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ATTACHMENT, COPING, AND SUICIDAL BEHAVIOR IN MALE PRISONERS

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The present study explored the differences between adult male prisoners with and without a history of suicidal behavior on adult attachment dimensions, coping styles, and hopelessness. The role of adult attachment and coping styles as predictors of hopelessness was also explored. The sample included 206 male prisoners from two Category B prisons in the United Kingdom. The Attachment Styles Questionnaire (ASQ), Coping Styles Questionnaire (CSQ-3), and Beck Hopelessness Scale (BHS) measured attachment, coping, and hopelessness. Prisoners with a history of suicidal behavior reported significantly higher levels of attachment anxiety, attachment avoidance, and maladaptive coping strategies. Elevated levels of attachment difficulties and maladaptive coping styles were associated with heightened levels of hopelessness. Emotional coping strategies mediated the influence of attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance on hopelessness. The study highlights the potential utility of adult attachment conceptualizations and coping skills interventions with prisoners at risk of suicidal behavior.

Keywords: suicidal behavior; suicide; self-harm; attachment; hopelessness; coping strategies; prisoners

Suicide is one of the most prominent causes of death in most Western prisons (Fazel & Benning, 2006; Kariminia et al., 2007). Compared with community populations, male prisoners have higher rates of suicide (Fazel, Grann, Kling, & Hawton, 2011; Snow, Paton, Oram, & Teers, 2002) and are at a greater risk of self-harm (Dixon-Gordon, Harrison, & Roesch, 2012; Hawton, Linsell, Adeniji, Sariaslan, & Fazel, 2014). Within the forensic setting, male prisoners are more likely to die from suicide attempts than female prisoners (Noonan & Carson, 2011). Prisoners are often at heightened risk of suicide and self-harm due to the complex personal histories and experiences (e.g., abuse histories, poor interpersonal relationships), difficulties coping with stressful and challenging situations (e.g., emotional coping strategies), and challenges dealing with difficulties in custody (Gooding et al., 2015; McKeown, 2014). While in recent years the

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prison population has reduced, the prevalence of suicide has not followed the same trajectory, making the topic of suicide and self-harm prevention an important one (Department of Health, 2015; Fruehwald & Frottier, 2005).

The function of self-harm behavior has been found to differ to the function of attempted suicide. For example, literature has indicated that the function of self-harm can often relate to expression of anger, emotional regulation attempts, self-punishment, help seeking, and attempts at distraction (e.g., Brown, Comtois, & Linehan, 2002; Klonsky, 2007; Muehlenkamp & Gutierrez, 2007; Nock, 2009). In contrast, individuals who have attempted suicide are more likely to experience depressive symptoms, suicidal ideation, and identify fewer reasons for living than those who engage solely in self-harm (Brausch & Gutierrez, 2010; Muehlenkamp & Gutierrez, 2007). Individuals who have attempted suicide have also been found to be more likely to suggest the behavior is an attempt to make things easier for others in comparison with those who self-harm (Brown et al., 2002). Given the functional differences between self-harm and attempted suicide, the consideration of distinctions between both types of behavior appears warranted.

The present study proposes that early childhood relationships, as measured by attachment styles (Bowlby, 1973), may provide a useful framework for understanding the origins of maladaptive responses to stress which may contribute to feelings of hopelessness and suicidal behaviors. An understanding of adult attachment conceptualizations and coping styles used in response to stress may inform treatment strategies for prisoners who engage in suicidal behavior. Prior research has found prisoners' feeling of hopelessness is a reliable predictor of future self-harm (Petrie, Chamberlain, & Clarke, 1988) and suicidality (Bryan & Rudd, 2005; Gooding et al., 2015; Klonsky, Kotov, Bakst, Rabinowitz, & Bromet, 2012; Kuo, Gallo, & Eaton, 2004), but it remains unknown how attachment styles affect the association. Examining the associations between dimensions of adult attachment, hopelessness, and coping styles may help inform interventions that target suicidal behaviors in male prisoners, which may help interventions focus on individual treatment needs. For instance, the association between hopelessness and suicidality may be attenuated by the prisoner's history of stable relationships. It may be that hopelessness is only an important factor if the individual has learned maladaptive coping strategies as a result of maladaptive attachment relationships. This study seeks to explore how maladaptive attachment styles and coping strategies may coalesce to increase risk of suicidal behavior (e.g., Stepp et al., 2008). Given different motivations underpinning self-harm and attempted suicide, the present study will explore associations between attachment and coping in relation to both types of behavior.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF ATTACHMENT THEORY

Transitioning into prison life affects people in different ways (Liebling, 2006). Being separated from family as a result of incarceration may make prison adjustment more challenging. Considering attachment styles may provide evidence of a prisoner's potential risk factors and protective factors to self-harm (Liebling & Maruna, 2013). One of the fundamental tenets of Bowlby's (1969, 1973, 1979, 1980) theory of attachment is the view that personality development and psychological adjustment depends on the quality of early-life experiences with primary caregivers. Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, and Wall (1978) devised the "Strange Situation" to explore infant's attachment behavior through creating repeated separations from an attachment figure. From this research, Ainsworth et al. (1978) classified

three patterns of attachment: secure, insecure-ambivalent, and insecure-avoidant. Use of the Strange Situation procedure has become commonplace in studies of infant attachment styles, and were of paramount importance to the development of adult attachment theory.

Bowlby (1979) was of the view that attachment processes affect individuals “from the cradle to the grave” (p. 129). These early attachment experiences were thought to form blueprints for later attachment through representations the child builds on the basis of these early relationships. Bowlby (1973) termed these representations internal working models, and they are thought to consist of models of self and models of other. Emerging working models reflect answers to two fundamental questions: “Am I a worthy and lovable person?” and “Are others trustworthy and caring?” (Klohn & John, 1998). Bowlby (1973) viewed that if caregivers are responsive and sensitive to the child’s need for comfort and security, the child is likely to develop a model of self as valued and self-sufficient, and a model of others as caring and trustworthy. If, however, the caregiver rejects the need for comfort and security, the infant is likely to develop and internalize a model of self as worthless, and a model of others as untrustworthy and rejecting. These internal working models underpin different attachment styles (Collins & Read, 1994), and guide how the individual perceives and interprets interpersonal events.

ADULT ATTACHMENT

An important development of attachment theory was undertaken by Hazan and Shaver (1987), who adopted Ainsworth et al.’s (1978) three-category model of infant attachment as a foundation for exploring individual differences in adult close relationships. Hazan and Shaver (1987) postulated that through the course of development, the infant attachment styles identified by Ainsworth et al. (1978) might translate into three rudimentary styles of adult attachment. In follow-up research, Levy and Davis (1988) asked adult participants to rate the extent that Hazan and Shaver’s (1987) prototypes characterized them. The results indicated these ratings could be represented by two dimensions, one corresponding to anxiety and one corresponding to avoidance. Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) labeled these continuously distributed dimensions the “model of self” (positive vs. negative) and the “model of other” (positive vs. negative). The terms *anxiety* and *avoidance* are used respectively in reference to these dimensions. This suggests a negative model of self is linked with anxiety about abandonment, and a negative model of others is associated with avoidance. The attachment styles advocated by Ainsworth et al. (1978) can also be conceptualized in terms of the anxiety and avoidance dimensions.

An anxious attachment orientation is largely defined by a need for care and attention from caregivers, combined with an uncertainty surrounding the capability or willingness of attachment figures responding to these needs (Rholes & Simpson, 2004). A pervasive fear of abandonment, dependency, and jealousy often characterize the anxiously attached adult in close relationships (Hazan & Shaver, 1994). A negative internal working model of the self as unlovable and a positive, yet guarded model of significant others are thought to underpin the anxious attachment orientation (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). Anxious attachment has been shown to be associated with suicidal behavior (Grunebaum et al., 2010; Lizardi et al., 2011).

In contrast, the cardinal feature of the avoidant orientation is the longing to evade emotional dependence. This inclination restricts the likelihood of developing intimate

relationships. The desire to maintain psychological independence affects awareness of the individuals own and others' emotional needs. Similar to the anxious orientation, adults with an avoidant attachment orientation are often involved in relationships characterized by negative affect (Simpson, 1990), reduced levels of trust, commitment, and satisfaction (Collins & Read, 1990; Simpson, 1990). Adult attachment avoidance is thought to be underpinned by negative working models of others as untrustworthy (Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998). Attachment avoidance has been shown to predict suicidal ideation and attempts in adult (Grunebaum et al., 2010) and adolescent samples (Sheftall, Schoppe-Sullivan, & Bridge, 2014).

ATTACHMENT AND SUICIDAL BEHAVIOR

Adam (1994) proposed that suicidal behavior may be a specific manifestation of attachment behavior. The role of interpersonal conflict and loss as immediate risk factors for suicidal behavior are well documented and rarely disputed (Brent, Baugher, Bridge, Chen, & Chiappetta, 1999). Conflicts with parents, peers, or siblings have frequently been identified as events occurring prior to the suicidal behavior of adolescents and children (Adam, 1990). Disturbances in family and parent-child relationships are often reported in the background histories of individuals who engage in suicidal behavior (Dale, Power, Kane, Stewart, & Murray, 2010; Zeyrek, Gencoz, Bergman, & Lester, 2009). Adam, Bouckoms, and Streiner (1982) found 50% of their sample who attempted suicide had suffered parental loss compared with 22% of controls. Of particular interest within the context of attachment theory, 92% of suicide-attempters were rated as having unstable or chaotic early family life in comparison with 40% of controls. Disturbances of the relationship between child and caregiver are thought to lead to attachment difficulties in later life, but the link between insecure attachment and suicidal behavior deserves closer attention.

Main, Kaplan, and Cassidy (1985) conducted a longitudinal study of children that may illuminate understanding of the links between early attachment experiences and self-destructive behavior. Forty children were assessed using the Strange Situation at 12 to 18 months, and were assessed again at the age of 6. The children were shown photographs depicting various types of separation between children and parents. The most severe of these separations depicted parents leaving for a 2-week period followed by the question, "What's the little boy/girl gonna do?" Children classified as insecure frequently remained silent in response to the question or stated they did not know what to do. A particularly interesting finding indicated children classified with the most severe insecure attachment as infants responded by stating they would kill either themselves or their parents to deal with the situation.

Research with adult participants has found that 47% of self-harm patients reported a succession of relationship difficulties originating in childhood in comparison with 19% of controls (Silove, George, & Bhavani-Sankaram 1988). Adam and Adam (1978) examined several clinical cases of attempted suicide in adults, and noted case histories frequently uncovered early loss of a parent followed by marital and family relationships plagued with conflicts relating to dependency, envy, and uncertainty about being loved. These observations are consistent with Bowlby's (1979) assertion that early attachment experiences influence later attachment. Adam's (1982) vulnerability model for suicidal behavior suggests "suicidal behavior may be better conceptualized as extreme attachment behavior" (p. 276).

ATTACHMENT AND COPING

Bowlby (1969, 1973, 1980) proposed the attachment behavioral system is predominantly activated under conditions of stress or threat. Thus, attachment theory provides a framework to understand the origins of adaptive and maladaptive responses to stress. Self-harm and/or suicide may be conceived as particularly maladaptive responses to stress. Coping strategies are conceptualized as an important mediator between stress and eventual outcome (Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen, & DeLongis, 1986). Roger, Jarvis, and Najarian (1993) support the existence of three primary coping strategies terming them *rational* (or problem-focused), *emotional* (or emotion-focused), and *avoidance coping*. They also introduced the concept of detachment coping which is conceptualized as the opposite pole to emotional coping (Roger, 2002). Roger (2002) described detachment coping as the ability to remain objective in terms of emotions associated with stressful situations, along with the ability to keep things in perspective. Roger et al. (1993) defined rational and detachment coping strategies as adaptive methods of dealing with stress. Emotional and avoidance coping strategies were described as maladaptive methods of dealing with stress (Roger et al., 1993).

Existing research has found securely attached adults tend to rely mainly on rational and/or detachment coping strategies (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2003). Empirical research in the content of war and military situations support this suggestion (Mikulincer, Florian, & Weller, 1993; Mikulincer & Florian, 1995; Solomon, Mikulincer, & Avitzur, 1988). Mikulincer et al. (1993) found that during the Iraqi scud missile attacks, secure adults were found to seek more support during the attacks and reported lower levels of posttraumatic stress than insecure participants. In contrast, Mikulincer et al. (1993) found adults with an avoidant attachment orientation tended to use more avoidant strategies of coping with the missile attacks in their research. The authors also found that anxiously attached adults tended to use more emotion-focused coping strategies and reported higher levels of post-traumatic stress following missile attacks. In the context of exam stress, university students who had insecure (avoidant) attachment styles were less likely to report using helpful coping strategies and particularly students who had anxious attachment styles were more likely to have dysfunctional coping strategies (Berry & Kingswell, 2012).

COPING AND SUICIDAL BEHAVIOR

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) suggested the way individuals cope with stress may mediate between a stressful event and an undesirable outcome. This is of particular interest on consideration of contributing factors to suicidal behavior, as a wide range of stressors are reported as preceding self-harm and attempted suicide (Moskowitz, Stein, & Lightfoot, 2013; Paykel, Prusoff, & Myers, 1975). Paykel et al. (1975) found suicide-attempters reported four times as many stressful life events than the general population. Paykel et al.'s conclusions are now supported by more recent research which has highlighted a strong relationship between suicide attempts and recent life stress. This finding has been found in different countries and with a variety of age groups (Crane et al., 2007; Heikkinen, Aro, & Lonnqvist, 2007; Osvath, Voros, & Fekete, 2004).

Empirical research has demonstrated links between coping strategies and suicidal behavior (Curry, Miller, Waugh, & Anderson, 1992; Gooding et al., 2015). Dear, Slattery, and Hillan (1998) explored the coping styles of prisoners who had self-harmed in the past 3 days, finding they were less likely than controls to use problem-focused coping strategies to

deal with the most significant stressors of the week leading up to the incident of self-harm. A follow-up study (Dear, Slattery, & Hillan, 2001) focused on the same participants finding the coping strategies of individuals who self-harmed were rated as less adaptive and more risky than those of controls. The raters also identified problem-focused strategies as most often contributing to positive outcome.

Emotion-focused and avoidance coping strategies have been associated with increased levels of suicidal behavior (Kirchner, Forns, & Mohino, 2008; Marusic & Goodwin, 2006; Pienaar, Rothmann, & Van de Vijver, 2007). Puskar, Hoover, and Miewald (1992) studied suicidal adolescents finding emotion-focused coping strategies were used more frequently than problem-focused coping strategies to deal with stressful situations. There have also been empirical findings linking avoidance coping strategies to suicidal behavior. Avoidance coping strategies were classified as the general coping style of a sample of prisoners who engaged in self-harm behaviors (Kirchner et al., 2008). Haines and Williams (1997) provided support for this, finding male prisoners with a history of self-harm relied more heavily upon avoidance coping strategies in response to stress than the control group. Thus, the evidence seems to suggest that individuals who engage in suicidal behavior are more likely to use maladaptive coping styles in response to stressful situations. Conversely, suicidal behavior seems to be associated with decreased use of adaptive coping strategies in stressful situations.

HOPELESSNESS AND SUICIDAL BEHAVIOR

According to Beck (1967), hopelessness plays an integral role in suicide. People suffering from depression may misconstrue life events or circumstances negatively, anticipating a bad outcome, of which the only resolution is suicide (Beck, Brown, Berchick, Stewart, & Steer, 1990). Prior research has supported the link between feelings of hopelessness and suicidal behavior, thoughts, behaviors, and deaths (Bhar, Ghahramanlou-Holloway, Brown, & Beck, 2008; Gooding et al., 2015; Hagan, Podlogar, Chu, & Joiner, 2015; O'Connor & Cassidy, 2007; Taylor, Gooding, Wood, & Tarrier, 2011). A recent study including male prisoners found that the link between self-esteem and suicidality was moderated by levels of hopelessness (Gooding et al., 2015). Hopelessness has been shown to strengthen the impact of known risk factors (e.g., repetition of self-harm) for negative outcomes after self-harm (Steeg et al., 2016). However, the relation between suicidality and attachment style and hopelessness may be contingent on the individuals coping style, as positive coping styles have been shown to be a protective factor for suicidal behavior and thoughts (Gooding et al., 2015; McLean, Maxwell, Platt, Harris, & Jepson, 2008).

SUICIDALITY IN MALE PRISONERS

Recent statistics in the United Kingdom show self-inflicted deaths in custody have risen by 56% since 2006, and male prisoner self-harm incidents have increased by 96% during the same period (Ministry of Justice, 2015). Between 2009 and 2013, 5% to 6% of male prisoners self-harmed. Self-harm for male prisoners has been shown to be a robust risk factor for suicide, with more than half of the suicide deaths occurring within a month of self-harm (Hawton et al., 2014). Hawton and colleagues (2014) found that males with a history for self-harm in the age group 30 to 49 years were at the highest risk of suicide.

Prior research has expanded on associated risk factors and found that male prisoners who made near-lethal suicide attempts consist of five typologies based on psychiatric, psychological, social, and criminological factors: (a) inability to cope in prison, (b) motivated by psychotic symptoms, (c) instrumental motives (e.g., manipulation), (d) unexpected attempt, and (e) withdrawing from drugs (Rivlin, Ferris, Marzano, Fazel, & Hawton, 2013). Besides two groups (psychotic symptoms and withdrawing from drugs), the remaining typologies are identified by various motives that revolve around the inability to cope with life events and/or relationships with others (Rivlin et al., 2013). For instance, the unexpected attempt typology is characterized as having positive relationships (e.g., with family, friends, prison staff), having little history of suicidality, but the suicide attempt occurs “out of the blue” after an adverse life event (Rivlin et al., 2013). Similarly, those in the inability to cope and instrumental motive typologies are characterized as finding prison life very difficult to manage (e.g., routine, being away from family, not fitting in, poor relationships). Evidently this suggests that coping strategies and relationships with others play an integral role when dealing with negative life events, such as incarceration. Identifying risk factors is essential to informing prevention and tailoring treatment programs in prison (Hawton et al., 2014). Although there are findings suggesting the importance of secure attachment in community samples, there is a lack of literature examining links between coping strategies, attachment styles, and suicidal behavior in male forensic populations (Gooding et al., 2015). This study seeks to explore how attachment and coping difficulties may coalesce to increase the risk of suicidal behavior.

THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study explored the differences between prisoners with and without a history of self-harm or attempted suicide on adult attachment dimensions and coping strategies used in response to stressful situations. Empirical research highlights links between attachment, coping styles, and psychological distress (Mikulincer & Florian, 1995). Prior research has begun to expand on previous investigations of simple linear relationships between attachment and psychological distress by exploring the role of mediators and moderators of these relationships (Lopez, Mitchell, & Gormley, 2002; Wei, Heppner, & Mallinckrodt, 2003; Wei, Mallinckrodt, Russell, & Abraham, 2004). Studies have begun to stress the potential practical and clinical implications of exploring mediators and moderators of the relationship between attachment and psychological distress. The current study wishes to explore a theory of how maladaptive early experiences may impact upon coping styles and in turn increase the risk of hopelessness and suicidal behavior. Such a trajectory may have implications in practice as if coping styles mediate the association between attachment and hopelessness this may guide psychological approaches. For example, it may be possible to conduct interventions addressing maladaptive coping styles and thereby reduce hopelessness, which could yield a reduction in suicidality.

Given the previous empirical findings, the following hypotheses were tested. First, it was predicted that participants with a history of self-harm would report significantly higher levels of insecure attachment and maladaptive coping styles than participants without a history of self-harm. Second, it was anticipated that participants with a history of attempted suicide would report significantly higher levels of insecure attachment and maladaptive coping styles than participants who had not attempted suicide. Third, it was predicted that

secure attachment would be positively associated with rational coping; anxious attachment would be positively associated with emotional coping; and avoidant attachment would be positively associated with avoidance coping. Fourth, based on the limited research available, it was expected that insecure attachment styles and maladaptive coping styles would be positively related to hopelessness. Finally, it was predicted that a prisoner's coping style would mediate the association between insecure adult attachment and hopelessness.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

The sample included 206 male prisoners from two Category B local prisons (second highest in the four security categories of prisons in the United Kingdom). Participants were aged between 18 to 61 years old ($M = 28.92$, $SD = 7.78$). The sample consisted of 135 convicted prisoners (66%) and 71 prisoners on remand (34%). The mean length of sentence for convicted participants was 29.31 months ($SD = 23.71$).

MATERIALS

Demographic Questionnaire

This brief questionnaire was constructed for the purpose of this study and obtained background information regarding the participant's age, index offense, custodial status, and sentence length. It also gathered self-report information on current self-harm, previous self-harm, and methods of self-harm. The self-reported history and method of attempted suicide were explored through this questionnaire. This questionnaire also requested self-report verification of whether the participant was currently placed on a Self-Harm At-Risk Form (F2052SH)¹ or an Assessment, Care in Custody, and Teamwork (A.C.C.T) plan.²

Attachment Style Questionnaire (ASQ)

The ASQ (Feeney, Noller, & Hanrahan, 1994) is a 40-item dimensional measure of adult attachment orientation toward adult relationships. Responses are rated on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from "totally disagree" to "strongly agree." Unlike many other adult attachment measures, the ASQ is not premised on the assumption that the participant is in a current romantic relationship or indeed has extensive experience of romantic relationships. The ASQ is composed of five factor analytically derived subscales that assess Confidence, Need for Approval, Preoccupation With Relationships, Discomfort With Closeness, and Relationships as Secondary. The Confidence subscale represents a secure attachment orientation. The Need for Approval subscale and Preoccupation With Relationships subscale represent an anxious attachment orientation. Discomfort With Closeness and Relationships as Secondary represent an avoidant attachment orientation.

Feeney et al. (1994) reported test-retest reliabilities of .74 (Confidence), .78 (Need for Approval), .72 (Preoccupation With Relationships), .74 (Discomfort), and .67 (Relationships as Secondary). Feeney et al. (1994) reported satisfactory Cronbach's alpha coefficients of .80 (Confidence), .79 (Need for Approval), .76 (Preoccupation With Relationships), .84 (Discomfort), and .76 (Relationships as Secondary). For the present study, the alpha coefficients were .79 (Confidence), .75 (Need for Approval), .75

(Preoccupation), .67 (Discomfort), and .69 (Relationships as Secondary) indicating the ASQ subscales provide an internally consistent measure of adult attachment orientations for a male prisoner population.

Coping Styles Questionnaire (CSQ-3)

The CSQ-3 is a revised version of the Coping Styles Questionnaire (CSQ; Roger et al., 1993) which measures coping styles used in response to stressful situations. The CSQ-3 is a 41-item measure in comparison with the 61-items of the original CSQ. Responses are rated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from “always” to “never.” The CSQ-3 comprises of three-factor analytically derived subscales measuring coping styles typically used in reaction to stress, rational coping, avoidance coping, and detached and emotional coping. The Rational Coping subscale (9 items) measures an adaptive coping style in response to stressful situations characterized by logical planning and purposeful action. The Emotional Coping subscale (22 items) taps a maladaptive coping style in response to stress characterized by overwhelming emotions. Roger (2002) describes detached coping as the ability to put things in perspective while not becoming emotionally overpowered in stressful situations and views it as the opposite pole to emotional coping. The Avoidant Coping style (10 items) taps a maladaptive coping style where efforts are made to avoid or deny stressful situations. Guarino (2004) reported satisfactory coefficient alphas for the CSQ-3: .82 (Rational Coping), .88 (Emotional/Detached Coping), and .69 (Avoidance Coping). In the present study, alpha coefficients obtained were .77 (Rational Coping), .82 (Emotional/Detached Coping), and .83 (Avoidance Coping) indicating the CSQ-3 is a reliable measure of adult attachment orientations for a male prisoner population.

Beck Hopelessness Scale (BHS)

The BHS (Beck, Weissman, Lester, & Trexler, 1974) is a 20-item scale consisting of true–false statements assessing the extent of pessimistic expectations about the immediate and long-range future. The items yield a score ranging from 0 to 20 with higher scores indicating heightened levels of hopelessness. The BHS has been found to predict repetition of self-harm (Petrie et al., 1988) and completed suicides up to 10 years later (Beck et al., 1990). Beck et al. (1974) report test-retest reliability of .69. Beck et al. (1974) reported internal consistency of .93 and Pearson’s correlations of .74 with clinical ratings of hopelessness and .63 with other measures of hopelessness.

PROCEDURE

Ethical approval was granted by the University of York ethics committee. Ethical approval was also provided locally through each prison establishment for the purpose of this research project. A consent form and general set of instructions were attached to each questionnaire package informing participants of the purpose of the study, confidentiality, data protection, and anonymity. The consent form also made explicit that consent also entailed granting the researcher permission to examine their prison records for the purpose of the study. A debrief sheet was attached to the questionnaire package, informing participants of the forms of support available in the event of finding the questionnaire content

TABLE 1: Demographic Characteristics of the Sample and Means of Attachment, Coping, and Hopelessness

Key domains	Frequency	%	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Age			28.92	7.78
18-25	83	40		
26-40	107	52		
41-61	16	8		
Sentence status				
Convicted	135	65.5		
Remand	71	34.5		
Self-harm				
Yes	56	27		
No	150	73		
Attempted suicide				
Yes	52	25		
No	154	75		
Attachment				
Confidence			32.79	7.63
Need for Approval			21.52	7.15
Preoccupation			28.40	8.05
Discomfort			37.07	7.03
Relationships as Secondary			18.96	6.28
Coping				
Rational			13.78	5.22
Emotional			29.75	8.02
Avoidance			13.13	5.90
Hopelessness			6.47	5.32

distressing. The prison establishment staff and psychology teams were also aware the research was being undertaken.

Questionnaire packages were attached to the lunch menus of the 1,696 prisoners and 206 participants responded and were included in the study. This constituted a response rate of 12.1%. Information obtained on the demographics questionnaire was verified by cross-checking the details with the Local Inmate Database System (LIDS). Age, index offense, sentence status, and sentence length were confirmed using LIDS. The participants' status in respect of a current A.C.C.T plan/F2052SH was also investigated in this manner. The participants' history of being placed on an A.C.C.T plan or a F2052SH during the index offense was also investigated using LIDS.

RESULTS

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

The percentage of prisoners who self-reported previous self-harm was 27.2% ($n = 56$), while 3.9% reported current self-harm behavior ($n = 8$). The percentage reporting previous attempted suicide was 25.2% ($n = 52$). The percentage of prisoners currently on an A.C.C.T plan/F2052SH was 2.9% ($n = 6$) with 12.1% ($n = 25$) of the sample being placed on an A.C.C.T plan or F2052SH during their current sentence. The demographic characteristics of the sample along with means and standard deviations of attachment, coping, and hopelessness variables are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 2: Attachment, Coping, and Hopelessness Differences Between Participants With Previous Self-Harm and No Previous Self-Harm (*N* = 204)

Key domains	Previous self-harm (<i>n</i> = 56)	No previous self-harm (<i>n</i> = 148)	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
Attachment				
Confidence	29.75 (8.07)	33.94 (7.16)	-3.59**	202
Need for Approval	24.61 (7.26)	20.36 (6.78)	3.92**	202
Preoccupation	31.89 (7.35)	27.07 (7.93)	3.95**	202
Discomfort	39.18 (6.94)	36.27 (6.91)	2.68*	202
Relationships as Secondary	19.15 (6.64)	18.76 (6.15)	0.75	202
Coping				
Rational	13.07 (5.16)	14.11 (5.21)	-1.27	202
Emotional	34.09 (7.64)	28.09 (6.99)	5.03**	202
Avoidance	16.41 (5.52)	11.91 (5.59)	5.15**	202
Hopelessness	8.84 (6.04)	5.53 (4.74)	3.65**	197

Note. Confidence = attachment security; Need for Approval = need for approval in close relationships; Preoccupation = preoccupation with close relationships; Discomfort = discomfort with closeness; Relationships as Secondary = relationships as secondary to achievement; Rational = rational coping; Avoidance = avoidance coping.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

PREVIOUS SELF-HARM VERSUS NO PREVIOUS SELF-HARM

Independent-samples *t* tests were conducted to compare the attachment, coping, and hopelessness scores for participants who self-reported previous self-harm and participants who self-reported no previous self-harm. Means, standard deviations, and *t* tests for attachment, coping, and hopelessness are presented in Table 2. Prisoners with a history of self-harm reported lower levels of secure attachment than prisoners without such a history. Prisoners with a history of self-harm reported higher levels of need for approval, preoccupation with relationships, and discomfort with closeness than prisoners who had not self-harmed previously. Prisoners with a history of self-harm also reported significantly higher levels of emotional coping and avoidance coping than prisoners without a history of self-harm. The levels of hopelessness were also significantly higher among prisoners who had previously self-harmed than other prisoners.

PREVIOUS SUICIDE ATTEMPTS VERSUS NO PREVIOUS SUICIDE ATTEMPTS

Independent-samples *t* tests were conducted to compare the attachment, coping, and hopelessness scores for participants who self-reported previous attempted suicide and participants who self-reported no previous attempted suicide. Means, standard deviations, and *t* tests for attachment, coping, and hopelessness are presented in Table 3. Suicide-attempters reported significantly higher levels of need for approval, preoccupation with relationships, and discomfort with closeness than nonsuicide-attempters. Suicide-attempters also reported significantly lower levels of security in close relationships as measured by the Confidence subscale. Suicide-attempters reported using significantly higher levels of emotional coping and avoidance coping styles in response to stress. Prisoners who had previously attempted suicide reported significantly lower levels of rational coping. Suicide-attempters reported higher levels of hopelessness than prisoners who had not previously attempted suicide.

TABLE 3: Attachment, Coping, and Hopelessness Differences Between Participants With Previous Suicide Attempts and No Previous Suicide Attempts (*N* = 203)

Key domains	Previous suicide attempt (<i>n</i> = 52)	No previous suicide attempt (<i>n</i> = 151)	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
Attachment				
Confidence	27.65 (8.35)	34.51 (6.54)	-5.38**	201
Need for Approval	25.60 (7.59)	20.11 (6.48)	5.03**	201
Preoccupation	32.81 (7.26)	26.79 (7.70)	4.93**	201
Discomfort	39.96 (7.23)	36.07 (6.18)	3.54*	201
Relationships as Secondary	20.44 (6.43)	18.49 (6.18)	1.95	201
Coping				
Rational	12.51 (4.96)	14.23 (5.23)	-2.06*	201
Emotional	36.55 (7.16)	27.51 (6.99)	7.95**	201
Avoidance	16.24 (6.18)	12.13 (5.48)	4.48**	201
Hopelessness	9.98 (6.49)	5.26 (4.24)	4.85**	196

Note. Confidence = attachment security; Need for Approval = need for approval in close relationships; Preoccupation = preoccupation with close relationships; Discomfort = discomfort with closeness; Relationships as Secondary = relationships as secondary to achievement; Rational = rational coping; Avoidance = avoidance coping.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

CORRELATIONS

The relationship between attachment styles, coping styles, and hopelessness was investigated using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. Correlations among attachment, coping, and hopelessness are presented in Table 4. Pearson's product-moment correlations revealed a significant positive correlation between confidence and rational coping. Findings indicated a strong positive correlation between need for approval and emotional coping, and between preoccupation and emotional coping. A significant positive association was also found between discomfort and avoidance coping. Conversely, results identified significant negative associations between hopelessness and confidence, and between hopelessness and rational coping. Significant positive correlations were found between the insecure attachment styles of need for approval, preoccupation, discomfort, and relationships as secondary with hopelessness. Findings also indicated positive associations between the maladaptive coping styles of emotional and avoidance coping and hopelessness.

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSES

Three series of multiple regression analyses examined the extent to which attachment styles and coping styles could explain hopelessness. As empirical and theoretical research has shown that stable attachment styles develop early in life, attachment variables were entered into regression models first, followed by coping strategies. Hopelessness was the dependent variable in every analysis.

First, hopelessness was regressed on individuals' scores on attachment and coping. Second, the role of coping styles as mediators was tested (Baron & Kenny, 1986); thus, 15 regression analyses were conducted to test whether coping styles (rational, emotional, and avoidance) may mediate relations between attachment styles (confidence, need for approval, preoccupation with relationships, discomfort with closeness, and relationships

TABLE 4: Correlations Among Attachment, Coping Styles, and Hopelessness (N = 206)

Key domains	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Confidence	—	-.39**	-.33**	.43**	-.33**	.34**	-.56**	-.39**	-.56**
2. Need for Approval		—	.63**	.41**	.33**	-.26**	.53**	.26**	.36**
3. Preoccupation			—	.43**	.35**	.42**	.54**	.35**	.31**
4. Discomfort				—	.42**	-.18*	.32**	.24**	.25**
5. Relationships as Secondary					—	-.09	.22**	-.17**	.26**
6. Rational						—	-.37**	-.19**	-.33**
7. Emotional							—	.49**	.53**
8. Avoidance								—	.33**
9. Hopelessness									—

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

TABLE 5: Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Hopelessness (N = 206)

Key domains	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Step 1			
Attachment			
Confidence	-.24**	.05	-.35**
Need for Approval	.04	.06	.05
Preoccupation	.01	.05	.01
Discomfort	-.05	.05	-.06
Relationships as Secondary	.07	.05	.08
Step 2			
Coping			
Rational	-.11	.06	-.11
Emotional	.16*	.06	.24*
Avoidance	.04	.06	.05

Note. $R^2 = .34$ ($p < .001$) for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .05$ ($p < .01$) for Step 2.

* $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

as secondary) and hopelessness. Finally to test for moderating effects, the 15 possible combinations of attachment styles and coping styles were added as interaction terms.

A hierarchical regression was conducted to explore whether coping styles improved prediction of hopelessness beyond differences predicted by attachment style. Table 5 presents the unstandardized regression coefficients (B), the standard error ($SE B$), and the standardized regression coefficients (β). After Step 1, with the attachment variables in the equation, $R^2 = .34$, $F(3, 189) = 20.10$, $p < .001$. After Step 2, with coping variables added to prediction of hopelessness, $R^2 = .40$, $F(3, 189) = 15.51$, $p < .01$. Adding coping styles to the prediction of hopelessness resulted in a significant increase in R^2 .

COPING STYLES AS MEDIATORS OF THE LINK BETWEEN ATTACHMENT AND HOPELESSNESS

Additional analyses were conducted to explore whether coping styles might mediate the relationship between attachment and hopelessness. The analyses followed the established procedures of Baron and Kenny (1986) who assert that to establish a mediation model three conditions must be met. First, attachment styles must be found to be significantly associated

Figure 1: Association Between Need for Approval and Hopelessness After Controlling for Emotional Coping Style

Figure 2: Association Between Preoccupation and Hopelessness After Controlling for Emotional Coping Style

Figure 3: Association Between Discomfort and Hopelessness After Controlling for Emotional Coping Style

with coping styles. Second, coping styles must be shown to be associated with the dependent variable, in this case hopelessness. Third, the association between attachment style and hopelessness should be attenuated when controlling for the influence of coping style. Mediation would be demonstrated if a previously significant association between attachment style and hopelessness became nonsignificant after controlling for the influence of coping style. Hence, path analyses were conducted testing for a mediation model of attachment and coping for the male prisoner sample. Path-analytic results for predicting hopelessness are presented in Figure 1, Figure 2, and Figure 3. There was a significant decrease in the influence of need for approval ($\Delta\beta = .24$), preoccupation ($\Delta\beta = .27$), and discomfort ($\Delta\beta = .16$) on hopelessness after controlling for the influence of emotional coping style. The relationship between need for approval, preoccupation, discomfort, and hopelessness became nonsignificant after controlling for emotional coping. Hence, an emotional coping style mediated the relationship between these attachment styles and hopelessness.

Attachment styles demonstrated significant direct associations with hopelessness after controlling for rational coping. Attachment styles were also found to have significant direct associations with hopelessness after controlling for avoidance coping. Therefore, rational coping and avoidance coping styles did not mediate the relationship between attachment style and hopelessness.

DISCUSSION

Previous studies have suggested attachment insecurity may increase the vulnerability for suicidal behavior (Ehnavall, Parker, Hadzi-Pavlovic, & Malhi, 2008; Silove et al., 1988; Wright, Briggs, & Behringer, 2005). The present study is consistent with this and found higher levels of insecure attachment among male prisoners with a history of suicidal behavior. Prisoners with a history of suicidal behavior reported significantly higher levels of attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance. It is worth noting that there was no difference found between prisoners with a history of self-harm or suicidal behavior in their tendency to see relationships as secondary (Feeney et al., 1994). It may be that this factor, which reflects an individual's attempts to prioritize achievement and independence to protect from hurt, is not beneficial in distinguishing those who engage in suicidal behavior from others. It may be, however, that the findings are best elucidated by previous research identifying poor reliabilities in relation to this factor (Rankin, Saunders, & Williams, 2000).

In line with the findings of Dear et al. (1998) and Becker-Weidman, Reinecke, Silva, and Curry (2010), prisoners with a history of suicidal behavior were found to use more maladaptive coping strategies to deal with stressful situations. Emotional coping and hopelessness in the face of stress was heightened among prisoners with a history of suicidal behavior. If a stressful or threatening event results in the tendency to become emotionally overpowered, suicidal behavior may be perceived as an effective method to regulate this emotional distress. Schneidman (1976, 1985, 1987) argues the act of suicide may nearly always be viewed as an attempt to solve problems that are causing an individual intense psychological suffering. Thus, in the eyes of prisoners who engage in suicidal behavior, this behavior may be interpreted as an effective method of relieving stress.

The present findings also support the prior research by Haines and Williams (1997) who found prisoners engaging in suicidal behavior exhibited higher levels of avoidance coping strategies. Dealing with stress by distancing oneself from the situation or through the use of denial may be effective to deal with short-term threats. For long-term threats, however, avoidance coping strategies usually result in negative outcomes (Suls & Fletcher, 1985). Although individuals who use avoidance coping strategies to deal with stressful situations may be provided with brief relief from stress, this coping strategy has been associated with elevated levels of self-harm (Kirchner et al., 2008; Slade & Gilchrist, 2005). It is likely the long-term effect of denial of stressors is becoming overwhelmed by negative emotion (Monat & Lazarus, 1991). Perhaps it is at this point that suicidal behavior presents itself as a means of dealing with the situation.

Rational coping styles have been associated with lower levels of suicidal behavior (Curry et al., 1992). Indeed, the current study found prisoners who had previously attempted suicide reported using significantly lower levels of rational coping strategies in response to stress in comparison with other prisoners. Roger (2002) also suggested detached coping is a particularly adaptive coping strategy. Indeed, the current study results indicated

participants who reported no previous history of suicidal behavior reported higher levels of detached coping than prisoners with a history of self-harm or attempted suicide.

Consistent with findings of extreme military situations (Mikulincer & Florian, 1995) and more common stressful situations (Ognibene & Collins, 1998), the current study indicated attachment styles were associated with the coping strategies used by prisoners in stressful situations. Secure attachment was found to be positively associated with rational coping strategies of dealing with stress. Higher levels of attachment anxiety were associated with raised levels of emotional coping strategies used to deal with stress. This is consistent with previous findings in general populations (Mikulincer & Florian, 1998; Shaver & Hazan, 1993).

In accordance with Ognibene and Collins' (1998) findings, the current findings identified a positive association between attachment avoidance and avoidance coping strategies. The desire to maintain emotional independence and self-reliance was associated with distancing oneself from the situation or denial in response to stress. Unexpectedly, the relationship as secondary component of attachment avoidance (Feeney et al., 1994) was not positively associated with avoidance coping strategies of dealing with stress. This finding may be illuminated by consideration of the aforementioned poor reliabilities associated with this factor (Rankin et al., 2000).

In line with previous findings (Wei et al., 2003), this research found insecure attachment styles were positively associated with hopelessness. Prisoners' levels of attachment anxiety showed moderate positive associations with levels of hopelessness. Levels of attachment avoidance showed small positive associations with levels of hopelessness. These findings support evidence suggesting links between insecure attachment and psychological distress (Mikulincer & Florian, 1995). Conversely, prisoners' levels of secure attachment showed a strong negative association with levels of hopelessness. This supports Mikulincer and Florian's (1998) conceptualization of secure attachment involving components that promote psychological adjustment. As hopelessness has been found to predict repetition of self-harm (Sidley, Whitaker, Calam, & Wells, 1997) and suicide attempts (Klonsky et al., 2012), the present findings suggest insecure attachment may be related to vulnerability of suicidal behavior. Conversely, secure attachment may act as a protective factor. This may have practical implications for practitioners in identifying prisoners at increased risk of suicidal behavior, and also may help practitioners expand targets for intervention.

Previous research has found positive association between emotional coping strategies and hopelessness (Edwards & Holden, 2001), and between avoidance coping strategies and hopelessness (Rogers, Hansen, Levy, Tate, & Sikkema, 2005). The adaptive rational coping style has been found to be negatively associated with hopelessness (Clements & Sawhney, 2000). The present findings provide support for these studies finding a strong positive association between emotional coping and hopelessness. A moderate positive association was found between prisoners' level of avoidance coping and level of hopelessness. Rational coping was found to show a moderate negative relationship with levels of hopelessness. These findings are consistent with suggestions that emotional and avoidance coping strategies are maladaptive methods of dealing with stressful situations (Monat & Lazarus, 1991) and may be associated with more negative consequences (Suls & Fletcher, 1985). In addition, these findings support the conceptualization of rational coping strategies as adaptive methods of dealing with stressful situations (Roger et al., 1993) and may be associated with more positive outcomes (Curry et al., 1992). These results would tend to provide support for suggestions that interventions aimed at developing more adaptive coping strategies among

individuals at risk of engaging in suicidal behavior may be a useful target for intervention (Gormley, 2004).

Some evidence suggesting association between coping styles, attachment, and hopelessness was found which is consistent with the view that individuals with attachment insecurity are likely to employ maladaptive coping strategies which in turn lead to psychological distress (Mikulincer & Florian, 1995). The current results found emotional coping strategies mediated the influence of attachment anxiety (need for approval; preoccupation with relationships) on hopelessness. Emotional coping strategies also mediated the influence between attachment avoidance as indicated by discomfort with closeness, on hopelessness. These results suggest the association between insecure attachment and hopelessness is not simply a linear relationship; rather, emotional coping styles play an integral mediating role in hopelessness. These findings also support the view that insecure attachment orientations may dispose the individual to use less adaptive forms of coping strategies which in turn increases the levels of hopelessness in the individual's life. It may be possible to conduct interventions reducing use of emotional coping styles in response to stress or conversely increasing use of detached coping strategies in response to stress and thereby reduce hopelessness.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Taken together, the present findings can provide some tentative suggestions for interventions when working with prisoners at risk of suicide or self-harm. Individuals at increased risk of engaging in suicidal behavior may present with difficulties forming working alliances due to attachment insecurity. They may also reject treatment which has serious implications. Assessment of whether a client is defined by high levels of attachment anxiety or by high levels of attachment avoidance can be informative to a practitioner during the initial stages of treatment. If a prisoner exhibits heightened levels of attachment anxiety, the expectation of self-reliance can be lowered and elevated levels of dependency can be anticipated and addressed. Conversely, heightened levels of attachment avoidance may increase a practitioner's expectations of independent action while simultaneously lowering expectations regarding intimate disclosure.

An evaluation of an individual's attachment experiences in the course of suicide assessment may help identify targets for intervention (e.g., coping strategies). For individuals with attachment anxiety, the dependency upon others and fears surrounding abandonment may be a crucial focus of intervention. With such individuals, developing more adaptive strategies of having attachment needs met may be a primary goal. For individuals with attachment avoidance, addressing the fears of rejection and pervasive distrust of others may be a critical point for staff to be aware of and a potential target for intervention. Bowlby (1988) outlined the application of attachment theory to psychotherapy and described how internal working models of attachment figures are likely to be present in interactions with therapists. He suggested therapeutic goals include exploring the origins of clients' internal working models and using the therapist as a secure base to explore and rework these internal working models. Therapeutic approaches including Dialectical Behavior Therapy (DBT; Linehan, 1993), problem-solving interventions (McMurren, Egan, & Duggan, 2005), and schema therapy (Young, Klosko, & Weishaar, 2003) include treatment goals related to attachment, coping, and problem solving, and may be useful considerations with this

population. In settings where access to such specialist interventions is less possible, staff awareness of such approaches is likely to be of value.

In the current study, emotional coping mediated the relationship between attachment anxiety and hopelessness. Emotional coping strategies mediated the relationship between attachment avoidance (discomfort with closeness) and hopelessness. These findings suggest hopelessness may be alleviated if individuals used higher levels of detached coping strategies as opposed to emotional coping strategies. Cox (1991) suggested stress management training programs such as Stress Inoculation Training (Meichenbaum, 1985) or Cognitive-Affective Stress Management Training (Smith, 1980) may be useful methods of enhancing the coping strategies used in stressful situations. Such programs may increase use of detached coping strategies which Roger (2002) describes as a critical factor in adaptively dealing with stress.

Remand prisons tend to be characterized by a more transient prison population (Shaw, Baker, Hunt, Moloney, & Appleby, 2004). Challenges adjusting to prison can particularly exacerbate attachment difficulties and magnify coping difficulties that can in turn increase risk of suicidal behavior. Challenges supporting prisoners to address these problems are compounded by the restricted time individuals at times have in these settings. Therefore, short-term, lower dosage strategies for psychological intervention may be a worthy consideration with such populations. For example, psychological skills based workshops aimed at encouraging prisoners to be aware of their attachment styles and focused on increasing coping strategies may be of value with the more short-term prison population. Introducing such approaches earlier in a prisoner's journey through prison may help to address these difficulties at an earlier stage of their sentence. Training staff in these areas may also be of particular value to help staff to support prisoners to implement strategies to manage attachment and coping difficulties on a day-to-day basis (e.g., Daniel, 2006).

LIMITATIONS

There are limitations to this study that are important to consider. Information regarding previous self-harm and attempted suicide was obtained from one source only, namely that of self-report. Verification of the information was not possible. Attachment, coping, and hopelessness variables were also measured using self-report responses. Replication using additional sources of information such as interviews and staff reports would be beneficial. In relation to the variable of hopelessness, it is important to note that there are inconsistent findings of its predictive value in ability to predict actual suicide attempts (e.g., Klonsky & May, 2013). Therefore, the importance of examining additional measures of suicide risk is particularly imperative.

This research focused on previous self-harm, previous attempted suicide, and current levels of hopelessness as indicators of heightened risk of engaging in future suicidal behavior. Although previous research has established links between these variables and future suicidal behavior (Wilkins & Coid, 1991), the exact links between previous self-harm, previous attempted suicide, hopelessness, and actual suicidal behavior requires additional elucidation. The lack of a psychometric measure to examine suicidal behavior is also a limitation of this study. Thus caution must be applied in terms of generalizing the results.

The present research was conducted using a sample of prisoners from two Category B Local Prisons. Replication using participants from different custodial settings would be

informative. This study employed a correlational, cross-sectional design and therefore any causal interpretation of the findings is weakened. The impact of contextual factors such as current life stressors and negative life events is not possible to determine. Future research considering the potential impact of these factors would be beneficial. Longitudinal research exploring links between attachment dimensions, coping styles, hopelessness, and other indices of suicidal risk would also represent an important step in attempting to establish causal antecedents to suicidal behavior.

CONCLUSION

This study provides support for the existing literature linking attachment, coping, and psychological distress (Mikulincer, Shaver, & Horesh, 2006). The findings suggest male prisoners with attachment insecurity and a tendency to employ maladaptive coping strategies may be more likely to engage in suicidal behavior. The mediating influence of emotional coping strategies support the view that insecure attachment orientations may dispose the individual to use less adaptive forms of coping strategies which in turn exacerbates the feeling of hopelessness in the individual's life. The findings have practical implications as it may be possible to conduct interventions addressing attachment difficulties and coping strategies used in response to stressful situations and thus reduce the feeling of hopelessness. As hopelessness has been found to be associated with suicidal behavior (Beck et al., 1990; Klonsky et al., 2012), such interventions may have the effect of reducing risk of self-harm and suicide. Wei et al. (2003) described attachment insecurity as a "source of chronic interpersonal stress" (p. 202). Perhaps if interventions targeted both attachment insecurity and the coping strategies employed to deal with this stress, it may be less likely to lead to suicidal behavior.

NOTES

1. The F2052SH form was introduced in prisoners in the United Kingdom to help prison staff support and monitor prisoners they feel may be at increased risk of suicide or self-harm.

2. The Assessment, Care in Custody, and Teamwork plan has now replaced the F2052SH system, and encourages prison staff to work collaboratively to provide care for prisoners who may be at risk of suicidal behavior or who are exhibiting signs of distress.

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