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Contributing Factors to Aggressive Incidents in Correctional and Forensic Psychiatric Care:

A Rapid Evidence Assessment.

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Structured Abstract

Purpose: Aggression within secure settings poses considerable concern. This paper aims to offer more recent considerations of factors, such as cultural and environmental, that contribute to the prediction of aggressive security incidents, focusing on a rapid evidence assessment (REA) of available literature since 2018.

Design/methodology/approach: Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA; Moher et al., 2009) guidelines were utilised for this REA, taking guidance from a previous study (Ireland et al., 2019) for the development of search terms.

Findings: Twenty-three final studies were included in the REA. All studies were conducted in either prison (n = 8), psychiatric in-patient facility with involuntary or compulsory treatment (n = 7), and forensic secure services (n = 7), with one study looking at both general in-patient psychiatric hospital and forensic services. Thematic analysis noted 4 main themes that were predictive of aggressive security incidents, these were: (1) Inadequate living facilities and poor physical environment, (2) Institutional security levels predicting aggression, (3) Restricted movement and the lack of meaningful activities, (4) Ward atmosphere and staff factors impacting staff-client relationships and consequent aggression.

Practical implications: This REA adds value to understanding the current interplay between the living facilities, wider forensic environment and interaction of staff in a forensic client's aggressive behaviours.

Originality/value: This REA offers an updated reflection and understanding on the presentation of aggression in secure forensic environments.

Key words: Violence, Aggression, Forensic Psychiatric, Correctional, Ward Atmosphere, Meaningful Activities

Introduction

Aggression within secure and correctional settings poses significant concern for client and staff safety¹. In the UK the risk of staff in high secure settings being assaulted is significant, with studies showing over 5000 incidents occurring in a single year (Uppal & McMurran, 2009). Forensic clients are considered to pose a grave risk of harm to others (NHS, 2021), and as such, are a particularly high-risk group with respect to aggressive behaviour. Experiencing assault in secure services has significant physical and mental health consequences on staff, including physical injury, chronic pain (Gerberich et al., 2004; Levin, Hewitt, & Misner, 1998), as well as psychological distress (van Leeuwen & Harte, 2015) including anger, depression, sleep disturbances and burnout (Kelly et al., 2021). There is therefore an increased need for identifying and understanding risk factors contributing to forensic client aggression within these closed settings, in order to inform prevention strategies and management policies. Furthermore, definitions of aggression can be varied and under debate. A routinely argued definition would be that used in aggressive risk assessments, such as the HCR-20, and which forms the definition of aggression in this paper. Here they argue that aggression is the actual, attempted, or infliction of bodily harm on another person. This has to be deliberate and wilful, with the bodily harm also including serious psychological injury, with any threats being clear and unambiguous (Douglas, Hart, Webster & Belfrage, 2013).

There are several factors that contribute to a forensic client's aggression, both individual factors such as presence of psychotic disorders and substance abuse, as well as staff factors

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¹ The literature will use various interchangeable terms for forensic settings, depending on the country of the research etc. Unless stated, and for the context of this paper, (secure) forensic settings or institution include those where a forensic client will reside, correctional refer to prison settings, and 'forensic psychiatric' refers to the residence of a forensic client with mental disorder.

including gender, job strain, burn-out and staff-patient interactions (Weltens et al., 2021). Blevins et al. (2010) have argued the heightened stress a prison or forensic setting can be problematic to a forensic client. This can include a range of strains for them, such as the denial of positively valued goods and stimuli, and the presentation of noxious provocations, including over-crowding, lack of privacy and heightened risk of victimisation through dormitory-style quarters. Public inquiries into security incidents in forensic psychiatric settings have further identified the role of culture and environment as important risk factors (e.g. Blom-Cooper et al., 1992; Fallon et al., 1999), and where culture equates to the beliefs, social forming and characteristic features of the setting. Earlier research has shown that institutional aggression decreases when the forensic client's environment is altered in order to provide higher levels of autonomy, improved living conditions, and more daily activities (Cooke, 1991). Increasing factors for aggression can be staff's inability to balance maintaining a therapeutic environment whilst enforcing security rules (Fallon et al., 1999). Others have argued that security and rehabilitation are rarely seen as complementary by practitioners, who believe that tightening security will damage therapeutic relationships and vice versa (Hodge & Renwick, 2002). Staff's knowledge of how to manage forensic patients whilst maintaining a therapeutic environment, also known as relational security, is noted to further create positive ward culture (Tighe & Gudjonsson, 2012) and is associated with lower incidents rates (Gadon et al., 2006; van der Helm et al., 2012). Nursing staff who know how to manage complex patients alongside identifying risk behaviours can regularly assess and monitor any changes in their mental state, and subsequently modify levels of restriction imposed, according to the needs of each individual patient (Collins & Davies, 2012). This allows staff to balance necessary security restrictions whilst maintaining a positive therapeutic environment, and ultimate positive culture of care.

However, the research on understanding how factors such as culture and environment can predict security incidents has been limited, with little consensus on what factors can affect a forensic client's aggression in secure care. However, a more recent study by Ireland et al. (2019) demonstrated several associations between social environment and security incidents in high secure settings. They noted that lower levels of forensic patient cohesion and therapeutic hold were associated with increased number of threats, whereas inappropriate behaviours were associated with forensic patients' feelings of being less involved with the service (Ireland et al., 2019). Ireland et al. (2019) demonstrated that environmental factors, such as poor cohesion, lack of therapeutic affiliations and less off-ward activities involvements, are all important predictors of forensic client aggression in secure settings.

To fully understand factors contributing to forensic client aggression, it is important to consider theoretical underpinnings, such as the implications of the Good Lives Model (Ward & Gannon, 2006). Whilst not without a critique, this is a strength-based approach, aiming to equip individuals with necessary capabilities to obtain primary human goals in meaningful and socially acceptable ways, as opposed to through the use of criminality (Ward & Gannon, 2006). As part of this, there resides the Self-Determination Model of Motivation (Deci and Ryan, 2000), where environmental conditions can allow or hinder the satisfaction of basic needs, including a desire for relatedness to others, competence and a sense of autonomy. Arguably correctional and other secure forensic settings can restrict attainment of these goals through the restrictive physical environment, including limited movement and access to off-ward activities that could maximise the achievement of such basic needs (Ireland et al., 2018). Similarly, the deprivation model, based on the works of Sykes (1958) and Goffman (1961), asserts that prisoners' adjustment is a consequence of oppressive and stressful conditions of secure settings (Bosma et al., 2020). Prisoners and high-secure forensic patients are held in environments that restrict or deprive them of their autonomy, security, freedom of movement, and access to

goods; thus resulting in increased stress, anger, and disruptive behaviour (Bosma et al., 2020). This potentially leads the forensic client to regard secure institutions as unfair and unjust, as their access to basic services is limited and strictly monitored. Indeed, earlier research has shown that those who perceive rules as fair and just are less likely to report misconduct (e.g. improper behaviour likely to lead to a reprimand) and are charged with less institutional violations (Reisig & Mesko, 2009). Further, prisoners who accept prison as a legitimate authority, are less likely to engage with rule breaking as opposed to those who reject it (Jackson et al., 2010).

Further, institutional violations can arise from environmental changes. For instance, and whilst the COVID-19 pandemic is not a direct focus of this paper, the deprivation effects it led to in recent years, through enhanced restrictions in secure services, resulted in increased patient aggression and incidents reports (e.g. Payne-Gill, Whitfield, & Beck, 2021). It further showed an overall increase in long-term segregations as well as incidents of physical aggression during this pandemic period (Puzzo et al., 2022). This reflects the continued importance of not only cultural but environmental aspects in the prediction of security incidents, including aggression, similar to those previously argued by Ireland et al (2019). This paper therefore argues the importance of revisiting key aspects from Ireland et al (2019), to determine what important factors may remain, and what may have changed. The goal of this paper is therefore to inform policy makers and legislators with an updated understanding, to ensure safe conduct and security of both staff and forensic clients alike. As such, it aims to do so by conducting a rapid evidence assessment of available literature since 2018 to assess the effect of various factors, including cultural and environmental, on aggressive security incidents in secure psychiatric and custodial settings, using the Ireland et al (2019) search terms as a start point for this REA.

Method

This Rapid Evidence Assessment was informed by the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA; Moher et al., 2009). The same search terms were used as in Ireland et al's (2019) study, that was originally developed using key words from the TILT tool (Tilt et al., 2000), used to record security incidents in secure psychiatric care. As such, and after review of this peer reviewed study, it presented as a good fit for search terms, searching after 2018. There were 25 search terms in total, combined, such as: (Culture OR Atmosphere OR Environment OR Security) AND (Incident OR Misconduct OR Assault OR Aggress* OR Substance OR Boundar* OR Hostage OR Protest OR Rules) AND (Inpatient OR Psychiatric OR (Ward OR Hospital) OR (Prison OR Wing).

Relevant studies were identified using PsycInfo, PsycArticles, and SCOPUS databases with the time range of January 2018 - July 2023. No manual search was performed, nor grey literature included. To be included for the final analysis, full-text articles were assessed based on the following inclusion criteria: (1) assessed the impact of cultural, environmental or security factors on one or more security factors, (2) used secure psychiatric, forensic or prison populations, (3) collected or reanalysed original data; and (4) written in English.

Results

The results of the full study selection procedure using PRISMA guidelines is presented in Figure 1.

[FIGURE 1 HERE]

Search Results

The chosen search strategy resulted in 4712 articles which, after the removal of duplicates, was reduced to 4700 articles. These were screened based on titles and abstracts, using the study selection criteria. This resulted in a final 61 articles being included, which

were assessed using full-text, resulting in exclusion of 30 articles that did not assess the impact of relevant factors, five that did not consider a forensic sample, one being a systematic review and two articles that were unavailable to the research team. This resulted in a final number of 23 studies included in this REA.

Study Characteristics

All studies were conducted in either prison (n = 8), psychiatric in-patient facility with involuntary or compulsory treatment (n = 7), and forensic secure services (n = 7), with one study looking at both general in-patient psychiatric hospital and forensic services. All but two studies had exclusively adult samples. Table 1 illustrates all methods and the main findings of each of the 23 reviewed studies. Only variables and characteristics that were relevant to the present review were discussed in each study.

[TABLE 1 HERE]

Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis outlined by Thomas and Harden (2008) was used, where they adapted the thematic analysis used for interview transcripts for the use in systematic literature reviews. The main results of each paper were line coded, then organised into related themes. Four main themes were developed through this process, as illustrated in Figure 2. The main themes were (1) Inadequate living facilities and poor physical environment, (2) Institutional security levels predicting aggression, (3) Restricted movement and the lack of meaningful activities, (4) Ward atmosphere and staff factors impacting staff-client relationships and consequent aggression.

[FIGURE 2 HERE]

Theme 1: Inadequate living facilities and poor physical environment

Ward facilities and the physical environment as perceived by forensic clients were key factors contributing to security incidents. This theme was further split into two sub-themes:

(1a) Time of the day can predict the occurrence and type of patient violence and (1b)

Overcrowding creates suffocating atmosphere and increases the likelihood of aggression.

The physical environment of wards have been explored as potential factors contributing to patient aggression. Rogerson et al. (2021) found that wards with external views of both green spaces and person-made structures had higher rates of physical and verbal aggressive incidents in forensic and general mental health wards, compared to wards with views of green spaces only. They further found that removing carpets in the communal areas, in line with infection control regulations, led to the hardwood flooring increasing ward temperature and noise, thus leading to increased aggressive incidents (Rogerson et al., 2021).

An earlier study by Ulrich et al (2018), and similar to the factors explored by Rogerson et al. (2021), noted that new wards that had accessible gardens, and features designed to increase daylight and large windows overlooking the gardens, demonstrated a reduction in aggressive incidents requiring chemical but not physical restraint. Alternatively, Bridekirk et al. (2021) demonstrated that simply moving to a new building, despite it being designed to be bright, spacious, and conducive of patient recovery (Chen et al., 2013), actually increased the risk of inpatient violence, with the rates of aggressive incidents after the move remaining high over time. Yet, they further noted that, even when the move is intended to improve patient and staff experiences, the implementation of the desired improvements will depend on the local context and the organisation culture (Bridekirk et a., 2021; Marshall et al., 2019). Indeed, in Bridekirk et al. (2021) study, the move to the new building was also accompanied by "least restraint" initiative; it is this which could have impacted incidents rates, thus partially explaining their findings.

Sub-theme 1: Time of the day can predict the occurrence and type of patient violence

McNeeley (2021) reported that aggression was more likely to occur in the afternoon and the evening amongst prisoners. Another study found that the time of the day affects the type of weapons prisoners are most likely to use, with times between 9pm and 6am being characterised by the increased use of liquid weapons as compared to the physical force (Rodriguez & Waggoner, 2023). As such, staff are more likely to be targeted at this time by prisoners throwing liquids as they walk by the cells (Rodriguez & Waggoner, 2023). However, a study by Weltens et al (2023) did not find any statistical differences in the number of incidents between morning and evening, or morning and night on a high-intensive care unit of a mental health institution, thus showing some inconsistencies in the existing literature.

Sub-theme 2: overcrowding creates suffocating atmosphere and increases the likelihood of aggression

Overcrowding at the wards and bed occupancy exceeding maximum capacity were some of the key factors contributing towards high incident rates at prisons and mental health facilities. Weltens et al. (2023) noted that exceeding maximum bed capacity was found to be a significant risk factor for aggressive behaviour. Similarly, Ulrich et al. (2018) compared aggressive incidents rates between two hospitals, in which the newer hospital had spaces designed to facilitate lower social density (number of individuals in a reduced space); they found a significant reduction in this newer hospital as to the proportion of incidents resulting in administered chemical injections. These findings on crowding and aggression were further supplemented with subjective experiences of the nursing staff in psychiatric hospitals, who reported that overcrowded units were perceived as prison-like environments in which aggressive incidents and a suffocating atmosphere reminded staff of old-style 'mental hospitals' and 'asylums' (Missouridou et al., 2021).

Theme 2: Institutional security levels predicting aggression

The security level of the forensic environment was a clear predictor. Howard et al (2020) found that the likelihood of assault victimisations was almost 7 times higher for prisoners in medium security and 6 times higher for those in maximum security compared with prisoners in minimum security sites. These findings were reflected in those of assault perpetration, as shown by Bosma et al (2020) who found that harsher regimes in Dutch prisons had increased likelihood of self-reported misconduct. Tahamont (2019) reported that prisoners placed in medium security (level 2) prison were 11% more likely to be written up for misconduct for lowest level offences than prisoners in close security (level 3) prisons, whereas no effect was found for the maximum security (level 4).

Theme 3: Restricted movement and the lack of meaningful activities.

Restrictions on movement and a lack or absence of meaningful pursuits were key. For example, Williams and Haeney (2023) noted that locked doors, such as night-time confinement, do not necessarily increase patient and staff safety, and instead might actually contribute to increased patient aggression. Similarly, Schreiber et al. (2022) found that there was a decrease in adverse events at wards that adopted open doors policy between 8am and 8pm, but due to multiple comparisons, none of the changes were considered meaningful. Howard et al. (2020) further demonstrated that increased time spent in segregation was associated with an increased risk of being assaulted by other prisoners, further demonstrating the dangers of segregation and substantially restricted movement. By contrast, time spent in segregation or in prisoners' cells was associated with less likelihood of committing an assault against staff due to the physical barrier between staff and patients (McNeeley, 2021). Overall, these findings demonstrate there is some lack of consensus when it comes to the effects of open doors and segregation on patients and prisoner violence.

However, when considering restricted movement, the impact on aggression risk is somewhat clearer. Restricted movement is likely to result in increased boredom and lack of meaningful activities amongst forensic clients, which can in turn, contribute to increased aggressive behaviour. Bosma et al (2020) found that higher than average experiences, availability and access to meaningful activities was associated with a decreased number of self-reported prisoner misbehaviour. Meaningful activities in prison were also associated with reduced risk of assault, as shown in Howard et al. (2020), and where they found that increasing the number of hours in employment decreased the incidence of assault victimisations.

Yet, it is not just in regard to activities and employment, visitations are also considered a meaningful activity for forensic clients. Pierce et al (2018) found that increased frequency of visitations decreased serious misconduct in an adult male prison. Similarly, Reidy and Sorenson (2020) found that non-visited prisoners would commit significantly more disciplinary infractions compared to the visited group. The findings are mixed however, and where Bosma et al. (2020) found that prisoners who had received a visitor or reported satisfaction with the frequency of the contact actually had a higher rate of self-reported misbehaviours as compared to those who did not have contact. Yet, a potential explanation may be that contact with the outside world could increase feelings of deprivation and increase trafficking of contrabands (Bosma et al., 2020). Overall, it direct to a complex picture of understanding.

Theme 4: Ward atmosphere and staff factors impacting staff-client relationships and consequent aggression

Staff characteristics, as well as resulting relationships between staff and patients and the overall ward atmosphere can be an important factor contributing towards aggressive behaviour and misconduct in secure settings. For instance, higher levels of staff working experience was found as a significant risk factor for encountering aggressive behaviour (Weltens et al., 2023). Urheim (2020) further noted that gender did impact on aggression levels,

reporting significant reductions in yearly violence rates being associated with higher proportion of female staff, as well as higher staff educational level, mandatory treatment plans and shared staff and patient reviews after incidents. Furthermore, Bosma and colleagues (2020) reported that higher staff-prisoner ratios on the unit were associated with lower prisoner misconduct. They further noted that the prison climate, characterised by better perceived quality of staff-prisoner relationships, were related to lower reported and registered misconduct. Similarly, Puzzo et al. (2019) found that increased social climate and sense of community decreased incident reports on wards of a high secure hospital, whereas in another study, Puzzo (2023) found that an intervention aimed at improving social climate and sense of community in high-secure mental health settings had positive effects on violence reduction over time, thus further implying the importance of ward climate on violence reduction.

Discussion

The findings of this rapid evidence assessment (REA) revealed four themes associated with security incidents in correctional and forensic psychiatric case, and which continue to be of concern in recent times. These focused on inadequate ward facilities and atmosphere, poor physical environment, levels of security, restricted movements, lack of meaningful activities and varying staff factors. As such, this REA implicates the role of environmental, cultural and security factors on prisoners and forensic patients' aggression, offering support for the general components and interplay between Deprivation Theory, Good Lives Model and General Strain Theory.

Studies identified in this REA have generally demonstrated that poor environmental conditions such as poor temperature regulations, structural design, and overcrowding, are significant contributors to a forensic clients aggressive incidents, and continue to be so. This aligns with the stipulations of the seminal General Strain Theory (Agnew, 1992, 2001, 2009), which posits that individuals who experience stressors or deprivation will become agitated,

frustrated, and engage in criminal activities to cope with these strains (Agnew & Brezina, 2019). While General Strain Theory has been used to mainly describe behaviours of individuals in the community, its applications are relevant in secure settings such as these. As indicated by Blevins et al. (2010), entering prison or forensic settings are highly stressful as they impose a number of different strains on individuals. These are varied and can include the denial of positively valued goods (e.g., disjuncture between just and actual outcomes), removal of positively valued stimuli (e.g., loss of comforts of life, such as loss of a job or friends), and presentation of noxious provocations (e.g., high noise levels, crowded, poor living conditions, strict institutional rules and schedules). One of the most commonly researched noxious stimuli, overcrowding, is a significant contributor to aggression, with staff describing it as relating to a suffocating atmosphere of old-style 'mental hospitals' and 'asylums' (Missouridou et al., 2021). Not surprisingly, when presented with such conditions, forensic clients are likely to experience heightened levels of arousal leading to frustration, anger, and aggression (Blevins et al., 2010). All of these observations were supported in this REA, with several studies demonstrating that overcrowding and poor living conditions continue to contribute even in more recent times to a patients' aggression and increased rate of aggressive incidents (e.g. Weltens et al., 2023; Ulrich et al., 2018). This is exacerbated further by residing in close quarters with other forensic clients in dormitory-style housing units, further increasing stress and imposing strain due to lack of privacy or increased risk of victimization (Blevins et al., 2010). In this current REA, secure institutions designed to reduce social density and crowding showed lower aggressive incident rates compared to less modern hospitals (Ulrich et al., 2018), thus demonstrating the importance of physical environmental factors on patient aggression, such as overcrowding.

Furthermore, as posited by both General Strain Theory as well as Good Lives Model, individuals who perceive unfair treatment or illegitimate authority, will be more likely to

experience a range of negative emotions such as anger and resentment (e.g. Agnew, 2009), thus engaging in security violations and aggressive incidents. Loss of freedom and autonomy are common in secure settings in which restrictive living conditions are enforced, characterised by strict institutional policies, locked doors, and regular monitoring; all of which can increase stress, frustration and disruptive behaviour (Bosma et al., 2020). This can arguably place forensic clients at risk of regarding secure care as unfair due to their restricted access to and monitoring of basic goods.

Such frustrations and increase of aggression can be further increased by the locked environments, such as wards, and impoverished environments, exacerbated by a lack of meaningful activities, increasing boredom and amplifying the feelings of deprivation (Bosma et al., 2020). As the General Strain Theory posits, denying forensic clients services and programs can induce further strain as it prevents the forensic client from achieving positively valued goals (Blevins et al., 2010), leaving them unable to acquire monetary outcomes and vocational skills that could affect their ability to obtain parole or early release. As argued by the Good Lives model, individuals need to be equipped with necessary capabilities to obtain primary human goals in meaningful and socially acceptable ways (Ward & Gannon, 2003), and in order to prevent offending and disruptive behaviour. Therefore, this lack of access to meaningful activities and overly restrictive environments can result in increased anger and resentment, arguably leading to aggressive behaviour and security incidents, as reflected in this REA, as well as previous research (Ireland et al., 2019).

Locked wards and a restrictive environment not only impact on the forensic client, and in some instances quite rightly so and in order to protect themselves and others, but it can further impose significant strain on them, but also staff members. For example, psychiatric nurses working in secure forensic units felt it would undermine their role of a nurse and impact the therapeutic relationship with their clients (e.g. Missouridou et al., 2021). It is certainly a

careful balance with offering care to the forensic client, yet also ensuring the safety of those around them, creating strain in its very attempt. As noted previously, staff can often see security and rehabilitation as opposite to one another, as tight security tends to damage therapeutic relationships (Hodge & Renwick, 2002). That aside, the staff relationships with forensic clients are crucial, and where staff can play an important mediating role between security and therapeutic care. For instance, a more hostile interpersonal style from staff is then associated with increased number of threats and incidents rates (Ireland et al., 2019). The importance of this is mirrored in this REA. Further, and in regard to General Strain Theory, negative relationships with others are known to be a major cause of strain and thus, are an important risk factor for aggressive behaviour (Agnew, 1992, 2001, 2009). Similarly, stipulations of the Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000) emphasise the importance of having supportive relationships in order to positively change behaviours. These previous findings were supported by this REA as continuing concerns, as several studies demonstrated that positive staff-prisoner relationships, good ward atmosphere and empathetic and supportive therapeutic relationships are associated with decreased incident rates and overall feelings of safety (e.g., Bosma et al., 2020; De Decker et al., 2018; Magnowski & Cleveland, 2020). Therefore, this demonstrates it is essential for policymakers to continue to consider how to prioritise and emphasise positive staff-patient relationships all while maintaining secure working and housing environment, to reduce security incidents.

Despite the important findings and implications, this review has limitations in attempting to understand a complex area. An REA is of course a briefer consideration of the literature, and many of the studies included self-reported incident data, and perceptions of safety, with a few studies not being linked to actual incident reports, thus limiting the validity of the findings. Further, the research area is not developed enough to consider in regard to differing levels of security or across different forensic settings. Therefore, not all

considerations and recommendations will have been captured, but more those directly informed from the REA. For instance, there are likely to be additional characteristics and physical environment components that have not been identified by this REA. Furthermore, some studies that compared incident reports between two hospitals with improved environmental design did not always control for other factors that could have impacted the incident levels. Additionally, these types of analyses typically grouped all the variables together, thus making the interpretation of the findings more challenging. No grey literature was searched and thus, it is possible some important findings have been left out of the present analysis.

Conclusion

Overall, the results of this REA have demonstrated that several factors continue to contribute to aggressive security incidents in correctional and forensic psychiatric care. Physical environment, lack of meaningful activities and poor staff-patients relationships seem to be some of the key factors in understanding why such incidents occur. As such, policy makers and key legislators should aim to improve poor physical environments of current and prospective hospitals and prisons to facilitate better therapeutic environment, improved staff-patient relationships and better patient satisfaction, and ultimately ensure safer housing and working conditions for both patients and staff alike. It would appear that progress in this area continues to be required.

Implications for Practice

- The physical environment of the forensic clients living conditions continues to play a
 pivotal role in aggression risk, requiring careful consideration.
- Any changes to the environment needs to be attuned to the organisational culture if the potential to reduce aggression is to be maximised.
- Overcrowding continues to lead to increases in aggression.

- The definition of meaningful activity can be broad, yet a failure to attend to these activities is likely to increase aggression risk.
- Positive staff-client relationships are critical in reducing aggression risk, alongside a sense of community and cohesion.

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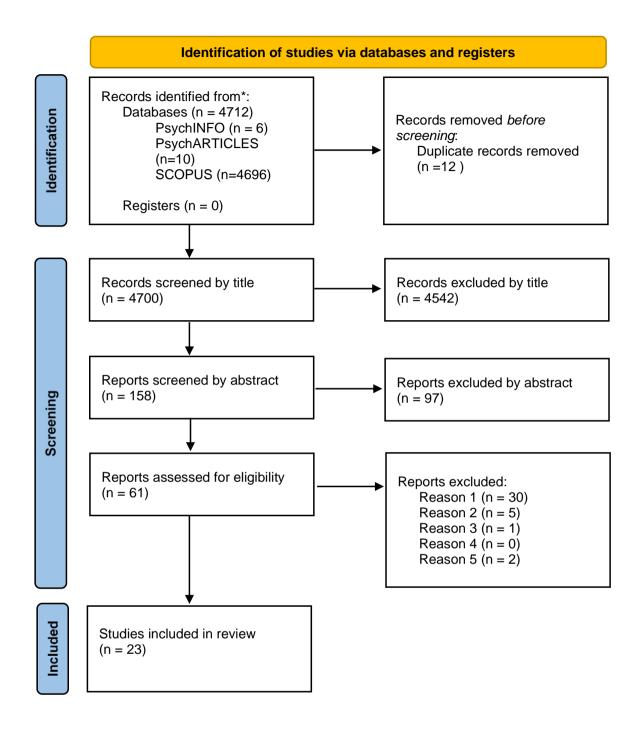


Figure 1. PRISMA flow diagram depicting papers included and excluded at each stage of the search process

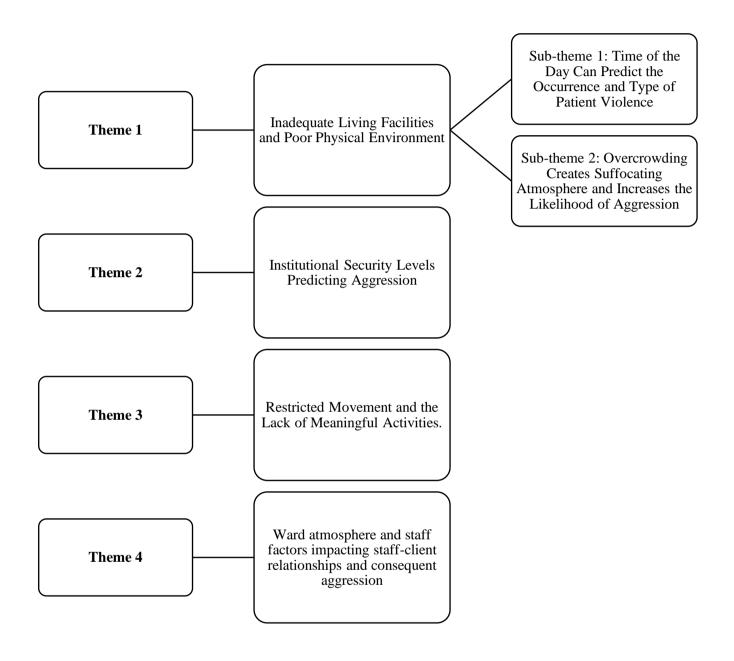


Figure 2. The visual representation of generated themes

Table 1. Summary of main findings and methodologies of included studies

Authors	Aims	Type of incident	Setting	Study methods	Study findings
Bekelepi & Martin (2022)	Qualitatively explored nurses' experiences of patient violence	Violent behaviour	Secure psychiatric hospitals	A semi-structured interviews assessed nurses' experiences of being assaulted, and support received	Changes in hospital smoking policy, patient diagnosis and type of admission were identified as factors contributing to violent behaviour.
Bosma, van Ginneken, Sentse, & Palmen (2020)	Assessed the extent to which prisoner characteristics and prison environment are related to misconduct	Prisoner misconduct	Prison	Self-reported and record-based incident data used to assess whether prison climate and environment affect misconduct	Better perceived quality of staff–prisoner relationships, higher staff-prisoner ratios and meaningful activities were related to lower misconduct. Visitations, contact and harsher regimes were related to higher self-reported misconduct.
Bridekirk, Ham, Ball & Konkolÿ Thege (2021)	Determined to what extent changes in perceived safety among staff and inpatients were attributed to changes in the physical environment	Violent incidents involving restraint or seclusion	Forensic psychiatric facility	Questionnaire (EssenCES; RSA-R) and record-based data used to evaluate whether a move to a new environment affects perceived safety, social climate and violent incidents	The rates of violent incidents drastically increased after moving to the new building and remained high over time

Authors	Aims	Type of incident	Setting	Study methods	Study findings
de Decker, Lemmens,	Investigated the	Aggressive	Forensic adolescent	Measured living group climate	Lower and less severe
Van der Helm, Bruckers,	relationship between	incidents	treatment unit	using Prison Group Climate	aggressive incidents were
Molenberghs &	aggression and the living			Inventory (PGCI) to see	related to an increased
Tremmery (2018)	group climate as			whether it predicts aggressive	perception of support and
	perceived by the			incidents	possibilities for personal
	adolescents.				growth. No significant
					differences for aggressive
					incidents and perception of
					group atmosphere and
					repression.
Drakeford (2020)	Explored the relationship	Physical and verbal	Prison	Used 2004 Survey of Inmates	The increase in religious
	between religious context	assaults and other		in State and Federal	concentration was inversely
	and inmate misconduct	rule infractions		Correctional Facilities data on	associated with inmate
				whether participation in	misconduct in mostly religious
				religious activities is	prisons.
				associated with misconduct	
Fletcher, Hamilton,	Investigated staff	Conflict events	Inpatient mental	Survey administered to staff	45% and 55% of staff
Kinner, & Brophy (2019)	perceptions of the	including physical	health wards	members regarding the	perceived Safewards to usually
	Safewards model and	and verbal	including secure units	acceptability, applicability,	or always positively impact
	how it impacts ward	incidents, property		and impacts of the Safewards	physical and verbal conflict,
	atmosphere and conflict	damage and		model.	respectively, while only 30%
	events	absconding			and 35% felt it positively

Aims	Type of incident	Setting	Study methods	Study findings
				impacted absconding and
				property damage.
Examined inmate- and	Assault	Prison	Record-based data used to	Inmate routine activities and
facility-level predictors of	victimization		determine associations	time in disciplinary segregation
harm in physical assault			between formal controls	or protection units significantly
			(security level, routine hours	predicted assault victimization,
			out of cells) or factors that	which was higher in medium
			influence institutional capacity	and maximum-security sites
			for control (population,	and with more time out of
			crowding, inmate turnover)	cells. Population, crowding,
			and outcomes for inmates.	and inmate turnover were not
				significant predictors.
Identified the impact of	Monthly restraint	Child/adolescent	The intervention using	The milieu nurse–client shift
milieu nurse-client shift	rates	psychiatric unit	innovative nurse shifts (milieu	assignments positively affected
assignments compared to			nurse-client shifts) was	the monthly restraint rate when
individual nurse-client			implemented which called for	compared with individual
shift assignments			the presence of 3 nurses	assignments, with significantly
				less restraints being used.
Examined situational	Assault	Prison	Used record-based data to	Violence was more likely in
characteristics that are			assess whether situational	the afternoon and evening, and
common in inmate-on-			characteristics such as time of	inmates were less likely to
staff assaults.			the day, location, property	assault staff in segregation or
	Examined inmate- and facility-level predictors of harm in physical assault Identified the impact of milieu nurse-client shift assignments compared to individual nurse-client shift assignments Examined situational characteristics that are common in inmate-on-	Examined inmate- and facility-level predictors of harm in physical assault Identified the impact of milieu nurse-client shift assignments compared to individual nurse-client shift assignments Examined situational characteristics that are common in inmate-on-	Examined inmate- and facility-level predictors of harm in physical assault Identified the impact of milieu nurse-client shift assignments compared to individual nurse-client shift assignments Examined situational characteristics that are common in inmate-on-	Examined inmate- and facility-level predictors of harm in physical assault between formal controls (security level, routine hours out of cells) or factors that influence institutional capacity for control (population, crowding, inmate turnover) and outcomes for inmates. Identified the impact of milieu nurse-client shift rates psychiatric unit innovative nurse shifts (milieu nurse-client shifts) was individual nurse-client shift assignments Examined situational Assault Prison Used record-based data to characteristics that are common in inmate-on-

Authors	Aims	Type of incident	Setting	Study methods	Study findings
				search, and others, were	their cells. Physical force by
				related the aggressive	staff increased the likelihood of
				incidents.	inmate assaults, while verbal
					threats did not.
Missouridou, Resoulai,	Qualitatively explored	General aggression	Psychiatric units with	Interviewed 15 nursing care	Overcrowded locked units
Sakavara, Fradelos,	perceptions of the nursing		locked wards	staff members who provide	were seen as a "prison" like
Kritsiotakis, Mangoulia,	care providers of			services to psychiatric patients	environment in which
& Evagelou (2021)	psychiatric care in units			in locked wards	aggression incidents, a great
	with locked doors				distance in therapeutic
					relationships, and a suffocating
					atmosphere remind staff of old-
					style asylums. There were also
					many perceived benefits of
					locked-doors policy such as
					limit setting, better ward
					control and perceived safety.
Pierce, Freiburger,	Investigated how inmate	Minor and serious	Prison	Record based data used to	Serious misconduct decreased
Chapin, Epling &	visitation affects violent	misconduct (e.g.,		determine whether visitations	with an increased number of
Madden (2018)	misconduct	assault, fighting)		decrease institutional	visitations
				misconduct	

Authors	Aims	Type of incident	Setting	Study methods	Study findings
Puzzo, Aldridge-Waddon,	Investigated whether	Disruptive	High secure	The study used a correlational	Both social climate and SOC
Bush & Farr (2019)	social climate and sense	behaviour	psychiatric hospital	design between social climate,	significantly predicted overall
	of community (SOC) can			sense of community and	incident reports reduction on
	predict occurrence and			disruptive behaviour.	the wards. Only SOC was
	frequency of disruptive			EssenCES was used to	found to significantly predict
	behaviours			measure social climate and	non-physical incidents.
				SCI-2 to measure SOC.	
Puzzo, Aldridge-Waddon,	Evaluated an intervention	Incidents (e.g.,	High-secure	Questionnaire (EssenCES;	Perceived high social climate
Morley, Vacher, Mitchell,	designed to improve ward	physical and non-	psychiatric hospital	SCI-2) and record-based	predicted an increase in
Murphy, & Farr (2023)	social climate and sense	physical assault)		incident data were used to	violence reduction over time
	of community			compare before and after the	
				intervention aimed to increase	
				sense of community.	
Reidy & Sorensen (2020)	Explored the relationship	Violent incidents	Maximum-security	Utilised propensity score	Non-visited inmates committed
	between visitation and	and disciplinary	prison	matching (PSM) and	25% more major infractions
	violent behaviour and	infractions		compared the rate of various	and twice as many injurious
	misconducted of			types of violent incidents	violations compared to visited
	maximum-security			between visited and non-	inmates; but the 25% increase
	prisoners.			visited inmates.	in violent and injurious
					behaviours was not statistically
					significant.

Authors	Aims	Type of incident	Setting	Study methods	Study findings
Rodriguez & Waggoner	Examined the relationship	Violent incidents	Prison	Incident reports used to assess	Maximum security inmates
(2023)	between spatial factors	including use of		whether security level,	preferred item and liquid
	and the circumstances	items, no weapon,		crowding, location and time	weapons over physical force.
	that surround violence	liquids and bodily		were related to type of	Crowding reduced item
	expressed towards staff	fluids		violence experienced by the	weapon use but increased
				staff	liquid weapon use. Item
					weapons were more common
					outside housing spaces, while
					liquid weapons were more
					common overnight (9 pm to 6
					am).
Rogerson, Haines-	Investigated the	Aggressive	Forensic and general	Environment and ward	Higher scores on the 'staffing
Delmont, McCabe,	association between ward	incidents	adult mental health	characteristics measured using	and space' dimensions had
Brown & Whittington	design characteristics and		wards	the Ward Features Checklist,	more physical, verbal, and
(2021)	recorded inpatient			and staff perceptions of safety	property damage incidents,
	aggression			measured using Work Safety	while high 'comfort and
				Scale. Aggressive incidents	facilities' scores were linked to
				were measured using record-	increased physical incidents.
				based data.	Wards with views of both
					green space and man-made
					structures had higher physical
					and verbal aggression rates

Authors	Aims	Type of incident	Setting	Study methods	Study findings
					than those with only green
					views.
Schreiber, Metzger,	To investigate the effects	Aggressive	Psychiatric hospital	Compared two intervention	A significant increase of
Flammer, Rinke,	of an open-door policy on	incidents including	with involuntary	wards and two control wards	adverse events was observed at
Fallgatter, & Steinert	aggressive incidents in	severe self-harm,	admissions	at two different sites with	the control ward regarding the
(2022)	psychiatric acute care	absconding,		intervention wards having	use of coercive measures,
	units.	suicides, and suicide		open doors between 8am and	while most adverse events
		attempts		8pm	decreased in intervention
					wards.
Tahamont (2019)	Investigated the causal	Serious rules	Prison	Estimated causal relationship	Inmates in medium security
	relationship between	violation which		between facility security	prisons are 11% more likely to
	facility security	includes any		placement (level 1 to 4) on the	be written up than inmates
	placement and prison	activity that would		prevalence of prison	placed in close security
	misconduct	qualify as a crime		misconduct, by using serious	prisons, mainly for lowest level
		outside the prison		rules violation report as the	offenses like bartering and
				outcome variable.	gambling. No effect of
					maximum-security prisons on
					rules violation was found.
Ulrich, Bogren, Gardiner,	Explored how hospital	Incidents resulting	Psychiatric hospital	Compared aggressive	Significant reduction in the
& Lundin (2018)	design features influence	in chemical and	with compulsory care	incidents between older and	administered injections
	aggressive behaviour in	physical restraints	patients	newer hospital that had wards	between the Old hospital and
	psychiatric hospitals				the New hospital. No

Authors	Aims	Type of incident	Setting	Study methods	Study findings
				designed to reduce stress and	significant difference in terms
				aggression.	of physical restraints.
Urheim, Palmstierna,	Examined the relationship	Violent incidents	High secure forensic	Violent incidents were	Significant reduction in yearly
Rypdal, Gjestad,	between changes in		hospital	recorded using Staff	and monthly incident rates,
Senneseth & Mykletun	individualized patient-			Observational Aggression	associated with higher staff
(2020)	oriented care and violence			Scale (SOAS). Care- and	education, higher proportion of
	rates			organisation-level variables	female staff, shared staff-
				were analysed (e.g., patient	patient review after incidents,
				activity program, change in	MDT treatment plans, fewer
				medication policy, violence	sedatives, new legislation and
				risk assessment, etc)	higher patient turnover.
Weltens, Drukker, van	Investigated how ward	Aggression	Closed unit of a	Usded PsyMate, a web-based	The staff factors, such as
Amelsvoort & Bak (2023)	configurations and		mental health hospital	platform for moment-to-	'working experience' and
	behavioural and		with involuntary	moment assessment of mood	'nurse being in the company of
	emotional variations of		admissions	and behaviour.	a patient' and the ward factors,
	nurses affect aggression.				such as 'exceeding maximum
					bed capacity' were found to be
					significant risk factor for
					aggressive behaviour. Time of
					day and the ward atmosphere
					were not significant predictors.

Authors	Aims	Type of incident	Setting	Study methods	Study findings
Williams & Haeney	Investigated the effects of	Violent incidents	Forensic psychiatric	Record-based data used to	Night confinement did not lead
(2023)	night-confinement on		facility	assess the effect of cessation	to increased use of seclusion,
	incidents of violence			of night-confinement on	or increased levels of violence
				violent incidents, seclusion,	
				and restraint events	
Wolf, Fabel,	Explored the effects of	Assaults	Inpatient psychiatric	Record-based data used to	The treatment on wards with
Kraschewski, & Jockers-	the complex intervention		ward with detained	analyse whether open-ward	SOTERIA elements lead to
Scherübl (2021)	SOTERIA on the		patients	with small, community-like,	less aggressive assaults on staff
	frequency of special			intensive, and interpersonally	and patients. The severity of
	incidents, coercive			focused therapeutic milieu	incidents and the number of re-
	measures, treatment			will reduce the frequency and	admissions decreased, although
	duration			severity of patient assaults	not statistically significant.