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Special Edition
Rehabilitative Culture

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Dr Ruth E. Mann, *Rehabilitative Culture Lead, Public Sector Prisons North*

Dr Jamie Bennett is Governor of HMP Long Lartin and was Governor of Grendon and Springhill between 2012 and 2019. **Matt Tilt** is Governor of HMP Onley and was Deputy Governor of HMP Grendon and Springhill between 2015 and 2018.

Dr Sarah Lewis is Director of Penal Reform Solutions and **Steve Robertson** is Deputy Governor of HMP Guys Marsh.

Stuart Greene and **Andy Robinson** are serving prisoners at HMP Full Sutton. **Dr Bill Davies** is a Senior Lecturer in Criminology at Leeds Beckett University, and Director of the Leeds Beckett Centre for University and Prison Partnerships.

Georgina Barkham-Perry is a PhD student at the Department of Criminology, University of Leicester

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Dr Ruth Armstrong is a Senior Research Associate at University of Cambridge and Co-Director of Learning Together

Dr Amy Ludlow is Director of MSt in Applied Criminology, Penology and Management at University of Cambridge and Co-Director of Learning Together

Ahmed Shah, James Allen and Philip Peters are residents at HMP Springhill. They are interviewed by Dr. Jamie Bennett, Governor of HMP Long Lartin

Catherine Vickers-Pinchbeck is a Forensic Psychologist in Training at South West Psychological Services, HMPPS

Lucy Newton is based in the Rehabilitative Culture Team, Public Sector Prisons North

Richard Shuker is Head of Clinical Services at HMP Grendon. Andy Bray, Clare Cowell and Tris Green are specialist officers at HMP Grendon

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Editorial Comment

In January 2018, Prison Service Journal published an article by Dr Ruth Mann, Flora Fitzalan Howard and Jenny Tew, which focused on 'rehabilitative culture'. This article attempted to define a concept that had become increasingly discussed in prisons, had been the subject of a guidance document, and was starting to shape practice. The authors optimistically claimed, 'we are seeing something of a cultural revolution taking place'. A year and a half down the line, and interest has continued to grow in this concept and this edition of PSJ attempts not only to take stock of the current state of play, but also to provide ideas, illustrations and advice that are deliberately intended to shape practice.

The edition opens with an article by Dr Ruth Mann, in which she describes that a rehabilitative culture is 'a culture with a purpose; that is, to support people in turning away from crime and toward a different life'. As Mann explains, this is 'not necessarily the same thing as a happy culture, and certainly is not a soft culture'. The article goes on to highlight the seven features of rehabilitative cultures: relationships and interaction; gives hope; fair processes; physical environment; encourages identity change; builds social capital; and, rehabilitative leadership. The article illustrates these with a variety of examples from prisons.

The edition goes on to examine two examples of prisons that have cultivated more rehabilitative cultures. The first is HMP Springhill, an open prison, which became the first men's prison to achieve whole-prison accreditation as an Enabling Environment, through the Royal College of Psychiatrists. In a conversation between the previous Deputy Governor, Matt Tilt, and Governor, Jamie Bennett, they describe the journey the prison undertook, recovering from catastrophic failure and rebuilding the culture in a positive, progressive way. The second project described in this edition, is the Prison Growth Project at HMP Guys Marsh. Independent academic, Dr Sarah Lewis, and Steve Robertson, Deputy Governor of HMP Guys Marsh, describe the background to this project, its key features and impact. This was a project that originally started in a Norwegian prison, and fosters positive relationships and collaboration between those who live and work in prisons.

The sense of what is possible and what is achieved, will vary from prison to prison. This edition attempts to bring this to life through a series of interviews with those who are in prisons. This covers the spectrum of adult male prisons from high security, to category C, to open prison. These interviews illustrate that the exact shape of rehabilitative practices, and the perception of them, alters significantly in different settings. This reflects a number of factors, including the depth and weight of custody, the stage of sentence each individual is at, and the organisational context.

The edition then goes on to address the vital contribution of those who work in prisons. The Five Minute Intervention training has been an important element of the institutional support for nurturing rehabilitative cultures and has been rolled out nationally. Catherine Vickers-Pinchbeck contributes a qualitative study of this training. This study offers grounds for cautious optimism. It shows that those who work in prisons generally support rehabilitative aims, and either have relevant skills or can be assisted through training to develop them. Making the most of the talents of prison staff can, however, be hampered by resources. Many people feel they do not have sufficient time and opportunity to maximise their impact. Two further sets of interviews give opportunity for prison staff to describe their contribution to rehabilitative cultures. These interviews were conducted in a category C prison, a young offenders institution, and at HMP Grendon, a specialised prison housing therapeutic communities for men who have committed serious violent and sexually violent offences. These interviews show the passion, imagination and talent of those working directly with people in prison.

The previous edition of PSJ was on the theme of 'The prison crisis'. It is no accident that this is now followed by a hopeful edition. Indeed, it is no accident that the support for rehabilitative cultures has emerged during such a challenging time. Crises are clearly a threat to institutions, including prisons, but they are also an opportunity. They are an opportunity to move in new directions, take different approaches and develop innovative practices. The potential of rehabilitative cultures is that in a period of crises, they offer what Mann, Fitzalan Howard and Tew described 18 months ago as a 'cultural revolution' in penal practice.

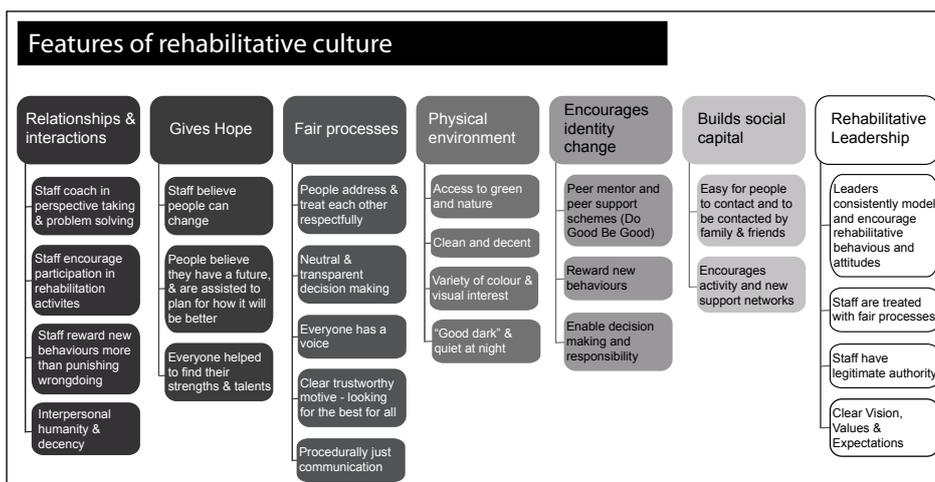
Rehabilitative Culture Part 2:

An update on evidence and practice

Dr Ruth E. Mann is Rehabilitative Culture Lead, Public Sector Prisons North'

In the January 2018 issue of PSJ, we¹ set out some ideas of what is meant by a rehabilitative culture in prison. We wrote about the importance of hope, leadership, fairness, reward, relationships and physical environment. In this article, eighteen months on, I will provide an update drawing on some important new evidence about the features of a rehabilitative culture. We are also learning from practice: as prisons explicitly undertake culture change we are quickly developing knowledge about how to create cultures that offer hope and opportunity for all.

The diagram below shows the features of a rehabilitative culture that we have identified so far.



The features we described in our previous article remain key to a *rehabilitative* culture. In the last 18 months, we have been able to expand on some of them, and add others. The main point here is that we are talking about a rehabilitative culture — a culture with a purpose; that is, to support people in turning away from crime and toward a different life. A rehabilitative culture is not necessarily the same thing as a happy culture, and certainly is not a soft culture. It is more than the prison's social culture; it includes the

prison's 'philosophy and fitness for purpose in relation to reducing reoffending'.² Challenging and enabling people to change requires a culture that is often demanding to work and live in. However the benefits of a rehabilitative culture far outweigh the demands: rehabilitative prisons are safer, and they provide much more job satisfaction for staff.

Relationships and interactions

In a people organisation, the way that the people relate to each other forms the heart of the culture. Rehabilitative relationships are more than supportive, positive relationships — although support and positivity are essential. They involve interactions where people

are enabled to think differently: to set positive goals, to manage emotions, to take other people's perspectives, to solve problems and to make good decisions. Research, particularly in probation settings, has identified some very specific ways in which these outcomes are achieved³ and has shown that such relationships are associated with significantly less reoffending. The most

rehabilitative interactions have a coaching element where staff are able to teach problem solving and decision making through Socratic questioning and a supportive style. Rehabilitative conversations involve positive feedback to recognise change, and they enable people to make their own decisions wherever possible rather than telling them what to do in a parental or authoritarian way.

In HMPPS, we have operationalised some of these skills through initiatives like Five Minute Intervention

1. Mann, R. E., Fitzalan Howard, F & Tew, J. (2018). What is a rehabilitative prison culture? *Prison Service Journal* 235, pp 3-9.
 2. 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.
 3. Bourgon, G., Gutierrez, L. & Ashton, J. (2012). From case management to change agent: The evolution of "What works" community supervision. *Corrections Research User Report 2012-01*, Public Safety Canada; Trotter, C. (1996). The impact of different supervision practices in community corrections. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 29, 1, 29-46.

training and the Strategy of Choices. Some prisons have started to augment these initiatives with other prompts to help staff and prisoners engage in coaching interactions — see Figure 1 and 2 below. In Figure 1, staff at HMP Wymott respond to low level rule violations with an offer to help the person change their behaviour instead of a punishment. In Figure 2, staff at HMP Haverigg use ‘catch someone doing good’ cards to acknowledge pro-social behaviour.



Figure 1: Time for Change at HMP Wymott



Figure 2: Catch Someone Doing Good at HMP Haverigg

Even when staff do not have coaching skills, or do not have the time to use them, they can make a difference simply by encouraging prisoners to engage in rehabilitative activity such as programmes, education, and work training⁴.

Even more important than **what** staff do is **how** they do it. New research from the Cambridge Prisons

Research Centre has established that in order to improve safety and reduce reoffending, interactions in prison need to be conducted with humanity and decency.⁵ The absence of humanity is ‘*experienced as psychologically painful and can lead to depression, suicide and/or anger, frustration and violence*’ (p. 2). The presence of humanity allows prisoners’ ‘*inherent human dignity to emerge*’ (p. 8).

It is easier to treat someone with humanity when you can understand the person behind the behaviour. An understanding of the impact of early life trauma such as adverse childhood experiences and brain injury can help staff respond differently to challenging behaviours including aggression, substance misuse and self-harm.

Hope

Desistance research, which examines the way in which people give up crime, has established how important it is that people have hope that they can have a satisfying future without crime. Shadd Maruna, the leading desistance expert, talks about the mindset of being ‘doomed to deviance’ when people feel they have no choice about how their lives are going to pan out.⁶ A rehabilitative culture nurtures the opposite mindset: a sense of control over the future coupled with strong self-worth and belief in your ability to ‘make it’.⁷

In order to give hope, staff themselves need to have hope that the people in their care can make it. We know it can be difficult for staff to hold on to hope when they only see failures — the people who return to prison — not the successes. To help create hope, many prisons are making an effort to publicise success stories of people who have found ways to transform their lives after leaving prison. These stories can become ‘narratives of hope’ that help everyone remember that change is achievable. Additionally, many prisons are finding innovative ways to reveal and develop people’s strengths and talents — artwork and music are frequent examples and, perhaps even more importantly, talents at helping and supporting others, through initiatives such as peer mentoring, peer tutoring, or active citizenship.⁸

In the last year, research has revealed (perhaps unsurprisingly) that hope in prison is strongly attached to the perceived likelihood of getting parole. For example, at HMP Warren Hill:

4. Molleman, T. & van der Broek, T.C. (2014). Understanding the link between perceived prison conditions and prison staff. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, 42. 33-53.
5. Auty, K. & Liebling, A. (2019). Exploring the relationship between prison social climate and reoffending. *Justice Quarterly*, 1-24.
6. Maruna, S. (2001). *Making Good*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
7. LeBel, T. P., Burnett, R., Maruna, S., & Bushway, S. (2008). The ‘chicken and egg’ of subjective and social factors in desistance from crime. *European Journal of Criminology*, 5(2), 131-159.
8. Edgar, K., Jacobson, J., & Biggar, K. (2011). *Time Well Spent: A practical guide to active citizenship and volunteering in prison*. London: Prison Reform Trust.

Prisoners spoke a language of hope and progress, terms which came up in almost every conversation.... They consistently explained that this was a place to come 'unstuck' and, as a result, they were positive, hopeful and engaged. Much of this optimism was related to parole... Warren Hill excelled in preparing prisoners for, and supporting them through, their parole'.⁹

This research speaks to the importance of the 'Offender Management Units' (OMUs) in prisons and their key role in rehabilitative culture. Traditionally more associated with public protection, sentence planning and risk assessment than rehabilitative activity in their own right, there may be more that OMUs could do offer hope and opportunity through their management of the parole process.

Fair processes

The importance of procedural justice has been written about extensively in the PSJ over the last few years. To avoid repetition, I will just note that there is strong and consistent evidence supporting the impact of procedural justice on both prison safety¹⁰ and post-release success.¹¹ Procedural justice should not be considered a 'buzz word'. It is a way of delivering institutional processes that makes an enormous difference to cooperation, views of authority, behaviour and outcomes. We must actively work to improve the consultation, respect, neutrality and transparency with which we communicate decisions and procedures, both formally and informally. Procedural justice is rarely achieved by accident: it needs to be formally designed in to how we operate, and it feels cumbersome and strange to do this initially. Procedural justice is an essential component of how staff relate to prisoners — how they convey decisions, make requests and so forth; but it is also necessary within the more formal systems of a prison, such as adjudications¹², local written notices, administration of incentives schemes¹³, cell searching¹⁴, and offender management.¹⁵ A number of



Figure 3: Procedurally Just communication door sticker, HMP Hewell.

prisons have produced some excellent examples of procedurally just notices and other communications — see Figure 3 for an example.

The benefits of focusing on procedural justice for everyone who lives or works in or visits a prison are absolutely worth it. An important new research study by HMPPS researchers Flora Fitzalan Howard and Helen Wakeling¹⁶ used four years' worth of MQPL and SQL data to examine how both staff and prisoner procedural justice perceptions were related to prison safety and staff well-being. Staff who had better perceptions of procedural justice were more rehabilitation-oriented, more committed to their jobs, had lower sickness rates and greater well-being. Prisons where prisoners had better perceptions of procedural justice had lower rates of suicide, self-harm and violence. Some types of prisons were perceived to be more procedurally just than others: the poorest staff

9. Liebling, A., Laws, B., Lieber, E., Auty, K., SCHMIDT, B. E., Crewe, B., Gardom, J., Kant, D. & Morey, M. (2019). Are hope and possibility achievable in prison? *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*.
10. Beijersbergen, K. A., Dirkzwager, A. J. E., Eichelsheim, V. I., & Van der Lann, P. H. (2015a). Procedural justice, anger, and prisoners' misconduct. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 42(2), 196–218.
11. Beijersbergen, K. A., Dirkzwager, A. J. E., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2016). Reoffending after release: does procedural justice during imprisonment matter? *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health*, 43(1), 63–82.
12. Wakeling, H & Fitzalan Howard, F. (2019). The use of rehabilitative adjudications for those in recovery. *Prison Service Journal*, 242.
13. Liebling, A. (2008). Incentives and Earned Privileges revisited: Fairness, discretion and the quality of prison life. *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention*, 9, 25-41.
14. Mann, R. E. (2019). Polite, assertive and sensitive: Procedurally just searching at HMP Holme House. *Prison Service Journal*, 242.
15. Bickers, I. (unpublished). *Offender supervision, prisoners and procedural justice*. MSt thesis: University of Cambridge.
16. Fitzalan Howard, F. & Wakeling, H. (2019). *Prisoner and staff perceptions of procedural justice in English and Welsh prisons*. HM Prison & Probation Service Analytical Summary. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/771324/prisoner-staff-perceptions-procedural-justice-research.pdf

perceptions were in local, training and young people's prisons, and the poorest prisoner perceptions were in dispersal and young people's prisons.

Physical environment

There is good evidence that poor physical conditions are associated with a range of problems for both staff and prisoners: reduced well-being, poor health, violence and disorder. To combat these negative outcomes, prisons can pay attention to improving not just cleanliness and decency, but also light, noise, access to green spaces and access to views of nature. New analyses of the importance of physical environment provide convincing arguments for the value of paying attention to light, colour and nature.¹⁷

While real views and access to real nature are ideal, art and photography also bring positive effects, especially if the images are long distance views in which the viewer can temporarily lose themselves. Use of varied and bright colour also has a positive effect, de-emphasising the institutional aspect of a prison and making big impersonal spaces easier to navigate. While prisoners are sensitive to attempts to manipulate mood and behaviour through colour (and there is in fact no evidence to suggest that any colour does have a calming effect), they tend to respond well to attempts to brighten and de-institutionalise prison environments.

Many prisons have been experimenting with putting these ideas into practice. For example, HMP Berwyn took advice from Professor Dominique Moran in its set-up phase and as a consequence is designed with brightly coloured interiors and furnishings, making

liberal use of photography of local Welsh landscapes. HMP Buckley Hall has similarly used large scale murals in its health care department and many prisons are now placing murals into all roof apexes. HMP Ranby in Nottinghamshire has affixed photographs of natural landscapes into its 'first night' cells and is now expanding the scheme to all cells across the prison. There are many more examples, even in urban prisons with little access to natural space or light.

The importance of good sleep, and the impact of the physical environment, is often overlooked in prison, where we have got so used to noise and light across each 24 hour period that we have stopped questioning whether or how to tackle it. But sleep disruption is strongly related to aggression within institutions¹⁸, and light and noise are two major sleep disruptors. It would therefore be valuable to consider what can be done to make prisons quieter and darker at night. Curtains in cells are an important start but we also need to think about noises created by night patrols — clanging gates and so forth — and the presence of strong artificial light rather than ambient light during sleeping hours.

Although it may be surprising to think that the nature of the physical environment can affect not only current behaviour but also long term outcomes, there is research in both school and hospital settings to indicate this is the case. For instance, in a detailed study of high performing vs poorer performing schools, the researchers found that the way the school maintained and decorated their buildings affected students' outcomes, but the age of the buildings did not:

'The school buildings varied in age from about ten to over a hundred years old. Some of the old buildings were decidedly unattractive and not well designed for contemporary approaches to secondary schooling.... The schools varied greatly in how they responded to the physical conditions available to them. It was striking how very different essentially similar buildings could be made to appear. Some of the older buildings had been made pleasant and attractive places through the imaginative and well planned use of decorations. They appeared smart and well-cared for; other schools, by contrast, had done little to transform their surroundings... These variations in the care and decoration of buildings proved to be related to outcomes'.¹⁹



Figure 4: HMP Buckley Hall: Healthcare full wall mural

17. Moran, D., & Turner, J. (2018). Turning over a new leaf: The health-enabling capacities of nature contact in prison. *Social Science & Medicine*. Early Online at <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0277953618302752> Moran, D. (2019). How the prison environment can aid recovery. *Prison Service Journal* 242.
18. Krizan, Z. & Herlache, A.D. (2015) Sleep disruption and aggression: Implications for violence and its prevention. *Psychology of Violence*, 6, 542-552
19. Rutter, M. (1982). *Fifteen thousand hours: Secondary schools and their effects on children*. Harvard University Press.

In England and Wales, some of our oldest prisons are proving that it is possible to create interior and exterior environments that are not only clean and decent but visually attractive and colourful. For example, the journey of HMP Liverpool in this respect has been openly documented on social media and rightly recognised for its considerable achievement during the course of 2018. HMP Stafford similarly has attained exceptionally high standards of cleanliness and visually stunning outdoor areas within a small urban space.

Encourages identity change

Desistance research has found that identity change is one important aspect of stopping crime. People with a *criminal identity* enjoy being part of a criminal group, they view this a positive thing, and they feel a connection with other people who commit crime and a disconnection with people who do not.²⁰ Criminal identity involves what has been termed *criminal thinking*: holding attitudes and beliefs that support crime, value criminal behaviour, and prize self-gain over the needs and rights of others.

The kinds of identities that are associated with desistance include the identity of a good parent and family provider (someone who provides emotionally and financially for his/her family through legitimate means), and someone who has concern for others, has experienced the reward to be found in caring for others, and sees themselves as putting effort into positively shaping the next generation.²¹ So an important challenge for a rehabilitative culture is to provide ways to help people try out different identities, experience the reward that comes from helping others, and create new connections that they view positively.

Programmes such as cognitive skills programmes can help people re-evaluate criminal thinking and promote perspective-taking and consideration of long term consequences. These programmes are strongly associated with reduced reoffending rates and are not replaced by rehabilitative cultures; rather the effect of

such programmes is maximised when all other aspects of the culture promote pro-social thinking and identity.

Another way of encouraging identity change is to create numerous opportunities for people in prison to nurture and care for others. Peer mentor and peer tutoring schemes are examples of what have been called 'do good, be good' activities. There is good evidence that these types of activities can have an impact on antisocial and risk-taking behaviour among young people, and can improve the health and well-being of older people. We know less about the impact of these activities on people serving sentences for crime, but if they follow the same basic principles of human psychology, we can expect that they should.²²

Prisons actually offer enormous opportunities for their residents to experience caring roles in relation to each other. Most prisons employ a considerable workforce of 'orderlies', mentors and peer supporters — violence reduction representatives, Listeners, gym orderlies, reading/writing peer tutors, and so forth. But there is one important aspect that must be considered in the allocation of these roles: generally, these roles are highly valued and hence are given to the people in prison who are considered most stable and trustworthy. These are probably the people who are least likely to have a strong criminal identity. In order to make prison culture more rehabilitative we may need

to experiment more with allocating roles on the basis of who will benefit most from taking them.

Criminal identity involves what has been termed criminal thinking: holding attitudes and beliefs that support crime, value criminal behaviour, and prize self-gain over the needs and rights of others.

Builds social capital

It is by now a well-known and often-cited research finding that people who get more visits in prison have better outcomes after release. There are as yet no research findings to show what increases visits, but there are some sensible and obvious steps that can be taken to make visits as easy and welcoming to families as possible²³, without overly disrupting the necessary security procedures that reduce the chance of a visit being used to bring in contraband. Visitors to prisons often experience what has been termed 'secondary

20. Boduszek, D., Dhingra, K., & Debowska, A. (2016). The integrated psychosocial model of criminal social identity (IPM-C SI). *Deviant Behavior*, 37(9), 1–9.

21. LeBel, T. P., Burnett, R., Maruna, S., & Bushway, S. (2008). The 'chicken and egg' of subjective and social factors in desistance from crime. *European Journal of Criminology*, 5(2), 131-159.

22. Barnett, G. (2018). "Do good be good" activities. HMPPS Evidence-Based Practice Summary.

23. With thanks to Heidi Scott Neale for her assistance in completing this section.

prisonisation'²⁴: they feel that because they are connected to someone in prison, they are treated as if they themselves are in prison. They are made to wait for long periods of time, they have to be searched, and then they are restricted in movement and physical contact. The physical environment and set up of a typical visiting room also makes it hard to have personal or difficult conversations. There are some good examples in the research of how a professional, dedicated, and consistent visits staffing team can make the visiting experience much less stressful, simply by treating people with respect and fairness and by explaining why certain security procedures are necessary. Visiting rooms that are designed with normality in mind are also better environments, especially for children who are visiting.

Many prisons are putting considerable energy into improving the visits experience: family days, sports days, outdoor visiting areas, redecoration of visits rooms, and so forth. Family members have clearly welcomed these initiatives. Nevertheless, many visitors continue to report secondary prisonisation, suggesting there is still more progress to make.

Social capital goes beyond contact with family and friends, although these are crucially important. It also involves having wider supportive social networks. These may be built around shared interests such as sport, or with the involvement of community organisations designed to help people build better lives, such as churches, recovery support groups or third sector support organisations. A good example of an initiative in prisons that can increase social capital on release is ParkRun. ParkRuns in prison started at HMP Haverigg and are now spreading throughout the prison estate in England and Wales. The beauty of ParkRun is that it combines the healthful advantages of fresh air and exercise with a predictable and welcoming social environment that operates in exactly the same way in the community as it does in prison.

Rehabilitative Leadership

While there have been no formal studies of rehabilitative leadership in prison, there are considerable clues from research in other settings such as schools about what kinds of leadership behaviours best allow people to grow, develop and reach their best potential. For instance, in his description of transformational school leadership²⁵, education guru Tom Bennett noted that

'Cultures require deliberate creation. A key role of leadership is to design a detailed vision of what the culture should look like for that school, focussing on social and academic conduct. Expectations must be as high as possible, for all'.

Once there is a vision, leaders need to carefully and deliberately build the culture:

'This means demonstrating it, communicating it thoroughly, and ensuring that every aspect of school life feeds into and reinforces that culture'.

The translation to the prison setting is easy to make. As part of the rehabilitative culture programme, prison leaders are articulating their vision and values, and finding ways to communicate and demonstrate them. As Tom Bennett also notes, communicating about the culture is not a one-off activity. It must be reinforced over time, through leadership behaviour, oral and written communication, and official policy and strategy documents. Great leaders take their staff from sceptical to engaged by repeatedly and consistently explaining and demonstrating their values.

Figure 5 shows examples of a prison vision, and Figures 6 and 7 show prison values statements. In the first two cases, a simple memorable message has been created. At HMP Woodhill, the values have been made even more memorable by the use of pictures and symbols.



Figure 5: Prison Vision example (HMP and YOI Deerbolt)

24. Comfort, M.L. (2003). In the tube at San Quentin: The "Secondary Prisonization" of women visiting inmates. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 32(1), 77-107
25. Bennett, T. (2017). Creating a culture: How school leaders can optimise behaviour. Department of Education. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED574131.pdf>

WHAT WE STAND FOR!
<p>Safety is our No 1 priority, we will maintain a safe environment for staff and prisoners that sets a solid foundation for change.</p> <p>Talent, we will find the talent in the men through work and learning, we will give opportunities to our team so they can develop, promote and succeed.</p> <p>Openness, we will be open, inclusive and honest with the men and with each other, our procedures will be fair and transparent.</p> <p>Courage, we will show courage every day both physically and morally (by always doing the right thing).</p> <p>Kindness, We will be kind and respectful to each other and to the men.</p> <p>Excellence, we are a great prison with good people and we will always try to be the very best that we can be. We will show this through the quality of our physical environment. We will reward staff and prisoners by acknowledging peoples effort even if it means just a small change for the better.</p> <p>Never Give Up! We keep going as a team whatever the task. We don't get too disappointed if a person fails to meet our expectation. We encourage our men to keep trying, to fight addictions, to learn new skills and to change their lives for the better. We act as a community and support each other.</p>

Figure 6: Prison values example (HMP Stocken)



Figure 7: HMP Woodhill Values

Returning again to the example of HMP Warren Hill, researchers have observed the powerful impact of a vision that is understood by all and continually reinforced through leadership behaviour:

*'The vision for Warren Hill was underpinned by realism, reflecting a concrete commitment to 'doing things differently', but safely, in order to **both** enable, nurture **and** support prisoners in forging their own journeys of redemptive change, and manage risk... Managers talked often with staff about 'developing empathy' and 'trying to understand where behaviours come from...[Staff] believed strongly in the Governor's vision, whom they described as respected, progressive and fully present.'*²⁶

The other aspect of leadership that has been strongly linked to both prison safety and better outcomes on release is the use of legitimate authority. Legitimacy involves the firm but respectful use of authority, doing what you say you are going to do, and commanding respect through your personality rather than through threats and warnings. Legitimacy sounds rather obvious common sense; however, it is actually quite difficult to achieve in prisons: 'Because prisons are full of power, and power has inherent tendencies towards abuse, misapplication and corruption, achieving [legitimacy] is an uphill struggle'.²⁷

Finally, procedural justice is as important for the staff of a prison as it is for the prisoners. When staff feel they are treated fairly, as well as experiencing better well-being and less occupational stress, their behaviour to others in turn is more rehabilitative.²⁸

Concluding thoughts and observations

Rehabilitative culture is focused on enabling change — not on creating or maintaining stability. It is an ambition for prisons that goes beyond 'safe, decent and secure'. In an era where poor standards of decency and high rates of

violence and self-harm have been frequently highlighted, it is tempting to limit our ambition to making prisons cleaner and safer. However it is my argument that this does not achieve the best outcomes we are capable of. While decency, safety and security are related to better reoffending outcomes, so are prisoner wellbeing and personal development²⁹. Focusing on rehabilitation as the ultimate goal of imprisonment does not distract leaders and staff from cleanliness and safety; rather it enhances their achievements. The journey of HMP and YOI Brinsford is a good example here. In November 2013, Brinsford received the lowest possible scores from HM Inspectorate of Prisons against all four tests of a healthy prison. In a follow up inspection in February 2015, not only was the prison described as 'spotlessly clean' but relationships between staff and prisoners were described as 'very good'. In a period of under 18

26. Liebling, A., Laws, B., Lieber, E., Auty, K., Schmidt, B. E., Crewe, B., Gardom, J., Kant, D. & Morey, M. (2019). Are hope and possibility achievable in prison? *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*.
 27. Auty, K. & Liebling, A. (2019). Exploring the relationship between prison social climate and reoffending. *Justice Quarterly*, 1-24, p20.
 28. Fitzalan Howard, F. & Wakeling, H. (2019). *Prisoner and staff perceptions of procedural justice in English and Welsh prisons*. HM Prison & Probation Service Analytical Summary, www.gov.uk.

months, therefore, it had proved possible to significantly improve not just environmental decency but also rehabilitative orientation in the staff.

Rehabilitative culture is not 'soft' or 'fluffy' — a favourite way of dismissing its value. Being rehabilitative does not mean saying yes to everyone's request but knowing how and when to say no. An excellent description of rehabilitative culture as a bounded and disciplined culture can be found in the recent description of HMP Warren Hill by Alison Liebling and colleagues:

'Staff were fully present and engaged without displaying unnecessary power. Staff were in control of the prison and prisoners were aware of rules and boundaries, but the regime did not feel oppressive or stifling. Authority was deployed through high-quality relationships founded on mutual respect and a sense among prisoners that the

establishment was fully invested in their growth'.³⁰

Some people question the term 'rehabilitative culture' and whether it is a term that staff identify with. There has been discussion about whether the concept has gained sufficient traction throughout the prison service, or whether it is seen as a 'psychology' thing or an 'organisational development' thing. There is no doubt that both psychology and OD professions have very important contributions to make to culture change in prisons. But it is my observation that the most powerful understanding of, and efforts towards, rehabilitative culture in a prison occurs when it is personally driven by the prison's senior operational leadership, involving all levels and disciplines of staff, and when the men or women residing in that prison have a voice and role in culture change too. It is in these prisons where the most exciting transformational work is taking place.

29. Auty, K. & Liebling, A. (2019). Exploring the relationship between prison social climate and reoffending. *Justice Quarterly*, 1-24.

30. Liebling, A., Laws, B., Lieber, E., Auty, K., Schmidt, B. E., Crewe, B., Gardom, J., Kant, D. & Morey, M. (2019). Are hope and possibility achievable in prison? *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*.

Creating an Enabling Environment

Dr Jamie Bennett is Governor of HMP Long Lartin and was Governor of Grendon and Springhill between 2012 and 2019. Matt Tilt is Governor of HMP Onley and was Deputy Governor of HMP Grendon and Springhill between 2015 and 2018.

The concept of Rehabilitative Culture (RC) encompasses 'all aspects of our culture being safe, decent, hopeful and optimistic about stopping offending'.¹ This is not only concerned with services and policies but also with the social environment, created by the nature of the relationships between people. The importance of social environment is not only significant in prisons, but in many institutions and workplaces, such as schools and hospitals. Recognising this, the Royal College of Psychiatrists embarked on a project to 'bridge older distinctions between clinical and non-clinical settings, to develop a single common core vocabulary, applicable across a range of agency and service environments, for those factors in the social and community 'dimension' which are believed to be positive for health and well-being'.² This led to the development of the 'Enabling Environments Standards', creating 'a common core of key principles and value statements which underpin all such attempts to establish quality services which foster productive relationships and promote good mental health'.³

There are ten Enabling Environment (EE) Standards: belonging; boundaries; communication; development; involvement; safety; structure; empowerment; leadership, and; openness. Organisations can be assessed for the Royal College of Psychiatrists 'Enabling Environments Award', an accreditation that can be awarded for three years as 'a mark of quality allowing a service to demonstrate that it has achieved an outstanding level of best practice in creating and sustaining a positive and effective environment'.⁴

The EE award has been embraced by many prisons as a means of promoting the development of rehabilitative cultures. This has largely been sought on

small, specialist units, including those working with people with very complex needs. Only two prisons have achieved the Enabling Environments Award for the whole prison. The first was HMP Drake Hall, a women's prison, and the second, was HMP Springhill, a men's open prison.

This article focusses on the process of working towards the EE award at HMP Springhill, and is a discussion between the Governor and Deputy Governor during the period in which the main work towards this was undertaken.

The value of Enabling Environments

JB: Going back to the start of the journey, the engagement with EE accreditation came when Springhill was at a very low ebb. In 2013, a prisoner had been released on temporary licence (ROTL) from Springhill and had committed a murder. This terrible event exposed serious weaknesses in the ROTL process and had shaken the confidence of the establishment. The HM Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP) carried out an investigation into the events that led to the murder and were rightly critical, describing that 'the system failed the public it was supposed to protect'.⁵ This led to major changes in the national ROTL policy. The impact at Springhill was significant. An inspection of Springhill in 2014, noted that the events had 'struck at its central purpose' and that although there was work to improve ROTL, 'getting this right was difficult; relationships were being impacted and staff in some roles were very stretched'.⁶ They assessed that purposeful activity and resettlement work were 'not sufficiently good'. The start of the work on EE accreditation was consciously recognising that Springhill was rebuilding. EE was a vehicle for this reconstruction.

1. HM Prison and Probation Service (2018) *Rehabilitative culture handbook: second edition* London: HM Prison and Probation Service

2. Royal College of Psychiatrists (2013) *Enabling environments standards* available at <https://www.rcpsych.ac.uk/pdf/ee%20standards%20-%202013.pdf> p.3

3. Ibid

4. Ibid

5. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2014) *A review by HM Inspectorate of Prisons: Release on Temporary Licence (ROTL) failures available at* <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprisons/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2015/07/ROTL-unredacted-WEB-amended-16-July-2015.pdf> p.5

6. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2014) *Report on an unannounced inspection of HMP Spring Hill 6–15 May 2014* available at <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprisons/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2014/09/Springhill-Web-amended-2014.pdf> p.6

You joined Springhill after those events and the inspection reports. What was your view on the value of EE?

MT: I saw it as part of a desire to get the rehabilitative culture strategy better within the prison. That was also an issue highlighted in the 2014 inspection report at Springhill. Initially EE wasn't top of my agenda, I was more focussed on how rehabilitative culture could be developed.

To set that off, we ran some 'culture web' exercises, facilitated by the regional psychology team and local managers. There were separate sessions with the senior management team, staff and residents. In these sessions, participants were asked to describe elements of the existing organisational culture. A follow up session was also held in which they were asked to identify what improvements would better facilitate a rehabilitative culture. We went to town on it a bit in order to try to make it meaningful.

The idea of this was that it gave us a structure to pin the rehabilitative culture work on. This generated action plans, which were then managed through a monthly rehabilitative culture committee. Initially that was our focus, and EE was just a secondary item on the committee agenda. Over time that switched. That was partly because the culture web exercises often generated actions that were intangible. The EE process had a clear structure, with ten standards and a number of indicators for each standard. There was more to get our teeth into and it became a better way of driving forward a rehabilitative culture.

Delivering Enabling Environments

JB: There is a business side to achieving EE accreditation, with self-assessments against the standards and action plans to meet them. The assessment also requires the production of a substantial portfolio of evidence. How was that drawn together?

MT: It wasn't always smooth. There were some false starts. Initially we went on one unit, but that faltered, before we decided to go for prison-wide accreditation. That decision was made in a staff meeting, when there was some debate about what

was the best approach and in the end the whole team agreed that a whole-prison approach was right.

JB: What did you feel were the main barriers to achieving the EE award?

MT: It's a big task putting together the portfolio and developing the organisation, so it needs investment of time and energy. The sheer scale of the task can be a barrier.

The language was also a barrier. The award comes from the health sector and so terms such as 'recipient' and 'provider' had to be translated into our context. We had to do work to make sense of the standards in our particular setting and make it relevant and accessible to people involved.

JB: Having started the process, how was it developed?

MT: There was good attendance at the rehabilitative culture committee, in part because there was a three-line whip to attend. Committee members were then asked to identify an EE criteria against which we were doing very well. The response to this was patchy and it looked like progress was going to be very slow producing the portfolio. We discussed this and you agreed to put some resources into this. Initially, you suggested a consultant, who might work with us, but that didn't come off. We then identified a PhD student, who came on board, working with us part-time, collecting data for the portfolio

of evidence. We needed that resource. It was necessary to either free someone up internally or bring someone in to support.

JB: The role of the PhD student was to support the process, gathering the evidence rather than being the strategic project manager. You and the Head of Residence at Springhill led the programme, supported by members of the rehabilitative culture committee. The PhD student offered some additional administrative support in compiling the portfolio and assessing this against the standards. This was necessary as this was a time when there were significant vacancies, so it wasn't possible to free someone up internally, but there was some underspend we could use to fund this.

MT: The PhD student we brought in started by undertaking a systematic review of the evidence we had gathered for the portfolio. He went through each

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of the ten standards and identified where we were meeting the standards and had sufficient evidence; where we were meeting the standards but did not have sufficient evidence, so had to collect more, and; where we were not meeting the standards and we had to consider what more we might do to meet the standards. It was the third group that was the driver for change. Without that, we would simply have been putting forward evidence of what we already did. This review was extremely useful in giving us a clear starting point.

The next step was to make the action deliverable. We set up a team for each of the standards, which included an officer, an administrator, an operational support grade, and a prisoner. Those multi-disciplinary teams then had to take forward the actions from the review of the evidence. The rehabilitative culture committee was the main body for feeding back progress. We held those meetings more regularly coming up to the assessment.

To give some focus and impetus to the process, we also set a date for the EE assessment visit to take place. It was in August 2017 that the PhD student was recruited and the assessment took place in November.

JB: After completing the portfolio, there was then an assessment visit, where an assessor appointed by the Royal College of Psychiatrists came to the prison in order to evaluate us against the EE standards.

MT: Yes, how we planned and undertook that was as important as the portfolio itself. As well as the traditional portfolio, with documents in three or four lever arch folders, we wanted the visit to include evidence of the standards presented in a more visual way. We created stands including photographs and quotes, addressing each of the ten standards. These were displayed in different places around the prison, matching the standards to the area. For example the standard on 'Belonging', which includes supporting newcomers and marking people leaving, was displayed in the reception area. We had a prison officer and a prisoner taking the assessors around the site and introducing them to staff and prisoners in each of the ten locations. Everyone talked really passionately about what they do and how they contributed towards creating an EE. We did all the

'red carpet' treatment, offering them a nice meal at the lunch time, hosted by some of the prisoners.

JB: The first assessment concluded that eight of the ten standards had been met, but that further work was needed on the other two. The EE award was not therefore given at that point, but instead there was a six month period in which to implement a development plan and meet the other two standards, with a re-assessment visit scheduled for the end of that period.

MT: There was a time lag between the assessment and the outcome being published to us. During that time we were in a bit of limbo. When we got the feedback, it felt fair, as we'd come a long way but done it quickly so it needed to be embedded. Their main feedback was that we had done a lot to demonstrate our commitment to what they call 'recipients' of the service, in our case prisoners, but we hadn't done enough to show that we met the EE standards for 'providers', in this case the prison staff. We had to do more work on induction and professional supervision in particular.

JB: We went into the first assessment almost seeing it as a staging post towards gaining accreditation. We didn't really expect to get it first time around, but actually the assessment day went so well that we started to hope that we might. I agree that the feedback was fair and helpful. We responded by developing a further plan to address the points raised and we updated the portfolio to respond to the feedback provided. At the re-assessment visit, we had to go bigger and better than first time around.

One part of the feedback is that we didn't have sufficient evidence of commitment from what they described as 'back office staff', by which they meant for example administrators. Rightly, the assessors had a view that these people undertake important work that has an influence on the wider culture. In order to evidence the commitment of all staff, we created a pledge committing themselves to the principles of EE, which was signed by people from all around the establishment. We also gathered personal statements for the portfolio from people, including 'back office staff' about how they contributed towards EE. Then on the re-assessment day, the assessor met with about 50 people in the boardroom, where people from all

One part of the feedback is that we didn't have sufficient evidence of commitment from what they described as 'back office staff', by which they meant for example administrators.

around the establishment talked about their work, how meaningful it was and how they contributed towards EE. There was a real buzz around the room, a sense of positivity. People really believed in this and wanted to be part of it. It was a really moving experience to be there.

It was after the re-assessment that we received the feedback that the EE accreditation was to be awarded to Springhill.

Nurturing an Enabling Environment

JB: Focussing on some of the content and substance of an Enabling Environment, this was integrated with a series of developments around the prison. There was a concerted effort to improve education, training and employment both inside the prison and externally for people on ROTL.

Following the implementation of a series of revisions to the ROTL policy and practice in 2013 and 2014, the number of people going out each day dropped to less than 20 from a population of 330. This meant that the new policies could be implemented and the necessary improvements made to the process. With a safer and more effective process in place, we were then building this up, helping men to secure education, training and employment places in the community. By 2017, this saw an increase to 80-100 being out each day doing meaningful rehabilitative work. Inside the prison, there was also much closer attention paid to ensuring that people were attending education and work places. In an open prison, that can be challenging as it is a large site with relatively few staff. There was good engagement from those who worked at Springhill who did a good job at challenging non-attendance and addressing any issues. We also had to ensure that what prisoners were being asked to do was meaningful. We didn't want work in the kitchens, waste management or farms and gardens, to just be seen as us exploiting people for cheap labour. So, there was investment in providing qualifications to people in those workplaces and creating opportunities on ROTL for people to use the skills and qualifications they gained in those workplaces to secure employment.

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The way these developments were discussed were important. The learning and skills provision at Springhill had consistently received 'requires improvement' on OFSTED inspections, and attendance was sometimes as low as 85 per cent. I've got kids at school and I kept asking myself and others the question, 'would I send my kids to a school that constantly 'requires improvement' and where nearly one in five of the students don't turn up every day'. My answer to that question was 'no'. So, if I wouldn't accept this as a recipient of a public service, then I couldn't accept it as a provider. Most people could equally get that. There was good support from people thinking about how they could personally play a role in improving standards and improving attendance.

One of the other areas that has always been challenging at Springhill is the physical state of the accommodation. Some of it is past its normal life and every HMIP or Independent Monitoring Board report rightly highlights that although the living accommodation is generally clean, it is old and in need of replacement. How did you approach this from an EE perspective?

MT: One way that was encouraged was the introduction of a monthly 'cleanest hut' competition, with the prize being a special communal meal for the winning hut. This was also linked to the idea of people having a

sense of community within their own hut.

We did introduce some painting and maintenance on the huts, with the men being able to take some responsibility for their own environment. There were mixed results as that was the period in which the facilities management provider, Carillion, was struggling and eventually went into receivership. That is certainly an area where there is a lot more potential.

JB: What thought was given to basics such as food and clothing in an EE context? I can certainly think of how we encouraged important cultural and faith celebrations such as the festival of Eid to be shared occasions. In that example, Muslim residents could invite a member of staff or another resident of a different faith to join them for the meal. This was positively received and built shared understanding and appreciation.

MT: There were also events such as the 'Bake off' competition, in which teams of residents from each hut made cakes. There were over 50 people took part in each competition. It helped to bring people together.

JB: What about sports?

MT: Yes, one of the initiatives that came out of the EE work was the introduction of a Parkrun. Through this, staff, prisoners and people from the community could take part in those weekly events. That was one way that they gym added to what they were doing to bring people together.

JB: Arts were also important. I would get a lot of people contacting me asking to run projects at Grendon, attracted by its reputation for therapeutic work. I would try to divert some of these offers to Springhill. For example, the Irene Taylor Trust funded a musician in residence for three years, and Drawing Connections, an off-shoot of University of Cambridge's Learning Together programme, involved a creative collaboration between residents, staff and students at a local college. The most extensive and successful partnership was with Kestrel Theatre, who worked with men to write and produce plays, which were performed inside the prison and at the prestigious Royal Court Theatre in London.

As well as all of these activities that prisoners could get involved in, how could they be encouraged to get involved in the day to day running of the prison?

MT: The prison council changed to reflect the principles of EE. One way this happened was that it became hut-based, so there was a representative from each hut. This again reinforced the idea of each hut being a community. The idea was that the representative would consult with the others on the hut. They representatives had to meet with one of the supervisory officers prior to the main council in order to identify five key questions they wanted to raise. This made it more structured and effective.

The peer support was strengthened. One particular way was setting up a dedicated information and advice room where orderlies were available to support people with requests, applications, and practical problems.

JB: With any staff group, some people will be enthusiastic, some will go with the flow and others

will be resistant. What did you sense was the response at Springhill?

MT: We discussed that at the start, in particular the minority who were resistant. We agreed that we shouldn't expend our energy simply taking on those who were negative, but rather encourage those that were positive and so marginalise and reduce the negative minority.

This was successful to start with, but then we made the next step, which was that when we put together the groups to deliver the EE standards, some of the people we allocated work to were those who were less engaged but were potentially influential. Many of them responded to this and in fact some really thrived and became quite fired up about it.

JB: You set out your expectations at the beginning by delivering a series of three presentations at successive staff meetings.

MT: Yes, explaining rehabilitative cultures, legitimate authority and EE itself.

JB: One thing that I hadn't seen before that grew organically out of this process was that on three occasions we had residents presenting at staff meetings. Once it was on identifying people at risk of absconding, the second time was the screening of a short film made by residents in collaboration with Kestrel Theatre and the third time was a presentation on the work of

Listeners. I recall the first time being struck by how warm the reception was. I felt that really showed how the culture was shifting.

Families of prisoners have a significant role too. One of the benefits of being an open prison is that there are outside areas that can be used. Based on feedback from residents, we developed a small coppice near the visits areas where children and parents could be taken on guided woodland walks. More recently, the men worked with Kestrel Theatre to write and perform a pantomime for families during the visits time.

How was success celebrated and recognised?

MT: For residents there was a monthly recognition event. There were three points at which residents were recognised: achieving their first ROTL; gaining an educational or vocational qualification,

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and; when they were about to be released. The idea was that we would get some positive feedback from people about each individual, and they would also give some reflections and testimony on their achievement. The intention was to foster a sense of hope. Each person would receive a certificate but as well as the more formal parts of the event, there was tea and cake and we would encourage people to stay afterwards and talk to each other.

JB: We also have to deal with people breaking the rules. In late 2017, we had a cluster of absconds and I remember considering at the time how this could be approached in a way that reflected EE principles rather than just taking a punitive approach. One of the EE standards on 'Communication' says that how people act is a form of communication. Our initial analysis showed that indeterminate sentence prisoners were absconding more frequently at that stage. Putting the EE principles into practice, I invited all of the indeterminate sentence prisoners to a meeting to discuss how together we could reduce the reasons for abscond and better support people who are at risk of absconding. The outcomes of this were: a request for a hut dedicated to men serving indeterminate sentences where they could support one another; dedicated lifer family days, and; more regular dedicated meetings for indeterminate sentence prisoners. These were all implemented following the meeting.

Outcomes of Enabling Environments

JB: The outcomes of the EE award were not solely the award for its own sake, although it was a significant achievement. The impact on the establishment as a whole was significant. We talked at the beginning about how the EE process was intended as a vehicle for wider organisational improvement, prompted in part by the HMIP reports in 2014. At the end of 2017, after the initial EE assessment, there was a further inspection conducted by HM Inspectorate of prisons. This was a significant gauge of the progress that had been made. The outcome was that the prison improved on the inspectorate judgements for

'purposeful activity' and 'resettlement' and was now outcomes for prisoners were 'good' or 'reasonably good' in all four areas.⁷ In addition, OFSTED judged for the first time that learning and skills provision at Springhill was 'good'.

The experience of residents and staff also appears to have improved. In 2018, there were Measuring the Quality of Prison Life (MQPL) and Staff Quality of Life (SQL) surveys conducted at Springhill. This is the first time since 2014, so again it is a reflection of the period in which EE was developed. The outcomes showed that overall quality of life for both staff and prisoners improved, as did their perceptions of safety.

Another set of outcomes relate to the relationship between Grendon and Springhill. Sometimes, it seems that Grendon has greater prestige and reputation and that Springhill is a bit in the shadow. The therapeutic work at Grendon is accredited by the Royal College of Psychiatrists and now, through EE, Springhill is accredited by the same professional body. This raises the prestige and reputation of Springhill, as well as better integrating the services across both establishments. A further outcome is that following the EE award, Springhill was commissioned to deliver a service for prisoners with complex needs as part of the joint Ministry of Justice and National Health Service, Offender Personality Disorder (OPD) Pathway.⁸ This is something that has been lobbied for over several years with the work towards EE being part of the case presented to commissioners. The commissioning of this service also improves integration with Grendon, which is already part of the OPD pathway.

This is a process that has improved the experience of those who live and work at Springhill, and the success has been demonstrated in a range of organisational measures.

MT: There was also an impact in the culture, encouraging greater empowerment. The process encouraged the idea that if there is something that can be done to improve, then do it. Of course not everyone would accept that responsibility, but enough people did to create a more dynamic community.

7. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2018) *Report on an unannounced inspection of HMP Spring Hill 4–15 December 2017* available at <https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmiprison/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/04/Spring-Hill-Web-2017.pdf>

8. See <http://personalitydisorder.org.uk/the-offender-personality-disorder-pathway/>

'May your choices reflect your hopes, not your fears'

-The importance of reciprocal hope in prison growth

Dr Sarah Lewis is Director of Penal Reform Solutions and Steve Robertson is Deputy Governor of HMP Guys Marsh.

There is no better time than the present for an article on hope in prisons. Given the challenges that we are now facing as a service, both in custody and in the community and perhaps even as a society, the desire or even demand that we should be hopeful about our future, is timely. Hope is a word often cited, but rarely defined or examined in great detail. This article examines the importance of hope, during a prison reform project called The Prison Growth Project. This article will introduce the Prison Growth Project and briefly outline its approach and the guiding principles of growth, which were used to structure this change and maintain a research-informed focus, in a Category C prison. The article will then explore the role of hope in the creation of a culture based on personal growth. It will also draw on personal reflections as well as the voices of residents and staff, to illuminate those practices that have developed and maintained hope. It will propose that hope plays a significant role in initiating and maintaining prison reform and reciprocal hope is an even more powerful vehicle to co-construct a new prison identity, centred on growth. When taking the words of Nelson Mandela into account stated in the title, this article aims to convey the importance of choices which are associated with reform, to reflect hope in humanity and not fear of failure.

Introducing Hope and Growth

Hope is a future orientation, an optimism that expects a positive outcome or a product. It is a strong desire for something particular to happen, an anticipation or aspiration, an ambition or even a dream. In a custodial setting, hope becomes magnified and issues are illuminated much more, due to the challenges that are presented by those who we care for. When we strip away our thoughts, our feelings and our

policies, we are fundamentally confronted by people who are mostly vulnerable and who are no longer able to rely on the support and warmth of a family's bond. With this in mind, hope is central to prisons, as prisons are by their very nature a space that encourages the opposite. With this in mind, the Prison Growth Project was established and developed, with hope at its core; hope for change, hope for reform and ultimately, the hope that prisons can be meaningful places that support rehabilitation. The Prison Growth Project is a research informed initiative that facilitates the development of a climate that supports personal growth for all those who enter prison and addresses the prison as a whole. The Prison Growth Project uses evidence-based research to instil hope through appreciative inquiry, by capturing those aspects of practice that staff can be proud of. These practices consistently contribute to a healthy prison and a prison identity, which is desistance-focused. This English project was initially established in 2016, following a three year research project that took place in Norwegian prisons, which examined aspects of practice, which support rehabilitation. The lessons learned from this research were then used to inform the growth of a new prison identity in an English prison, with the aim of stabilising the climate and slowly but consistently developing a culture of growth.

On an academic level, The Prison Growth Project focuses on individual growth and also considers broader identities and specifically the identity of the prison itself. Its approach embraces the notions of unconditional positive regard, humanistic thinking and providing conditions for change, rather than imposing change on people¹. It also focuses on desistance-centred practices, which promote the strengths of an individual and organisation, through the development of social and human capital. It openly recognises that several obstacles are the norm within such an ambition and overcoming these obstacles has to be part of the change process. The Prison Growth Project

1. Rogers, C. (1967). *On becoming a person: A therapist's view of psychotherapy*. London: Constable & Company.

acknowledges that altering the climate provides an insight into what a rehabilitative culture may look like, even though this may be for a fleeting moment. Through this experience, growth is felt and reflected upon as well as researched and disseminated back into the prison, informing staff of the benefits of such an environment. Through this process, a growth culture can steadily grow and be nurtured, legitimising the process through research, knowledge and relationships. It is not imposed from above but is instead grown in a piecemeal fashion. As a growth environment, it slowly accumulates and takes root. Growth also suggests that it is a continuous process and there is ultimately no final destination, as the prison takes on a growth identity and re-writes its own narrative, in an informed and collaborative fashion.

In 2014, the first Prison Growth Project was established at Bastøy prison in Norway. This project was part of a larger research initiative that embraced resident engagement within research and used visual methods to engage the global community, illuminating quality practice. Through photo-essays, staff and residents were asked to capture which aspects of practice promoted growth and why. These findings were displayed for educational purposes to the staff and residents of the prison and five researchers, who worked and resided at Bastøy prison, supported the author throughout the research process, from design to analysis. Bastøy prison was chosen as a research site, due to its exceptional international reputation and its focus on humanistic ecological principles. Following the success of this work, the project was extended to two other Norwegian prisons, being; Halden high security prison and Sandaker Halfway House. Whilst these three prisons were very different in size, organisational structure and categorisation, they all shared a similar philosophy of nurturing an environment which focused on rehabilitation, through the principle of normality.

From the three projects, the principles of growth were evident across all three establishments. These principles were used to guide all interventions and events, with the aim of striving for quality and magnifying meaningful practice, within an English context. The principles of growth resulting from this research were:

Meaningful Relationships: Developing respectful and positive relationships with fellow residents, staff, family and society.

Meaningful Work: Aligning the strengths of an individual to provide a framework to work in a purposeful manner. This is focused on the individual and matching their talents/skills/interests to work opportunities.

Finding Pro-social Ways of Coping with Prison: Developing healthy coping strategies to manage the difficulties of imprisonment, rather than resorting to unhealthy strategies that are harmful to the person and others.

Tasting Freedom: Feeling free can promote a sense of ease, which enables people to consider and reflect upon their own identities. This involves spaces in the prison where residents could think for themselves and be themselves. It may be physical places where people can use their imagination, carry out activities where the mind can escape, or being given the freedom and responsibility to make decisions.

Experiencing Normality: Doing 'normal things' builds confidence and allows the residents to feel and be responsible. It provides a dress rehearsal for living in the community, as the prison aims to mirror the community as much as possible from within.

Promoting Wellbeing: The focus on a healthy mind and body can produce a number of positive consequences, building strength and overcoming obstacles successfully.

Connecting with Nature: Engaging with nature provides a sense of privilege, to a world bigger than oneself.

Experiencing Joy and Peace: Spending time in quiet spaces was one of the key opportunities to provide peace and ease, within a challenging environment.

Constructing a Positive Climate: The co-construction of an environment which focuses on ownership, community and belonging is essential. Community based activities (like wellbeing days) promote the development of a positive climate, as well as physical changes to the environment.

Investing in People: The investment in staff, families and residents were deemed important, as it highlights that people are seen and deserve investment.

Authentic Leadership: The need for courageous, authentic leaders that are pro-social, respectful and decent. Leaders with a strong vision, and pro-active attitude are paramount to growth as well as leaders that embrace the growth principles and advocate them in all that they do.

(Taken from the Prison Growth Project Manual, 2018)

The focus on a healthy mind and body can produce a number of positive consequences, building strength and overcoming obstacles successfully.

Turning to the academic literature: What is hope?

Hope is defined as a cognitive and motivational state that involves a mutual interaction between goal-directed energy (agency) and a planned roadmap to meet a goal.² There are three elements to hope: a goal, a pathway, and agency (energy); A goal or vision allows a focal point and provides the direction of travel; pathways increase an understanding of strengthening capacity and create mental roadmaps to that goal and; agency encapsulates an individual (or in our case, a collective) view that 'we can do it'.^{3,4} These ideas of hope feature within a prison context and it has been suggested that hope is a personality trait of hopefulness, rather than 'having hope' in an individual's capacity to change.⁵ This would suggest that hope is a relatively stable construct and is embedded within people. It can influence spiritual and psychological development⁶ and the absence of hope can lead to burnout, mental health issues and suicide.⁷

Further to this, it is proposed that people with high levels of hope are capable of setting challenging goals, focusing on approach goals ('I will improve'), rather than avoidance goals ('I will stop').⁸ This mirrors the work of Tony Ward and is seen to be more motivational in attaining 'goods' in life.⁹ Placing this within the context of the 'prison crisis', for those prisons that remain unstable, violent and riddled with drugs, the experience of imprisonment (for everyone) is incredibly painful. It is suggested that for a person to be able to withstand suffering such as this, they must be given hope¹⁰, proposing that the starting point for rehabilitative success is when an addict hits 'rock bottom'.¹¹ This state of sheer hopelessness has been found to shift as hope is restored, providing them with hope and an opportunity to change. On an organisational level, this can be compared to the prison

Hope impacts on our willingness to learn, change and adapt; all things that are vital within a prison setting, for both staff and residents.

identity in 2016, as staff described this feeling of hitting 'rock bottom'. This signified the importance of nurturing hope, to increase motivation in change and belief in something better.

Within the literature there are three main classifications of duties towards individual 'prisoners', namely; respect, care and hope.¹² With regards to hope, three points consider how these classifications might be translated into practice. One is that we develop structures and activities that aid residents, in order to retain a sense of hope and direction. The second is that it should be a moral imperative to support those in custody, and to give them opportunities to better themselves. Thirdly, for prison staff to counteract the inevitable periods of depression, with encouragement

and suggestions about the future. All of these points are crucial and ought to be maintained as some of the main tenets of the work of staff in prisons. However, we reflected on how we could develop these ideas of hope and introduced a more person-centred approach, considering the importance of relationships. Relationships in prisons are at the forefront of many of our new initiatives, including key working and how we support those in crisis. We strongly feel that there is a demand for this to become more inherent to the way

we work and that it becomes naturally more acceptable and culturally the norm. We should not solely rely on the safer custody officer, the chaplain or that officer who is 'good with residents', but instead position hope at the core of what we do as a prison, and proudly recognise this as a strength of a healthy and legitimate institution that rehabilitates.

The function of hope in growth: A vehicle for change and a safeguard against harm.

The role of hope within prison is multifaceted. Prisons should be places of hope, meaning, safety and

2. Snyder, C. R. (2000). Hypothesis: There is hope. In C. R. Snyder (Ed.), *Handbook of hope: Theory, measures, and application* (pp. 3-21). New York, NY: Academic Press.
3. Snyder, C. R. (1994). *The psychology of hope: You can get there from here*. New York, NY: Free Press.
4. Snyder, C. R., Cheavens, J., and Sympson, S. (1997). Hope: An individual motive for social commerce. *Group Dynamic: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 1, 107-118.
5. Mei Law, F., and Jen Guo, G. (2016). Correlation of hope and self-efficacy with job satisfaction, job stress, and organizational commitment for correctional officers in the Taiwan Prison System. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 60(11) 1257-1277.
6. May, G. G. (1991). *The awakened heart: Living beyond addiction*. San Francisco, CA: HarperCollins.
7. Hanna, F. J. (1991). Suicide and hope: The common ground. *Journal of Mental Health Counselling*, 13, 459-472.
8. Snyder, C. R., Lehman, K. A., Kluck, B., and Monsson, Y. (2006). Hope for rehabilitation and vice versa. *Rehabilitation Psychology*, 51, 89-112.
9. Ward, T. (2006). *Promoting human goods and reducing risk*. Beyond retribution (pp. 111-117).
10. Frankl, V. (1984). *Man's search for meaning*. New York, NY: Washington Square Press
11. Vignansky, E., Addad, M., and Himi, H. (2018). Despair will hold you prisoner, hope will set you free: Hope and meaning among released prisoners. *The Prison Journal*, 98(3), 334-358.
12. Bottoms, A., (1990). *Justice, guilt and forgiveness in the penal system*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Centre for Theology & Public Issues

dignity and the removal of hope brings with it an erosion of these important rehabilitative 'goods'.¹³ Hope impacts on our willingness to learn, change and adapt; all things that are vital within a prison setting, for both staff and residents.¹⁴ With respect to staff, hope can be positively associated with job satisfaction and self-efficacy (our ability to believe in our own capability) and this was linked with organisational commitment, something that we certainly need at this stage in prison reform.¹⁵

Hope is also an important matter to the families of those in custody. In the recent Farmer Review, the agency of families reminded us all of the 'golden thread' of rehabilitation.¹⁶ This often 'missed' opportunity is now gathering good pace and it is refreshing to see the positive uptake of how families can support establishments and how we can encourage change in those in our care. It is a timely reminder however, to consider the difficulty that is faced by the families of those in prison and their ability to continue to support and provide comfort. This absence of consistent love, this particular pain of imprisonment, is one that could be repaired if we became more hopeful. We should be encouraged that if hope is stimulated in the families of those in prison and become more involved, this may in turn generate trust and ignite openness, which can only be positive and productive in our enthusiastic ambitions, to flourish as a service. Relationships therefore became central to the growth strategy, not only between staff and residents, but with families and the community outside.

Hope can also prevent a number of issues that have been historically linked to prison work. It can prevent burnout¹⁷ and enhance job performance,

leading to higher quality problem solving.¹⁸ Job stress is prevalent within correctional work, and is described as; 'feeling job-related tension, anxiety, frustration, worry, emotional exhaustion, and distress.'¹⁹ Hope therefore can be considered as a vehicle for change and a safeguard against harm.

With the function of hope in mind, we started the Prison Growth Project in England just before a prison inspection in 2016, which, in light of the findings depicted a state of organisational hopelessness. An initial assessment of the environment highlighted the level of hopelessness in those that worked at the prison, as stated below;

'The majority of staff have shown signs of burn out due to the environment that has developed. This includes:

- expressing an inability to cope and tearfulness,
- exhibiting feelings of helplessness,
- cynicism,
- a lack of control over their own job,
- a lack of clarity over their role,
- sickness and deterioration of mental health,
- a lack of trust,
- changes in appetite and increased alcohol use,
- exhaustion,
- difficulties in prioritising,
- confusion,
- spending time on tasks that are either overwhelming or boring,

Hope is also an important matter to the families of those in custody. In the recent Farmer Review, the agency of families reminded us all of the 'golden thread' of rehabilitation.

- wanting to isolate oneself,
- no motivation,
- working long hours with no breaks'.

Report published in December 2016

At this time, the characteristics of job stress resonated with both authors.²⁰ As the 'as is' environment was captured, the following activities were specifically designed to instil hope in the future, as

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13. Liebling, A. (2017). The Meaning of Ending Life in Prison. *Journal of Correctional Health Care*, 23(1), 20-31.
 14. Dufrane, K., & LeClair, S. W. (1984). Using hope in the counselling process. *Counselling and Values*, 29, 32-41.
 15. Mei Law, F., and Jen Guo, G. (2016). Correlation of hope and self-efficacy with job satisfaction, job stress, and organizational commitment for correctional officers in the Taiwan Prison System. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 60(11) 1257-1277.
 16. Farmer, L. (2017). *The importance of strengthening prisoners' family ties to prevent reoffending and reduce intergenerational crime*. Ministry of Justice. Accessed from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/642244/farmer-review-report.pdf
 17. Youssef, C. M., & Luthans, F. (2007). Positive organizational behaviour in the workplace: The impact of hope, optimism, and resilience. *Journal of Management*, 33, 774-800.
 18. Peterson, J. P., & Byron, A. K. (2008). Exploring the role of hope in job performance: Results from four studies. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 29, 785-803.
 19. Mei Law, F., and Jen Guo, G. (2016). Correlation of hope and self-efficacy with job satisfaction, job stress, and organizational commitment for correctional officers in the Taiwan Prison System. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 60(11) 1257-1277.
 20. Ludema, J., Cooperride, D & Barrett, F. (2001) AI: the power of the unconditional positive regard question. In *Handbook of Action Research*. Edited by P. Reason and H. Bradbury, pp.189-199. London: Sage.

a way to mobilise the change process and ultimately, build hope.

Building hope through research: An appreciative inquiry

Appreciative inquiry can bring with it a renewed sense of hope and this was evident during the research projects in Norway and England. This is a research approach that only focuses on those positive aspects of an experience, as; *'unconditional positive regard questions...ignite transformative dialogue and action within human systems'*.²¹ The photo-essay carried out in 2016 therefore utilised opportunities for transformation and growth, not only by its appreciative tone but through the relationships that were developed and the values, which were expressed. Consistent with the Norway project, residents and staff were asked to capture, through photography, which aspects of practice promoted personal growth and why. By highlighting positive conversations and emotions, growth can take root and have transformative qualities.²² This is likened to the heliotropic principle and like plants, people grow and move towards aspects of the world which give life.²³

During the Norway research, the author observed that as transformative opportunities took place and participatory goals were fulfilled, a surge of energy spread throughout the prison. What emerged thereafter was greater collective support, legitimacy and a wave of engagement. It evolved from the research team who were making efforts to recruit residents, to the participants lining up to be recruited. The engagement and unspoken support in itself was overwhelming. This same outcome re-emerged in all of the Norway projects and latterly, in the English project.

The following extract is drawn from a qualitative analysis, which took place in the English prison, after the exhibition of the photo-essays.

'Hope yet doubt: A dominant theme from the data was that of hope. This hope was directed towards the Growth project, positive change

*at HMP ***** and in a rehabilitative climate in prisons more broadly. Whilst this hope was clearly articulated within the responses, there were some doubts as to the possibility of a rehabilitative climate and a number of barriers to change were highlighted, including a lack of knowledge around the project and need for greater engagement in the desire to create a rehabilitative environment'.*

After the exhibition there was some uncertainty regarding the pathway and direction of the prison. There was also a clear state of exhaustion. However, once the energy of hope began taking root through the research, this experience was felt and served as a bedrock for further hope development.

Appreciative inquiry can bring with it a renewed sense of hope and this was evident during the research projects in Norway and England.

Building Hope Through Events

The Prison Growth Project has taken an events-based approach over the past two years. By creating moments of rehabilitative worth through experiences, a climate was created, analysed and fed back into the prison. Events ranged from wing based activities, training and also all-prison events. This included a Community Fayre, which is

explained below. By aligning all events with the principles of growth and researching the views of those that experienced them, greater understanding of the change process was sought and assurances were put in place to ensure that we were on the right path. The following extracts are from qualitative analysis out by the Growth Team in 2017;

Wellbeing days: Building Community

'The notion of a community was also strong in the data. This included a reduction of tension and an opportunity to work together, to build something collectively. Feelings of inclusion and a sense of belonging were noted. This led to a greater understanding of each other and a desire to connect in deeper ways. For

21. Porporino, F. (2010). "Brining sense and sensitivity to corrections: from programmes to "fix" offenders to services to support desistance" In . Brayford, F. Cowe and J. Deering (eds.) *What else works? Creative work with offenders*. Cullompton. Willan publishing.
22. Elliot, C & Ford, N. (1999). *Locating the energy for change: an introduction to AI*. Winnipeg: International Institute for Sustainable Development.
23. Jewkes, Y. (2018). Just design: Healthy prisons and the architecture of hope. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 51(3), 319-338.

example, one resident said; '(it has) shown me that if people come together, more positive things will develop.' The building of an environment that promoted the sense of community seemed to bring hope and freedom to those in prison.'

The direction and pathway to change was also focused upon via a bespoke training programme for the Senior Managers on the subject of relationships. This was not only designed for the specific prison, but having built a relationship with those in Senior Management, it was designed to be meaningful for the senior team, both as a collective and individually. This statement is taken from the qualitative thematic analysis: 'Another participant acknowledged that the session brought with it the realisation that 'people think the same and believe in the way forward', indicating cohesion and hope.'

The relational and spatial environment were regularly assessed by the Prison Growth Project. This allowed for targeted interventions and events to take place, which focused on vision, pathways and energy. This helped incrementally to build hope over a period of time.

Building Hope through Art

Visual methods have also been embedded within Prison Growth Project initiatives, since its establishment. We recruited a resident onto the team in 2017, who had a desire to use his artwork to convey messages of hope. This began through the creation of small star shaped cards that were given to both staff and residents with words of inspiration and appreciation. This developed further, as new opportunities were given to the resident by the Governors to develop his



artistic skills. This sent a clear and broader message to the prison population, as illustrated in the following two images.



These humanising messages aimed to create an 'architecture of hope'.²⁴ Prison spaces are invariably monotonous and dull. These messages through art not only brought hope in what was written but the incremental building of art conveyed more symbolic messages associated with change. One week prior to release, our resident/artist wrote on an internal wall the famous Invictus poem by William Ernest Henley, which brought Mandela hope during his years of incarceration. This was the residents last message of hope before his departure and was poignant and heartfelt. Prison spaces not only influence people psychologically and physiologically, but suggests that prison buildings and spaces have an identity and can support rehabilitation and desistance.²⁵ What we were ultimately working towards was transforming our material physical spaces, despite of architectural and financial obstacles, in order to create 'art of hope.'

Maintaining Hope: 'Keep going everyone!'

Desisting from crime focuses importantly on overcoming obstacles. Whilst primary desistance can be defined as a decision to move away from crime,

24. As above

25. Lewis, S. (Sept, 2018). Never underestimate what a group of like-minded people can do. Accessed from <https://www.penalreformsolutions.com/single-post/2018/09/01/prison-blog-Log-28—Never-underestimate-what-a-group-of-like-minded-people-can-do>



Figures above: Artwork completed by the Paintsmiths and a serving resident

secondary desistance highlights the importance of maintaining this decision in the face of adversity. The role of others within this journey is evident and similarities can be made between individual desistance and organisational, prison desistance. At the English prison, there were those that supported this maintenance process and others that did not. The role of hope-carriers was instrumental in bringing and maintaining hope to both the authors. These hope-carriers were visitors, academics, colleagues, residents and family or friends. Being regularly told to 'keep going' certainly helps with the preservation of hope. The following extracts come from these very people.

The first extract (written by the author) follows a visit to the Prison Growth Project by a member of the regional team, during which we shared the work that we had been doing. This extract not only conveys hope but fulfils the principle of authentic leadership, something that prison governors need, in order to be able to facilitate growth.

'I felt overwhelmed with the task ahead, scared that we wanted too much and at the same time, riddled with excitement of what

could be achieved. I also felt very hopeful and undeniably proud of the challenge and my team. She spoke to us about the importance of the team being a family. She spoke to the men with complete respect, recognising and acknowledging their worth, hearing their individual voices and seeing them as experts'.
Lewis (Sep 1, 2018) ²⁶

It is important to have a high level of hope when facing a challenge, because higher hope will empower individuals to set up multiple pathways at a point in time or enable them to find alternative pathways in response to roadblocks.²⁷ This message became increasingly important as we faced a myriad of obstacles, whether they were individuals, processes or material limitations. However, strengthening the capacity for pathway thinking can support the achievement of goals and during difficulties, provide people with motivation to look for alternative pathways to meet these goals.²⁸ During the Project we began to recognise that when roadblocks were hit, drawing a team together to collectively agreed how to overcome the obstacles, supported the inclusive approach, which

26. Snyder, C. R. (2000). Hypothesis: There is hope. In C. R. Snyder (Ed.), *Handbook of hope: Theory, measures, and application* (pp. 3-21). New York, NY: Academic Press.
27. Snyder, C. R. (2000). Hypothesis: There is hope. In C. R. Snyder (Ed.), *Handbook of hope: Theory, measures, and application* (pp. 3-21). New York, NY: Academic Press.
28. Maruna, S. (2012) Travelling desistance hucksters and the Hawthorne Effect. Retrieved from: <http://blogs.iriss.org.uk/discoveringdesistance/author/shaddmaruna/>

led to more robust pathways being developed. The reliance on others was instrumental and allowed hope to be maintained.

Giving hope back- Generativity

Being a hope-carrier can be exhausting and hitting obstacles only diminishes the source of hope. Reflecting on the past two years of this project, the importance of 'giving back' hope to hope-carriers, was recognised as an important process in sustaining prison desistance. The following extract (which was written following a public talk on growth) conveys simple examples of how this was achieved.

'We fundamentally believe it is the right thing to do. To be humane, to be compassionate, to learn and act. To keep going and above all this, to have hope. We called for connection, to work together as a collective and as our talk came to a close, people congregated at the steps of the stage. As we walked into the group of individuals and listened to words of reassurance and support, it brought to my mind Maruna's words, as he describes the importance of 'injections of hope' within penal practice.²⁹ I will keep it in my pocket for the darker moments, because let's face it, we will need it.' Lewis (Oct 12, 2018)³⁰

As we continue on this journey, we are starting to witness how hope is being reciprocated by those residents who were once a part of the Prison Growth Project but have now moved on from the prison. The ethos of the Prison Growth Project is that once you are a member, you remain a member throughout your progression and later release. It is a lifelong membership. To illustrate this point, one resident wrote a Foreword to our recently published Growth Practice Manual;

'The Growth Project is fuelled in the progression of everyone involved, directly and indirectly. It is the

perfect platform for granting staff and residents something we are all searching for within a prison environment and that is quite simple; 'HOPE'. We all hope for something better, maybe hope to change ourselves or our environment, whatever it is, it is a matter of hope and if we break down the work of the Growth Project, then that is exactly what it has done, it has given hope.' Growth Resident (2018)

Hope can also be generated from staff, through a pro-active approach. After committing to the writing of this article, the co-author turned to some of his colleagues and asked them what they hoped for. The responses were naturally all future orientated, but also generally broad in respect of what they had hope for. One colleague, who took some time before she

answered, with a well thought out response. Her reply was simply this, 'I hope that in the future, all staff will want to help those in our care. I'm not bothered about the impact on statistics, I just want to see the results in the faces of our staff, their sense of achievement when someone succeeds'. And also, to those residents in prison, 'I want to see what they do with their lives, when they see that there is something else in life for them that could easily be achieved'. This simple, but well thought out consideration is unsurprising amongst those who work in and around prisons. The need to articulate these hopes and

provide opportunities to build hope capital, is essential within this challenge. This will only nurture hope in others and deepen organisational hope, so that it can withstand the challenges ahead.

Conclusion

In order to achieve our objective for hope there needs to be a reciprocal agreement between staff and residents, for hope to be nurtured, maintained and deepened. This is not just a 'give and take' process within prison desistance, but a multi-directional synergy that is infectious and powerful. Without others to re-fuel hope, hope can erode and deteriorate due to the culture in which we find ourselves. Appreciating the

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hopeless place. A
place of pain and
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fertiliser.

29. Maruna, S. (2012) *Travelling desistance hucksters and the Hawthorne Effect*. Retrieved from: <http://blogs.iriss.org.uk/discoveringdesistance/author/shaddmaruna/>

30. Lewis, S. (Oct, 2018). *An Injection of Hope: Reflections from the Criminal Justice Management Conference 2018*. Accessed from <https://www.penalreformsolutions.com/single-post/2018/10/12/Blog-29-An-Injection-of-Hope-Reflections-from-the-Criminal-Justice-Management-Conference-2018>

need for long term investment in prison growth is necessary to ensure it takes root, be sustainable, and ultimately (like tertiary desistance), belong.

Prison can be a hopeless place. A place of pain and tragedy and yet, with hope, the people in prison can create the fuel to grow hope, as the fertiliser. Those who abandon hope and give up, or those who do not have the answers to their issues or problems need the fostering and nurturing from others. As we create and nurture hope-carriers, our culture stands a chance of developing. It is not perfect as we have a long way to go, but without hope, we have nothing. There are several mechanisms in which hope can flourish and understanding these mechanisms brings us closer to this goal: We want to create conditions by which people want to change and desist from crime. A shared, collective vision, a clear pathway to this vision and the energy to get us there will only deepen our commitment to prison reform.

We have recently had an inspection and received a staggering four-point increase on the four healthy

prison tests of Safety, Purposeful activity, Resettlement and Respect. The latter two presenting as 'reasonably good' in the views of the inspectorate, which for us was a huge success and resonates confidently with a significant number of the principles of growth. This in itself provides us with hope and demonstrates to the staff and residents the importance of a growth-orientated approach. It affirms that maintaining hope in change and striving for more needs to be central to our prison reform efforts. Hope must be practiced and encouraged relentlessly. It needs to become a regular conversation and a cultural bedrock habit. Hope nullifies adverse thoughts and doubt, it creates confidence and generates expectation and optimism. It reduces anxiety, fear and apprehension and it promotes future orientated thoughts that should be revealed and shared. Ultimately, hope leads to achievement and success and practicing hope on a daily basis will develop individual hope and strengthen organisational hope in the future.



Vipassana Meditation

As taught by S.N. Goenka in the tradition of Sayagyi U Ba Khin



Working in the prison service can be very demanding, challenging and at times stressful. Why not learn a meditation technique that will help you to face these challenges better?

Vipassana meditation is a straightforward, practical way to achieve real peace of mind and thus to lead a happy, useful life. Vipassana means, 'to see things as they really are'. The technique is a process of mental purification through self-observation. It teaches us to observe the reality within ourselves at deeper levels, and enables us to dissolve tensions and unravel the knots within. In this way we can lead a more positive, balanced, happy and healthy life – full of peace, harmony and goodwill for others.

The technique was taught by the Buddha as a universal remedy for the problems shared by all human beings. It contains nothing of a sectarian or religious nature and it is accessible and beneficial to people of all backgrounds.

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The technique is taught at ten-day residential courses during which participants follow a prescribed Code of Discipline and follow a full schedule of meditation with daily instructions and an evening discourse elaborating on the technique.

Because it has been found to be genuinely helpful, great emphasis is put on preserving the technique in its original, authentic form. It is not taught commercially, the courses are run solely on a donation basis and are offered freely. All expenses are met by donations from those who have previously completed a course and wish to give others the same opportunity.

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Email: info@dipa.dhamma.org

Rehabilitative Culture in a High Security prison

Stuart Greene and Andy Robinson are serving prisoners at HMP Full Sutton. Dr Bill Davies is a Senior Lecturer in Criminology at Leeds Beckett University, and Director of the Leeds Beckett Centre for University and Prison Partnerships.

Interview with serving prisoners within HMP Full Sutton, a High Security dispersal prison that houses category A and B prisoners. Full Sutton has an operational capacity of 626, but currently houses approximately 540 prisoners. Of those, almost half are serving life sentences, with a similar number serving more than 10 years, or indeterminate sentences.

This interview focusses on the subject of rehabilitative cultures and explores the lived experience of those in a high security prison.

BD: What for you are the key features of a rehabilitative culture? Why is this important to achieve?

SG: To give people time to stop and think, reflect on their behaviour. To give new skills to enable people to have greater options once released.

AR: Maslow's concept of needs shows us that human beings require a certain level of basic needs to be met before they are able to go to the next level, for example if someone feels unsafe they would struggle to find the capacity to engage in a rehabilitative culture. Trust, a therapeutic arena (or as near as possible) needs to be achieved where the prisoners feel valued and able to talk freely where conversations are encouraged. Prisoners are not herded onto courses that they are not ready for. Rehabilitative movement only occurs when the person is ready to change.

BD: How have you been involved in creating a more rehabilitative culture? How has this been taken forward where you are currently?

SG: Yes, I was chosen to take part in a mediation course as a counsellor. I was professionally trained and took part in accredited courses. Yes, I am now able to help mediate between prisoner and prisoner, or prisoner and staff.

AR: I have attended meetings with Governors who mention something that later they state they never said resulting in a lack of trust. I have witnessed a prisoner

being told not to be so negative when they were expressing a view that differed from the official standpoint. We have numerous Black awareness days, when a White prisoner attended, other prisoners asked why they were attending; and when asked for a White history day I was told that 'We have nothing to be proud of'.

BD: How does the physical environment contribute to this and what efforts have been made to make a positive difference?

SG: In a high security estate, movement is extremely restricted. So for all, staff and prisoner alike, it's important we all make an effort. However, this enforced effort can sometimes lead to resentment. A lot of what is deemed rehabilitative in my opinion is pure rhetoric; provided in posters and meetings to satisfy Ministry of Justice targets and manifestos.

AR: Mains [prisoners that are housed on the main population wings] and VPs [Vulnerable Prisoners who are at risk of bullying, suicide or self-harm] are separated within movements being organised by a control hub who ensure that a VP and a main isn't on the same landing. Education has started to break down barriers through the Leeds Beckett Learning Together programme.²

BD: Are basic services such as food and clothing important?

SG: Yes, for some, food is at the top of the importance list. Clothing not so much, although in respect of civilian clothes, prisoners would like it to be a much easier process to purchase or exchange clothes.

BD: What about relationships between those who live and work in prisons? What role do they have and how are they being improved?

SG: Civilian staff in prison are rarely in my opinion subjected to poor relationships with prisoners; with the exception of medical workers, these are definitely seen as pro-prison rather than neutral civilians they should be. A lot of the time this is due to waiting lists or the

1. Maslow, A. (1943) A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50, 370–396

2. Learning Together, developed by Cambridge University, is an educational programme delivered at HMP Full Sutton by Leeds Beckett University. The programme takes students from Leeds Beckett into Full Sutton to learn along prisoners that register with the University. It is an accredited programme that gives all students that pass, 20 university credits

restriction of medication. Most of us, we have normal relationships with prison staff, but most of us however realise this can change in a heartbeat.

AR: I find wings in the prison differ. Mistrust between officers and Governors, between Governors and imposed regulations. High turnover of staff disturbs the equilibrium. The old guard, the union becomes an obstruction to progression. I find no improvement between relationships. I feel in High Security, Rehabilitation Culture is a word that is brought out for all occasions but I feel after all is said and done, there is a lot more said, than done.

BD: What do the best staff do that makes a difference?

SG: Do what they say they will.

AR: Non-Judgemental, available to make conversation rather than the three quarters that sit in the office. Use humour to lift spirits. Be open to developing sound working relationships and mutual trust.

BD: Do prisoners have the chance to be involved in the running of the prison or shaping the community such as peer support of representative bodies?

SG: Yes in small aspects, this level is closely monitored though; anything that may impact on security overrides everything. The prison give this small gesture as a carrot to keep an ear to the ground as to the feelings of the general populace, and as a tool to send unofficial messages back to the population.

AR: The division of power is always apparent. I feel the prison has a set agenda and uses the representatives meetings to legitimise this agenda.

BD: Do families have a role in building a more rehabilitative culture? How are they involved in your establishment?

SG: Ha, Ha. I am more embarrassed you would think the Prison Service really care. Some arrange family days, which go above and beyond what is required. In my opinion, other than family days, what I am about to say may come across as contradictory, but it is true in my opinion that they do everything to impede family contact, by keeping prisoners hundreds of miles away from home, stopping mail due to unworkable drug policies, and intrusive searches before and after visits.

AR: No, and not at all.

BD: What opportunities are there to address problems such as health and substance misuse?

SG: I don't know, I have no issues. There does seem to be a lot of people going to the med hatch each day; I assume it is for substance issues.

AR: I am registered disabled since 1989 following a road traffic accident. I have been told that I am not disabled as I attend the gym. I have complained to the health provision but still do not have the chair I need. So I have to lie on the bed as I am unable to sit for any length of time. With substance misuse there is a peer programme that operates in the prison.

BD: Do punishments, adjudications, incentives and privileges have a useful role in shaping the behaviour of people in prison?

SG: Yes, as a control tool, without these it would be chaos in here. The use of incentives on here, that is the IEP system is abused by staff in this prison and they use it incorrectly in my opinion.

AR: Change comes from within, not from the promise of an IEP upgrade. If used correctly they are very useful in creating a safe environment which in turn promotes the feeling of wellbeing. At such a point the prisoner had the space to connect to their feelings and emotions.

BD: Do prisoners have the chance to develop their talents and interests, for example through education, training or employment?

SG: Yes, but very limited. Here I believe due to what is known as distance to the gate

that is most have decades before release, a lot of opportunities that could give new skills or create new interests are not given. The education is basic and as far as I am aware there is limited training. Other courses or opportunities such as creative writing etc. stop before they start due to staff leaving etc.

AR: Education has been very limited, for example to level 1 and 2 English, maths, Art, Computers and cookery. Leeds Beckett University's involvement in the education department had brought a breath of fresh air, where prisoners are treated like students and for a brief moment our minds have the opportunity to grow.

BD: What is the best way to prepare prisoners for a successful life after release?

SG: Move them to D cats (Category D prisons are for prisoners who can be reasonably trusted in open conditions) or local prisons, source employment for them and give them the opportunity to save for release. Too many prisoners are released with just the discharge

I find no improvement between relationships. I feel in High Security, Rehabilitation Culture is a word that is brought out for all occasions but I feel after all is said and done, there is a lot more said, than done.

grant of approximately £47 into civilian life, with no job, no home and little money; and they wonder why they come straight back. I could speak forever on this, it is a passion of mine.

AR: Stop herding. We are not numbers. Talk to use identity, our concept of self and assist in identifying the role the prisoner would like to pursue after release. Be honest, encourage the development of ties in the community for example with family. Empower the prisoner as much as possible, but be realistic. Ensure the prisoner is familiar with the support organisations on the area of re-location. Re-integration into society I have heard can be rocky as when we were excluded from it.

BD: Is there anything that is done at your establishment that you feel is a particularly powerful way to foster a more rehabilitative culture?

AR: Leeds Beckett University ran a course in Psychology which was attended by Mains prisoners, VP prisoners, Prison Officers and Leeds Beckett students. The barriers melted away as we all became students. At the end of the course the way I saw the officers changed as the person behind the uniform became more visible. The relationship between prisoners and officers was strengthened by the process and I felt more respect for the human that occupies the uniform.

BD: What are the barriers to achieving success? What gets in the way? How can these challenges be overcome?

SG: Negativity, trust, take away the bullshit, stop trying pseudo-psychology courses. Try to identify the skills and interests in individuals and tailor a plan for them.

AR: Institutional noise from the top down. If it were more transparent where trust was developed between the prison hierarchy then I believe this would go some way in changing prisoners in prison to humans in a community. This will need time to change. Initial training to involve a more systematic approach. Training at every level focussing on team building rewarding education achievement within the prison ranks fosters best working practices.

BD: How would you know that a more rehabilitative culture was being successfully developed? How would you measure this?

SG: There would be empty prisons. Some of us are just born bad though.

AR: Firstly I would drop the new buzz words 'Rehabilitative Culture'. I would know a more community based approach was being developed by the prisoner's active participation in developing courses to promote growth. A more person centred approach by all officers. First names used. Prisoners would display signs of unity (a shared identity). Minority groups would be given questionnaires to ask how they feel they are seen by other prisoners. The use of communal areas.

Rehabilitative culture in a closed prison

Georgina Barkham-Perry is a PhD student at the Department of Criminology, University of Leicester.

This interview was conducted in a large, Category C prison holding men who have more than four years left to serve. Some have been approved for transfer to an open prison and awaiting transfer, but the vast majority are Category C men serving determinate and indeterminate sentences.

AB was 39 at the time of interview (end of 2018) and had served 13 years of his sentence — six months of which had been in the current Category C prison. He was three-and-a-half years away from recategorisation to a Category D prison at the time of interview.

GBP: What for you are the key features of a rehabilitative culture?

AB: The key features of a rehabilitative culture are definitely going to be safety — that is the first thing. If you're not safe, you won't go to education or you won't go to work because you're scared. If you don't feel safe, you can't do what you need to do. Then I would say two things that go together: opportunity and hope. Those two things go together. You can't have hope if you've got no opportunities. If you've got no opportunities, you've got no hope. If people feel safe and then they have opportunities, they are going to have hope. If you have hope, that's the best and you can't get anything more than hope.

GBP: How have you been involved in creating a more rehabilitative culture?

AB: All of this rehabilitative stuff that's going on now, this all really started three to four years ago. It was in my last prison [HMP Frankland], I was at the start of it when all the rehabilitative culture kicked off. It was one of the first places to get involved and get it up and running. We were heavily involved in it. We brought a lot of ideas to the table. The prison was behind us on everything and introduced a lot of new processes in the prison which they still use to this day now. Some of the ideas I brought with me here. I don't know whether you've seen anyone giving a positive entry form? It's like a form that you can use to get positive entries on C-NOMIS. All of the prison's history, everyone has complained that reporting on C-NOMIS is always biased to the negative, so if you do something wrong, they are quick to put it on the computer. If you do something right, they don't put it on. They've got no time. They've got to do stuff. If it's

negative, it's on there straight away. So basically, we made a form, designed the form, wrote the form, and sent it to the Governor so if you do something that's positive, you can fill in a form. The officer would verify that it's right and then put it on C-NOMIS. It was working really well, and we have tried to introduce it here.

You might have heard of the spice epidemic. Well, what we did up there, we wrote a programme to teach the staff about spice and taught it to some officers. Once we had taught them, one of the officers and the drugs team, we went around doing sessions for all the staff in the prison. So obviously the drug worker would do it from the drug worker point of view, the officer would do it from their point of view, and we said how we were treated and what they could be doing better. From a prisoner's point of view, we could see that a lot of people were getting hooked on this thing and we could see a lot of them needed help more than anything. Locking them behind their door, giving them nothing to do, leaving them there — all they were doing was buying drugs from behind their door because now they've got nothing to do 24 hours a day. It's making them worse. It was just a rubbish way to deal with it. That was one of the things we got changed and got them to start dealing with in a better way. Anyone we believed to be on spice, we had a little box where you could put a note in there for them but it was only to the drug team, it didn't go to security or any other officers on the wing. What they would do then is speak to the person first and then they would decide whether or not to call security or an officer.

GBP: Are basic services such as food and clothing important?

AB: Yes, those basic things have to be stable. The underlying things have to be stable. Normal things are not stable in this place. If you want to be helping people and giving them the opportunity to rehabilitate themselves, you need to get them stable. People don't handle frustration well. You need a stable environment to work with someone who is not that stable. If you mess around with the basics, you put everyone in jeopardy, including the staff. If people are frustrated, pissed off and stressed, it's not safe.

GBP: Do prisoners have the chance to be involved in the running of the prison or shaping

the community such as peer support or representative bodies?

AB: You see, menial tasks like a mentor to deliver the hospital appointments every day... obviously that's a simple task that doesn't require much, anyone can do that. But if you're talking about the prisoners being involved in properly running the prison, for instance getting processes done and things like that, the reason why it won't work right now is because the staff in this prison do not have enough experience to accept it. To get a set of prisoners and say, 'Alright then, we are going to look at sorting out these processes and we are going to look at doing this and that,' the senior managers, managers, and staff have to be willing to come down to a certain level and work with people. They have to be willing to listen, understand, and learn things they don't know. Listen to prisoners, take it on board. You have to be a strong person, a confident person, a confident manager to be able to do that.

GBP: Do families have a role in building a more rehabilitative culture? How are they involved in your establishment?

AB: Yes, definitely. 100 per cent. Families as a whole, they are always going to be a stabilising factor. People might say your family is a bad influence because they are criminal, but it doesn't matter.

You love your family anyway. They are always going to be a stabilising influence even if it's only for that little piece of it. That's all you've got. This prison doesn't do enough to involve families. We are going to have a family day in a couple of weeks and I'm hoping it will turn out well.

GBP: What opportunities are there to address problems such as health and substance misuse?

AB: To tell you the honest truth, really and truly, I don't know. I can tell you what every prisoner will tell you — if you go to health care there's a drugs team that will try and help you as best they can. I'm not being involved here really. At the last prison, as I said, we set up the process so you could submit a form to go straight to the drugs team but I haven't tried to do that here.

GBP: Do punishments, adjudication, incentives, and privileges have a useful role in shaping the behaviour of people in prison?

AB: Yes, but not when the people using them are not experienced. They are all tools to incentivise

or punish. If they are used properly, they are tools that can work. If you've got no experience, you are not using them properly and then they just become weapons to bully people. When you have just got power, that's what happens.

GBP: Do prisoners have the chance to develop their talents and interests, for example through education, training, or employment?

AB: I work for activities, I'm an activities mentor. One of my roles is I get a list of all the people who are unemployed and get them jobs. I go around the prison and I offer them jobs. There have been many times when I go around and people know that the jobs don't exist. Some of the guys don't want to know, so they just sign up for things but they know they won't go.

When I moved from Category A, I had just finished my degree and I wanted to do my Masters. I was moving to Category B so my whole thing was about coming here to do my Masters. My whole sentence plan was built around coming to a Category C prison to access research materials to do my Masters. That's the main reason why you can't do your Masters in High Security is because you can't access the research papers. When I finished my degree, I did a Business A-Level to fill the gap until I came here. It's taken three weeks for library, learning and skills, and security

to agree that I can have the research papers printed off. It turned into a mad who-ha. I'm just waiting to get it. I still haven't started my Masters yet. I wrote to OMU saying that I came in a studying frame of mind and thinking I would start my Masters. This jail has held me back. I'm scared of being in this jail, I'm scared this jail could stop me getting parole. It frightens me.

It's back to those same things, opportunity, hope, and safety. Once there are opportunities for you to learn stuff and do stuff, you will gain hope. If you've got an opportunity to do a plumbing course say, and if you do that plumbing course and you do well, it creates a thousand different hopes in your mind because you've just done something you know that I can take this outside and I can actually do this. You've given yourself something to work towards, look at, even to dream about and aspire to. But without giving people those opportunities to do something like that, they can't have that dream if they've not done anything that can provide a dream.

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stabilising factor.
People might say
your family is a bad
influence because
they are criminal,
but it
doesn't matter.

GBP: What is the best way to prepare prisoners for a successful life after release?

AB: Show them how to do it, and you can't show them in prison. That's the best way to teach anyone anything, is to show them. Give them examples of it, so they see it all the time. That's the reason why most people are in prison anyway, because the behaviour they are demonstrating is the behaviour that they've seen all their lives so that's the normal behaviour. If you constantly give examples of good behaviour, sooner or later, that should become their behaviour because that's the best way that we learn.

GBP: Is there anything that is done at your establishment that you feel is a particularly powerful way to foster a more rehabilitative culture?

AB: It sounds simple but the cells are clean. It might not last for long, but it's important, it's hygiene. If your surroundings are clean. Generally, if you're living in an

environment that's clean as opposed to an environment where there's rats and cockroaches everywhere, your frame of mind is going to be different.

GBP: What are the barriers to achieving success? What gets in the way? How can these challenges be overcome?

AB: No safety. If there isn't proper safety, that's going to be a barrier. If the processes aren't fit for purpose, that's going to be a barrier. If you're trying to do stuff, but you are butting your head all the time, it's not going to work. When I say processes, I mean everything from filling out canteen forms to booking a visit.

GBP: How would you know that a more rehabilitative culture was being successfully developed? How would you measure this?

AB: Safety is a good measure. Stability also, and processes. If all the processes are running right, a lot of tension is going to come down.

Rehabilitative Culture in a progressive closed prison

Dr Ruth Armstrong is a Senior Research Associate at University of Cambridge and Co-Director of Learning Together, and Dr Amy Ludlow is Director of MSt in Applied Criminology, Penology and Management at University of Cambridge and Co-Director of Learning Together

The following two interviews are with Ryan Smith, a resident and Matt Green¹, a prison officer and key worker, at HMP Warren Hill, a Category C prison in Suffolk. Warren Hill is home to 258 men and contains both a Psychologically Informed Planned Environment (PIPE) and Therapeutic Community (TC). Warren Hill offers a Progressive Regime for male adults who are not eligible to move to open conditions, such as those serving life sentences, or indeterminate sentences for public protection, who are excluded from open conditions, considerably over tariff or have been recalled. In July 2017, the prison decided to discontinue the use of the prison's segregation unit. Last year, Warren Hill was rated the top performing prison in the country according to the Prison Service's own monitoring measures, although the challenges in translating high performing prison outcomes into positive outcomes for people leaving the establishment have been acknowledged.² The authors of this piece are Co-Directors of Learning Together and Senior Research Associates at the University of Cambridge. Together with their team, they coordinate an 'access to justice' legal research course at HMP Warren Hill. The 'rehab culture' agenda has become more prominent over the same period as prisons across the country have begun to engage more systematically in partnership working with outside institutions and agencies to enrich the culture and opportunities for people resident in prisons, and also to provide the kinds of connections that can help people to achieve their rehabilitative goals post-release. We got to know both Matt and Ryan in the context of this work within Warren Hill, and in these interviews, we ask them about their own thoughts on rehab culture through their experiences in HMP Warren Hill and beyond.

A resident's perspective

AL: What do you think are the key features of rehab culture and why is rehab culture important?

When I think of a rehab culture, I think mostly about relationships between staff and residents — relationships that are quite different from what you find in ordinary category B/C prisons. In rehab cultures residents need to be able to feel comfortable working alongside their key workers and offender supervisors. Residents need to have platforms where they can raise issues, and difficulties, and feel confident and comfortable working through risk factors. At the same time, a rehab culture means that residents should also be able to hear difficult things from their key workers and when key workers highlight issues, they are respected. Any instances of 'them and us' should be left at the prison gate.

RS: Another feature I think is really important and can be powerful in a rehab culture is openness. Allowing organisations and initiatives into the prison from the outside can create an energy — an energy many residents have not experienced in the more closed prisons that builds hope and skills for the future. Interactions with the local community can show residents that they are able to converse and socialise with individuals from different backgrounds. I mention that point because we are based in Suffolk, which is quite an affluent area and the visitors are often more, let's say, stable in life. Many residents on the other hand, and I will use myself as an example, come from underprivileged working class areas and because of this we often don't get to mix paths. When I had the chance of meeting the local community members, I was totally shocked at the non-judgemental and very caring side to these individuals. This made me feel valued and added to my motivation to do well.

AL: What are the kinds of values you associate with a rehab culture?

1. Interviewees were allocated pseudonyms to remain anonymous.

2. Liebling, A., Laws, B., Lieber, E., Auty, K., Schmidt, B., Crewe, B., Gardom, J., Kant, D., and Morey, M. (2019) 'Are hope and possibility achievable in prison?' *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*, 58(1) 104-126.

RS: Empowerment! What I mean by empowerment is putting residents in positions of trust and giving them responsibilities. I will use my current role as a Distance Learning Coordinator as an example. I am in charge of advising and encouraging residents to engage in higher education. This role allows me to organise open days, collect data, correspond with colleges and administer paperwork. These are the sorts of things that would normally be done by a member of staff in another establishment. The transferable skills learnt from this will be useful to me once I am released.

RS: Encouraging change is another value I would associate with a rehab culture. Warren Hill's population is normally indeterminate sentenced prisoners who are post-tariff and excluded from open conditions. I think it is safe to say that some of these individuals will not be able to change overnight and a rehab culture needs to understand that. But a rehab culture should provide the opportunities to allow for change. Change can come in the form of empowering residents, equipping them with real life skills and more importantly helping them to realise that they have potential.

AL: How do you think the physical environment here at Warren Hill contributes to the sense of rehab culture?

RS: The facilities here help to form a sense of community. All of the units have kitchens fitted with really good equipment. This means that we cook and socialise in a safe and clean environment that feels as much as possible like an ordinary house.

RS: The units are also encouraging a self-clean policy. Residents take turns to sweep and mop landings, and this has brought the residents together to discuss the weekly rotas. So yes, the physical environment has a massive part to play in a rehab culture.

AL: How have you been involved in the rehab culture at HMP Warren Hill?

RS: Well, where do I start? I have been here for 18 months now so I have had my fair share of projects and events. But, as I was saying earlier about openness, I have had the opportunity to complete the Butler Law Course with the University of Cambridge's Learning Together programme. This project was amazing and continues to be amazing and I'm really enjoying my current role as a mentor.

RS: I have also been carrying out HMIP expectations dip tests.³ Only in a rehab culture could you envisage this. A few residents and I have been given the expectations of HMIP and told to collect evidence about whether or not the expectations are being met. Once we found our evidence, we presented this back to the management team. The highlight of this was having the full attention of the managers, listening as equals.

AL: That links to some of the things you already said about the role of residents in shaping the community. Are there other ways in which other people who live here are involved in shaping decisions?

RS: Yes, residents are always involved in decision-making processes. The Prison Council is organised and run by a number of residents. They chair the meetings and construct the agenda. The Council can be very influential in decision-making. Residents also run drama productions in conjunction with local theatre company Red Rose Chain. The residents are influential in the directing and running of the productions. Residents are also involved in the interviewing process for some staffing positions. In fact, three residents were given the opportunity to interview candidates for a band 7 governor's position. They were given 15 minutes to ask questions to the candidates.

AL: What do the best staff do to make a difference?

RS: The best staff act like role-models for residents. This often gets filtered down from the management positions. As a resident, you want to see staff energised and eager to help. You want them to be out and about on the units, having conversations, getting involved in the activities and taking an interest in you as an individual. Key workers are given time to sit down and have a one to one meeting. You want your key worker to say 'let's go to the Barista for a coffee' or 'let's have a chat over a game of pool'. Breaking the cycle of sitting in rooms discussing issues can be powerful.

AL: I am interested to hear that there is a Barista here. What sort of difference does that make to a rehab culture?

RS: The Barista is a great facility. Once you have been here for a stable period of time and complied with

Change can come
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3. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons for England and Wales (HMIP) is an independent inspectorate which reports on conditions for and treatment of those in prison and young offender institutions. Expectations are the documents which set out the criteria HMIP use to inspect prisons and other forms of detention. They are based on international human rights standards and are used to examine all aspects of life in detention.

the EBM⁴ (Enhanced Behavioural Monitoring) process you can apply for a WHAL card (Warren Hill Activity Licence Card). This allows you to use the Barista. I use the facilities on offer — I often meet a few friends down there and have a general catch up. It acts as a motivating factor for residents who are not yet on Stage 2 of their EBM. It also gives us a sense of normality. Eating amongst civilians and ordinary individuals in a relaxed environment is what we have been missing out on so it is a good experience. It also breaks down the barriers of 'us and them' when staff and residents are able to eat together.

AL: Are there any difficult aspects to that sort of trust giving and community building?

RS: I could see how there could be difficulties in giving residents this much power. Other residents could become envious or start to ask questions of why they hold so much power. But, because it is so normal at Warren Hill for residents to hold these positions, no one bothers with rumours or jealous rants.

AL: When you first came here, were there any things that were difficult for you to adapt to?

RS: The main thing that took some getting used to was being unlocked until 8:30pm. I am used to a 5:30 lockdown as are many other residents so this takes some getting used to. I found myself wondering what to do and to make it worse we haven't got courtesy locks for our rooms, so I was always thinking about my room. Once you have been here for a while, you realise that no one bothers your room and you get used to being out later. In fact, once you start working you actually cherish this time.

RS: It also took a bit of time to get used to governors out and about socialising. I have been in prison for 11 years now and never had a full conversation with a governor. Here they socialise and take the time to get to know you. I will never forget when Sonia Walsh, who was the Governor, came in to motor mechanics. I was sat in one of the cars reading, and she jumped in and had a half hour conversation with me on the causes of my crime. She finished the conversation with some motivating words. This took some getting used to but should be everyday practice for a rehab culture.

AL: What role do families play in a rehab culture and here at Warren Hill?

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RS: Warren Hill has no formal catchment area — residents are from all over the country so visits can be tricky. Those who do have visits are able to access family days, which are put on a monthly basis with lots of activities. However, the stand out facility here for visits has to be the Stage 3 room. Once a resident has achieved Stage 3 on the EBM process (usually 9 months) he can invite his visitors into a room equipped with a TV, DVD player and comfy sofas. This allows residents and their loved ones to spend quality time together in a normal relaxed environment, with the aim of increasing family ties. The staff also make a habit of interacting with visitors when they book in, again, breaking down those 'us and them' barriers.

RS: Families are also encouraged to join celebrations at end of course conferences as well as music and drama productions. This allows residents to showcase to their loved ones that they are being productive whilst inside. At last year's Learning Together conference I was able to show my family all of the work I have been involved in and how I'm growing as a person.

AL: What do you think is the best way for people in prison to be prepared for a successful life after prison?

RS: That's an interesting question. I attended a motivational talk recently and the person said how important having a plan is, whether this is work or lifestyle. I agree with this. If you have a clear idea of what you would like to do when you are released, then your time in prison can be spent preparing for this. Achieving this plan will involve gaining qualifications and experience needed to execute it. Preparation and vision are key to a successful future on release. However if you still hold ideas that you will return to old negative behaviours then this plan will never be utilised. A positive mind frame towards leading a pro-social life is essential.

AL: What about the barriers to achieving success? What gets in the way of a prison being more rehabilitative and how can challenges be overcome?

RS: As I am getting more and more involved in different projects, I am noticing the fear around getting the good work that is done publicised. I believe that if the prison is doing something that is unorthodox but is achieving incredible outcomes then this should be noticed as good practice and adopted elsewhere.

4. Enhanced Behavioural Monitoring process is used to monitor whether offenders are behaving in ways that show they still have offence related risks that they need support or help with. It also allows offenders to show when they are no longer behaving in ways that would be considered risky (in terms of their risk of future offending or risk of abscond).

Recently Warren Hill put on a production — The Citizen. 15 residents produced and directed the piece of art. This footage should be used to inspire other residents around the prison estate and maybe the community, but the fear factor of this achieving bad press seems to stifle creativity.

AL: How would you know that a more rehabilitative culture is being successfully developed? What is a good measure of a rehab culture?

RS: If I came into a prison and wanted to know what's going on, in terms of rehab culture, I would be looking at staff and residents relationships around the establishment. The way they interact with each other. I would like to see if these relationships are positive, meaningful and most of all reciprocal. I would be looking at how well the grounds are being looked after, how clean the units are, and who's doing the cleaning and whose voices are being heard in terms of all decisions that are being made. I'd be interested in how many people are using evening activities, what types of activities are being put on, and overall, what evidence there is that the prison is building people's hope and sense of empowerment.

AL: Is there anything done at your establishment that is particularly powerful, as a way to foster a more rehab culture?

RS: I have mentioned empowering residents a lot. I believe that the way residents are given trust and responsibilities marks this prison out as being different to the other ones I have experienced.

AL: And finally, what sort of words would you be looking for to describe a good rehab culture?

RS: I would expect residents to be saying things like they feel motivated to change and listened to. That they feel empowered. All of these words should be at the heart of a rehab culture.

An officer's perspective

AL: What do you think are the key features of rehab culture and why is rehab culture important?

MG: The key feature is to make the prison a safe environment, but within that, it's the relationship between the residents and officers that's absolutely massive. I think it's definitely the biggest thing, and because we are here and we invest in those relationships I think that just shows that this prison seems to be working, pretty much. I have been to some other prisons, but just seeing like the TV programme the other night about Durham prison, you saw the

power of relationships and their importance to safety as well as progress. As soon as people build relationships and realise that staff are not out to get them all the time, then they realise that they can change his ways.

AL: How would you describe relationships between staff and residents when they're at their best?

MG: Well, it's involving residents in things. So getting them on councils, making decisions for the prison, also to the point of involving residents in interview processes for new staff. It's always important to make sure that your relationship is professional and residents know their boundaries, but building that relationship via key work is essential, as is giving residents freedom to help them take responsibility for their own decision making.

MG: You can tell a resident the same thing in two different ways, you can stick it on them or force it on them, or you can

discuss it with them, give them the options, like 'this is what could happen and this is what could happen, and you make the decision'. Discussion puts the situation back in their hands and makes them responsible for thinking through what the better choice is. Developing those skills means that next time something similar crops up they might think back and come to the right conclusion themselves.

MG: Also, there have been situations where I have key worked with someone for 1 or 2 years and they have messed up a little, in regards to mixing with spice. Having that relationship, means they have felt like they have let me down as well as themselves, but also that they've had the space to make those decisions and then own them and the consequences. You wouldn't get the opportunity to work like that with residents in many places, and I understand that we have time to do that

It's always important to make sure that your relationship is professional and residents know their boundaries, but building that relationship via key work is essential, as is giving residents freedom to help them take responsibility for their own decision making.

here because that's what gets prioritised so we have the time and staff to do it. In the end, I think it's these relationships that bring a safer environment. Residents would think twice if they wanted to get violent — the fact that they have built these relationships with us means that I think they would question themselves. And relationships mean that we can talk through the difficult things and relate things to going in the community and coming across someone in the same situation on the streets.

AL: So is that the end game of rehab culture — getting people back in the community?

MG: Yeah definitely, yeah. I think everything is geared up here to getting residents back on the street and back into the community. Also to stay in the community, and not get recalled. Just giving them the best chance. A lot of key work I do, I always relate it back to the community and 'this is what will happen', and again reiterate what could happen, like a recall or more charges. Even simple as saving face. I know a lot of guys here and elsewhere do things just to save face, but actually when you walk away you might not even see that fella again. Exactly the same in the community. That's just a simple example.

AL: You have talked about how the key worker scheme is really helpful for giving you a focused opportunity for conversation. Are there other things that are really important, in your experience, to building a strong rehabilitative culture?

MG: Almost taking the aspect of a prison out of it, making it a calmer environment seems really important. I know that our number one has put up a lot of pictures, like on the exercise yard that bring the outside in. Instead of looking at the fencing and a wing, residents can see pictures that help to normalise the environment and make things feel calmer and less institutional or oppressive. Our ethos here at Warren Hill is a Category D wing with fences round it, but breaking that down a little bit, and giving residents that little bit more freedom and trust. They know that if they break our trust they could lose that freedom so our approach gives them a chance to prove themselves.

AL: What are the sort of challenges you think are faced in putting all of these ideals into practice on a day to day basis?

I think everything is geared up here to getting residents back on the street and back into the community. Also to stay in the community, and not get recalled.

MG: One of the obvious challenges is that the trust we give can get abused. That's just the way it is, and we have to think carefully about how we keep giving out that trust, but also making sure that if people are up to no good, we respond to that. One of the challenges in that is physically having enough staff to keep on top of things and enable residents to have that freedom of walking around and making their own decisions within the boundaries. When boundaries are overstepped it's important that we take that away from the units. Like stage 2 residents meeting up in the library and up to no good there, or coming over here and doing it in the coffee shop, that sort of thing. If we do find something, and they mess up, then we take privileges away from them but also work with them, and again come back to talking about the community, so they understand that if

they do breach licenses and mess up like they've done in here, they could come back inside. The stakes are high but we need to give them enough freedom to experience that and understand it in here to avoid them messing up and not having those skills in the community.

AL: What about families? To what extent are families involved in building rehab culture here?

MG: Because of our location here in Suffolk, and the fact we're a national resource, there are some challenges for us in supporting residents with their family contact. I'm doing a piece of work at the moment that looks at whether residents have contact with the family, or not, even if it's just on the phone. We have the provision here of Ormiston families⁵ get involved with that and also Phoenix⁶ have a family service that they help. It seems to me, especially when I am doing a resettlement plan with someone, that if they have contact with their family they have such a better chance, so we definitely promote that. We have family days, where people can travel from long distances. The last family day we had was at Christmas where a family travelled from Liverpool, but instead of coming on a Friday, Saturday, Sunday for 2 hours they come on a Thursday for 10 o'clock, and they stay until 3pm. They have dinner together. It's worthwhile, they get so much more time with their families in prison.

AL: What about opportunities to address health and substance misuse. What is that like here and what role does it play in a rehabilitative culture?

5. Ormiston Families is a charity, supporting children, young people and families affected by imprisonment of a close family member.
6. Phoenix Futures is a charity that helps people overcome drug and alcohol problems.

Again our provision here is very good and I think we all understand the need for collaboration as part of a rehabilitative culture. In terms of substance misuse we have Phoenix who are very hands on with that. They also help when they are getting time for recess, or getting time outside, a particular rehab. Phoenix gets involved with getting someone registered to a certain rehab, or see if they will be accepted to a rehab. So you just don't go to an approved premises, where it can be difficult for some of them. They can go into the correct type of care, that they need or the correct type of rehab that they need, to give them a better chance. Again, I will use an example I had recently where via Phoenix, a resident applied to a particular rehab that would not only help them with abstaining from drugs, but there was also funding to look at how we can look for employment. So they did their rehab side of things and then they looked at employment, setting them up for life. Phoenix were completely involved in that, setting up, identifying who they were, and identify it could help that resident. Then sorting out the interviews and the process of getting them in there.

AL: Are there other players around the table that are important in sustaining a rehabilitative culture?

MG: Yes, I think giving them the chance to have something like the shop, and the cafe that we have here are really important. They don't have these facilities in a lot of places, like in the normal IPP system. We take IPP a bit further by having a stage 2 and stage 3 on the EBM (Enhanced Behavioural Monitoring) process. Linking back to what I said earlier, these sorts of places give us the chance to give residents trust and space to test themselves and make choices.

MG: Beyond this, I think another key player is offender supervisors who are really involved in EBM boards alongside key workers, but from a more psychological point of view. Key workers look at a resident's day to day care, how they are getting on and then the offender supervisor will look at what are their needs, what are their issues, what are their risk factors.

I think an offender manager can be a massive part but I know that they don't seem to have a lot of contact at the moment. It's certainly got worse, over the last couple of years that I have noticed and that's not all of them. I have got a real mix at the moment of the guys that I key work for. Some have very hands on offender managers and some we haven't really heard a lot of.

AL: So Warren Hill has got quite a lot of positive press recently for being a high performing prison with a progressive culture. What do you think is key to its success?

MG: Quite a few things. Again, the staff aspect of it and having enough experienced staff that have done the key work. When we introduced key work a few years ago, it took us a while to get on board. But when we did, it was just having the staff to be able to do that. That is such a massive part of Warren Hill being successful — having the time for the staff to do that and getting the support from offender supervisors, and the case file reviews and the psychologists. And also, just the environment. Just having simple things like the fish tanks on the wing, and a more homely feel. Key to that is getting the residents to make big decisions, being part of the councils and having big sort of orderlies, like assessment orderlies. I work with a couple of fellas that help write resettlement plans. I am not sure how much that would happen — some guy will say to another fella on his wing 'would you help me write a resettlement plan' — in most places. But here, our orderlies are more than happy to do it and enjoy doing it and take their role seriously. The other big thing is that the residents understand the potential repercussions of their actions. We sort of force that down quite early on often reiterating what they already know, but it needs to be done. They need to understand the stakes and take responsibility for living up to what is expected of them. They are back in closed and its cost them 2 or 3 years, but just reiterate that, if you failed an MDT [Mandatory Drugs Test] here this is what it will cost you on your parole board.

Living in an open prison

Ahmed Shah, James Allen and Philip Peters are residents at HMP Springhill. They are interviewed by Dr. Jamie Bennett, Governor of HMP Long Lartin.

HMP Springhill is an open prison in Buckinghamshire. It holds 335 men who are assessed as suitable for open conditions. They are nearing the end of their sentence and are preparing for release and resettlement. Two out of three of the men have been convicted of violent or drug offences. Many have served long sentences, with around 30 per cent serving sentences of 10 years or more, while only 2 per cent are serving less than two years. At any time, half of the men will have been in the prison for less than six months and half for more than six months.

The population is diverse. Half of the men are White British and half are Black, Asian or from minority ethnic communities. There are many faiths represented in the prison, including around 40 per cent observing various Christian faiths and over 20 per cent Muslim. One in five self-report that they have a disability.

In 2013, a prisoner had been released from Springhill on temporary licence (ROTL) from Springhill and had committed a murder. This terrible event exposed serious weaknesses in the ROTL process and had shaken the confidence of the establishment. The HM Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP) carried out an investigation into the events that led to the murder and were rightly critical, describing that 'the system failed the public it was supposed to protect'.¹ This led to major changes in the national ROTL policy. The impact at Springhill was significant. An inspection of Springhill in 2014, noted that the events had 'struck at its central purpose' and that although there was work to improve ROTL, 'getting this right was difficult; relationships were being impacted and staff in some roles were very stretched'.² They assessed that purposeful activity and resettlement work were 'not sufficiently good'.

In order to rebuild and improve the establishment started work towards the Royal College of Psychiatrists'

Enabling Environments Award.³ This award is assessed against ten standards and is intended as 'a mark of quality allowing a service to demonstrate that it has achieved an outstanding level of best practice in creating and sustaining a positive and effective environment'.⁴ Over a three year period, residents and staff took this forward. In 2018, Springhill became the first men's prison to receive the Enabling Environments Award for the whole establishment. The award was also a vehicle for wider organisational improvement. The most recent inspection of Springhill, conducted in December 2017⁵, recognised that the establishment had improved, with all four healthy prison tests being 'good' or 'reasonably good'. In addition, OFSTED judged for the first time that learning and skills provision at Springhill was 'good'. The experience of residents and staff has also improved. In 2018, there were Measuring the Quality of Prison Life (MQPL) and Staff Quality of Life (SQL) surveys conducted at Springhill. This is the first time since 2014, so again it is a reflection of the period in which EE was developed. The outcomes showed that overall quality of life for both staff and prisoners improved, as did their perceptions of safety.

This interview focusses on the experience of three residents at Springhill and other prisons, particularly on their perceptions of rehabilitative cultures and enabling environments. James has served seven years in prison and has a further year before he is considered for parole, Ahmed has served sixteen years and has 18 months before parole, and Phillip has served three years and is released in under a year.

JB: What for you are the key features of a rehabilitative culture? Why is this important to achieve?

AS: My understanding of a rehabilitative culture is that it is the way you do things, the way you talk to each other and interact with one another. People are

1. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2014) *A review by HM Inspectorate of Prisons: Release on Temporary Licence (ROTL) failures* available at <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprisons/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2015/07/ROTL-unredacted-WEB-amended-16-July-2015.pdf> p.5
2. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2014) *Report on an unannounced inspection of HMP Spring Hill 6–15 May 2014* available at <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprisons/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2014/09/Springhill-Web-amended-2014.pdf> p.6
3. 4 Royal College of Psychiatrists (2013) *Enabling environments standards* available at <https://www.rcpsych.ac.uk/pdf/ee%20standards%20-%202013.pdf>
4. Ibid p.2
5. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2018) *Report on an unannounced inspection of HMP Spring Hill 4–15 December 2017* available at <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprisons/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/04/Spring-Hill-Web-2017.pdf>

sent to prison as punishment, the punishment is the loss of liberty, that doesn't mean they should receive further punishment on a daily basis. The idea is to have a culture, from the top to the bottom where people encourage one another to rehabilitate themselves. That has to be in a way that's going to be long-lasting, not something that will just feel positive for a short while. That means thinking about how you interact, encourage and support each person as an individual on a daily basis.

PP: It's an atmosphere or environment that encourages people to change for the better. It's very difficult to achieve that in an environment that has 23 hours a day bang-up. A rehabilitative culture also considers practical effects of time unlocked, access to work and training, and support for good mental health. Prisons have many people who have mental health problems or have experienced terrible events in their backgrounds of childhoods. Putting them in a restrictive regime is just going to damage their self-esteem and encourage them to think that they have nothing to offer and they can never be anything other than a criminal. A more positive environment can encourage them to have a more healthy view of themselves, more confidence and so re-join society in a positive way. That needs practical support and resources, as well as compassion.

JB: How have you been involved in creating a more rehabilitative culture? How has this been taken forward where you are currently?

JA: I currently work in the activities department, so I can help to a degree, in particular by helping individuals in getting a job and producing the best CV they can. That's not to say that is consistent across the board, different people have different opportunities. There does seem to be more focus on this more recently. As a peer, there is something special about being able to relate to the people I'm working with as I will have shared many experiences. I'm also sometimes better able to identify the talent that people have and encourage them to make best use of it. As I don't work for a company, I can work in a way that is more individual, there is always the risk with commercial services that they become standardised and less personal.

JB: How does the physical environment contribute to this and what efforts have been made to make a positive difference? This can be

quite a challenge at Springhill, where the living accommodation is old and beyond its normal life.

AS: You do get a sense sometimes when talking about rehabilitative culture that people are thinking 'you want us to get involved in this or that, but the heating isn't working in our hut'. On the lifer hut, we get that maintenance is a much bigger prison and prison service issue, but the question is what can we do? What environment do we want? We can give the place a lick of paint, keep it clean and have a bit of pride about the place. At the end of the day, we have to live here. Being in an open prison, being able to use the grounds, particularly in summer, is appreciated. You do want to enjoy the freedom you do have, to be able to walk around.

JB: Are basic services such as food and clothing important?

JA: Food is always important. Clothing does tap into image in this environment. You do have some people who have access to more than others. There can be an element of 'look what I've got compared to what you've got'. You have to think about the impact that has on those who don't have access to those resources.

JB: I can see that. One of the arguments made for school uniforms is that it acts as a social leveller, whereas outside, clothing is one of the ways in which social status and inequality can be

displayed.

JA: You can certainly see that in open prisons and I wonder how that might tap into old behaviours.

JB: The assumption is often that giving people choice about clothing is positive, but you're challenging that and suggesting that this may also enable the enacting of problematic identities and social dynamics.

What about food? Here we have shared meals at important festivals, such as Eid, where Muslim residents can also invite a guest who is of a different faith, so as to encourage a multi-cultural community. There was also the 'bake off' competition, where each hut had a team. There is also the award for the cleanest hut competition, which is a shared meal. On an everyday basis, there is also some, albeit limited, opportunity for people to cook for themselves.

AS: Those things are massively important. Having some choice and ability to cook for yourself is good.

PP: Food can be a big event, yesterday there was an end of course celebration, where people had burritos. There were a few left at the end and there was a lot of excitement about that.

A rehabilitative culture also considers practical effects of time unlocked, access to work and training, and support for good mental health.

JA: You can walk onto any hut and there is almost always some form of shared cooking effort going on. Cooking and eating together is at the heart of building relationships.

AS: Often when people are moving on, the hut will get together and have a leaving meal the day before.

PP: One of the most memorable experiences for me was arriving at Springhill and being able to eat a meal sitting at a table talking with friends, rather than being alone in a cell. It felt like a step back into normality.

JB: What about relationships between those who live and work in prisons? What role do they have and how are they being improved?

AS: To me that is the crux of the matter, it is the foundation of the culture. Sometimes people have had difficult experiences with one another, that can be staff or prisoners, so it is important that through good relationships, mutual respect and encouragement, people are supported to build good relationships rather than fall into old ways.

PP: People are in prison temporarily, they are only 'prisoners' for a period of time, they are individual people first. I remember one occasion where at the servery there were some left over burgers and someone asked if they could have extra and the person working there said 'no, they are going in the bin. I'd rather throw them away than give them to you'. If someone already has had problems in relationships, they think they are worthless and won't amount to anything, then behaviour like this is going to reinforce it. It's not about the burgers, it's that this was the wrong way to handle the issue.

JB: Yes, the way we each interact can have an impact not only in the moment, but in a long-lasting way. That can be good or bad. Gethin Jones⁶ is a former prisoner who has rebuilt his life and supports others on the same journey, he has talked about how interactions can plant seeds that may have a long germination, but can grow. A few words of encouragement, support or interest can nurture the process of change.

AS: In one prison, a member of staff offered me a coffee. I didn't know what to say at first, as in all the years I'd been in prison I'd never been offered a cup. I eventually said 'yeah, go on then'. He brought out the coffee and I was just looking at it. He said, 'it's just a

cup of coffee'. I said 'To you it's a cup of coffee, but to me it's messing with my head because I've never had this before'. Since then, I had a great relationship with him. I worked with him for five years and got to know each other. He was someone I could really look up to and trust. That's really important when you are in prison and sometimes surrounded by people you can't trust, or are only around temporarily. The kindness that man showed went a long way. You never forget those people.

JA: There are many people who sometimes you forget it is an officer-prisoner relationship because you can interact with them in a way that is normal. I went out on an escorted temporary release and I was planning it with the officer and we were talking about going into the town, having a coffee and doing some other activities. It was great that they would do that in such a relaxed and informal way. The relationships here, in an open prison, are better than you would generally get in a closed prison. There are boundaries, in particular there are expectations about how we behave and interact. When some people complain about how they are treated, I have to remind them that actually they need to look at how they are interacting. They have to think about what they expect and also act in the same way.

PP: At school everyone has that one teacher that they really remember. It's the same in prison and I had this one officer who really helped me when I was in Woodhill. In fact, I saw him here a few weeks ago and I was so pleased to see him, I went to hug him! When I first came into prison, it really affected me and my family. After I'd been in for a couple of days, he noticed I was down and came to my cell and said, 'right, get up, have a shave. You've got three years so do something with it, study for a degree. In the meantime, I've got a job for you'. He put me to work cleaning and helped pull me out of the misery I was in. Later, my wife and I were guest speakers at a 'Family Matters' event, which he arranged and helped me prepare for. We all have that one person who has made a difference.

AS: The needs of individuals vary throughout a long sentence. Early on, I needed a lot of help and support and experienced crises. As I've adapted and moved on, I've become more self-reliant. At this stage, approaching the end of my sentence, I'm seeking more

There are many people who sometimes you forget it is an officer-prisoner relationship because you can interact with them in a way that is normal.

6. See <https://unlockingthepotential.co.uk/>

normality in my relationships. When I go on temporary release, it's almost as if I'm breaking free of the shackles of prison life, mentally as much as physically, and that's an amazing feeling.

JB: Do families have a role in building a more rehabilitative culture? How are they involved in your establishment?

PP: The most painful part of being imprisoned can be the time away from family and children. My experience of how families are treated in closed prisons has been terrible. Not just the searching, it's the way some people look down their noses at them. There can be a family that has travelled three hours with a baby and then be turned away because the baby doesn't have a birth certificate. It can be dire. It takes a massive commitment from a family to make a visit in a closed prison. A lot of people say that they don't want their family to visit because they know how awful it can be. I appreciate that there are security concerns, but it's not just that where the problems lie.

AS: Here, there is hot food available and there are outdoor areas to use. So people are happier. That atmosphere means people are more willing to interact, including staff and family members. Then people move on to day release.

JA: People come in here and there are no walls and it almost doesn't feel like a prison environment. On the flip side it's great when people say 'I've had my last visit', because they are starting day release, so they will now be meeting their families outside. I sometimes also hear officers talking to people asking how their wife and children are because they've also built up that relationship with family members.

JB: Two of you have been in therapeutic communities, where there are 'family days', which involve family members being invited onto the wing, sharing a meal, seeing where their loved ones live, meeting those they live and work with. How did you find that experience?

JA: The first time, they were coming into an environment, by which I mean closed prisons generally, where I had been for five or six years. It was difficult as it made it real. They weren't sitting in the bubble of the visits room, but were seeing the living accommodation. It was uncomfortable to a degree, but it has helped my relationship as they can better understand what I am going through and vice versa.

AS: My mum and sister came. I showed them my room and said, 'this is where I sit and sleep, this is where I live. My mum sat there in my room. That was painful. At the same time, it really helped. When that door closes, you feel on your own. You have all of that time and all of your thoughts. The fact that my family had been there, I kept that with me. When I'm there I can feel that my mum and sister have been there with me.

I do try to explain to my family the process of life sentences, the assessments and reports. It is very hard. I wish this had been explained to them from the start so they could understand and be involved. I did at one stage ask my offender supervisor to come to a visit to explain this to them, which they did. That was very helpful.

JB: What opportunities are there to address problems such as health and substance misuse?

JA: Healthcare varies from establishment to establishment, but I always compare it with my own family's experiences of waiting for appointments. From that perspective, it's not too bad. The support is available here for those who need it and want to make use of it.

AS: When you use something like a health service, you want to feel that your concerns are being treated seriously.

PP: With those who have substance misuse problems, one of the difficulties is the availability of drugs. If someone has a problem and drugs are available to them, it's going to be very difficult not to give in to temptation.

JA: Is that a problem here, or is the problem that people are coming to open conditions without their substance misuse problems having been addressed beforehand.

PP: It's both. There is an issue of availability, and that some people are coming here being used to getting medication through the health service, but then that being managed more assertively here. Those people who want and need support can get it, the drug and alcohol recovery team are excellent.

JB: So, even where there are good services available, the wider culture can be corrosive.

PP: Yes, where there are drugs available, there is always the risk of temptation becoming too much in a moment of weakness.

AS: But where does the responsibility for that lie? Is it the prison or is it about individual and the

A lot of people say that they don't want their family to visit because they know how awful it can be. I appreciate that there are security concerns, but it's not just that where the problems lie.

community. There are lots of people who aren't part of a drug culture, who don't want to be part of it and help those who want to keep out of it.

JB: Do punishments, adjudication, incentives and privileges have a useful role in shaping the behaviour of people in prison?

AS: I got caught with a mobile phone about ten years ago and got cellular confinement for a few days. That was the worst possible punishment for me because I'm a social person. I thought I never want to do anything like that again. It depends on what type of person you are.

JA: In a closed prison, IEP is more obvious, but in an open prison it's less clear. There are some people who are petrified that they are going to lose their access to temporary release, but there are others who have been caught, sometimes more than once, but their behaviour doesn't change. Their motivation and drive is different from someone who is more concerned about their own progress and the impact on their family.

JB: You have described how drugs and criminality can be corrosive to a rehabilitative culture. How should that behaviour be responded to?

AS: It has an impact on everyone, staff and prisoners. It can lead to trust breaking down and it can have an impact on how everyone is viewed. It is better if it can be viewed as an individual issue rather than everyone being affected.

JA: Sometimes you see a disappointment in staff members when something happens, particularly when they have tried to help someone.

AS: As well as supporting those who break the rules to rehabilitate them, those who are affected also need support, so they don't end up thinking, 'I'm not doing that again', 'I've been hurt before'.

PP: Inside or outside prison, it is important that people have something to lose. In here, with the access to temporary release, we have a lot to lose. Outside, if people can be set up so they have family, a job, somewhere to live, then they have something to lose.

JB: Have you had the opportunity to develop your talents and interests, for example through education, training or employment?

PP: Absolutely. For most of the time, I've been teaching or helping people. That's been really good for

me. There are a lot of people with basic skills needs. It would be good to have some incentive as at the moment, there's all stick and no carrot. There are sometimes huge mental monsters because people had difficulties at school, they see themselves as a 'manual' person, not an 'academic' person.

AS: I started planning for resettlement before I came to open conditions. I've completed the courses I need to do internally and now I've started to get involved with educational and mentoring organisations. I've had a lot of support from people at all levels. The managers here set the right example in supporting people. Sometimes people, including me, have lots of dreams and fantasies about the future, but that takes a lot of hard work. Eventually with the right effort and support, it comes together. That's what rehabilitative culture is about.

JA: You are an example of what someone can achieve when they are self-motivated and have the support of others around them. On the flip side, how do you achieve that with people who don't have that same level of motivation. In the area I work, the activities department, I see that on a daily basis. There are many people who need their hand held to go out and find something for themselves, and others who expect someone to do it for them.

AS: when I was editor of the prison magazine at Grendon, I went through a period where I felt like obstacles were being put in my way and I couldn't get over them. I spoke to Jamie and said 'I'm just a prisoner' and you said 'No, you're a person'. That impacted me. You also said that I can't change everyone, I can't change the world, but I can change how I deal with it. I've also tried to help other people. I had a good business idea, but gave it to a friend who was released and he is now developing it. I feel that if you do good, good also comes your way.

JA: When I first came to prison, I thought that my previous skills were not relevant or valued. Later, when I was in a therapeutic unit, I was encouraged to reconnect with that, so I've been able to do that since then. I've also tried things that I hadn't done previously, including some creative activities, including pottery, which I did in a therapeutic prison unit. I never thought I was artistic but then I found myself sitting in front of

Sometimes people, including me, have lots of dreams and fantasies about the future, but that takes a lot of hard work. Eventually with the right effort and support, it comes together. That's what rehabilitative culture is about.

a pottery wheel and I found I was quite artistic in what I could do. I went on to win some Koestler Awards. It was the first time I'd won anything. For me it was great. Not only did someone appreciate what I had created, but the fact that I was a prisoner didn't matter. That then developed into an interest in gardening and horticulture. After coming here to Springhill, I've started to do Open University. I've had ample opportunities to demonstrate what I'm good at and learn new skills.

JB: Is there one thing that you feel is a particularly powerful way to foster a more rehabilitative culture?

AS: The prison accommodates a lot of events involving external people coming in. Recently we had a pantomime. It was good to see people going in, including families and staff. Anything where you have

staff and prisoners involved together is massive. It builds trust and a meaningful bond between people.

JA: The officer-resident relationship stands out. It is now the majority and not the minority of officers who want to work with you, who care and have an interest in what we are doing. That has been more so in the last six months. That is due to the new staff coming in, their understanding of what is expected of an officer.

PP: The accessibility and open channels of communication are powerful. When I first arrived, I sent a couple of applications in suggesting an improvement. I got a reply and was then called to a meeting. I thought, wow, someone has actually listened to my idea. That idea has now grown into the Springhill careers advice service, which has now helped almost 200 people.



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Prison Officers' Perspectives on Five Minute Interventions and Rehabilitative Culture in a Local Prison

Catherine Vickers-Pinchbeck is a Forensic Psychologist in Training at South West Psychological Services, HMPPS

Background

A rehabilitative prison culture has been described as 'one where all aspects of culture support rehabilitation; they contribute to the prison being safe, decent, hopeful and supportive of change, progression and to helping someone desist from crime'.¹ The Five Minute Intervention (FMI) is one of the central initiatives of HMPPS to move the organisation towards a more rehabilitative culture. FMI involves training prison staff to view everyday interactions with residents as opportunities to promote change and to encourage them in developing a range of skills such as decision-making, perspective-taking and planning more effectively. Staff are trained in a range of rehabilitative skills to help them facilitate these conversations. Examples of FMI skills include building trust, confidence and rapport, active listening, Socratic questioning and strengthening commitment to change. FMI is not seen as a 'standalone' intervention but as something which can become an integral part of the way in which staff approach their interactions with residents. Initial evaluation suggested that FMI trained officers were more focused on rehabilitative goals and made greater use of skills which supported and empowered them to address their own problems.² These authors recommended that further rollout of FMI be supported by ongoing evaluation of its effectiveness.

In this article I will describe how FMI skills were adopted by staff at a Local prison, and examine the extent to which FMI training helped staff adopt rehabilitative attitudes towards the residents with whom they work. I will also explore the challenges and

barriers which they experienced, and how these may at times have prevented effective rehabilitative conversations from occurring.

Methodology

A qualitative design³ was chosen for the evaluation because of the potential for this to yield rich, meaningful information about the perceptions of participants. Participants were nine Band 3 Prison Officers with at least two years' experience. All had received FMI training at the prison. They were selected using opportunity sampling, based on their availability to attend interviews on the scheduled days. Those who wished to participate attended an interview at an agreed time, where they were given further information and formally asked to consent to participate. Interviews were then conducted lasting approximately 30-45 minutes. Interviews were audio-recorded. During the interviews participants were asked a number of questions about their experience of FMI training and application to practice, and about their perceptions of rehabilitative culture at the prison.

Interviewers typed up the content of their interviews using their written notes and the audio-recording and these were analysed using a Thematic Analysis approach. This involves systematically coding all the data, identifying any recurring 'themes' and then defining each 'theme' which is relevant to the evaluation topic.

Limitations

There are several limitations to the approach used. These include the nature of the retrospective design, which means that participants were asked to think back over a period of time and reflect on any changes to

1. Mann, R., Fitzalan Howard, F. & Tew, J. (2018). What is a rehabilitative prison culture? *Prison Service Journal* (235), 3-9.
2. Kenny, T. & Webster, S. (2015). *Experiences of prison officers delivering Five Minute Interventions at HMPIYOI Portland: Analytical Summary*. National Offender Management Service.
3. Qualitative research designs are used to gather non-numerical data, and are typically used to explore the perceptions of participants and the meanings they assign to things, rather than generating quantifiable data.

their practice. This is more likely to be affected by biases around what is recalled than if staff were interviewed before and after receiving the training.

Participants were all Band 3 operational staff, so their views cannot be assumed to represent those of other staff groups/ grades. Similarly, it is likely that the sample was less diverse than the wider staff group and so some minority groups may not have been represented within those sampled. An area of further research could be to extend evaluation to other groups, including non-operational staff who have received the training, in order to evaluate the impact of including these staff groups on FMI (or similar) training schemes.

Themes identified

Each of the themes identified below was present across several interviews. A brief description of the theme and key quotes from participants have been included to help explain the meaning of each theme. Some are divided into sub-themes where there were important distinctions between participants' views on a single topic or theme.

Theme 1: FMI training reinforced/ strengthened existing practice:

There was general consensus among participants that the training was not teaching new skills or knowledge, but some differences in terms of whether this was perceived as helpful or not. Several participants identified that FMI training acted as a 'refresher' to strengthen or reinforce existing practice. Some stated that it helped them develop existing skills or become more conscious of when they can apply these in their work.

'...Maybe not to the extent that the training went into but I did do some of it beforehand...' (P4).

'It is easy to be blasé as an experienced officer and say it is stuff you know already and it is teaching you to suck eggs but it reinforced things. I wouldn't say it was challenging but it was good to practice it' (P6).

Sub theme: FMI training is less relevant for experienced staff

Participants felt that FMI training covered skills they already use regularly in their roles, and as such did not cover significant 'new' material. Several highlighted

their extensive experience working in the service prior to undertaking the training and suggested that it is less likely to be useful for experienced staff.

'I already do all the things they highlighted. Some people's attitudes aren't the best, for softer people like that it would be useful. Useful for new people in the job too' (P3).

Sub-theme: Most valuable learning occurs in practice

Some participants referred directly to their view that learning in practice from colleagues (especially experienced ones) is particularly valuable. This was also implicit in comments made about the training by some participants, who indicated that they took little from this due to their experience of learning 'on the job'.

Some people's attitudes aren't the best, for softer people like that it would be useful.

'Watching and observing how people interact and learning from experienced staff has helped me' (P8).

Theme 2: Using interpersonal skills to support residents

Participants all described how they use existing skills to engage with residents, and most gave examples of using interpersonal skills, such as rapport building, picking up body language, using open questions and listening. Most participants did not describe any changes to their use of these skills since undertaking training, suggesting these were already being used beforehand.

'Open questions supported me to probe deeper for more information and they help to engage them [prisoners] to disclose more information' (P1).

'I'd ask what they're interested in, how they are, what jobs they did outside, what skills they have. It builds rapport' (P8).

Theme 3: Adapting practice to match individual needs

Participants discussed the need to treat residents individually and make situation-specific/ person-specific judgements about the best way to respond.

'It can be practical help about resettlement and finding somewhere to live..... For new guys coming in it is about more emotional support, waylaying their fears and emotionally prepare them' (P6).

'I use my knowledge and experience of people to change how I come across to them' (P9).

Theme 4: Supporting residents to resolve their own problems

Several participants talked about trying to encourage residents to think things through or to develop their own problem-solving skills- at times this involved drawing on interpersonal skills like Socratic questioning, or by encouraging them to do things for themselves instead of having staff do them.

'.... there's merit in those ways of working things out, using open questions so they can understand on their own without being told' (P1).

'So a prisoner came up to me and asked me to fill out a response to his complaint, to write out the app, but I said no and he looked at me a bit shocked because before then I'd always do it. I asked him 'How would you ask the question?' and then get him to write it down in the app. He went away and made a list of things and showed it to me and he'd done it. I didn't have to write anything and it makes them feel better for themselves, they're not as dependent on others....' (P2)

Theme 5: Belief in change

Participants generally articulated a belief in the capacity of all individuals to change, although in many cases this was tempered by a sense of pessimism (see below) which mainly related to whether change is supported in the prison environment. Some participants recognized their role in promoting change and modelling hopeful attitudes around this.

'.... everyone is open to change at some level; it is just about cracking your way through to getting into their way of thinking...' (P6).

'I've had 10 years of experience prior to the training, I don't believe in writing people off' (P1).

Sub-theme: Offenders are responsible for change

Several participants talked about readiness to change and about change being ultimately driven by the individual making a decision, rather than being something which can be brought about through interventions by staff.

Theme 6: Pessimism about the prison's ability to support rehabilitation

Linked to the previous theme, several participants expressed doubts about whether prison provides an environment conducive to rehabilitation. Barriers including the lack of staffing, specific lack of experienced staff, and lack of resources and opportunities for residents were cited. The influence of other residents who are not ready to change was also cited as a challenge. This theme also links to the theme below related to safety and decency in the establishment.

'Hope right now is very low, we just haven't got the staff skills and enough discipline staff to do it [build a rehabilitative culture]' (P3).

'it is difficult for someone to change when they are surrounded by people who don't want to or are bad influences...' (P4).

Sub-theme: Rehabilitation is particularly hard in a Local prison environment

Several participants discussed the particular challenges of a Local prison, including the brief stays of most residents, and expressed doubts about the potential for there to be any meaningful impact on individuals during this time. Other barriers such as the ease of obtaining substances and individuals coming in and 'detoxing' then returning to the community were cited.

'My personal view on the prison system especially the local remand prisons is you've got a massive vast mix of prisoners with

The influence of other residents who are not ready to change was also cited as a challenge.

different sentences.... It is difficult to control' (P5)

'There aren't chances in a local Cat B, they're not here long enough.... Some people have gone through a lifetime of bad luck, so how do you change someone's life around in three or four months?' (P8)

Sub-theme: Basics of rehabilitation- safety and decency- remain poor

A number of participants raised issues relating to safety and decency. This included issues with the fabric of the buildings and the poorly maintained physical environment, as well as the impact of limited staffing on officers' ability to keep offenders safe. There was recognition that inability to deliver the basics on safety and decency prevent the development of a rehabilitative culture.

'There isn't any safety, decency, or respect, not for anybody. No foundations of safety and security and order there' (P3).

'Practically I think we need the fabric of the prison to be decent and it isn't. We are working in it but when you see these guys living in it, then why would they look after anything when they are living in rubbish really' (P7).

Theme 7: Discipline and respect are important

Some participants felt that the focus of the prison system should be on instilling 'basic' values of respect and discipline. One individual articulated that they felt this had been 'lost' over time and that this had led to staff losing control of the establishment. This was also linked to resource/ staffing issues.

'There isn't discipline and that reflects onto us, they have no respect. There has got to be a balance but there isn't at a moment- it is all one way and we sort of just take it' (P7).

'We almost have to parent them and instil values before we can work on all the other things...' (P4).

Theme 8: Staff factors affect rehabilitative culture

Several distinct staff factors were identified which may affect rehabilitative culture, so these are separated into sub-themes below.

Sub-theme: Some staff have negative attitudes towards rehabilitation

One participant identified negative attitudes of staff as having an impact on the rehabilitative culture of the establishment. They specifically identified older/ more experienced staff as having more problematic attitudes on the whole, but also spoke about the following example of negative staff attitudes more generally:

'Since the training I find it cringey when I hear staff say something like 'see you next week, see you next time or see you soon' to a prisoner. Like how can you say that, how will that help?' (P5)

There isn't any safety, decency, or respect, not for anybody. No foundations of safety and security and order there.

Sub-theme: Lack of staffing prevents culture change

This is closely linked to the sub-theme below but is identified separately as it does not distinguish between more/ less experienced staff, but relates to the idea that the general short-staffing means that staff do not have time to think about working rehabilitatively.

'...it's hard for staff to change as they are under so much pressure' (P7).

Sub-theme: Prison has deteriorated following losing experienced staff

Several participants identified the impact of the loss of experienced staff, including linking this to decreased safety and decency.

'[This prison] has changed, it used to have a respectful culture, but that changed when

they got rid of a lot of the experienced staff. We lost a lot of staff that had been in the job for 10 or 20 years and you can't replace that' (P3).

Theme 9: More and better supported staff would help rehabilitation

This theme follows on from the above themes about staff factors and resource issues. Most participants identified that having more staff and/or resources to support change would help improve the rehabilitative culture. This was split into two sub-themes:

Sub-theme: Staff need more time to spend with residents

Participants recognised the value of everyday interactions and having the time to build relationships. They felt that having more time to do this type of work would be important and several spoke positively about personal officer/keyworker systems:

'The keyworker scheme is brilliant. I mean it's a rehash of the old personal officer scheme, but it changes from uniform staff being there to unlock and lock-up, to them talking and taking an interest' (P1).

'We have very little time to do a lot of the stuff we need and want to do but we can't do. Between that we have got to do all the compliance, escorting works, helping nurses, we've got little time to do the stuff we want to do for people' (P4).

Sub-theme: Staff need resources to provide practical help

Several participants spoke about resourcing and ensuring that officers know how to signpost prisoners, and that the support is actually there and referrals are followed through so that there is confidence in the system.

Theme 10: Changes to the way the regime is organised which would help

Participants identified changes to how the regime is organised which they felt would have a positive impact. These were split into two sub-themes:

Sub-theme: Increased consistency of staff would support rehabilitation

Several participants talked about the difficulties of staff being frequently detailed to different wings, meaning that they do not get to know the individuals or build relationships with prisoners or their fellow officers. This links to the theme above about the benefits of spending more time with residents and developing more effective relationships with them.

'The Personal Officer scheme worked well, you get to know your prisoners, their moods and attitudes. I'd leave staff on Units too, give them some consistency for prisoners and staff' (P8).

Sub-theme: Greater structure and purposeful activity would help rehabilitate

Some participants spoke about the benefits of structure and linked to this, purposeful activity. This links to other themes related to resourcing and providing opportunities for engagement, as well as creating a more disciplined environment.

Additional findings

In addition to the frequently occurring themes identified above, a theme was identified as salient to the evaluation topic, although it did not occur as frequently within interviews. This theme is described below:

Theme 11: Attitudes towards residents which may impact on use of FMI skills

There was a salient theme within two interviews that residents can often behave in a deceitful, manipulative way, and that this creates anger and frustration for staff. One of these individuals recognised

There was a salient theme within two interviews that residents can often behave in a deceitful, manipulative way, and that this creates anger and frustration for staff.

that sometimes individuals are experiencing 'genuine' distress but that it is difficult to tell this apart from those who are 'attention seeking or manipulating', especially around the use of self-harming behaviour. The use of language such as this may act as a barrier to engagement in rehabilitative work and impact on staff-resident relationships.

Summary of Results

The themes identified above showed that the staff interviewed were able to identify some appropriate uses of FMI skills and were largely rehabilitative in their outlook. Some individuals felt that the FMI training was not appropriately pitched for experienced officers and that they took little from the formal training sessions.

Areas of concern raised by participants included safety, decency and resourcing, including the lack of consistent staffing on units and the difficulty in finding time to have meaningful interactions and build relationships with residents. Several individuals reflected on the difficulties they experience trying to 'make a difference' in a Local prison environment with the challenges this brings.

Discussion

Training Delivery

The results of this evaluation study suggest a somewhat mixed picture about the effectiveness of the FMI training for the individuals surveyed. Whilst a majority of participants did feel that they took at least some benefit from the training, it was seen by all of them as more of a 'refresher' for existing skills rather than covering anything 'new'. To some extent this is unsurprising and probably reflects the reality that many experienced officers will have acquired and refined a range of interpersonal skills through their work. As such, the rollout of FMI training to experienced staff can reasonably be conceptualised as a way of developing more consistency in the use of largely pre-existing interpersonal and rehabilitative skills/ behaviours.

Some of the comments made by participants suggest that they may have experienced the training as a relatively formal process which was viewed as being

quite separate from their day to day practice. If delivered as intended, FMI training should be a fairly interactive event with opportunities for participants to engage in skills practices and discussions about how they would apply learning to their roles. It is not possible to know whether the training was delivered in this way for the participants in this study. It is known that they were trained by a number of different individuals, and so most likely experienced a range of delivery styles, which may have differed in quality and in

fidelity to the FMI training manual. If some participants did not experience an interactive, engaging style of training, this may go some way towards accounting for the limited benefits they perceived. It is also possible that some participants may have felt defensive when being asked about whether the training impacted on their practice and that this influenced their responses to these questions. Given that all participants were experienced officers (some with over twenty years in the role), it may be that they felt implicitly criticised or thought that they would be admitting that their previous conduct was lacking or inadequate if they acknowledged having learned from the FMI training. An additional consideration is the possible impact of the existing culture at the establishment in shaping attitudes towards learning and openness to new initiatives.

Formally assessing the culture at the prison was beyond the remit of this evaluation. However it may be that if (as was implied by some participant comments) there is a sense of feeling let down and frustrated by decisions which have previously led to reductions in staffing and resources, this could contribute to a culture in which some frontline staff may be resistant to accepting the value in new initiatives. However, there is also some evidence of more positive attitudes towards the FMI rollout, such as the fact that some staff at the prison have made efforts to attend FMI training even when it was personally inconvenient to do so, for example rescheduling rest days.

The results of this evaluation reinforce the need to ensure that the training is delivered in a way which is multi-modal and engaging for staff. Training which is interactive and encourages learners to consider new

Areas of concern raised by participants included safety, decency and resourcing, including the lack of consistent staffing on units and the difficulty in finding time to have meaningful interactions and build relationships with residents.

information in the light of their previous knowledge and experience has been shown to help in achieving 'deep' rather than 'surface level' learning.⁴ This will be especially pertinent for delivery to groups of highly experienced staff, and it may be advisable for trainers to adjust their delivery plans to focus more explicitly on how the training content can be applied to challenging situations encountered in practice, and to allow time for learners to share examples of good practice and to learn from one another.

Rehabilitative attitudes among officers

Participants on the whole showed broadly rehabilitative attitudes and understood that part of their role is to support residents in making changes and breaking free of patterns of offending behaviour. There were some encouraging examples of how they had used everyday conversations to facilitate change, which were in keeping with the ethos of a rehabilitative culture and with the FMI approach. On the other hand, some of the findings raised questions about the possible prevalence of attitudes which may run counter to rehabilitative aims. Some participants described observing such attitudes among other officers, although there was a lack of consensus about whether it is the more experienced officers who are most likely to hold negative attitudes and be resistant to cultural change, or whether the loss of experienced staff has contributed to problems within the prison's culture. A minority of participants expressed beliefs about the 'manipulative' behaviour of residents, and this appeared to contribute to a sense of suspicion and pessimism about meaningful change. Whilst it is understandable that repeatedly engaging in often highly damaging and distressing behaviour (e.g. self-harm) can come to be seen in this light, these comments indicate that some officers may have limited understanding of the complex causes and functions of such behaviour. This could be indicative of further training and supervision needs among staff. It is possible that if they are more able to make sense of the behaviour they are expected to

manage and are adequately supported to do so, this will help them to manage the emotional and psychological impact this inevitably has, as well as helping to create a more rehabilitative ethos.

Barriers to achieving a rehabilitative culture

Participants identified a number of practical and environmental barriers to the creation of a rehabilitative culture and to the use of FMI skills. Some of these are common across a majority of prisons; these include strains on staffing and resources, which can mean that officers do not have the time to develop meaningful relationships with residents. It has been acknowledged that building a rehabilitative culture requires a 'platform of safety and decency'⁵, and this was echoed by participants in this study, who cited the lack of safety and the poor conditions of the physical environment as barriers to rehabilitation. Participants described this being exacerbated by a lack of responsibility-taking, and attributed this in part to the fact that staff are not regularly detailed to the same unit (due to resource issues). Although this was not stated by participants in the study, it would make sense to expect that residents would not take responsibility for the maintenance of the physical environment either; partly because this is not being 'modelled' consistently by staff, and partly because, in a Local prison, many will have only a short stay and so may not be inclined to see the value in preserving and maintaining the fabric, fixtures and fittings of the prison. This creates a vicious circle, in which the environment is poor and staff and residents do not take collective ownership of driving forward improvements. This reinforces the sense of the prison as run-down and poorly maintained, and depletes motivation to take pride and ownership in it as a place to live and work. There is no easy way out of this problem and it will require long-term, sustained efforts by leadership teams to tackle both the safety/ decency agenda whilst simultaneously promoting rehabilitative values; motivating and inspiring as many staff as possible to share and work towards these ambitions.

Participants on the whole showed broadly rehabilitative attitudes and understood that part of their role is to support residents in making changes and breaking free of patterns of offending behaviour.

4. Vickers, D., Morgan, E., & Moore, A. (2010). Theoretically driven training and consultancy: From Design to Evaluation. In C. Ireland & M. Fisher (Eds.) *Consultancy and Advising in Forensic Practice* (pp35-50). West Sussex: BPS Blackwell.
5. Mann, R., Fitzalan Howard, F. & Tew, J. (2018). What is a rehabilitative prison culture? *Prison Service Journal* (235), 3-9.

Finally, the evaluation highlighted some specific challenges to the implementation of a rehabilitative culture in a Local/ Remand prison. Rehabilitative cultures are hopeful environments in which residents are encouraged to look towards a positive, non-offending future. This clearly presents particular difficulties for working with a population who are largely either unconvicted, unsentenced, or in the early stages of their sentence (especially if this is lengthy). They are likely to be at a less advanced stage in their own thinking about change, and some will be struggling to adjust to prison life. There is a high rate of prevalence of substance misuse disorders and mental health conditions, and these may be acute following entry into custody, both because the change of circumstance may exacerbate existing problems, and because individuals may have lived chaotically in the community and not accessed services or interventions prior to imprisonment. The brevity of the typical stay was also identified by several participants in this study as a particular challenge and this is borne out by statistics; the most recent HMIP report for the prison involved in this evaluation indicates that 65 per cent of residents stayed in the establishment for under three months, and many stayed less than one month. Against this backdrop, it is easy to see why staff would feel disheartened and would feel that they witness little in the way of meaningful change. As HMPPS continues to embed the idea of a rehabilitative culture across the prison estate, it may be beneficial to develop a more nuanced understanding of what this means in different types of establishment. In Local prisons, this may be about managing expectations and encouraging staff to recognise and celebrate what may seem like small steps towards change. Helping staff to understand how their contributions fit into a 'bigger picture' might instil a greater sense of pride and achievement in the work undertaken in these prisons. For instance, an officer who lends a listening ear to someone in their first days in custody and helps them to come to terms with their

sentence is paving the way for the individual to engage positively and build trusting relationships with staff at subsequent establishments. Accordingly, effective 'Five Minute Interventions' in the Local/ Remand setting may look somewhat different to the types of FMI conversations which would benefit residents in a Training or Open prison establishment (although the core principles underpinning FMI remain the same across settings). Further research might explore the similarities and differences in FMI application across settings, and whether the skills have a differing level of impact or are perceived as more valuable by staff or residents in some settings.

Summary and Conclusion

Five Minute Interventions training is intended to equip staff with rehabilitative skills to use in their interactions with residents, thus transforming them into opportunities for learning. This evaluation explored how FMI training had impacted on the attitudes and practices of prison officers in a Category B Local prison, as well as exploring how these officers perceived rehabilitative culture at the establishment. The results give cause for optimism in some respects; officers identified ways in which they can make a difference and were broadly rehabilitative in their outlook. The findings also reinforce what is already established about the cornerstones of rehabilitative culture; safety and decency, and highlight the need for improvements in both of these, alongside a culture of responsibility-taking and collective ownership for the maintenance and care of the physical environment. Finally, this study began to explore some of the specific challenges within a Local prison environment, and this is an area which would benefit from further research so that initiatives like FMI can be rolled out in a way which is responsive to the needs of establishments and their residents and staff.

Staff perceptions of rehabilitative culture

Lucy Newton is based in the Rehabilitative Culture Team, Public Sector Prisons North

I interviewed staff at HMP Wymott, a category C prison in the North West of England and HMP Brinsford, a mainly young adult prison in Staffordshire. 16 members of staff participated in total. They were asked multiple questions about rehabilitative culture, what it means to them and how they feel their establishment goes about fostering a more rehabilitative culture.¹

Wymott prison, located in Lancashire, opened in 1979 as a category C prison. After 1993 the prison also began to cater for vulnerable men. Approximately half of the population are convicted of sexual offences and the remainder of the population are mainstream category C offenders. It has an operational capacity of 1173 men. The prison population increased in 2003/04 after the addition of two new wings. In general, the residents have a sentence length of over four years.

The prison has been taking rehabilitative culture in its stride and has been working on a number of projects. It has a Therapeutic Community operating on 'K wing' which is a 70 space community with a full programme of activities to support a drug-free return to the community. A large CARATS team works with all offenders to prevent relapse. The prison has also undertaken a plethora of other rehabilitative initiatives such as the 'Time for Change' approach which 'seek to offer an early intervention in order to empower professional challenge and support relationships between frontline staff and prisoners'. Not only this but it is also reviewing and re-writing its current IEP policy, in order to make it more in line with a rehabilitative approach. The Rehabilitative Culture Team, along with members from the Evidence Based Practice team and regional Psychology Services have also recently undertaken a 'Procedural Justice Blitz' at the prison, which aims to encourage staff to review and reflect on their current policies and practices and identify how they could make them more procedurally just.

HMP Brinsford is located in the Midlands near the city of Wolverhampton. It opened as a young adult institution and remand centre in November 1991. In 2016, the establishment re-rolled to a mixed population of young adults and sentenced category C adults. It has an operational capacity of 577 men and predominantly caters for young adults, between the ages of 18 and

21. Approximately 10 per cent of the population are Category C prisoners of all ages.

After a poor HMIP inspection back in 2013, many resources were placed into HMP Brinsford which included a complete refurbishment programme of residential units 1-4. The prison has continued to drive new projects and initiatives, and it too has introduced a new IEP scheme in the hopes of fostering a more rehabilitative culture. It has also introduced the new 'Development and Progression Unit' which aims to help and support residents with a range of complex behavioural issues.

The prison is also clearly focusing on its current demographic and the issues that can arise with a large young adult population by introducing 'Adverse Childhood Experience's' training for all of its staff. This training is hoped to raise awareness for the trauma that many of the young men within the prison may have experienced.

For the purposes of this article, all interviewees have remained anonymous in order to achieve as honest and open discussion as possible. Responses will be attributed to Wymott (Wy) or Brinsford (Br).

LN: What are the key features of a rehabilitative culture? Why is this important to achieve?

Wy: 'A rehabilitative culture is one that makes the men in our care aware of what rehabilitation is. It should aim to change their mind set and way of thinking through trying to give them a different perspective and outlook on life. This isn't just done through education, but through building meaningful and positive relationships and teaching the men good values and life skills.'

'The key features of a rehabilitative culture are the education classes that the men attend as to me, these are going to make the biggest difference in rehabilitating the men as it gives them purposeful activity'

For many of the staff interviewed at HMP Wymott, a rehabilitative culture is important to achieve in order to reduce re-offending rates. This would not only be beneficial for the community but also for the men themselves, in order to help them live a purposeful and crime free life.

Br: 'A rehabilitative culture is one that gives the men that are in our care hope. It should aim to give the

1. Thank you to all of the staff at HMP Wymott and HMP Brinsford for taking part in this interview and providing such interesting responses.

men and women that we look after the ability to plan for the future with a positive mind set. It encompasses everything that we do and means that we should treat every person as an individual. By treating the men as individuals we aim to identify the root causes behind their crimes and give them the help that they need and deserve so that they will stop re-offending.'

For the staff at HMP Brinsford, there was an emphasis on positive relationships between the staff and the young men in their care. This was identified as a fundamental feature for building a rehabilitative culture. 'It all comes back to actually engaging with the men that are in your care and listening to them and treating them with decency and respect when these interactions do take place'.

LN: How have you been involved in creating a more rehabilitative culture? How has this been taken forward where you are currently?

Wy: 'I think that I have played a part in creating a more rehabilitative culture, not through anything drastic but through simply communicating with the men in Wymott in a respectful way and treating them in a way in which I would wish to be treated myself. Although it sounds small I really think that it makes a big difference.'

Three of the staff interviewed at HMP Wymott were part of the safer custody team and were passionate that the safer custody team is playing an important part in creating a more rehabilitative culture. 'We see first-hand some of the awful issues that these men are having to face. We spend quality time with the men and have meaningful conversations to try and build a good rapport and do our best to help them in any way that we can'.

Br: 'I have been involved in creating a new IEP system for HMP Brinsford. It is one that aims to celebrate success and inspire others. I hope that it will celebrate the positive things that the men at HMP Brinsford do, rather than the negatives which I feel the current IEP system does. When creating this new policy I actually held a focus group with the men at Brinsford to see if they had any suggestions. I think that this really helped the men feel valued and like their opinions mattered, and helped them to feel a part of the Brinsford community'.

Other members of staff at Brinsford felt that they contributed to creating a more rehabilitative culture though building good rapports with the men in their

care and having meaningful interactions with the men on a daily basis. Interviewees mentioned that they pay a lot of attention to complex cases and often, if they feel that it is necessary, invite family members in to be a part of any review or intervention discussions. Family inclusion and strengthening family ties is viewed as an important aspect of rehabilitation. 'We need to ensure that we go about things with an individualised, calm and compassionate approach'.

LN: How does the physical environment contribute to this and what efforts have been made to make a positive difference?

Wy: 'I think that having a decent physical environment is extremely important as at the end of the day, for the time that the men are here it is their home.

If we take pride in it and make it look nice then hopefully they will do the same. I think that trying to normalise the environment as much as possible is important as prison can be a very false and somewhat strange setting so by attempting it to give it to normalising effects should hopefully make the men feel calmer and less intimidated.'

All of the staff also mentioned HMP Wymott's gardens, and were particularly proud of how well kept the gardens are. Many of them mentioned the motivational quotes that run through the establishment on the walls, with the aim of giving the men hope

and motivation. All of the staff mentioned the importance of having a decent and clean establishment as not only is it morally right to try and ensure the men live in a clean space, it also sets the tone for what HMP Wymott's attitude is towards the men in their care.

Br: 'I think that the physical environment is a very important part of prison, as it can have a significant effect on the mood of the men. At Brinsford we have just received some funding to put some murals on the walls, which I think will really give a nicer feel to the environment. We are also in the middle of refurbishing some of the wings to ensure that they are as clean and decent as possible.'

'The physical environment has a massive impact, it shows that we do care and that we have a good outlook in regards to decency. We are introducing a lot of nature paintings on our res 2 wing, with the idea of 'bringing the outside in'. We also have rehabilitative culture 'success stories' on our walkway that the men use to get to work and education. This gives out the message of hope to the men.'

By treating the men as individuals we aim to identify the root causes behind their crimes and give them the help that they need and deserve so that they will stop re-offending.

LN: Are basic services such as food and clothing important?

Wy: 'Yes they are very important. They provide the foundation of basic decency. Food is also one of the main things that the men have to look forward to in the day so we need to make sure that it is of a decent standard. It also shows that in prison it doesn't matter what your background is, where you have come from, everyone is treated fairly and equally'.

Br: 'Yes they are massively important, if we don't give basic services it gives the impression that we don't care. We are getting away from prison issue clothing to try and normalise the environment at Brinsford even further. We have introduced ironing boards on our res 4 wing to try and encourage the men to take care of their clothes and teach them another valuable life skill that will serve them well in the community'.

LN: What about relationships between those who live and work in prisons? What role do they have and how are they being improved?

Wy: 'These relationships are so important, I think that there is a big movement now to treat people how you wish to be treated. They are integral for the whole establishment to function properly. I think that the introduction of the key worker has been excellent as it provides a good opportunity to build up these relationships and invest some time into the men in our care. Positive relationships are the foundation of rehabilitative culture.'

Many of the staff interviewed at HMP Wymott felt that the Key worker scheme has been instrumental in aiding good relationships throughout the establishment as it allows staff to really 'get to know' the men in their care. They felt that these good relationships then improved communication between the men and staff and allowed the staff to have a greater ability to mould expectation and shape values.

Br: 'These relationships are so important. Not only are they important for the men but they are important for the staff. I think that rehabilitative culture is just as much about the staff as it is about the men and positive relationships makes the job not only more interesting, but also helps staff to feel more fulfilled. Feeling like you are actually getting through to someone and making a difference has such a positive effect and reinstates the meaning behind the job.'

'Good relationships are very important. I believe that they key workers has made a huge difference in helping to build relationships even further. At Brinsford we are also keen on ACE training (Adverse Childhood

Experiences) and are keen to provide the young men in our care with at least one stable relationship, which they most probably have never had any experience of in their life due to what they have been through. By doing this and providing them with someone they can trust we hope that we will be able to encourage them to make positive changes'.

LN: What do the best staff do that makes a difference?

Wy: 'The best staff are the ones that care. They take the time to listen and take genuine interest in the people that they are helping.'

'They are polite, straight talking and live up to any promises that they make. They communicate respectfully to not just the men but their colleagues too. They provide support for both the men and their fellow staff members and act as role models.'

Br: 'The best staff demonstrate active listening.

They listen and talk and communicate well. They make the men feel that they can do better and convince them they are not always going to be stuck in a life of crime. The best staff will know that building a good rapport is key'.

LN: Do prisoners have the chance to be involved in the running of the prison or shaping the community such as peer support or representative bodies?

Wy: 'Yes. At Wymott we have got the prisoner council, PID [Prisoners' Information Desk] workers, the Listener's scheme and violence reduction reps. They seem to be making a real difference within the prison. The suggestions from the prisoner council always get taken on board, even if we can't always see these suggestions through. Having these kinds of bodies and reps gives the men a voice which is very important within the establishment.'

Br: 'Yes — we feel that at Brinsford the men have a number of opportunities to get involved in shaping the community, and furthermore we want them to as we value their input massively. We have mentors that work on the wings, along with a prisoner council and our reception orderlies' are now trained Listeners. We often hold prisoner focus groups to run new ideas and initiatives past them, for example as we did with the new IEP scheme. The feedback that the men provided really helped us to shape the new scheme. We also have violence reduction reps. We feel all of these things are really important as it gives the young men a voice and allows them to feel valued as part of the Brinsford community.'

These relationships are so important, I think that there is a big movement now to treat people how you wish to be treated

LN: Do families have a role in building a more rehabilitative culture? How are they involved in your establishment?

Wy: 'Families definitely have a very important role in building a more rehabilitative culture. They can provide grounded motivation for the men and can help them want to better themselves. They are a key support system for the men. At Wymott we host family days along with facilitating a homework club which gives the men the opportunity to help their children with their homework.'

The staff at Wymott emphasised that having events such as family days really helps to normalise the prison environment along with strengthening family ties. They also talked about the 'Storybook Dads' initiative in which the men can record themselves reading a children's book which can then be played to their children.

Br: 'Families are extremely important to us at Brinsford. We host family days and also run 'Storybook Dads'. We also have a family wellbeing day in which the men's families can come into the establishment and talk to all of the different agencies that the men have access to. We also invite the families in to an awards ceremony that we host, so that they can watch if their loved one received an award. We also recently hosted a carol service which families were invited to attend.'

The staff at Brinsford were keen to mention the work that the safer custody team has been doing to try and incorporate family engagement into their work. With complex cases they will often invite the families in to be part of the discussions that are taking place between the staff and men. They involve families in the care plans and feel like this not only helps the men but also helps the family to feel that they are being involved and communicated to with transparency. Brinsford has had a number of success stories through these measures.

LN: What opportunities are there to address problems such as health and substance misuse?

Wy: 'At Wymott we are very proud of our Therapeutic Community which aims to help men with health and substance misuse problems. We also have a PIPE [Psychologically Informed Planned Environment] unit on F wing which really helps the men on the unit. Safer custody invest a lot of time into men that appear

to have serious substance misuse problems. We also run a 'building futures' programme.

Br: 'At Brinsford we have the inclusion team which addresses mental health problems that the men might be facing. We also have drug and alcohol teams that work within the establishment that try and help any substance misuse issues. We are currently in the process of introducing a voluntary drugs test that the men can use upon arriving in reception. If the results come back positive then we will ask them if they would like us to refer them to one of our substance misuse teams. The idea behind this is that we would be trying to help the men and their issues rather than taking a punitive approach'.

LN: Do punishments such as adjudications and incentives and earned privileges have a useful role in shaping the behaviour of people in prison?

Wy: 'I think that they do have a part to play in prison establishments as otherwise there is not incentive to behave. It can sometimes depend on each individual case as the best way to deal with someone. I believe that IEP can work so long as it is not abused. I think part of rehab culture is making sure that even when we are punishing someone we are doing it in a fair, neutral and respectful way.'

'Yes I think there is a need for punishments within prisons because at the end of the day if

someone breaks the rules then they need to pay the consequences. We wouldn't get very far as a service if we didn't punish poor behaviour'.

Br: 'Yes there is a place for punishments so long as they are appropriate, but an overly punitive approach very much goes against what we are trying to achieve at Brinsford. We want to praise the positives rather than re enforcing negative behaviour through punishment. Our aim is to make things like enhanced status look more attractive rather than having basic as a deterrent. The idea is that it would be something for them to lose rather than something for them to gain. Punishment itself is quite archaic but certainly has a place in making the prison safe, decent and secure. There still has to be boundaries just like there is in the community but finding the right balance is crucial. Being overly punitive doesn't work.'

LN: Do prisoners have the chance to develop their talents and interests, for example through education, training or employment?

Families definitely have a very important role in building a more rehabilitative culture. They can provide grounded motivation for the men and can help them want to better themselves.

Wy: 'Yes, at Wymott we offer a vast range of education and employment opportunities. For example we do BICS training and offer opportunities to gain qualifications in things such as engineering and woodwork. We also offer holistic classes such as art and gardening.'

Br: 'Yes, at Brinsford we have a large variety of courses and training on offer for the men. We have a catering academy and also a barista course. One of our men completed the catering course and ended up getting a job at one of Jamie Oliver's restaurants! We also provide the men with the opportunities to undertake A levels, degrees along with a plethora of vocational courses.'

LN: What is the best way to prepare prisoners for a successful life after release?

Wy: 'I think that for a successful life after release, the men have got to really want to change themselves. However, as an establishment it is our job to provide them with the tools and life skills so that they are equipped as best they can be to give them the maximum chance of leading a successful and crime free life. We also need to be encouraging and provide hope and motivation to try and help them to bring about the change'.

Wymott staff believed that as soon as the men step off the bus and enter into the establishment, it is the job of the staff to try and help these men turn their lives around and equip them with the mind set and skills to live as positive and successful a life as possible upon release.

Br: 'I think that addressing why the men are here and how they have got here is important as a first point of call. After this we can work on equipping them with the jobs, support and life skills that they need to ensure that they don't end up down that path again. We need to help them gain a different outlook on life and what they want to gain from it. Family ties and through the gate support are also massively important in helping the men with a successful life after release'.

LN: Is there anything that is done in your establishment that you feel is a particularly powerful way to foster a more rehabilitative culture?

Wy: 'At Wymott we have recently started hosting sports days which have proved to be so useful in improving relationships between staff and the men, it seems to really incorporate the whole idea behind rehabilitative culture. All of our family events also seem to have been beneficial to HMP Wymott's rehabilitative journey. Our attempt to normalise the establishment is something that we are proud of and we feel that it is a powerful way of fostering a rehabilitative culture'.

Br: 'At Brinsford we feel that our emphasis on ACEs training is a really good way of fostering a more

rehabilitative culture, particularly for the type of population that we are accommodating. Training such as this makes staff more aware of some of the terrible experiences these young men may have gone through, which in turn can help the staff to be more empathetic to the problematic behaviour that they sometimes display. We also have a development and progression unit which we are very proud of and uses the principles of procedural justice and rehabilitation to make it as rehabilitative as possible.'

LN: What are the barriers to achieving success? What gets in the way? How can these challenges be overcome?

Wy: 'Sometimes the men not wanting to engage can be a problem, however when this happens I think we just need to persevere with them and remind them that we have their best interests in mind. Lack of resources can also be an issue, particularly with staffing levels as it sometimes means that staff don't get as much quality time to have meaningful conversations as they would like. Changing the way that people think can also be difficult but persistence is key and I think that if we keep chipping away at the men and keep reinforcing positive behaviour then we can do it'.

Br: 'Budgets and funding can be an issue, along with resources. Sometimes you want to make things like the general fabric of the establishment better but it is difficult to do it with the limited resources that we have. In the past I think staff buy-in has been an issue, although I feel like this is not as big of a problem anymore as staff seem to be really bought into the rehab culture of Brinsford now. Helping the men to change their mind set and change their way of thinking can also be difficult but we just need to be consistent and continue to try and be role models for them.'

LN: How would you know that a more rehabilitative culture was being successfully developed? How would you measure this?

Wy: 'Ultimately I suppose a reduction in the number of re-offending rates would show that we are doing something right, although I think rehab culture is difficult to measure itself. Statistics such as a reduction in violence, self-harm and substance misuse would be good indicators though, along with positive MQPL's and SQL's [Quality of Prison Life and Staff Quality of Life measures].

Br: 'It is difficult to measure rehabilitative culture as it is so individualised but statistics such as levels of violence, self-harm and rates of re-offending should provide a good indication. Sometimes you can tell from the general mood and atmosphere within the establishment as to whether or not we are doing things well. Success stories no matter how small or large also give us hope that we are doing something right!'

Working in a Rehabilitative Culture

Richard Shuker is Head of Clinical Services at HMP Grendon. Andy Bray, Clare Cowell and Tris Green are specialist officers at HMP Grendon

HMP Grendon first opened as a Therapeutic Community in 1962. Over half a century later, it continues to operate successfully within the public sector, despite changing political and penal climates. In achieving this Grendon and other prison therapeutic communities have provided one of the most well established and long standing approaches to offender rehabilitation within the criminal justice system.

Grendon is a category B prison holding up to 230 residents. It is comprised of 6 separate therapeutic communities; an assessment and preparation for treatment unit, and 5 treatment communities including a 20 place unit offering a form of democratic TC for men with mild to moderate learning disabilities and difficulties. The prison largely holds men with indeterminate sentences who have committed serious violent or sexual offences. On average they have a longer history of involvement with the criminal justice system than other prisoners, they have significantly higher levels of formal disciplinary punishments for disciplinary infractions, have high levels of personality disorder and psychopathy and half have reported regular substance misuse whilst in prison.¹ These are men that have also experienced significant distress and trauma. Almost half reported a previous suicide attempt, and in addition, two-thirds report that they have been the victim of severe sexual or violent abuse themselves, usually during childhood.

Therapeutic communities utilize the social environment (sometimes referred to as the therapeutic milieu) as the basis for personal change. Derived from a group-based approach to treatment aimed at rehabilitating traumatized service men, therapeutic communities emerged in Europe after World War II. Within Western Europe and particularly the United Kingdom, therapeutic communities have been active in rehabilitating people who have committed offences for over half a century. Therapeutic communities adopt the view that the social systems and relationships within the treatment setting have a profound impact on those residing within them. In part, therapeutic communities

have origins in the Quaker movement, which advocated the importance of treating patients as capable, trustworthy, and having the capacity to take responsibility. They also acknowledge the potential harm done to people by institutions that stigmatize, erode personal identity, and disempower.

Therapeutic communities provide group therapy within a social environment which emphasizes a distinctive set of values, clinical practices, and organizational relationships. They evolved more from a set of values rather than a particular psychological theory. These values reflect the importance of respect, belonging, accountability and empowerment. Psychological change mechanisms are intertwined within a social therapy process, which has its basis in this underlying value system. These can be understood from different theoretical perspectives. Central to the change process is the learning that takes place from interpersonal relationships and interactions within the therapeutic community. This includes skills in problem solving and conflict resolution, the development of insight, the revision of unhelpful belief systems about self and others, and the learning derived from interpersonal feedback. The term 'living learning' has been coined to describe the nature of the therapeutic work that takes place in the therapeutic community. This recognizes how any institution can, when certain conditions are in place, provide a range of opportunities for interpersonal and social learning; attitudes and beliefs can be explored while allowing residents to develop new interpersonal, social, and life skills. It was not until the 1990s that Therapeutic Communities articulated a theoretically and empirically based 'model of change'.²

While the most important and defining aspect of their clinical practice is the therapeutic milieu, all therapeutic communities recognize the importance of therapy groups. Within HMP Grendon small therapy groups take place three times a week. These groups are comprised of around eight residents who are allocated with the intention that they will work together therapeutically over a prolonged period. The groups are

1. For a more detailed summary and further references, see Bennett, J. and Shuker, R. (2017) *The potential of prison-based democratic therapeutic communities* in International Journal of Prisoner Health, 13:1 pp. 19 - 24
2. Cullen, E. (1997) Can a prison be therapeutic? The Grendon template, in *Therapeutic Communities for Offenders* (eds E. Cullen, L. Jones and R. Woodward), John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, Chichester; Shine, J. and Morris, M. (2000) Addressing criminogenic needs in a prison therapeutic community. *Therapeutic Communities*, 21, 197-219

facilitated by at least one member of staff, but rely upon the active involvement of the group members. It is in these groups that issues are explored in depth, including examining the past and how this shapes individuals thinking and behaviour. The themes explored in small-group sessions are shared with all members of the community in line with a culture of openness, transparency, and non-confidentiality.

Community meetings take place twice a week and are chaired by an elected resident chairperson and an agenda is followed. Typically this agenda includes decision making over who should take responsibility for which tasks, an exploration of any interpersonal problems experienced between members, and providing support for those experiencing distress. Residents are responsible for choices and the decision making necessary for community living. Residents also participate in additional creative therapies such as psychodrama and art therapy.

Each individual has a voluntary job that they do on behalf of the community. This can range from being the chairperson of the community, to being the person who waters the plants or looks after the fish tank. Each community supports a charity, often linked to offending, for which they raise funds and promote its aims. Twice a year, each community will host a 'family day', where loved ones will visit the community for a meal, to receive information about the work of the prison, see where the men live and meet those they live with. This is in addition to, and more extensive than routine family visits, which take place three times a week. Also twice a year, each community will host a 'social day', to which they invite people with a professional interest. This helps to humanise the contact men have with criminal justice professionals, but also develops the network of supporters for the establishment as a whole.

All of the various elements work together in order to provide an environment in which men are invested with trust and responsibility, are encouraged to explore their own background and history, and develop new

skills. It is the nature of this approach that therapy groups do not happen in isolation, but rather, 'every aspect of prison life is an integral component of the therapeutic community environment'.³

Interview

RS: What would you say are the key features of a prison culture that has the potential to help people rehabilitate? What needs to be in place?

TG: The most important feature is having a sense of community. By this I mean people working together who want to achieve the same goals. Where people come together with shared goals and shared responsibilities they will look out for and support each other. Prisoners and staff are then more likely to work together and you see the mutual support and interest they have in each another.

RS: The point about having shared goals is interesting. In your experience how do you get to a position where people want to work in the same direction?

TG: You do need good leadership from the staff group. The staff group have to work together. However any community still need clearly defined goals if they are going to work effectively together. The staff group can help the prisoners to achieve those goals. We have

'constitutions'⁴ on the wings but the staff also need to set that example and to role model the process of social behaviour. You also need good role models within the prisoner group. People who have the ability to define and shape a culture.

RS: How important is it to be able to define and shape the expectations we have of prisoners?

TG: Very important, but where the conditions are right this is something they will establish for themselves. If it's something the prisoners have come up with themselves, then it makes it more valid in their eyes. If they question it or if we just told them this is how it's going to be, it would just reinforce how things have always been; whereas if they all work

All of the various elements work together in order to provide an environment in which men are invested with trust and responsibility, are encouraged to explore their own background and history, and develop new skills.

3. Brookes, M. (2010), "Putting principles into practice: the therapeutic community regime at HMP Grendon and its relationship with the 'good lives' model", in Shuker, R. and Sullivan, E. (Eds), *Grendon and the Emergence of Forensic Therapeutic Communities: Developments in research and practice*, Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, pp. 99-113: p.103
4. The 'Wing Constitution' provides the code of conduct and expectations required of residents. It gives an account of the procedures and rules residents are required to adhere to and forms an agreement between the staff team and residents which guides behaviour and participation in the regime.

collaboratively with the staff and amongst themselves it holds more weight.

RS: At Grendon the prisoners are jointly involved in writing the constitution with staff. They sign up to it, and periodically revise it. I suppose the question is what makes prisoners want to adhere to it? Why do they want to buy into it?

CC: The most important thing is the relationships they have with the staff. If you have staff who are enthusiastic, who want to help them, then that inspires the prisoners. That's why we can work together with them. It's why we can collaborate and agree goals and targets. But there's also something else, and it's about communication. One of the important things is that within Grendon we can build really positive relationships with the men. We have the open door policy in the office where residents come in and you will sit and you'll talk. And it could be about therapy but it could be about what they watched on television last night.

RS: And this connection with staff is an important factor in prisoners wanting to engage with the regime?

TG: Yes, prisoners need to know that staff are approachable, they can approach them at any time, be it just to have a general chat about football or TV or if they've got deeper things they want to discuss, but that's why it works so well because all the staff are approachable and the prisoners feel able to talk to them. If their personal officer's not in and the group facilitator's not in, they're still able to go to other staff as well.

AB: It's easy to lose this in prisons and end up banging doors, counting, running around. Here I can have a two-hour chat with someone over the contents of Iron Bru. A lad I work with is fascinated with the chemicals and the difference between sugar-free because that's what he's interested in. I have to accept that. And I'm sat there listening to this and I'm chipping in thinking this is just great. I've got time to. I've got time to talk to this lad about, to me, very mundane things, but to him this is a major event in his life.

RS: Is it just time that allows this connection to form or is there something else which enables this, which then leads to the sense of collaboration that you were talking about?

AB: One important feature of the work here is the way all disciplines work alongside each other. Here we

have a good rapport with civilian staff and we work together and collaborate.

TG: A lot of prisoners come from mainstream prisons and they don't trust psychologists, they don't trust clinical staff and they don't trust uniform staff. When they come here and see us working alongside the clinical staff that sends a really strong message about collaboration. Again, it's the role modelling that helps as well. It's also about getting the right people in. It's about getting the right people involved in the therapy and that's also very important.

RS: You've mentioned the time you spent with residents. You've mentioned the importance of having shared goals and how this can help create a climate where people collaborate. What else do you feel that the work at Grendon tells us about how to create a culture where people start to embrace the idea of wanting to make changes in their lives?

CC: For me the connection with families is really important. I know other prisons have family days, but they don't quite do them like Grendon does. Here the families can come down to the wing. They can meet the staff, they can meet the other community members; they can visualise them then when they phone, where the telephone box is; they can visualise their room.

Promoting relationships with families is key. Prisoners talk a lot about the changes their families notice in them and the boost this gives them.

TG: The culture of tolerance is also hugely important. If men make a mistake, it's the fact that we still want to work with them. Tempers may get frayed or a bit heated, exchanges may get heated sometimes but the fact is, staff will sit down and talk things through with residents and try and encourage them to do things in a different way, either through us or their peers, or the groups. It surprises some of them. When they break rules they think 'oh I'm going to get kicked out now' and sometimes they might be put up for 'commitment'⁵, but the fact is it's still done through the community and they get that support. It bowls them over sometimes, the amount of support they do get. They come to see making mistakes as a way of learning to get things right. We can ask 'Why did you do that? What were you thinking?' And the men will really engage with each other when they are considering the answers to these questions.

The culture of tolerance is also hugely important. If men make a mistake, it's the fact that we still want to work with them.

5. Commitment refers to a resident being held account for their behaviour and engagement in the therapeutic community. Sanctions including termination of a residents place can be applied in cases where commitment is not being demonstrated.

RS: Tolerance seems to be a really important part in creating a culture which helps people change and helps people rehabilitate. I was wondering what your views were on how far this is something which other prisons can adopt? Can this part of our culture be relevant elsewhere?

AB: It can be down to individual staff. For example we had a lad here, he's gone back to mainstream, he was voted out of the community. We worked with him for three years. I paid him a visit when I was on a control and restraint course a couple of weeks ago. I was chatting with one of the officers who was on his spur and he says he found that if he gives this guy a job to do, he does it really well and if he keeps him working he keeps his head down and he obeys the regime. He knows that finding ways to keep him off 'basic'⁶ is very important, he is likely to go back on an ACCT plan, and possibly become confrontational. So he finds a way to support him. He noticed if he kept this guy working his behaviour would improve. So, yes tolerance is possible and in the right context can be a very helpful strategy.

RS: You've mentioned the connection between tolerance, working together and a sense of collaboration. Is there something about the way you go about your work here which is different to how you understood your role in other prisons?

CC: Yes I think there is. For example we organised having a Christmas meal with the families. We'd made table decorations, we'd decorated the wing. And the main issue here was when was the last time the men actually sat down with their family at Christmas. It was just a meal, but it was really important. When was the last time the men spent quality time with their families, and sat down and had a Christmas meal? But just even sitting down with them and having eaten dinner at a table with them, that's paramount really. But to do this you have to view your role from a different angle.

AB: This can also provide people with a sense of hope.

RS: Hope? In what sense?

AB: Take family days.⁷ These are events full of hope. Men can be part of a community where they're sat down having a meal with their mum and dad. Visits can also be very powerful. On a normal visit, things are far more constrained. You're sat at a table with a bib on

and you can't get off your chair. Your hands are meant to stay on the table. Whereas here, in our normal visits, you know, things are far more informal. You can buy yourself and your family a drink and the men start to realise that things can be different, prison can be a place of opportunities.

RS: In the example you've just given, there is something about the importance of being able to connect residents, not just with the staff team, but also with their families. The way we help people connect with families seems to be very powerful.

CC: Yes it's very important. Small things like going up and buying their family dinner or buying them a cake that can instil a sense of responsibility and dignity. Residents have paid for these things often out of their own wages. But there's also an issue of transparency. I'm thinking about the families being involved in their journey. When they come onto the wing they can talk to staff. The targets can be discussed. So they have an understanding of how their brother, son, father or husband is going and how much progress he has made. And that's important.

RS: You've all emphasised the importance of relationships. What role do relationships have in shaping the culture at Grendon and why do you think are they

particularly positive?

TG: First of all you're just seen as real people not just the uniform. You can sit and talk to residents and you can get to know about their lives and understand how and why they come to see things the way they do. Instead of just seeing prisoners as a robber or a murderer you come to understand what sort of background they have. Sometimes you find yourself thinking 'what chance do they really have'. It just gives you that little bit of empathy and more compassion, I suppose, and get to recognise the progress they make as well. And to some extent they get to know a bit about you as a person and why you're the person you are. The fact we might talk to them about what we've done at the weekend, obviously within limits, shows we're actually willing to form a connection — and that we're human. That's really important. A lot of these guys have had issues with authority figures throughout their lives, and now they learn they can trust us.

Small things like going up and buying their family dinner or buying them a cake that can instil a sense of responsibility and dignity.

6. A Basic regime is part of the Incentives and Earned Privileges system where prisoners are entitled to the most limited level of privileges.

7. Family days provide opportunities for family members to visit their relatives on their community. Families can dine together, cell visits are allowed and they are able to learn more about the experience of their relatives participating in treatment.

RS: Getting people to talk to each other and getting to know each other seems very important. How can this be achieved in practice?

AB: I've always tried to make time to walk round the landings and just have a chat with prisoners. I didn't sit in the office during association. I'd build up a bit of dialogue and then sometimes prisoners would come to me with a problem and I'd say 'I'll sort that out for you'. Here you've got the time but it's also part of the culture and an expectation. If you get that rapport right, even if the guy is a bit of a trouble-maker it can make such a difference.

RS: So allowing people to get to know you and seeing this 'human' side to you, you see that as really important?

TG: It's very important. For example look at the use of first name terms which I admit, I struggled with when I first came here. That was one of the biggest things I knew I was going to find hard, but I've got to be honest, it works. I never thought I'd ever say that but it's a massive thing, it really is and it helps the residents see us again as a person and somebody who wants to relate to them.

AB: I always call prisoners by their first name. It was almost to break the barriers. Even where I've worked in other prisons, that broke down barriers.

RS: You seem to be saying that using first names can have a disproportionate impact on making relationships positive. Do you have any other thoughts about what helps strengthen the quality of relationships?

TG: The emphasis on spending informal time with residents is really important. They have time to talk to us, they have that time to actually chat with us. Also the joint activities such as entertainment evenings and staff participating in these, is an important part of the culture. Again, it shows our willingness to get involved and their willingness to accept us being involved.

RS: You also seem to be saying that relationships become enhanced here because you allow people to have a responsibility which somehow empowers them.

AB: Yes for example the wing has a chairman⁸ and a vice chairman who are voted in by other residents. If you go for a job you have to be voted in. When you get voted into the job you have a say on things. I've been pulled up by the community for when I've said the

wrong thing, I've been told off by the community and had to own my part where I've got things wrong.

RS: We've been talking about giving prisoners responsibility, we've been talking about how people collaborate and also about how people get to know each other and how important that is. Could these features of a regime work within other prisons?

CC: There needs to be a way of getting the residents to be committed, be proud of their area and, their wing and for people to work together.

AB: Communal eating can be an important part of this. Staff here eat together with the residents. That's important. It's a massive thing to share these things

RS: That's interesting. You say that shared living, shared working together, shared facilities, these things are very important.

TG: It's essential to be honest. Even when they normally mix together, doing things together gets to people. When people start to get involved together and make decisions together and plan together that's huge.

RS: It sounds like collaboration is particularly important. In your view how could a culture of collaboration and involvement be established in other regimes?

TG: Some of the things residents are involved in here, such quiz nights, the entertainment nights, there's no reason you couldn't do those on a wing or part of a wing in other prisons, it's just finding ways to get people involved that's the challenge. For example we have the community team building days. These get all the staff and residents involved. We played dodge ball last time. It might be hard to sell it to staff initially but where you're getting staff and prisoners to join in together, there is a lot of fun to it particularly when a member of staff from my wing was smiling and that member of staff isn't really known for smiling a great deal, and he knew he was smiling and enjoyed himself. You know, quite a lot of people commented on that and wow, but he got involved, and it was interesting to see how it does get people. It got people talking back on the wing as well. But he'd enjoyed it although tried to play it down a bit but again, it helped. Those things can have a real impact. They help hugely in breaking down barriers.

When people start to get involved together and make decisions together and plan together that's huge.

8. The Chair and Vice Chairman are elected members of the community. They are responsible for chairing the twice weekly wing meetings, managing wing business and a conduit between the resident community and staff team

CC: Yes, residents see the other side to us.

CC: Also building on residents' strengths has a big impact. The community recently worked together in designing a mural in remembrance of the holocaust.

AB: Yeah, that was really good

CC: People will get involved. On our wing we also organise creative activities such as these and it's sussing out and building on people's strengths. When you've got two people involved at the start you've got ten by the end of the hour.

AB: I think it's all about taking pride in your own wing.

RS: The issue of pride has been commented on a few times today. How do you get people proud of where they live, and actively part of what's going on?

CC: For me, I'm proud of Grendon. And I love being here.

RS: Why?

CC: Because I think it works and I see people change. I like to be part of that person's journey at the beginning and seeing them two or three years later at the end. But for me, if I'm proud of where I work then I'm proud of whatever community I go on.

RS: Could you expand on why being proud of where you work has an impact on how you approach your work?

CC: I've always been enthusiastic and I've always liked to get involved. This encourages the residents to see past the uniform and helps them to see you as you are. For example some of the residents didn't want to take part in the Remembrance Day event, and nobody was really getting involved. Anyway after a lot of discussion people started to take part. It was absolutely brilliant and everybody was really, really proud of what they'd achieved. The enthusiasm was infectious.

RS: So your approach to your work helped people to become proud of where they live and work, where they felt they'd achieved something meaningful.

CC: Yes, yes

AB: And that's seen sometimes in the events like the art event we just had. I walked around and there

was immense pride. Someone asked 'why isn't this work being displayed?' So we're now going to get the work displayed because they are brilliant bits of artwork. The resident had done this from his own head and he's quite chuffed that he's now had positive feedback from the Governor. And suddenly this re-invigorated him. And it helps that the Governors are very visible, they'll go onto the wings and say, nice one lads. Again, it's because they want to do it.

TG: Responsibility in terms of 'rep' jobs⁹ is also very important. How, one of the cleaners sees someone take pride in their work and then everyone can take a bit of pride in their particular area and this brings people together, people can see what can be achieved and that can make a difference to how they see themselves.

CC: I just remember on your wing Tris, when you have Adam (resident) down there and doing the World Cup event. He got everybody involved in C Wing.

TG: Yes this became a really important community event, getting people involved together. You just need a few people involved to start with and it's infectious sometimes, it does get to other people.

RS: You've touched on something which is fairly unique to therapeutic community regime, which is the extent to which residents take responsibility. Is there any way in which that part of the culture at Grendon could work in a more active way in

other prisons, where prisoners have more responsibility for day to day living and decision making?

AB: It's all about the ownership and the expectations we have of people. For example we don't shout 'gym' and we don't shout 'exercise' because people know the regime and take responsibility for themselves. In a way people follow the regime without us.

RS: Are there other ways in which people could be given more responsibility and have more involvement for where they live?

Responsibility in terms of 'rep' jobs⁹ is also very important. How, one of the cleaners sees someone take pride in their work and then everyone can take a bit of pride in their particular area and this brings people together, people can see what can be achieved and that can make a difference to how they see themselves.

⁹ 'Rep' jobs are positions of responsibility residents are elected into on their community by other prisoners

TG: Allowing people to have pride is very important. It's a rolling programme here where you have different people at different stages in their therapy. With peer support and modelling people start to see taking responsibility as routine. People find it easier to listen to their peers than to listen to staff.

RS: From your experiences of working in a therapeutic community, how do you consider that the challenges of setting up a rehabilitative culture in mainstream prisons can be overcome?

TG: For one you need experienced staff. Staff who have jail-craft. But you also need staff who are open minded and with the right values. That's very important. The other issue is getting staff to buy into things.

CC: You also need enthusiasm and you need belief
RS: How would you create that?

TG: Get staff to come and look round places such as therapeutic communities where they can see people working along side each and staff and prisoners collaborating together. Come here and see what we do. Spend a couple of days here

RS: What would that help achieve?

TG: Other colleagues could see how it works, they could see the benefits of a regime such as this. They could see the informal relationships that we have with the prisoners. The fact that they take ownership for their own lives. That it works. By talking to different staff and prisoners this would pay real dividends.

AB: Yes it's important to see the ways in which prisoners take responsibility; what it means to be wing chairman; how it feels to see prisoners sorting out their own problems and conflicts.

TG: They'll also see the real changes, the positive changes in people they used to work with. That would be really powerful.

RS: What else motivates men to comply, engage and becoming involved? Are there any easy wins, do you think. Changes or initiatives that could make a real impact and could be implemented relatively easily?

AB: Giving people positive feedback who have always been criticised. Prisoners often struggle to accept that. It might just be a wing cleaner's done a really good job. So I'd say you've done a cracking job there. I know it's a very basic level but when they do

something good and actually feel valued that has a real impact on relationships and how they see themselves as prisoners.

RS: You say it's basic but do practices which celebrate achievement and provide recognition have a particularly powerful impact?

TG: Yes, I think so. You see some guys they've got all these certificates of things they've done and they're really proud of it. And just having that to show some evidence of what they've achieved is a big deal to some people. It give them a sense of pride.

RS: What would you say has been the most important part of your work in creating a more rehabilitative culture?

AB: I've got time. I come through that gate in the morning and I'm not in a rush. I get on the wing. I'm not in a rush. We unlock. I'm not rushing. I can stand in the corridor and talk. If there's a problem I've got time to deal with it. I've got time to implement new ideas or time to resolve little issues without having to worry about the clock ticking away. And for me that's the big thing I've noticed here.

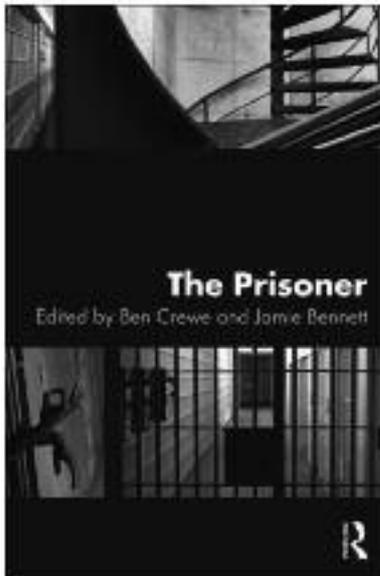
CC: For me it's building healthy working relationships with the men. I also think that the important thing is being a pro-social role model. Anything which helps prisoners to see you for who you are and not a uniform is particularly important. Breaking down those barriers is best achieved by building relationships and getting to know people.

TG: Something that stands out for me is the fact I can be myself. What I mean by that is if I do make a mistake I'll own it straight away and I'm not afraid to say I shouldn't have said that or shouldn't have done that. But I can still be me. I can have a laugh or a joke with the guys and it's these relationships which are so important.

AB: I also think that getting a sense of pride on the wings is so important. It's about getting people involved in making the wing somewhere they want to live and making their lives meaningful. It's about allowing people to have a genuine input and involvement.

RS: Thanks everybody for taking part in the interview.

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