived to be an element of the psychological contract then a perceived unfairness in access to those resources will constitute a breach of contract. Perceptions of ingroup and outgroup are influenced by and themselves influence psychological contract formation and maintenance.

Jackson (2002) suggests that there is a relationship between group identity and intergroup bias and that intergroup conflict magnifies this relationship. In defining outgroups, people exaggerate differences. Thus if prison education teams perceive conflict between themselves, the ingroup, and prison officers, the outgroup, the team’s own sense of group identity could be heightened. There is support for this relationship between intergroup conflict and group cohesion (Hinkle and Schopler, 1979) but there is also dissent (Horwitz and Rabbie, 1982).

Research has explored how groups form perceptions of other groups. Tajfel (1982b) suggests that conceptions of outgroups are generated in their social and historical contexts and then transmitted to members of groups and widely shared through a variety of channels of social influence, in other words in the same way as an individual develops their mental model of the psychological contract, an individual’s mental model is shaped so that a shared mental model of the outgroup develops. This is mediated through a threefold framework: a justification of actions planned or committed against the outgroups; a perception of social causality and a positive differentiation of a social group against different outgroups. Within this framework, one group finds justification, or excuses for the way in which the outgroup is treated or evaluated. Fiske (2002) describes how, when an outgroup member behaves poorly, exclusion is swifter than for an ingroup member as their behaviour provides an excuse for prejudice. People also exhibit a
tendency to attribute the outgroup with responsibility for their own unfortunate outcomes. The ingroup might be excused for its failures – which are ascribed to extenuating circumstances, but the outgroup is seen to bring it upon itself. Hewstone et al (2002) suggest that emotions experienced in specific encounters with groups can be important causes of people's overall reactions to groups. This suggests that the starting point for understanding attitude to and behaviour toward out groups begins with individual perceptions.

How people build their perceptions of intergroup differences has implications for developing strategies to reduce bias and conflict. Piaget and Garcia (1989) suggest that people create meaning systems that limit the number of possible interpretations of a particular event through developing their own 'lay theories'. Lay theories can be conceived of as being underpinned by two distinct conceptual frameworks: entity lay theories and incremental lay theories. Entity lay theories start from the assumption that everyone is a certain kind of person and that not much can be done to change that. Incremental lay theories in contrast assume that personal characteristics are changeable and dynamic and can be developed with time and effort. Entity person theory places a great emphasis on personal traits and ascribes significant predictive value to these traits. Hewstone (1990) argues that stereotyping is essentially attributing a set of fixed traits to groups and therefore entity person theorists are more likely to endorse stereotypes than incremental person theorists (Levy, Stroessner and Dweck, 1998). Levy et al (1998) also suggest that entity person theorists create more traits when faced with new groups and that these judgements are made more rapidly than by incremental person theorists.

Pettigrew (1998) suggests that education helps reduce bias and suggests that, in practice; it should be underpinned by constructive intergroup contact that increases mutual appreciation. Such contact should be established within the parameters of equal status, shared goals and a co-operative approach in pursuit of these goals. Senior managers within an institution must support the process. Brewer and Miller (1984) propose the decategorisation model. This involves making the social categories that define the differentiation become less useful as a psychological tool. This could involve defining new categories that cut across the original divide. A second approach is to redraw the group boundaries and subsume the
outgroup into a larger super-ordinate category. This results in ingroup and outgroup members sharing a common ingroup identity. Hewstone and Brown (1986) argue for a third approach, which has the benefit of maintaining any positive ingroup attitudes. This approach includes strategies such as stressing the typicality of the outgroup members with whom the ingroup come into contact, or drawing attention to participants group membership during an interaction and ensuring that interaction is between protagonists of equal status and is co-operative in nature. These strategies attempt to change the mental models that underpin intergroup bias.

Levy, Plaks, Hong, Chiu and Dweck (2001) suggest that different strategies are required to alter the perceptions of people who build their perceptions from an entity perspective than those who work from an incremental perspective. Levy (2000) tested whether college students could persuade themselves to adopt an incremental theory. The findings suggest that lay theory beliefs are able to be change and that under laboratory conditions at least, direct manipulation of the lay theory itself can reduce stereotyping. Levy concludes that intervention programmes that attempt to overturn stereotypes by presenting counter-stereotypic examples or redefining categories as suggested by Brewer and Miller (1984) will be less effective than those that induce incremental thinking within participants. It is necessary to change the lay theory approach, rather than reinforce an entity model with another entity model.

The discussion above suggests that group identity is an important factor in determining attitudes and behaviours towards other groups within an institution. The discussion above also proposes that the psychological contract mediates the relationship between the influencing factors on the left hand side of figure 2.1. and organisational commitment and that organisational commitment can be understood in terms of commitment focussed on a particular work group. Thus individual perceptions about elements within the psychological contract may include expectations about the behaviour and attitudes of other members of the group or members of other groups. Indeed, as discussed above, perceptions about the legitimacy of other groups and their access to resources can contribute to perceived breaches of the psychological contract.
The discussion so far has explored the concepts of organisational commitment, job satisfaction and group identity as aspects of employee attitudes and behaviour that are affected by the development and maintenance of the psychological contract. Marks (2001) describes how there has been much research into the nature and organisation of work that suggests the psychological contract between organisations and employees will change as forms of work organisation change and this chapter now moves on to consider the left hand side of figure 2.1 and explore the employment contract related influencers.

The psychological contract in the context of contracted out employment arrangements.
Handy (1989) reported that the process of contracting out was becoming more common and that with the increase in teleworking and contingent working, the notion of a single relationship between employee and organisation would become outmoded. Sparrow (2000) questioned whether changing employment arrangements emerging during the end of the 1990s would lead to a need to revise the psychological contract and if so, if generic organisational behavioural relationships between contract components would change.

Figure 2.1 proposes four employment relationship related factors that influence the nature and state of the psychological contract and the outcomes of employee attitude and behaviour, namely: contract related factors; individual factors; organisational factors and wider contextual factors. In seeking to understand the implications of changes in employment relationships for the psychological contract it is necessary to understand employment contract related factors and to define contracting arrangements. Guest (2004) reports that challenges of definition beset the subject and that in using any definitions of employment arrangements to study perceptions and behaviour there is a need to contextualize the study. Cohany (1998) uses a model based on four alternative employment arrangements. Cohany distinguishes between independent, largely self-employed contractors; on-call workers who report to a job only when asked; temporary help agency workers and contract company workers. The first three categories are largely self-explanatory. Contract company workers are described as working for an organisation that provides employees or their services to other organisations under contract. They usually work for one customer at a time at the customer’s work site. Cohany discovered that this group were more likely than workers in traditional employment contract
arrangements to hold professional, technical, service and precision production jobs. This chimes with the model of contracting out prison education services in which contractors provide a professional qualified and continuously developing team to work within the prison.

Many other bases are used to distinguish between employment contract types. Most definitions of flexible contracts do not include part-time work as this could be permanent and stable. Within further education there is a locally understood distinction between fractional (part-time, permanent contract) and part-time (hourly paid, fixed term contracts). Guest (2004) stresses the need to contextualise studies of employee perceptions and behaviour. Belous (1989) argues that anything other than traditional, standard employment contracts should be deemed to be contingent. This includes the self-employed and sub-contractors as well as part-time and temporary workers. Adopting a different approach Polivka and Nardone (1989) suggest a model based on continuance, i.e. the expected duration of the contract, and the non-systematic variation of core hours. This model forms the basis of the American Bureau of Labour Statistics that defines contingent work as “any job in which an individual does not have an explicit or implicit contract for long-term employment” (Polivka, 1996, pp 11). For prison-based education staff the issue of working in a sub-contracted service need not be one of permanency. Employment law protects their positions within the prison; they are also likely to hold permanent contracts with their employer.

There are other examples of classifying non-traditional employment relationships. McLean Parks et al (1998) suggest 9 distinct categories commonly seen in practice. These are shown in table 2.2.

Adopting a similar approach as Belous (1989), all workers other than core workers are described by McLean Parks et al as contingent workers. Using this taxonomy, prison education staff would be classified as independent contractors.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Core</th>
<th>Permanent full time &amp; part time workers with either an implicit or explicit understanding that the work will be ongoing or continuous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Floats</td>
<td>Full time employees who move around within different departments or decisions within the organisations a regular part of their job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Networked</td>
<td>Individuals whose work is performed outside the boundaries of their home organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-house temporaries</td>
<td>Workers hired by the organisation to meet variable scheduling needs, listed in a registry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct-hire or seasonal temporaries</td>
<td>Workers for whom organisations advertise &amp; recruit for the purpose of filling position vacancies as needed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leased workers</td>
<td>Employee leasing company effectively rents an entire workforce to a client employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-contracted workers</td>
<td>Work is transferred to another organisation whose employees perform the tasks on or off the premises of the client company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultants</td>
<td>Organisation either contracts with a professional consulting firm or with independent consultants for the completion of the project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent contractors</td>
<td>Brought into the firm to supply specific skills, from annual labour such as plumbing to software and other engineering applications</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the challenges in defining the nature of different employment relationships much research has explored the impact they have on an employee's performance. For example, Rubery et al (2002) suggest that the nature of the employee-employer relationship in contingent working arrangements, however they may be defined, can be ambiguous. They argue that employees may find it difficult to adapt to the culture of the organisation if it differs from that of their employer. The resulting ambiguity could, they believe, lead to conflicts of loyalty. This may have implications for how an employee feels about their employer and the degree of commitment they bring to their work and job satisfaction the get from their work.

As discussed above, an employee with high attitudinal commitment will take pride in the organisation, believe that what they do is for the good of the organisation and have affection for and attachment to the organisation (Porter et al, 1974). For prison education teams who work within one organisation and are employed by another, these issues of loyalty may give rise to tension. Prison education contracts are time bound and this means there could be a change of contractor, and therefore employer, each time the contracts are offered for tender. Staff employed within prison education departments have their tenure of employment protected under Transfer of
Undertakings employment law and thus any new contractor must continue to employ them. For some staff however there may be a conflict of loyalty in that they are committed to the previous contractor but do not have the opportunity to remain within their employ.

Similarly, such arrangements present challenges for the employer and Drucker (2002) suggests that for the organisation supplying the specialist workforce, balancing its dual responsibilities to the corporate client and to the employee, is probably the organisation's most important and challenging job. Figure 2.1 identifies organisational factors as one of the influencing factors and the way in which both the contractor and the contracting organisation manage the relationship are relevant.

Guest (2004) suggests that there has only been limited research investigating the psychological contract in the context of different employment relationships. An exception to this is Van Dyne and Ang's (1998) investigation of the organisational citizenship behaviour of contingent workers in Singapore. They found that contingent workers have a more limited psychological contract in that they feel the organisation is obliged to provide less for them than their permanent colleagues do. Their results indicate that the type of employment contract moderates the strength of the relationship between the psychological contract and outcomes such as attitudes and behaviour. They conclude that this implies the psychological contract may be a stronger influence on the behaviour and attitudes of temporary employees than for permanent employees.

Pearce (1993) surveyed workers at a large aerospace company in the US that had a history of employing individual contracted staff, either to absorb industry fluctuations, or work in specialised areas. In contrast to Van Dyne and Ang's (1998) research the results indicate that there are no significant differences between employees and contracted staff in terms of organisational commitment or supervisor ratings of cooperation. Contracted staff are however more likely to engage in extra-role behaviour. Pearce describes extra-role behaviour as an activity which the employee is not required to carry out by the employer, but the employee carries out in order to assist the organisation. Examples of such activity are helping colleagues learn new procedures, taking the initiative and 'pitching in' (p 1083) to help meet a deadline. Pearce (1993) argues that such behaviour is an indication of quasi-moral involvement and implies a strong psychological commitment
to the organisation. The research is set in the wider context of an industry that has always used contracted staff. Contracted staff receive a higher rate of pay than directly employed staff although they have less job security and have to be geographically mobile. Pearce cautions against generalising the results to other types of contracted staff and in doing so reinforces the significance of wider contextual factors, as shown in figure 2.1, as an influence on the psychological contract and the outcomes of employee attitude and behaviour.

Predictions about the nature of the psychological contract under different employment relationships tend to suggest that the increase in contingent arrangements will lead to an increase in narrow, transactional psychological contracts (Robinson and Rousseau, 1994, Rousseau, 1995b); in other words psychological contracts based on economic rather than social exchange. The transactional psychological contract is based largely on remuneration and other short-term benefits to the employee. The relational psychological contract on the other hand commits the employer and the employee to affective involvement or attachment with the other party. For example training and personal development from the employer and identification with organisational goals and loyalty from the employee. Other studies have explored the transactional and relational aspects of the psychological contracts of temporary staff. For instance Millward and Hopkins (1989) suggest temporary employees perceive their contract as more transactional than permanent employees.

Millward and Brewerton (1999) investigated the content of the psychological contract to explore different employment relationships and looked for differences in the transactional and relational nature of psychological contracts between contracted and directly employed staff. They believed that there would be differences between permanently contracted staff, direct employees and temporarily contracted staff in terms of the transactional or relational of their psychological contracts. Specifically, they hypothesised, that contracted staff would hold a more transactional view of the relationship than direct employees, who would hold a more relational view. Table 2.3 summarises their conception of relational and transactional psychological contracts.
Table 2.3: Millward & Brewerton’s conception of the characteristics of relational and transactional psychological contracts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relational Contract</th>
<th>Transactional Contract</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Based on trust</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High affective commitment and contract related self esteem</td>
<td>Low commitment and contract related self esteem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High degree of integration &amp; identification with exchange partner</td>
<td>Weak integration/identification with the organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expectation of contribution to the organisation</td>
<td>Limited organisational contribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable, long term relationship</td>
<td>Short time frame; limited flexibility and easy exit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data were collected through a self-administered questionnaire, which had been constructed using a range of pre-existing measures including the Psychological Contract Scale (PCS) (Millward and Hopkins, 1989) and a tailor-made company specific measure. The quantitative data were analysed and the results showed that:

- Direct employees are the least transactional in their contractual stance.
- Temporary contracted staff are the least likely to report relational contracts.
- Permanent contracted staff and direct employees are more emotionally invested in their work and perceive more opportunity for professional development than temporary contracted staff.
- There is no difference between permanent contracted staff and direct employees on contract-specific self-esteem.
- There is a difference between permanent contracted staff and temporary contracted staff with permanent contracted staff exhibiting a higher sense of contract specific self-esteem.
- Direct & permanent contracted staff are on a par in terms of the extent to which they identified with the client company and how clear they are on organisational goals.
- Both temporary & permanent contracted staff express a stronger sense of team spirit than direct employees.
- Permanent contracted staff are no more inclined to leave than direct employees.

The results support the hypothesis that contracted staff are more likely to hold transactional views of the exchange relationship but also suggests that permanent contracted staff view the relationship with the host organisation to be as relational as permanent direct employees view it. The high transactional orientation and short term views held by permanently
employed agency contracted staff do not preclude them from evolving a highly relational stance with their host organisation – on a par with that of direct employees. Millward and Brewerton (1999) conclude that the greater the identification with the host organisation and the higher the sense of team spirit, the greater the likelihood of perceiving the exchange relationship with the employer in relational terms. They suggest that the psychological contract is a more powerful predictor of intention to leave than contractual status. Permanent agency employed contracted staff are just as likely to identify with the client company as direct employees. They perceive their contract with the client company to be valid, desirable, legitimate and important. They express a strong sense of their own contribution to client goals – higher than that expressed by direct employees.

The findings of the Millward and Brewerton (1999) study draws interesting conclusions about the psychological contracts of contracted staff and the organisational factors that influence it and in doing so raises further questions about the nature of the relationships between different forms of employment arrangements, their relationship with the psychological contract and the influence on attitudes and behaviour of contracted staff in particular settings. Their research adopted a quantitative approach. It investigated two groups (one temporary and one permanent) of contracted staff matched for age, sex and job role and a group of direct employees. This group was not completely matched as the client organisation had outsourced a complete block of work & therefore it was not possible to match job role, although grade of job was considered. Given the idiosyncratic nature of the psychological contract discussed earlier, an area for further study is to explore individual perceptions of the psychological contract rather than adopt a rating scale methodology. Rousseau and McLean-Parks (1993) suggest that methodologies involving rating scales are more useful for investigating implied contracts where there is a degree of social consensus about obligations and where these are routinely met.

The Millward and Brewerton (1999) study provides some interesting insights into the state of the psychological contract for a specific group of staff in a particular employment context and indicates that contracted staff may construct a relational psychological contract with the host organisation. The nature of the employment relationship for prison-based education staff differs from those explored in the Millward and Brewerton (1999) study. The
permanent agency staff had permanent contracts with their agency. An implication of this arrangement is that if the agency loses the contract for services the permanent member of staff is redeployed to another contract. In the prison education context the member of staff has employment protection linked to the prison. If the contractor loses the contract, the new contractor must employ the staff based at the prison. Thus the permanency is linked to the prison not the employer. This may result in differences in the relationship the employee has with their employer and with the host prison.

Coyle-Shapiro and Kessler (2002) studied UK local government employees to explore the content of the psychological contract and found that those employed on temporary contracts described fewer obligations to their employer or inducements from their employer than those on permanent contracts. Temporary workers reported less commitment and organisational citizenship behaviour than permanent workers. Of particular interest is the phenomenon that temporary workers are more sensitive to variations in obligations or inducements, in other words, if the psychological contract is exceeded or breached it has more influence on the behaviour of temporary compared with permanent employees. This has resonance with the Van Dyne and Ang (1998) study discussed earlier in which they suggest the psychological contract may be a stronger influence on the behaviour and attitudes of temporary employers than on permanent employees.

Guest (2004) describes the complication of classifying the employment relationship of someone with a permanent contract with an agency who is working on a temporary basis within another organisation. This is similar to prison education staff who, for the most part, hold permanent contracts with their employing college, but differs in the permanent nature of involvement with one host organisation, the prison. Guest, Mackenzie Davey and Patch (2003) separated contingent workers within four UK organisations into fixed-term, temporary and agency contracts. They assessed the reported state of the psychological contract of each group and found that those on fixed-term and agency contracts reported a better state of the psychological contract than permanent employees. The reported state of the psychological contract for temporary workers was lower than that of permanent employees.

Guest and Conway (1997) surveyed 1000 employees, 13% of whom were employed on either fixed term or temporary contracts. This group of
respondents report that they are more highly motivated and more satisfied in their jobs than staff on permanent contracts. At the same time they do not claim to be any more insecure and do not report lower commitment, less organisational citizenship or more pressure at work. Baringer and Sturman (1999) explored the commitment of temporary agency staff to their agency and to their assigned employer. They conclude that employees are able to commit to both organisations independently and that on average commitment is higher to the client organisation than to the agency. Interestingly those respondents who reported that they preferred a temporary employment arrangement to a permanent one were less likely to be highly committed to the assigned employer. This suggests that whether or not an individual is employed on their “contract of choice” (Guest 2004) an example of an individual factor, or influencer on the left hand side of figure 2.1, and may influence the degree of organisational commitment.

The research into different employment relationships presents inconsistent conclusions about the nature of the employment relationship and the nature of the psychological contract. McLean Parks et al (1998) argue that because classification of a specific employment arrangement is difficult and as the continuing expansion of the number of alternative employment arrangements makes categorizing new forms into existing categories for the purpose of comparisons across research studies increasingly difficult, and this difficulty makes consistency in findings less likely. An alternative approach to classifying working arrangements is one based on the dimensions of the psychological contract. In other words, not one based on trying to closely define the employment relationship, but one that uses the psychological contract as the basis for understanding the relationship

McLean Parks, et al (1998) explored the features of the psychological contracts of contingent workers. They adopted a feature-oriented approach that attempted to capture the properties associated with particular contracts. Such properties, McLean et al argued are conceptually independent from specific contract terms, Instead they can be thought of as adjectives – stable/unstable for example, that describe the terms and how they are communicated or interpreted. Rousseau and Tijoriwala (1998) assert that feature-oriented methods are important for understanding how the process of communicating contract-related information shapes both the content and the fulfilment of the psychological contract. They argue that adopting a feature-oriented approach, which explores the dimensions of the
psychological contract, has four advantages. First it focuses on how employees see their relationship with the organisation. The employer may view them as contingent workers whereas they perceive themselves as core. Second, it avoids trying to classify workers to their closest employment relationship type and thirdly, it avoids the creation of more and more categories to represent the ever-expanding suite of employment relationships. Fourthly, it avoids making assumptions about the content of the psychological contract.

McLean Parks et al (1998) propose a model of psychological contracts based around 8 dimensions. Table 2.4 summarises these dimensions.

Table 2.4: Dimensions of the psychological contract. McLean Parks et al (1998)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stability</th>
<th>The degree to which the psychological contract is limited in terms of its ability to evolve and change without an implied renegotiation of the change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scope</td>
<td>The extent to which the boundary between one’s employment relationship and other aspects of one’s life is seen as permeable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangibility</td>
<td>The degree to which the employee perceives the terms of the contract as unambiguously defined and explicitly specified and clearly observable to third parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>The relative emphasis of the psychological contract on socio-emotional versus economic concerns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timeframe</td>
<td>Duration – the extent to which the employee perceives the relationship to be long or short term and precision - the extent to which it is defined (finite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particularism</td>
<td>The degree to which the employee perceives the resources exchanged within the contract as unique and non-substitutable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Agency</td>
<td>The degree to which an employee’s labour can simultaneously fulfil obligations to more than one employer, with full knowledge and sanction from both (all)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volition</td>
<td>The degree to which employees believe they had choice in the selection of the nature of the employment relationship, including, but not limited to, the degree to which they had input or control into the terms of the contract.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They invite researchers to use this framework to review the extent to which psychological contracts of contingent workers differ in these dimensions from core workers. They make a number of specific propositions about the nature of differences across each dimension and present some worked, hypothetical examples. The model is flexible and acknowledges the potential consequences of more than one agent to the psychological
contract. However, it does not examine the issue of multiple contracts closely. Figure 2.2 reproduces tables for two temporary factory workers both of whom could be classified as having the same type of employment arrangement. When dimensions of the psychological contract are reviewed however it can be seen that there is a difference in the nature of the psychological contract. McLean Parks et al (1998) suggest that using a typology based on the dimensions rather than the employment relationship itself offers greater utility in understanding those employment relationships.

Example 1: Temporary Factory Worker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Precise duration</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>Imprecise duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short time frame</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Long time frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Static</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Dynamic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrow</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Pervasive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observable</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non socio-emotional</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Socio-emotional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universal</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Particularistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involuntary</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Voluntary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Multiple Agency? Yes ✓ No

Example 2: Temporary Factory Worker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Precise duration</th>
<th>x</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involuntary</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Voluntary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Multiple Agency? Yes No ✓

Figure 2.2: Classifying work arrangements along contract dimensions
(Extract from McLean Parks et al 1998, p. 716)

The examples McLean Parks et al give to illustrate how the dimensions vary from one employment relationship type to another (shown in figure. 2.2) demonstrate the flexibility of the approach however the multiple agency dimension is simply a yes/no dimension. This fails to assess the implication of an employee perceiving differing psychological contracts with different agents. Herriot and Pemberton (1997) suggest that in the context of multiple employment arrangements it is more useful to replace the idea of an individual having a single contract with a single organisation with the notion of multiple contracts. They argue that there are an infinite number of potential contracts. Marks (2001) suggests that the number of contracts
within a work situation is increased when there is more distance between the employee and the organisation due to outsourcing or contracting. Guest (1998a) describes this as "the agency problem". He argues that whilst a formal contract is signed between the employee and an agent of the organisation, in the case of the psychological contract it is not clear exactly what is meant by the organisation. The present study explores the concept of multiple agency by investigating the content of the psychological contract members of prison education department hold with their employer and with the host prison.

The individual, contract related, organisational and wider contextual factors that influence the psychological contract and employee attitude and behaviour can be understood through an examination of the psychological contract itself. The psychological contract is each individual's perception of what they owe their employer and what their employer owes them. The outcomes of the interaction between the factors and the psychological contract are the outcomes of attitude and behaviour, as illustrated in figure 2.1. In the context of contracted out employment relationships, the concept of multiple agents to the psychological contract introduces the notion that contracted staff perceive psychological contracts with the host organisation and that the relationship between influencing factors, the psychological contact and outcomes is even more complex. Thus the centrality of the psychological contract becomes even more pronounced and in this study will be used to explore and make sense of the specific context of prison education.

Research questions
The results of the literature review indicate that a relationship between the employment contract and the psychological contract exists. Similarly a relationship between the psychological contract and organisational commitment, job satisfaction and group identify exists. Figure 2.1 represents these relationships. Marks (2001) suggests that the psychological contract is a useful integrated concept around which to converge the concerns of the contemporary workplace.

This study is set in the particular context of prison education. The Home Office contracts with a number of providers of education and training to deliver education services to prisoners. The staff who are employed to do this work are located within a prison although they are employed by a
separate organisation, usually a college of general and further education. These staff are therefore contracted staff working within a host organisation, the prison. The research discussed above suggests that the psychological contracts of contingent workers are likely to be more transactional than those of permanent employees. One limitation of the studies of the psychological contract presented is that they focus on the employees' perceptions of their contract with their employer. The work of Barringer and Sturman (1999), discussed in the section on organisational commitment, suggests that agency employees form psychological attachments to both their employer and the host organisation to which they are assigned. For organisations that employ prison-based education teams it is important to understand not only the content of the psychological contract formed with them but also the content of the psychological contract formed with the host prison.

This study extends the field of research into the psychological contract by exploring a specific context that has not previously been studied and by exploring the content of the psychological contract an individual creates with two agents – the employer and the host organisation.

The study is carried out at a critical time. Coyle-Shapiro (2002) suggests that the increasing use of contingent workers is a challenge for public service organisations. The attitudes and behaviours of such staff are likely to be critical to organisational performance and the quality of provision. As the Home Office responds to the findings of and recommendations in the Carter Report (2003) the efficacy of prison education and training will be subject to close scrutiny. Similarly for contractors, as new models of contracting are trialled across the country and funding arrangements are reviewed, contractors will need to assure themselves that any new arrangements will allow for effective management of prison-based education teams and do not threaten the state of the psychological contract.

Guest (1998a) suggests there are three broadly separate, although not mutually exclusive, approaches to using the psychological contract; firstly to build theory; secondly to use it to construct precise descriptive operationalisations and measures and thirdly to understand the psychological contract as a framework around which to focus policy and practice. In exploring the perceived obligations of prison based education
Consequently this study explores the content of the psychological contract for a specific group of contracted staff. Set in the context of prison education it takes account of multiple agents to the psychological contract to examine the content of the psychological contracts that exist between:

- employee and employer and
- employee and host (the prison)

It explores the employee's perceptions of their own obligations both to the employing and host organisation and the employee's perceptions of the obligations of both organisations to themselves. It seeks to answer the following questions:

1a. what obligations are owed by the employer to prison-based education staff as perceived by prison-based education staff?
1b. what obligations are owed by the prison to prison-based education staff as perceived by prison-based education staff?

2a. what obligations do prison-based education staff perceive they and their education colleagues owe their employer?
2b. what obligations do prison-based education staff perceive they and their education colleagues owe the prison?

In answering these questions the study provides new data concerning the content of the psychological contract for contracted staff and illuminates issues for managers of staff in these circumstances to ensure effective management processes are in place.
Methodology
Chapter 3: Methodology

Research approach

Rousseau and Tijoriwala (1998) identify that research investigating the psychological contract attempts to measure the contract using three approaches: content-oriented, feature-oriented and evaluation-oriented. Research into the psychological contract associated with different employment relationships has drawn on each of these approaches.

The first two approaches, content-oriented and feature-oriented explore the psychological contract itself, as represented by the box centre left on figure 2.1. Content-oriented approaches focus on specific terms and reciprocal obligations that characterise the individual's psychological contract. Such research explores individual contract elements to identify specific terms or composites, where groups of terms are combined to create scales, characterising the broad content of the psychological contract, or nominal classifications focusing on contract types such as relational or transactional as discussed in chapter two. By contrast, feature-oriented research explores the psychological contract in terms of its attributes or dimensions, for example the extent to which a psychological contract is implicit or explicit or stable or unstable over time. The dimensions described by Mclean Parks et al (1998) presented in chapter two is an example of such a feature-oriented approach. The third of the approaches, evaluation-oriented, explore the second box related to the psychological contract in figure 2.1, that is, the state of the psychological contract and assess the degree of fulfilment, change or violation experienced by an individual against expectations of their contract. In summary, research into the psychological contract typically tends to seek to either identify the content of the psychological contract or describe its features or assess the extent to which the psychological contract has been met, exceeded or violated.

The research reported in this thesis explores the content of the psychological contract within a specific educational context. Therefore it can be described as a content-oriented study. This distinction is important because one of the considerations in assessing the appropriateness of a research methodology is the focus of the research question(s).

Research questions can be conceptualised as falling into one of two approaches. One in which the focus is on idiosyncratic issues particular to
the person or organisation under investigation and a second which focuses on broadly generalisable features meaningful to individuals across a range of settings. Morey and Luthens (1984) referred to this distinction as emic and etic. Etic approaches seek to investigate general constructs, often derived from theory, that are related to commonly understood organisational practices. Such an approach would not attempt to get at the detail of the content of the psychological contract but to generate or assess standardised categories. Methodologies typical of this approach would include quantitative assessment; an analysis of structured questionnaires for example. Emic approaches in contrast, seek to uncover an individual’s schema or mental model uninfluenced by the researcher’s pre-conceptions. Typically qualitative, ethnographic approaches are used, perhaps focusing on a single organisation or an in-depth study of a few persons.

The focus of the research question(s) is not the only aspect of the research that has relevance to the appropriateness of methodology. Shepherd and Matthews (2000) indicate that HRM practitioners tend to rely on soft measures of commitment such as regular meetings and appraisal rather than objective questionnaires such as OCQ or BOCS. The results suggest that employers regard subjective methodologies to be the best methods of assessing employee commitment. Shepherd and Mathews (2000) suggest that there may be some credence in using soft techniques rather than those traditionally used by academics, as these may not provide sufficient insight into the operationalisation of the commitment construct. Purely quantitative measures they suggest may lack the acuity to capture individual nuances and fail to elicit idiosyncratic perceptions of commitment. They suggest that ethnographic techniques such as participant observation could form a useful alternative methodology. Rousseau and Tijoriwala (1998) identify the stability of the context in which the research is set as significant in influencing methodological decisions. They suggest that an etic approach may be appropriate where a context is stable but that in periods of transition or changes in the employment relationship an emic approach is more appropriate. At a general level adopting a methodology based on standardised measures assumes that the meanings of contract terms remain constant over time. Herriot and Pemberton (1997) found that the divergence of individual interpretations of the meaning of psychological contract terms increased during organisational change compared with the range of individual interpretations uncovered within organisations operating within a stable context. This research seeks to explore individual
perceptions of the psychological contracts between prison-based education staff and their employer and between prison-based education staff and the host prison. It is set in the context of prison education which is in the middle of a period of significant change and thus the research is located within an emic focus, suggesting that a qualitative research approach is appropriate.

Adopting a qualitative approach has many implications. Rousseau and Tijoriwala (1998) suggest that research into the psychological contract is subject to competing demands. If it is accepted that a psychological contract is an individual’s belief in reciprocal obligations and therefore it is an individual’s perception, which can be explored through seeking specific idiosyncratic information meaningful to the individual, the researcher is presented with the potential issue of limited generalisability. Much research suggests however, that many features of the psychological contract are indeed generalisable and have meaning across people and settings (Schnieder, 1990).

Guba and Lincoln (1982) suggest that traditional conceptions of transferability should not restrict the utility of research. They argue that the concept of ‘fittingness’ should replace that of generalisability, where the degree to which the situation studied matches other situations is analysed. Beck (2003) developed this idea and proposed that credibility, auditability and fittingness are three main standards that are common to qualitative methodologies. Credibility is also described as trustworthiness and is said to be evidenced by an informed reader or a participant of the research recognising the researcher’s descriptions as his or her own. Auditability is the extent to which another researcher would be able to replicate the research and draw the same conclusions. This can be enhanced through creating an explicit audit trail that runs through each stage of the data collection and analysis. Fittingness refers to the transferability of the research findings and evaluates the extent to which the findings have meanings to other people in other contexts and situations. It is necessary therefore to be explicit in describing the sample and the setting to enable the reader to visualise the context and assess the extent to which it has relevance to a different context.

The present study explores the content of the psychological contract from the premise that it is an idiosyncratic set of beliefs that an employee holds about their obligations and entitlements, i.e. what they owe their employer
and what their employer owes them. Prison education is subject to a government review and is in a state of flux in terms of the nature of the contracting process. As such qualitative methodologies are appropriate to elicit the contents of the psychological construct that is perceived to exist between staff and their employer and staff and their host organisation. Woods (1996) suggests that there are four main features of qualitative research:

- A focus on natural settings
- An interest in meanings, perspectives and understanding
- An emphasis on process
- A concern with inductive analysis and grounded theory

The study explores with staff and managers their perceptions of the psychological contract. Thus it is investigating meanings, perspectives and understanding.

**Methods of data collection**

There are many methods of data collection associated with qualitative research approaches. Techniques may include using documentary sources, observing groups or individuals or asking questions. In using documentary sources, which could include audio or visual media as well as written texts, qualitative research approaches include content analysis and discourse analysis, which moves beyond a quantitative analysis of content to an assessment of values and meanings implicit with documents. Although it has been suggested that it is a rather artificial divide (Foster, 1993) a qualitative approach to observation would usually include a focus on natural settings in which the observer could be a participant or a non-participant. Observations would tend to be less structured than those carried out within a quantitative approach. Drawn from the anthropological paradigm, ethnographic observation tries to explore the perspectives of those being observed and aims to produce detailed, qualitative descriptions of behaviour, which aims to describe the social world from the actor’s point of view and therefore illuminate social meanings and shared culture. When asking questions an interview or a questionnaire approach can be adopted. Questionnaires can include open and closed questions, however, nil responses cannot be explored and issues raised cannot be probed as they could in an interview. A questionnaire was trialled and compared with interviews in the pilot phase of this research. However, the responses collected through interview provided much richer data and resulted in fewer nil responses.
The interview as a technique for collecting qualitative data is widely used in education research. For example, Slocombe (1994) interviewed a range of interested parties when exploring redundancy at small schools. They included head teachers, deputy head teachers, governors and area office staff. One of the advantages of interviewing face to face is that the researcher can explore answers and probe for information and therefore flexibility is maintained. It is this flexibility and efficiency that Cockburn (2004) suggests contributes to its ubiquity within qualitative approaches to educational research. Cockburn describes ethnographic interviewing as central to a research paradigm that places importance on the subjective. Research interviews can elicit the participants own definition of the situation of subject being explored, expose their private worlds and enable the researcher to understand how they structure and organise their experience.

Hallier and James (1997) asked managers in the air traffic control industry for examples of when either the employer or the employee met, went beyond or fell short of what could be expected of them in terms of their treatment of the other party. Their research used semi-structured interviews to explore the psychological contract frameworks of managers and their report-tos, both of whom were undergoing significant job changes. The interviews took place over two years and aimed to investigate the meanings employees attached to the job changes. Hallier and James (1997) suggested that a strength of using a semi-structured interview approach was that it allowed the interviewee to introduce themes that were important to them.

One criticism of data collected through qualitative interview is the subjectivity it seeks to explore. Burns, Williams and Maxham (2000) investigated the potential for narrative bias within data collected using qualitative interviews to elicit critical incident data. They hypothesised that when self-disclosure is used, informant factors, target characteristics and the disclosure topic each affect the quantity and quality of data presented by respondents.

In addition, gender difference they argue has been observed in a large number of self disclosure studies (Chelune, 1976; Alloy, Schuldt and Bonge, 1985). Women tend to disclose more than men. Target familiarity, the degree to which the respondent feels similar to the researcher, is also
significant. More self disclosure is provided to targets that are similar to the informant (Hansen and Schuld, 1982; Hatch and Leighton, 1985; Gitter and Black, 1976). Research has also investigated whether or not self-disclosure is greater within same sex pairs and there is some support for this. (Burnard and Morrison, 1994; Hatch and Leighton, 1985)

Burns et al (2000) investigated self-disclosure to explore these factors more fully. The study tested four hypotheses:

1. That female informants will disclose more about themselves than male.
2. That informants will disclose more information to a person who is similar to themselves.
3. That informants will disclose more information to a person of the same sex.
4. That informants will disclose more about a high involvement topic than a low involvement topic.

The results of the study support three of the four hypotheses. Significant differences were found in the amount of data provided in all cases except that of disclosure to same or different sex. Consequently, the study recommends specific actions for researchers to reduce the effects of these subtle biases:

1. To ensure a balance of male and female informants as a disproportionate number of males may decrease the richness of the text.
2. To maximise similarity with the informants.
3. To ensure the topic under investigation is one with which the informant has high involvement.

Cockburn (2004) considered the degree to which rhetoric obfuscates the researcher’s ability to access accurate information, particularly when those being interviewed have a formal responsibility to protect the organisation or perceive that they have a responsibility to ensure that the organisation is shown in a favourable light. The danger of rhetoric is that it does not tell the researcher what is going on in the context being explored, but illuminates more about what or who the respondent thinks the researcher is and the message he or she thinks it is appropriate to convey to you. One method suggested by Cockburn to get past the rhetoric is to explore concrete cases
and to encourage respondents to be as specific, concrete and graphic as possible (Cockburn, 2004).

Flanagan (1954) suggests that using focus groups within research can to some extent provide a check on data supplied by interviewees. Group interviews can be useful to provide broad coverage and generate a range of concepts and data. The intention of using qualitative interview techniques to explore issues with staff is to elicit the elements of the psychological contract that exist between staff and employer and staff and host organisation, and a focus group interview will contribute to this process and act as a form of triangulation.

It is suggested that eight should be the maximum group size for focus group discussions (Open University, 1994). A process based on the ‘form, storm, norm, perform, mourn’ model of group dynamics (Tuckman, 1965) is described as a useful way of conducting a group interview. This involves the following stages:

- **Forming** Each person needs to say something within the first five minutes, even if it is only to introduce themselves.
- **Storming** The group works out issues of power and control. A thoughtshower (a technique based on a concerted intellectual treatment of a problem by discussing spontaneous ideas about it) is useful at this stage.
- **Norming** The group settles down, permission to hold differing views is accepted.
- **Performing** Specific questions can be addressed, a feeling of constructive activity.
- **Mourning** The researcher must manage the interview to indicate to the group that it is almost complete – for other points or questions concerning the research.

This study uses one to one semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions to elicit qualitative data concerning the content of the psychological contracts perceived by prison based education staff, with their employer and with the post prison.

The critical incident technique (CIT) (Flanagan, 1954) has been used to investigate a range of contexts since it came to prominence within the Aviation Psychological Programme carried out by United States Air Forces
during World War II. Early applications of the technique explored effective leadership by asking respondents to describe an actual event that they perceived of as an example of strong/weak leadership and to identify behaviours that had helped or hindered the event. Analysing the data generated enabled researchers to identify the salient behaviours that contributed to effective leadership.

Flanagan (1954, p. 335) emphasises the fact that the technique itself does not consist of a rigid set of rules governing data collection. Rather it is a 'flexible set of principles which must be modified and adapted to meet the specific situation at hand'. It takes the experience of respondents as the starting point and thus seeks to elicit their perception of reality. At the heart of the technique is a focus on the real (as perceived by the respondents) world rather than the abstract. It draws on descriptions of actual events as opposed to descriptions of how things could or should be. Thus the use of CIT should minimise the opportunities for rhetoric to blur individual perceptions.

A focus on uncovering the perceived world of the participant suggests an approach based on a constructivist view of interviewing as a meaning making experience. Denzin (2001), for example, describes the research interview as a collaborative process in which both the interviewer and the interviewee elicit and seek to orally represent an interpretive relationship. Such an approach, Denzin suggets, shifts the function of the interview from data yielding to meaning making. Hillier and DiLuzio (2004) argue that this re-interpretation of interviews fails to take account of the different roles of interviewer and interviewee. They assert that the presence of informed consent structures the nature of the meaning making away from a collaborative experience in which both parties derive meaning; to one in which the interviewer controls the process; with the aim of understanding the world view of the interviewee. Informed consent ensures that the interviewee expects this and is aware that they are the informant and thus the interview can be used to collect meaningful data.

Hunt, Tourish and Hargie (2000) use the critical incident technique (CIT) to explore communication processes and skills of education managers. Participants were asked to write, in as much detail as possible, about three incidents that occurred during a specified twelve-week period. The data were analysed using content analysis to establish key content areas and
categories. Edvardsson (1998) uses the CIT to elicit details of unsatisfactory service from public transport customers. He argues that much existing research into customer satisfaction has used a stated preference methodology where customers select and rank pre-set alternatives. Edvardsson suggests that a better insight into passenger opinions can be gained through starting with the customers’ perceptions of that experience. Angelides (2001) in discussing the development of qualitative techniques appropriate for educational research argues that eliciting critical incidents is an efficient way for collecting qualitative data. He suggests that the technique enables an outside observer to gather rich data in a way that would otherwise require a longitudinal study. He describes an added benefit of the technique, over an above its utility in collecting data, is that the process of teachers identifying events that are meaningful to them, rather than describing events that the researcher conceives of as important, as stimulating the reflective practice of the teacher. The feature of CIT as used by Angelides in uncovering incidents that are meaningful to the participant rather than the researcher suggests that the incidents recalled may not be critical in the sense of bringing about dramatic change but are critical in the sense that they are important to the participant. Thus they may reveal the idiosyncratic perceptions of the participants, in a way that is unfiltered by the researcher.

Lockshin and McDougall (1998) used the critical incident technique to identify and classify problems encountered by business customers and their suppliers. One of the aims of the research was to explore the value of the technique. They echo the views of Edvardsson (1998) and suggest that a strength of the technique is that it provides richness, depth and better understanding of the subject being studied. Much research within the customer service area has been carried out using construct-based questionnaires and Lockshin and McDougall (1998) hoped that using the CIT would reveal information about the relational aspects of the purchaser/supplier relationship. The CIT was found to be valuable in that it revealed insightful dimensions to the expectations of buyers and suppliers. The findings confirmed the types of problems that lead to dissatisfaction as indicated by previous questionnaire based research in the field, and gave additional information concerning buyers’ perceptions of service recovery. Lockshin and McDougall (1998) p.437, argue that the findings provide insights that indicate more clearly how suppliers can improve their service.
Herriot et al (1997) used CIT specifically to explore the content of the psychological contract. They were interested in differences between employees and employers, as represented by managers at different levels, in terms of the salience each group attributes to elements of the psychological contract. They hypothesised that there would be general agreement about the content of the psychological contract but that there would be differences concerning the degree of importance each side gave to the contents. They also predicted differences based on age, gender, length of service, size of organisation and public/private sector nature of the business. For Herriot et al the methodological importance of using CIT to expose the content of the psychological contract is that pre-set rating scales, in their opinion, do not access the specific individual understanding of obligations contained within the psychological contract. In using CIT Herriot et al argue that it is possible to infer the nature of obligations from given examples of obligations being met, exceeded or violated and that the frequency with which the obligation is cited demonstrates its salience, with obligations that are cited more frequently being more salient than those that are cited less frequently. The results suggest that there were differences in the salience of obligations of employees based on age, length of service and size of organisation. In terms of differences between employer and employee, no differences in terms of salience were found however the results did suggest a difference in the nature of the psychological contract each party formed, with employees holding a more transactional contract and employers a more relational one.

The research described above demonstrates that the critical incident technique has been found to be a robust and effective approach for eliciting qualitative data in a range of settings and specifically to explore the content of the psychological contract. It will be used in this study to elicit examples of incidents that are important to the individual participants to explore their idiosyncratic perceptions of the content of the psychological contract of prison based education staff.

Interviews, both one to one and group discussions can be managed to maximise the opportunity for disclosure and to minimise the biases described above. Data collected through interviews remains subject to evaluations concerning reliability; the extent to which if the research were to be repeated the results would be the same and validity; the extent to which the results represent what they purport to represent. Guba and Lincoln
(1982) argued that in the context of qualitative research reliability and validity should be substituted with the notion of trustworthiness. They recommend specific strategies for demonstrating methodological rigour to enhance the trustworthiness of the data collected. These strategies include an audit trail of analysis and confirming results with participants. They also described guidelines for assessing qualitative research that were about relevance, impact and the utility of the overall study. Morse, Barratt, Mayan, Olson and Spiers (2002) suggest that this pragmatic approach has replaced the criteria of reliability and validity and that such pragmatism is not necessarily helpful in increasing the credibility of qualitative research. They argue that relying on evaluative criteria based on post-research activities such as data analysis, confirming results with participants for example, whilst useful in evaluating rigour does nothing to ensure rigour. Indeed, Morse et al argue that this can lead to a tendency to repeatedly interview the same participants and thus saturate the participants rather than seeking new participants to saturate the data.

Morse et al argue that verification strategies must be employed at all stages of the research process, not just post the collection of data and during analysis. They describe a process that addresses methodological coherence, appropriate sampling and the ability of the researcher to think theoretically.

This research adopts an emic approach to investigate the idiosyncratic perceptions of the psychological contracts of prison-based education teams. The critical incident technique is used in semi-structured interviews. The contents of the psychological contract will be inferred from the responses to interview questions and the salience of the items judged by the frequency of response. In other words, the more respondents who mention an item the more times, the more important that item is. Whilst this qualitative approach will impact on the generalisability of the results, sufficient information concerning the sample will be provided to enable a reader to make a judgement about fittingness.

**Sampling**

In selecting individuals or groups for interview, attention must be paid to the membership of the subject pool. Issues concerning generalisability have been discussed above when considering the appropriateness of an emic or
etic methodological approach. The degree to which the sample represents the total population is a further factor in the degree to which the findings of the study can be extended to other groups. Chiovitti and Piran (2003) argue that it is essential to specify how and why participants in a qualitative study are selected. Strauss and Corbin (1998) describe two phases of sampling, an initial phase, in which the researcher makes sampling decisions based on the group to be studied, the data to be collected, the length of the study and the number of observations or interviews; and a subsequent phase in which the researcher modifies these decisions according to the evolving theory. The researcher continues sampling until nothing new has been said and the collected data have reached saturation. Strauss and Corbin (1998) argue that saturation is always a matter of degree and that there is always the potential for something new to emerge. They suggest that saturation is best considered at the point when collecting additional data seems counter productive in that the new does not add significantly to the explanations.

Sampling decisions impact on the limitations of the research in terms of how generalisable are the results to other settings. The sample in this study was selected from a larger opportunity sample. Members of The Association of Colleges Prison Contract Network, to which all prison education contractors belong, were approached and invited to participate in the research by making their prison education staff available for interview. A total of eight contractors (from a population of 27 contractors) offered the researcher access to their prisons. In total, they held the contracts for 35 different establishments. The nature of prisons can be very complex with many individual establishments having more than one function. One prison visited for example housed adult male remand prisoners, male young offenders on remand, sex offenders and vulnerable prisoners, high risk and exceptionally high risk prisoners, including high risk juvenile prisoners and sentenced prisoners coming to the end of their sentence. Eleven establishments were selected from the 35 as representative of the diverse range of prisoner population with which prison-based education staff work. In classifying the prisons those with similar functions have been grouped to maintain anonymity and have been described by their main function. The classification used is as follows:

**Male Local:** An establishment housing mainly adult (21+) males who have been remanded in custody whilst awaiting court or sentencing.
Male Core Local: An establishment housing mainly adult males who have been remanded in custody whilst awaiting court or sentencing including those who if they are convicted will require the maximum level of security. Such establishments also house high risk and exceptionally high risk prisoners and form part of the high security estate.

Male Open: An establishment with the lowest level of security for adult male sentenced prisoners.

Female: Female establishments typically holding both remand and sentenced adult female prisoners.

Young Offenders/Juvenile: Establishment in which hold young sentenced prisoners – young offenders institutions take prisoners from 18 – 21 and juveniles from 15 – 18.

Male Training Prison: Establishments holding sentenced prisoners, which have a primary function to provide work and training within a closed secure environment.

Combined Local and Training: Establishments that provide a local prison for adult males remanded in custody and a training prison for those who are sentenced.

Immigration Removal Centre: Establishments housing those awaiting deportation.

Not all education staff within each establishment were interviewed. Details of the research project were circulated in advance and volunteers were sought. In some cases the researcher received a list of volunteers and a schedule of interviews on arrival at the establishment and it was not clear if the list contained the names of those who had volunteered or who had been volunteered. All interviewees had the opportunity not to participate in the interview without this being revealed to their manager. No interviewees declined to participate. The staffing structures within prison education departments vary, however, the nature of the contract specifies specific...
roles that the contractor must supply and thus there is consistency in job titles and the roles of education staff. Interviewees were sought to provide a representative sample of different job roles found within prison-based education teams. The prison-based education staff interviewed includes the following job classification:

- **Education Manager**
  The operational manager of the education department. Employed by the contractor and line managed through the contractor.

- **Lecturer**
  Employed by the contractor to deliver the learning programme. Line managed by the education manager. Three types of employment contract are typically used: permanent and full time, permanent and fractional, hourly paid.

- **Administrator**
  Employed by the contractor to provide administration for the education department, line managed by the education manager.

Other contractor staff referred to include the contract manager. The contract manager is employed by the contractor to oversee the contracts for prison education. They are the line manager of the education manager and are based at the contractor's home site. Some contractors employ a dedicated contract manager, whose whole job is the management of prison education contracts, others locate the role within a broader college management remit and thus prison contract management is part of a manager's role. Prisons themselves operate a rigid and nationally specified structure with clearly defined job roles, thus the language used in describing prison staff is consistent. This study explores the idiosyncratic perceptions of prison based education staff and therefore only prison based education staff were interviewed, however, in responding to questions other colleagues were referred to. In describing prison staff, the hierarchy is simplified into three categories:

- **The Governor** – this is the governing governor of an establishment, sometimes referred to as the "number one governor".

- **Governors, or governor grades** – these are the various tiers of prison management. One specific governor grade referred to is the Head of Learning and Skills, who is the governor with management responsibility for education and training within the establishment.

- **Discipline staff** – this refers to all grades of uniformed prison officer.
Other staff within some establishments include probation staff and psychologists.

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 give a profile of respondents by type of establishment, sex, job role and length of service. Table 3.3 presents the sample data for the focus groups.
Table 3.1: A breakdown of the sample population by type of prison, job role, gender and length of service

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Establishment</th>
<th>Education Manager</th>
<th>Lecturer: Permanent</th>
<th>Lecturer: Permanent Fractional</th>
<th>Administrator</th>
<th>Lecturer: Hourly Paid</th>
<th>Length of Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Training</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Local</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Core Local</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Local and Training (Male)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Open</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Offenders/ Juvenile</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Removal Centre</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.2 summarises the sample by job role, sex and length of service.

**Table 3.2: Summary profile of the sample**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Role</th>
<th>Education Manager</th>
<th>Administrator</th>
<th>Lecturer: Permanent</th>
<th>Lecturer: Permanent Fractional</th>
<th>Lecturer: Hourly Paid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;1 yr Service</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5 yrs Service</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10 yrs Service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 yrs plus Service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two focus group discussions took place. Table 3.3 provides the profile of the respondents.

**Table 3.3: Profile of focus group participants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Establishment</th>
<th>Education Manager</th>
<th>Lecturer: Permanent and Fractional</th>
<th>Lecturer: Hourly Paid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A managers meeting involving representative from 3 male prisons, Local, Core Local and Training</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male juvenile / young offender institution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Data collection**

Herriot *et al* (1997) asked respondents to recall an incident at work where the employee or the organisation went beyond or fell short of what might reasonably be expected of them in their treatment of the other party. The format of the questions used in the Herriot *et al* study was adapted into six questions to reflect the context in which the study reported in this thesis is to be set. The questions are reproduced in Table 3.4. The questions use the critical incident paradigm to explore the perceptions of prison-based education staff have of the obligations they owe the employer and the host organisations and the obligations they are owed by the host and employing organisations.
Table 3.4: Critical incident questions framed to explore perceived employee/employer/host obligations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question No.</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Perceived obligation being explored</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>As a member of staff of 'FE College', can you please recount for me, in your own words an incident or incidents where on reflection you think an employee or group of employees have been treated well? By that I mean in a way that you regard as beyond how you expect your employer to treat you or your colleagues.</td>
<td>Employer obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>As a member of staff of 'FE College', can you please recount for me, in your own words an incident or incidents where on reflection you think an employee or group of employees have been treated badly? By that I mean in a way that you regard as below how you expect your employer to treat you or your colleagues.</td>
<td>Employer obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>As a member of staff who works within 'HMP ', can you please recount for me, in your own words an incident or incidents where on reflection you think colleague or a group of colleagues within the Education Department have been treated well by the prison or its representatives? By that I mean in a way that you regard as beyond how you expect the prison to treat you or your colleagues.</td>
<td>Host prison obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>As a member of staff who works within 'HMP ', can you please recount for me, in your own words an incident or incidents where on reflection you think colleague or a group of colleagues within the Education Department have been treated badly by the prison or its representatives? By that I mean in a way that you regard as below how you expect the prison to treat you or your colleagues.</td>
<td>Host prison obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>As a member of staff of 'FE College', can you please recount for me, in your own words an incident or incidents where on reflection you think an employee or group of employees have acted well? By that I mean in a way that you regard as beyond how you expect you or your colleagues to behave.</td>
<td>Employee obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>As a member of staff of 'FE College', can you please recount for me, in your own words an incident or incidents where on reflection you think an employee or group of employees have acted badly? By that I mean in a way that you regard as below how you expect you or your colleagues to behave.</td>
<td>Employee obligations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data were collected in two ways – one to one interviews and focus group discussion.

A semi-structured approach was used in that specific questions given in table 4 were asked. Flanagan (1954) suggests a model for interviewing using the critical incident technique that ensures interviewees engage with
the process. He identified four crucial elements for the interviewer to address prior to the 'conversation'. These are i) the scope of the study, ii) the purpose of the study, iii) the group being interviewed and iv) the anonymity of the data. A 'script' was prepared and used at the beginning of each interview. The script is appended at appendix 1.

The order of the questions was varied to attempt to remove potential order bias. Flanagan (1954) reported that in a dissertation study by Finkle (1950) the influence of asking for positive or negative examples first was analysed. It appeared to indicate that asking the positive question first stimulated more examples overall. The six questions in this study can be grouped into three pairs. Each pair asks for the respondent to describe a positive and negative event. The order of the pairs was varied, along with the order of positive/negative. This gave a total of 12 conditions, A – N. Table 3.5 illustrates the way in which the order of questioning was varied.

### Table 3.5: The order of questions for each condition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quest. No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest. No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest. No</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest. No</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest. No</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest. No</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same questions were used to structure 2 focus group discussions. The researcher followed the model suggested by The Open University (1994) and this seemed to result in a manageable focus group discussion. In one case the group discussion was recorded and in the second instance the researcher took written notes during the discussion and wrote it up directly after.
Process

The interviews took place between December 2002 and May 2004. They took place within the respondents' prison establishments. All interviewees were volunteers and steps were taken to ensure informed consent, right to privacy and protection from harm. Each was individually briefed as to the topic of the interview and the nature of the research in line with Flanagan's (1954) script (see Appendix 1). Confidentiality was assured to all respondents. Interviewees were able to halt the interview at any time and could select not to have their responses included in the data set. Interviews were recorded to audiocassette for subsequent transcription. Seven from the 87 respondents declined to be recorded and the researcher took written notes in each of these cases. Security issues were addressed with respondents. On one occasion when a respondent described an incident that was potentially an issue of security that needed to be addressed, it was discussed with the respondent and appropriate action taken. In all cases participants had the opportunity to review and comment on the transcribed record of their interview.

Eighty-five interviews were carried out between December 2002 and May 2004 and two focus group discussions with a total of 11 participants took place. Six Prison Education Contractors provided access to education teams within 11 different establishments.

The interviews elicited approximately 450 incidents. Flanagan (1954) suggested that data saturation occurs when no 'new' incidents occur in the last 100 collected incidents. Edvardsson (1998) suggests that this usually works out at around 200 – 300 incidents. No new incidents were collected after interview number 61 after which a further 128 incidents were analysed and allocated to existing categories. The methodology seemed effective in generating data. The factors identified by Burns et al (2000) were addressed. Male and female informants were interviewed. The introductory dialogue made clear the researchers' experience within prison education and thus stressed similarity and all informants were directly involved with the topic under investigation. Flanagan's (1954) model for interviewing using the critical incident technique was applied. The script used at the beginning of each interview addressed the four elements suggested by Flanagan; i) the scope of the study, ii) the purpose of the study, iii) the group being interviewed and iv) the anonymity of the data. It appeared to be an effective way of putting the interviewee at ease and reassuring them...
of the confidentiality of the process. Indeed in one instance an interviewee who had indicated prior to the interview that they did not wish the conversation to be tape-recorded changed their mind following the delivery of the ‘script’.

**Method of data analysis**

The interviews were transcribed and read by the researcher a number of times before the analysis proper began. The transcripts were imported into a Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) software QSR NUD.IST (N6) a software package designed to support the qualitative researcher in their management and synthesis of ideas. QDA software is not designed to ‘do’ the analysis, it provides a tool for searching, marking up, linking and reorganising the data to enable the researcher to store and represent their own ideas and theorising. Weitzman (2000) suggest that using QDA software has a number of advantages, namely consistency, speed, representation and consolidation. Consistency does not remove the possibility of a researcher making an inappropriate interpretation but does reduce the possibility of missing data and makes reorganisation easier. The speed of searching the data set using QDA software is cited by Wietzman (2000) as a strength however significant time must be spent in importing the data and learning to use the package.

In choosing a particular QDA software package Weitzman (2000) poses four questions: What kind of a computer user is the researcher, is the software needed for a single project or for a period of time, what kind of database and project will be worked on and what kind of analysis is planned. The second two of these questions focus on the nature of the research. The data in this study are drawn from multiple cases and are largely open, based on free-form texts. The analysis is exploratory rather than confirmatory and the coding scheme evolves from the analysis. The same segment of text needs to be coded more than once and to be accessible throughout an iterative process. Given these features, QSR NUD.IST (N6) provides the range of features to enable the researcher to manage the analysis of data effectively.

Each transcript was first coded to the relevant free node for sex, job role, length of service, and type of establishment. This allowed for subsequent searches across a job role or by gender etc. Free nodes were also created for the responses to each of the six questions. This allowed for searching of
all of the responses to any question. The narrative of each transcript was
scrutinised and specific comments or sections of script coded to Tree
Nodes, which developed into the final model. Figure 3.1 illustrates this
process, which was iterative in nature.
Figure 3.1 Coding a transcript

Tree Node: Relationship with Prison / Communication / Information Flow / Timelines

Tree Node: Relationship with employer / recognition

In choosing a particular QDA software package, Weitzman poses a question: Is the software needed for a single project or for a period of time? What kind of database and project will be worked on and what kind of analysis is planned? The second two of these questions focus on the nature of the research. The data in this study are drawn from multiple sources. For the researcher, the inclusion of local data sources is crucial.
The tree structure developed as nodes were created, merged, deleted and moved. A full list of the free nodes and tree nodes is provided at Appendix 2. An imported interview transcript and its profile of coding is provided at Appendix 3.

The final stage of analysis involved searching the nodes and asking questions about coding using some of the functions offered by QSR NUDIST (N6). Text searches were used to pull together material containing references to a particular work team for example. Tree Nodes were analysed for patterns of response from different groups for example, to explore whether or not administrators commented on an issue as frequently as lecturers or managers.

An important element of the whole analytical process was that of reflection. As the tree structure developed into a model it was important to take stock and reflect on the emerging structure at a holistic level. Similarly in the detailed questioning stage the mechanistic process of document, text and node searching was based on questions derived during time away from the computer, reading and reflecting on the data collected and analysis thus far. The data analysis software does not do the analysis, in the way a quantitative analysis package might, it simply provides the tools to enable efficient management of the data.
Analysis and Results
Chapter 4: Analysis and Results

This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected in this study. Each research question is considered and the contents of the psychological contracts between prison-based education staff and their employer and between prison-based education staff and the host prison, as perceived by those prison-based education staff, are described. Characteristics of respondents are considered and perceived differences in the content of the psychological contracts by gender, job role, length of service and distance of the prison from the employer are explored.

Response rates
Eighty-five semi-structured interviews and two group discussions used six questions as a basis to elicit critical incidents to expose perceptions of the psychological contracts formed between prison-based education staff and their employer, and prison-based education staff and the host prison.

The interview questions (shown in table 4.1) were framed to answer 4 research questions:

1a What obligations are owed by the employer to prison-based education staff?
1b What obligations are owed by the prison to prison-based education staff?
2a What obligations do prison-based education staff perceive they and their colleagues owe their employer?
2b What obligations do prison-based education staff perceive they and their colleagues owe the prison?

Table 4.1: Critical incident questions framed to explore perceived employee/employer/host obligations.
(Reproduced from table 3.1 p. 69 for ease of reading)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question No.</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Perceived obligation being explored</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>As a member of staff of 'FE College', can you please recount for me, in your own words an incident or incidents where on reflection you think an employee or group of employees have been treated well? By that I mean in a way that you regard as beyond how you expect your employer to treat you or your colleagues.</td>
<td>Employer obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>As a member of staff of 'FE College', can you please recount for me, in your own words an incident or incidents where on reflection you think an employee or group of employees have been treated badly? By that I mean in a way that you regard as below how you expect your employer to treat you or your colleagues.</td>
<td>Employer obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Perceived Obligation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>As a member of staff who works within 'HMP', can you please recount for me, in your own words an incident or incidents where on reflection you think colleague or a group of colleagues within the Education Department have been treated well by the prison or its representatives? By that I mean in a way that you regard as beyond how you expect the prison to treat you or your colleagues.</td>
<td>Host prison obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>As a member of staff who works within 'HMP', can you please recount for me, in your own words an incident or incidents where on reflection you think colleague or a group of colleagues within the Education Department have been treated badly by the prison or its representatives? By that I mean in a way that you regard as below how you expect the prison to treat you or your colleagues.</td>
<td>Host prison obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>As a member of staff of 'FE College', can you please recount for me, in your own words an incident or incidents where on reflection you think an employee or group of employees have acted well? By that I mean in a way that you regard as beyond how you expect you or your colleagues to behave.</td>
<td>Employee obligations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>As a member of staff of 'FE College', can you please recount for me, in your own words an incident or incidents where on reflection you think an employee or group of employees have acted badly? By that I mean in a way that you regard as below how you expect you or your colleagues to behave.</td>
<td>Employee obligations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interview questions 1 and 2 focussed on employee's expectations of their employer and elicited examples of employer action that had either gone beyond or fell below employees' expectations. Questions 3 and 4 focussed on the expectations of the host prison and questions 5 and 6 explored expectations of education colleagues' behaviour to elicit examples that would illuminate the perceived obligations employees held toward their employer and to the host prison. Responses to interview questions 1, 2, 3 and 4 provide data to explore research questions 1a and 1b. Responses to interview questions 5 and 6 provide data to answer research questions 2a and 2b.

A total of 537 responses were collected of which 75 were nil responses, that is responses in which the respondent reported that they could not give an example. Four hundred and sixty two responses were subsequently coded and used to build a model of the psychological contracts as perceived by prison educators.
The level of nil response is in itself of interest and table 4.2 shows the number of responses collected against each interview question.

### Table 4.2: Responses collected to each interview question

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Total Responses</th>
<th>Nil Responses</th>
<th>Incidents Coded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question 1: Employer acted beyond expectations</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 2: Employer acted below expectations</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 3: Prison acted beyond expectations</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 4: Prison acted below expectations</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 5: Education colleague acted beyond expectations</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 6: Education colleague acted below expectation</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other comments</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>537</strong></td>
<td><strong>75</strong></td>
<td><strong>462</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twenty-one respondents from the 76 who responded to question 1 could not give an example of when their employer had acted beyond their expectation. This contrasts with five from 81 who could not give an example of when an education team colleague had acted beyond their expectation. The level of nil responses suggests respondents found it more difficult to think of examples of their employer acting beyond their expectation, the prison acting beyond their expectation and their colleagues in education acting below their expectation. This provides some evidence for ingroup bias and outgroup derogation as it suggests that members of the group of prison-based education staff view other members within the group more favourably than those outside it.
Responses to research question 1a: obligations owed by the employer to prison-based education staff.

Interview questions 1 and 2 focussed on employees' expectations of their employer. Coding the responses to these questions resulted in four distinct categories of incident: Those relating to contractual issues; those relating to recognition by the employer; those relating to training and development and those relating to communication.

Figure 4.1 provides a graphical representation of the responses coded to each category and indicates if the items were drawn from examples of incidents below or beyond the respondents' expectations or from general conversation, that is the conversations that developed from the specific questions. From this it can be seen that contractual issues were the most frequently reported incidents with 80 respondents providing examples that were coded. Communication was cited by 65 respondents, training and development by 39 and recognition by 32.

Figure 4.1: Number of respondents providing examples (in each category) that were drawn from examples above or below expectations of the employer (the college) or from general conversation
The data suggest that on balance there is a degree of dissatisfaction with the employer’s approach to contractual issues and communication. Forty-three respondents provided examples of the employer acting below their expectation in relation to contractual issues and only 21 provided examples that were beyond their expectation. For communication, 31 respondents provided examples of incidents that were below their expectations and 11 that were beyond their expectation. Training and development is generally viewed more positively with 12 respondents providing examples that were below their expectations and 18 beyond.

Each category was built from a process of coding and grouping incidents in more detail, resulting in each category consisting of a number of different elements. These are now discussed in more detail.

**Contractual issues category**

The contractual issues category included 8 elements: the education contract; pay; pensions; sick pay; recruitment practice; flexibility; policy and procedure; part-time contracts. Figure 4.2 shows the proportion of each element within the category of contractual issues.

![Figure 4.2: Proportion of responses relating to the eight elements making up the ‘contractual issues’ category.](image)

This shows that the dominant issue within this category is that of pay. Some respondents struggled to think of examples of their employer
performing beyond or below expectation. Of those who did respond, pay was seen as the primary function of the employer.

"...it's important that they pay the right amount at the right time and it's a common occurrence that somebody has no or the incorrect pay..."

"...to be honest, all the college really does for me is to administer my pay..."

Recruitment practice was reported as a significant issue, with examples of both good and bad practice cited.

'a number of times college have promoted people by, like, giving them, in a way - which breaks the spirit of equal opportunities, like giving jobs to people on a temporary basis for a year and then making the job permanent - without the job ever being advertised.'

'I have been impressed by the immediacy that you get when you have an interview, which I think is very useful, certainly from my own interview before I even got home, somebody had tried to contact me to offer me the job and I was very impressed and also when the person was chosen to be deputy, acting deputy manager, the people were interviewed that morning and the results were given in the afternoon, I thought that was very good rather than keep people on tender hooks,'

Specific human resource practices were commented on suggesting that they are important in shaping an individual's perception of the psychological contract.

"I think the appraisal system means that promises are kept. This should be the norm, but it hasn't always been the case in every job I've had."

Other policies and procedures were discussed by a number of respondents. There was a sense that prison education is different from the main college business and that as a consequence policy and procedure did not always meet the prison education team's needs.

"Examinations is another area where college procedures don't quite fit. It's not always possible to do it that way because of the prison regime."
The idea that prison education is somehow different from other types of education provided by the contractor was also present in examples of incidents that were coded to the category of the education contract. Responses suggest that some prison education staff perceive that their employer does not really understand prison education.

"The college isn't really aware of the reasons for educating prisoners. The perception is that if you teach in a prison it can't be very good because we don't meet the same targets for retention and achievement. I think they need to come in and see more of what we do with inmates, it's all about rehabilitation but I don't think they really get that."

Fairness and parity with other employees of the college and the prison underlined some of the perceptions of being different. In the sick pay element there were conflicting perceptions of the equity of terms and conditions.

"I was impressed with the way in which the college dealt with a colleague who had a heart attack. The illness payment was really generous."

"I think the prison treat their staff better than the college in terms of if you're off sick."

"I don't think the prison would have as good pension and sickness and holidays as the college."

There was also evidence of a lack of detailed knowledge about contractual entitlements which led to negative perceptions of the employer. One respondent commented during the interview that they felt part-time staff were treated unfairly because they did not have the same entitlements to pension or sick pay as full-time staff and that this led them to think less of their employer:

"it's poor because it's treating people who have become valued within the team like a peripheral worker."

The respondent came to see me before I left the establishment to tell me that they had subsequently discussed the issue with colleagues and found out that part-time staff did in fact have the same entitlements as full-time staff.
The majority of the incidents reported and analysed to the category of 'contractual issues' as a whole suggest a transactional relationship between employee and employer. However, even within this employment contract focused category there is evidence of a socio-emotional element. Examples of the employer demonstrating flexibility provided the third most commonly cited element and the incidents quoted were very much about support for individuals in difficult personal circumstances.

'An incident with a colleague who was excluded from the prison, she's had the opportunity to work at College. The details I don't know, but she'd had support...My perception is there's support for people in difficult circumstances.'

An underlying theme in the category of contractual issues is that of 'difference'. Prison-based education staff perceive their circumstances to be different to that of other education staff and that, in the most negatively perceived instances that this difference is not acknowledged. As discussed above, there were examples of misinformation being used to form opinions about the employer and this highlights the need for effective communication. This chapter now moves on to explore the second largest category to which incidents were coded; that of communication.

*Communication Category*

Figure 4.1 shows that 76% of respondents cited examples of communication with their employer, with only 17% of this group giving an example of communication being beyond expectations. Communication as a category was built up from five key elements. First, direct contact with the employer at the employers' site. Second direct contact with the employer at the prison, third the timeliness of communication, fourth the extent to which prison teams were included in communication and finally, the ability to resolve issues. Figure 4.3 shows the proportions of incidents reported in each element.
Examples involving direct contact with the employer, either at the employer's site or by the employer at the prison were cited by 56% of those who responded to interview questions 1 and 2. These incidents form 55% of the incidents coded to the communication category. Respondents valued the opportunity to visit their employers' premises to meet and work with colleagues from across the organisation. Similarly visits by college personnel were well received.

"I felt regarding the college that the activity day for the millennium was very nice and very productive for the college as regards staff morale, meeting other members of staff, good to walk round, meeting the principal, it all adds up to a feeling of belonging."

Respondents were generally critical about communication processes with their employer. A commonly held view was that of being 'a poor relation' a phrase that was mentioned five times and being 'out on a limb' a phrase that was mentioned four times. There were examples of communication being received too late, or in some cases, concerns about being excluded from communications completely. Indeed figure 4.3 shows that being included in communication was reported almost as frequently as incidents coded as resolving issues.
"...the first we knew that our employer was a million pounds in debt was when we got a letter from the union and it was in the local press. Apparently there'd been a big staff meeting, but we never got invited"

The delay on communications impacted on some staff's ability to do their job:

"I have often received notification of a meeting after the meeting has taken place."

and on their ability to engage with colleagues at college:

"We quite often get informed of staff development opportunities too late or when the course is full or has already started."

Ineffective communication impacted on the way the respondents felt about their employer. One commented "It feels like them and us." And another that the fact the staff newsletter was always late had become "...a bit of a standing joke..." the more serious consequences of which were that the employer was seen to lose credibility. One respondent summed up the isolation that poor communication channels resulted in.

"...the team feels as if the college hasn't cared about us for a long time. We very rarely see anyone from the college and we feel as if we are constantly left in the dark over things...We feel very unloved and uncared for."

The role of Contract Manager in facilitating communication was evident and is a crucial role for the employer.

"...the contract manager is a very big support here. When he comes to visit it's just like meeting an old friend. He takes an interest in what we're doing. I haven't had the same experience at other prisons I've worked... He makes a point of speaking to everybody and I think that makes a difference, makes you feel that you're part of the team..."

The specific challenge of being able to resolve issues was identified as a concern by some respondents and forms the third largest element of to the communication category.
"...on the main site you would be able to knock and bang on somebody's door."

The geographical distance did not figure prominently as a factor impacting negatively on communication. The issue was that the employer was remote; the question of how remote in physical terms did not seem to matter. As one respondent put it:

"...it's about 5 miles; it might as well be 500"

Communication is important both in maintaining the transactional elements within the psychological contract and developing relational aspects through direct personal contact. Guest and Conway (2004) argue that an organisations' capacity to communicate is a critical element in contract formation and maintenance. This will be explored further in the next chapter. As reported above, ineffective communication impacted on prison education staffs' ability to access training and development. This chapter now moves on to explore the incidents coded to the training and development category.

**Training and Development Category**

Expectations concerning opportunities for training and development are evidence of a relational psychological contract. Figure 4.1 shows that 39 (45\%) respondents contributed examples of incidents coded to the training and development category. Incidents in this category were coded to three elements: induction, range and relevance of training and development, and access to training and development. Figure 4.1 shows the proportion of responses coded to each element.

![Figure 4.4: Proportion of responses relating to the three elements making up the 'training and development' category](image)
Respondents were largely positive about their employer’s commitment to training and development particularly in terms of access and the range and relevance of personal and professional development.

"...I believe that the amount and availability of internal training is admirable. By offering staff and employees that opportunity it proves that the employers values their participation in the whole institution as it were."

Staff from one contractor were particularly impressed by the opportunity to attend an annual retreat.

"The abbey was absolutely fantastic. I can’t imagine any other employer offering staff the opportunity to go on a genuine retreat for four days. It was an amazing opportunity."

Staff were appreciative of efforts made to improve access to staff training and development and recognised the impact it had on how people feel about their employer.

"They now send staff over here to deliver training sessions and the relationships between us and the college are improving."

Generally respondents valued the training and development provided by the contractor with 45% giving examples of training as evidence of the employer acting beyond their expectations. This positive view does not extend to induction however. In each case that induction was used as an example it was as an incidence of an action that was below expectation.

"...new staff have to attend the College for a College induction and it relates in no way at all to what happens here in the prison... It puts them on a poor footing with the College and it’s not a good foundation for them to

This suggests that training and development form key interactions between the employee and the employer which impact on the employee’s perception of the employer. Comments on training and development were broadly positive and suggest that staff value access to such provision. One respondent however reminded me that some staff are harder to impress. They had been employed by the contractor for less than three years and reported that during that time they had completed their Stage 1 and Stage 2
teaching certificates and were currently working on the Certificate in Post Compulsory Education, all delivered by the employing college. They had participated in the annual retreat, which they had valued, and had attended a number of cross college development events. They commented that they did not really feel connected to the college, evidence of the diversity of individual perceptions.

**Recognition Category**

Along with expectations concerning training and development, figure 4.1 indicated that a second strongly relational aspect of the contract is the category of recognition. Thirty two (37%) respondents contributed 37 examples of incidents that indicate an expectation that the work of prison education teams is understood and recognised by their employer. There was an expectation that employers would share values with prison educators and the tensions between managing a financial contract and demonstrating commitment to educational values was discussed by some respondents.

"...I appreciate that everyone's got to make the books balance but education is not about making a profit, it's about providing an education service..."

Figure 4.5 shows the breakdown of elements within the category of recognition, namely: Value prison education; awareness of prison education across the institution and acknowledgement for achievement.

![Figure 4.5: Proportion of responses relating to the three elements making up the 'recognition' category](image)
Institutional acknowledgement for achievement, individual or departmental, was highly valued. In one establishment each of the respondents cited an example of where their employer had paid for the team to have lunch as a thank you for their success in achieving a basic skills quality mark. Practical aspects of the employer recognising its prison education teams caused some frustrations. One respondent described how a mortgage application had been frustrated when his prospective lender called the College switchboard to be told the person did not work there and called the prison switchboard to be told the person did not work there either

"...it made me think, who am I and who knows me?..."

**Employer's obligations to prison-based education staff: Summary**

Figure 4.1 illustrated the four categories to which responses to research question 1a were coded. The categories themselves were built from related elements. Figure 4.6 presents the structure of the categories and elements of the psychological contract held with the employer as perceived by prison-based education staff. The next section of this chapter addresses research question 1b and examines perceptions of the obligations owed to prison-based education staff by the host prison.
Figure: 4.6: The categories and that represent the obligations owed to prison-based education teams by their employer.
Responses to research question 1b: obligations owed by the prison to prison based education staff.

Interview questions 3 and 4 focussed on prison-based education staff’s expectations of the host prison and elicited examples of incidents when the prison or its representatives had acted in a way beyond their expectations and examples of when actions were below their expectations. Figure 4.7 presents the 5 categories that emerged through coding the data: managing the education contract; relationships with prison staff; recognition; training and development; and communication. The graph indicates if responses were drawn from questions about actions beyond expectations, below expectations or from other general conversation, 64 respondents described incidents that were coded to managing the education contract category, 75 to relationships with staff, 26 to recognition, 14 to training and development and 16 to the category of communication. The frequency with which examples from each category were cited suggests that relationships with prison colleagues and the way in which the prison manages the contract dominate prison educators’ expectations and experience.

Figure 4.7: Number of respondents providing examples (in each category) that were drawn from examples above or below expectations of the host (the prison) or from general conversation.

The pattern is not dissimilar to that of figure 4.1. The categories created through analysis of questions 1 and 2 about the relationship with the employer, although questions concerning expectations of education colleagues were asked separately and as such relationships with education colleagues do not appear within figure 4.1. Respondents gave a higher number of examples of behaviour below expectation in terms of
management of the education contract and communication, but were more positive about recognition and training and development. Within each category incidents were coded and grouped in more detail, resulting in each category being broken down into a number of different elements. These are now discussed in more detail.

Relationships with prison staff category

The most commonly reported incidents related to the attitudes of prison staff to education staff and the work of the education department. Distinction was made by respondents between governor grades and discipline staff and the elements are presented separately in figures 4.8 and 4.9. Forty-seven respondents gave examples of the actions of discipline staff (see figure 4.8). The examples were about attitude to prison education, to prison education staff and to learners.

![Pie chart](image)

Figure 4.8: Proportion of responses relating to the three elements making up the 'relationship with staff' categories specifically referring to discipline staff.

Sixty-three incidents involving discipline staff were coded. These were largely negative and in some cases shocking.

I was teaching in the kitchen and I needed support because a young offender was playing up and I wanted him taken out. He *(the officer)* said, "I'm not taking him out, if you can't control your class then that's your problem", in front of all the young offenders, and everything, and it really escalated from there, it was really quite nasty. He didn't actually apologise and I came in the next day and you could see on the glass, it said, "**** off home, you no-good bitch", on my window. It had been written in marker pen and rubbed off, but with the light reflecting you could still see it.
In general, concern was expressed about the negative attitude encountered, towards education as an activity, towards staff and towards learners. There was a sense expressed that on balance prison staff were not supportive of education.

"...I think that the prison staff who treat you with respect and give you encouragement and support are in the minority and a small minority..."

"...Prison officers tend to be fairly negative towards education and they are at times quite aggressive to the teachers..."

Seven respondents commented on differences between discipline staff and education staff in terms of their attitude to prisoners. One illustrative example of this difference is:

I wrote a note to an ex student on the wing, it started Dear 'Fred'. The officer who took the note ridiculed me. He said 'Oh! Dear Fred is it? Is he your boyfriend? As far as I'm concerned he's a criminal, he might have raped my wife or burgled my house....'"

This is an extreme example and many respondents were sensitive to the very different roles that discipline staff have from education staff. One commented

"...the atmosphere and approach to inmates is very different within the department...we know that someone who behaves really well with us may be hostile on the wing."

The perceived differences in attitudes did cause some ongoing anxieties for education staff.

"You can tell from the atmosphere that some prison officers don't believe prisoners should be educated and this causes some tensions."

Whilst 75 respondents provided incidents about staff and the majority of incidents described were examples of behaviour described as below expectation, it was generally felt that discipline who behaved in such a way were in the minority. One experienced member of staff reported how effective the relationship could be when discipline staff and education staff genuinely worked together. They described that when the discipline staff
detailed to work in the education department had been selected because of their interest in working with young people there had been a more ‘together’ approach, in which education staff felt better supported and the learners were more effectively managed. One respondent described the norm as ‘the default position of most officers is neutral, some are openly hostile and some will go out of their way to support you.’ This was echoed by another respondent whose remarks suggest that the negative incidents tend to be more easily recalled:

"The truth of it is probably towards the middle. Many officers are generally supportive of education, I can’t give you a specific example, but there is a core of officers who certainly aren’t and I can give you many examples of that”

Alongside this perceived lack of shared values, there was also a perception that prison staff were treated differently, particularly when there were problems.

We find that things will go wrong on the prison side and we have to accept that, but if anything goes wrong on our side there is no excuse for it whatsoever.”

Many of the positive examples in this category were about the relationships with governor grades, suggesting that the view of prison management and governor grades tended to be more positive (see figure 4.9). Twenty-seven respondents gave examples about governors.

![Figure 4.9: Proportion of responses relating to the four elements making up the ‘relationship with staff’ category specifically relating to governors.](image_url)

Education staff value the support of governors and were able to provide examples of public, practical and personal support that governors have provided to learners and to individual education staff.
"...When I left I got some lovely cards...and I got a letter from the Governor thanking me for my work and that’s far beyond what I expected and that gave me a sense that I was part of the prison and I did feel valued and cared for"

The visibility or lack of visibility of governors was seen as an issue.

"...going back a few years the previous governor was very good at popping in and talking to the men and would give out certificates. I can only think of one incident where this governor came and give a prize to one of the men."

Whilst generally positive about relationships with governors and the amount of public and personal support they provide to education teams, the expectation that governors would be supportive meant that when this did not happen, respondents felt very badly let down.

"The governor announced, at a full staff meeting, that the prison had failed the inspection because the education contractor had let them down. It was so unfair and not true. It was horrible to hear the governor say that and it caused lots of problems for us with other staff. It was a bad time."

Relationships with prison staff dominate the responses to research question 1b. The second largest category was that of managing the education contract.

*Management of the education contract category*

Coding within the category of managing the education contract includes six elements: The education contract, managing change, regime management, the physical environment, health, safety and security, and exclusions. Figure 4.10 shows the elements and the frequency with which they were mentioned.
The most commonly given examples related to regime management. Thirty-four from the 88 text units coded into the management of the education contract category were to do with the way in which the prison managed the regime to support or to impede education. Generally this was viewed as a frustration. Each of the instances in which the prison had acted in a way which the respondent considered below expectation in this category was an example of competing regimes.

"They can be very difficult in letting men come over to education. We’re having to fight to get students over... We identify they have a basic skills need and so we put them down for a class, officers say. ‘They’ve been to school, they need to work’ and keep them on the wing as a cleaner...”

One respondent summed up the sense of frustration:

"...There is a total lack of co-ordination between the prison and the education department... I find it a bit dispiriting the way that the education department is treated by the regime..."

Examples of incidents pertaining to health safety and security were cited by 22 respondents, over a third of those providing examples in this category. Respondents provided examples of incidents beyond and below their expectations about the level of support provided in dealing with security issues and there was a balance between those reporting incidents in which education staff felt supported and valued and over protected and those occasions where staff felt exposed. One respondent reported that after
receiving and reporting an obscene phone call to her home she had been impressed by the reaction of the prison and described how she felt “supported by them and valued by them”. In contrast, one respondent described an incident in which a student had spiked the tea drunk by education staff with LSD.

"...we were referred to then as a group of hysterical women by the discipline staff and just nothing was done about it all..."

For incidents which respondents considered below their expectations there was a degree of anxiety and some vulnerability about the security aspects of working as a civilian within a prison. Members of the security department were seen by some respondents as somewhat threatening

"The security department will pick up on the slightest thing and if somebody makes a mistake they treat it like world war three breaking out...they are just like rotweilers."

This sense of vulnerability is particularly relevant when exclusion is considered. The governor of a prison has the ability to prevent anyone from entering the prison and does not have to make public the grounds for the decision. This is an important tool in managing a secure environment and no respondents reported that they disagreed with the principle or the governor’s right to exercise this power. In practice it can mean that a member of staff who breaches security can have their security clearance withdrawn and are unable to work at the prison. The respondents cited examples concerning exclusion and in seven cases concern was expressed about the way in which the exclusion was handled.

"...There didn’t seem to be any interviews or real investigation... It could be somebody’s word against another and there does not seem to be any choice in the matter."

Generally respondents were comfortable with the concept of exclusions; they saw them as important security measures and had little sympathy for those who acted inappropriately ands were excluded as a consequence.

"It was her own fault. I can’t say the prison were heavy handed with her"
When such incidents occur, the investigation and outcomes are by their very nature confidential. Other education staff would not necessarily be aware of the reasons for the exclusion or of the extent of any investigation and it may be that it is the lack of information or explanation that builds anxiety. There was also a perception that education staff were treated more severely than prison staff acting in the same way. In the case of someone who had been excluded for bringing a pair of scissors into the establishment one person commented:

"I didn’t feel the same would apply to a prison officer. I’m sure there would have been repercussions but not lose your job...."

There was an expectation that prison governors should understand the education contract in order that they can effectively manage it. One respondent described a governor who would regularly cancel classes without considering the impact it had on contract performance. This was more acute during times of significant change. One establishment was re-roled to accommodate juvenile prisoners (15 years – 18 years). There was no renegotiation of the education contract and as a consequence the contractor was not in a position to adequately staff the new provision. This coincided with an inspection of the quality of provision of education carried out by the Office for Standards in Education (OfSTED) and the Adult Learning Inspectorate (ALI), which judged the provision to be unsatisfactory, an outcome that was, as reported earlier, unfairly attributed to the contractor.

Respondents also had expectations about the physical environment which impacted on how they felt about the prison.

"..lately they've done a lot to improve the appearance of the building...to make sure we have a good environment to work in...which we didn't have before, so I think the relationship's a lot better now."

Prison-based education teams expected the prison to effectively manage the education contract by providing a decent, healthy, safe and secure environment and through organising the regime of the prison to enable the education department to operate effectively.
Recognition category

As with their employer, respondents cited examples of recognition by the prison. There was an expectation that the prison and its representatives value education and acknowledge the successes of the education department and its staff. Figure 4.11 illustrates that the elements of acknowledgement and evidence that the service or the team is valued are dominant in this category. Incidents cited by respondents are largely examples of the prison or its representatives acting beyond their expectations and suggests a relational element to the psychological contract.

![Figure 4.11: Proportion of responses relating to the three elements making up the 'recognition' category.](image)

Evidence that prison education is valued by the prison is linked to regime management. Operational decisions are interpreted as signifying priority status, as one respondent put it:

"If something is going to be put off it'll be education. At the end of the day this is a prison and education is secondary. It's at the bottom of the list."

Responses coded to the recognition category were predominantly drawn from examples of the prison or its representatives acting in a way that is regarded as beyond the expectation of prison-based education staff. The incidents were sometimes quite trivial, but they had a positive impact on the education staff.
"Our targets always get flashed up at full staff meetings, they're not usually discussed...but they're there and it's nice to see them included."

Training and Development Category

Analysis of responses coded to the training and development category suggests that prison education staff have expectations concerning training and development and see the prison as having some responsibility for providing access to an appropriate range of opportunities. Incidents were coded into four elements: access; range and relevance; induction/jailcraft and security and personal safety. Figure 4.12 shows the proportion of responses coded to each of the four elements of the training and development category.

Figure 4.12: Proportion of responses relating to the four elements making up the 'training and development' category.

Whilst incidents were largely positive, there was some dissatisfaction with the provision of and access to appropriate personal safety and security training.

"Well one of the major problems of working in a prison is there's no formal training about security. When you've been in the prison for eight years you've got a sense about what you should and shouldn't do but there are still a lot of people that don't go through the proper induction about the prison side of things. For example we had one guy doing some videoing, he didn't know that he couldn't, he didn't know the procedures and that was because he hadn't been told, so he then finished up being disciplined."
Staff valued access to prison training as well as that provided by their employer.

"When it goes well you get the support and development of two organisations, which is fantastic."

Their dissatisfaction was more about the way in which the current contracting framework limits access to prison-based training.

"If the prison shuts down for half a day to do their training, there's no facility for the contractor to shut down and join in."

**Communication Category**

Communication was reported as an issue by 16 respondents and the majority of incidents cited were examples of the prison or its representatives acting below the expectations of prison based education staff. Incidents were coded to three elements; timeliness, inclusion and negotiating change (figure 4.13).

![Pie chart showing proportion of responses relating to communication category](image)

**Figure 4.13:** Proportion of responses relating to the three elements making up the 'communication' category.

Timeliness of communication was not the issue that it was with the employer but there was a sense that as contracted staff they were excluded from communication channels. One example was when the probation team conducted a drug awareness survey via payslips. Education staff were not included despite being amongst the staff who spend most time in direct prisoner contact. Some respondents felt they were the last to know when decisions were made that affected education and that many changes were made with insufficient negotiation.
"... recently the whole department has had to move to a new location. Staff have reacted professionally throughout, dealing with confusion with inmates and hostility from officers, neither of whom like change or upset. I believe this is a situation which would be unlikely to happen in the main college with only 4 weeks notice. It is a good example of the pressure we have to react to as contractors where we often cannot challenge or change decisions but have to do our best to fit with them.”

The prison’s obligations to prison-based education staff: Summary
The analysis and coding of responses suggest a model of the obligations owed by the prison to prison-based education staff can be organised into five categories. Figure 4.7 illustrates these five categories of: education contract management; communication; training and development; recognition and relationships with staff. The first four categories mirror the categories in figure 4.1, the perceived psychological contract with the employer. The fifth category, that of relationships with staff, is the dominant category. Figure 4.14 presents the tree created in QSR NUD*IST representing the categories and elements forming the obligations owed by the prison to prison-based education staff.
Figure 4.14: The categories and elements that represent the obligations owed to prison-based education staff by the host prison.
Responses to research questions 2a and 2b: obligations owed by prison based education staff to their employer and to the host establishment.

Interview questions 5 and 6 were designed to elicit examples of education colleagues acting beyond or below expectations to provide information on what prison-based education staff see as their obligations to their employer and to the prison. Coding the responses to both these questions resulted in three distinct categories of incident: those relating to management expertise, those relating to learners and a third category I have described as team citizenship, extra-role behaviour that is for the good of the team. The analysis of the responses suggests that prison-based education staff interpret their obligations to both their employer and to the prison in terms of carrying out their professional duties in meeting the needs of the learner.

Because they were framed in the context of the education team or the learners, responses to interview questions 5 and 6 have been considered together. The analysis suggests that individual psychological contracts of prison-based education teams are shared to the extent that collectively they can be considered a normative psychological contract based on shared expectations of their own behaviour and that commitment, in terms of its focus, is directed towards the education team and to the learner.

"The education department is my employer and that's it..."

"Although technically speaking I am employed by the College, I don't feel that I am. I work in the prison but I know I'm not part of the prison - I don't really think about who my employer is. I just think about doing a good job for my students"

Figure 4.15 provides a graphical representation of the responses coded to each category and indicates if the items were drawn from examples of incidents below or beyond the respondent’s expectations, or from general conversation. From this it can be seen that respondents found it more difficult to provide examples of colleagues acting below expectations, which suggests a degree of ingroup favouritism.
Figure 4.15: Proportion of responses (in each category) that were drawn from examples above or below expectations or from general conversation.

Figure 4.16 shows the frequency with which incidents were reported in each of the three categories. This shows that team citizenship dominates the perceptions of prison-based education staff and underpins their expectations about the obligations of themselves and their colleagues. Within each category incidents were coded and grouped in more detail, resulting in each category being broken down into a number of different elements. These are now discussed in more detail.

Team Citizenship Category

The dominant category that emerged from the analysis and coding of responses was that of team citizenship. There was a very strong theme in each establishment visited about the importance of being a member of a team and contributing to that team. Seventy-one respondents, which
represent 84% of the sample, provided examples that were analysed and coded to the team citizenship category. Respondents articulated the sense of team and some suggested what might underpin it.

"Nobody wants to let down the rest of the department, so if inspectors are coming to look at your class you wouldn't want to let down the department, you might let down yourself but you wouldn't want to let down the department."

"We have a really good team here. I just come in one day a week and feel part of the team. We all try very hard to reinforce that."

"We're such a good team; I can't fault any of them"

"I think we work really well, actually, a really good team"

"I wouldn't say it's because we don't have contact with the prison or the college but I think it's a contributory factor to the way we bond as a team"

Coding within the category of team citizenship was sub-coded into three elements: (see figure 4.17) socio-emotional support; practical support and professional attitude and conduct. One hundred and seven items were coded to these categories and the split was fairly even, with 39 incidents recorded against socio-emotional support, 33 against practical support and 35 against professional conduct.

Figure 4.17: Proportion of responses relating to the three elements making up the 'team citizenship' category.
Socio-emotional support was typified by members of the team demonstrating a caring attitude towards each other, both in difficult personal circumstances and also in routine actions.

"It's the silly things, like a thank-you card when someone was off ill and at the last minute I had to take over the class."

This model of behaviour was reinforced through management practice. An education manager from a different establishment to the respondent quoted above used almost the same language when describing the nature of support given to staff.

"It's the silly little things, the good-byes and thank-yous at the end of the day."

One respondent suggested that such pro-social behaviour developed through people noticing other people behaving in such a way

"They see people doing it and say, well I'll do that as well...It comes out of feelings of self-worth and growing confidence and a good team."

Examples of colleagues acting below expectation included behaviours that were perceived as damaging to the supportive environment, particularly those that led to factions developing within the team.

"There were a couple of people here two years ago who caused a lot of trouble amongst staff. The atmosphere became very bitchy and they broke confidences outside of the team. They've gone now and it's much better."

Practical support focussed very much on 'mucking in' to get things done. This was about supporting the team. One respondent commented:

"There's a definite spirit of not letting the team down, like covering classes."

The motivation for this extra-role behaviour appears to be about supporting colleagues rather than striving to ensure the employer delivers the contract or meets their targets. Responses to questions 5 and 6 provide further evidence for ingroup bias discussed earlier in this chapter. In describing an occasion when there had been severe floods but staff got in to run classes as evidence of behaviour beyond expectation the respondent commented
that the main college site had shut down because staff there had not made the effort that prison-based staff had and inferred that this is because prison-based staff are more committed.

Professional conduct included aspects of quality and delivering teaching and learning in line with professional expectations. Colleagues who did not take this quality approach were considered to be acting below expectations.

"They think, oh, it's only a prison, it doesn't matter, it's not the same standards, and the students don't count as much."

In the same way that respondents described the extra work that team members pick up at short notice to cover for their colleagues as being beyond expectation, colleagues not coming in to work at the last moment is considered below expectation. Again, the emphasis was about letting the team down rather than failing to deliver the contract, suggesting the focus of commitment is to the work group rather than to the employer. Professional behaviour in respect to security practice is also expected.

"There was an example of members of the team letting us all down by breaking 'cast-in-stone' aspects of security. We all got looks from officers after that as if we were tainted with the same brush and that's upsetting when we know how security conscious we are."

The motivation for adhering to security practices is expressed as not letting the team down but suggests a perceived obligation to the prison of conforming to security requirements framed in the context of commitment to the team. Inappropriate relationships with prisoners were mentioned by four respondents, there was a view that such behaviour would not be appropriate in any educational context.

"I would not have expected these people - who are after all professionals - to behave in that manner."

This again suggests that prison-based education teams perceive appropriate professional behaviour as an obligation they owe to their employer, to the prison and to their profession.
Management expertise category

The category of management expertise includes incidents concerning the role of the education manager and also the contract manager. Figure 4.18 illustrates the proportions of responses coded to each of the five elements of the management expertise category.

Figure 4.18: Proportion of responses relating to each element making up the ‘management expertise’ category.

Eighteen incidents relating to the communication role of the education manager were reported and a further 18 incidents which provided examples of the education manager’s role in supporting staff.

“Yes. Again, through personal things, when I took over this job they all went out of their way to help me find my feet in it. And, also, since I’ve been here the last couple of years I’ve lost both my mother and father, and they can’t be more helpful. Time off, compassionate leave, they would do absolutely anything, the management side, to help a member of staff. The management here, they’re brilliant.”

“I think sometimes it that in the past there has been a feeling that being out here we are rather on a limb and perhaps communications haven’t always been the best. They are starting to improve because we have now got a different management structure in place here therefore communications appear to have improved.”

There was a sense that the education manager would mediate between education staff and the prison and between education staff and the employer.
"I haven't got a clue about ringing up the college for various things, not a clue. I rely totally on the management."

One respondent commented on the difference a new manager had made to the relationship education staff had with the prison:

"She's made the prison listen to the things we need to run our ship effectively."

The expectation of staff seems to be that their manager acts as a buffer between them and their employer and between them and the prison. Managers are expected to keep their staff informed and have an open door policy. One respondent commented that all the best managers have an open door policy and are there for staff when they need them. The contract manager role was also perceived as being about communication and support, with 12 incidents reported as examples of behaviour beyond expectation. This suggests that when there is a visible contract manager working in a direct way with staff at the prisons, it is a role that is valued.

"I think that the contract manager has been a very big support to people here. I've heard people say that and particularly to myself and I think that's been appreciated. The college provide a person in this role who comes here and that's done well. I've experienced it with and without the role. It's been done by other colleges and it works well."

The role was seen as being an important one to provide support for the education manager in particular to enable the education manager to fulfil their own management obligations to the employer.

"I know I must organise my staff to deliver the contract as efficiently as I can, but without the support of management at college I can't do it. If I am not able to appoint teaching staff because I can't get a management decision, I can't deliver the contract or meet my targets."

Commitment to the learner category
The third category that built up the perceptions of the obligations of colleagues was that of commitment to the learner. 36% of the incidents about the expectations of colleagues were coded to this category. 31 respondents, described behaviours that demonstrated commitment to the learners and this suggests it represents a shared value and as such part of
Commitment to the learner was given as the reason for much of the extra-role team citizenship behaviour. One respondent summed it up.

"We are all committed to working with the prisoners and we all seem to know it without really saying it. If we help one another then our job is all the better for it, we're all happier."

Another contrasted it with their experience of a different education context.

"In schools I have heard some teachers passing negative comments about young people...you wouldn't get that here."

This shared commitment to the learner was reflected in perceptions of the contractor too. One contractor was praised for managing the contract to provide the inmates with a 'good deal to improve their chances and to make a positive change.'

**Prison-based education staffs' obligations to their employer and to the prison: Summary**

The responses to research questions 5 and 6 suggest that obligations owed by prison-based education staff are set in the context of commitment to the education team and commitment to the learner. As a group of professionals they do not want to compromise the quality of service given to learners and this suggests they interpret their obligations to their employer as delivering their service in line with professional standards. Within the prison context security dominates the perception of obligation to the establishment. Whilst many are aware of the performance indicators and targets against which education is judged, meeting which would meet the needs of both the contractor and the prison, the direction of commitment appears to be towards the learner. This indicates a shared normative psychological contract based on commitment to the learner and team citizenship that is maintained through clear expectations of the role of managers.

The tree developed through coding responses to categories and elements within those categories illustrates that prison based education staff perceive
a normative psychological contract that defines their own acceptable behaviours and attitudes and those of their colleagues. This represents the reciprocal obligations that they as employees have with their employer and with the host prison but directs commitment and obligations to both organisations towards commitment and obligations to the team and to the learner. Figure 4.19 represents the tree structure developed through coding the responses. The relationships between branches of the tree are not linear but taken collectively they illuminate the perceptions that education teams form about their identity. Examples cited were about commitment to the team and to the learner and describe a set of normative values that team members are expected to share. One respondent summed it up:

"I think there is a definite sort of spirit of not letting the team down when you can contribute you know I mean covering classes and you know doing induction I mean Sandra's done induction for me a couple of times which has enabled me to carry on teaching and things like that people just do it because it is part of our culture I think."
Figure 4.19: Perceived obligations owed by prison-based education staff to their employer and to the host prison
Differences in the salience of categories of the psychological contracts between groups of prison-based education staff

Having coded and analysed the responses to answer the research questions, the data were explored further to examine any differences in the perceptions of the psychological contract between sub-groups of prison-based education staff. Respondents were classified into groups using four features: Gender, distance of the prison from the employer, length of service in prison education and job role. Each of these groupings is now considered in more detail.

Gender

Alloy et al (1985) suggested that female respondents tend to disclose more than male. The sample from which data was collected in this study was made up of 68% women and 32% men. A total of 12504 text units were analysed and of this women contributed 8626 (69%) units, and men 3878 (31%) units. This suggests that the men and women in this study disclosed equivalent amounts.

The balance between the largely transactional category of the employment contract and the more relational categories are broadly in line for men and women. Figure 4.20 illustrates the relative salience of each category making up the perceived obligations of the employer.

![Figure 4.20: Percentage of responses in each category making up the perceived obligations of the employer, which were coded by gender.](image-url)
When compared with the equivalent analysis of the obligations owed by the prison shown in Figure 4.21, it can be seen the balance between the broadly transactional category of managing the education contract and relational categories is consistent between genders for this contract too.

**Figure 4.21:** Percentage of responses in each category making up the perceived obligations of the prison, which were coded by gender.

Taken together, this suggests that there may be no difference in the transactional or relational nature of the psychological contracts formed by men or women in the context of prison education. The category of communication was reported more frequently by women than men in both cases suggesting a consistent pattern across the two sets of obligations. The category of recognition appears to vary in salience between the two genders. The male respondents were more likely than the female respondents to refer to recognition by the employer whereas the women were more likely to refer to recognition by the prison than were the men. Figure 4.22 presents the relative frequency with which men and women referred to each category within the normative psychological contract that defines employee obligations.
This suggests that women may give greater salience to team citizenship than men, and when considered alongside the categories within perceived obligations of the employer and the prison could infer that women have a more local focus than men, placing more emphasis on recognition by the prison and on their relationships with the education team. Men in contrast reported recognition by their employer and relationships outside of the education team, i.e. with prison staff and with the contract manager, more frequently than women.

Distance of the prison from the employer

Figures 4.23 and 4.24 illustrate the salience of each category within the categories comprising the perceived obligations of the employer (figure 4.23) and with the prison (figure 4.24) coded by distance of the prison from the employer.

Figure 4.23: Percentage of responses in each category making up the perceived obligations of the employer, which were coded by distance of prison from employer.
Both profiles show the salience of communication decreasing as the distance from the employer to the prison increases. Similarly both profiles show the contractual issues categories increasing in salience as the distance from the employer increases. Prison-based education teams in this sample seem to place less importance on communication with their employer and with the prison as the distance from their employer increases and place a greater degree of importance on both the employer and the prison in delivering their contractual, and largely transactional, obligations. This suggests a trend in which the perceived psychological contracts with both the employer and the prison become more transactional as distance from the employer increases and could be evidence that the team becomes more self-sufficient and insular at more remote distances.

The numbers of prisons in each distance band is too small to establish whether or not this difference in salience of communication across distance is statistically significant. Intuitively, it makes sense that the further away the employer, the less important they become to the staff and the less of an issue communication is. An alternative explanation, if the difference is significant could be that the further away the employer, the more effort they make to ensure communication is effective and the fewer problems are experienced by staff. For staff in prisons, the issue was not the physical distance so much as the amount of physical contact with the employer.

'When I worked with the previous college it was 60 miles away so we had no contact whatsoever......'
'We seldom see anyone from the college; it might as well be a thousand miles away.'

Figure 4.25 illustrates the relative salience of categories within the normative psychological contract that defines employee obligations coded by distance of the prison from the employer.

Figure 4.25: Percentage of responses in each category of the normative psychological contract of employee obligations, which were coded by distance from the employer.

There do not appear to be consistent trends within the relative salience of categories displayed in Figure 4.25, but the limited salience of the more external role of the contract manager at 31 – 50 miles does lend some support to the notion that more remote teams are more self-sufficient and place less emphasis on external relationships.

Length of Service

Respondents were asked to provide information about their length of service in prison education. Figure 4.26 shows the relative frequency of responses in each category of the perceived obligations of their employer coded by length of service.
Communication with the employer becomes less salient over time but the expectation for recognition increases following a dip after the first year. This suggests a career life cycle in which the need to be seen and recognised as effective is strong at the beginning of the career, dips in the medium term and then builds again as length of service increases. Contractual issues appear to have less salience at the beginning of the employment relationship and once the relationship has gone beyond 10 years but takes on greater salience in the medium term. At the time the study was carried out this profile matches a pattern of service in which those recruited for less than a year would not have experienced a re-contracting process, those in the 1 – 5 year band may be aware that a re-contracting process was stopped mid way through, the 5 – 10 year cohort would have been through the process once and those with a length of service over 10 years would have gone through re-contracting at least twice and could be on their third or fourth employer whilst having the same job or working at the same establishment. This history may impact on perceptions of tenure of employment, with the more experienced staff having a greater sense of security as they have direct experience of the impact of a change of contractor. One respondent with two and a half years service commented about the relationship with their employer:

'It would be better to feel part of the college...say something dreadful happened to the contract, I'd like
A longer serving member of staff, who had worked within prison education for 15 years had a very different approach to the contract and appeared to have disassociated it from their employment status. (S)he saw the contract in terms of how it impacted on their ability to do their job and how in its various iterations across the different tender arrangements it was interpreted differently. (S)he saw this as a political issue and likened it to the American constitution:

'Some contractors and prisons have the conservative view - anything that's not expressly permitted is prohibited and some have the more liberal view, anything that's not explicitly prohibited is permitted...'

Another long serving member of staff from a different establishment similarly thought about the contracted-out arrangements in terms of what it meant for education practice rather than what it meant for their job:

'We're at the mercy of the Government, whatever the Government decide they want in prison education is what we deliver, it doesn't really matter who the contractor is or how they organise it...'

The pattern also suggests that for the psychological contact in year one is the least transactional with the relational aspects reducing as length of service increases until a point beyond which the transactional elements lessen in salience. One manager in the study commented that contact with the employer is extremely important at the beginning of one's career in the prison but becomes less important as the person develops confidence and competence in the post.

Figure 4.27 represents the relative frequency with which responses were coded to categories within the perceived obligations of the prison by length of service.
Figure 4.27: Percentage of responses in each category making up the perceived obligations of the prison, which were coded by length of service in prison education

Similar patterns to those in figure 4.26, in terms of the salience of recognition and contractual aspects, emerge. Training and development appears to be more salient to those with a length of service of less than one year, giving a useful indication as to what support is important to probationary staff. The profile of obligations of the education staff team, shown in figure 4.28, suggests that commitment to the team remains the most salient category throughout a member of staff's career.

Figure 4.28: Percentage of responses in each category of the normative psychological contract of employee obligations, which were coded by length of service in prison education

Expectations about management roles are least salient in the first year of service and the role of the contract manager increases as length of service increases. However, six of the respondents who reported their length of service as being over 10 years were education managers and this may skew the data. Indeed, figure 4.29 below, which groups respondents by job...
role, shows that the contract manager role has more salience to the education manager role than to any other group of staff.

Job-role

When the salience of categories across perceived obligations between job-roles is examined some interesting differences emerge. Figure 4.29 shows the relative frequency with which incidents were coded to each category making up the perceived obligations of the employer.

![Figure 4.29: Percentage of responses in each category making up the perceived obligations of the employer, which were coded by job-role](image)

Lecturers were more likely to raise issues to do with contractual issues than administrators or managers, particularly permanent lecturers. Recognition by the employer was of greater significance to manager and administrators and communication was cited more frequently by administrators than by other job roles. This perhaps suggests that most communication is channelled through the manager and the administrators have more direct contact with the employer and this shapes the psychological contract. Training and development had less salience to administrators with managers and fractional lecturers citing examples the most frequently. This may reflect the focus of the employer on providing teacher training and management development rather than the development of administrative staff.

The profile of categories within the perceived obligations of the prison also suggests variations in salience between job roles. Figure 4.30 represents the relative frequency with which responses were coded to categories within the perceived obligations of the prison by job-role.
Figure 4.30: Percentage of responses in each category making up the perceived obligations of the prison, which were coded by job-role.

Communication is most relevant to managers and administrators; this suggests managers take on a role as a channel of communication between the prison and the education team. Recognition is also most salient for managers and administrators, which is congruent with the concept of these two roles as the key channels of communication. When obligations of the team are examined by job role (Figure 4.31) two features stand out. First to do with the commitment to the learner and second the salience of expectations of the contract manager.

Figure 4.31: Percentage of responses in each category of the normative psychological contract of employee obligations, which were coded by job-role.
Commitment to the learner is reported most frequently by administrators. This may seem counter-intuitive in that one would expect teachers to be most concerned about their learners. The role of an administrator within a prison education department demands significant contact with prisoners and the administrator may well be a prisoner’s first port of call when trying to resolve issues across the prison. Thus relationships with prisoners form an extremely important part of the administrator’s role. One administrator talked about her perceptions that the employer did not really understand her role:

'I applied to be re-graded, I didn't get it because they didn't allow for the fact that I work in a prison. I deal with people who are rapists and murderers. They stand at my door and I deal with them...'

The second apparent trend to stand out is the salience of expectations concerning the contract manager. This is most significant to the education manager, then permanent lecturers the part-time lecturers. The role was not mentioned by administrators or hourly paid teaching staff and suggests that the nature of the support provided by a contract manager is perceived to be located with managers and more senior staff and that other staff have no expectations about the role

A pattern then is beginning to emerge about the contents of the perceived psychological contracts prison-based education staff form with their employer, with the prison and about their expectations of their own obligations to both parties. When the relative salience of categories of obligations is considered in terms of gender, distance from the employer, length of service in prison education and job-role, there are indications that some of these factors influence the content of the psychological contract. Men and women may differ in the degree to which they focus locally, communication with the employer may become less salient as distance from the employer increases, the transactional/relational balance of the psychological contract may change over time and job-role may influence experience and thus shape the psychological contract. The numbers of respondents and incidents in this study mean that statistical analysis is not applicable so the trends observed cannot be considered statistically significant, however they indicate possibilities for further research.
Discussion
Chapter 5: Discussion

The context within which prison education operates was set out in Chapter one. There are in excess of 76,000 men and women remanded in custody or serving a custodial sentence. Of those prisoners released in 1997, 36% were reconvicted and serving another prison sentence within two years. Of young offenders (aged 18 years – 21 years) released in 1997, 42% were serving another custodial sentence within two years. The Carter Report (2003) identified that real term spending on prison and probation had increased by £1 billion over the previous ten years and, in the context of reconviction rates, questioned the effectiveness of custodial sentences.

Low educational attainment and the difficulty of securing employment on release were identified by the Social Exclusion Unit (2002) as two of the factors that influence re-offending rates. Indeed they report that being in employment reduces the rate of re-offending by between a third and a half. An effective programme of education and training for those in custody could therefore contribute to reducing re-offending rates. Prison education already contributes to the Government’s targets for improving the literacy and numeracy of adults. 41,300 basic skills awards were achieved by prisoners during 2002 for example; however the quality of education and training varies between establishments (National Audit Office, 2002) and is influenced not only by the effectiveness of the management of the prison but also by the nature of the provision of education and training for prisoners via a sub-contracted arrangement.

Twenty-seven contractors are responsible for providing education services for prisoners within the 138 state run prisons in England and Wales. These organisations, mainly Further Education Colleges, directly employ staff to work within the prisons, which may or may not be geographically close to where the organisation itself is located. Braggins (2001) reported that whilst three-quarters of education managers in prisons felt supported by their contractor, a third felt that the distance impacted on them. The All Party Parliamentary Group Inquiry into Prisoner Education recommended that the morale and professional development of all teaching and training staff be recognised as critical to the delivery of a first class service. The research reported in this thesis explores the nature of the psychological contract of prison-based education staff and in doing so uncovers issues which have a number of implications for the management practice of those responsible
for managing prison-based education staff. This thesis is presented at a critical time for prison education. Existing contracts, due to expire in February 2004, have been extended whilst the Learning and Skills Council trial new ways of contracting prison education services. Expressions of interest from prospective contractors have been requested and new contracting arrangements will be in place across England and Wales by August 2006.

This chapter continues with a review of the prison-based education staff's expectations of their employer and the host prison and then addresses each research question in more detail. In doing so it explores what the findings suggest about the nature of the psychological contracts of prison-based education staff.

**Prison-based education staff's expectations**

The results of the research presented in this thesis suggest that prison-based education staff form multiple psychological contracts in that they perceive both their employer and the host prison have obligations towards them and in return, they have obligations towards both organisations. Rousseau (2004) distinguishes between transactional, relational and hybrid psychological contracts. Transactional contracts are economic in their nature, relational contracts are socio-emotional in nature and hybrid contracts combine transactional and relational elements. Content analysis of interview transcripts in this study reveals relational and transactional elements within both psychological contracts and thus they can be described as hybrid psychological contracts. A comparison of the categories and elements within each psychological contract reveals similarities. Figure 4.1 (p. 80) and figure 4.7 (p. 92) represent the categories of perceived obligations of the employer and the prison respectively. The four categories within the obligations of the employer are mirrored in four of the categories of obligations of the host prison. Table 5.1 shows the similarities.
Table 5.1: *Categories and elements of employer obligations and prison obligations as perceived by prison-based education staff*

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<tr>
<td><strong>Training and Development</strong></td>
<td><strong>Training and Development</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access</td>
<td>Access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range and Relevance</td>
<td>Range and Relevance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Induction</td>
<td>Induction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Security and Personal Safety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recognition</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recognition</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value Prison Education</td>
<td>Value Prison Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness of Prison Education</td>
<td>Awareness of Prison Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement for Specific Achievement</td>
<td>Acknowledgement for Specific Achievement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proportions of responses drawn from examples beyond or below prison-based education staff's expectations are similar too, suggesting that the categories making up the psychological contracts are core to the individual and can be applied to both organisations. Figure 4.7 (p.92) includes a fifth category in the obligations of the prison; that of relationships with prison staff. This is not represented in the categories making up employer obligations as questions specifically about relationships with education colleagues were asked separately. A review of the categories and elements comprising the expectations of prison colleagues alongside a review of the categories making up the expectations of prison colleagues again suggests similarities. Attitudes towards the learner and attitudes and behaviour towards education staff are important in both sets of obligations. Table 5.2 shows the similarities between the categories and elements within the perceived obligations of prison staff and the perceived obligations of education staff.
Table 5.2: Categories and elements of obligations of education and prison colleagues as perceived by prison-based education staff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education colleagues</th>
<th>Prison colleagues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Team Citizenship</strong></td>
<td><strong>Discipline staff</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional conduct</td>
<td>Attitude to education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-emotional &amp; practical</td>
<td>Attitude to education staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support for colleagues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commitment to the learner</strong></td>
<td><strong>Governors</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management expertise</td>
<td>Visibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract Manager:</td>
<td>Public support for education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visibility</td>
<td>Personal support for education staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal skills</td>
<td>Practical support for education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support for staff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education manager:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support for staff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communication</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A review of the salience of categories of the psychological contract between groups of staff provides some further insight into the dynamic nature of the psychological contracts perceived to be held by prison-based education staff. Four features were considered: gender; distance from the employer; length of service in prison education and job role. The size of the sample and the numbers of respondents within each group mean that statistical analysis of significance is not meaningful however the analysis suggests that men and women place different salience on recognition by their employer and the host prison and that the salience of communication, both with the employer and with the prison, reduces over time.

Each research question is now considered in more detail.

**Perceived obligations owed by the employer to prison-based education staff.**

Through exploring the expectations that prison-based education staff have of how their employer should act, perceptions of the employer’s obligations towards prison-based education staff are revealed. The analysis and coding of responses to interview questions resulted in a model of employee expectations of their employer that has four categories: contractual issues, communication, training and development, and recognition. Each category was built from related elements and figure 4.6 presented in the previous chapter, illustrates the tree structure of the categories and elements. The structure includes elements that are economic and those that are socio-emotional in nature. The psychological contract can therefore be considered to be hybrid. This is illustrated in figure 5.1 which represents
figure 4.6 with the transactional items shown in blue and relational items shown in green.
Figure 5.1: The tree structure of perceived obligations owed by the employer to prison-based education staff
Predictions about the nature of the psychological contract under different employment relationships tend to suggest that the increase in contingent arrangements will lead to an increase in narrow, transactional psychological contracts (Robinson and Rousseau, 1994, Rousseau, 1995b); in other words psychological contracts based on economic rather than social exchange. This does not appear to be the case for prison-based education staff. The colour coding in Figure 5.1 illustrates the range of the relational aspects, even the transactional ‘contractual issues’ category features a relational element, namely flexibility for those with personal difficulties. The ‘contractual issues’ category is the largest in terms of the frequency of incidents reported but there is clearly relational pressure in the categories of communication, training and development and recognition.

Rousseau and McLean-Parks (1993) described five dimensions to the psychological contract: time frame, focus, stability, scope and tangibility. It is possible to describe the psychological contracts of the participants in this study using these dimensions. The time frame for the employment contract that a member of a prison education team holds with their employer has a fixed end point in that contracts to provide education services are awarded on a time bound basis. If the education contract were to be awarded to a different provider, the relationship with the original contractor would cease. This time bound nature of the contract applies transactional pressure to the psychological contract. However, its focus includes both socio-emotional aspects such as recognition and training and development along with the economic aspects around pay and terms and conditions. The nature of the educator’s role as a professional operating with a degree of autonomy adds a relational aspect to the contract. The curriculum for example can be negotiated to a degree and individuals within prison education teams are able to take responsibility for developments of initiatives that they have instigated. The scope of the contract includes examples of personal commitment and identifies recognition and personal support as important elements, suggesting a relational pressure. The final dimension, tangibility, is defined by clear boundaries in that the prison context is well defined; a member of staff employed to work within the prison context has a clear job description and forms part of a hierarchical team with clear lines of responsibility and accountability. Table 5.3 illustrates the hybrid nature of the dimensions of the psychological contract formed with the employer and reflects the utility of a dimensions approach in simplifying a complex
arrangement of categories and elements within a simple but flexible taxonomy.

Table 5.3: Relational and transactional dimensions of the employer obligations aspect of the psychological contract

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Relational</th>
<th>Transactional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time Frame</td>
<td>Fixed end point of contract to provide education services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>Shared values</td>
<td>Pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Training and development</td>
<td>Terms and conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stability</td>
<td>Flexible and dynamic</td>
<td>Policy and procedure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>agreed tasks can be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>negotiated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scope</td>
<td>Recognition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal support</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangibility</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clear boundaries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The hybrid psychological contract uncovered in this study lends support to the assertions of Millward and Brewerton (1999) that permanent contracted staff form relational psychological contracts.

The hybrid nature of the perceived obligations owed by the employer to prison-based education staff will both influence and be influenced by organisational actions. Coyle-Shapiro and Kessler (2002) reported that, in a local government context, inducements offered by the employer had more of an impact on temporary workers than on permanent workers and concluded that the nature of the employment relationship affected sensitivity to inducements. The 'acknowledgement for achievement' element within the recognition category (see 4.5 p. 90) includes an example of the employer paying for a lunch for the entire education team when they achieved a basic skills quality mark. This was a small gesture on behalf of the employer but it made a significant impact on the staff. This suggests that sensitivity to inducements is better understood in the context of the psychological contract rather than the nature of the employment relationship.

The results of the research reported in this thesis provide some interesting insights into psychological contract formation. Rousseau (1995a) describes
the importance of early experience in particular in shaping the psychological contract and the results of this study suggest that the salience of each category changes over time. The balance of categories is at its most relational in year one, with respondents tending to be more concerned with communication and recognition and less concerned with contractual issues than their longer serving colleagues. This apparent shift in the salience of categories over time supports Guest and Conway's (2000) description of the psychological contract as an individual's mental model that develops and changes through experience. Guest and Conway (2000) argue that an organisation's ability to communicate effectively with their employees underpins the development of a mental model of the psychological contract and that communication processes are critical to forming and maintaining the psychological contract. Seventy-six per cent of respondents gave examples of communication with their employer and over 80% of those who gave an example cited communication as an incident in which the employer had acted below their expectation. The largest element within the category of communication was about direct contact with the employer, either at the employer's home site or at the host prison. Such direct contact brings prison-based education staff into contact with a wider number of contract-makers (Guest and Conway, 2004) and influences perceptions of the ability of the employing organisation to fulfil its promises. There was certainly dissatisfaction with the mechanical aspect of communication, which at worst prevented staff in engaging in wider college activities as communications were received late, if at all. The degree of dissatisfaction expressed by prison-based education staff supports Guest and Conway's (2000) assertions about the importance of communication to the psychological contract.

In the absence of multiple communication channels to represent the employer's views and values, the education manager (the operational manager of the education department, employed by the contractor and line managed through the contractor) becomes a central focus for communication. Rousseau (2004) suggests that managers are primary contract makers and are the most important aspect of the employer side. Figure 4.28, p.122, shows the profile of categories in the employee obligations aspect of the psychological contract and illustrates the increasing importance of the education manager and the contract manager (employed by the contractor to oversee the contracts for prison education, the line manager of the education manager, based at the contractor's home
site) over time. Expectations of managers are reported least frequently by those respondents with less than one year's service. Taken with the reducing salience of communication with the employer over time, a model emerges in which the education manager becomes the primary contract maker on the employer side to the extent that staff learn not to communicate with their employer but to rely on the education manager and, to a lesser extent, the contract manager.

This places education managers in a powerful situation with the potential to manipulate the psychological contract. Hallier and James (1997) discovered that managers had disguised the dissatisfaction of their subordinates to the employer and that this had led to the staff feeling that their employer was letting them down. One education manager in this study reported that he did not give priority to post received from the college and did not always ensure it was distributed promptly. Their actions impacted on how the employer was perceived by other staff. Some of the dissatisfaction around the timeliness of communication could be compounded by the manager's actions. In this context Rousseau (2004) is correct to suggest that the selection, training and motivation of all managers is critical to the effective formation and development of the psychological contract.

The education manager is a key agent to the psychological contract that prison-education staff form with their employer but they are not the only agent that influences the formation of the psychological contracts perceived by prison-based education staff, their agency problem (Guest, 1998a) is more complex. Marks (2001) suggests that when there is more distance between the employee and the organisation because of outsourcing, the number of agents and thus psychological contracts increases. This is illustrated in the following section which considers the relationship between prison-based education staff and the host prison.

Perceived obligations owed by the host prison to prison-based education staff.
Responses to the interview questions were analysed to reveal the obligations perceived to be owed by the prison to prison-based education staff. Figure 4.14, p. 104, presented in chapter four illustrates the structure of the prison obligations aspects of the psychological contract formed between prison-based education staff and the host establishment. As with the employer side, incidents were coded into four categories: contract
management, communication, training and development and recognition. The categories and elements include a mixture of transactional and relational items, it includes elements that are economic in nature and those that are socio-emotional, the psychological contract formed with the host prison can therefore be considered to be hybrid.

In addition incidents were analysed to reveal expectations concerning the behaviour and attitudes of prison personnel. The categories and elements defining the relationship with prison staff underpin the perceived obligations owed by the prison to prison-based education teams. The relationships formed between education staff and prison staff moderate the perceptions of these obligations and as such can be thought of as part of the process through which expectations and thus a psychological contract are formed. Figure 5.2 represents the structure of prison obligations as perceived by prison-based education staff. Transactional elements are displayed in blue and relational elements displayed in green. The categories and elements comprising the relationships with prison staff are shown as underpinning the obligations and are presented in black to illustrate this difference.
Figure 5.2: The tree structure of the perceived obligations of the prison to prison-based education staff.
This hybrid contract can also be categorised along the five dimensions identified by Rousseau and McLean Parks (1993). However, the balance of the transactional/relational nature of the dimensions differs from those of the psychological contract formed with the employer. In terms of its time frame, prison-based education teams are protected under the employment legislation relating to the transfer of undertakings. Should the education contractor change, an individual's job within the prisons is protected. Thus the time frame dimension with the prison introduces relational pressure to the psychological contract formed with the prison. The focus includes both socio-emotional elements such as training and development and relationships with prison staff and transactional elements including health, safety and security and regime management. Thus the focus is both transactional and relational. In terms of stability, there is a perceived lack of negotiation and flexibility in what and how education teams can deliver the contract. The constraints of the regime impose a degree of inflexibility that locates the contract within the transactional dimension. The dimension of scope mirrors the psychological contact with the employer with a need for personal recognition and support. In terms of tangibility the secure nature of establishments necessitates very clear boundaries and closely defined behaviours. Table 5.4 illustrates the hybrid nature of the psychological contract formed with the prison.

Table 5.4: Relational and transactional dimensions of the prison obligations aspect of the psychological contract

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Relational</th>
<th>Transactional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not-determined, open ended</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>Relationships with prison staff</td>
<td>Regime management Health, Safety and Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Training and development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stability</td>
<td></td>
<td>Inflexible, target driven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scope</td>
<td>Recognition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal support</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangibility</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clear boundaries imposed by regime</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that prison-based education teams perceive the obligations of the prison to be both transactional and relational in nature supports Millward
and Brewerton's (1999) assertions that permanently employed contracted staff form relational psychological contracts with their host organisations and the work of Barringer and Sturman (1999) who concluded that agency employees are able to commit to both the employer and the host organisation independently.

As with the perceptions of obligations owed by the employer to prison-based education teams; the profile of the salience of categories changes over time (See figure 4.27 p.122). Those respondents who report their length of service in prison education as less than one year are more likely to discuss training and development and recognition than their longer serving colleagues. Their early experiences shape their expectations and, when considered alongside the salience of education managers (both the education manager and the contract manager) over time, shown in figure 4.28 (p.122), suggest that the education management team become the focus for communicating between the prison and education staff. Thus the education manager is a key agent in communicating the promises of the prison as well as the employer. Other key contract makers are the discipline staff and governor grades within the establishment.

The relationship with staff category is the largest category in terms of frequency of incidents reported and it is clear that relationships with prison colleagues dominate the expectations of obligations owed to prison-based education staff by the prison. Examples of incidents relating to the attitudes or behaviour of prison staff were provided by 75 respondents and, as presented in the results section, some of the incidents are highly charged and emotional that could lead to hostility and antagonism between groups of staff.

There are many examples of a clash of values and as Rubery et al (2002) suggest, prison-based staff find it difficult to adapt to the very different culture of the prison regime. Rubery et al suggest that such opposite cultures could lead to conflicts in loyalty; however in the context of prison education, loyalty is directed very clearly to the learner and to the education team, perhaps suggesting that staff cope with the clash of cultures by developing an insular team focus which results in intergroup bias. Discipline staff in particular are subject to outgroup derogation and figure 4.7 (p.92), presented in chapter four illustrates the nature of the perception of prison staff. The majority of incidents coded to this category are drawn from
examples of behaviour below the expectation of prison-based education teams and, as discussed earlier, those which are examples of behaviour beyond expectation are about prison governors rather than discipline staff.

Value-based differences also underpin many of the responses coded to the ‘managing the education contract’ category. There was a sense of frustration with the way in which education was seen as low priority in the operation of the prison and that, if aspects of the prison regime had to be cancelled, education would generally be cancelled first. Such behaviour by the prison authorities is not congruent with an organisation that places a high value on education or, by association, on the team that delivers it. Brown (2000) suggests that people show intergroup differentiation partly to feel good about themselves at the expense of feeling less good about the outgroup. The lack of value congruence and the challenging behaviours and attitudes experienced by prison-based education teams may serve to compound team identity and intergroup bias.

The recognition category also includes perceptions about shared values and the importance of public recognition. In a similar way to small acknowledgements by the employer making a difference to staff reported earlier (Coyle-Shapiro and Kessler, 2002) the same seems to be true for expectations about the obligations of the prison, suggesting a heightened sensitivity to inducements.

The prison’s ability to communicate effectively with prison-based education staff was brought into question by the responses. Guest and Conway (2000) argue that an organisation’s ability to communicate effectively with their employees underpins the development of a psychological contract and that communication processes are critical to forming and maintaining the psychological contract. The majority of incidents coded to the communication category were of examples that were below the respondent’s expectations. The issue was really one of inclusion; staff felt that as they are not employees of the prison they are routinely left out of the communication loop. The lack of formal communication processes increases reliance on the education manager and contract manager as providers of information. They develop roles in which they act almost as ‘go-betweens’. Thus, the only ways in which the prison’s promises are communicated are through education management or via the day to day interactions with prison staff. The impact of these daily interactions
becomes more important in shaping the psychological contract and in influencing prison-based education team's perceptions of the prison's ability to fulfil its obligations.

This discussion now moves on to explore the reciprocal nature of the psychological contract and to examine what the results suggest about prison-based education staff's perceptions of their obligations to their employer and to the host prison.

**Perceived obligations owed by prison-based education staff to their employer and to the host prison.**

Rousseau (1990) described two forms of the psychological contract: the individual's psychological contract, of which an individual may have more than one, and a normative contract which can emerge when the content of each individual psychological contract is similar enough to be shared and understood by a group of individuals. In this research, responses about the obligations of prison-based education staff, that is what they expect of themselves and their colleagues, described a set of values and expectations that seemed shared by all. Obligations to their employer and to the host prison are framed in the context of team identity and commitment to the team, along with expectations about professional behaviour and commitment to the learner. Figure 5.3 re-presents figure 4.19 from chapter four (for ease of reading) to illustrate the categories and elements within the normative psychological contract that underpins obligations owed by prison-based education staff to their employer and to the prison.

![Obligations owed by prison-based education staff](image)

**Figure 5.3: Perceived obligations owed by prison-based education staff to their employer and to the host prison**
Obligations are represented in three categories: Management expertise, a distinct set of expectations concerning the obligations of education and contract managers; commitment to the learner, a set of expectations about placing the learner at the centre, and team citizenship; a set of expectations about behaviour to support other members of the team or the team itself. Responses provide evidence of a great deal of 'beyond contract effort' (Bratton and Gold, 1999 pp.357). This suggests a strong identification with the organisation, however for prison-based education staff there are two significant organisations, the employer and the prison and rather than focus their commitment towards either or both of these organisations prison-based education teams appear to direct their commitment towards the team itself and to learners. This supports the findings of Rubery, et al (2002) who suggested that, in the public services, commitment is conceived of as being directed towards the public service provision and not commitment or loyalty to the public service organisation.

This has interesting implications for the relationship between the psychological contract and commitment. Turnley et al (2004) suggest that breaches of the psychological contract may decrease organisational commitment and that if the psychological contract is fulfilled, employees are likely to feel positive about the organisation and demonstrate this through extra-role behaviour. If, as is indicated by the results in this case, commitment is towards the learner and the team then breaches of the psychological contract may not have such a significant impact on extra-role behaviour, which is seen to support the learner or the team rather than the employer or the prison. This may explain why despite holding largely negative psychological contracts with both the employer and the prison there is evidence of extra-role behaviour. These findings seem to conflict with Coyle-Shapiro and Kessler's (2002) work exploring organisational citizenship within public services in which they found that those employed on non-traditional employment contracts were less likely to have positive views of the organisation and less likely to demonstrate organisational citizenship. Prison-based education staff may hold negative views about their employer or the host prison but they demonstrate significant amounts of extra-role behaviour. As this behaviour is directed towards the team and the learner the term team citizenship may be more descriptive than organisational citizenship.
The basis of this team citizenship seems to be drawn from behavioural and normative commitment. Behavioural commitment (Staw and Salancik, 1977) develops through experience and is influenced by peer socialisation, so, over time the norms of group behaviour become the norms of each individual within the group. The norm of the group is to cover classes or to work through lunch for example and these norms become the expected behaviour of the group. Individuals who do not demonstrate such behaviours are seen to act below expectation. Normative commitment (Weiner, 1982) is underpinned by values. Strength of commitment is related to the degree to which an individual is personally committed to shared values. This is expressed by prison-based education staff in terms of their expectations of professional conduct, both in terms of teaching and learning and in terms of security practice, and in the context of meeting the needs of the learner.

Prison-based education teams develop a strong sense of team identity within which a normative contract includes expectations of commitment to the team and to the learner. Millward and Brewerton (1999) comment on the sense of team spirit reported by contracted staff and suggest that the local sense of belonging is more important to contracted staff than identifying with the organisation. Tajfel's (1981) three dimensions essential for group identity are certainly present for prison-education teams. The team can be easily identified, thus fulfilling the cognitive dimension. Many respondents made comments about being a 'good team' providing evidence that they value membership of the group and therefore suggesting an evaluative dimension. The responses concerning personal and professional support suggest a degree of emotional significance to the group and therefore an affective dimension. This team identity provides the conditions for intergroup differentiation.

As discussed in the previous section of this chapter, the relationship with discipline staff described by respondents provides evidence of intergroup behaviour. The level of nil responses reported in Chapter Four and the comparative ease with which respondents could provide examples of behaviour below expectation in the prison side and beyond expectation on their colleagues’ side suggests there is a perceived contrast between members of the prison-education team and discipline staff. A high emotional attachment to the group can lead to positive attitudes towards
the group being exaggerated (Jackson and Smith, 1999) and the results in
this study suggest that such bias exists.

The reported sense of unfairness, particularly in relation to ways in which
security issues are dealt with when they involve members of the education
team in comparison with prison staff suggest that education staff perceive
themselves to be deprived of access to fair treatment. Such relative
deprivation can underpin feelings of discontent (Walker and Smith, 2000)
and when a group perceives a discrepancy between what it experiences
and what it is entitled to, group identity can be magnified, differences
exaggerated and conflict increased.

From the research reported in this thesis, a model emerges of prison-based
teams having a strong sense of their own identity and a clear set of shared
values that direct commitment towards the team and to the learner. Team
members are expected to deliver a professional and high quality service
that meets the educational needs of the learners. This is at the centre of
obligations to the employer. This is also seen as the obligation to the
prison, to provide the best quality education service for learners, despite
the perceived lack of value placed on that service by some of the prison’s
representatives. Education staff also expect themselves and their
colleagues to adhere to security procedures and this is a key obligation
they owe to the prison. Whilst the focus of commitment may not be towards
the employer or the prison, the emphasis on professional behaviour and
meeting the needs of the learner result in the interests of both parties being
met. Prison governors are judged on their ability to deliver key performance
targets, of which achievement of qualifications is a major one and colleges
are judged on financial performance and quality. Formal judgements about
quality are made through a process of external inspection undertaken by
Her Majesty’s Inspectorate and the Adult Learning Inspectorate or the
Office for Standards in Education in the case of juveniles. Thus delivering a
professional education service that meets the needs of learners will deliver
organisational objectives for both the employer and the host prison.

The third category that describes the obligations of prison-based education
teams is that of management expertise. Leadership is an important facet of
how the group defines its own identity. There is an expectation that the
education manager and the contract manager will liaise between the team
and the employer and between the team and the prison. There is
acknowledgement that managers are charged with delivering targets for both the prison and the employer, but their main function is perceived as being to support staff and learners. As shown in figure 4.28 presented in Chapter Four, the salience of management increases over time and this reinforces the importance of the role of managers in shaping the normative contract as well as the psychological contract of prison-based education teams.

Millward and Brewerton (1999) suggest that being part of a team in a local sense is particularly important for contracted staff as it is within the team that their job derives meaning. The results of this study support this assertion. The results suggest that prison education teams develop a normative psychological contract that defines appropriate behaviour in terms of commitment to the team and proactive support for other team members alongside commitment to the learner. Team members expect their own and the behaviour of others to benefit the learner. There is evidence for a strong sense of team identity which is reinforced by a management process that maintains an inward looking focus. This creates an environment for intergroup differentiation in the form of ingroup favouritism and outgroup derogation. The experiences of discipline staff demonstrating conflicting values through their behaviours contribute to discipline staff in particular being subject to such attitudes.

A model of prison education management
The discussion so far has included an exploration of the nature of the role of education manager and contract manager in shaping the psychological and normative contracts of prison-based education staff. These two managers act as role models in terms of the normative contract and as gate keepers to both the employer and the host. The education manager appears to be the primary outward facing communicator. Their central function of supporting staff is predicated upon the ability to communicate effectively with both the prison and the employer. Effective contract management supports this process and it could be that this model of team relationships in which outward facing responsibilities are restricted, promotes an insular culture in which members of the team measure their own and the behaviour of others against their own norms, this could underpin the outgroup derogation witnessed in this study.
Figure 5.4 presents a model of the prison education team in which its members are cocooned from the 'outside world' by the roles of education manager and contract manager. This model suggests it would be difficult for the members of the teams to interact directly with their employer or the host establishment, thus reinforcing outgroup stereotypes.

![A model of a protected and insular prison education team](image)

The nature of the roles of the education manager and contract manager creates an artificial distance between prison-based education teams and their employer and with the host establishment, thus the messages from both organisations may be diluted or distorted, or conversely, promoted and reinforced. Including the contract manager in the model increases the level of employer representation, and illustrates the significance of this role in maintaining the psychological contract, but there is no equivalent representation from the prison side. The role of Head of Learning and Skills (the governor with management responsibility for education and training within the establishment) could fulfil this function; however the results of this study suggest prison governors are seen as remote and outside the team. Messages from the prison are communicated via education managers or via the day to day interactions with discipline staff, who may or may not communicate organisational values.
The results illustrate the influence that key agents have on building the psychological contract, specifically the education manager and the contract manager, they also identify some of the difficulties with managing the influence of other agents and contract makers. Influence can be restricted in terms of the employer relationship through limited direct contact with other employer representatives. In contrast influence can be uncontrolled with prison representatives in terms of the conflicting messages communicated by discipline staff and governors. This finding points to the need to manage communication processes and messages on both sides.

The fact that education managers have developed such an influential role mediating between their staff and their employer and the prison is not surprising. The strategy does mean that education staff can focus on their professional role: that of meeting learners needs within a challenging environment of competing regimes. Understanding these dynamics illuminates some of organisational factors that influence the psychological contract and lead to suggestions about how psychological contract formation and maintenance can be improved.
Recommendations and Conclusions
Chapter 6: Recommendations and conclusions

Recommendations for practice

The results of this study have implications for institutions involved in delivering prison-based education and for the role of managers of prison-based education teams. These implications are both strategic and operational and impact on the management practice of the employer and the host prison.

Prison education is undergoing a parliamentary review. Current contracting arrangements have been extended and new models are being trialled with the intention of passing responsibility for funding prison education from the Department for Education and Skills to the Learning and Skills Council. New contracting arrangements are expected to be in place in time for the 2006/2007 financial year, which means that contracts must be awarded to run from 31st July 2006. A number of institutions, including existing contractors, may bid for the new contracts and the findings of this study provide some useful guidance on issues to consider. None of the models for contracting being trialled involve the Prison Service directly employing education staff and therefore securing a contract or contracts to provide education and training within prisons will inevitably result in employing remotely based teams of staff. An understanding of the content of the psychological contracts formed by prison-based education teams is essential to manage these groups effectively and thus deliver the contract efficiently. Maintaining the psychological contracts perceived by prison-based education teams should increase the chances of maximising motivation and morale and minimising poor job satisfaction and intention to leave.

Recommendations for practice: employer obligations

Prospective contractors should ensure that the terms of the contract allow for effective management of the staff employed under the contract, both in respect of developing and maintaining a psychological contract between employer and employee and also in terms of maintaining the psychological contract between the education staff and the host prison. There are two aspects to this, firstly through the express contractual obligations of the prison as defined in the terms of the contract and secondly through basing the bid on a model of management that includes sufficient dedicated contract management to have a positive impact on remotely based staff.
Whatever the new contracting arrangements, contractors will need to establish that the prison will take responsibility for mandatory training and development entitlements for the education staff, training in personal safety and security for example. The reporting structure within the prisons needs to be explored so that the contractor can assess the extent to which it will facilitate effective communication with the education team.

This study suggests that the contract manager and the education manager are critical roles in managing communication, both between employer and employee and prison and employee. Thus the staffing structure upon which a bid is based must include these roles.

During the latter period of this study, the organisation for which the researcher works was given the opportunity to bid for two additional prison education contracts. In formulating the tender a model of contract delivery was proposed that allowed for substantial management time in the hand over and subsequent contract period. The structure was the subject of much debate with the procurement unit, however the institution view was very clear, without the structure we would not wish to secure the contract as we would not be able to support and manage staff in an appropriate way. The contract was awarded to the organisation and the contract manager worked with the researcher to formulate an implementation plan which addressed transactional and relational aspects of the psychological contract. Briefings and training were provided by members of the human resources team, and a number of visits by key college staff were arranged. An understanding of the psychological contract also impacted on the way the incoming contractor related to the outgoing contractor and the attention which was paid to not only getting the technical aspects of a Transfer of Undertakings correct, but also communicating this, in person to the teams of staff. The process contrasted with the organisation's prior experience of securing contracts in the last bidding round and, to date, the actions have been well received by the new groups of prison educators.

A strategic recommendation of this study is that prospective contractors should assure themselves that their model of delivery provides for sufficient management resource and allows for staff access to the main college along with access by college-based staff to the prisons to effectively develop and maintain the psychological contract. Attention must also be paid to the responsibilities and accountabilities of the prison in maintaining the
psychological contract that prison based education teams develop with them.

Induction and early contact with the employer were identified as important with the initial psychological contract being more relational in the first year than in subsequent years. There was some criticism that a college-based induction was not relevant to prison-based staff and thus a specific induction programme should be developed to meet the needs of prison based staff and any contact with transferred employees should follow the same model. The induction should include direct contact with the college and also address prison specific issues.

The contract manager will need to ensure that there is a regular programme of visits to the establishment from relevant college based staff, particularly the Human Resources team, to support staff in dealing with transactional issues such as pay, but also developmental visits and social visits from senior staff. Visits are important and have a greater impact than written communication as they enable remote staff to get to know names and faces and to develop relationships with their college-based colleagues. These factors will strengthen the relational aspects of the psychological contract. It is also important that central college functions get to know prison-based teams as people and that all areas of the college are aware of prison education. In this way prison-based education team members can develop communication channels and links of their own which empower them to communicate directly with their employer and not rely on their manager as go-between. Group identity can be maintained but opportunities for cross college contact increased which should serve to reduce intergroup differentiation.

Communication channels must be timely and contractors should take steps to ensure main college switchboards have a directory of prison-based staff. Actions such as this may not have a dramatic impact at first but the absence of such procedures can be damaging to the psychological contract and, as discussed earlier, prison-based education staff seem to have a heightened sensitivity to inducements and contract breaches. Written communications that go to prison based staff should be inclusive, so newsletters should include prison information for example. Communication is two way and a programme of visits should be planned by the contract manager to ensure prison based staff get the opportunity to visit other
college sites to meet and work with college colleagues. A communication group should be established to support the needs of remote based staff; this would also encourage prison based staff to adopt a more outward facing approach. The model of team relationships shown at figure 5.4 on page 146, presents the education team as cocooned by the education manager and contract manager. It is suggested that this model may actually serve to heighten ingroup bias and as such, the contract manager should take active steps to ensure all members of the team have the opportunity to develop outward facing aspects to their role. Involvement in cross college groups or development projects for example, or visits to colleagues delivering the same or similar curriculum. Table 6.1 presents suggestions for specific actions the contract manager could take to maintain the psychological contracts of prison-based education staff through addressing the perceived obligations of the employer.

Table 6.1: suggestions for contract manager action to maintain the psychological contracts of prison-based education staff through addressing the perceived obligations of the employer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceived obligation - employer</th>
<th>Contract manager action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contractual Issues:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Prison Education contract</td>
<td>• Ensure College central services are fully briefed &amp; understand the context of prison education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Employment contract</td>
<td>• Arrange for relevant central service personnel (e.g. HR) to visit the prison on a regular basis to deal with queries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Ensure policies and procedures takes account of the prison context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Ensure prison-based staff are aware of, have easy access to and understand college policies and procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Communication:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Contact with employer</td>
<td>• Visit the teams regularly &amp; interact with all staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Information flow and knowledge management</td>
<td>• Arrange regular visits from key operational contacts to the prisons &amp; establish routine and regular visits from the prisons to meet counterparts across the institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ability to resolve issues</td>
<td>• Work collaboratively across prisons to ensure consistency of messages e.g. establish cross-cluster working groups that bring staff from all establishments together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Ensure prison-based staff are able to engage in regular activities with other prison-based</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
staff and other college-based staff
- Ensure internal systems of communication take account of getting information to and from the prisons in a timely way & establish minimum standards with accountability clearly identified
- Ensure education manager is accountable for prompt actioning of post/communications from college

Training and development:
- Access to
- Range and relevance
- Manage an extended induction process tailored to the needs of prison based staff
- Plan and budget for programmes of development that enable staff to be released from teaching if necessary
- Organise training at college and at the prison
- Provide regular training for managers and others in college procedures

Recognition:
- Values
- Awareness
- Acknowledgement
- Promote prison work internally and externally
- Arrange regular visits from senior managers to the prisons
- Formally acknowledge good practice
- Encourage prison-based experts to contribute to wider college development
- Encourage prison-based experts to contribute to national developments

Recommendations for practice: prison obligations
There are actions within the scope of the employer that could help manage the psychological contract that prison-based education teams develop with the host prison. The relationship that the contract manager and education manager are able to develop with prison managers will be critical. In terms of transactional issues, it is essential to negotiate a transparent exclusion policy that is communicated to all staff. In this way some of the uncertainty and anxiety that contributes to perceptions of unfairness in security practice could be assuaged. A schedule of training and development for prison-based education teams should be drawn up and form part of the contractual obligations of the prison, particularly in relation to personal safety and security. In addition opportunities for joint staff development and
the mechanisms to release education staff from teaching to participate in prison development activities should be agreed.

The degree of ingroup bias and outgroup derogation was a strong finding to emerge from this study. To challenge and reduce this bias requires strategies that encourage people to alter their perceptions. Piaget and Garcia (1989) suggest that people adopt one of two approaches in building their perceptions of other people: an entity model in which it is assumed that everyone is a certain kind of person and not much can be done to change it or an incremental model that assumes personal characteristics are changeable and dynamic. Levy et al (2001) suggest that interventions that try to overturn stereotypes by presenting counter-stereotypes are less effective than interventions that teach people to develop incremental approaches. For example bombarding prison-based education teams with examples of discipline staff who share their values would not be as effective in changing perceptions as approaches that encourage staff to think differently about how they categorise people. Pettigrew (1998) recommends approaches that combine education with constructive intergroup contact that increases mutual appreciation. Using this approach, development activities that enable prison-based staff to understand the roles of discipline staff and visa versa along with the establishment of multi-disciplinary work teams with shared goals should contribute to changing the mental models that underpin group bias. Senior management from both the college and the prison must support such a process if it is to be successful.

The contract manager and education manager, through developing an effective dialogue with the regime can work to initiate and encourage the prison to develop opportunities for collaborative working. This is another strategy that will promote a more outward facing approach for prison-based education teams. The contract manager also has a responsibility to challenge unacceptable practice and certainly some of the incidents disclosed in this study may have been raised formally. For these processes to be effective, the contract manager and education manager must work to achieve a climate of trust between themselves and prison management.

Table 6.2 summarises practical ways in which a contract manager's role can operate in such a way as to maintain the psychological contracts of prison-based education teams and minimise the potential for breach of
contract through addressing issues relevant to the perceived obligations of the host prison.

Table 6.2: suggestions for contract manager action to maintain the psychological contracts of prison-based education staff through addressing the perceived obligations of the host prison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceived obligation - prison</th>
<th>Contract manager action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contractual issues:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Education contract</td>
<td>• Ensure a regular programme of contract review meetings is established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Environment management</td>
<td>• Agree exclusions protocol and communicate this to staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Regime management</td>
<td>• Raise regime issues through Head of Learning and Skills &amp; at contract meetings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Communication:               |                         |
| • Negotiating change         | • Establish co-operative relationships with Governors |
| • Information flow and       | • Support prison governors by sharing expertise in quality procedures |
| knowledge management         | • Articulate shared goals between the employer and the host prison |

| Training and development:    |                         |
| • Access to                 | • Agree mandatory training entitlements |
| • Range and relevance       | • Negotiate collaborative training & development activities with education and prison staff |

| Recognition:                |                         |
| • Values                    | • Establish ways of reporting good practice to governors on a regular basis |
| • Awareness                 |                         |
| • Acknowledgement           |                         |

| Relationships with staff:   |                         |
| • Discipline staff          | • Formally challenge inappropriate behaviour |
| • Governors                 | • Negotiate opportunities for collaborative work involving college and prison staff |
|                             | • Agree joint reporting to staff on shared issues to promote value congruence and shared values |

Recommendations for practice: employee obligations

A key role of the contract manager is to support and develop the education manager and their deputy at each prison to ensure they have organisational ‘buy-in’ and feel, as far as is possible, part of the wider
college team. They represent a management tier that must be invested in to ensure the views and ethos of the employing institution is communicated effectively. Opportunities should be created for education managers to work alongside other managers to enable them to contribute to the wider management and development of the whole college.

At an operational level the contract manager’s role is critical to support education team in fulfilling their perceived obligations to the employer and to the host prison. An essential feature of the way in which this function should be carried out is that it is a role about making personal contacts. The contract manager should know and be known by the full team of staff, so in addition to formal contract management skills that enable the post holder to measure performance against contract, they need to invest time in people.

Given the emphasis on providing a professional service to learners, operational actions should attend to the professional development of all staff. Enabling managers, teachers and administrators to work with their peers from other establishments or from the employing organisation will reinforce the focus on continuing professional development. Table 6.3 summarises practical ways in which a contract manager’s role can operate in such a way as to maintain the psychological contracts of prison-based education teams and minimise the potential for breach of contract through addressing issues relevant to their perceived obligations to their employer and to the host prison.

**Table 6.3: suggestions for contract manager action to maintain the psychological contracts of prison-based education staff through addressing the perceived obligations of prison-based education staff**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employee obligations</th>
<th>Contract manager action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Management expertise</td>
<td>• Work collaboratively with education managers to promote organisational 'buy-in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment to the learner</td>
<td>• Acknowledge the achievement of learners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team citizenship</td>
<td>• Develop resettlement links to support learner progression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Formally acknowledge good practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Reward achievement (Staff &amp; Learner)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Facilitate professional development with peers from across the college</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As prison education contracts are about to enter the third round of competitive tendering this study raises important issues about the management of remotely located staff for prospective tenderers to consider. Both the prison and the employer have obligations to prison-based education staff and ethical organisations may wish to examine the contract carefully to ensure that they can contractually be met.

Further Study
This research has identified some interesting features of the psychological contracts perceived by prison-based education teams and in answering the original research questions it inevitably raises further questions. The model of team citizenship that emerged from analysis of the results raises some interesting questions about reciprocity. Adopting Rousseau’s (1995a) approach to understand the psychological contract in terms of the perceived obligations of the individual need not, as Guest (1998b) feared, erode the concept of reciprocity. In this context, members of staff clearly feel they have obligations towards their employer and the host prison; however they are rationalised as being directed towards other team members and to the learner. Further work could be done to unpick team relationships and to understand better the nature of the ingroup bias and outgroup derogation.

This study has explored the perceptions of prison-based education staff themselves. Further investigations into the perceptions of prison staff may illuminate other factors and, again, help to understand the group identity issues raised in this study. Similarly, the nature of reciprocal obligations as perceived by an employer offers an alternative route for further study. For many colleges and education providers, prison contracts are not the only form of remote delivery undertaken. Typically, staff are employed in a range of off-site locations, some within other organisations, some in partnership with third parties. This research could be extended to look for common themes or differences in different contexts.

The model of the psychological contracts proposed in this study could be developed into rating scales and the model tested through a quantitative study to a wider group. Alternatively, and what I think I am currently most
interested in, the models of psychological contracts proposed could inform an action research project in which new management approaches are adopted and changes in motivation, morale and organisational belonging are assessed. This would be particularly exciting if a prison would be prepared to work within an action research framework to explore strategies for breaking down the barriers between education and discipline staff.

Conclusions

The research presented in this thesis is set in the context of the psychological contract as an overarching framework within which to understand the employment relationship within which prison education operates. Guest (2004) proposed a model (adapted at Figure 2.1 p.9) in which employment relationship factors influence the psychological contract which in turn influences the work outcomes of attitude and behaviour. The results of this study have illuminated this process. The research set out to answer four questions:

1a. what obligations are owed by the employer to prison-based education staff as perceived by prison-based education staff?
1b. what obligations are owed by the prison to prison-based education staff as perceived by prison-based education staff?

2a. what obligations do prison-based education staff perceive they and their education colleagues owe their employer?
2b. what obligations do prison-based education staff perceive they and their education colleagues owe the prison?

The results suggest that prison-based education staff form hybrid psychological contracts with both their employer and with the host prison. They include transactional and relational elements and there is a degree of similarity between the categories and elements in each contract. Prison-based education staff perceive four categories of obligations from their employer; contractual issues, recognition, training and development, and communication. Their perceptions of the obligations of the host prison mirror these categories and comprise; managing the education contract, recognition, training and development, and communication. Content analysis of interview transcripts also revealed the nature of the perceived obligations that prison-based education staff owe to their employer and to the host prison. Adopting a methodology aimed at uncovering the
Idiosyncratic perceptions of an individual's psychological contracts did not, as Guest (1998b) feared, erode reciprocity. By exploring prison-based education staff's perceptions of what constitutes behaviour beyond or below their expectations of their education and prison colleagues the nature of their own obligations towards their employer and the host prison are revealed. These obligations are framed in the context of team citizenship and meeting the needs of the learner. Behaviour which does not contribute to supporting or developing the team or the learner is considered unacceptable and provides evidence that commitment is directed towards the provision of education rather than towards the employing organisation or the host prison.

There is much evidence of extra-role behaviour and many examples of employees who have gone that 'extra-mile (Guest, 1995, p.113) and whilst the focus of commitment is not to the employer or to the host prison, this team citizenship behaviour is important to both organisations. Whilst Brewer (1994) suggests that employee self-interest can act against organisational goals, the results of this study suggest that this need not be the case. The commitment of the team towards providing a high quality professional education service that meets the needs of learners supports the goals of the employing organisation and the host prison. I would suggest that the goals and values of the employer, the host prison and the prison-based education team are congruent but that they are not always communicated as such by either organisation's representatives or processes.

Hodgkinson (2003) argues that research into social identity and how people categorise themselves as members of particular groups contributes greatly to an understanding of workplace behaviour. A striking feature of the research presented in this thesis is the degree of team citizenship underpinned by a strong sense of team identity and the presence of intergroup differentiation, with discipline staff in particular being subject to outgroup derogation. The model of prison education management in which the education manager and the contract manager 'cocoon' staff from both the employer and the host prison may compound this sense of ingroup favouritism and suggests that the roles of the education and contract managers are critical in managing communication.
Understanding the psychological contract for any group of employees is important for informing management practice. The nature of the perceived obligations uncovered in this study provides useful information for developing the roles of education manager and contract manager to maintain the psychological contract of prison-based education staff. What becomes clear is that the way in which the prison and its representatives interact with prison-based education teams has an important influence on the psychological contracts such teams form with not only the host prison, but also with their employer. To ensure their staff are well supported, the employing organisation needs to attend to this aspect of the employment relationship along with paying attention to maintaining their own reciprocal obligations. The role of the contract manager is ideally placed to develop collaborative activities aimed at breaking down barriers and making shared goals and values explicit.

The research presented in this thesis combines the theoretical and conceptual framework of the psychological contract with the concepts of group identity, organisational commitment and employment relationships. In doing so it contributes new data concerning the content of the psychological contract of contracted staff and illuminates issues for managers of staff in such circumstances to enable effective management processes.
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Appendix 1

Interview Brief

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview. I'd like to start by telling you a little bit about my research, then I'll outline the interview process and then we'll begin. If you have any questions as we go through, please ask. If you'd like to stop at anytime, please say so.

My name is Julie Mills and I am conducting some research into what it's like working within prison education. I'm particularly interested in finding out about the issues around being employed by one organisation — in this case 'Contractor', and working within another — in this case 'HMP XX'.

I've been involved in prison education myself for about 7 years, initially as a deputy education manager, then an education manager and subsequently a contract manager. (Relate to the relevant people in this establishment & discuss if participant interested/nervous)

I'm doing the research as part of an OU Education Doctorate programme. If all goes well, I will submit my thesis in Autumn 2005, so I'm about 'fraction' way through now.

I originally started to investigate these issues in order to improve my own management practice. Prison contract managers spend a lot of time 'managing the contract' and it could be that that time is spent on things that are not relevant to the teams of staff working within the prison and we could be doing something differently.

I have carried out some initial work with the groups of staff I manage. However, in order to get a more balanced view I am interviewing colleagues from a number of different prisons, with a range of employers. I am trying to get a spread of staff to represent the many roles that there are within prison education. I want to speak to new and experienced staff, teaching staff, administrators, full time, part etc. So that I can monitor how I'm doing — I am collecting information about the job role and length of service of each interviewee. (with permission complete the data collection sheet)
The interview will comprise of 6 questions. I'm asking everyone the same questions – although they might be in a different order. I propose to record the interview and then transcribe the data for analysis. The transcripts or the tapes will not be identifiable and will not be used for any other purpose than to inform my research. Anonymity of all participants will be assured. No actual names of prisons or personnel will be used.

Contractors who have provided me with access to their staff will get a report that describes the general trends I have found – e.g. I interviewed 45 staff, x teachers, y part time staff, z administrators. I found that prison based education staff really like it when their employer does 'A', and really hate it when the prison does 'B'......

Do you have any questions?

Ok, with your permission – let's begin.

Anonymity is assured to all participants in my doctoral research.

Julie Mills
Julie.mills@mkcollege.ac.uk
REPORT ON NODES FROM (F) 'Free Nodes'

Depth: ALL

Restriction on coding data: NONE

(F) //Free Nodes
(F 1) //Free Nodes/Men
(F 2) //Free Nodes/women
(F 3) //Free Nodes/Lecturer - Permanent, Fractional
(F 4) //Free Nodes/Administrator
(F 5) //Free Nodes/Lecturer - Permanent
(F 6) //Free Nodes/Lecturer - Hourly Paid
(F 7) //Free Nodes/Manager
(F 8) //Free Nodes/Treated Well by Employer
(F 9) //Free Nodes/Treated badly by prison
(F 10) //Free Nodes/Colleague acted below expectation
(F 11) //Free Nodes/Colleague acted beyond expectation
(F 12) //Free Nodes/Treated Badly by Employer
(F 13) //Free Nodes/Treated well by prison
(F 14) //Free Nodes/Any other general comments?
(F 15) //Free Nodes/Views on the contract
(F 16) //Free Nodes/Useful quotes
(F 17) //Free Nodes/less than 1 year
(F 18) //Free Nodes/between 1 & 5 years
(F 19) //Free Nodes/5 - 10 years
(F 20) //Free Nodes/10 years plus
(F 21) //Free Nodes/Life and Social Skills
(F 22) //Free Nodes/Creative Arts including Music
(F 23) //Free Nodes/Skills for Life, including ESOL & key skills
(F 24) //Free Nodes/IT
(F 25) //Free Nodes/Hairdressing/barbering
(F 26) //Free Nodes/Business Studies
(F 27) //Free Nodes/Male Local
(F 28) //Free Nodes/Male Core Local
(F 29) //Free Nodes/Painting & Decorating
(F 30) //Free Nodes/Generalist
(F 31) //Free Nodes/EFL
(F 32) //Free Nodes/Health & Safety
REPORT ON NODES FROM Tree Nodes “~/”

Depth: ALL

Restriction on coding data: NONE

5 /New Model 280203
5 1 /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer
5 1 1 /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer

/Contractual Issues
5 1 1 1 /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Contractual Issues/Contract for Education Services
5 1 1 1 1 /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Contractual Issues/Contract for Education Services/Understanding the prison contract
5 1 1 1 2 /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Contractual Issues/Contract for Education Services/Managing Change
5 1 1 2 /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Contractual Issues/The employment contract
5 1 1 2 1 /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Contractual Issues/The employment contract/Pay
5 1 1 2 2 /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Contractual Issues/The employment contract/Part time contract issues
5 1 1 2 2 1 /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Contractual Issues/The employment contract/Part time contract issues/Agency Employment
Julie Mills M2468826

(51123) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Contractual Issues/The employment contract/Pensions

(51124) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Contractual Issues/The employment contract/Sick pay

(51125) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Contractual Issues/The employment contract/Recruitment Practice

(51126) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Contractual Issues/The employment contract/Flexibility - support for personal difficulty

(51127) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Contractual Issues/The employment contract/Policy & Procedure

(512) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Recognition

(5121) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Recognition/Value prison Education

(5122) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Recognition/Organisational Awareness

(5123) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Recognition/Acknowledgement for specific achievement

(51231) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Recognition/Acknowledgement for specific achievement/Departmental

(51232) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Recognition/Acknowledgement for specific achievement/Individual

(513) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Training & development

(5131) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Training & development/Access to training & development

(51311) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Training & development/Access to training & development/Access for part time staff

(5132) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Training & development/Range & Relevance of training & development

(51321) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Training & development/Range & Relevance of training & development/Induction

(514) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Communication

(5141) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Communication/Contact with employer
New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Communication/Contact with employer/At employer's premises/Access to resources - subject support

New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Communication/Contact with employer/At employer's premises/Access to resources - subject support/distance

New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Communication/Contact with employer/At prison site

New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Communication/Ability to resolve issues

New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Communication/Information flow & knowledge management

New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Communication/Information flow & knowledge management/Inclusion

New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Communication/Information flow & knowledge management/Timeliness

New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management

New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management/the education contract

New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management/the education contract/Understanding the Contract

New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management/the education contract/Managing Change

New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management/Regime management

New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management/Regime management/Competing Regimes

New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management/Regime management/Integrated regimes

New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management/Regime management/Specialist knowledge

New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management/Environment management
(52131) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management/Environment management/Physical environment
(52132) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management/Environment management/Health, Safety & Security
(52133) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management/Environment management/Exclusions
(522) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Recognition
(5221) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Recognition/Value prison Education
(5222) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Recognition/Organisational Awareness
(5223) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Recognition/Acknowledgement for specific achievement
(52231) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Recognition/Acknowledgement for specific achievement/Department
(52232) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Recognition/Acknowledgement for specific achievement/Individual
(523) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Training & Development
(5231) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Training & Development/Access to training & development
(5232) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Training & Development/Range & relevance
(52321) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Training & Development/Range & relevance/Induction - Jailcraft
(52322) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Training & Development/Range & relevance/Security & personal safety
(524) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Communication
(5241) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Communication/Information flow & knowledge processes
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(52412) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Communication/Information flow & knowledge processes/Timeliness
(5242) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Communication/Negotiating Change
(525) New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Relationships with colleagues
(5251) /New Model 280203/ Relationship with Prison/Relationships with colleagues/Discipline Staff
(52511) /New Model 280203/ Relationship with Prison/Relationships with colleagues/Discipline Staff/Attitude towards education
(52512) /New Model 280203/ Relationship with Prison/Relationships with colleagues/Discipline Staff/Attitudes towards education staff
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(5252) /New Model 280203/ Relationship with Prison/Relationships with colleagues/Governors
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(525212) /New Model 280203/ Relationship with Prison/Relationships with colleagues/Governors/Support/Practical support for education
(525213) /New Model 280203/ Relationship with Prison/Relationships with colleagues/Governors/Support/Personal support for education staff
(52522) /New Model 280203/ Relationship with Prison/Relationships with colleagues/Governors/Visibility
(53) /New Model 280203/ Relationships with colleagues
(531) /New Model 280203/ Relationships with colleagues/Team Identity
(532) /New Model 280203/ Relationships with colleagues/Management Roles
(5321) /New Model 280203/ Relationships with colleagues/Management Roles/Prison Contract manager
(53211) /New Model 280203/ Relationships with colleagues/Management Roles/Prison Contract manager/Role Clarity
(53212) /New Model 280203/ Relationships with colleagues/Management Roles/Prison Contract manager/Visibility
(53213) /New Model 280203/ Relationships with colleagues/Management Roles/Prison Contract manager/Interpersonal relationships
(53214) /New Model 280203/ Relationships with colleagues/Management Roles/Prison Contract manager/management support
(5322) /New Model 280203/ Relationships with colleagues/Management Roles/Education manager
(5 3 2 2 1) /New Model 280203/Relationships with colleagues/Management Roles/Education manager/Communication
(5 3 2 2 1 1) /New Model 280203/Relationships with colleagues/Management Roles/Education manager/Communication/Departmental
(5 3 2 2 1 2) /New Model 280203/Relationships with colleagues/Management Roles/Education manager/Communication/With employer
(5 3 2 2 1 3) /New Model 280203/Relationships with colleagues/Management Roles/Education manager/Communication/With prison
(5 3 2 2 2) /New Model 280203/Relationships with colleagues/Management Roles/Education manager/Support for staff
(5 3 2 3) /New Model 280203/Relationships with colleagues/Management Roles/The overarching employer
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(5 3 3 4) /New Model 280203/Relationships with colleagues/Team citizenship/Citizenship violation
(5 3 4) /New Model 280203/Relationships with colleagues/Commitment to the learner
(5 4) /New Model 280203/in group - out group
As a member of staff of ‘FE College’, can you please recount for me, in your own words example where on reflection you think an employee or group of employees have been treated badly? By that I mean in a way that you regard as below how you expect your employer to treat you or your colleagues.

This incident involved a member of staff who was excluded. It appears that officers had singled him out and there didn’t seem to be any back up from the college. He was accused of racist behaviour in the classroom. There was no real interviewing of his colleagues and we could have given our view. We work with him and know him and we would have picked up if he were a racist. Obviously we weren’t with him in class, but we see him behave away from inmates and you get a sense of what people are like.

There’s also a problem with accessing staff development, I’ve had requests turned down because there is no cover. I’ve tried to raise it with my co-ordinator and my line manager, but I’ve had no response. I also applied to attend a seminar to update my knowledge. It’s essential
for the course I teach, but I haven't heard yet whether or not I can go.

I've asked my co-ordinator and my line manager. I only heard about it
from a colleague who used to work here who said he was going.

Do you have a review and target setting meeting at which your
professional development needs are discussed?

Well, yes, I have had a meeting, but the targets focus on course outcomes
and they are unrealistic. They don’t take into account the problems we
have in getting men over here. If there’s a delay in main movement like
today, it can wipe out your whole session.

As a member of staff of ‘FE College’, can you please recount for me, in
your own words an example where on reflection you think an employee or
group of employees have been treated well? By that I mean in a way that
you regard as beyond how you expect your employer to treat you or your
colleagues.

We had quite a good talk from someone form the college. They came and
talked about contracts and that type of thing, although I've asked for
someone to come and talk to us about pensions and I've never had a
response. People don’t know who to contact at college or how to get
through, I don’t even know the college phone number.

Communication has started to improve but most of the paper-based stuff is
received late. It feels like ‘them and us’

Do people want more direct contact with the college?

Yes, particularly early on, but not so much once you’ve settled in. I
think people should get more involved in their first year.
As a member of staff who works within 'HMP ', can you please recount for me, in your own words an example where on reflection you think colleague or a group of colleagues within the Education Department have been treated badly by the prison or its representatives? By that I mean in a way that you regard as below how you expect the prison to treat you or your colleagues.

The exclusion example I mentioned earlier. There just didn’t appear to be an investigation and it seemed that the word of officers was taken over the word of someone from education. People aren’t really concerned about being excluded, if we do anything wrong we are told about it right away, so there are no surprises.

As a member of staff who works within 'HMP ', can you please recount for me, in your own words an example where on reflection you think colleague or a group of colleagues within the Education Department have been treated well by the prison or its representatives? By that I mean in a way that you regard as beyond how you expect the prison to treat you or your colleagues.

There was one incident with an inmate in my class. He was getting a bit lively and an officer pushed the alarm bell and came to support me. I think he handled it really well, his priority and the other officers when they arrived, was to get me out safely. I’ve seen other cases when an officer has taken control to protect the member of staff. I suppose that’s how it should be rather than above and beyond but you do see
examples when officers don’t acknowledge you’re there or forget to patrol 67
to check you’re OK. 68
Is there a particular view of education that is held by officers? 69
I think it is split and there are more against education than for it. 70
They make comments about all the work they have to do to get men over to 71
education and that patrolling education ties up officers when they could 72
be doing something useful. They also see the same prisoners coming back 73
time and time again and so in terms of reducing re-offending they see it 74
as a waste of time. 75
Do you think governors hold a different view to officers? 76
I think it depends on whether or not the Governor has come up through the 77
ranks. I know one now who used to be an officer here and he understands 78
what we do and how we work. Some of the new ones who have had a 79
direct 80
entry don’t really seem so supportive.
As a member of staff of ‘FE College’, can you please recount for me, in 81
your own words an example where on reflection you think an employee or 82
group of employees have acted badly? By that I mean in a way that you 83
regard as below how you expect you or your colleagues to behave. 84
A colleague has complained about colleagues in front of other inmates. 85
This is undermining and unprofessional. I have experienced it 3 times. 86
Each time it was the same person. They act as if they are ‘in charge’ and 87
there is never any discussion, everything is simply a direct order. 88
People are more likely to do something if you ask them rather than tell 89
them.
As a member of staff of ‘FE College’, can you please recount for me, in your own words example where on reflection you think an employee or group of employees have acted well? By that I mean in a way that you regard as beyond how you expect you or your colleagues to behave.

I think lots of people fill in and help people out. My colleague is poorly and when she’s in we can see she’s in pain, so we just ignore her, make her a drink and bring her some pain killers. Staff all support each other, more so than in any other place I’ve worked.

Why do you think this is? I think because we’re in a care profession. People pour out their problems to you – staff, Prisoners, prison officers. There are good things, like when so and so has passed his exam, but most of the time it’s all about what goes wrong, there aren’t many highlights. Because there are so many challenges, it brings people together.

Any general points about working within the prison and being employed by the college? There are no personal issues. I would like more contact, particularly early on. I started in September and didn’t even visit the college site until the following September. It would be useful to meet with colleagues from college teaching the same subject, maybe to observe their lessons or for them to come in here. I did that once with a colleague who used to work her & we both learnt from it.

A lot of us feel we work for the prison, because there’s not a lot of contact. Sometimes we don’t quite know whom we work for.
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(51311) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Training & development/Access to training & development/Access for part time staff
++ Units:15-21

(51411) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Communication/Contact with employer/At employer’s premises
++ Units:41-42

(514111) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Communication/Contact with employer/At employer’s premises/Access to resources - subject support
++ Units:107-112

(51412) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Communication/Contact with employer/At prison site
++ Units:33-37

(51432) /New Model 280203/Relationship with employer/Communication/Information flow & knowledge management/Timeliness
++ Units:38-39

(52121) /New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management/regime management/Competing Regimes
++ Units:24-27

(52133) /New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Contract management/Environment management/Exclusions
++ Units:8-14

(52133) /New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Environment management/Exclusions
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(52511) /New Model 280203/Relationship with Prison/Relationships with colleagues/Discipline Staff/Attitude towards education
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