Use of Force and Rehabilitative Culture

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This study aimed to understand the link between using force and rehabilitative culture at HMP/YOI Belmarsh. Questionnaires examined Prison Officers (N = 46) attitudes towards social skills, prisoners, and use of force. Participants were also able to provide open responses to questions regarding rehabilitative culture. The research found a strong link between use of force and rehabilitative culture at HMP/YOI Belmarsh. Significant relationships were identified between gender, experience, attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and use of force, of prison officers and their opinions of rehabilitative culture, showing an inextricable link. Qualitative data showed many Prison Officers believe there is no current rehabilitative culture at HMP/YOI Belmarsh, indicating staff who support a rehabilitative culture will also have positive attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and use of force.

Introduction

The purpose of prisons is to 'promote rehabilitation and reform to reduce reoffending'.[1] Working as a Prison Officer is a varied role which involves balancing the needs of prisoners with security and safety. This regularly pits rehabilitation against security, which is where use of force (UoF) can sit precariously balanced, this study aimed to investigate rehabilitative culture (RC) and its link to UoF at HMP/YOI Belmarsh.

Prison Service Order (PSO) 1600 describes UoF as 'any and all types of force that may be used against a prisoner, the use of planned and unplanned CandR and the use of any type of force in order to give effect to a lawful order'.[2] There has been a recent dramatic rise in prison violence in England and Wales. There was a 20 per cent increase in UoF incidents in prisons in 2018 compared to the previous year. Regarding HMP/YOI Belmarsh specifically, the number of UoF incidents had doubled from 2018 to 2021.[3]

HMPPS has committed to creating a RC in its prisons, but there are concerns it is being used as an attractive buzzword. It can be summarised as a culture within prison which provides the opportunity to change by tackling the reasons people commit crime and supporting them to lead a better life in and outside of prison.[4] A significant barrier for rehabilitation is prison violence, whether that means UoF incidents or prisoner-on-prisoner fights, highlighting the need to closely examine UoF and its relation to rehabilitative culture, even in establishments with relatively low levels of violence.[5]

Legitimacy is both the perception of fairness of force used and its legal legitimacy.[6] The lawful rules for using force in prisons are outlined in PSO 1600 and include making sure:

- ❏ it is reasonable in the circumstances
- ❏ it is necessary
- ❏ no more force than is necessary is used
- ❏ it is proportionate to the seriousness of the circumstances

It is argued UoF legal legitimacy is generally upheld, suggesting the perception of legitimacy by the prisoners is key in terms of non-escalation of violence taking place.[7] There is an important link to be made between social skills and the prevention of UoF instances. Social skills form the foundation of Prison Officer work.[8] One of the ways in which social skills prevent force is they increase the self-legitimacy in

1. Ministry of Justice. (2021). *Prison Strategy White Paper.* London: Ministry of Justice.
2. HM Prison Service. (2005). *Use of Force.* Prison Service Order 1600. Ministry of Justice.
3. HMIP. (2022). Report on an independent review of progress at HMP Belmarsh.
4. Mann, R., Howard, F. F., & Tew, J. (2018). What is a rehabilitative prison culture. Prison Service Journal, 235, 3-9.
5. Blagden, N., Winder, B., & Hames, C. (2016). "They treat us like human beings"—Experiencing a therapeutic sex offenders prison: Impact on prisoners and staff and implications for treatment. *International journal of offender therapy and comparative criminology,* 60(4), 371-396.
6. Trinkner, R., Kerrison, E. M., & Goff, P. A. (2019). The force of fear: Police stereotype threat, self-legitimacy, and support for excessive force. *Law and Human behavior,* 43(5), 421.
7. Klahm, C. F., Papp, J., & Rubino, L. (2016). Police shootings in black and white: Exploring newspaper coverage of officer-involved shootings. In *The politics of policing: Between force and legitimacy* (Vol. 21, pp. 197-217). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
8. Beijersbergen, K. A., Dirkzwager, A. J., Molleman, T., van der Laan, P. H., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2015). Procedural justice in prison: The importance of staff characteristics. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology,* 59(4), 337-358.

prison staff.[9] Toxic masculinity and macho attitudes have been found amongst prison staff, leading to a culture of praising force.[10]

Linking Use of Force and Rehabilitative Culture

Though prison violence in any form has serious implications for safety and security, there is a wider issue in terms of rehabilitation. This report aimed to understand Prison Officer attitudes towards UoF at HMP/YOI Belmarsh, and how this relates to their views on RC. The feeling of unfairness that is common in recipients of force can lead to the development of aggressive tendencies, psychological trauma, an increased likelihood of reoffending, and increased acts of rule-breaking within prison.[11] The sum of these consequences in relation to RC is that it makes reoffending far more likely. Social skills can prevent UoF incidents by improving staff-prisoner relationships and improving de-escalation skills.[12] It has been shown that the MoJ and HMPPS seek to improve the rehabilitative provision of prisons. By ensuring prisoners are respected, legitimacy is upheld, social skills are valued, and UoF is carefully overseen by all staff, RC can be allowed to flourish.

Research Aims

To understand the relationship between the gender identity and experience of Prison Officers in relation to their attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and UoF, as well as their opinions on RC.

Hypotheses

1. Male prison officers will be significantly more likely to have negative attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and UoF than female prison officers.

2. More experienced prison officers will be significantly more likely to have negative attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and UoF.

3. Attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and UoF are all linked — for example, those with poor attitudes towards prisoners will also have poor attitudes towards UoF.

4. Prison officers who score higher on the attitude scales will also have significantly more negative opinions about RC.

Method

Questionnaire

This mixed methods study consisted of a questionnaire, capturing gender identity, age, and experience. Participants were then asked seventeen attitude statements, which were self-Likert scaled (Likert scale ranging from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree)). The questionnaire used in this study was created by Kop and Euwema[13] and adapted where needed. Questionnaires were distributed and completed by participants in patrol state periods.

Data was collected from one establishment meaning data may have limited generalisability, and this was highlighted in the findings.

Table 1: The three attitude scales used in this study and their related terms

Scale Reference	Attitude Type	Subject Matter for Attitude
S1	Attitude Towards Prisoners	Prisoners
S2	Attitude Towards Social Skills	Social Skills
S3	Attitude Towards Use of Force	Use of Force

Measures

The predictor variables for the study were age, gender, and years of experience of participants. The outcome variables for the study were attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and UoF. This study used five measures.

9. Hacin, R., & Meško, G. (2018). Prisoners' perception of legitimacy of the prison staff: A qualitative study in Slovene prisons. *International journal of offender therapy and comparative criminology,* 62(13), 4332-4350.

10. Gariglio, L. (2017). *'Doing'coercion in male custodial settings: an ethnography of italian prison officers using force.* Routledge.

11. Klahm, C. F., Papp, J., & Rubino, L. (2016). Police shootings in black and white: Exploring newspaper coverage of officer-involved shootings. In The politics of policing: Between force and legitimacy (Vol. 21, pp. 197-217). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

12. Beijersbergen, K. A., Dirkzwager, A. J., Eichelsheim, V. I., Van der Laan, P. H., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2014). Procedural justice and prisoners' mental health problems: A longitudinal study. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health,* 24(2), 100-112.

13. Kop, N., & Euwema, M. C. (2001). Occupational stress and the use of force by Dutch police officers. *Criminal justice and behavior,* 28(5), 631-652.

Demographic data were collected in the form of gender identity, age, and experience as a Prison Officer. Attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and UoF were also collected. Finally, RC was measured as qualitative data through three open questions.

Participants

Participants were recruited using exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling. Questionnaires were given to Prison Officers working only on residential houseblocks. An equal number of male and female participants were recruited. 23 of the participants were male, 22 were female, and 1 preferred not to state their gender.

Data and Statistical Analysis

Statistical analysis was undertaken to understand relationships between measured variables and to reduce bias in answers. Experience as a Prison Officer was divided into those with one year or less and those with more than one year experience. Data were tested for normality using a Shapiro-Wilk test and either an independent samples t-test or Mann-Whitney U test was completed for each discrete predictor variable. A Pearson correlation coefficient was used to determine correlations between the continuous variables. The significance level and confidence level for this study were both 95 per cent.

Responses to Open Questions

Coding was completed to three open questions to give semantic and latent codes. An open coding technique was used to allow themes to appear from responses. There were two rounds of coding. In the first round of coding, codes were descriptive. A second level of coding collated codes into broader descriptions, resulting in fewer codes.
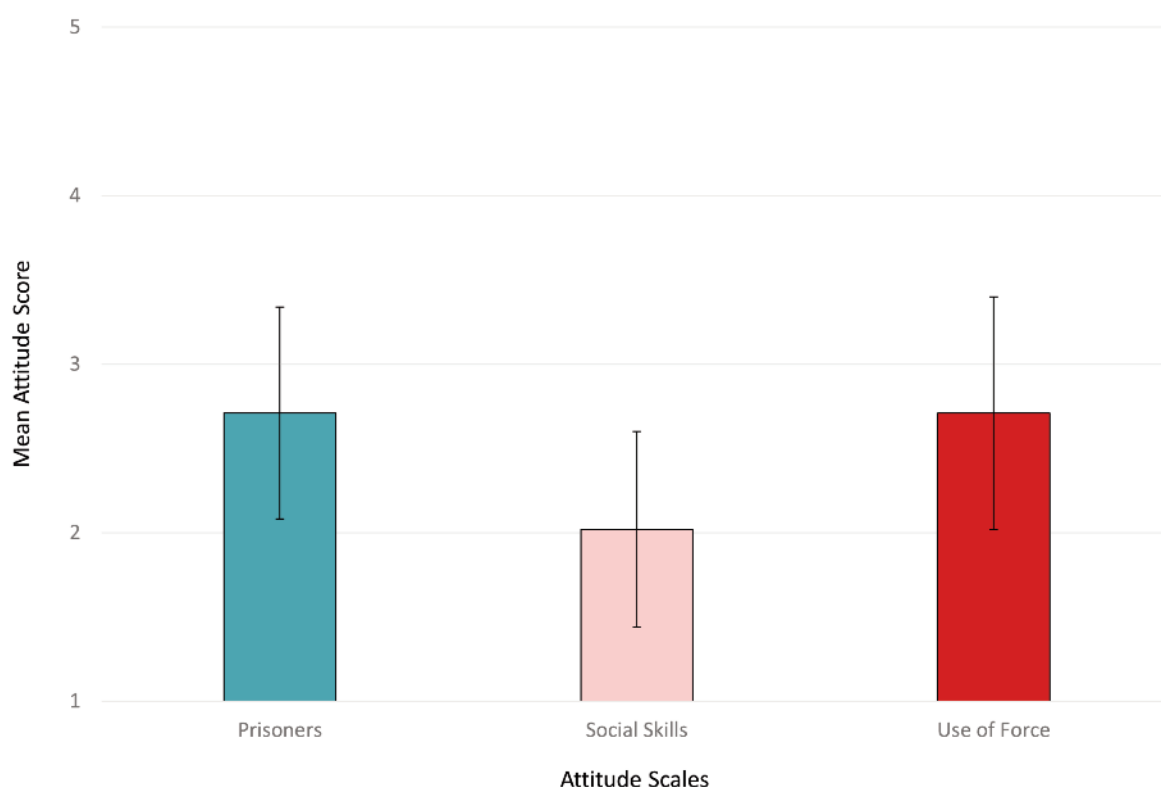
Results

Descriptive Statistics

The mean age of each participant was 30.41 years (SD = 8.13). The mean experience of each participant was 3.09 years (SD = 5.55).

Table 2: Descriptive Mean Statistics.

Category	N	Mean (years)	Standard Deviation
Age	46	30.41	8.13
Experience	46	3.0	5.55

Figure 1: Bar chart showing mean attitude score by attitude scale.

The mean score for S1 (attitude towards prisoners) was 2.71 (SD = 0.63). The mean score for S2 (attitude towards social skills) was 2.02 (SD = 0.58). The mean score for S3 (attitude towards UoF) was 2.71 (SD = 0.69).

Mean total attitude scores were split between gender and experience group. Those in experience group 1 were those with one year or less experience as a prison officer, those in experience group 2 were those with more than one year. This is shown in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3: Descriptive Mean Total Attitude Scores Split by Gender.

Attitude Scale	Gender	N	Mean Total	Standard Deviation
S1	Male Female	23 21	16.70 15.71	0.86 0.71
S2	Male Female	23 21	10.57 9.50	0.63 0.58
S3	Male Female	23 21	17.04 15.62	0.53 0.81

Table 4: Descriptive Mean Total Attitude Scores Split by Experience Group.

Attitude Scale	Experience Group	N	Mean Total	Standard Deviation
S1	A year or less More than 1 year	23 23	15.39 17.04	3.49 4.07
S2	A year or less More than 1 year	23 23	9.74 10.48	3.00 2.79
S3	A year or less More than 1 year	23 22	15.78 17.05	3.49 2.72

Statistical Analysis

Gender and Attitudes

The data was tested for normality by using a Shapiro-Wilk test. This showed responses to S1 (W = 0.98, p = 0.57) and S3 (W = 0.96, p = 0.13) were normally distributed, therefore it was possible to conduct a t-test. However, responses to S2 (W = 0.94, p = 0.02) were not normally distributed therefore a non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test was used to understand its relationship with the predictor variables.

A Mann-Whitney U test was required to understand the difference between male and female prison officers in their responses to S2 because the data was not normally distributed. This test showed gender had no significant effect on responses to S2 (U = 193.50, p = 0.17). However, the parametric t-test is robust enough to still understand differences between means, despite the data not having a normal distribution.

An independent samples t-test was conducted to understand whether the difference between the mean total attitude values for S1 and S3 were significant against gender identity. Regarding gender identity against S1, there was no significant effect, $t(43) = 1.10$, p = 0.57, CI [-1.03, 3.51], despite the mean total attitude score for men (M = 16.70, SD = 4.11) being higher than that for women (M = 15.71, SD = 3.24). Similarly for S2, $t(43) = 1.24$, p = 0.65, CI [-0.63, 2.80], men (M = 10.57, SD = 3.01) scoring higher than women (M = 9.50, SD = 2.72). However, there was a significant effect for gender identity against S3, $t(42) = 1.50$, p = 0.02, CI [-0.49, 3.34] with men (M = 17.04, SD = 2.55) scoring higher than women (M = 15.62, SD = 3.70).

These results partly support hypothesis 1, attitudes towards force. Those who identified as male scored significantly higher than those who identified as female, indicating a more negative attitude.

Experience and Attitudes

Responses to S1 and S3 were normally distributed, so it was possible to conduct a t-test to see if there was a significant difference in the responses of prison

officers depending on their experience group. A Mann-Whitney U test was required to understand the difference between experience group 1 and 2 in their responses to S2 as data was not normally distributed. This test showed years of experience as a prison officer had no significant effect on responses to S2 (U = 214.50, p = 0.27). However, the parametric t-test is robust enough to still understand differences between means, despite the data not having a normal distribution.

In regard to experience group against S1, there was no significant effect, t(43) = 1.48, p = 0.40, CI [-3.91, 0.60], with those in experience group 1 (M = 15.39 SD = 3.49) scoring less than those in experience group 2 (M = 17.04 SD = 4.07). There was also no significant effect testing for experience group against S2, t(44) = -0.86, p = 0.39, with those in experience group 1 (M = 9.74 SD = 3.00) scoring less than those in experience group 2 (M = 10.48 SD = 2.79). Testing for experience group against S3, there was a significant effect, t(43) = -1.35, p = 0.04, CI [-3.15, 0.62], with those in experience group 1 (M =

15.78 SD = 3.49) again scoring less than experience group 2 (M = 17.05 SD = 2.72).

Results partly support hypothesis 2, showing significant negative attitude from those with more than one year's experience towards prisoners and UoF, but not for prisoners or social skills.

Relationships Between Attitudes

To understand the relationship between S1, S2, and S3, it was necessary to identify correlations between them. Pearson's correlation coefficient was used as each question was compared with one another to observe linear relationships. As a reminder, S1 related to prisoners, S2 to social skills, and S3 to UoF.

Pearson's correlation coefficient showed age was not correlated with S1 r(46) = -0.04, p = 0.79, S2 r(46) = 0.17, p = 0.26, or S3 r(45) = 0.06, p = 0.69.

As shown below in Figure 2, there was a moderate positive correlation between S1 and S2 r(46) = 0.55, p = 0.01. This means participants who scored higher on S1 (M = 2.84, SD = 0.34) also likely scored higher on S2 (M = 2.02, SD = 0.58).
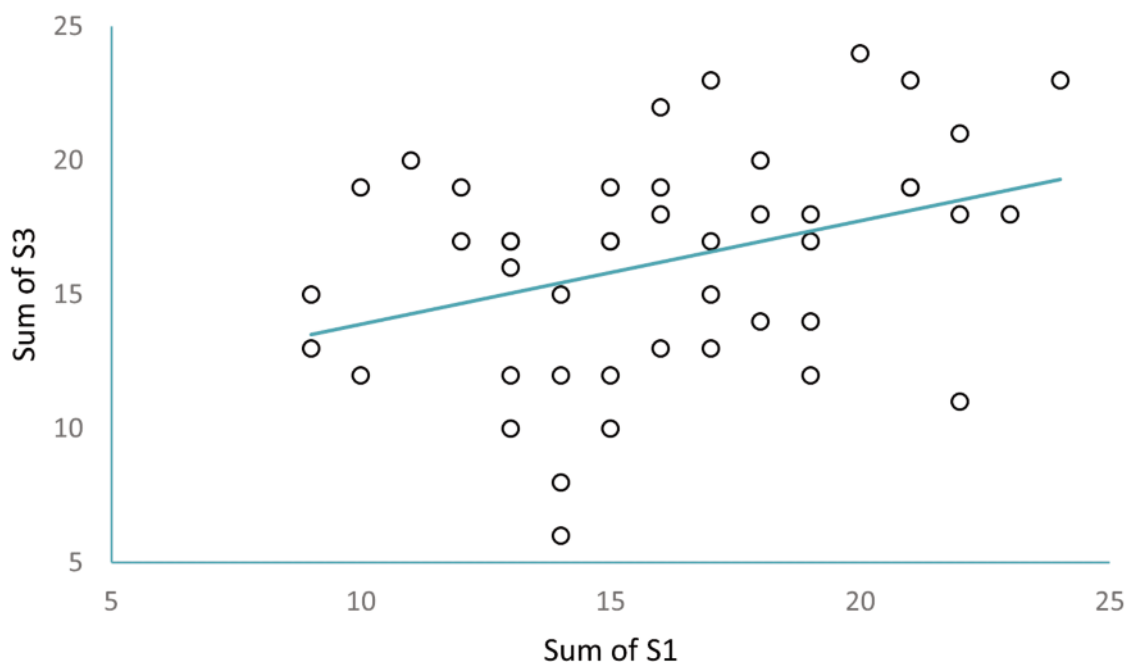
Figure 2: Scatter Graph Showing Correlation of S1 against S2.
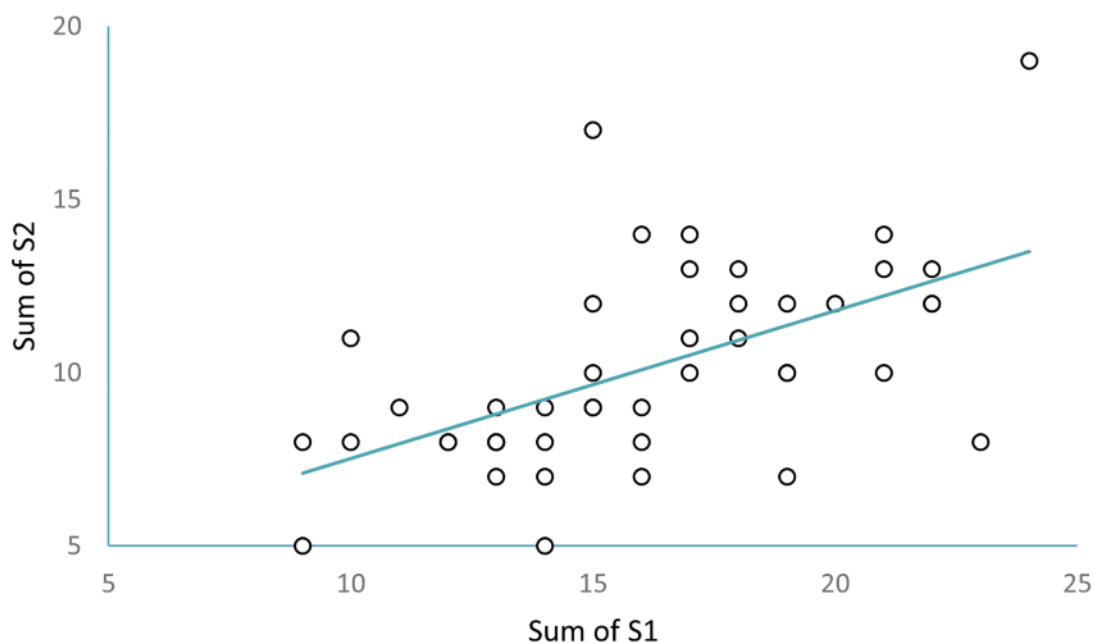
Shown below in Figure 3, there was a weak positive correlation between S1 and S3 r(46) = 0.32, p = 0.030. This means participants who scored higher on
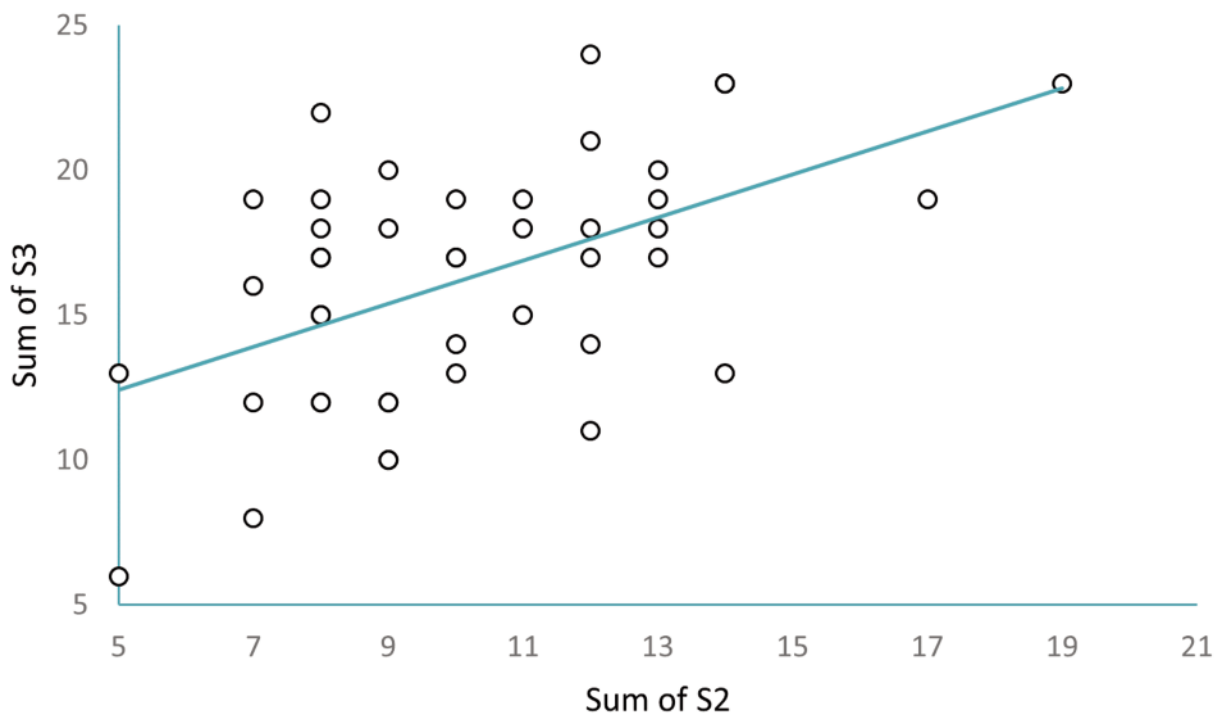
S1 also tended scored higher on S3 (M = 2.71, SD = 0.69).

Figure 3: Scatter Graph Showing Correlation of S1 against S3.

There was a moderate positive correlation between S2 and S3 $r(45) = 0.56$, $p = 0.01$. Participants who scored higher on S2 also scored higher on S3. This is shown below in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Scatter Graph Showing Correlation of S2 against S3.

These results support hypothesis 3, showing there are correlations between the attitudes of prison officers towards prisoners, social skills, and UoF. The strongest correlation was between attitudes towards social skills and UoF.

Responses to Open Questions —
*Rehabilitative Culture*

Figure 5: Bar chart showing the most frequently observed semantic codes for three open questions and their frequency.
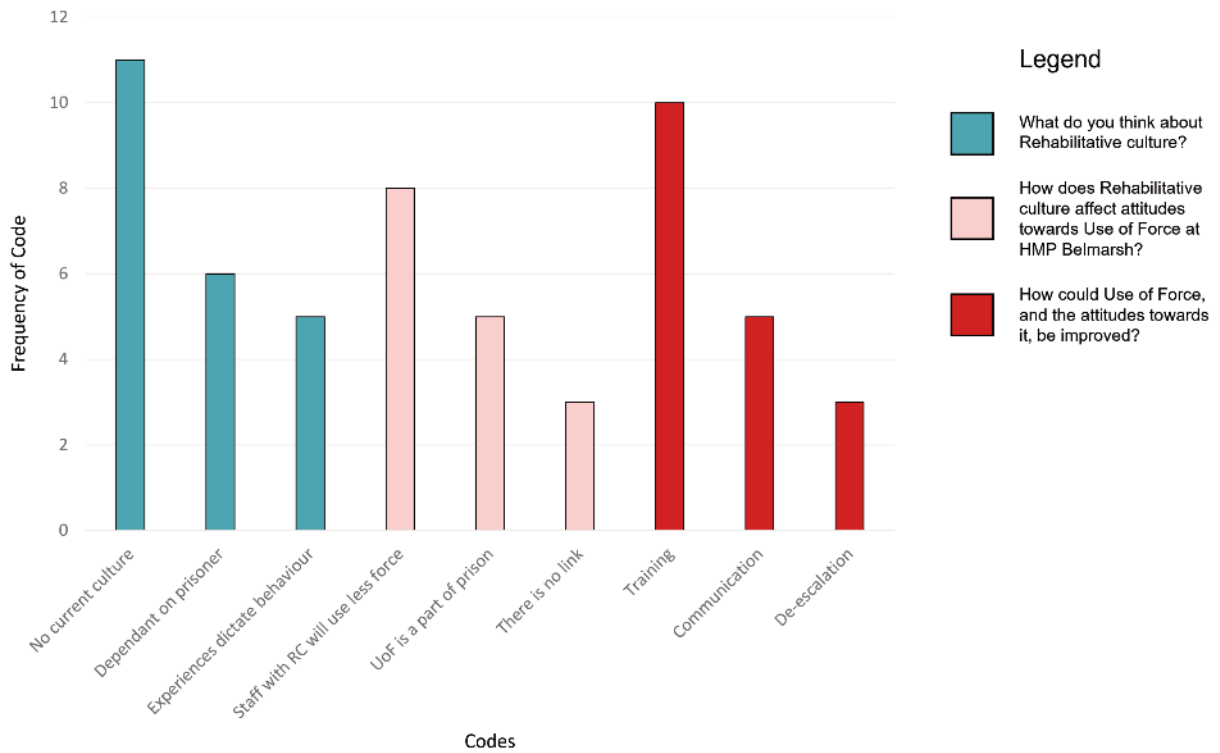
Responses to open questions were also tagged as having either a positive, negative, or neutral theme. In total, 53 (60.23 per cent) of the responses were positive, 20 (22.73 per cent) were neutral, and 15 (17.05 per cent) were negative. Mean total attitude scores were also split by their negative, neutral, and positive tags, and shown in Figures 6, 7, and 8 below for each open question.
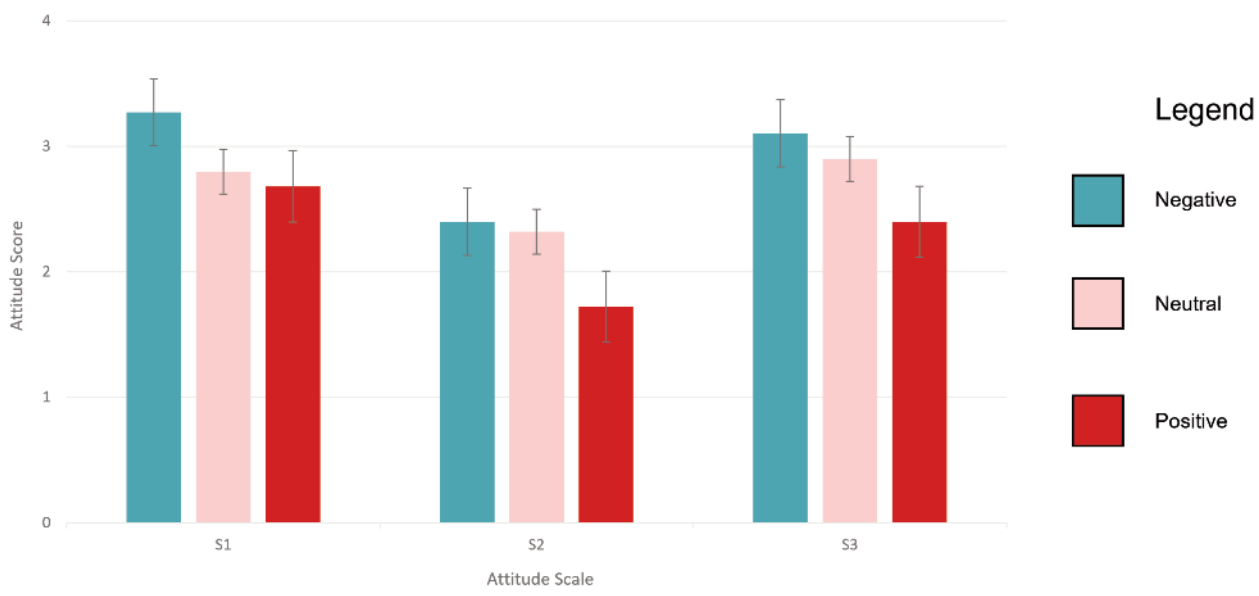
Figure 6: Bar chart showing the mean score for each attitude scale split by the negative, neutral, and positive themed responses.
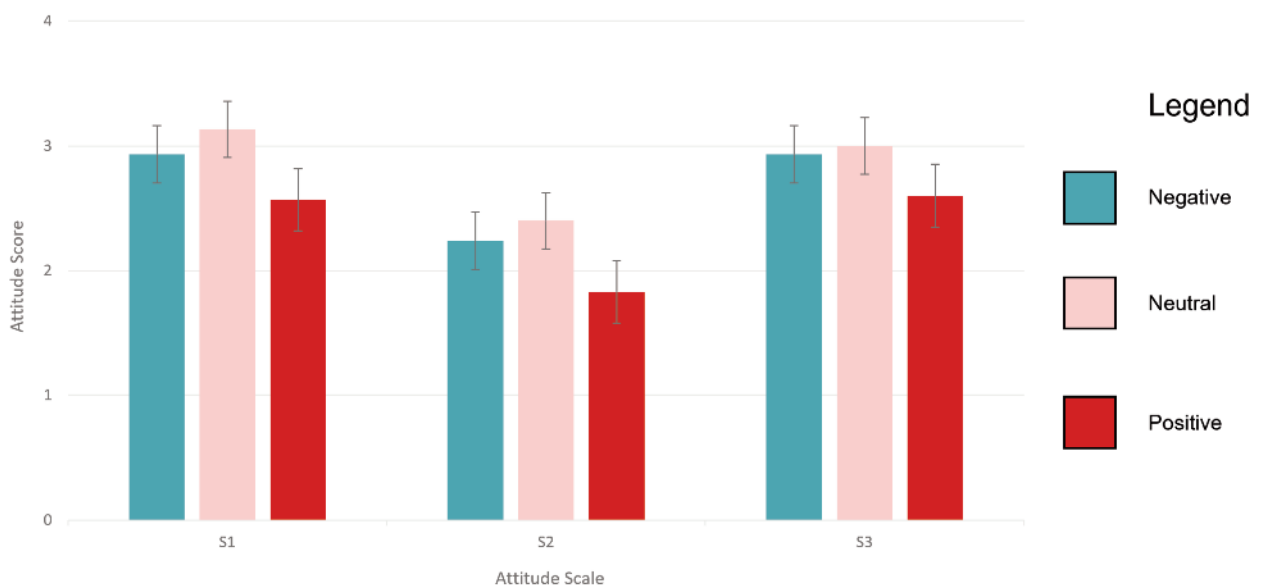
From the bar chart above it can be observed those with positive themed responses for the first open question scored lower (more positive) on S1 (attitude towards prisoners), S2 (attitudes towards social skills), and S3 (attitudes towards UoF) than participants whose responses were given neutral or negative themes. However, overlapping error bars show this was not significant.

Figure 7. Bar chart showing the mean score for each attitude scale split by the negative, neutral, and positive themed responses.

As seen above, participants with positive themed responses for the second open question scored significantly lower (more positive) on S1, S2, and S3 than participants whose responses were given negative themes.

Figure 8. Bar chart showing the mean score for each attitude scale split by the negative, neutral, and positive themed responses.
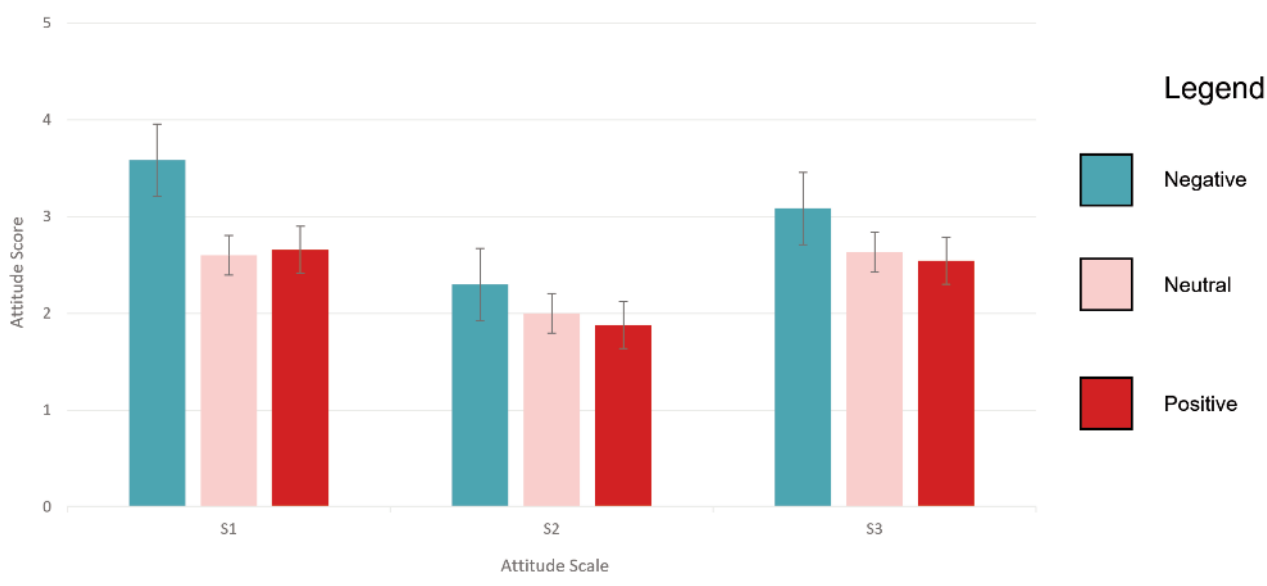
From the figure above, participants with positive themed responses for the third open question scored significantly lower (more positive) on S1, S2, and S3 than participants whose responses were given a negative theme. However, this was only significant for S1, as can be seen from the overlapping error bars for S2 and S3.

To summarise the results, hypothesis 4 was confirmed as those with positive opinions of RC scored lower (more positive) for S1, S2, and S3 on each open question.

Discussion

Results confirmed attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and UoF were linked, and showed how negative attitudes towards these was also mirrored in participants' responses to open questions on RC.

Gender and Attitudes

Results showed male Prison Officers had more negative attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and UoF, as shown in Table 3. However, this was only significant for attitudes towards UoF, as shown by conducting t-tests. Male Prison Officers agreed more to the statement physical force was an adequate response to an annoying prisoner, and some prisoners can only be brought to reason with force. This was in line with previous studies arguing male officers tend to use more force and 'macho' attitudes are commonplace amongst staff. [14] [15] The data may imply those who identify as male are more willing to use force based on their negative attitudes, although more research would be required to prove this. Attitudes towards prisoners and social skills based on gender showed no significant difference between males and females. This may also have been present as research was only carried out on houseblocks, as previous studies have

shown that female police staff are overrepresented in settings where force is unlikely. [16] More research is required to further understand the complex relationship between male and female prison staff and UoF and what implications this has for RC.

Experience and Attitudes

Results showed those with one year or less experience as a Prison Officer were more positive in their attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and UoF, as shown in Table 4. However, this was only significant for attitudes towards UoF, as shown through conducting t-tests. Based on the responses to the attitude scale, more experienced officers were more likely to agree that UoF is educational for prisoners and force should be used more often. This would imply working in prisons for an extended amount of time brings a worsening effect in prison officers' attitudes. It is positive to see that less experienced officers were optimistic and valued the social and respectful attributes that the prison service requires to improve RC. Results for experience were similar to that for gender, with both measures significantly affecting only attitudes towards UoF. This may show a particular problem with attitudes towards UoF, as results highlight significantly more negative attitudes compared to those towards prisoners and social skills when split by gender or experience. The implications for these findings are Prison Officers with less experience are more likely to be rehabilitative officers because they had more positive attitudes towards UoF. This link is further explored using qualitative data in the following sections. Regarding both experience groups valuing social skills, this may be an important base to build on with RC.

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14. Porter, L. E., & Prenzler, T. (2017). Police officer gender and excessive force complaints: An Australian study. *Policing and society,* 27(8), 865-883.
15. Gariglio, L. (2016). Photo-elicitation in prison ethnography: Breaking the ice in the field and unpacking prison officers' use of force. *Crime, Media, Culture,* 12(3), 367-379.

Relationships Between Attitudes

Attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and UoF were all correlated (See Figures 2, 3 and 4). For example, those who valued social skills also respected prisoners and those who did not value social skills did not respect prisoners. Research shows effective social skills reduce force.[17][18] This aligns with responses to the third open question, where the most frequent latent code for responses was social skills reduce UoF. It is accepted the use of social skills is an essential aspect of prison culture.[19] This was reflected in the study as participants reported more positive scores for social skills than any other part of the questionnaire, despite those attitudes becoming more negative if participants were negative towards prisoners or UoF.

Rehabilitative Culture

As seen in figures 6, 7 and 8, Prison Officers with negative attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and UoF recorded more negative opinions towards RC than those who had positive attitudes towards prisoners, social skills, and UoF. This was a significant finding of the research as it demonstrates a definite link between attitudes towards using force and rehabilitative culture.

This study shows there are some officers whose attitudes towards prisoners undermine rehabilitative processes. One participant stated Prison Officers who do not buy into RC are more likely to use force, and it was 'easy to identify these officers'. Responses to open questions also highlighted a lack of knowledge regarding RC. This was evident in responses with

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codes 'there is no link [between RC and UoF], 'there is no RC', and 'UoF is just a part of prison'. There was only one mention of rehabilitative practices currently in place at the establishment. There was no reference to procedural justice, keyworking, or any other core concept related to rehabilitation at the establishment.[20] If Prison Officers were trained in RC, it may be easier to implement rehabilitative practices at the establishment, leading to better outcomes for prisoners and better relationships between prisoners and staff.[21]

Despite a lack of knowledge, the majority of responses to the open questions were positive, showing many Prison Officers either already had positive attitudes to RC or possessed a willingness to change. A major theme was that improved processes in the establishment would remove barriers to RC, regime time constraints, provision for employment and housing, and provision for upskilling. Sixteen responses were designated the code: processes/systems will encourage RC. These barriers have been previously identified[22]. Individuals who responded in this way were eager to promote rehabilitation but felt limitations in prison processes restricted them.

It is unrealistic to overhaul hiring practices within HMPPS to only recruit staff who are able to pass a complex attitude test. However, RC training may be beneficial in Prison Officer training. There are limited options in regard to RC training for prison staff. Much of the training that exists is on a micro level, focussing on procedural justice or rehabilitation theory, or is designed for police.[23][24] More research should be done into RC

16. Porter, L. E., Prenzler, T., & Hine, K. (2015). *Police integrity in Australia*. Measuring police integrity across the world: Studies from established democracies and countries in transition, 67-96.
17. Arnold, H., Liebling, A., & Tait, S. (2012). Prison officers and prison culture. In *Handbook on prisons* (pp. 501-525). Routledge.
18. Crawley, E., & Crawley, P. (2008). Understanding prison officers: Culture, cohesion and conflict. *Understanding prison staff,* 134-152.
19. Kop, N., & Euwema, M. C. (2001). Occupational stress and the use of force by Dutch police officers. *Criminal justice and behavior,* 28(5), 631-652.
20. Mann, R., Barnett, G., Box, G., Howard, F. F., O'Mara, O., Travers, R., & Wakeling, H. (2019). Rehabilitative culture in prisons for people convicted of sexual offending. *Sexual crime and the experience of imprisonment,* 1-33.
21. Beijersbergen, K. A., Dirkzwager, A. J., Eichelsheim, V. I., Van der Laan, P. H., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2014). Procedural justice and prisoners' mental health problems: A longitudinal study. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health,* 24(2), 100-112.
22. Cracknell, M. (2021). Assessing the resettlement reforms under transforming rehabilitation. *Probation Quarterly,* (21), 18-22.
23. Skogan, W. G., Van Craen, M., & Hennessy, C. (2015). Training police for procedural justice. *Journal of experimental criminology,* 11, 319-334.
24. Wood, G., Tyler, T. R., & Papachristos, A. V. (2020). Procedural justice training reduces police use of force and complaints against officers. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences,* 117(18), 9815-9821.

training in general, research is also required on how RC training may affect Prison Officers' attitudes, and specifically whether it is possible for officers from the negative side of the scale to cross over to the positive as a result.

Conclusion

The results of this study shows a link between UoF and RC at HMP/YOI Belmarsh. A Prison Officer with a negative attitude towards prisoners is both likely to have negative attitudes towards social skills and UoF, whilst having more negative opinions of RC. Additionally, results show there may be room for improvement regarding UoF attitudes, this was highlighted as the value which split genders and experience groups. There was particular concern male Prison Officers had significantly more negative opinions compared to female officers, especially for those with more than a year experience, as this was also significantly more negative compared to those with one year or less experience.

This study has also built on previous research by further consolidating the value prison officers place in the use of social skills. This was highlighted throughout in low attitude scores towards social skills across the board, with no significant difference when split by gender or experience group.

A key benefit of this study was its local aspect. Results reflected the culture at HMP/YOI Belmarsh and therefore recommendations focus on improvements that can be made to RC at this particular establishment.

Recommendations

1. Research into RC training needs to be conducted on its effectiveness in improving the attitudes of Prison Officers towards UoF. It is essential to collaborate with those who possess lived experience for this work. RC training is required due to a lack of knowledge and poor attitudes towards RC from Prison Officers. From the RC-UoF relationship observed in this study, an improvement in RC may improve UoF attitudes.

2. The establishment should promote RC and celebrate good practice where it already exists. Results showed that some prison officers cared deeply about fostering RC, but their practice was undermined by a lack of support from some of their colleagues. This means:

   ❏ Rewarding staff who show great examples of RC.

   ❏ Seeking feedback from staff and prisoners on what RC should look like in the prison.

3. Processes should be reformed to enable rehabilitation. A review is required to show which processes would most impact RC, but this effectively means:

   ❏ Consistently providing protected time for keyworker sessions.

   ❏ Providing more courses for prisoners to gain skills. This provides officers an avenue to direct and support prisoners who want to rehabilitate.

   ❏ Embedding RC into processes from the ground up, for example, ensuring that adjudications use a procedural justice approach. By starting from a position of RC, processes can be designed to enable rehabilitation wherever possible. This will support and empower staff who are already motivated to break cycles of reoffending but are presented with procedural barriers.