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Editorial Comment

There is always been an optimism at the heart of *Prison Service Journal*. It is a publication that seeks to engage in the battle of values that are at the heart of prisons. Should prisons essentially be places of condemnation, pain and punishment? Should they simply be administered in as efficient manner as possible with ambivalence about moral, political and social context? Should they be operated in a manner that is humane and offers opportunities for reconciliation, restoration and personal growth? The enduring tensions between these punitive, managerial and liberal humane values is the centre of gravity in prison policy and practice. PSJ has always engaged in this messy, contested field, advancing a liberal humane approach to prisons. This edition of PSJ offers a collection of articles that all, in their own ways, offer grounds for hope and optimism. They offer ideas for progressive change and illustrations that reform is possible.

In the opening article, Jane Mulcahy, a PhD candidate at University College Cork, joins the growing chorus of people calling for greater awareness of the impact of adverse childhood experiences on people in prisons, and the need for greater trauma-informed practice. By drawing together the current evidence and emerging practice, Mulcahy provides a useful resource for those working in the criminal justice system.

The following four articles focus upon programmes or activities that currently take place in prisons. Independent researcher Lorna Templeton describes her work with HMP Parc to deliver M-PACT, a programme aimed at improving the well-being of children and families affected by parental substance misuse, specifically by targeting the intersection between substance misuse and families. Templeton offers qualitative research that suggests that the programme has a beneficial impact on families and men in prison. Dr. Kimberly Houser, Dr. Gennifer Furst and Michele Pich focus on an American animal-based intervention. Such interventions are growing in popularity. This article provides empirical evidence of the effectiveness of such programmes and how animal-based interventions can play an important role in humanising prisons, ameliorating harm and promoting personal growth. Nichola Cadet, from Sheffield Hallam University, gives attention to the experiences of older prisoners entering prison for the first time. This is a fast growing population in the UK. Cadet offers some simple and constructive suggestions for supporting the process of adaptation for people in this group, and helping to construct a sense of identity and meaning at a moment of crisis in their lives. Sarah Nixon, from University of Gloucestershire, explores the positive impact of peer support in prison. This can be an effective way of supporting those in need, but is also beneficial to those offering support, who nurture a refreshed personal identity.

A further contribution in this article from the United States, is a fascinating and inspiring interview conducted by Bryonn Bain, of UCLA in California, and Susan Burton, the founder of A New Way of Life *Re-entry Project* (ANWOL), Los Angeles. Burton is a better known figure in the US than she is in the UK, but nevertheless there is something universal in her story. In recent years there has been growing attention to how mass imprisonment in America is an institution that recreates racial power and inequality. Distinguished sociologists, most notably Loic Wacquant and Michelle Alexander, have described a historical trajectory from the institution of slavery to the segregation of the Jim Crow system, to the spacial separation in inner city ghettos, and on to the criminalisation and mass imprisonment that is present in America today. From this perspective, imprisonment is an institution that perpetuates and entrenches racial power and inequality. Throughout American history, there has also been a more noble and progressive tradition, including the abolitionist movement of the mid-19th century and the civil rights movement of the mid-20th century. In this interview, Bain situates Burton's work within the long history of resistance and reform.

This edition of PSJ closes with an interview with Pia Sinha, who was appointed as Governor of HMP Liverpool in the aftermath of a damning, high profile inspection report in 2017. In this interview, Sinha describes her leadership style and offers an in-depth description of the work to improve Liverpool. This is a fitting way to close an edition that is filled with optimism that change is possible and seeks to inspire those who support the cause.

Towards ACE-Aware, trauma responsive penal policy and practice

Jane Mulcahy *is an Irish Research Council funded employment-based PhD candidate in Law at University College Cork, co-funded by the Probation Service. Employment partner is the Cork Alliance Centre, a desistance project in Cork City.*

This article discusses the role of poverty and deprivation in the production of criminality. It argues that penal policy and practice must become aware of the impact of Adverse-Childhood Experiences (ACEs) and trauma-responsive as a matter of urgency. Unless and until and all the various actors involved in crime prevention, prosecution, punishment and rehabilitation get to grips with the debilitating life-long impact of developmental trauma and the adverse experience of class, little in the way of lasting positive change can be expected of traumatised offenders. Involvement in criminality is just one of many symptoms of interpersonal trauma and social exclusion. Wounded people with offending behaviour need to acquire a felt sense of safety in their own bodies and learn to regulate their emotions in healthy ways. If they are not assisted to heal, to locate their real, authentic selves underneath their maladaptive coping strategies, to take joy in human relationships and find purpose in the world, further criminality is a virtual certainty.

Producing criminals: the adverse experience of class

'Spirit, are they yours?' Scrooge could say no more.

'They are Man's,' said the Spirit, looking down upon them. 'And they cling to me, appealing from their fathers. This boy is Ignorance. This girl is Want. Beware them both, and all of their degree, but most of all beware this boy, for on his brow I see that written which is Doom, unless the writing be erased. Deny it!' cried the Spirit, stretching out its hand towards the city. 'Slander those who tell it ye. Admit it for your factious purposes, and make it worse. And abide the end.'

'Have they no refuge or resource?' cried Scrooge.

'Are there no prisons?' said the Spirit, turning on him for the last time with his own words. 'Are there no workhouses?'[1]

Prisons are disproportionately populated by poor people, many of whom are excluded from mainstream society and employment opportunities. They are typically born into dysfunctional families where they experience ineffectual or destructive parenting. Upon the expiration of their sentence they usually return to the same poor, fractured places from which they originated. Prisoners now, as in the past, could largely be described as belonging to the idle poor. They tend to originate from deprived urban communities characterised by social disorganisation,[2] low social capital, weak social networks[3] and diminished 'collective efficacy'.[4] Shaw and McKay argued that structural/ecological factors, that is low economic class, ethnic diversity and residential mobility had a negative impact on community social organisation, which had a knock-on effect on crime.[5]

In summarising the Glueck's findings in their 1950 *Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency,* Lukas stated that the

1. Dickens, C. A Christmas Carol (1843), Stave 3: The Second of Three Spirits, available at http://www.stormfax.com/3dickens.htm
2. Shaw, C. & McKay, H. (1942), Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas. Chicago, University of Chicago Press; Sampson, R. & Groves, W. (1989) Community Structures and Crime: Testing social-disorganization theory, American Journal of Sociology 94(4), 774-802.
3. Clear, T. (2007) Imprisoning Communities. New York, Oxford University Press.
4. See Sampson, R. Raudenbush, S. & Earls, F. (1997) Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. Science 277: 918-24. At 918 the authors define collective efficacy as "the social cohesion among neighbors combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good".
5. Shaw, C. & McKay, H. (1942), Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

delinquent boys 'are products of homes of little understanding, affection, and stability, in which the parents are usually unfit to serve as examples for their children.'[6] As regards the cognitive and attitudinal attributes of the 500 delinquent boys as compared to the 500 non-delinquent controls in their Boston longitudinal study, the Gluecks found that temperamentally the delinquents were more energetic, impulsive, extroverted, aggressive and destructive than the non-delinquents, while their attitudes were more adventurous, unconventional, stubborn, hostile and suspicious.[7]

More than half of the interviewees in Maruna's Liverpool Desistance Study (in which he investigated the factors that supported the cessation of offending and the maintenance of a conventional, pro-social life over time) came from single parent families. Over a third had experienced severe childhood neglect or abuse and roughly a quarter were placed in care due to familial abuse or dysfunction.[8] Eighty per cent of Maruna's interviewees came from an area considered dangerous or bad, 75 per cent reported that their parents had been unemployed, sporadically employed, or employed as unskilled labourers and two thirds left school without any qualifications. Ninety-two percent of interviewees grew up in Liverpool, which had a male unemployment rate of 21 per cent in 1991. The average age of arrest ('age of onset' of criminality' was 15 years old for the 30 people who classified themselves as desisters, and 14 years old for the 20 active offenders. The majority of Maruna's research participants reported that their teenage friends regularly engaged in crime and at the peak of their own criminal activity people confessed they committed crime daily, or at least weekly. Almost all admitted to frequent drug use and some point in their lives, and two thirds reported having been addicted to alcohol or drugs. However, almost all interviewees reported that they had become involved in crime before trying cocaine, heroin or other hard-core drugs, so addiction could not be put down as the main pathway into crime.[9]

People who commit crimes typically leave school early, have little or no work history as adults and are dependent on the State for their income by way of welfare entitlements.

In the Cambridge Study, a rigorous ongoing longitudinal criminal careers research project using interviews, self-report surveys and police reports to shed light on the trajectories of 411 boys who were 8 years old when the study commenced in the 1960s, the boys all came from a working class part of London. Ninety per cent of the original boys were re-interviewed at the age of 48 and 93 per cent of this number admitted to having committed at least one crime during their lives. Forty one per cent had at least one conviction.[10] The research findings show that behavioural problems in childhood preceded antisocial behaviour and offending as adults.[11] The children who were at the greatest risk of offending had lax parental supervision, impulsive personalities and low educational attainment, experienced deprivation and had a family member involved in criminality. According to Farrington, offending behaviour is an element of 'a larger syndrome of antisocial behaviour' starting in childhood and continuing throughout the person's adult life.[12]

People who commit crimes typically leave school early, have little or no work history as adults and are dependent on the State for their income by way of welfare entitlements. According to O'Mahony's 1997 study of the social background of prisoners in Mountjoy prison in Dublin, 56 per cent of all prisoners came from 6 economically deprived areas of Dublin.[13] Almost 80 per cent of those in the study had left school before they turned 16 and the majority came from households

6. See Anthony Lukas, J. (1952), Gluecks' Study of 500 Juvenile Delinquents Determines Root Causes of Criminal Behavior. *The Harvard Crimson* available at http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1952/4/11/gluecks-study-of-500-juvenile-delinquents/?page=2 (accessed 25 April 2019)
7. Glueck, S. & Glueck, E. (1950) Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency. New York, The Commonwealth Fund.
8. Maruna, S. (2001) Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives. Washington DC, American Psychological Association.
9. Ibid.
10. Farrington, D., Coid, J., Harnett, I., Jolliffe, D., Soteriou, N., Turner, R. & West, D. (2006) Criminal Careers Up to Age 50 and Life Success Up to Age 48: New Findings from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development Home Office: London, 2006.
11. Healy, D. (2012) The Dynamics of Desistance: Charting Pathways through Change. Routledge: London & New York, 2.
12. Farrington, D. Human Development and Criminal Careers (1997) in Maguire, M., Morgan R. & Reiner R. (eds), Oxford Handbook of Criminology. (2nd edn) Oxford University Press: Oxford, 362.
13. O'Mahony, P. (1998) Punishing Poverty and Personal Adversity in Bacik I. & O'Connell M. eds. Crime and Poverty in Ireland. Round Hall Sweet and Maxwell: Dublin, 49–67, 55.

where there was low parental employment and personal employment, and high levels of personal heroin use.[14] In Rex's doctoral research into the rehabilitative quality of probation supervision, of the 60 Probationers interviewed, over a third (24) of the sample experienced difficulties in three of the following areas: accommodation, money/debt, addiction to drugs or alcohol, mental health and relationships.[15]

Browning and Loeber found that the higher the number of risk factors, the more likely it was that a person would commit crimes. Risk factors included structural factors such as parental unemployment and general deprivation, family dynamics such as inadequate parental supervision, and personal characteristics relating to gender, hyperactivity and IQ. [16] Flood-Page et al surveyed almost 5,000 boys and young men, aged between 12 and 30 and found that the absence of pro-social bonds, difficulties in school and drug use were the most significant risk factors for offending behaviour in males.[17] The more risk factors that a person had, the greater the risk of antisocial behaviour and criminality. Half of the survey respondents who experienced four or more risk factors were persistent or serious offenders.

The more risk factors that a person had, the greater the risk of antisocial behaviour and criminality.

Visher and Farrell report that in excess of 50 per cent of those leaving prison in Chicago return to just 7 out of 77 neighbourhoods, which are poorer that other areas of the city, have higher general crime rates and more than double the number of female-headed households.18 According to Sampson et al, communities that experience a high concentration of imprisonment are places where 'a number of social problems tend to come bundled together … including, but not limited to, crime, adolescent delinquency, social and physical disorder, low birth weight, infant mortality, school dropout, and child mistreatment'.[19] Clear's study of 'concentrated incarceration' shows how residential stability is undermined through perpetual enforced movement out of and back into certain deprived areas. He describes how imprisonment in America acts to compound striking racial inequalities and describe incarceration policy 'as a concentrated social force'.[20] Clear states:

Incarceration can operate as a kind of 'coercive mobility', destabilizing neighborhoods by increasing levels of disorganization, first when a person is removed to go to prison, then later when that person reenters the community. In high-incarceration neighborhoods, the processes of incarceration and reentry create an environment where a significant proportion of residents are constantly in flux — perhaps as many as 15 percent of parent-age male residents a year … Upon release, ex-prisoners continue their pattern of residential instability, frequently relying upon local shelters for lodging … Consequently, when we combine the number of people admitted to prison with the number who are released annually, we can see how coercive mobility decreases residential stability.[21]

Under the Reducing Reoffending Action Plans,[22] each local area had to articulate what it planned to do to reduce the reoffending of offenders in its catchment under seven pathways identified by the Social Exclusion Unit as being linked to reducing recidivism: housing; children and families; health and mental health, drugs and alcohol; employment; financial inclusion; thinking and attitude.[23]

In her powerful memoir, *People Like Me,*[24] Senator Lynn Ruane describes the banal normality of community drug consumption in a deprived Dublin suburb. Ruane depicts the struggles of the people in her community who had a shared sense of a foreshortened future due to the frequency of traumatic deaths among young people. Her memoir is an evocative portrayal of 'the adverse experience of class'[25], in which her community

14. Ibid, 59.
15. Rex, S. (1999) Desistance from Offending: Experiences of Probation, The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice, 38(4), 366-383, 368.
16. Browning, K. & Loeber, R. (1999) Highlights from the Pittsburg Youth Study. Office for Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention: Washington DC.
17. Flood-Page, C. Campbell, S., Harrington, V. & Miller, J. (2000) Youth Crime Findings from the 1998/99 Youth Lifestyles Survey. Home Office: London.
18. Visher, C.& Farrell, J. (2005) Chicago communities and Prison Reentry, Washington DC, the Urban Institute. Table 1.3.
19. Sampson, R., Morenoff, J. & Gannon-Rowley, T. (2007) Assessing neighborhood effects: Social processes and new directions for research. Annual Review of Sociology. 28, 443-78.
20. Clear, T. (2007) Imprisoning Communities. New York, Oxford University Press, 67.
21. Ibid, 73.
22. NOMS (2004) Reducing Re-offending National Action Plan. London: Home Office.
23. SEU (2002) Reducing Re-offending. London: Social Exclusion Unit.
24. Ruane, L. (2018) People Like Me. Dublin: Gill Books
25. This was the topic of Senator Lynn Ruane's address at the "Towards an ACE-Aware, trauma-responsive Ireland" event in Dublin on 28 November 2018. See also "Ireland Unfiltered" interview with Dion Fanning, available at https://youtu.be/htsdQysx5Vs.

are described as suffering from a group form of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder with addiction, violence, dangerous risk-taking and criminality commonplace among young people.

Prisons play a role in safe-guarding society. In 2019, they are primarily conceived as spaces in which to safely contain the dangerous and predatory. At worst they are disproportionately peopled by the most socially excluded members of society, those who are far more likely than their law-abiding counterparts to have experienced high levels of 'toxic stress' in their early years. Toxic stress is the scientific phrase for intolerable levels of stress over a prolonged period that negatively impacts the brain and body (related to particularly sensitive periods of neural development)[1]. Burke Harris states that toxic stress is a matter of basic human biology. However, in poor communities with low levels of resources at the individual and collective level, toxic stress, otherwise known as trauma, is 'endemic', meaning that 'it isn't just handed down from parent to child and encoded in the epigenome; it is passed from person to person, becoming embedded in the DNA of society'.[26]

Offenders tend to come from what Ellis and Dietz term 'adverse community environments', usually poor, urban areas where high levels of ACEs (discussed in detail below) are prevalent from household to household. Ellis and Dietz state that:

When families live in communities in which food insecurity, domestic violence, challenges to parenting, unemployment, inadequate educational systems, crime, and social justice issues are common, the result is an environment in which ACEs abound, needed social supports are scarce, and toxic stress results.[27]

Prison exacerbates already deeply entrenched social inequalities, by exposing low level, but sometimes prolific offenders to the moral contagion of more serious offenders where drug use and violence is rife. In a very real sense prolific offenders who are caught up in a spiral of chaos are extracted from society and imprisoned for a spell in order to give mainstream society a break. But societal cohesion and stability are not improved long-term by over-use of imprisonment, especially for non-violent offenders. The principle of imprisonment as a last resort has yet to become a reality. The poorest, most vulnerable members of society pay a severe individual and collective price for judicial failure to use imprisonment parsimoniously.

Prisons play a role in safe-guarding society. In 2019, they are primarily conceived as spaces in which to safely contain the dangerous and predatory.

Putting healing at the centre of criminal justice policy and practice

It is submitted that the focus of penal policy and practice should be recalibrated to put healing at the centre of relationships and interventions, assisting 'unrecovered trauma survivors'[28] with offending behaviour to make better sense of themselves and their multiplicity of personal struggles. This would enhance people's self-compassion and relational abilities, equipping them to focus on their strengths and acquire skills, such as an education, to pursue their vision of a good life. According to Perry and colleagues: 'Total systemic exposure to — and adoption of — neurodevelopmentally aware and trauma-informed practices will be essential for juvenile justice models to optimize outcomes for individuals and for society.'[29]

The author has argued elsewhere that all criminal justice personnel staff should become ACE-aware and trauma-responsive as a matter of urgency,[30] stating that:

A trauma-responsive criminal justice system requires actual changes in practice by police, lawyers, courts, prisons and probation. The lived experience of

26. Burke-Harris, N. (2018). The Deepest Well: Healing the Long-Term Effects of Childhood Adversity. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt: Boston, 132-3.
27. Ellis, W. & Dietz, W. (2017) A New Framework for Addressing Adverse Childhood and Community Experiences: The Building Community Resilience Model. Acad Pediatr, 17(7S):S86-S93, S87.
28. Whitfield, C. (1998) Adverse Childhood Experiences and Trauma. Am J Prev Med 14(4), 361-364, 362.
29. Perry, B., Griffin, G., Davis, G., Perry. J, & Perry, R. (2018) The Impact of Neglect, Trauma, and Maltreatment on Neurodevelopment in The Wiley Blackwell Handbook of Forensic Neuroscience.(Wiley-Blackwell: 2018) (pp 815-835, 818.
30. J. Mulcahy (2018) She sells sanctuary, Law Society Gazette, 32, available at https://www.lawsociety.ie/globalassets/documents/gazette/gazette-pdfs/gazette-2018/october-2018-gazette.pdf ; Mulcahy, J. (2018) Bearing Witness to trauma among offenders for better outcomes at the Adverse Childhood Experiences: Learning from Research for better Policy and Practice in Scotland, Edinburgh, available at https://youtu.be/JOmWiRFzfQM; Mulcahy, J. (2018) The Huge Cost of Adverse Childhood Experiences, RTE Brainstorm, available at https://www.rte.ie/eile/brainstorm/2018/0221/942377-the-huge-costs-of-adverse-childhood-experiences/ (accessed 25 April 2019)

justice and punishment must become less brutalizing. This means, for example, that we need to seriously rethink and reduce the use of heavy-handed arrest behaviours, alienating, anti-therapeutic courtroom activities, aggressive strip-searches and solitary confinement in prison. These often unthinking and unnecessary practices have the capacity to trigger and re-traumatize unrecovered trauma survivors.[31]

Felitti, Anda and their colleagues gathered fascinating epidemiological data from over 17,000 mainly white, middle-class, college-educated Americans in the original 1998 ACE study by asking 'trauma-oriented questions'[32] about exposure to emotional, physical and sexual abuse, emotional and physical neglect and household dysfunction including separation from a parent, living with a mentally ill person or someone with an addiction, or having a family member in prison.[33] A strong 'dose response' was found to exist.[34] People who experienced 4+ ACEs were at far greater risk of debilitating health, social and behavioural outcomes. Having four or more ACEs almost doubled the risk of heart disease and cancer, increased the likelihood of becoming an alcoholic by 700 percent and the risk of attempted suicide by 1200 percent.[35] Those with 6 ACES were 46 times more likely of becoming an intravenous drug user.[36]

People who experienced 4+ ACEs were at far greater risk of debilitating health, social and behavioural outcomes.

Professionals should also be aware of the damaging impact on a person's stress response system of additional ACEs incorporated by the later WHO ACE IQ questionnaire[37] such as parental bereavement, bullying, being a refugee or immigrant, experience of racism or other discrimination, due to sexual orientation, religion or political beliefs, exposure to community violence. The Center of Youth Wellness in San Francisco also include experiences of being in care and having a close relation being deported as ACEs in their ACEs screening tool.[38]

In the Welsh ACE Study, 2,028 Welsh adults were questioned about their current health behaviours and ACEs exposure has added to the growing evidence base that a wide range of long-term harms can result from an overdose of childhood trauma, including addictive and violent behaviours.[39] The study found that that 47 per cent reporting having experienced at least one ACE and 14 per cent experiencing four or more ACEs. Compared with interviewees with no experience of ACEs, those who experienced four+ were:

- ❏ 4 times more likely to be a high-risk drinker
- ❏ 6 times more likely to have had or caused unintended teenage pregnancy
- ❏ 6 times more likely to smoke e-cigarettes or tobacco
- ❏ 6 times more likely to have had sex under the age of 16 years
- ❏ 14 times more likely to have been a victim of violence over the last 12 months
- ❏ 15 times more likely to have committed violence against another person in the last 12 months
- ❏ 16 times more likely to have used crack cocaine or heroin
- ❏ 20 times more likely to have been incarcerated at any point in their lifetime.[40] ACEs findings on Parc prison:

In the prison setting, all staff, from Governor Grade, to nurses and doctors providing prison medical

31. Mulcahy, J. (2018) Daring to Ask "What Happened to You?" - Why Correctional Systems Must Become Trauma-Responsive. Advancing Corrections,5, 71-86, 81.
32. Felitti, V. (2016) Reflections on the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study, at 31 minutes 30 seconds, available at https://youtu.be/-ns8ko9-ljU
33. Felitti V.J., Anda R.F., Nordenberg D., Williamson D.F., Spitz A.M., Edwards V., Koss M.P, Marks, J.S. (1998). The relationship of adult health status to childhood abuse and household dysfunction. American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 14, 245-258, available at http://www.ajpmonline.org/article/S0749-3797(98)00017-8/pdf (accessed 25 April 2019)
34. Felitti V.J., Anda R.F., Nordenberg D., Williamson D.F., Spitz A.M., Edwards V., Koss M.P, Marks, J.S. (1998). The relationship of adult health status to childhood abuse and household dysfunction. American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 14, 245-258, available at http://www.ajpmonline.org/article/S0749-3797(98)00017-8/pdf (accessed 25 April 2019).
35. See V. Felitti, "Reflections on the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study", 23 June 2016, at 12 minutes 25 seconds, available at https://youtu.be/-ns8ko9-ljU; C. White, "Tonier Cain Deserves an Evidence-Based Apology", 4 April 2018, available at https://acestoohigh.com/2018/04/04/tonier-cain-deserves-an-evidence-based-apology/#more-7231
36. W. Larkin, "Routine Enquiry about Adversity in Childhood (REACh)", available at
37. See http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/activities/adverse_childhood_experiences/questionnaire.pdf?ua=1 (accessed 25 April 2019).
38. See Burke-Harris, N. (2018). The Deepest Well: Healing the Long-Term Effects of Childhood Adversity. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt: Boston. Appendix.
39. Bellis, M. Ashton, K., Hughes, K., Ford, K., Bishop, J. & Paranjothy, S. (2015) Adverse Childhood Experiences and their impact on health-harming behaviours in the Welsh adult population. Public Health Wales NHS Trust. 3 available at http://www.cph.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/ACE-Report-FINAL-E.pdf (accessed 25 April 2019).
40. Ibid, 5.

care officers, to teaching staff, those working in workshops, front-of-house security, prison escorts, and crucially the rank and file Class Officers on the landings who most frequently come into contact with young men whose emotional distress often manifests as hyper-vigilance and aggression, or vulnerable women who self-harm (e.g. by cutting as a survival strategy to numb intolerable bodily sensations), require training about ACEs and trauma-informed practice. Wilson and colleagues state that organisations that purport to adopt a trauma-informed approach:

- promote the physical and psychological safety of staff and service-users,
- collaborate with service-users and elevate their voice in decision-making matters,
- engage in routine screening of service-users for trauma and its manifestations,
- improve service-users' wellbeing and resilience,
- improve family wellbeing and resilience, including caregiver functioning,
- improve staff wellbeing and resilience,
- develop an interagency approach to service delivery with other services/systems used by service-users for better outcomes.[41]

If ACEs screening became standard practice, it is highly probable that the amount of prisoners with 4+ ACEs would be staggering.

Bearing witness to trauma among prisoners

It is likely that the majority of men and women in any given prison, anywhere in the world, are unrecovered trauma survivors.42 Their offending behaviour is only one of many incapacitating symptoms of their dysregulated stress response system caused by an overdose of childhood trauma, and most likely further interpersonal traumas in adulthood. Internationally renowned child psychiatrist and neuroscientist Bruce Perry and colleagues state:

> *'The person with attachment problems and relationally-mediated abuse will find relational cues (e.g, eye contact, tone of voice, touch, and physical proximity) threatening. A person with a high degree of relational sensitivity will often misinterpret neutral or positive social interactions with peers as threatening and respond by either avoiding or disengaging (which leads to problems with social learning and peer interactions) or, worse, by using aggressive, hostile or hurtful words or behaviors to push peers, teachers and parents away. In extreme cases, as the child grows up, this relational sensitivity can result in significant antisocial or even assaultive behaviors. It is no surprise therefore that individuals in prison (90 per cent of who have histories of interpersonal trauma in childhood) have a much larger sense of personal space than the average person … and will often respond to personal space violations with aggressive and violent behaviors.'*[43]

All too easily, people with a history of offending behaviour find themselves in fight, flight or freeze mode. This is because they spent their childhoods trying to survive unspeakable horrors, and the toxic stress has depleted their ability to access their cortical, thinking brain to rationally weigh up the consequences of their actions when fearful or challenged.

Like Dr Nadine Burke Harris from the Centre of Youth Wellness and Dr Warren Larkin, Clinical Psychologist and HSE Lead on ACEs in the UK,[44] I have argued elsewhere for in universal ACEs screening in primary health clinics in the community as a preventative measure.[45] I have also suggested that healthcare staff in prisons[46] — ideally a dedicated Committals and Discharge nurse — should gather data on all new committals to prison on exposure to ACEs to inform subsequent trauma-responsive strengths-based sentence planning. Interestingly, being asked about

41. Wilson, C., Pence, D.M. and Conradi, L. (2013), 'Trauma-informed care', in Encyclopaedia of Social Work, available at http://oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199975839.013.1063
42. Perry, B., Griffin, G., Davis, G., Perry. J, & Perry, R. (2018) The Impact of Neglect, Trauma, and Maltreatment on Neurodevelopment in The Wiley Blackwell Handbook of Forensic Neuroscience.(Wiley-Blackwell: 2018) (pp 815-835, 827.
43. Ibid, 826-827.
44. See https://www.warrenlarkinassociates.co.uk/blog/archive/shake-the-disease-why-asking-about-adverse-childhood-experiences-aces-can-change-the-world/?fbclid=IwAR2ZcZf6cRLxoU4mZYN0W-X5w-K9dmRy348nrtuYXo28Dp75bqiwP2ZHRaw
45. Mulcahy, J. (2018) Hurting Children: submission to the Committee on the Future of Mental Health, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326265527_Hurting_Children_submission_to_the_Committee_on_the_Future_of_Mental_Health (accessed 25 April 2019).
46. Mulcahy, J. (2018) Daring to Ask "What Happened to You?" - Why Correctional Systems Must Become Trauma-Responsive, Advancing Corrections 5, 71-86.

ACEs/trauma may have an intrinsically therapeutic effect. Felitti describes how a cohort of 140,000 patients were asked about ACEs during a comprehensive biopsychosocial medical examination, resulting in a 35 per cent reduction in doctor's office visits and a 11 per cent reduction in ER visits. Felitti states that 'asking, initially via an inert mechanism with later followup in the exam room, coupled with listening and implicitly accepting the person who had just shared his or her dark secrets, is a powerful form of doing.' [47]

If ACEs screening became standard practice, it is highly probable that the amount of prisoners with 4+ ACEs would be staggering. There may, however, be undesirable implications for early release and parole decisions, if a person's exposure to childhood adversity became added to the risk matrix of the Risk-Need-Responsivity (RNR) model. The ACEs evidence and neuroscience developments[48] strongly suggests that more ACEs a young man has, the more likely he will be perceived as difficult, disengaged and hard to reach: his stress response system will be so sensitised, that he will have a window of tolerance 'the size of a toothpick', to use Janina Fisher's evocative phrase.[49] Men who are traumatised tend towards hyperarousal when fearful or challenged, meaning that they act out in an aggressive way. Trauma is essentially about relational rupture and a crisis of action. As small children, unrecovered trauma survivors had no emotionally stable adult to turn to who to act as a buffer against toxic stress. Frequently, they often experience relational poverty in adulthood also.[50] They do not know how to feel safe with other people.

Any criticism or stern response especially from a male authority figure — or violation of personal space, will be read as a threat. A traumatised youth is likely to respond to an abrupt order to do something by a Prison Officer with a barrage of verbal abuse, or by becoming physically confrontational. Even small provocations are perceived by their sensitised systems as grave threats to their personal safety.

The importance of physical and emotional safety for positive behavioural change

Hyper-vigilant prisoners can, however, begin to expand their windows of tolerance by being exposed to patterned, repetitive positive relational practices and by learning how to regulate themselves emotionally. Perry states when working with traumatised children, the sequence for ultimately engaging the learning brain is as follows: regulate, relate, reason.[51] The same principle should apply to imprisoned adults who were neglected and abused in childhood. According to Miller and Najavits, good correctional practice 'requires environments that are highly structured and safe, with predictable and consistent limits, incentives and boundaries, as well as swift and certain consequences such that inmates are treated fairly and equally.'[52] They also note that these practices are necessary for unrecovered trauma survivors to commence recovery, including being amenable to learning new trauma-related information and skills.

Hyper-vigilant prisoners can, however, begin to expand their windows of tolerance by being exposed to patterned, repetitive positive relational practices and by learning how to regulate themselves emotionally.

An unsafe, abusive, punitive prison environment will maintain prisoners predisposed since childhood to a state of near-permanent hyperarousal, to be ceaselessly fearful and on edge. Perry and Szalavitz's describe the impact of autonomic arousal and fear on the cortical brain, which enthusiasts of both the RNR and desistance theory fail to attend.

47. V. Felitti, "Health Appraisal and the Adverse Childhood Experiences Study: National Implications for Health Care, Cost, and Utilization", Perm J, (2019), 23: 18-026, available at https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6326558/
48. See https://developingchild.harvard.edu/resources/experiences-build-brain-architecture/ (accessed 25 April 2019).
49. Fisher used this phrase during a talk she gave at the Trauma Summit in Belfast, June 2018. See "Open the can of worms" by T. Farrell, available at https://www.madintheuk.com/2019/01/open-the-can-of-worms-by-tracey-farrell/.
50. Tomlinson, T. (2017) We need to talk about trauma, available at https://abetternhs.net/2017/10/15/we-need-to-talk-about-trauma/; See also Explore Health (2018), Adverse Childhood Experiences with Dr. Bruce Perry, available at https://youtu.be/16alOVWWo1s (accessed 25 April 2019).
51. Perry B. & Szalavitz M. (2017 edition), The Boy Who Was Raised as a Dog. Basic Books NY. See also http://restorativepracticeswhanganui.co.nz/great-visual-to-remind-us-to-connect-before-correct/3-rs-reaching-the-learning-brain-dr-bruce-perry/
52. Miller, N. & Najavits, L. Creating trauma-informed correctional care: a balance of goals and environment. Euro J Psychotraumatology. 3: 10.

'When we are calm it is easy to live in the cortex, using the highest capacities of our brains to contemplate abstractions, make plans, dream of the future, read. But if something attracts our attention and intrudes on our thoughts, we become more vigilant and concrete, shifting the balance of our brain to subcortical areas to heighten our senses to detect threats. As we move up the arousal continuum towards fear, then, we necessarily rely on our lower and faster brain regions. In complete panic, for example, our responses are reflexive and under virtually no conscious control. Fear quite literally makes us dumber, a property that allows faster reactions in short periods of time and helps immediate survival. But fear can become maladaptive if it is sustained; the threat system becomes sensitized to keep us in this state constantly.'[53]

Rather than expend much fruitless time and energy in punishment, especially for minor infractions and behaviour that may, in fact, have been triggered by an implicit memory of early trauma, prison administrations should embrace the ACEs evidence and neuroscience findings and invest in interventions targeted at enhancing prisoner wellbeing and human connectedness such as drumming circles, theatre, music and movement, psychoeducation, massage, neurofeedback training and body-based therapies like Schwartz' Comprehensive Resource Model (CRM).[54]

According to Tomlinson, an advocate of trauma-informed medicine, activities like yoga and mindfulness should be prioritised for prisoners, because they would help bring them back to their bodies in order to tune into the parts where they hold their pain and tension.[55] In his view the focus on weight-lifting and bulking up in prison is, in fact, for many a form of dissociation — a coping mechanism where the brain disconnects from the body to survive a life-threatening or extremely scary experience. For a man, who, as a child felt weak and helpless as he was beaten or sexually abused, it is not hard to see how becoming as large and imposing as he physically can be in adulthood would hold a considerable appeal. His body can send a physical message not to mess with him. As stated by Kevin Neary, a former prisoner and founder of Aid n' Abet,[56] which is a peer-led reentry programme in Scotland, growing up to be a large, strong man does not mean that the inner child has overcome the overwhelming, terrified feeling of being a small, helpless boy with no one to come to his aid and offer psychological safety and support.[57]

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Prison staff would be more effective in their respective roles and enjoy enhanced personal safety in terms of calmer, less combustible working environments, if they were aware of that trauma is embodied and that their conduct may trigger unrecovered trauma survivors in their care who have very short fuses because they are stuck in their limbic, emotional brains and unable to emotionally regulate in healthy ways. Part of becoming trauma-informed and responsive requires prison staff to reflect on, and be mindful of, how their own personal behaviour and relational style may exacerbate tense situations.

When people lash out, they usually do so because they have been triggered, or are afraid. Perhaps, they

54. See https://comprehensiveresourcemodel.com/ "The Comprehensive Resource Model® (CRM) is a neuro-biologically based, affect-focused trauma treatment model which facilitates targeting of traumatic experiences by bridging the most primitive aspects of the person and their brain (midbrain/brainstem), to their purest, healthiest parts of the self. This bridge catalyzes the mind and body to access all forms of emotional trauma and stress by utilizing layers of internal resources such as attachment neurobiology, breathwork skills, somatic resources, our connection to the natural world, toning and sacred geometry, and one's relationship with self, our intuition, and higher consciousness. The sequencing and combination of these resources, and the eye positions that anchor them, provide the opportunity for unbearable emotions and pain to be stepped into and felt fully while the client is fully present and aware moment to moment which changes how the memories affect the person."
55. See Mulcahy, J. (2018) Law and Justice podcast with Dr Jonathan Tomlinson, https://soundcloud.com/jane-mulcahy/dr-jonathan-tomlinson-law-and-justice-interview (accessed 25 April 2019).
56. See https://www.aidnabet.org/ (accessed 25 April 2019).
57. See J. Mulcahy, Law and Justice podcast with Kevin Neary, https://soundcloud.com/jane-mulcahy/interview-with-kevin-neary-from-aid-abet (accessed 25 April 2019).

have recently received some really bad news from the outside; a family member may be sick or have died, or a partner might have decided to end the relationship. Anyone would be very upset in such circumstances. For a young male prisoner with high ACEs exposure, the likelihood is, he will be propelled into fight mode at the smallest slight, because he feels so profoundly unsafe in his body. A Prison Officer, or any staff member, who knows and understands this reaction will be better placed to show greater kindness, understanding and patience in the face of volatile behaviour.

The importance of fostering relational health in prisons and beyond

As Treisman states: 'relational rupture requires relational repair.'[58] All prisons that profess to have a primarily rehabilitative ethos must put relational repair at the heart of practice. Liebling and her colleagues described Warren Hill, a calm, safe prison with a very positive 'Enabling Environment' for life sentence prisoners and those serving Indeterminate Sentences for Public Protection in England, based primarily on the nature and quality of relationships between staff and prisoners.[59] While the authors refer in passing to back-stories of childhood trauma and lives characterised by interpersonal abuse, there is no reference to overt ACE-aware, trauma-responsive practice in Warren Hill.

Nevertheless, the description by the authors of the humane, respectful relating style of prison staff suggests that Warren Hill provides the correctional system equivalent of what Winnicott terms a 'holding environment'[60] (in the context of an attachment relationship with a 'good enough mother'[61] and also in the psychoanalytical setting). If a prison like Warren Hill provides a consistently safe space to be, replete with enriching relationships, it is conducive to helping a person heal relational wounds, attend to personal development and discover what the Irish Republican revolutionary Padraig Pearse termed 'his own true and best self'.[62] Desistance expert, Maruna, refers to how desisting criminals discover a 'core good self'[63] while Maté states that healing allows traumatised people to connect with their 'authentic self'[64], their unique, positive essence underneath the maladaptive coping strategies such as addiction (and consequent crime) that ensured they survived their unbearable emotional pain and preserved the primary attachment relationship.

A Prison Officer, or any staff member, who knows and understands this reaction will be better placed to show greater kindness, understanding and patience in the face of volatile behaviour.

The author witnessed warm, respectful, reciprocal relationships between prison staff in Norwegian prisons during a visit in August 2018 (Kongsvinger prison for foreign females, Berg open centre and the world-famous Halden Fengsel). Despite the fact that staff had not received training on what Siegel calls or being consciously aware of what Siegel calls 'interpersonal neurobiology'[65] (how are brains are shaped by experience and relationships) and how attachment disruption, childhood trauma and relational poverty is often at the root of offending behaviour. It is submitted that providing staff in positive prisons such as Warren Hill and Halden with comprehensive training on ACEs, toxic stress and the healing power of relationships would only enhance the lived experience of sharing space for prisoners and staff alike, and may also better prepare people to navigate their safe return to society. As Perry and colleagues state:

58. See Treisman, K. (2018) Good relationships are the key to healing trauma, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PTsPdMqVwBg&app=desktop (accessed 25 April 2019).
59. Liebling, A., Laws, B., Lieber, E., Auty, K., Schmidt, B., Crewe, B., Gardom, J., Kant, D. & Morey, M. (2019) Are Hope and Possibility Achievable in Prison? The Howard Journal, 58(1), 104-126.
60. See https://www.78stepshealth.us/psychoanalytic-therapy/the-holding-environment.html
61. See http://changingminds.org/disciplines/psychoanalysis/concepts/good-enough_mother.htm
62. Pearse, P. (1916) The Murder Machine, VII, available at https://www.cym.ie/documents/themurdermachine.pdf (accessed 25 April 2019).
63. Maruna, S. (2001) Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives. Washington DC, American Psychological Association, 87.
64. See Mate, G. (2016) Dr Gabor Mate on the misunderstanding of trauma by society and the medical industry, available at https://youtu.be/Q-K2JTTdcmY, (accessed 25 April 2019). See also Winnicott, D. (1955-6). Clinical varieties of transference International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, 37, 386. "In the cases on which my work is based there has been what I call a true self hidden, protected by a false self. This false self is no doubt an aspect of the true self. It hides and protects it, and it reacts to the adaptation failures and develops a pattern corresponding to the pattern of environmental failure. In this way the true self is not involved in the reacting, and so preserves a continuity of being."
65. Siegel, D. (2015) The Developing Mind: How Relationships and the Brain Interact to Shape Who We Are (Second Edition). The Guilford Press: New York.

Promoting relational health by increasing the quality, number, and density of supportive, nurturing and trauma-informed people is the most effective and enduring form of intervention. Connection to family, community, and culture facilitate healthy development, including healing from traumatic experiences, minimizing substance abuse, and developing of new skills.[66]

In order to maximise the 'desistance enhancing'[67] potential of prison, through what Ginwright terms 'healing-centred engagement',[68] the focus of gender-responsive, culturally sensitive, strengths-based sentence and reentry planning should be on:

- ❏ identifying and building on the strengths or protective factors in a person's life and:
- ❏ commence immediately upon committal,
- ❏ be developed in collaboration with the imprisoned-person,
- ❏ be cross-disciplinary and trauma-responsive,
- ❏ be subject to periodic review,
- ❏ support the person in maintaining positive relationships with family and significant others,
- ❏ ensure that basic needs are met when transitioning from custody to freedom,
- ❏ take steps to arrange that the person is linked in with services and supports in the community.

The overarching aim should be to foster and sustain safety, structure and a sense of meaning and belonging over time.

Minimising the use of force in prisons

The use of force should be minimal in prisons, an absolute last resort when patient, loving, heart-centered communication fails. Punitive, psychologically brutalising practices like solitary confinement, that might well re-traumatise unrecovered trauma survivors, should similarly only ever be used as an emergency measure, for the shortest possible time.[69] Prison Officers are the ultimate change agents in any prison, but if they do not understand the fight/flight/freeze response, they are likely to inflame tense situations, when they could instead de-escalate tension by trying to understand the root of the person's distress. Obviously, there may be occasions where the use of force is necessary, to prevent further violence or to contain a riot, and holding a compassionate conversation with the instigator(s) may be neither possible, nor appropriate. By and large, however, engaging in a compassionate, humane relating (sometimes known as 'dynamic security') will suffice in reducing tensions.

Often, just listening to a distressed person in a respectful, compassionate human-to-human way, and being concerned about their wellbeing has a therapeutic effect. Van der Kolk asserts that it is very hard to respond with hostility, when we are shown warmth and kindness. We find ourselves smiling back, as our mirror neurons, perhaps despite our best efforts, fall into sync with the open, empathetic face opposite ours. Those with low levels of ACEs — hopefully, the majority of people working in prisons — have choices about how they respond to stressors including aggressive behaviour from others in a way that traumatised people do not. All prison staff are at risk of retraumatising prisoners,[70] as well as developing symptoms of secondary traumatic stress themselves, such as hypervigilance, insomnia, depression, marital problems and addictions. ACE-awareness and trauma-responsive practice is not only in the best interests of imprisoned prisoners, but of all those who interact with them on a daily basis.

Responding with compassionate curiosity to self-harming behaviours

In terms of responding to incidences self-harm, prison staff should adopt a compassionate approach that aims to understand what prompted the cutting or the suicide attempt. As discussed above, people with high levels of ACEs, and particularly exposure to child sex abuse, are statistically way more likely to attempt suicide than those with low levels of childhood adversity. Those who cut themselves are often not suicidal, but are doing it to make life tolerable in a moment of searing emotional pain. Cutting is a strategy for coping with something unbearable that is going on in their life. Their stress response system is dysregulated and they learned to dissociate, to distance themselves from the overwhelming feelings and sensations in childhood by self-harming. The physical act of cutting their flesh makes their feelings vanish, or at least offers some transitory physical relief.

If traumatised prisoners engage with psychology services, or indeed psychiatry, it is important for helping professionals to adopt a position of compassionate

66. Perry, B., Griffin, G., Davis, G., Perry. J, & Perry, R. (2018) The Impact of Neglect, Trauma, and Maltreatment on Neurodevelopment in The Wiley Blackwell Handbook of Forensic Neuroscience.(Wiley-Blackwell: 2018) (pp 815-835, 818.
67. Maruna, S. & Toch, H. (2005) The Impact of Imprisonment on the Desistance Process in Prison Reentry and Crime in America, Travis, J. & Visher, C. eds. New York: Cambridge University Press, 139-178, 141.
68. Ginwright, S. (2018) The Future of Healing: Shifting From Trauma Informed Care to Healing Centered Engagement, available at https://medium.com/@ginwright/the-future-of-healing-shifting-from-trauma-informed-care-to-healing-centered-engagement-634f557ce69c (accessed 25 April 2019).
69. Mulcahy, J. (2018) Daring to Ask "What Happened to You?" - Why Correctional Systems Must Become Trauma-Responsive, Advancing Corrections, 5, 71-86.
70. Miller, N. & Najavits, L. Creating trauma-informed correctional care: a balance of goals and environment. Euro J Psychotraumatology. 3: 10.

curiosity and conceptualise the cutting as something initially positive and adaptive rather than fundamentally negative. According to Fisher, rather than condemning the person for harming themselves and telling them they should not do it again (which is very invalidating), it is far more helpful and cultivates curiosity in the person doing the self-harm by saying 'how did the cutting make life bearable? How did it help you survive?'[71] This allows the person to view the cutting as having originally played a useful, constructive role in managing the intense emotions and visceral body sensations. It assists them and the therapist to explore healthier ways to cope when future stressors arise, as they invariably will.

Trauma experts such as Van der Kolk, Perry and Bloom maintain that trauma is about the absence of control, and in healing from trauma the person needs to acquire a sense of control and choice.[72] Just talking to the people who are obviously experiencing immense distress in an honest, uncensored way offers relief from emotional pain. If a distressed prisoner is asked 'what happened to you?'[73] they will probably be quite relieved to find someone willing to listen to them, who can stand to be an 'empathetic witness',[74] validate their pain and allow them to feel what they feel and know what they know.

Conclusion

The time has come for penal policy and practice to get to grips with childhood trauma and the adverse experience of class. ACE-Aware, trauma-responsive, strengths-based sentence planning and pre-release preparation is a crucial means of providing reparation to socially excluded individuals who were abused and neglected as children and failed by the State throughout their lives. If imprisoned, traumatised people must be afforded opportunities for psychological healing, personal development, goals to work towards and a sense of meaning and purpose.[75] The provision of a wide menu of therapeutic interventions, including body-based modalities such yoga, mindfulness and CRM to people during their imprisonment must be prioritised, so that they may start to re-imagine a different, better future for themselves and address painful emotions and embodied trauma underlying their offending behaviour.

A safe, supportive environment is the foundation on which a good life can be pursued. Moreover, careful, conscientious sentence planning grounded in the interpersonal neurobiology evidence means that because trauma is a rupture at the relational level, a person needs healthy, reciprocal relationships to heal. All prison staff have a role to play in this. They can become buffers for a prisoner through respectful, caring relating.

Helping traumatised offenders heal and enjoy an enhanced state of psychological, physical and relational wellbeing is not soft on crime or coddling wrongdoers. It is a mechanism for improving community safety. I have argued elsewhere that judicial recognition of a positive constitutional right to rehabilitation/reparation and reintegration in Ireland as an unenumerated right create the legal backdrop for a shift in the focus and operation of punishment and would provide the legal basis for demanding a multi-agency response to reentry and reintegration.[76] As recognised by the Norwegian 'Reintegration Work' (formerly Guarantee), the safe transition of prisoners back to the community is a matter requiring the attention and concerted efforts of Local Authorities, the Departments of Health, Housing, Social Protection, Education and Employment as much as Justice.

Greater efforts on the part of correctional agencies, their staff, community partners and non-Justice actors to manage the transition of people from custody to freedom in a safe, responsible and planned way should mean that prisoners' re-entry to society is less perilous, for themselves, and consequently for the communities to which they return. With a reduction in existential terror in their lives, and better coping strategies for dealing with the inevitable stressors that arise, people leaving prison may just be able to access their thinking brains at the right time and elect not to continue down the path of trauma, addiction and crime.

* All views expressed are the author's own and should not be attributed to the Irish Research Council, the Probation Service or the Cork Alliance Centre

71. See Fisher, J. (2018) Trauma and the Body: Working with the Neurobiological Legacy of Trauma, 8-11, available at https://trauma-summit.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Janina-Fisher-Trauma-and-the-Body.pdf (accessed 25 April 2019).
72. Bloom, S. (1995) Creating Sanctuary in the School. Journal for a Just and Caring Education I(4): 403-433 available at http://www.sanctuaryweb.com/Portals/0/Bloom%20Pubs/1995%20Bloom%20Sanctuary%20in%20the%20Classroom.pdf (accessed 25 April 2019). At 5 Bloom states: "People who are traumatized need to gain a sense of personal control. If they cannot find a way to do this in positive ways, then they will turn to destructive forms of personal empowerment. For children, this decision is largely determined by the choices available to them."
73. This quotation is attributed to Dr Joseph Foderaro. See St. Andrews, A. (2015) The Origins of the Paradigm Shift from "What's wrong with you? to "What happened to you?" available at https://www.acesconnection.com/blog/the-origins-of-a-paradigm-shift-from-what-s-wrong-with-you-to-what-happened-to-you?reply=421123325965471876 (accessed 25 April 2019). St Andrews states: "In Dr. Bloom's book "Creating Sanctuary: Toward An Evolution Of Sane Societies" published in 1997, this is referred to on page 191 as follows: "Our program director (Joe Federaro) said it best when he observed that we (the Sanctuary program) had stopped asking the fundamental question "What's wrong with you?' and changed it to "What has happened to you?" (Foderaro, 1989).
74. See Maté, G. Foreword to Levine, P. (2010) In an Unspoken Voice: How the Body Releases Trauma and Restores Goodness. California North Atlantic Books, xii: "Trauma is not what happens to us, but what we hold inside in the absence of an empathetic witness."
75. H. Burns (2014) What causes wellness? at 6 minutes available at https://youtu.be/yEh3JG74C6s (accessed 25 April 2019).
76. J. Mulcahy (2018) She sells sanctuary, Law Society Gazette, 32, available at https://www.lawsociety.ie/globalassets/documents/gazette/gazette-pdfs/gazette-2018/october-2018-gazette.pdf (accessed 25 April 2019).

A family oriented intervention for parental substance misuse in a male prison:

'our family is better now than it used to be'[1]

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Background

There are currently over 80,000 men in prison in England and Wales, many of whom will have a history of substance use and/or reoffending. Substance use is highly correlated with both offending and the likelihood of reoffending, particularly in the first two to four weeks post release[2,3]. Nearly one half of adult male prisoners (44 per cent) will be reconvicted within 12 months of release; this rises to 59 per cent for those serving shorter sentences of 12 months of less.[4] Reoffending is also associated with other challenges which many prisoners face on release: for example, only around one quarter of prisoners have a job to go to on release and approximately 10 per cent have no settled accommodation in place.[5] Overall, the lack of support for prisoners on release has been highlighted.[6]

There are no firm data on how many children are affected by parental (mostly paternal) imprisonment but it is estimated to be in the region of 200,000[7], which is greater than the numbers in care or who are affected by parental divorce. Many of these children will also be affected by paternal substance misuse although, again, there are no exact data available. While the numbers of children who are affected by paternal imprisonment and paternal substance misuse are unclear, the way they are affected by either or both problems is much clearer. Impacts include loss associated with absent parenting; impact on health (physical and mental), education and relationships; feelings of fear, shame and guilt; social impacts associated with housing, unemployment and financial difficulties; and increased risks of themselves having current or future problems with substances, mental health or offending.[8] Children can be greatly affected by the disruption to, or loss of, contact with their parent while they are in prison.[9] This absence of contact limits opportunities to address the underlying problems in these families and improve parent-child relationships.

Yet, the importance of the family in reducing reoffending is now widely recognised. This is based on increasing evidence that regular and supportive contact with the family (including with children) can improve prisoner and family/children well-being, both during a sentence and post-release, including reoffending and broader rehabilitation.[10] For example, reoffending rates are 39 per cent lower for male prisoners who have regular visits from a family member.[11] In his influential review of how to better support men in prison, the Lord Farmer identified family contact as a vital and *'indispensable'* element of prison reform, and recognised the importance of building and maintaining community based support for prisoners so that change can continue on release.[12] In other work family and friends have been identified as *'the most important*

1. Grateful thanks to all those who have supported the evaluation of M-PACT at HMP Parc, particularly Corin Morgan-Armstrong (Head of Family Interventions at HMP Parc, who also commented on drafts of this paper); and at Action on Addiction, particularly Katherine Jenkins (Head of Service at Action on Addiction, who also commented on drafts of this paper).

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11. Farmer (2017). The Importance of Strengthening Prisoners' Family Ties to Prevent Reoffending and Reduce Intergenerational Crime. London, Ministry of Justice.
12. Farmer (2017). *The Importance of Strengthening Prisoners' Family Ties to Prevent Reoffending and Reduce Intergenerational Crime.* London, Ministry of Justice.

resettlement agency for prisoners on release'.[13] The UK's first longitudinal study of how families manage when a man is in prison, and up to six months after his release, identified a number of predictors associated with positive resettlement. These include high quality family relationships, good communication between the father (the prisoner) and family during imprisonment, high frequency contact during imprisonment, fathers being more involved with their children prior to prison, social support from family and friends, participation in family-oriented programmes during imprisonment, more material resources before imprisonment, and less previous involvement of the father with crime and the criminal justice system.[14] These findings suggest that interventions during a sentence, involving the wider family, could be beneficial to both prisoners and their families.

The Farmer review recommended that the family should be the third pillar of rehabilitation, alongside employment and education, and that a family focus can bolster the framework for reform laid out in the White Paper on prison safety and reform.[15] Specific expectations around family contact (including between fathers and children) are now part of HM Inspectorate of Prisons inspection criteria.[16] Furthermore, all prisons are now required to write and publish a 'Family and Significant Others Strategy', and a new Prison Service Instruction, focusing on children and families and grounded in the recommendations of the Farmer review, will be published in 2019. However, while there is an increasing number of family oriented initiatives within prisons to support prisoners to engage with their children/families, and an increase in the support available to the children of prisoners, there are few evidence based interventions to support prisoners and their families within prison and no known interventions which target children and families affected by parental imprisonment and parental substance misuse. This paper reports findings from research which evaluated a whole family intervention which supports families where there is parental substance misuse, the Moving Parents and Children Together (M-PACT) programme, developed by the UK Charity Action on Addiction and delivered in a male prison, HMP Parc in South Wales. It is currently the only known combined substance misuse and whole family intervention available in any UK prison.

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About M-PACT and HMP Parc

M-PACT is a structured, psychosocial and educational, whole family intervention which was developed by Action on Addiction in 2006 in direct response to the Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drug's *Hidden Harm* report on how children are affected by parental drug misuse. The programme's development was informed by a number of theoretical approaches and other evaluated interventions, including systemic family work[17], attachment theory[18], the transtheoretical cycle of change[19], and the Strengthening Families approach.[20] At its core, through recognising the overlooked voices and experiences of children, M-PACT aims to improve the well-being of children and families affected by parental substance misuse by targeting the intersection between substance misuse and families. This is because it is widely recognised that parental substance misuse can

13. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2016). *Life in prison: Contact with families and friends.* London, HM Inspectorate of Prisons (p4).
14. Losel F, Pugh G, Markson L, Souze K & Lanskey C (2012). *Risk and protective factors in the resettlement of imprisoned fathers with their families.* Final Report: University of Cambridge & Ormiston.
15. Farmer (2017). *The Importance of Strengthening Prisoners' Family Ties to Prevent Reoffending and Reduce Intergenerational Crime.* London, Ministry of Justice. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2016). *Life in prison: Contact with families and friends.* London, HM Inspectorate of Prisons. HM Government (2016). *Prison Safety and Reform.* London, Stationery Office.
16. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2017). *Expectations: Criteria for assessing the treatment of and conditions for men in prisons.* London, HM Inspectorate of Prisons.
17. Carr A (2014). The evidence base for family therapy and systemic interventions for child-focused problems. *Journal of Family Therapy* 36(2), 107-157.
18. Bowlby J (1969). *Attachment and Loss*. London, Hogarth Press.
19. Prochaska J & DiClemente C (1984). *The transtheoretical approach: Crossing the traditional boundaries of therapy.* Homewood, Il, Dow Jones Irwin.
20. See https://www.strengtheningfamiliesprogram.org/index.html

have a devastating impact on children and families, impeding parenting and the everyday roles, routines and rituals of family life, often resulting in conflict, secrecy and fractured relationships.[21] Coupled with the stigma and isolation which is often present, the nuanced, multiple and complex ways in which substance misuse can affect families means that a specific response is needed to repair such damage.

An M-PACT programme brings together several families, where at least one parent has a serious alcohol or drug problem and where there is at least one child aged 8-17 years. The programme involves a comprehensive assessment and eight weekly programme sessions (combining separate work with adults and children, work with family units, and activities which brings all the families together) followed by an individual review with each family and a reunion session for all participants. The eight sessions include topics such as making sense of addiction, my family, communicating with people you care about, and feelings and beliefs. Services delivering M-PACT purchase a licence from Action on Addiction, and each programme is delivered by facilitators who have received training which is accredited by the University of Bath and delivered by experience tutors. Each M-PACT programme is delivered by a minimum of two trained facilitators, supported by volunteers and others as required. M-PACT was introduced in 2006 and is now delivered in a range of community, prison and universal settings across the UK. To date, over 700 families have engaged with M-PACT, and it effects positive change in four broad areas: support through shared experiences; understanding addiction; improved communication within families; and healthier, safer and more united families.[22]

An M-PACT programme brings together several families, where at least one parent has a serious alcohol or drug problem and where there is at least one child aged 8-17 years.

M-PACT was introduced in to the prison estate, at HMP Parc, in 2011. HMP Parc is a Category B private male prison in South Wales, and is one of the largest prisons in the UK with approximately 500 children visiting every week. In 2005 the Parc Supporting Families model was established, in 2010 the Family Interventions Unit (FIU) was opened (the first of its kind in any UK prison) and in 2015 the Endeavour Wing for former service personnel was opened (it is still the only fully functioning veterans Wing in any UK prison). With 64 beds the FIU offers men a range of interventions aimed at improving family relationships (including M-PACT). The work of the FIU is supported by other initiatives at HMP Parc, including the visits area being managed by the family team (rather than security), and collaboration with multiple local partners across South Wales. This includes the Invisible Walls Wales (IWW) service, a jointly funded partnership between G4S and HMPPS Wales, which offers holistic and wraparound support to prisoners and families in the 12 months pre-release and up to 10 months post-release.[23] The family work at HMP has been awarded an 'Investors on Families' accredited chartermark, the first prison in the EU to achieve the standard normally awarded to schools.[24] The Parc Supporting Families model was reported by the HM Inspectorate of Prisons as *'excellent.....innovative....radical',*[25] and by Lord Farmer as *'the clearest example of good practice I came across'.*[26]

This paper will summarise findings from evaluations of M-PACT at HMP Parc, and discuss how the prison has been able to introduce and sustain the programme since it was first delivered in 2011. M-PACT is one of the core interventions available to the men

21. Adamson J & Templeton L (2012). *Silent Voices: Supporting Children and Young People Affected by Parental Alcohol Misuse.* London, Report to the Office of the Children's Commissioner in England. Children's Commissioner for England (2018). *'Are they shouting because of me?' Voices of children living in households with domestic abuse, parental substance misuse and mental health issues.* London, Children's Commissioner for England. Foster J, Bryant L & Brown K (2017). *"Like Sugar for Adults". The effect of non-dependent parental drinking on children and families.* London, Institute of Alcohol Studies, Alcohol and Families Alliance, and Alcohol Focus Scotland.
22. Templeton L. Moving Parents and Children Together (M-PACT): an integrated approach to supporting families affected by parental substance misuse. In Mistral W (Ed). *Integrated Approaches to Drug & Alcohol Problems: Action on Addiction* (2016). Abingdon, Wiley-Blackwell (68-78). Templeton L (2014). Supporting families living with parental substance misuse: the M-PACT (Moving Parents and Children Together) Programme. *Child & Family Social Work* 19(1): 76-88.
23. Clancy A & Maguire M (20170. *Prisoner's Children and families: Can the walls be 'invisible'? Evaluation of Invisible Walls Wales*. Final report, University of South Wales.
24. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2016). *Life in prison: Contact with families and friends. London,* HM Inspectorate of Prisons.
25. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2016). *Life in prison: Contact with families and friends.* London, HM Inspectorate of Prisons (p74).
26. Farmer (2017). *The Importance of Strengthening Prisoners' Family Ties to Prevent Reoffending and Reduce Intergenerational Crime.* London, Ministry of Justice (p56).

and their families at HMP Parc. Between 2011 and mid 2017 seven M-PACT programmes were delivered, attended by 67 participants from 18 families, including 19 male prisoners, 28 children and young people (CandYP) and 20 non-using adults. Families were primarily affected by illegal drug use although alcohol also featured, and many of the men had long histories of substance misuse and offending. Overall, there was a very high completion rate of the M-PACT programme.

Methodology

Building on an earlier (unpublished) evaluation of the first two M-PACT programmes to be delivered at HMP Parc, a further evaluation was undertaken in 2017 to understand how M-PACT helps families and why it has been possible to embed the programme so successfully at the prison.[27] While mixed methods were used, the focus here is on qualitative data which were collected through 28 interviews with 29 individuals:

i. Four families who completed an M-PACT programme in 2017. Eleven interviews were completed with four fathers (all still at HMP Parc), five other adults (one spouse, one parent, one adult child, one ex-partner, and one sibling) and three CandYP.
ii. Four families who completed an M-PACT programme between 2014 and 2016. Ten interviews were completed with four fathers (two were back in HMP Parc and two were living at home), two other adults (spouses) and four CandYP (one a young adult). A member of prison staff (and the M-PACT delivery team) was present for interviews with the two men interviewed in HMP Parc (at the request of the prisoners).
iii. Seven professionals including HMP Parc staff/M-PACT facilitators, an individual who supported M-PACT delivery as a volunteer, and a researcher from the University of South Wales involved with the evaluation of the Invisible Walls Wales programme.

Interviewees were identified by HMP Parc. The research was approved by the National Offender Management Service and all interviewees gave written consent. Semi-structured interviews were conducted either face-to-face or by 'phone and the majority were audio recorded. Interview reports were written which included verbatim excerpts from audio recordings. Thematic qualitative analysis was undertaken with use of thematic networks to help organise the emerging codes and themes.[28]

Findings

Two broad areas will be summarised. First, how M-PACT helps families and, second, how it has been possible to introduce and sustain an intervention like M-PACT at HMP Parc.[29] It is acknowledged that interviewees were identified by HMP Parc and that this may have introduced some selection bias. However, all interviewees were asked if they had any views on things which they felt were unhelpful about M-PACT or which they felt were missing. Very few responses to these questions were given. Furthermore, HMP Parc and Action on Addiction routinely ask all families for their views on M-PACT (e.g. as part of post programme reviews) and have also reported that very little negative feedback has been received. However, any feedback which does come from practitioners or families does contribute towards the ongoing evolution of the programme such as offering more flexibility and introducing after-care support. The data from HMP Parc mirrors broader M-PACT evaluation findings that participants have an overall very positive experience of the programme.[30]

The findings about how M-PACT helps families in a prison environment align very closely with the broader evaluation findings reported in community settings.

How M-PACT helps families

The findings about how M-PACT helps families in a prison environment align very closely with the broader evaluation findings reported in community settings.[31]

27. Thanks to NOMS for approving the research, and all the prisoners, families and professionals who contributed evaluation data.
28. Attride-Stirling, J. (2011). Thematic networks: an analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative research* 1(3), 385-405.
29. Quotes: MP = Male Prisoner, FM = Family Members, YP = Young Person, P = Professional.
30. Templeton L. Moving Parents and Children Together (M-PACT): an integrated approach to supporting families affected by parental substance misuse. In Mistral W (Ed). *Integrated Approaches to Drug & Alcohol Problems: Action on Addiction* (2016). Abingdon, Wiley-Blackwell (68-78). Templeton L (2014). Supporting families living with parental substance misuse: the M-PACT (Moving Parents and Children Together) Programme. *Child & Family Social Work* 19(1): 76-88.
31. Templeton L. Moving Parents and Children Together (M-PACT): an integrated approach to supporting families affected by parental substance misuse. In Mistral W (Ed). *Integrated Approaches to Drug & Alcohol Problems: Action on Addiction* (2016). Abingdon, Wiley-Blackwell (68-78). Templeton L (2014). Supporting families living with parental substance misuse: the M-PACT (Moving Parents and Children Together) Programme *Child & Family Social Work* 19(1): 76-88.

Namely, participants highlight: support through shared experiences; understanding addiction; improved communication within families; and more united families. A small number of participants described further benefits which will also be summarised below.

Support through shared experiences

Participants highlighted the importance of peer support through meeting other families with similar experiences.

> *'it's not just you....it was really nice for us all to be there for the same reason'*

> *(FM) 'you get to know the other people there are just like you, they're in the same situation as you....you bond with them but in a way that you wouldn't bond with someone else' (YP)*

The men, particularly those residing on the Family Wing, also talked about the peer support they could offer to each other, something which they found beneficial both during and after M-PACT.

> *'it's like one big family on here....even though we're away from our families we are like family....we're all in the same situation' (MP)*

Understanding addiction

Participants talked about the role of the programme in helping them to talk about and understand the impact of addiction (and also imprisonment) on both individual family members and the family as a whole. This was something that few of the men had thought about before and for many it was a catalyst to change. However, inevitably many of the prisoners found these conversations really hard and talked about the emotional impact it had on them.

> *'realising some of the feelings that she had....how much she used to worry about me, how much they miss me being around.... [I] understand how they feel....I never thought about it before' (MP)*

> *'the emotions when you go back to your cell when you break down crying....cos you go back thinking about things [that] you done and that you talked about whereas usually you just don't want to talk....you don't acknowledge that shit....I gone back to my cell in tears....that's the first time I've mentioned this to anyone' (MP)*

Improved communication

Participants described how they felt M-PACT had improved communication within the family. First, through supporting them to open up and be honest with each other about how they had been affected and how they felt.

> *'getting the kids to talk about how they feel and getting us to talk about how we feel about them....I found that very mind-blowing....things [that] my son writes on the paper he would never say to me on the phone [or] when we have a visit...[that] made me think oh my god he's got a lot of thoughts in his mind...I didn't know' (MP)*

Participants described how they felt M-PACT had improved communication within the family.

> *'opportunity to talk to [child] about his behaviour.....it helped us get closer.....talk about things [we] didn't normally talk about.....quite hard for me to hear [what my family thought] about my behaviour' (MP)*

Often, interviewees said that they were talking about such things and expressing emotions for the first time.

> *'that was the first time we spoke about his addiction....and how it has an impact on him, myself, the family and how much we've actually gone through with it....it was very emotional' (YP)*

Furthermore, many interviewees said that it was particularly powerful to hear what children had to say about their family situations. Often, this was the first time children had shared their experiences, and the first time that their parents had heard what they had to say.

> *'[we] had the chance to say how it made us feel and the things we went through and I think he really got an understanding of what it's like to be without him as well' (YP)*

Some interviewees talked about the positive benefits of having such opportunities to talk openly with their family.

'it was better to get things off my chest....made me feel better' (YP)

'relieved....I left there with a weight off my shoulders' (FM)

More united families

Interviewees talked about two ways in which M-PACT seemed to facilitate improved relationships within families: stronger and renewed bonds within families; and an increased recognition of the importance of the family and of being 'in it together' to tackle problems.

First, interviewees felt that M-PACT had helped them become closer as a family.

'I [didn't] have a relationship with him....so the first couple of [sessions] it was....getting to know him again I suppose and him knowing me as his daughter.... by week 4 I can sit in a room with him, I know who he is, he's my dad and I'm okay with this, it was just amazing how it all helped' (FM)

'[my children] never used to cwtch [cuddle] and things like that but now they just don't want to let me go.....it's mad, a brilliant feeling....it's brought us so much closer....even though I've been taken away from them that connection is still there....it makes me feel 10 times better' (MP)

Second, interviewees, particularly fathers, thought that M-PACT had given them an increased recognition of the importance of family and of their role as a father. Some were adamant that they would never use drugs or be in prison again.

'my family aren't worth losing for no drug or my crime....[I want] to become the father they want me to become' (MP)

'I can honestly say I've never seen him so positive, so family oriented, every time you speak to him it's always about myself and the children....he believes in himself now whereas he didn't before' (FM)

Other changes

Some interviewees talked about changes in offending and drug use. One prisoner, who re-offended after completing M-PACT and was back in prison when he was interviewed, said that his last time outside of prison (after completing M-PACT) was his longest ever time being out of prison and being drug free. Both men who were interviewed in the community, and who had been prolific offenders, had been out of prison for approximately one year — one was working and the other was a 'house husband' so his partner could work. One professional commented on the role of M-PACT in reducing offending and drug use, including with prolific offenders and serious, long-term drug users.

With regards to children (both young people and adult children), interviewees noticed how there had been changes in their mental well-being, including confidence, assertiveness, and reduced anger.

'some of our best successes [with M-PACT] have been with men who have had just atrocious substance misuse histories going back to their childhood....some of those men who are quite notorious have been some of the biggest successes....the ones that stand out for me are some of those families that are really written off' (P)

With regards to children (both young people and adult children), interviewees noticed how there had been changes in their mental well-being, including confidence, assertiveness, and reduced anger.

'you feel more confident in yourself' (YP)

'I'm so proud....I've seen my own daughter grow up from a cheeky teenager to smashing up the house because she's not allowed out...since we've done M-PACT and I've been out she's grown up, she's an adult' (MP)

Changes were also seen for children in the areas of behaviour and education, and their overall outlook on life.

'my behaviour before my dad went in, it was really really bad....now that I've done the M-PACT course and I can see my dad more and I've seen other people in the same situation as me has helped me really much cos I'm having more time with my dad and my dad's telling me good stuff so then I'm better for my mother' (YP)

'M-PACT was a big change in my life....that was the past, now he's changed, he's working....M-PACT made me realise that okay he's not here but my life still needs to go on, I can't stop my life because of something he done' (YP)

The nature of this evaluation makes it hard to assess the direct attribution of change directly to M-PACT. Nevertheless, some of the participants were clear that the changes which had taken place were associated with M-PACT.

'M-PACT has brought us back close together.... I think because of M-PACT I've got that bond back which is something I thought I had lost forever' (MP)

'I honestly think without M-PACT I don't think we'd be where we are now....we were just at complete breaking point...it was just enough for us to push us in the right direction' (FM)

Introducing and sustaining M-PACT at HMP Parc

Interviewees talked about what they felt facilitated the introduction of M-PACT at the prison, and what they felt had been the key challenges to its introduction and sustainability.

'M-PACT is a pretty mammoth undertaking in terms of what prisons are used to and what they need to get used to if they're really going to broaden their family intervention remit....M-PACT demands all sorts of different and new things that prisons don't normally do' (P)

Thus, interviewees talked about the broader family ethos at HMP Parc (i.e. the Parc Supporting Families model), involvement of the whole family, delivery of M-PACT, wraparound support (again, part of the Parc Supporting Families model), and the challenges they had faced.

Broader family ethos

M-PACT was a big change in my life....that was the past, now he's changed, he's working....M-PACT made me realise that okay he's not here but my life still needs to go on, I can't stop my life because of something he done

Interviewees were clear that the overall Parc Supporting Families model was a key driver behind the success of M-PACT (and other interventions and initiatives that are also available). Over the last decade a family and significant others culture has developed and become embedded across the whole prison. So, there is evidence of the holistic family approach across the whole prison — for example, the family check-in area, the family visits area (which is managed by the Families Team rather than by security), and the Family Wing itself. All of this combines to welcome and encourage families to come to the prison, and to engage with each other in a safe and 'normal' way that removes many of the usual barriers, many of which are scary and overwhelming to children. Men on the Family Wing are motivated to be there and to engage with all of the programmes on offer to them — a perk of this is that they can have more contact with their children and use the family room for visits.

The majority of men who completed M-PACT were resident on the Family Wing, meaning that the process of change had already started. One professional talked about basic changes that they had seen in M-PACT participants residing on the Family Wing, including their behaviour and attitude on the wing, looking after their cell, getting involved in work and gaining qualifications, thinking of their appearance and going to the gym. This professional explained the importance of these changes in laying the foundations for the more substantial changes which M-PACT targets.

'you can see men coming back from the first few sessions literally holding themselves differently.…the process of change is beginning, you can physically see it in them.…that's rare, there aren't many interventions in prison that have that impact as quickly.... it has a catalyst effect and they start doing other stuff....it's all related, it's not coincidence, it all connects' (P)

Involvement of the whole family

Interviewees highlighted that the involvement of the whole family, particularly children, in M-PACT and the increased time they can spend together often served as a catalyst for men to engage with the programme.

'we'll bring your family in to do this course, it gives you the boost to think I'll have a go.... I wasn't even thinking about the course, I was just thinking that's more visits with my family' (MP)

'M-PACT stood out more because I had my daughter there telling me how she felt' (MP)

One professional said that it was unique for a family to be able to spend 2.5 hours a week together for eight weeks, saying that, '*no other prisoner in this establishment gets that opportunity'*.

'I think the concept itself.....something I can do with my partner and my children, that in itself must not be underestimated in the prison setting....it is a rare jewel to have that opportunity…the traditional prison service isolationist approach to interventions.…you can't operate like that' (P)

Delivery of the course

There were a number of aspects to delivery which interviewees felt worked well in the prison environment, thereby facilitating engagement with M-PACT. First, professional interviewees thought that M-PACT worked because it was not delivered as, or seen as, a classroom course but something more encouraging and empowering, and which provided a safe space where difficult conversations about addiction and feelings could take place.

'it's not in the least bit intimidating to anybody but then you come away and think how effective that was.…it's not regimental....it's not like being in a classroom, it's very natural' (P)

Second, families really like the family room where M-PACT is delivered. The family room is part of the visits centre, with sofas, toys and so on. So, when families came together every week for M-PACT it did not feel like a normal prison visit. Rather than sitting in the visits hall around a table with no physical contact families could sit together on comfortable chairs and sofas in the family room. Some interviewees described how this environment helped their participation in the course.

'I got to see him for longer and sit by him' (YP)

'the children are so natural and they feel obviously very comfortable in their surroundings because they say exactly how they feel' (P)

Overall, the men in particular made comparisons with other courses that they had done in prison, with several naming M-PACT as the best course that they had done.

'it's the best course I've ever done in jail so far....I really really enjoyed it' (MP)

'prisoners talk very enthusiastically about it....the other programmes don't get talked about enthusiastically by prisoners...they're a pain in the arse that you've got to do in order to better your chances of getting released early, M-PACT isn't talked about like that, it's talked about with more respect' (P)

Wraparound support

An important aspect of maintaining change is the wider community wraparound support available to families, another key component to the Parc Supporting Families model. A number of families talked about the benefits of involvement with Invisible Walls Wales while in prison and on release — for example, children having activity days out, a partner receiving supporting with attending appointments, liaising with the council about moving to a bigger house, help to find employment or a course, and liaison with schools.

'M-PACT to me was like laying them seeds down and then the rest of the Invisible Walls package helped to water it if you like [so] the whole thing has worked together…everything began with M-PACT….without going on this journey we wouldn't have got anywhere near where we are now' (FM)

'[M-PACT has] completely turned around some of the relationships within some of those families, particularly with the child and the prisoner, and I think [Invisible Walls Wales] can then help that to continue following release and I think M-PACT is a great starting point for many families' (P)

At HMP Parc fathers and children have been able to attend other courses, for example the Duke of Edinburgh Award scheme and the Fire Fighter For A Day course, which has helped them maintain contact and strengthen relationships with their children.

'it was because of M-PACT that I did all the other courses….my daughter coming up to see me, my daughter smiling at me, telling me she loves me, me telling her I love her….that made me think okay I might do other courses' (MP)

Challenges

Challenges have included the recruitment of families; liaison with other prison staff to help with the movement of prisoners and families around the prison; the rigidity of the prison regime; staffing to deliver a programme and ensuring staff have enough time to prepare for, run, and debrief after, each session/programme; the age of the children; and the geographical proximity of families to the prison as this along with the timing of sessions and access to transport can influence attendance.

These challenges have been tackled in a number of ways. For example, a range of strategies have been used to recruit families, including building relationships with other departments and colleagues across the prison, advertising on the Family Wing and across the prison, and inviting ex-prisoners and participants in M-PACT to speak to future cohorts of families. Word of mouth between prisoners is also important. To facilitate programme delivery, the M-PACT team has worked hard to build good relationships with key personnel across the prison, including the security team. Volunteers have supported some families to attend by driving them to and from sessions; M-PACT/prison staff have also built relationships with local schools and this has supported some children to be able to attend the programme.

'I can't believe there's volunteers that do that [drive me to and from sessions], I don't think she realises how big of a deal it is, it doesn't sound like much' (FM)

Discussion

Overall, the findings mirror those which have been seen with the evaluation of M-PACT in community settings.[32] They also illustrate the potential for change through a multi-family treatment[33] in a prison environment. The three main ways in which multi-family treatments can effect change have all been identified as important for M-PACT: namely, positive therapeutic factors such as group cohesion, observational experiences, and confidence in the group therapists. Further, while resilience itself is not directly measured, there is evidence that M-PACT targets some of the individual, familial and environmental protective factors identified as building resilience in children and families including those affected by adverse family events.[34] Examples include improved self-esteem and wanting to achieve in life (individual); improved communication, and stronger and more cohesive relationships (familial); engaging with work or education (environmental). Further research could help enhance understanding of how an intervention like M-PACT can build resilience in individuals and families.

While there is evidence of how M-PACT can help children, the data suggest that children can remain affected and distressed by having a father in prison. It

32. Templeton L. Moving Parents and Children Together (M-PACT): an integrated approach to supporting families affected by parental substance misuse. In Mistral W (Ed). *Integrated Approaches to Drug & Alcohol Problems: Action on Addiction* (2016). Abingdon, Wiley-Blackwell (68-78). Templeton L (2014). Supporting families living with parental substance misuse: the M-PACT (Moving Parents and Children Together) Programme. *Child & Family Social Work 19(1)*: 76-88.
33. Templeton L (2014). Supporting families living with parental substance misuse: the M-PACT (Moving Parents and Children Together) Programme. *Child & Family Social Work* 19(1): 76-88.
34. Benzies K & Mychasiuk R (2009). Fostering family resiliency: a review of the key protective factors. Child & Family Social Work 14, 103-114. Velleman R & Templeton L (2016). Impact of parents' substance misuse on children: an update. *British Journal of Psychiatric Advances* 22: 108-117. doi: 10.1192/apt.bp.114.014449 Walsh F (2016). Family resilience: a developmental systems framework. European Journal of Developmental Psychology 13, 3, 313-324.

seemed particularly hard for children to complete M-PACT while their father remained in prison[35], something which can be exacerbated when contact reverts back to 'normal' prison visits after M-PACT. Having a father reside on the Family Wing can mitigate this somewhat through the increased contact that fathers can have with children, including the opportunity to have visits in the family room, and to engage in other courses and activities. The men also seemed to be emotionally affected by having to stay in prison after completing M-PACT particularly when changes had been made and relationships with their children and family had improved. Overall, there is a lack of research about the impact on male prisoners of changing father roles as a result of imprisonment.[36] There is qualitative evidence from M-PACT that it strengthens the men's resolve to be better fathers which may illustrate how such an intervention can build family resilience.

It is hard to report with any certainty on the potential for M-PACT to contribute to reductions in substance use and offending in the long-term. The evidence to date is largely anecdotal but includes positive stories of two men who had been out of prison for over a year when they were interviewed, and of others (long-term substance users and prolific offenders) who relapsed or offended again since completing M-PACT but who said that the period away from drugs and crime since M-PACT and before return to prison had been their longest ever. In much the same way as understanding resilience is based on an understanding of the protective factors which facilitate resilience, so an understanding of reoffending and relapse must be based on understanding the factors which need to change in order to influence reoffending and substance use rather than looking narrowly at reoffending or substance use. The findings from the Invisible Walls Wales project reflect this, as they show positive change in a number of known indicators associated with reducing reoffending, such as accommodation, employment, substance use, and attitudes towards crime.[37] Further evaluation of M-PACT in the prison setting should consider how reoffending and substance use outcomes can be captured more rigorously and over the longer-term, including measurement of indicators which best predict desistance from crime and substance use.

The success of M-PACT at HMP Parc has not been without its challenges, including the recruitment of families, staffing, relationships with personnel across the prison, and the wider pressures on the prison system. Yet, M-PACT is now well established at the prison while other male prisons have not been able to embed M-PACT within their establishment. It is therefore important to understand the reasons for its success at HMP Parc. These are largely centred on the over-arching Parc Supporting Families model that has fostered an innovative, holistic and forward thinking culture and approach to imprisonment and rehabilitation. The model includes: transferring the management of the family visits area from security to the family team; the Family Wing; the growing number of evidence based interventions and other activities which prisoners can engage with including those which involve their children (and including M-PACT); the strong links which HMP Parc has with a wide range of community organisations including schools; and the success of the Invisible Walls Wales project.[38] To remain financially viable, M-PACT (and other programmes at HMP Parc) is internally funded through a type of social enterprise that reinvests profit from cafes in the family visits areas at HMP Parc (there are three cafes) in order to deliver a range of interventions and initiatives.

The M-PACT programme at HMP Parc is a rare example of an intervention which seems to make a real difference to families affected by the dual problems of parental imprisonment and parental substance misuse. The way in which the programme has become embedded at HMP Parc, as part of the Parc Supporting Families approach, is evidence of its potential to be successfully delivered within the confines of a prison regime. However, a huge amount of work is needed to introduce the programme in to a prison and it seems that the benefits associated with the programme will be greater, and have more chance at being sustained, if the prison itself has a wider family focus of which an intervention like M-PACT is an important part. M-PACT is a good example of the increasing recognition which is being given to the role of the family and family contact in reducing reoffending. It is also a clear response to the recommendations in the Farmer review, the revised HM Inspectorate of Prisons inspection criteria, and new Prison and Probation Service guidance to providing services to strengthen prisoner ties to their families. Furthermore, all prisons are now required to write and publish a 'Family and Significant Others Strategy' and a new Prison Service Instruction, focusing on children and families, will be published in 2019. Grounded in the recommendations of the Farmer review, the new Instruction includes a recommendation to offer whole family support including for substance misuse, a recommendation which clearly aligns with M-PACT.

35. Boswell G (2002). Imprisoned Fathers: The Children's View. *The Howard Journal* 41(1), 14-26. Nesmith A & Ruhland E (2008). Children of incarcerated parents: Challenges and resiliency, in their own words. *Children and Youth Services Review* 30, 1119-1130. Clarke L et al. (2005). Fathering behind Bars in English Prisons: Imprisoned Fathers' Identity and Contact with Their Children. *Fathering* 3(3), 221-241.
36. HM Prison & Probation Service (2017). Delivering Effective Family Practice. Providing Services to Prisoners to Strengthen ties to their Families and Significant Others. Guidance. London, HM Prison & Probation Service.
37. Clancy A & Maguire M (20170. *Prisoner's Children and families: Can the walls be 'invisible'? Evaluation of Invisible Walls Wales.* Final report, University of South Wales.
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Animal Visitation Programs as a Therapeutic Intervention for

Jailed Women with a Mental Health Diagnosis

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Introduction

In his introductory piece in a special issue of *The Prison Journal* dedicated to mental health issues and jails, Lurigio[1] compiled statistics that reflect why the Vera Institute of Justice declared, 'Jails matter'.[2] He reports that in the United States jails process nearly 12 million admissions each year[3] — 20 times higher than the number of admissions to prisons.[4] Lurigio goes on to call jails a 'critical resource for the criminal justice system (CJS) and the larger community.'[5] At the same time, however, he says 'they have been given short shrift, compared with prisons.'[6] 'Jails are often the community resource of last resort' when all other forms of informal social control are exhausted, they are tasked with 'housing and providing security for and, in some cases, treating the mentally ill.''[7] To those who work in them they are 'the biggest mental home in the community.'[8]

Budgetary constraints, while not a new dilemma for jails, become particularly salient when we consider the exponential growth in the number of incarcerated people with mental health disorders.[9] Close to half a million mentally ill persons are detained in U.S. jails;[10] this number is projected to rise. At the same time, 'jails have become increasingly more populated by women.'[11] In 2011, the Bureau of Justice Statistics reported that women comprise 12.6 per cent of the jail population.[12] From midyear 2010 through 2014, the number of females in jail grew 18 per cent while the male population fell by 3 per cent.[13] Although the U.S. has experienced the largest growth in female incarceration rates, the number of incarcerated women worldwide has steadily increased over the past two decades — 53.3 per cent compared with 19.6 per cent for men — suggesting that this is not just a U.S. problem.[14]

While jails are designed for short term confinement and generally not concerned with rehabilitation and treatment programs,[15] jailed women often have a wide range of significant treatment needs — raising the question of how these short-term facilities will respond to this emerging population. In this paper, we propose the use of Animal Visitation Programs (AVPs) either independently or in tandem with other treatment services to address the immediate and short-term needs of incarcerated females with mental health disorders and/or histories of prior victimization. The benefits of AVPs have been empirically established as an efficient, cost effective

1. Lurigo, A. (2016). Jails in the United States: The "Old-new" frontier in American corrections. *The Prison Journal,* 96, 3-9.
2. Vera Institute of Justice. (2015). Incarceration's front door: The misuse of jails in America. New York, NY.
3. Minton, T. D., & Golinelli, D. (2014). Jail Inmates at Midyear 2013-statistical Tables. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
4. Vera Institute of Justice (2015), see n.2.
5. Lurigo (2016), see n.1., p5.
6. *ibid*
7. Slate, R.N., Buffington-Vollum, J.K., & Johnson, W.W. (2013). The criminalization of mental illness, 2nd ed. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press. p225
8. Cornelius, G.F. (2012). *Jails, pre-trial detention, and short term confinement.* In J. Peterselia & K.R. Reitz (Eds) The Oxford Handbook of Sentencing and Corrections (pp. 389-415). Oxford University Press. p406.
9. Kim, K., Becker-Cohen, M., & Serakos, M. (2015). *The processing and treatment of mentally ill persons in the Criminal justice system: A scan of practice and background analysis*. The Urban Institute: Washington, DC.
10. James, D. J., & Glaze, L. E. (2006). *Mental health problems of prison and jail inmates* (Publication No. NCJ 213600). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
11. Lurigio, 2016, n. 1, p 5
12. Minton, T.D. (2012). Jail inmates at mid-year 2011 – statistical tables (Report NCJ 237961). Retrieved from https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/jim11st.pdf
13. Minton, T. D., & Zeng, Z. (2015). Jail inmates at midyear 2014. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
14. Walmsley, R. (2017). World female imprisonment list (4th ed.). London: Institute for Criminal Policy Research.
15. Cornelius (2012), n.8

intervention in reducing stress and anxiety in other populations (e.g. hospital patients, children, college students) in relatively short periods of time.[16] Against this backdrop, AVPs offer carceral facilities with a viable treatment option to address the immediate needs of this vulnerable and burgeoning population.

The vast majority of female detainees have multiple criminogenic risk factors. Compared to jailed men, jailed women suffer from disproportionately high rates of chronic health conditions and substance use and mental health disorders.[17] Perhaps the most significant risk factor for criminality is the high prevalence of physical and sexual abuse reported by jailed women. In the sample of female jail detainees surveyed by Green, Miranda, Daroowalla, and Siddique, 98 per cent reported exposure to a traumatic event, 90 per cent had at least one interpersonal trauma, and 71 per cent had experienced domestic violence.[18] The women also suffer from high rates of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Despite the relatively short-term nature of most stays, incarceration in jail can be fraught with re-traumatizing experiences ranging from separation from children and family, correctional procedures that can trigger traumatic experiences to interpersonal violence and substance use withdrawal.

... jailed women suffer from disproportionately high rates of chronic health conditions and substance use and mental health disorders.

Unfortunately, jails are often 'ill-equipped to address the wide spectrum of problems faced by detainees.'[19] Even as jails have become one of the country's primary provider of mental health care (alongside prisons), they are expected to do so with insufficient resources.[20] Given the growing number of women in jail, the need for mental health care services, and concurrent budget constraints, a unique treatment intervention is needed. Based on the well-documented therapeutic nature of human-animal interactions as calming forces in a multitude of populations and circumstances, Animal Visitation Programs (AVP) provide an opportunity for a brief unstructured interaction with an animal.[21] Research finds the calming presence of a dog can effectively reduce stress and anxiety.[22] Visiting dogs have been used to decrease distress in hospitalized children being treated for pain management,[23] to improve mood and reduce anxiety in older people in assisted-living,[24] and to reduce anxiety in patients hospitalized for acute depression.[25] The non-judgmental reaction of dogs has been found to encourage reluctant children to read aloud.[26] Many colleges are bringing dogs to campus during final exams — holding open hours for student to drop in and spend some time petting a dog.[27] In fact, standardized assessment instruments such as the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) have shown a significant reduction in anxiety among students following brief interactions with the dogs.[28] Dogs can be similarly used inside jails where relieving

16. Folse, E., Minder, C., Aycock, M., & Santana, R. (1994). Animal-assisted therapy and depression in adult college students. *Anthrozoos*: 7, 3, 188-194. DOI:10.2752/089279394787001880; Kruger, K.A , & Serpell, J.A. (2010). Animal-assisted interventions in mental health: definitions and theoretical foundations. In A. Fine (Ed.), *Handbook on animal-assisted therapy, theoretical foundations and guidelines for practice* (pp. 33 - 48). San Diego: Elsevier.
17. James & Glaze (2006), n. 10; Mumola, C. J., & Karberg, J. C. (2006). *Drug use and dependence, State and Federal inmates*, 2004 (Publication No. NCJ 213530). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
18. Green, B., Miranda, J., Daroowalla, A., and Siddique, J. (2005). Trauma exposure, mental health functioning, and program needs of women in jail. *Crime & Delinquency,* 51, 133-151.
19. Lurigio (2016), n.1, p8
20. Ford, M. (2015, June 8). America's largest mental hospital is a jail. *The Atlantic.* Retrieved from https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/06/americas-largest-mental-hospital-is-a-jail/395012/; Harding, C., & Roman, C. (2017). Identifying discrete subgroups of chronically homeless frequent utilizers of jail and public mental health services. *Criminal Justice and Behavior,* 44, 511-530.
21. Kruger & Serpell (2010), n16
22. Cole, K., Gawlinski, A., Steers, N., & Kotlerman, J. (2007). Animal-assisted therapy in patients hospitalized with heart failure. *American Journal of Critical Care*, 16, 575-585. Wu, A., Niedra, R., Pendergast, L., McCrindle, B., (2002). Acceptability and impact of pet visitation on a pediatric cardiology inpatient unit. *Journal of Pediatric Nursing*, 17, 354-362.
23. Sobo, E., Eng, B., & Kassity-Krich, N. (2006). Canine visitation (pet) therapy: Pilot data on decreases in child pain perception. *Journal of Holistic Nursing,* 24, 51-57.
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26. Jalongo, M.R., Astorino, T., and Bomboy, N. (2004). Canine visitors: The influence of therapy dogs on young children's learning and well-being in classrooms and hospitals. *Early Childhood Education Journal,* 32, 9-16.
27. Barker, S., Barker, R., McCain, N., and Schubert, C. (2016). A Randomized cross-over exploratory study of the effect of visiting therapy dogs on college student stress before final exams. *Anthrozoos,* 29, 35-46 Binfet, J. (2017). The effects of group-administered canine therapy on university students' wellbeing: A Randomized controlled trial. *Anthrozoos,* 30, 397-414.
28. Folse et al., n16

the intensity of stress and anxiety can foster institutional adjustment. The programs require few resources and can offer relief to a large number of people in a relatively brief amount of time.

After reviewing the risk factors faced by women detained in jail, we examine the prevalence of mental health issues and the struggles this population faces while jailed. We also consider the challenges this population creates for jail administrators and staff responsible for their custody, care, and control. We review the logic of human-animal interactions and discuss the empirical research findings about the impact of AVPs as a therapeutic intervention. It is important to note that we are not suggesting AVPs replace traditional talk-therapy or psychopharmacological treatments, but given the state of American jails and the worldwide increase of incarcerated women, introducing a treatment approach that is 'innovative and creative' can provide relief for jailed women with a mental health diagnosis.[29]

... risk factors faced by women detained in jail, we examine the prevalence of mental health issues and the struggles this population faces while jailed.

Women in Jail

Although designed to house those who violate the law, jails (and prisons) are now serving the dual role of also being the largest provider of mental health treatment in the country.[30] 'Los Angeles County Jail, Chicago's Cook County Jail, or New York's Riker's Island Jail each hold more mentally ill inmates than any remaining psychiatric hospital in the United States.'[31] As a result, mental health treatment is the largest contributor to soaring health care costs in correctional budgets.[32] Despite the increasingly large numbers of mentally ill persons in the criminal justice system, Kim et al. argue 'there are few rigorous evaluations of criminal justice programs and policies targeted at mentally ill offenders.'[33] They suggest that this limitation in our understanding calls for research to best identify cost effective evidence-based practices to respond to this burgeoning, and predominantly female, offender population.

As we consider the call to more effectively respond to the incarcerated mentally ill, it is necessary to understand that the pathway to mental illness and criminality are often gender-specific. While there is no one single trajectory to criminal behavior, the inextricable link between victimization, mental health, substance use, and criminal behavior for women is well established.[34] The mental health needs of the female offender population have been shown to be more prevalent and more severe than those of male offenders.[35] Specifically, incarcerated women report higher rates of violent victimization, major depression, and posttraumatic stress disorder; in addition to higher rates of substance use disorders, women also are more likely to have personality disorders, specifically borderline personality disorder.[36]

More than men, women report using substances as a way to mask physical and emotional pain (males are more likely to report substance use for pleasure).[37] Women are also more likely than males to have co-occurring psychiatric disorders and substance use disorders (COD) and experience greater psychological and physiological disabilities associated with their disorders.[38] Many

29. Stewart, L., Dispenza, F., Parker, L., Chang, C., & Cunnien, T. (2014). A pilot study assessing the effectiveness of an animal-assisted outreach program. *Journal of Creativity in Mental Health,* 9, 332-345.
30. American Psychiatric Association. (2004). *Mental illness and the criminal justice system: Redirecting resources toward treatment, not containment.* Arlington, VA: Author.
31. Treatment Advocacy Center (2016). *Serious Mental Illness (SMI) Prevalence in Jails and Prisons.* Retrieved from http://www.treatmentadvocacycenter.org/storage/documents/backgrounders/smi-in-jails-and-prisons.pdf, p1.
32. As cited in Kim et al. (2015), n.9.
33. Ibid, pV.
34. See Bloom, B., Owen, B., Covington, S., & Raeder, M. (2003). *Gender-responsive strategies: Research practice and guiding principles for women offenders.* Washington, DC: National Institute of Corrections. Pelissier, B. & Jones, N. (2005). A review of gender differences among substance abusers. *Crime & Delinquency,* 51(3), 343-372. Verona, E., Murphy, B., & Javdani, S. (2016). Gendered pathways: Violent childhood maltreatment, sex exchange, and drug use. *Psychology of Violence,* 6(1), 124-134.
35. Burnette, M.L. & Newman, D.L. (2005). Thae natural history of conduct disorder symptoms in female inamtes: On the predictive utility of the syndrome in severely anti-social women. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 75, 421-430. Doi: 10.1037/002-9432.75.3.421. Jasperson, R.A. (2013). An animal-assisted therapy intervention with female inmates. Anthrozoos, 26 (1), 135-145. Ross, P.H. & Lawrence, J.E. (2009). Women in jail: Mental health care needs and service deficiencies. In R.Gido, & L. Dalley (Eds.), *Women's mental health issues across the criminal justice system,* (pp. 117-128). Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall.
36. Jasperson (2010), n35
37. Langin, N. & Pelissier, B.M.M. (2001). Gender differences among prisoners in treatment. *Journal of Substance Abuse,* 13(3), 291-301.
38. Urban, N.B.L, Kegeles, L.S., Slifstein, M., Xu, X., Martinez D., Sakr, E, Castillo, F., Moadel, T., O'Malley, S., Krystal, J.H., & Abi-Dargham, A. (2010). Sex differenced in striatal dopamine release in young adults after oral alcohol challenge: A positron emission tomography imaging study with [11C] Raclopride. *Biological Psychiatry,* 68(8), 689-696.
World Health Organization (n.d.). *Gender disparities in mental health.* Geneva, Switzerland: Department of Mental Health and Substance Dependence: Geneva, Switzerland. Retrieved from: http://www.who.int/mental_health/media/en/242.pdf?ua=1

women in jail are struggling with serious mental illness (SMI), substance use disorders (SUDs), and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) at the same time. For example, Lynch et al. found 29 per cent SMI and co-occurring SUD and 26 per cent SMI and SUD and PTSD.[39]

As women's needs go untreated in the community, they end up incarcerated; between 2000 and 2010 the rate of women behind bars rose by 17.2 per cent while the rate of men increased by 8.1 per cent.[40] Adjustment to the jail environment for women with SMI, PTSD and victimization histories can be a daunting experience.[41] For many women, jail may be their first experience with incarceration or a return to the system not yet knowing their fate — heightening their levels of fear and anxiety.[42] Women must cope with procedural protocols including strip searches, loss of privacy and feelings of shame and humiliation.[43] Women with PTSD may engage in avoidance techniques that removes themselves from objects or situations that can serve to re-trigger their traumatic experience.[44] However, in correctional settings, failure to comply with policies and protocols is a violation of the inmate code of conduct that can result in punitive sanctions. Cadreche cautions correctional institutions of the importance in recognizing gender-sensitive risk factors of female offenders to avoid 'becoming part of the problem.'[45]

Adjustment to the jail environment for women with SMI, PTSD and victimization histories can be a daunting experience.

Traylor and Richie assert 'the linkage between women's victimization and their pathways to incarceration can best be described as a culmination of a host of traumatic life events.'[46] In fact, we know 'serious and repeated traumas, polyvictimization, is common' among jailed females.[47] Using a matched comparison sample of 100 incarcerated and 100 non-incarcerated females, Grella, Lovinger, and Warda found incarcerated women to be at significantly higher risk of trauma exposure and multi-victimization with an apparent lack of appropriate coping mechanisms.[48] Although estimates vary, McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap's found 70 per cent of the incarcerated women in their study experienced at least one sexual victimization over their lifetime and half were victimized as a child — often at the hands of relative or someone in a position of trust.[49] Their abuse is often associated with depression, anxiety, psychosis and high rates of PTSD.[50]

In a study of 100 jailed females from Price George County in Maryland, researchers measured the prevalence of trauma exposure, mental illness, and substance use disorder (SUD).[51] They found 'overwhelming exposure to violence among these women' who suffered from multiple and chronic problems.[52] Among this population, 98 per cent had lifetime trauma exposure, 74 per cent reported a substance use disorder, one-quarter had a psychiatric diagnosis of major depressive disorder, 22 per cent had symptoms of current Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and 13 per cent exhibited symptoms of bipolar disorders. The one consequence of this epidemic of women suffering

39. Lynch, S. M., DeHart, D.D., Belknao, J.E., Green, B.L., Dass-Brailsford, P., Johnson, K.A., Whalley, E. (2014). A multisite study of the prevalence of serious mental illness, PTSD, and substance use disorders of women in jail. *Psychiatric Services,* 65(5), 670-674.
40. Glaze, L.E. & Kaeble, D. (December 2014). *Correctional Populations in the United States,* 2013. (Publication No. NCJ 248479). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
41. Slate et al. (2013), n7.
42. Cornelius (2012), n8.
43. Human Rights Watch. (2003). *Keep mentally ill out of solitary confinement.* Retrieved from http://www.hrw.org Slate et al. (2013), n7.
44. National Institute of Mental Health (n.d.). *Post-traumatic stress disorder.* Bethesda, MD. Retrieved from: https://www.nimh.nih.gov/health/topics/post-traumatic-stress-disorder-ptsd/index.shtml
45. Cadreche, M. (January/February 2014). The impact of gender specific programming on female offenders. *Corrections Today*, p.8.
46. Traylor, A.L. & Richie, B.E. (2012). Female offenders and women in prison. In J. Peterselia & K.R. Reitz (Eds) The Oxford Handbook of Sentencing and Corrections (pp. 561-583). Oxford University Press, p. 572.
47. Scott, C., Lurigio, A., Dennis, M., and Funk, R. (2016). Trauma and morbidities among female detainees in a large urban jail. *The Prison Journal,* 96, 102-125, p. 103.
48. Grella, C., Lovinger, K., & Warda, U.S. (2013). Relationships among trauma exposure, familial characteristics, and PTSD: A case-control study of women in prison and in the general population. *Women & Criminal Justice,* 23, 63-79.
49. McDaniels-Wilson, X.& Belknap, J. (2008). The extensive sexual violation and sexual abuse histories of incarcerated women. *Violence Against Women,* 14(10), 1090-1127.
50. Grella et al. (2013), n.48. Kennedy, S. C., Tripodi, S. J., & Pettus-Davis, C. (2013). The relationship between childhood abuse and psychosis for women prisoners: Assessing the importance of frequency and type of victimization. *Psychiatric Quarterly,* 84(4), 439-453. Mersky, J.P., Janczewski, C.E., & Nitkowski, J.C. (2018). Poor mental health among low-income women in the U.S.: The roles of adverse childhood and adult experiences. *Social Science & Medicine,* 206, 14-21.
51. Green et al. (2005), n.18.
52. Ibid, p. 146

from psychological disorders rooted in trauma is that 'many women in prison or jail for committing crimes are crime victims themselves;'[53] their victimization contributes either indirectly, through substance use or mental health disorders, to their criminal behavior or as a direct response to their victimization.[54]

The extensive harm that results from trauma and polyvictimization makes standard therapeutic approaches less effective.[55] Fear, shame, humiliation and guilt are common after effects of victimization with many survivors believing they deserved the abuse.[56] Although abused women often report feelings of loneliness, fear and distrust of others make it hard to form new or intimate relationships. Communicating thoughts and feelings can be difficult with heightened sensitivity to the criticisms of others.[57] In their treatment improvement protocol series, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration calls for treatment specialist to recognize that for clients with abuse histories as part of their substance use or mental health disorders, addressing past abuse is an important step in the treatment process;[58] however, clients may find it difficult to disclose their abuse or share their feelings with others — preferring instead to confide through other means (e.g. writing it down on paper).[59] Many people experience a sense of emotional safety when a dog is present in an otherwise stressful situation.[60] In jail, the combination of a population with emotionally complex needs and an environment where therapeutic care is limited as a result of time and personnel constraints, the ability of a dog to relieve emotional distress can be particularly useful. Abused women who might otherwise find communicating with others difficult, could find confiding in a dog easier without fear of criticism or judgment.

The extensive harm that results from trauma and polyvictimization makes standard therapeutic approaches less effective.

Treatment

Incarcerated women exist in an institution originally designed for men.[61] As such, women with SMIs and CODs present substantial challenges for institutions for their behavioral adjustment and treatment needs.[62] The extensive treatment needs and risk factors of this population are incontrovertible, yet their needs are often unaddressed or under-addressed in the correctional setting — women continue to receive the fewest services,[63] particularly in jails where programming is not standardized due to typically shorter stays and the transient nature of the population.[64] Surveyed estimates of mental health treatment in correctional settings showed only 17 per cent of jailed mentally ill receive treatment following admission (as compared with 34 per cent of state prisoners and 24 per cent federal prisoners).[65] Little

53. Ibid
54. Battle, C.L.,Zlotnick,C., Najavits, L.M., Guttierrez, M,.& Winsor, C. (2003). *Posttraumatic stress disorder and substance use disorder among incarcerated women.* In P.C.Ouimette & P.J.Brown (Eds.),Trauma and substance abuse: Causes, consequences ,and treatment of comorbid disorders (pp.209-225). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
Green et al. (2005), n.18. McConnell, T. (2017). The war on women: The collateral consequences of female incarceration. *Lewis & Clark Law Review,* 21:2, 493-524. Scott et al. (2016), n.47
55. Lynch et al. (2014), n.39.
56. American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (2011). *Adult manifestations of childhood sexual abuse.* Committee opinion No. 498.
57. See ibid. Fry, P. S., & Barker, L. A. (2002). *Quality of relationships and structural properties of social support networks of female survivors of abuse.* Genetic, Social & General psychology Monographs, 128(2), 139–165. Poole, J. C., Dobson, K. S., & Pusch, D. (2018). Do adverse childhood experiences predict adult interpersonal difficulties? The role of emotion dysregulation. *Child Abuse & Neglect,* 80, 123-133. doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2018.03.006 Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2000). *Treatment Improvement Protocol (TIP) Series, No. 36.* Rockville, MD: Center for Mental Health Services, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
58. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2000), n.57.
59. Also see Ducharme, J., Koverola, C., & Battle, P. (1997). Intimacy development. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence,* 12(4), 590-599.
60. Jasperson, R.A. (2010) Animal-Assisted therapy with female inmates with mental health: A Case example from a pilot program, *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation,* 49 (6), 417-433, DOI: 10.1080/10509674.2010.499056.
61. Jasperson (2013), n.35.
62. Chandler, R. K., Peters, R. H., Field, G., & Juliano-Bult, D. (2004). Challenges in implementing evidence-based treatment practices for co-occurring disorders in the criminal justice system. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law,* 22, 431–448. Morgan, R. G., Flora, D. G., Kroner, D. G., Mills, J. F., & Varghese, F. (2012). Treating offenders with mental illness: A research synthesis. *Law and Human Behavior,* 36, 37–50.
63. Harner, H.M. & Riley, S. (2013). The impact of incarceration on women's mental health: Responses from women in a maximum-security prison. *Qualitative Health Research,* 23(1), 26-42. James & Glaze (2006), n.10 Teplin, L.A., Abram, K.M., & McClelland, G.M. (1997). Mentally Disordered Women in Jail: Who receives services? *American Journal of Public Health,* 87(4), 604-609. Zaitzow, B. H. (2010). Psychotropic control of women prisoners: The perpetuation of abuse of imprisoned women. *Justice Policy Journal,* 7(2).
64. Cornelius (2012), n.22.
65. James & Glaze (2006), n.10.

research on treatment administration of jailed women exists — Teplin et al.'s seminal study of mental health service delivery for jailed women found less than one quarter (23.5 per cent) of SMI female detainees in need of treatment received services while in jail.[66] Moreover, the likelihood of receiving treatment was dependent on receiving a diagnosis; however clinical assessments are limited due to the short term stay of jails and limited resources.

Studies further suggest that institutions disproportionately use psychotropic drugs as a therapeutic approach for symptomatic relief and behavioral control of female inmates.[67] Culliver estimated incarcerated women in the U.S. were 10 times more likely to be prescribed psychotropic drugs than their male counterparts.[68] Similar findings were noted by Hassan et al. study in England.[69] Using the clinical records of male and female prisoners, they found female prisoners were prescribed psychotropic drugs at rates 6 times that of general population estimates -compared with 4 times the rate found for males. Drug therapy is often the only form of treatment available in jail settings.[70] Whether for the purpose of behavioral control or symptomatic relief, the reliance on psychotropic drugs to the exclusion of other forms of therapy fails to address the underlying treatment needs of women.

Drug therapy is often the only form of treatment available in jail settings.

'Today, every state has an interest in delivering care that comports with constitutional requirements and leverages opportunities to improve public health and reduce crime and recidivism;'[71] however, meeting the treatment needs of inmate populations that have grown exponentially over the past 5 decades has 'come at a steep cost — states spent $8.1 billion on prison health care in fiscal year 2015 — about one-fifth of overall prison expenditures.'[72] The increasing demand for healthcare resources are driven largely by the rising number of mentally ill and substance using offenders.[73] With fiscal constraints even more limited at the local level, jails are responding to increasing treatment costs by restricting drug formularies and increasing the use of tele-psychiatry in which psychiatric care is delivered electronically at a distance.[74] Given the inability of jails to meet the substantial mental health needs of jail detainees, particularly females, AVPs can be an adjunctive therapeutic intervention that requires few resources and is empirically supported. Against this backdrop, the AVPs we discuss here can interrupt this cycle of poor institutional adjustment, stigma, and inadequate mental health treatment.

Animal Visitation Programs

In the most common model of AVPs, participants engage in brief unstructured interactions with dogs with the goal of reducing stress, anxiety, and negative affect.[75] A small body of methodologically sound research regarding the effectiveness of AVPs is largely based on studies conducted in nursing homes, colleges, and hospitals. Animal visitation programs have several strengths compared to traditional talk therapy. The interactions are efficient in that they tend to be brief — for example, 7 to 10 minutes with college students[76] and 11 to 20 minutes with hospitalized children.[77] Typically staffed by volunteer certified dog therapy teams, the programs are low-cost interventions that can be administered to large numbers of people in a relatively brief amount of time. The approach also avoids the stigma common with psychotherapy. In addition, the intervention is fairly easy to administer.[78] The programs do not burden the person in need of stress relief with having to navigate a possibly complex and time-consuming healthcare system.[79] And finally,

66. Teplin et al. (1997), n.63.
67. See Zaitzow (2010), n.63. Auerhahn, K. & Leonard, E.D. (2000). Docile bodies? Chemical restraints and the female inmate. *Criminology, 90(2),* 599-634.
68. Culliver, C. (1993). Female criminality The state of the art. New York, NY: Garland.
69. Hassan, L., Senior, J., Webb, R.T., Frisher, M., Tully, M.P., While, D., & Shaw, J.J. (2016). Prevalence and appropriateness of psychotropic medication prescribing in a nationally representative cross-sectional survey of male and female prisoners in England. *BMC Psychiatry, 16:346,* p. 1-10.
70. Slate et al. (2013), n.7.
71. Pew Charitable Trust (2017). *Prison healthcare: Costs and quality.* Washington, DC. p.2
72. Ibid
73. Ibid
74. Slate et al. (2013), n.7.
75. Crossman, M., Kazdin, A., and Knudson., K. (2015). Brief unstructured interaction with a dog reduces distress. *Anthrozoos*, 28, 649-659.
76. Ibid
77. Sobo et al. (2006), n.23.
78. Crossman et al. (2015), n.75. Hoffman et al. (2009), n.25.
79. Crossman, M., & Kazdin, A. (2015). Animal visitation programs in colleges and universities: An Efficient model for reducing student stress. In Aubrey H. Fine (Ed.) *Handbook on Animal-Assisted Therapy* (4th ed.) (pp. 333-337). Elsevier.

Hoffman et al. point out that 'alternative treatments provide at least a placebo benefit and produce fewer side effects.'[80]

Both qualitative and quantitative research studies provide support for the effectiveness of AVPs. For example, researchers have found that petting a live animal, whether a rabbit or a turtle, significantly reduces self-report state-anxiety.[81] State-anxiety is a 'transitory emotional response involving unpleasant feelings of tension and apprehensive thoughts.'[82] In a laboratory setting, the researchers induced anxiety in participants by putting them in a room with a caged Tarantula spider and telling them they may have to hold it. Instead, they were randomly assigned to one of four groups: pet a rabbit, pet a turtle, get a toy rabbit, get a toy turtle, or a control group. Attitudes toward animals, tested prior to the experiment, had no relationship to the anxiety reducing effect; reduced anxiety was not restricted to animal lovers in this sample.[83]

In a more recent study using self-reported data, Crossman et al. examined 67 students and residents at a medical school.[84] The researchers used random assignment to place students in one of three conditions: an experimental group that engaged in one-on-one interaction with a trained therapy dog for 7-10 minutes, a control group that viewed pictures of the same dog, and a control group that did not look at a picture or interact with the dog. Participants who interacted with the dogs showed relatively large improvements in anxiety and positive affect compared to participants in the other two conditions. The researchers found a 'single brief interaction with a dog reduced anxiety and negative affect, and increased positive affect.'[85] The authors note the reduction in the subjective experience of distress was not limited to those with experience with dogs or greater belief in the effectiveness of the therapy dog. Binfet found similar results in a randomized control trial in which groups of three to four college students interacted with a therapy dog for 20 minutes. The treatment group showed a significant decrease in self-reported stress compared to a group that continued to study uninterrupted by the therapy session.[86]

Researchers have conducted studies using participants who are more similar to incarcerated females in that they are often struggling with fear, adjustment and trauma. For example, in a pre- and post-test controlled crossover study in which participants serve as their own controls, researchers examined state-anxiety using a validated self-report scale.[87] Their sample was comprised of 12 acutely depressed patients hospitalized for suicidality. A 30-minute visit with a dog had significant anxiolytic effects for the treatment group; the control group members who met with a researcher to talk about the patient's experience with pets did not demonstrate reduced anxiety. In a study of a dog visitation program in a pediatric pain management program at a children's hospital, researchers found the dog could 'foster rapport and communication.'[88] In interviews with 25 children and parents about their experience with the dog, several themes emerged, including: distraction, pleasure/happiness, fun/entertaining, a reminder of home, snuggling/contact, company, calming, eases pain. After visits of 11-20 minutes in duration, the children reported reduced intensity of emotional distress and physical pain.

They found a fall in heart rate and respiratory rates among children who interacted with a dog for 10 to 20 minutes.

In studies that use biological indicators to measure changes in the body that are associated with stress relief and decreased anxiety, participants can serve as their own control (i.e., measurements for each person were taken before and after the treatment, looking for evidence of change). For example, Wu et al. used biological indicators to determine the effectiveness of an AVP on a pediatric cardiology ward.[89] They found a fall in heart rate and respiratory rates among children who interacted with a dog for 10 to 20 minutes. The children reported 'feelings of fear, anxiety, helplessness, and powerlessness…which boredom and lack of stimulation increase as the period of hospitalization lengthens.'[90] The researchers suggest the distraction and relief from stress offered by the dog are the mechanisms responsible for the change. Another within

80. Hoffman et al (2015), n.25, p147
81. Shiloh, S., Sorek, G., & Terkel, J. (2003). Reduction of state-anxiety by petting animals in a controlled laboratory experiment. *Anxiety, Stress, and Coping*, 16, 387-395.
82. Ibid, p387
83. Shiloh et al. (2003), n.81.
84. Crossman et al., (2015), n.75
85. Crossman et al., (2015), n75, p656.
86. Binfet (2017), n.27.
87. Hoffman et al. (2009), n.25.
88. Sobo et al., (2006), n.23, p52.
89. Wu et al. (2002), n.22.
90. Ibid, p354.

subjects study, this one with a control group, was conducted by Barker, Knisely, McCain, and Best who used biological measures to examine the stress of 20 healthcare professionals.[91] The sample was assigned to one of three groups: 20 minutes of quiet rest, a five-minute visit with a therapy dog, or a 20-minute visit with a therapy dog. They found significant decreases in the blood and salivary cortisol levels in both groups that visited the dog. The stress reducing effect of the visit with the dog was present in the five-minute group, suggesting that even very brief interactions with a dog can be therapeutic. A decade later Barker et al., in what they call an exploratory study, found a15-minute interaction with a therapy dog reduced self-reported stress but not biological indicators, from saliva, in a sample of college students.[92]

In another within subjects three-group design, this one with random assignment, Cole et al. used biological indicators to examine the effect of a 12-minute visit with a therapy dog on 76 patients hospitalized for advanced heart failure in a cardiac care unit.[93] Results of blood tests found reduced stress hormones (epinephrine and norepinephrine) in the sample that had a visit, compared to the group that received a visit from a human volunteer and the group that received treatment as usual. Self-report test results indicated the visits also reduced anxiety. In a unique comparative study using biological measures Odendaal and Meintjes found that when people interacted with a dog the blood pressure of both the person and the dog decreased.[94] Both also showed an increase in dopamine — the so-called 'pleasure hormone' associated with gratifying sensations and reward (among many other physiological processes). In addition, oxytocin levels (associated with bonding) increased in both species. The changes occurred after visits limited to 30 minutes.

The stress reducing effect of the visit with the dog was present in the five-minute group, suggesting that even very brief interactions with a dog can be therapeutic.

Animals in Carceral Facilities

The therapeutic nature of interacting with a dog has become widely recognized in corrections across the globe.[95,96] In the most common prison-based animal programs, dog training programs, incarcerated people are taught to train dogs for adoption to the community.[97] Non-profit animal rescue organizations that partner with a correctional facility provide the dogs, the supplies, and the dog trainer who teaches the program participants. The incarcerated people who are taught to be dog handlers must have a significant amount of time left on their sentence to ensure they complete the training module, usually a minimum of a few months, with their assigned dog.

A relatively small number of studies have focused on incarcerated women in a variety of programs in which they interact with, but do not train, dogs. Jasperson notes that in populations with high rates of lifetime trauma, such as incarcerated females, there is a high prevalence of insecure attachment style; formed during childhood, this disrupted attachment negatively impacts psychological functioning in adulthood and is associated with personality disorders and mental illness.[98] She points out

91. Barker, S., Knisely, McCain, N., Best, A. (2005). Measuring stress and immune response in healthcare professionals following interaction with a therapy dog: A Pilot Study. *Psychological Reports*, 96, 713-729.
92. Barker et al. (2016), n.27.
93. Cole et al. (2007), n.22.
94. Odendaal, J., & Meintjes, R. (2003). Neurophysiological correlates of affiliative behavior between humans and dogs. The Veterinary Journal, 165, 296-301.
95. For a review of the literature on U.S. programs see Bachi, K. (2013). Equine-facilitated prison-based programs within the context of prison-based animal programs: State of the science review. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation,* 52, 46-74. Cooke, B. J., & Farrington, D. P. (2016). The Effectiveness of Dog-Training Programs in Prison: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis of the Literature. *The Prison Journal,* 196(6), 854-876. Fournier, A.K. (2016). Pen Pals: An Examination of human-animal interaction as an outlet for healthy masculinity in prison. In C. Blazina and L.R. Kogan (eds.), Men and Their Dogs, pp. 175-194. Switzerland: Springer International. Mulcahy, C., & McLaughlin, D. (2013). Is the tail wagging the dog? A Review of the evidence for prison animal programs. *Australian Psychologist,* 48, 369-378.Van Wormer, J., Kigerl, A., & Hailton, Z. (2017). Digging Deeper: Exploring the Value of Prison-Based Dog Handler Programs. *The Prison Journal,* 97, 520-538.
96. International programs are discussed in Humby, L., & Barclay, E. (2018). Pawsitive solutions: An Overview of prison dog programs in Australia. *The Prison Journal,* 98 (5), 580-603. Leonardi, R.J., Buchanan-Smith, H., M., McIvor, G., & Vick, S. (2017). "You think you're helping them, but 'they're helping you too": Experiences of Scottish male young offenders participating in a dog training program. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health,* 14, 945-972. Mercer, J., Gibson, K., & Clayton, D. (2015). The therapeutic potential of a prison-based animal programme in the UK. *Journal of Forensic Practice,* 17(1), 43-54.
97. Furst, G. (2006). Prison-based animal programs: A National Survey. *The Prison Journal,* 86, 407-430.
98. Jasperson (2010), n.60.

research consistently finds people report experiencing 'emotional security derived from their relationship with an animal.'[99] In a small (N=5) pilot study of females on an inpatient mental health unit, a dog was present during a program designed to improve the social and coping skills, and self-awareness of the participants. Interacting with the dog provided a 'corrective relational experience' that allowed the participants to 'use the dog as a secure base, helping manage distress.'[100] Participants used the relationship 'to challenge their maladaptive coping strategies.'[101] Similar to most jail programs, this prison program was relatively brief, one hour once per week, and the goal was not to change participants' attachment style, but to manage stress and encourage their receptivity to the group. Findings showed women who participated in the program had improved communication skills, increased prosocial behaviors and a decrease in social isolation. Findings further suggested higher levels of therapeutic engagement with the women displaying increased levels of motivation to attend group therapy and greater punctuality for group sessions. Moreover, the participants reported feeling a connection with the dog and 'looked forward to seeing the dog during the Animal-Assisted-Activities group and that the anticipation made them feel excited and happy.'[102] The program effectively modified participants' institutional behavior.

Follow-up research on a psycho-social program allowed for random assignment of 74 women into one of several treatment groups with a dog or control groups without a dog present during the lessons.[103] In these larger groups, with 9 to 11 women, the treatment significantly improved symptom distress and coping in both groups, but there was no significant difference between groups. Jasperson hypothesizes that smaller groups, with greater opportunity for more individual interaction with the dog may amplify the effect of the human-animal interaction.[104] Animal Visitation Programs provide this one-on-one interaction.

In research on a unit for females in a Danish prison, the presence of a dog during the business hours of the workshop was found to normalize the prison setting, improved social interactions between the women and the prison staff, and provided comfort to the women when they were experiencing emotional distress.[105] Of the 12 incarcerated women interviewed, several reported seeking out the dog when they were sad or needed comfort. Petting and hugging the dog lessened feelings of pain and loneliness. Women who were not able to share their feelings with other incarcerated women or staff talked to the dog, who responded to their vulnerability with attention and affection. The dog also showed excitement upon arriving in the unit and seeing the women. The emotional bond the women developed during interactions with the dog positively impacted their overall wellbeing.

AVPs as a Gender-Specific Treatment

Animal Visitation Programs are a therapeutic intervention that can work in tandem with standard treatment options and aid in institutional adjustment. The programs could be particularly beneficial in jails and other short-term correctional facilities where shorter stays make effective talk therapy difficult. Research consistently points to the importance of the therapeutic alliance in successful treatment with victims of trauma[106] Not only do brief jail stays not provide sufficient time for that bond to form, but the harsh, unforgiving jail environment is simply not therapeutic. An AVP provides an opportunity to connect to another living creature and experience the security that can result from unconditional positive regard. As described above, a growing body of empirical research has found self-reported and biological changes that occur when we make that connection.

Animals provide the opportunity for interaction with no judgement or expectation. The lack of language may characterize human-animal relations as uniquely situated to impact incarcerated people, especially jailed women, who often have long histories of people's words being used to punish and reject them.[107] Without language to offend or cause harm, interactions between people and animals can feel less judgmental and therefore more therapeutic for members of this population. Both adult women and young men in prison dog training programs reported receiving emotional support from the dogs they

99. Ibid, p421.
100. Jasperson (2010), n.60, p426.
101. Ibid
102. Ibid
103. Jasperson (2013), n.35.
104. Ibid
105. Minke, L.K. (2017) Normalization, Social Bonding, and Emotional Support— A dog's effect within a prison workshop for women, *Anthrozoös*, 30(3), 387-395, DOI: 10.1080/08927936.2017.1311065
106. e.g., Cloitre, M., Chase Stovall-McClough, K., Miranda, R., & Chemtob, C. M. (2004). Therapeutic alliance, negative mood regulation, and treatment outcome in child abuse-related posttraumatic stress disorder. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology,* 72(3), 411-416. Keller, S. M., Zoellner, L. A., & Feeny, N. C. (2010). Understanding factors associated with early therapeutic alliance in PTSD treatment: Adherence, childhood sexual abuse history, and social support. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology,* 78(6), 974-979.
107. Furst, G. (2007). Without words to get in the way: Symbolic interaction in prison-based animal programs. Qualitative Sociology Review, 3, 96-109.

were training.[108] Because dogs are viewed as intelligent and having free-will,[109] when they respond positively to humans their behavior is generally interpreted as genuine. For incarcerated people who are used to adversarial and negative responses from many of those around them, a display of friendliness, even from a dog — or perhaps especially from a dog — can communicate empathy and encouragement. The programs also provide incarcerated people with an opportunity to engage in pro-social behavior by appropriately interacting with the visiting dog. They are able to practice, not just talk about, the prosocial, non-criminal transformed behavior incarceration is supposed to instill. Over twenty years ago, in their now classic work, Beck and Katcher pointed out that it is 'when people face real adversity, affection from a pet takes on new meaning.'[110]

Throughout this paper, we have argued that corrections-based mental health treatment must not be approached from a 'one size fits all' perspective. We have suggested the need to view treatment through a gender-responsive lens with the understanding that the social, psychological and structural determinants of mental health and comorbid disorders are uniquely different for women and are often reflections of their life experiences.[111] As Bloom et al. assert — 'an understanding of gender-based life experiences and the consequences of these experiences must inform and shape appropriate policy, operational, and programmatic responses to women offenders.'[112] We suggest that the innovative therapeutic approach of AVPs are uniquely suited to respond to the calls for more gender-specific responsive programming, as well as policies targeted at mentally ill offenders. Moreover, Animal Visitation Programs can be administered by volunteers, with no need for a mental health professional,[113] offering institutions a viable therapeutic option that might otherwise not be available.

Conclusion

While AVPs can obviously be effective for a person of any gender, we chose to focus here on women in jail because of the dire conditions they face. With few resources, limited research, and growing numbers, jailed women with a mental health diagnosis are largely invisible. In addition, this population has low rates of treatment success. Some researchers suggest that part of the reason for poor outcomes is because

traumatic experiences can change brain chemistry and structure, both of

which affect women's ability to respond to behavioral health care

interventions and to control their behaviors, leading to poor adjustment

in jail and high incidents of misconduct.[114]

Irrespective of the cause, this population appears well-suited for the relief AVPs can provide.

However, there are limits to both what we know about AVPs and the extent to which they can be used. As others have pointed out,[115] the dose-response relationship of animal interaction needs further study. The goal is to be able to know how much therapy, the length of time spent with the animal, is needed to produce an effect, the reduction in distress. In addition, how long the effect last remains unknown. Future research still needs to further examine a variety of populations and the types and intensity of distress that can be impacted by AVPs.

We agree with Crossman et al. who say they are not suggesting AVPs replace psychotherapy and other evidence-based traditional forms of treatment. The programs 'may have a unique role in reducing the burden of distress in America, which is distinct from that of psychotherapy. AVPs may provide individuals with appealing and low-burden opportunities to reduce psychological distress as part of their daily routines.'[116] The programs can be thought of as 'adding adjunctive and complementary therapies to pharmacological management' of mental illness.117 Building on the success of prison dog training programs and the therapeutic nature of interacting with animals, the role of canines in corrections can expand to include AVPs. As we have described above, even brief interactions with a dog can have significant calming and soothing effects. Given the effectiveness of this type of efficient intervention, limited jail budgets, and the resource-intensive needs of jailed females with a mental health diagnosis, AVPs can be a valuable tool.

108. Ibid
109. Sanders, C. R. (1993). Understanding dogs: Caretakers' attributions of mindedness in canine-human relationships. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* 22(2), 205-226.
110. Beck, A., & Katcher, A. (1996). between pets and people. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press. p38
111. WHO, n.d., n.38.
112. Bloom et al. (2003), n.34, p.8.
113. Crossman et al. (2015), n.75.
114. Scott et al. (2015), n.47, p104.
115. Binfet (2017), n.27. Crossman et al. (2015), n.75.
116. Crossman et al. (2015), n.75, p657.
117. Cole et al. (2007), n.22, p576.

‘They haven’t done the course in becoming a prisoner yet’:

exploring the induction experiences of neo-phyte older prisoners

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The increasing older prisoner population in absolute and proportional terms[1] has led to repeated calls from academics, policy makers and lobbyists for a national strategy, for more than a decade.[2] The House of Commons Health and Social Care Committee in 2018 lamented that there had been little progress since the Justice Committee report on older prisoners in 2013.[3] Furthermore, they highlighted criticism that HMPPS ‘model of operation’ for older prisoners falls short of strategic intent. Despite projections showing that by 2023, over 50s will constitute 16 per cent of the prison population[4], 43 per cent of prisons do not have an older prisoners’ policy.[5] This has potential repercussions for all aspects of prison life, and every type of prison: reception and induction; allocation; meeting physical, social and psychological needs, and ensuring the delivery of an appropriate regime. In particular, Senior et al[6] identify that the delivery of health and social care for these prisoners is ‘repeatedly sub-optimal.’ The issue has implications for the whole prison service, as the majority of prisoners will commence their sentence in a category B prison (HMIP, 2015) and will progress through the system depending on their sentence duration and sentence plan needs. Thus, even local prisons, which may only hold prisoners for a short period of time, will increasingly have to respond to the needs of older prisoners. This is important because older prisoners have a range of unmet health and social care needs upon reception. The most frequent unmet needs relate to information about condition and treatment, psychological distress, daytime activities, benefits, and food. Furthermore, older prisoners incur higher costs of between three and eight times that of younger prisoners.[7] As prisons increasingly fulfil social care and care home functions, this also has implications for the recruitment, training and retention of prison staff.[8]

Induction is an important process for all prisoners, regardless of age; however, as this article shows, a comprehensive induction is vital to reduce some of the issues facing older prisoners, particularly those entering prison for the first time. This article therefore contributes to filling an empirical gap relating to the lived experiences

1. Ministry of Justice. (2017). Offender management statistics: Prison population 2017, London: Ministry of Justice.
2. Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Prisons. (2004). *‘No problems – old & quiet’: Older Prisoners in England and Wales.* London: HMIP. Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Prisons (2008). *Older Prisoners in England and Wales:* A follow up to the 2004 thematic review. London: HMIP. Hayes, A. J., Burns, A., Turnbull, P., & Shaw, J. J. (2012). The Health and Social Needs of Older Male Prisoners. *International Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry* 27, 1155-1162. Doi: 10.1002/gps.3761. House of Commons Justice Committee. (2013). *Older Prisoners Fifth Report of Session 2013–14.*(HC89 2013-14). retrieved from https://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons-committees/justice/older-prisoners.pdf House of Commons Justice Committee. (2014). Older Prisoners: follow-up. (HC 659) retrieved from http://data.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/committeeevidence.svc/evidencedocument/justice-committee/older-prisoners-followup/oral/15020.html
3. House of Commons Health and Social Care Committee. (2018). *Prison Health Twelfth Report of Session 2017-19 (HC 963).* Retrieved from https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmhealth/963/963.pdf
4. Ministry of Justice (2018) *Prison Population Projections 2018-2023.* London: Ministry of Justice https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/735428/prison-population-projections-2018-2023.PDF
5. Senior, J., Forsyth, K., Walsh, E; O’Hara, K; Stevenson, C; Hayes, A…Shaw, J. (2013). Health & Social Care Services for Older Male Adults in Prison: the identification of current service provision & piloting of an assessment & care planning model. *Health Service Delivery Research 1(5).* NIHR Journals Library. Doi: 10.3310/hsdr01050
6. *Ibid.* Senior et al (2013).
7. *ibid* Senior et al (2013)
8. Crawley, E. & Sparks, R. (2005). Hidden Injuries? Researching the Experiences of Older Men in English Prisons. *The Howard Journal* 44(4) 345-356. Doi:10.1111/j.1468-2311.2005.00380.x
   Psick, Z., Simon, J., Brown, R., & Ahalt, C. (2017) Older and Incarcerated: Policy Implications of Aging Prison Populations. *International Journal of Prisoner Health,* 13(1), 57-63. Doi: 10.1108/IJPH-09-2016-0053.

of men[9] coming into custody for the first time in later life. It considers prisoners' perspectives on the issues they faced in making the transition into custody; how their life experience shaped the nature of that transition, and how new relationships were tentatively formed during that period.

What constitutes 'older'?

Different categories are used to delineate age, exacerbated by age being a social and cultural construct[10] leading to an (unresolved) debate about how to define 'older' prisoners.[11] This has implications for research, where different ages are used nationally and internationally. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons define older prisoners as aged 50 plus[12] owing to evidence suggesting that prisoners physiologically age up to ten years compared with community counterparts.[13] Other researchers have applied that logic to age 55, as 65 is the age at which people in the community would begin to draw their pension.[14] Hayes et al's[15] cross-sectional design of 262 older prisoners in the North West region identified no additional differences between the health needs of prisoners aged 50-59 and those aged 60 plus, and therefore advocated 50 for future prison health interventions.

...evidence suggesting that prisoners physiologically age up to ten years compared with community counterparts.

Internationally, Wangmo et al[16] determined that 50 is the most frequently cited age. Although differing legal, social, cultural and political perspectives may limit direct applicability to the United Kingdom context, relevant issues were also identified, for example, the federal system of the US justice system means that they too, do not have a nationally agreed definition of 'old' or 'elderly' prisoners, ranging from 50-70.[17] Moreover, this does not take into account the fact that older prisoners are a heterogeneous population:

> *While many in their late-70s were largely immobile, forgetful and depressed, others enthusiastically took computing classes, wrote essays or went to the 'Seniors' exercise class.*[18]

Despite such diversity, there is no doubt that prisons' regimes are designed for younger men, leading to Crawley coining the term 'institutional thoughtlessness.'[19]

The increase in older prisoners

The increase in older prisoners can partially be placed within the context of overall population change. Within the general population, one fifth of the population will be aged over 65 in the next eight years. This brings consequences for health and social care in particular.[20]

9. The research took place in a single male prison site. The women's estate is seeing similar increases in the proportion of older prisoners. 13% of women prisoners are aged over 50. https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/offender-management-statistics-quarterly-april-to-june-2018 Some of the issues identified in this research may also apply to women, however, updated research needs to be undertaken to fully understand the intersectionality of gender and age in prison, particularly as experiences of ageing will change by cohort. See Wahidin, A. (2004) Older Women in the Criminal Justice System. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
10. *ibid.* Senior et al. (2013).
11. Cooney, F., & Braggins, J. (2010). *Doing time: Good Practice with Older People in Prison – the views of prison staff.* London: Prison Reform Trust.
12. *ibid* House of Commons (2013).
13. Loeb, S.J., Steffensmeier, D. & Myco, P.M. (2007). In Their Own Words: Older Male Prisoners' Health Beliefs and Concerns for the Future. *Geriatric Nursing,* 28(5) 319-329. Doi:10.1016/j.gerinurse.2007.02.001NACRO. (2009). *A Resource Pack for Working with Older Prisoners.* London: NACRO. Maschi, T., Sullivan-Dennis, K., Gibson, S., MacMillan, T., Sternberg, S., & Hom, M. (2011). Trauma & Stress Among Older Adults in the Criminal Justice System: A Review of the Literature with Implications for Social Work. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work,* 54(4), 390-424. Doi: 10.108001634372.2011.552099 Maschi, T., Sullivan-Dennis, K., Gibson, S., MacMillan, T., Sternberg, S., & Hom, M. (2011). Trauma & Stress Among Older Adults in the Criminal Justice System: A Review of the Literature with Implications for Social Work. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work,* 54(4), 390-424. Doi: 10.108001634372.2011.552099
14. Filinson, R. (2016). A Day in the Life: How Time is Spent Doing Time Among Older Inmates. *Activities, Adaptation & Aging* 40 (2) 125-149. Doi: 10.1080/01924788.2016.1161339 Murdoch, N., Morris, P., & Holmes, C. (2008). Depression in Elderly Life Sentence Prisoners. *International Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry,* 23 957-962. Doi: 10.1002/gps.2017
15. *ibid.* Hayes et al. (2013).
16. Wangmo, T., Handtke, V., Bretschneider, W. & Elger, B.S. (2016). Prisons Should Mirror Society: the debate on age-segregated housing for older prisoners. Ageing & Society, May 1-20. Doi:10.1X15001373
17. Chiu, T. (2010). *It's About Time. Aging Prisoners, Increasing Costs, & Geriatric Release.* VERA Institute of Justice. Retrieved from https://storage.googleapis.com/vera-web-assets/downloads/Publications/its-about-time-aging-prisoners-increasing-costs-&-geriatric-release/legacy_downloads/Its-about-time-aging-prisoners-increasing-costs-&-geriatric-release.pdf
18. *ibid.* Crawley and Sparks (2005) p.349
19. Crawley, E. (2005). Institutional Thoughtlessness in Prisons and its Impacts on the Day-to-day Prison Lives of Elderly Men. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice,* 21(4), 350–363. Doi:10.1177/1043986205282018
20. Office for National Statistics. (2017). *Overview of the UK Population: March 2017*. Retrieved from file://Overview%20of%20the%20UK%20population%20March%202017.pdf.

Therefore, prisons also need to be prepared to ensure that their whole regime, over and above the provision of health and social care, caters to the diverse needs of this population. The increase in the number of older prisoners can be attributed to a variety of factors. The number of people aged over 60 in prison has tripled since 2003. 13,601 (16 per cent) of the prison population are aged over 50.[21] Three in 10 people serving an indeterminate sentence are aged 50 or over.

Wahidin's typology[22] partially explains the increase in the older prison population, to be considered in the context of an ageing society[23]:

1. Repeat prisoners ageing as their life-course includes multiple sentences.
2. Prisoners growing old throughout a long sentence.
3. Short-term, first-time prisoners.
4. Long-term, first-time prisoners — possibly for historic offences.

Ministry of Justice projections cite increases in both the number of people aged over 50 being sentenced to custody for sexual offences increasing since 2012, and the lengthy sentences handed down, meaning more people are growing older in custody. This also includes an ageing lifer population, and also an anticipated increase in recalls to custody.[24]

However, there are no readily available statistics to understand how the older prisoner population is apportioned, despite recognition from the US that the needs of each cohort may vary, and that their proportions may change over time, correlating with changes to sentencing practices and public attitudes.[25] MoJ data from 2017[26] shows that 82 per cent of prosecutions of males aged over 50 were for summary offences. Of the non-summary or miscellaneous offences, 25.7 (n=2938) per cent were prosecuted for theft; 18.6 per cent violent offences (n=3413), and 16 per cent sexual offences (n=2938). The data does not show how many then went on to receive custodial sentences.

The increase in the number of older prisoners can be attributed to a variety of factors. The number of people aged over 60 in prison has tripled since 2003.

Neo-phyte prisoners

One cohort accounting for the increase includes 'neophyte' older prisoners[27], those imprisoned for the first time, in later life. In one quarter of 2018, there were 19,330 first receptions into prison, which is not broken down by age. Although there are a range of offences for which older prisoners are sentenced, convictions are disproportionately received for sexual offences. Whereas 19 per cent of the prison population are convicted of sex offences[28], 45 per cent of men over 50 are convicted of sexual offences, which rises to 87 per cent of those aged over 80. For many prisoners within this cohort, this will be their first conviction, stemming from a historic offence.[29]

Crawley and Sparks[30] identify foreseeable increases, given changing sentencing practices. This has led to an increased 'scale and depth' in the experiences of older men, particularly long-term, first time prisoners who are less likely to have contacts outside prison; unlikely to have their needs advocated for, and, alongside the proliferation of punitive and risk management approaches means many prisoners will serve their sentences in higher security prisons in an attempt to 'manage the monstrous.'[31] Maschi, Viola, Morgen and Koskinen[32] highlight that differing 'pathways to prison' require different interventions and responses. However, despite distinctions being made regarding the means by which

21. Table 1.3, Ministry of Justice. (2017). *Offender management statistics quarterly: April to June 2017.* London: Ministry of Justice.
22. Wahidin, A. (2006). 'No problems – old & quiet': Imprisonment in Older Life. In A. Wahidin, & M. Cain, (Eds.) *Ageing, Crime & Society.* (pp. 171-192). Cullompton: Willan.
23. *ibid* Hayes et al (2013).
24. However, some of the growth is offset by a declining IPP/lifer population among this age group.
25. American Civil Liberties Union. (2012). *At America's Expense: The Mass Incarceration of the Elderly.* Retrieved from https://www.aclu.org/files/assets/elderlyprisonreport_20120613_1.pdf
26. Ministry of Justice. (2018). *Women and the Criminal Justice System* https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/women-and-the-criminal-justice-system-2017
27. *ibid.* Crawley. & Sparks (2005).
28. Ministry of Justice. (2018). *Offender Management Statistics Bulletin, England and Wales. Quarterly April to June 2018.* Retrieved from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/750698/omsq-bulletin-2018-q2.pdf
29. House of Lords written question HL3278, 5 January 2017. Ministry of Justice. (2017). *Further breakdown of the prison population by age and offence group as at 31 December 2016.* London: Ministry of Justice.
30. *ibid.* Crawley & Sparks (2005).
31. Simon, 1998, cited in Crawley and Sparks, 2005,(p.349).
32. Maschi, T., Viola, D., Morgen, K., & Koskinen, L. (2015). Trauma, Stress, Grief, Loss and Separation Among Older Adults in Prison: The Protective Role of Coping Resources on Physical and Mental Well-being. *Journal of Crime & Justice,* 38(1), 113-136. Doi:10.1080/0735648X.2013.808853.

prisoners are incarcerated at an older age, research stops short of utilising the typology to distinguish between differing needs. Despite Crawley and Sparks[33] identifying the particular issues experienced by 'neophyte' older prisoners, using 65 as the age criteria, there is little literature which further explains the needs of this particular cohort.

The Equality Act 2010

Age is a protected characteristic under the Equality Act 2010.[34] Thus, age is included within the Equality, Diversity and Faith expectations framework utilised by HMIP.[35] Because of a lack of national strategy, individual institutions have implemented measures on the ground, rather than emanating from national policy planning, to meet those individualised needs, particularly where prisons have larger cohorts of older prisoners. Ensuring that older prisoners' needs are met will have particular implications for prison regimes, the delivery of health and social care, and in the development of resettlement pathways. Government justifications for not developing a national strategy alleges a heterogeneity of needs, and a conflation of age with disability and social care need.[36] This is in sharp contrast to the 2018 Women's Prison Strategy[37] which has been developed for a much smaller population than the older male population. The women's strategy also recognises the need for early intervention and community solutions in addition to a reconfiguration of custody, which arguably could also be a useful framework to apply to older neophyte prisoners. The strategy, despite some criticism[38], does at least recognise the diverse experiences of women, and adopts a thematic approach complemented with a series of actions. Therefore, government could utilise a similar approach to develop an older prisoners' strategy. Any such strategy should critically review the purpose of imprisonment for older people in the context of soaring prison, health, social care and societal costs.

> ...prisoners undergoing induction must be treated decently, with full regard for equality, vulnerability and any special needs.

Reception, induction and transition into custody

Newly sentenced prisoners under PSI07/2015[39] should receive an induction whereby 'all prisoners undergoing induction must be treated decently, with full regard for equality, vulnerability and any special needs.'

'Full regard for equality', of course, includes older prisoners, given that age is a protected characteristic under the Equality Act 2010. This is supported by the World Health Organisation's approach to induction, which identifies gold standards for prisoner health:

> *There should be a well-organized procedure to introduce prisoners to the regime of the prison in such a way as to support and optimize their ability to cope with prison life... Wherever possible, prisoners should be encouraged and helped to make and maintain contact with their families and friends outside prison.*[40]

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime[41] also advocate that inductions should include physical and mental health; family contacts; community relationships and criminal history. However, the reliance on healthcare based screening assessment tools such as the Grubin health screen[42] has arguably led to an increase in bio-medical approaches to assessing need, emphasising

33. Crawley, E. & Sparks, R. (2006). Is There Life After Imprisonment? How Elderly Men Talk About Imprisonment and Release. *Criminology & Criminal Justice,* 6:63-82. Doi:10.1177/1748895806060667
34. Equality Act 2010 (ch.15). Available at https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents
35. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons. (2017). *Expectations. Criteria for assessing the treatment of and conditions for men in prisons version 5.* Available at https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprisons/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/02/Expectations-for-publication-FINAL.pdf
36. Ministry of Justice (2013). *Government response to the Justice Committee's Fifth Report of Session 2013–14 Older Prisoners Presented to Parliament by the Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice by Command of Her Majesty Cm 8739.* London: HMSO.
37. Ministry of Justice (2018). Female Offender Strategy. Retrieved from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/719819/female-offender-strategy.pdf
38. See for example, Centre for Crime and Justice Studies. https://www.crimeandjustice.org.uk/resources/response-female-offender-strategy
39. National Offender Management Service. (2015). *Early Days in Custody – Reception In, First Night in Custody, and Induction to Custody. Prison Service Instruction 07/2015.* Retrieved from https://www.justice.gov.uk/downloads/offenders/psipso/psi-2015/psi-07-2015-pi-06-2015-early-days-in-custody.pdf. This PSI appears to be out of date, with an expiry date of 2016.
40. World Health Organisation. (2007). *A WHO guide to the essentials in prison health.* Retrieved from http://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/99018/E90174.pdf?ua=1.
41. United Nations Office on Drugs & Crime (2009) *Handbook on Prisoners with Special Needs.* Retrieved from: https://www.unodc.org/documents/justice-&-prison-reform/Prisoners-with-special-needs.pdf.
42. Birmingham, L., Mason, D., & Grubin, D. (1997). Health Screening at First Reception into Prison. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry,* 8 435-439. Doi: 10.1080/09585189708412022.

epidemiological health needs.[43] This potentially reinforces the 'medical supply side' of healthcare[44], and does not consider the broader social issues which may impact on a successful induction and transition for individual prisoners.

Identifying need

Notwithstanding attempts to identify needs on reception, and measures designed to understand the overall quality of life of prisoners, the transition into prison is fraught with difficulties[45] particularly as individual's 'ontological security' is challenged by the nature of the transition.[46] Three particular worries emerge from the literature for first time older prisoners: emotional needs, feeling safe and physical health.

A HMIP 'findings' paper[47] identified that 'those experiencing custody for the first time are particularly likely to be distressed and fearful' particularly if imprisoned away from home area and support networks. The Prison Reform Trust's evaluation of six first night centres[48] highlighted five factors which contributed to prisoner's first impressions: relations with other prisoners; prison officer attitudes; first night environment; healthcare information; prison information. Participants identified that they received too much information, in a rushed format which added to feelings of confusion and disorientation, particularly if they were also distressed and emotional, or had specific learning needs. Much information is provided in a written format which Bosworth[49] argues, enhances concepts associated with self-governance of prisoners adopting the 'key ideas of administrative managerialism.'

Liebling et al's[50] evaluation of the 'safer locals' programme determined that induction needed to be well structured, delivered by trained, motivated staff to alleviate distress: address feelings of safety, maintaining family contact, and assisting vulnerable prisoners, achieved through dedicated facilities; identifying and meeting immediate needs and good access to information with a structured routine, including peer support.

First time older offenders are often the worst affected in making the transition to custody[51] particularly where they also have poor mobility, are victims of bullying, or have problems with personal care. Crawley and Sparks[52] argue that neophyte prisoners are particularly affected by imprisonment using psychological language such as 'catastrophe' and 'trauma' with analogies made to terminology deployed in disaster management. Maschi, Viola, Harrison, Koskinen and Bellusa[53] also highlight the increased difficulties older prisoners have psychologically adjusting to their life in prison compared with younger prisoners, partially due to the importance placed on social well-being by older adults. This also relates to the 'pain quotient' — prisoners with the least time to serve and most time left to live endure less pain

Three particular worries emerge from the literature for first time older prisoners: emotional needs, feeling safe and physical health.

43. Marshall, T., Simpson, S. & Stevens, A. (2000). *Health Care in Prisons:* A Health Care Needs Assessment. Birmingham: University of Birmingham.
44. Loeb, S.J., Steffensmeier, D. & Lawrence, F. (2008). Comparing Incarcerated and Community-Dwelling Older Men's Health. *Western Journal of Nursing Research,* 30(2), 234-249. Doi: 10.1177/0193945907302981
45. De Viggiani, N. (2007). Unhealthy Prisons: Exploring Structural Determinants of Prison Health. *Sociology of Health and Illness,* 29(1), 115-135. Doi:10.1111/j.1467-9566.2007.00474.x
46. Giddens, 1991 cited in Crewe, B. (2011). Depth, Weight, Tightness: Revisiting the Pains of Imprisonment. *Punishment & Society,* 13(5) 509-29. Doi:10.1177/1462474511422172
47. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons. (2015). *Life in prison: the first 24 hours in prison.* Retrieved from http://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmiprisons/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2015/11/HMIP-First-24-hours-findings-paper-web-2015.pdf
48. Jacobson, J., Edgar, K., & Loucks, N. (2007). *There When You Need Them Most: PACT's First Night in Custody Services.* Retrieved from: http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/Portals/0/Documents/there%20when%20you%20need%20them%20most%20a%20review%20of%20pact's%20first%20night%20in%20custody%20services.pdf
49. Bosworth, M. (2007). Creating the Responsible Prisoner. Federal Admission and Orientation Packs. *Punishment & Society,* 9(1): 67-85. Doi: 10.1177/1462474507070553
50. Liebling, A. Tait, S., Durie, L., & Stiles, H. (2005). *An Evaluation of the Safer Locals Programme Final Report*. Cambridge: Institute of Criminology Prisons Research Centre. Retrieved from http://www.crim.cam.ac.uk/people/academic_research/alison_liebling/SaferCustodyReport.pdf
51. Aday, R.H. (1994). Golden Years Behind Bars: Special Programs & Facilities for Elderly Inmates. *Federal Probation,* 58: 47-55. Retrieved from http://web.b.ebscohost.com.lcproxy.shu.ac.uk/ehost/detail/detail?sid=c7256624-7677-4a53-9a2f-5c7a16009c48%40sessionmgr103&vid=0&hid=123&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=9408052593&db=i3h;
52. *ibid.* Crawley & Sparks (2006).
53. Maschi, T., Viola, D., Harrison, M.T, Koskinen, L. & Bellusa, S. (2014). Bridging Community and Prison for Older Adults: Invoking Human Rights and Elder and Intergenerational Family Justice. *International Journal of Prisoner Health,* 10 (1), 55-73. Doi: 10.1108/IJPH-04-2013-0017.

than those with more time to serve than their life expectancy.[54]

Previous experiences can influence the nature of the next transition, for example, in Crawley's[55] work, comparing experiences of being in the army, or in hospital were mechanisms by which older prisoners internalised the processes of transition into custody. For Maschi, et al[56], life course perspectives are 'critical social determinants' of health and wellbeing for older prisoners; deploying coping mechanisms are vital to building resilience to the negative impact that a prison sentence may have. Furthermore, they acknowledge that the prison environment per se is a source of traumatic experiences and stressful events. Senior et al's[57] semi-structured interviews with older prisoners highlighted feelings of 'entry shock' exacerbated by a perceived lack of information and unfamiliarity with prison life. Similar findings reported by Hayes, et al.[58] identified a lack of entry assessment for older prisoners, leading to worry and confusion at reception and induction. Induction processes tend to be developed in a generic fashion, designed to impose a sense of 'sameness'.[59] Although Crawley's work significantly identified coping mechanism for older prisoners, this was based on research from over ten years ago. As Mann[60] articulates, current, and future next generations of older prisoners will not have experienced the same deprivations of post-second world war Britain nor had experience of National Service. Their 'habitus[61]' is increasingly not characterised by respect for authority and chivalry to women which may affect their perceptions and experiences of custody.[62]

> ...prisoners with the least time to serve and most time left to live endure less pain than those with more time to serve than their life expectancy.

This study

The primary aim of this research was to evaluate older prisoners' perspectives on how the transition into prison affects their wellbeing. This included an appreciation of the imported knowledge and experience that older prisoners bring to this transitional process. Following ethical approval by HMPPS and the University, an exploratory qualitative research design was used to interview nine male prisoners in a single prison site. All interviews were manually recorded, as recorders were not allowed into the prison. After the interviews were completed, the notes from the interview were written up and analysed using thematic analysis, adopting a simple coding framework, due to the small sample size. Within this sample, age 55 was selected as the entry point, as this was the point at which prisoners were able to access age-specific activities within the regime at this particular establishment.

The ages ranged from 56-79, the mean age was 66 and 44 per cent (n=4) declared a disability. All but one participant was white.[63] Only one participant stated that they had been in poor health prior to coming into prison. 56 per cent (n=5) were single or divorced; the remainder, 44 per cent (n=4) were either married or co-habiting prior to custody. 66 per cent (n=5) were in employment prior to coming into custody; half of those in employment had been self-employed. The remaining 44 per cent (n=4) were retired. This compares with only one third of all newly sentenced prisoners being in employment immediately before coming into custody[64]. 33 per cent (n=3) owned their home outright; 33 per cent public rented accommodation; 22 per cent (n=2) private rented accommodation and one prisoner in supported accommodation. This also reflects differences in the life experiences of older prisoners compared with younger prisoners, as 15 per cent sentenced prisoners are homeless prior to coming into custody.[65]

56 per cent (n=5) interviewees were sentenced to one-five years' imprisonment and 44 per cent (n=4)

54. O'Donnell, 2014, cited in Humblet, D. (2015). Older Prisoners. Howard League for Penal Reform ECAN Bulletin, Issue 27. Retrieved from http://howardleague.org/wpcontent/uploads/2016/09/ECAN_bulletin_27.pdf
55. *ibid.* Crawley. (2005).
56. *ibid.* Maschi,et al (2014).
57. *ibid.* Senior et al (2013).
58. *ibid.* Hayes et al (2013).
59. *ibid.* Crawley & Sparks. (2005, p,351).
60. Mann, N. (2012). *Doing Harder Time? The Experiences of an Ageing Male Prison Population in England and Wales.* Abingdon: Routledge.
61. Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
62. *ibid.* Mann (2012).
63. A further gap in the literature relates to the intersectionality of ethnicity and age in the criminal justice system.
64. Ministry of Justice. (2012). *The Pre-custody Employment, Training & Education Status of Newly Sentenced Prisoners.* Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/278832/newly-sentenced-prisoners.pdf
65. Ministry of Justice. (2013). *2013 Compendium of re-offending statistics and analysis.* Retrieved from https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/278133/compendium-reoffending-stats-2013.pdf

sentenced to five-ten years, compared with 17.1 months as the average sentence length for all custodial sentences.[66] Respondents had spent nine months on average in the establishment. All had commenced their sentence elsewhere; 55 per cent (n=5) at prisons in the East Midlands; 22 per cent (n=2) in Yorkshire; one from Lincolnshire and one from the South East.

The nature of transition and induction lent itself to a discussion of the past, present and future regarding their understanding of the prison experience. The analysis identified three main themes: (1) former identities; (2) becoming a prisoner and (3) ageing well. The remainder of this article will focus on the first two themes, that of former identities and becoming a prisoner, as these explicitly draw upon prisoners' experiences of induction.

Former identities

All participants referred to their life prior to coming to prison, whether that was by the nature of their role in the labour market; discussing their relationships with partners and family members, or identifying practical issues they faced in making the transition into custody.

Importation models,[67] that is, the behaviours, attitudes and experience of life before prison which are then brought with people into the prison with them have been shown to influence the development of prison sub-cultures. Mann[68] extends this notion to the belief systems in particular that prisoners bring with them into the prison environment, which is influenced by their life-courses as older prisoners.[69] Importation models were also identified in this study. Four participants identified that they were unprepared for the sentence that they received, for example being unable to make arrangements for their flat to be cleared and property to be stored:

My property suited me as I am disabled. I had no time to tell anyone or cancel anything. (P6)

Similarly, the financial implications of coming into custody were laid bare by four participants:

How do you find the phone number to cancel the contracts and what do do…? if you're in your seventies, people on the outside may be incapable of helping. (P5)

I needed to find my bank details… I had to put an app in. (P1)

Prison need to explain more about finance, especially if you have no one on the outside. (P4)

A range of emotions were expressed by participants in respect of leaving their outside life, ranging from the stoical[70] 'What can't be cured must be endured' (P1) to the scared and shocked. 'It was a real shock — it was my first time in prison straight from court. It's still frightening'. (P7)

Seven participants discussed on going relationships and the impact of their prison sentence on their family members. For some, this was also a factor for consideration when moving between prisons.

My partner isn't a confident driver, and wouldn't be able to visit if I was further away (P4)

I'm further away from my wife now so I was a bit worried about visits…. if I didn't have my wife to worry about it would be a doddle. (P5)

There was also recognition of the crossovers between their lives inside and outside:

Your family are serving a sentence too. (P4)

My wife has stayed with me so that has made it more bearable knowing that nothing has changed on the outside (P5)

The nature of transition and induction lent itself to a discussion of the past, present and future regarding their understanding of the prison experience.

66. Ministry of Justice. (2018). *Criminal Justice Statistics Quarterly, England and Wales, July 2017 to June 2018* . Retrieved from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/756065/criminal-justice-statistics-quarterly-june-2018.pdf
67. Irwin, J. & Cressey, D.R. (1962). Thieves, Convicts and the Inmate Culture. *Social Problems,* 10(2), 142-155. Doi: 10.2307/799047
68. *ibid.* Mann (2012).
69. *ibid.* Maschi et al (2015).
70. Crewe, B. (2009). The Prisoner Society: Power, *Adaptation and Social Life in an English Prison.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kids are the first thing on your mind. I get accumulated visits. It's too much of a worry for me for my family to make such a journey. (P7)

In addition to the nature of relationships with family members on the outside, by no means a feature exclusive to older prisoners[71] there was recognition from participants that they imported certain expectations around being treated with respect and dignity from their outside life on making the transition into prison life. Participants commented upon the friendly, helpful and civil staff at reception, with a number also commenting on the importance of positive relationships with staff, particularly personal officers. One participant specifically alluded to the generational gap:

'I was brought up in a different generation. I did two years National Service...I was taught discipline in school and in the forces. They [younger prisoners] don't know the meaning of the word. You have to be able to discipline yourself — they don't know what makes themselves tick.' (P7)

Reflecting on such life experiences, and being able to draw upon previous experiences[72], appears to be one way in which older people are able to make the transition from community life to custody. Bartley et al[73] also highlights the significance of life-course perspectives on the nature of transitions, in that the accumulative nature of each transition influences the extent to which future transitions results in unfavourable outcomes, such as coming into prison.

Becoming a prisoner— changing identities and induction

Despite, or perhaps because of, participants being able to draw on previous life experiences, many were frustrated with induction processes, particularly where there was an assumption that they had been in prison previously, and the sense that 'you don't know what you don't know' (P3). One respondent compared the induction process to 'welcome meetings' on holiday, with another proclaiming the induction process was 'mediocre at best', also using his life experience to make comparisons with induction processes in the workplace. There was also some resentment about the relatively ad hoc nature of induction processes, with participants also stating that planned sessions were cancelled due to staffing shortages and regime issues. Other issues that affected induction included space within the main prison for prisoners to be transferred from the induction wing. Two interviewees stated that they assumed they had completed their induction but were still on the induction wing, whereas another participant stated that they had seen prisoners moved off induction after four days. Two other interviewees stated that they did not know whether their induction had been completed or not:

I'm further away from my wife now so I was a bit worried about visits…. if I didn't have my wife to worry about it would be a doddle.

I don't know if I've finished induction or not. I don't know the structure of the people I have to answer to on the OMU; I don't know about probation or my licence conditions…. I feel helpless…I don't think it's taken place fast enough but I don't know what expectations are.' (P7)

No one sits you down and goes through all the ways you can get in trouble (P4)

Given that induction processes are designed to impose a sense of 'sameness'[74], it is perhaps unsurprising that respondents may have felt this way, compounded by the disempowering effects of institutionalisation which leads to a reduction in self-determination.[75] However, a number of respondents also commented on the differences between their first prison and their current prison, with surprise articulated, both positively and negatively, about the varying prison experience across establishments. Crewe's notions of 'tightness' can be viewed in the experiences articulated below, particularly regarding the notions of experiencing power as both 'firm' and 'soft'[76] leading to prisoners simultaneously experiencing a loss of autonomy alongside increased accountability.

71. Lord Farmer. (2017). *The Importance of Strengthening Prisoners' Family Ties to Prevent Reoffending and Reduce Intergenerational Crime.* London: Ministry of Justice. Retrieved from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/642244/farmer-review-report.pdf
72. ibid. Crawley & Sparks (2005, 2006).
73. Bartley et al, 1997,cited in Blane, D. (2006). The Life Course, the *Social Gradient and Health.* In M. Marmot & R.G. Wilkinson. Social Determinants of Health. (2nd ed.). (pp. 65-85). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
74. *ibid.* Crawley & Sparks (2005).
75. Goffman, E. (1961). *Asylums.* Harmondsworth, Penguin Books. Foucault, M. (1979). Discipline & Punish. New York: Vintage Books.
76. *ibid.* Crewe (2011).

I expected more when I arrived here but I don't know what. There's a decency charter but there's no signs of individualised needs being met. At XX, on a VPU with sixty prisoners the conditions were diabolical but you now knew where you stood. I was shocked at the difference between establishments. Staff can be indifferent, curt. (P3)

Staff are more laid back here but can be petty on little rules…Every regime is so different. (P4)

It was like walking into a palace. The officers are much pleasanter. They treat you like a human being. (P5)

Differences regarding expectations were particularly marked where participants had been placed on a vulnerable prisoner unit within their former establishment, which did not deliver the safety they craved. In comparison, their current establishment was deemed to be much safer, given the focus on rehabilitation through offending behaviour programme delivery, although anxieties were expressed about the focus on programmes.

Interviewees were asked to list the elements of induction that they could recall. This was mapped against the aspects of induction which should be included within PSI07/2015. Where induction activities included a physical visit to their location (e.g. gym, or education) or visits from departments respondents felt more relevant to their incarceration (e.g. healthcare, programmes), participants were more likely to recall those aspects being covered. No participants could recall information being given about health and safety, local arrangements, such as visiting times, and legal services. That is not to say that these elements were not covered, however, PSI07/2015 also reminds staff that prisoners may not retain information and may need reminding.

Hayes et al's administration of the CANFOR-S[77] assessment identified unmet needs of older prisoners around information about condition and treatment; psychological distress; daytime activities; benefits and physical health. In their interviews, prisoners reiterated that 'entry shock' for first time older prisoners led to a reduction in their ability to retain information, alongside an assumption that prisoners had been in custody previously. They also identified their reliance on other prisoners to provide them with information. Where prisoners disclosed in interviews their worries about their family, they also stated that they had not told staff their concerns.

During the interviews, older prisoners made the following recommendations for improving induction:

- ❑ Providing more information about the prison prior to transfer. Despite six of the nine respondents being aware that they may be transferred to the prison, only one was told in advance, the day before.
- ❑ Provide a list of acronyms — *Everyone talks in acronyms (P1)* and an individualised checklist with space for named individuals to be written in for example offender supervisor; personal officer.
- ❑ Make induction more visual for example videos, pictorial folders, flowcharts and more help for people to find their way around initially.
- ❑ Ensure that prisoners are supported to understand and make early use of the app process.
- ❑ Provide space for prisoners to ask questions on a 1:1 basis.
- ❑ Recruit older PID[78] workers.
- ❑ Providing a checklist of community tasks which may need resolving (e.g. tenancy, utility bills, pension arrangements).
- ❑ Early meetings with offender managers to understand the rationale for the transfer, and the development of a meaningful sentence plan that related to using time constructively within prison, while planning for a return to the community. Participants were frustrated that activities tended to focus on employability rather than interest and experience, given many would not be returning to the workplace after their release.

Simplistic as these recommendations may be, the fact that a prison which is oriented towards the needs of older prisoners in their regime has not considered these issues within their population, means that many other prisons are likely to be missing opportunities to minimise the harms of transition which ensue for many neo-phyte older prisoners.

New relationships

While participants recognised that they would form relationships with other prisoners, many were wary of forming relationships with younger prisoners, lest they be accused of grooming. Conversely, another participant felt as though he was viewed as a father figure by younger prisoners. Some participants expressed anxiety at the prospect of forming relationships with other prisoners, who could be moved to another wing or out of the prison at a moment's notice. This corresponds with Bond, Thompson and Malloy's[79] research, in the US, which identified that although the size of older prisoners' networks diminish over time, their emotional value increases.

You make friends at induction but then they move you off just as you are starting to feel comfortable. Then you start to feel anxiety about where you are being moved to; you are

77. Camberwell Assessment of Need – Forensic Version
78. Prisoner Information Desk
79. Bond, G.D., Thompson, L.A., & Malloy, D.M. (2005). Lifespan Differences in the Social Networks of Prison Inmates. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development,* 61(3) 161-178. Doi: 10.2190%2F7H5P-2AHJ-L34Q-GW9U

being plunged into a new situation and there is uncertainty. Today you've got a pad mate; tomorrow they may be moved — you feel unsettled on a day to day situation. (P6)

Rumours and conjecture are rife in prisons, including this establishment. In many cases, fears were not realised, where participants had heard 'horror' stories from other prisoners about other wings, participating in offending behaviour programmes or transfers to other establishments. Nevertheless, this contributes to a pervading sense of foreboding, and the ontological insecurities inherent in making the transition into prison[80] Whether it was confusion about how to access services — 'put an app in' or a lack of information about the next steps in various processes, such as sentence planning, selection for work or receiving visits, there was a sense from prisoners that information was provided solely on a 'need to know' basis. Participants recognised that there were some helpful staff, and that personal officers, in particular, were valued, however in the main, they relied on other prisoners for information.

Because the prison did not receive individuals from court, there was an implicit assumption that induction and transitions were not particularly problematic as issues would have been dealt with at the receiving prison. The responses from participants demonstrate that this is not the case. Prisoners felt that there was an assumption that they had been in prison before, and remained anxious, in a liminal state, compounded by delays in accessing elements of the prison regime. This potentially has consequences for prisoners' mental state and resilience as they experience the contemporary pains of prison[81], and may also relate to maladaptive coping strategies developed over time as a consequence of former trauma during their life-course.[82]

Limitations of the study

Although the aim was to identify from prisoners' own perspectives their experiences of undertaking induction and transition into custody there was a lack of opportunity to understand more about induction due to a lack of staff engagement, and the marginal role of being a researcher within the prison.[83] Thus views emanating from prisoners only creates a partial picture of the realities of induction, although they do constitute their realities.

The research site is not typical of the prison establishment. It is a category C prison, where 90 per cent are serving sentences over four years, and one third of the population are over the age of 40. Thus prisoners are sentenced for indictable offences, serve longer sentences as a consequence and constitute an older population. Additionally, the prisoners were male, and eight of the nine were white. Further research regarding intersectionality and age is also needed.

As a self-selecting sample[84], it is possible that those who were engaged were more likely to put themselves forward, than prisoners who have found the transition more difficult, and/or had more complex needs. A sample of nine participants could lead to questions of validity, however this confounds quantitative standards of assessment with qualitative approaches.[85]

Conclusion

This study serves as a useful pilot study, which could be developed in a number of ways, through exploring similar issues in other custodial settings, particularly local prisons. The study demonstrates a need for further research because it is clear that induction and transitions are not one-off, process driven events and need further exploration. Prisoners take time to adjust to their new surroundings; each prison transfer provides another transition. All too often, it is assumed that prisoners have been in prison before, whereas for neophyte older prisoners 'they haven't done the course in becoming a prisoner yet'[86]. Ensuring that prisoners are able to make appropriate arrangements for their home life will ease the transition and ability to engage constructively in the prison regime, which ultimately will have implications for their resettlement. This includes facilitating an early visit from family; supporting contact with external service providers, and early meetings with offender managers so that prisoners are aware of the purpose of their sentence. Cost neutral, pragmatic recommendations made by interviewees such as providing written information, and reducing jargon would reduce anxieties, provide more structured information about the regime, and would benefit prisoners of all ages. Finally, it is only when efforts are made to fully appreciate individual's life histories, their multiple vulnerabilities and implement measures to actively support making a successful transition into custody, that progress can be made with this cohort of prisoners.

80. Giddens, 1991 in Crewe, B. (2011). Depth, Weight, Tightness: Revisiting the Pains of Imprisonment. *Punishment & Society,* 13(5) 509-29. Doi:10.1177/1462474511422172
81. *ibid.*
82. Harper, R. & Franks, D. (2013). Treating the Person Not the Prisoner: how talking therapy interventions support Sex Offender Programmes and risk reduction at HMP Whatton. *Prison Service Journal,* July 2013 No 208. Retrieved from https://www.crime&justice.org.uk/publications/psj/prison-service-journal-208
83. Rowe, A. (2014). Situating the Self in Prison Research: Power, Identity and Epistemology. *Qualitative Inquiry,* 20(4), 404-416. Doi: 0.1177/1077800413515830
84. King, N. & Horrocks, C. (2010). *Interviews in Qualitative Research.* London: Sage.
85. Wincup, E. (2017). *Criminological Research. Understanding Qualitative Methods* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE.
86. A comment made by a governor, when setting up the research.

'I just want to give something back': Peer work in prison

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This article explores the relationships that prisoners develop with other prisoners through peer work, and how the role can prove transformative, contributing to the desistance process. This article also focuses on how peer work can develop enhanced relationships with staff and can signal desistance to others. The term 'peer work' is used, as it encapsulates the diverse range of roles that prisoners engage in, and is inclusive of more than just 'peer mentoring', which is a rapidly emerging focus in criminological research.[1] Peer work is defined as any interactions that are carried out by prisoners that involve the act of working with a person of the same status, 'working with people who are not in authority over us' and 'people that are the same as us'. [2] The focus of this article is on interactions through formal peer work roles, rather than every day, informal interactions between prisoners and staff. There are various peer work schemes that operate in prisons, which are determined by the type of interactions and level of involvement between prisoners. Peer work schemes in this research include prison Listeners, drug peer mentors and education/literacy peer mentors

Peer work

Peer support is recognised by HMPPS as a major step in the process of reducing reoffending, by helping prisoners to develop an alternative identity rather than offender identity.[3] Peer support in prisons is high on the 2013 Transforming Rehabilitation agenda, according to Grayling

'When someone leaves prison, I want them already to have a mentor in place to help them get their lives back together. There are some really good examples out there of organisations making good use of the old lags (sic) in stopping new ones'.[4]

Drug peer mentors are recruited to work with other prisoners in a drug detoxification programme on the Substance Misuse Unit. They co-facilitate and deliver sessions with the CARATS [5] team, lead small group activities and focus on their own drug recovery as well as mentoring other prisoners. This research found that repeat offenders were fast tracked as peer mentors, because they are known to prison staff and the CARATS team, and it is expected that they will be effective peer mentors, based on their previous performances as peer mentor on earlier sentences. They are 'trusted' prisoners, having earnt this through their conduct on the landing and they are given more autonomy than standard prisoners. Whilst relationships between staff and peer mentors are generally positive, repeat recidivism undermines the longer term desistance-based objectives of the peer mentoring scheme. The Listeners provide confidential and emotional support to fellow prisoners who are experiencing distress.[6] Listener support is non-judgemental and non-directive.[7] The Samaritans and the Listeners are an integral aspect of the Prison Service's suicide and self-harm prevention strategy.[8] Shannon Trust offer a literacy scheme in prison called 'Toe by Toe', where prisoners assist and mentor other prisoners to improve their literacy through a pre-set curriculum.

Listener peer work can generate 'new me' tones and displays a distancing from their old, offending selves.[9] Through peer work, redemptive tones were

1. See for example Buck G (2018) The core conditions of peer mentoring: Criminology and Criminal Justice Vol 18 issue 2; Jaffe, M (2012) Peer support and seeking help in a prison: a study of the Listeners scheme in four prisons in England (unpublished PhD) Keele University
2. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2003) Peer to Peer. Using peer strategies in drug abuse prevention New York: United Nations.
3. HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2016) Life in prison: peer support London
4. Grayling, C (2012) Justice Minister's 'Rehabilitation Revolution' speech, 20 November. Available at: www.gov.uk/government/speeches/rehabilitation-revolution-the-next-steps [accessed August 2016].
5. Counselling, assessment, referral, advice and through-care (CARATS) who provide substance misuse support
6. South, J, et al (2012) *Peers in Prison Settings (PiPS) Expert Symposium.* Peers in Prison Settings (PiPS) Expert Symposium Conference Proceedings.
7. Jaffe, M (2012) Peer support and seeking help in a prison: a study of the Listeners scheme in four prisons in England (unpublished PhD) Keele University
8. PSO (Prison service order) 2700 Suicide and self-harm prevention
9. Perrin, C and Blagden, N (2014) Accumulating meaning, purpose and opportunities to change 'drip by drip': the impact of being a listener in prison: Psychology, crime and law: Volume 20, issue 9.

identified, alongside a desire to give something back. Peer work fuelled aspirations to work in fields of mentoring, counselling, social work and youth work,[10] displaying a possible positive future self.[11] Involvement in a prisoner council generates feelings of hope and motivation for the future and a feeling that prisoners have something to offer.[12] Giving service to others has a transformative effect upon self-esteem and respect, reversing the marginalisation that prisoners experience in custody. Offenders who find ways of making contributions to society, through mentoring, assisting and enhancing the lives of other people appear to be more successful at giving up crime.[13] Peer mentoring roles give a new perspective of the self and increase self-awareness.[14] Being an insider[15] gives a sense of accomplishment, a positive self-image and increased self-confidence.[16] Peer work also develops social capital in prisoners. Through helping others, peer workers become 'experts by experience' and through using 'experiential knowledge', helping others develops self-determination and empowerment. Through reciprocal relationships and mutual support, the 'helper therapy principle' applies.[17] Peer work allows prisoners to display generativity, which is described as 'the concern for and commitment to promoting the next generation, manifested through....mentoring'.[18] Individuals create 'generative scripts'[19] which facilitate desistance and allows for negative experiences to be recast in a positive light when helping others. Peer workers aspire to, and are motivated by generative goals, and a positive desire to give back and make amends serves to enhance the desistance process. 'Prisoners need opportunities to be useful to others, to discover their own hidden talents and recognise the rewards of…generative activity'.[20]

Peer work is a valid way of signalling desistance intentions to criminal justice agencies that have the power to label and define individuals.

Peer work and desistance

Maruna and Farrall [21] distinguish between primary desistance, which is a cessation or lull in offending, and secondary desistance, which is a shift in identity and self-concept. Tertiary desistance[22] is when there is a level of acceptance by the community that the person has reformed and has developed a sense of belonging. Act desistance, identity desistance and relational desistance[23] have been used to capture the various stages of the desistance process. Prison peer workers generally abstain from further offending whilst in prison, but the extent of creating lasting identity and relational desistance is questionable in prison, as prisoners still have to make the transition to the community.

Giordano et al[24] state that there are a number of stages than an individual passes through in the desistance process. Firstly they must have a cognitive 'openness to change'. Then they 'latch' on to a 'hook for change'; in this research peer work is the 'hook for change'.[25] A

10. Jaffe, M (2012) Peer support and seeking help in a prison: a study of the Listeners scheme in four prisons in England (unpublished PhD) Keele University
11. Paternoster R, Bushway S (2009) Desistance and the feared self: Toward an identity theory of criminal desistance. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 99(4): 1103–1156
12. Edgar, K; Solomon, E (2004) Having Their Say: The work of prisoner councils: Prison Reform Trust
13. Maruna S (2001) Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association
14. Mackenzie et al (2012) Agents of Change: Peer Mentorship as HIV Prevention Among HIV Positive Injection Drug Users Substance Use & Misuse, 47:522–534, 2012
15. Insiders are trusted prisoners who help new prisoners to settle into the prison, helping them out when required
16. Boothby MRK (2011) Insiders' views of their role: Toward their training. Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice 53(4): 424–448.
17. Reissman, F (1965) The helper therapy principle: Social Work, Volume 10, Issue 2, 1 April 1965, Pages 27–32
18. McAdams, DP and de St. Aubin, E (1992) A theory of generativity and its assessment through self-report, behavioural acts and narrative themes in autobiography. Journal of personality and social psychology 62, 1003-1015
19. Maruna S (2001) Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association
20. Barlow, S and Maruna, S (2011) in Crewe, B; Bennett, J (2012) The Prisoner: Routledge: Oxon
21. Maruna S and Farrall S (2004) Desistance from crime: a theoretical reformulation. Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 43: 171–194.
22 McNeill, F (2016) in Nugent B, Schinkel M (2016) The pains of desistance (2016) Criminology and Criminal Justice Volume 16 Issue 5 pp 568-584
23. See 21
24. Giordano PC, Cernkovich SA and Rudolph JL (2002) Gender, crime and desistance: Toward a theory of cognitive transformation', American Journal of Sociology, 107, 990-1064
25. Giordano et al (2002) used marriage as a 'hook for change'; see also Jump, D (2015) Fighting for change: Narrative accounts on the appeal and desistance potential of boxing: Howard League for Penal Reform

replacement self is developed. The final stage is a new self that is incompatible with further offending.

Peer work is a valid way of signalling desistance intentions to criminal justice agencies that have the power to label and define individuals. Desistance signalling, according to Maruna[26], offers a 'legitimation of a labelling theory of rehabilitation' and the implications to apply this to peer work are worthy of consideration, in terms of restoring the person's reputation and attaining full citizenship. Peer work offers a legitimate opportunity to a criminally stigmatised underclass[27] to signal to others that 'I am not now who I was' [28] and it offers the opportunity to manage a spoiled identity.[29]The peer work role requires a level of compassion and empathy towards others and the experience develops a sense of 'taking the role of the other'.[30] Through the development of an emotional self, they consider how their behaviour is received by their peers and staff, and this level of empathy can facilitate desistance.

Liebling[31]asks the question 'can human beings flourish in prison', answering it with 'sometimes, or under certain conditions'. This paper supports peer work as one of the conditions that allows for prisoners to excel and flourish. Graham[32] suggests that by creating social ties and participating in socially and personally valued roles, responsibility is increased and supportive micro-environments are established. Desistance is facilitated by having someone believe that the person can change for the better. In supporting desistance, individuals must be granted the opportunity to move upwards by increasing their social standing, de-labelling, and changing from being a stigmatised outsider to a stakeholder in society. It is conceivable that, through peer work, the desistance process can be started in prison. Prisoners expressed desires to sustain peer work beyond the prison walls, through continuation with the Samaritans, or through probation or CJDT peer mentoring. However, despite working as a prison Listener, one participant stated that he has about another year of offending to do upon release, which counter argues against the transformative potential of peer work upon desistance. There was evidence to suggest that peer work does contribute to the development of a replacement self; however peer work was also found to be a situated activity, with no links to desistance.[33]

It is conceivable that, through peer work, the desistance process can be started in prison.

Method

The findings are taken from a wider qualitative study into peer work and desistance, both in prison and the community. This article however focuses solely on peer work in prison. The aim of the research was to explore the extent to which peer work influences desistance. Giordano et al's (2002) Cognitive Transformational Model was used as a theoretical framework. The research was undertaken in a category 'B' prison and 15 prisoner peer workers and 8 staff members were interviewed.[34] The 'insider' status of the researcher[35] facilitated the research, through understanding the culture of this particular prison; however, having left the role 10 years ago, 'outsider' status was also relevant as the culture of the prison has changed (new psychoactive substances and radicalisation being key developments). The researcher was a civilian prison tutor at the time of data collection, so familiarity with the prison and ease of access to participants were key to this study.

Current peer workers were selected from drug peer mentors, Listeners and Shannon Trust 'Toe by Toe' mentors. The data was thematically analysed using the stages of Giordano et al's model and this article presents some of the key findings on the relational dynamics of peer work between prisoners, the impact of peer work upon prisoner-staff relationships and also the potential of peer work for desistance. The findings demonstrate the potential of peer work as a 'hook for change'. In addition peer work can help to develop an appealing and conventional replacement self in prison,[36] and a transformation away from further offending. Whilst Giordano et al's theoretical framework underpins this

26. Maruna, S (2012) Elements of successful desistance signalling: Criminology and Public Policy Vol 11 issue 1
27. Jacobs 2006:387 in Maruna 2012: 75 see 26
28. Toch, H 2010; in Maruna 2012:75 see 26
29. Goffman, E (1963) Stigma: Penguin London
30. Mean, GH (1934) Mind, Self and Society: Chicago Books: Chicago
31. Liebling, A (2012) Can human beings flourish in prison? Prison Phoenix Trust lecture
32. Graham, S (2012) Paying It Back: Does Community Service Activities Promote Desistance in Prisoners? (Unpublished masters: School of Sociology and Social Work at the University of Tasmania)
33. Further longitudinal work is needed to establish the long term impact of prison peer work.
34. The author is an ex-prison officer who served 6 years in the same category B local prison between 2003 and 2009.
35. As stated earlier, former prison officer 2003 to 2009 at a category 'B' local prison
36. Giordano PC, Cernkovich SA and Rudolph JL (2002) Gender, crime and desistance: Toward a theory of cognitive transformation', American Journal of Sociology, 107, 990-1064

research, it is important to note that application had limited success in the prison.[37] A transformative approach was taken with this study, as the researcher aims to give a 'voice' to a marginalised and silenced (prisoner) population. The study provides a 'snap-shot' of peer workers whilst they are in prison, so the extent to which desistance was sustained post release was not identified. It is also important to note that for some prisoners, peer work is nothing more than a situated activity, and has no relationship with a future desisting self. Attention is given in this research to those delivering peer work, rather than the 'recipients', which has been the mainstay of peer mentoring research, in terms of impact upon recidivism. This article seeks to explore peer work and self, identity and desistance, alongside the important contributions made by prison staff in supporting prisoners who engage in peer work.

Benefits of peer work to the prison

Peer interventions in prison can improve the atmosphere of the prison environment, through improved relations with staff.[38] Peer interventions are often co-constructed with staff, which empowers the prisoners, allowing them to feel like agents of change in their immediate social environment, with their voices recognised as sources of authority and credibility. If peer interventions are co-ordinated well and embedded positively into the prison regime, they can create waves of positive organisational change and support improvements in the prison's atmosphere, culture and ethos. Formal peer interventions have become an integral feature of prison life.[39] Peers have a greater sense of empathy than trained staff and offer expertise 'by experience',[40] which makes them an asset to the prison environment. If prisoners are denied the capacity to care for self, others and future in meaningful, durable and non-violent ways, then prisons are guaranteed to produce a 'large cohort of repeat consumers of the carceral enterprise'.[41]

Peer interventions in prison can improve the atmosphere of the prison environment, through improved relations with staff.

However, some staff found allowing prisoners greater levels of freedom in the prison a difficult concept to comprehend, because it opposes prison service values and principles.[42] Power shifts in favour of prisoners were perceived as a negative development, and by allowing prisoners more autonomy, there were potential problems in exercising discipline. 'Prisons are high regulation, low trust environments, with deep power differentials and little constructive activity',[43] yet prison conditions can be favourable to the emergence of respected and humane selves, and peer work can facilitate this. Prison staff are instrumental in recognising potential and supporting prisoners to secure positive roles, for example peer work. Caring prison officers treat prisoners as if they were of equal moral worth, communicate to prisoners with respect and empathise with their personal situations.[44] There is trust found in relationships between prison staff and peer workers, and in a 'compressed living space', there is warmth, humour and empathy in prison life, alongside aggression and fear.[45] Several key themes emerged from this research. Staff provide positive appraisals and recognise potential, and prisoners provide role models and positive influences for other prisoners through peer work. Generativity and wanting to give back to others were integral themes in peer workers' narratives.

Positive appraisals and recognition of potential from 'significant others'

'Significant others'[46] provide a 'looking glass self', [47] where an individual's self-perception and self-image is based on how they believe others to perceive them. In

37. There were instances where it did apply, but there was greater success in applying Giordano et al's (2002) theory to the community peer workers, which is beyond the scope of this article.
38. South, J, et al (2012) *Peers in Prison Settings (PiPS) Expert Symposium*. Peers in Prison Settings (PiPS) Expert Symposium Conference Proceedings.
39. Edgar, K; Jacobson, J; Biggar, K (2011) Time Well Spent: A practical guide to active citizenship and volunteering in prison: Prison reform Trust London
40. Durcan, G. and Cees Zwemstra, J. (2014), "Mental health in prison", in WHO (Ed.) Prisons and health, WHO, Geneva, pp. 84-98
41. Halsey, M; Harris V (2011) Prisoner futures: Sensing the signs of generativity: Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology Vol 44, Issue 1, 2011 pp. 74–93
42. South, J, et al (2012) *Peers in Prison Settings (PiPS) Expert Symposium*. Peers in Prison Settings (PiPS) Expert Symposium Conference Proceedings.
43. Liebling A (2004) 'The late modern prison and the question of values' *Current issues in criminal justice* 16: 202-219.
44. Tait, S (2012) custody, care and staff-prisoners relationships in Crewe, B and Bennett, J (eds) The Prisoner (2012) London, Routledge
45. Crewe, B and Bennett, J (eds) (2012) The prisoner (pg. 36) Routledge, London
46. Sullivan, H (1940) Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry. Washington, D. c.: W. A. White Psychiatric Foundation.
47. Cooley, C (1902) *Human Nature and the Social Order.* New York: Scribner's Confer pp. 183–184 for first use of the term "looking glass self

the context of this research, prison officers and civilian staff provide the 'looking glass' for the peer workers, through recognising potential and supporting them. Peer work allowed one prisoner to achieve his potential in something that he had a natural aptitude for, and this role was a way of overcoming the negative labels he had internalised about himself

'When a teacher told me that I would be good at doing it (peer mentoring), I started feeling positive about myself. People must see things in me for them to keep saying these positive things. At first, I wasn't really too sure as I'm not used to positive feedback, I'm used to negative feedback all my life' (prisoner)

The relationship between the prisoner and his tutor demonstrates the power of 'reflected appraisals' [48] upon self and identity, and the Pygmalion effect,[49] where increased expectations lead to increased performance. Enhanced relationship are forged with 'significant others' during peer work interactions, and through belief from others, self-confidence grows.

Prisoners recovering from substance addiction use peer mentoring as a way to increase their self-worth; (many expressed a loss of self-esteem during active addiction). This is supported through positive appraisals from 'significant others' who deliver peer work programmes, and this is reflected back to the peer workers

'It felt good because when you are on drugs, no-one has really got time for you have they? It felt good to be approached and asked, when there are 360 people they could have picked. I was talking with my CARAT worker at the time and she was telling me how good I've done, that I should go for peer mentor and help other people coming into the jail, you know that are suffering with the same problems that I used to have. And because I had been there and done it, I could tell them more than they could' (prisoner)

Positive responses from staff impact upon prisoners' drives to commit to peer work roles and demonstrate appropriate pro-social behaviour. Through recognition that they are trusted and respected for the contributions they make, they live up to this trust

Positive responses from staff impact upon prisoners' drives to commit to peer work roles and demonstrate appropriate pro-social behaviour.

'We put trust in the peer mentors. It is like having 'colleagues' rather than 'prisoners'…you develop a very good working relationship with them, and when they are peer mentors they are the best they have been. Peer mentoring is a priority job in the prison and they are given a sense of responsibility……and they play up to it. It's away from the main prison and they don't get caught up in the troubles that go on there.' (CARATS staff)

Supportive relationships and praise impact upon future performances. Emotional connections that occur with staff through peer work are characterised by mutual respect, which serves to enhance the prisoner's emerging self as a credible 'colleague'. Embracing prisoners from a strengths-based perspective rather than a deficit perspective[50] allows them to flourish in their roles and recognise the contributions they can make to the development of both self and others

'(prisoner) as a peer mentor in prison, it brings out the best in him, he is wicked in groups, very deep and insightful……with him here it's like having a prisoner and a half' (CARATS staff)

Prisoners are not just passive recipients of positive feedback; they derive a sense of self 'from the consequences and products of behaviours that are attributed to the self as an agent in the environment'.[51] Peer workers are agents in their own environment and they actively seek out opportunities to become effective peer workers, and contribute to the dynamics of these programmes and relationships.

Hierarchy of influence

Peer work enables prisoners to act as role models for other prisoners, through demonstrating pro-social behaviour and it is through reciprocal relationships, mutual support and approval that prisoners help themselves by helping others

'When I come to jail I was in a bad way, I was self-harming and stuff and thinking I need to stop this. What made me stop was the Listener that was on this landing. He pushed me and said I need to do something positive and eventually I will get that positivity and I will feel better about it. It is the best thing I have done in prison. He has helped me. I can talk to him when I am feeling

48. See Mead, 1934; Cooley, 1902; Sullivan, 1947
49. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) Pygmalion in the classroom; The Urban Review volume 3, issue 1 16-20
50. Burnett, R and Maruna, S (2006) The Kindness of prisoners: Strengths based resettlement in theory and in action: Criminology and Criminal Justice Vol 6, issue 1
51. Gecas and Schwalbe (1983) Beyond the Looking Glass Self: Social Structure and Efficacy based self-esteem: Social Psychological Quarterly Vol 46 Issue 2 77-88

down and he will bring me back up and make me feel positive' (prisoner)

Prisoners inspire and empower others prisoners to believe that they can also fulfil peer work roles. Positive exchanges between prisoners impact upon self-efficacy levels, and through seeing peers excel in pro-social roles and cope with prison, they too become motivated to get involved. Peer workers become effective 'identity models' for other offenders; living proof that it is possible to turn away from offending[52] (in the short-term) and demonstrate success and achievement in a custodial environment

'I saw AB (prisoner) on the first night centre. He was a listener. I spoke to him a fair bit and there was some training coming up and I asked if I could put in for that. It was something I would like to do. He put me on it. He has helped me out. I respect him a hell of a lot…you could just talk to him, the way he came across, friendly guy…seeing the help that I received from him, I wanted to be that person. I've got a lot of time for him, he showed me the ropes…. when I first came in here I was ready to string up…. without AB, I may have done something stupid' (prisoner)

Peer work generates new social relationships, which provide solidarity and the sharing of experience, strength and hope.[53] There is a hierarchical chain of influence, where prisoners look up to other prisoners who are enjoying positive prison experiences and enhanced relationships, through peer work.

Peer work generates new social relationships, which provide solidarity and the sharing of experience, strength and hope.

Close relationships between peer workers

Prisons generate feelings of social isolation, apathy and powerlessness,[54] yet close relationships are formed between peer workers. Peer work serves to offer a concept of solidarity and an unwritten code between male prisoners, similar to how other forms of fratriarchies operate.[55] Two drug peer mentors in this research shared a cell together and developed a strong bond and a non-sexual level of intimacy with each other, which Crewe (2014) defines as 'homosocial relations'.[56] Commitment to their role, to each other and desistance is mediated through peer work status and cell sharing location. The cell becomes a site of empowerment for their substance misuse recovery and personal transformation as peer mentors. Extending beyond the 'prisoner' label, peer work relationships represent elements of openness and trust which are lacking in the majority of interactions within the prison[57]

'We clicked straight away, when we are doing groups...I mentioned to the CARAT worker that he would be a good peer mentor…. he got the job and was chuffed to bits, I was chuffed as well and then he moved in with me because it's easier to have one cell for peer mentors. He is quiet, funny and mature and we help each other. We talk about what is going on in the group and what has gone on in the day. We bounce off each other. If one is feeling a bit down, depressed or worn out, we help each other. And it's a nice time at night for us, no one is pestering you, we have a coffee and a smoke...favourite time of the day, first thing in the morning and last thing at night, everyone is asleep' (prisoner)

Their door is unlocked for an additional hour at the end of the prison day as part of their peer work contract. Trusted by staff, they are free to engage in domestic tasks. The rest of the landing is locked away and the landing becomes a private and intimate space for both prisoners, serving as an extension of their prison cell and facilitating informal, yet private interactions with prison staff, away from the gaze of other prisoners.

Giving back to others through peer work

Individuals create 'generative scripts' [58] which allow for negative experiences to be recast into a positive light

52. Huggins, R. (2010) Mentoring for Progression: Prison Mentoring Project- Assessing Strengths, Outcomes and Roll-Out Potential. London: Howard League for Penal Reform (pg120)
53. Maruna, S. &LeBel, T. (2009) „Strengths-Based Approaches to Reentry: Extra Mileage toward Reintegration and Destigmatization , *Japanese Journal of Sociological Criminology,* 34: 58-80.
54. Moran, D (2015) Carceral geography; spaces and practices of incarceration; Ashgate Press
55. Newton, C (1994) Gender Theory and Prison Sociology: Using Theories of Masculinities to Interpret the Sociology of Prisons for Men: The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice Volume 33, Issue 3 August 1994 (193–202)
56. Crewe, B. (2014) 'Not looking hard enough: masculinity, emotion and prison research', Qualitative Inquiry, April 2014, 20(4), 426-437
57. Sloan, J (2016) Masculinity, imprisonment and working identities: in Reeves, C (2016) research on the experience of living and working in carceral institutions: Routledge Taylor and Francis; London
58. Maruna, S (2001) Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association

when helping others. Adults are 'generative'[59] in different ways, sometimes through their beliefs and concerns, sometimes through their commitments and actions.[60] Peer workers become 'wounded healers',[61] demonstrating a powerful desire to give back, make amends by working with other offenders, addicts and achieve generative goals.[62] Motivation to become a Listener is based around an altruistic concern for others, which stems from an emerging awareness of prior selfishness and self-centeredness, created through criminal activity[63]

'There was somebody that I met who said that because he was first time in prison the Listeners really helped him, gave him good advice and helped him with what to do. I just thought it would be nice to give something back, for all the bad things I have done…and I thought, people who haven't been to jail before, they are really scared and it's not hard to go and talk to these people…Just to think I have done something nice, pay back….I don't like to see people weaker than me struggling, you know getting bullied and all that. I sometimes feel empathy for certain people' (prisoner)

Not all prisoners have their peer worker identities positively endorsed by others, particularly staff.

Negative aspects of the peer worker role

This research also identified negative aspects associated with engagement in peer work roles. Peer workers are easily identifiable through T-shirts, and whilst this allows them to counteract the assault taken on their identity[64] and allows prisoners to create a replacement self,[65] it makes them stand out to other prisoners who may lack respect for the peer worker role and identity

'Some of the prisoners are sound…however, about 2 months ago some prisoners tried to bully me, thinking I've got it good and they wanted what I have got. They tried to bully me to get drugs in. I had people in my cell punching me' (prisoner)

Not all prisoners have their peer worker identities positively endorsed by others, particularly staff. Prisoners who have a poor reputation with staff from previous sentences are treated with scepticism when they engage in peer work, and anything other than obstructive behaviour is treated with suspicion. One Shannon Trust Toe by Toe literacy mentor found himself in a difficult position with staff, because if he refused to comply with their requests, then he felt that punitive measures would be applied to him

'…...they moved him (a difficult prisoner) in my cell so I ended up babysitting him and at the same time my head was falling off and I'm thinking I've come here (cell) to do my own stuff not baby sit people. I don't mind helping people on the landing, peer mentoring and literacy and all that but then I want to come back to my pad and do whatever you know just chill out, not have to sit there and fucking baby sit someone. I don't mean that to sound horrible. I didn't even know about it. I come back from work and he was in my cell. It's a space at the end of the day but I've got my own problems as well, my own shit going on outside' (prisoner)

Whilst peer work can enhance communication channels between staff and prisoners, the role is often abused by prison staff, who impose extra responsibilities on peer workers. Prison Service Instruction 17/2015 [66] highlights the recognition that prisons must mobilise the ability of prisoners to help other prisoners with peer support and generativity and not simply extend to doing the role of paid staff. It would appear that this difficult prisoner was 'offloaded' onto the peer mentor, because staff wanted to test his new-found pro-social behaviour.

Peer work roles last for a finite period of time, normally 6 months, which limits opportunity of complacency and conditioning of prison staff. The legacy of being a peer worker can be short-lived for prisoners, and despite personal transformations that occur within

59. Generativity has been described by McAdams and De St Aubin as "the concern for and commitment to promoting the next generation, manifested through parenting, teaching and mentoring" (1998:20) However, in this paper, the term 'generativity' is utilised to identify others who orientate themselves in activities that benefits others; activities that transcend self-related interests and involve giving oneself to others and giving back to society
60. McAdams, DP and de St. Aubin, E (1992) A theory of generativity and its assessment through self-report, behavioural acts and narrative themes in autobiography. Journal of personality and social psychology 62, pg. 1013
61. The term 'wounded healer' was created by Carl Jung to describe those people who, in seeking to help others, also help themselves, because they are also 'wounded.
62. Maruna, S (2001) Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association
63. Jaffe, M (2012) Peer support and seeking help in a prison: a study of the Listeners scheme in four prisons in England (unpublished PhD) Keele University
64. Berger, P; Luckmann, T (1963) The social construction of reality: Penguin books: London
65. Giordano PC, Cernkovich SA and Rudolph JL (2002) Gender, crime and desistance: Toward a theory of cognitive transformation', American Journal of Sociology, 107, 990-1064
66. PSI 17/2015 https://www.justice.gov.uk/downloads/offenders/psipso/psi-2015/psi-17-2015-prisoners-assisting-other-prisoners.pdf

the role, some regress back to their old ways. There is a lack of progression and continuity within prison and also between prisons, which may account for the lack of sustainability of the pro-social self as peer worker

'I see him ducking and diving on the main wing, back to his old ways, up to no good with others. He was an excellent peer mentor whilst he was here and yet when I see him now on the landing, it's like it never happened for him, which is a shame because he has got more to offer than getting into trouble on the wing. But there's nowhere for them to go after peer mentor' (CARATS staff)

Transfer to another prison having worked as a peer mentor can be a negative transition, if there is no continuity or further opportunities available

'I applied to become a peer mentor and I got the job. I did about 6-7 months, got really strong, stopped taking drugs, stopped smoking and I was training every day. I was doing fantastic and in a really good place… I came to the end of my term and I got sent to another prison and it was a new beginning. I didn't want to go because everything was going so well for me. I only had 3 months left. The place was flooded with drugs and gang culture…it was completely manic, drugs everywhere even on the drug wing…people selling their medication…I went there and everything just crumbled……...in a matter of 5-6 weeks. Here I had everything…I was the best I had ever been, I was doing really well, to nothing' (prisoner)

The prisoner avoided getting angry and confrontational, because it may affect his Listener status.

Peer workers have to constantly negotiate their identity in prison to different audiences. Some prison officers are reluctant to validate peer worker identities, with many officers displaying a lack of positivity towards the notion that prisoners can change. Prisoners are often dismissed by prison officers, who perceive that they are viewed more favourably than they are.67Prison officers felt constricted by the demands of the job, stating that there was a blurring of the boundaries between discipline and the 'softer parts' of the prison regime, which led to a conflict of roles and an over-emphasis on security and operational considerations.[68] Prisoners expressed concerns about boundaries and knowing where they are with staff. [69] Peer workers often lack visibility in the prison and are not facilitated to do their work outside of the core prison day.[70] One peer worker reported a verbal battle with an officer regarding his movements around the prison when called out as a Listener

Officer	'Yeah, but you are not on the rota today, don't try and bullshit me and pull the wool over my eyes'
Prisoner	'I can speak to anyone, at any time when I'm a Listener'
Officer	'No, you can't … you can go in there now, but don't try and take the piss out of me again'

The prisoner avoided getting angry and confrontational, because it may affect his Listener status. There was no flexibility expressed from the officer, despite an explanation that the prisoner was giving up his own time, not even on the Listener rota, but aware that somebody needed to speak to him. The officer did concede however, but only after a contested negotiation around this. There is a clash between the operational cynicism of prison officers and role commitment shown by peer workers, which can create tension and conflict. Peer workers face micro power struggles in convincing prison officers to support their peer worker identity and facilitate their movements around the prison. The Listener role in particular should be supported as a safer custody initiative, in line with prison service instructions and orders, however one prisoners states

'I seem to get it a lot from the staff. They just think it (being a Listener) is a way to stay longer or make your time easier. The screws don't get it' (prisoner)

Liminality of the peer worker

Having trusted peer workers to assist with running the landings enables prison officers to attend to the operational regime. In the era of 'soft power'[71] in prisons, these relationships increase interior legitimacy and reduce social distance between staff and prisoners, as both parties share a common interest in keeping the peace in prison.[72] However,

67 . Crawley, E (2004) Doing Prison Work: The Public and Private Lives of Prison Officers Willan publishing London
68. Braggins, J; Talbot. J (2005) Wings of learning: The role of the prison officer in supporting education: Centre for crime and justice studies: Esmee Fairbairn foundation
69. Hay, W. and Sparks, R. (1991) `What is a prison officer?', Prison Service Journal Spring: 2-7
70. HM Inspectorate of prisons (2016) Life in prison: peer support: London
71. Crewe, B. (2011) 'Soft power in prison: Implications for staff-prisoner relationships, liberty and legitimacy', European Journal of Criminology 8(6) 455-468
72. Sparks, Richard, Bottoms, A. E. and Hay, Will (1996) Prisons and the problem of order. Oxford: Clarendon

peer workers are precariously placed in a 'liminal' position[73] as they are neither 'standard prisoner' nor staff. It is argued[74] that liminal individuals have no status, insignia, clothing, rank and nothing to demarcate themselves structurally from their fellows, yet peer workers do have an elevated status, they do have clothing to demarcate their identity and they do have a rank that is superior to 'standard prisoners'. They are often identified as 'screw boys' or 'grasses', because of the perceived favouritism that stems from their enhanced status, thus becoming 'polluting and dangerous to those who have not gone through the liminal period'.[75] Peer workers, however, demonstrate the capacity to rise above this negative labelling

> *'The staff expect us peer mentors to be their eyes. They are in the office with things to do. Peer mentors, we are a bit of staff without the uniform. That's why they call us 'screw boys'. Well I say, 'so what, I'm not getting you right deep in the shit, all I'm doing is making sure that you can't get deeper in your own shit'. I see my role as helping people' (prisoner)*

Peer workers are comfortable in standing up to other prisoners and highlight the priority of their role over verbal threats made to their character

> *'Yes, they call us 'screw boys'……but as a Listener it is your job to help others. That is our role. If somebody comes in and says they are being bullied and they don't want to tell staff themselves, then it is our role to do that and keep people safe, so they don't self-harm or commit suicide' (prisoner)*

Peer worker narratives suggest that they find their position in the prison social hierarchy as empowering rather than limiting, as is suggested by research on liminality. A positive aspect of liminality in peer work roles is that these prisoners can bridge the gap between staff and other prisoners, which makes them an important presence in the operational efficiency of the prison

> *'A lot of it (Listener work) is mental health or just problems with the prison and they want us to be the person to talk to staff, which is a good thing. Some people do find it hard to speak to officers' (prisoner)*

Liminal states through peer work are transient in nature and will always be overruled by the dominant prison culture, but the role can offer a temporary release from the 'master status' as 'prisoner', which proved both liberating and empowering for several peer workers

> *'Yes it (peer mentoring) takes you out of prisoner mode, you are in between. You know you are a prisoner but you know that you are doing good. You are fulfilling something that you want to do by helping and seeing that gratification at the end of it, when that person has genuinely learnt something …you are not in jail for that split second…..because I wasn't a teacher or authority figure, it's like they listen more….I quickly picked up that vibe….it's nice because at the end of the day I'm just the same as they are, I'm just another bum in the shower' (prisoner)*

Through peer work, it is possible to pitch negotiation of identity at the right level, to achieve respect from both staff and other prisoners

Through peer work, it is possible to pitch negotiation of identity at the right level, to achieve respect from both staff and other prisoners, which has a significant impact upon self-esteem and adaptation to prison, as illustrated below

> *'I'm still a prisoner, still one of the lads doing my time here. It's nice that people can come and talk to me, they feel comfortable…for a long time I have been a piece of shit. When you are told constantly that you are useless, a waste of time, an alchy, a down and out, you start to believe that and me especially, I do dwell on things. I have been stood on that many times I did feel like a piece of crap, so to come here and actually have a bit of respect from staff and prisoners and CARATS, which you have to earn, you can't just get it, it's a nice feeling'*

73. Liminality is defined as the transition between identity states, as individuals are in a space of 'betwixt and between' in Turner V (1964) Betwixt and between: The liminal period in the rites de passage. The Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society. Symposium on New Approaches to the Study of Religion: 4–20.
74. Douglas, M (1966) chapter 3: Liminality and communities: form and attributes of rites of passage: in Turner, V (1967) The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press (pg. 98)
75. Ibid (pg. 98)

Staff and other prisoners provide a 'looking glass self', and whilst this prisoners recognises that he is 'still a prisoner', he experiences increased levels of self-worth and self-esteem through peer mentoring. The peer mentoring role reverses the negative cycle of reinforcement that he has endured throughout his substance abuse and criminality. Thus, peer work can provide both positive and negative liminal experiences, which can be simultaneously transformative and obstructive.

Peer work and defying the inmate code

Peer work is a positive and pro-social way of signalling desistance[76] to others. Whilst discussion of desistance beyond the prison walls is beyond the scope of this article, it is important to consider that through peer work, prisoners engage in ways that transgress 'typical' prisoner behaviour, and signs of desistance can be identified. The 'inmate code' is a modified or intensified version of values that exist in criminal and street cultures outside of prison,[77] and one aspect of the inmate code that is consistent across time and space is that prisoners do not 'grass' (inform) on each other, because this is perceived as a gross violation of the 'inmate code', and prisoners organise themselves according to informal value systems.[78]

Two Listeners on the VPU (vulnerable prisoner unit)[79] raised awareness of bullying to staff members, because they had witnessed it and had interacted with prisoners who were being bullied on the landing. Both prisoners removed themselves from the company of this prisoner and his group, because they were worried about the implications of association in the eyes of the prison service, and in light of their elevated status as Listeners. The replacement self becomes a filter for future decision making[80] and the actions that followed suggests a transformation towards desistance and a pro-social self in prison, both of which are arguably attributable to their involvement in peer work

> *'I used to see what he was doing and I thought 'how can he do that to other people? We are all human beings'. He can't be like that. I removed myself; I didn't want to be around him. Something had to be done; an example had to be made. All the 3 Listeners sat down. We needed to sort it. We had a little meeting. Someone came in and said they were going to slash up (self-harm) because of him. We spoke to staff on his behalf. After that, another 10 people came forward and said that he was bullying them…you have still got his little followers who keep doing things for him…he is now in the 'block' (segregation)…. they will walk up and down the landings making smarmy comments. They know it was us Listeners. But our role, we have to do that. We are not a part of this violence; we have to do the right thing' (prisoner)*

Conclusion

This article has outlined the relational benefits of peer work in a prison setting. Peer work makes a difference in the prison environment on many levels. It benefits the peer worker/mentor, recipients or the peer work, prison staff and impacts positively upon the operational functioning of the prison. Prisoners respond well to positive reinforcement and trust placed in them, and peer work is one of the few roles within the prison that allow for a positive transformative experience. Peer work generates autonomy in prisoners and for some, the role offsets the 'mortification of the self'[81] effect of the prison experience. This exploration of peer worker supports the assertion that relationships are key to the emergence of a positive, pro-social replacement self. Through positive appraisals, belief and recognition of potential, prisoners can excel in peer work roles. Treating peer workers from a strength and asset based perspective serves to reinforce a positive self-concept. However, the peer worker identity and progress towards desistance is precarious, and continuity is marred by factors beyond the control of the individual. Peer work is a liminal role and can be both empowering and disempowering for the individual. Peer work should not be used to replace work done by staff. During times of austerity in prisons, the boundaries are blurred. Peer work job descriptions should be provided to avoid exploiting peer workers and forcing them to perform duties that are not within the remit of the role. This research also calls for greater continuity in peer work between establishments, to support transitions and sustain the positive effects of being a peer worker.

76. See Bushway, S and Apel, R (2012) A Signalling Perspective on Employment-Based Re-entry Programming Training Completion as a Desistance Signal: Criminology and public policy: Volume 11 (issue 1) (21–50) and Maruna, S (2012) Elements of successful desistance signalling: Criminology and Public Policy Vol 11 (issue 1)
77. Irwin, J. and Cressey, D.R. (1962) Thieves, Convict, and the Inmate Culture. Social Problems, 10, 142-155
78. Crewe, B; Bennett, J (2012) The Prisoner: Routledge Oxon
79. A landing housing R45 prisoners (sex-offenders or those in debt), who are segregated for their own protection
80. Giordano PC, Cernkovich SA and Rudolph JL (2002) Gender, crime and desistance: Toward a theory of cognitive transformation', American Journal of Sociology, 107, 990-1064
81. Goffman, E. (1961a). Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates. New York: Doubleday Anchor

21st CENTURY HARRIET TUBMAN?

Interview with Susan Burton

Susan Burton *is the founder of A New Way of Life Re-entry Project (ANWOL), Los Angleles. She is interviewed by* ***Bryonn Bain,*** *Associate Professor in the Department of African-American Studies, UCLA*

Then the Lord said to Moses, 'Rise up early in the morning and present yourself to Pharaoh, as he goes out to the water, and say to him, 'Thus says the Lord, 'Let my people go, that they may serve me.

-Exodus 8:20

Two decades before a bloody civil war called for an end to chattel slavery in the American south, a relentless freedom fighter named Harriet Tubman risked life and limb to liberate scores of African descendants from imprisonment on slave plantations. For the over a dozen dangerous trips she made on the *Underground Railroad*[1] — a sacrifice considered suicidal by countless others afraid to make the journey, Harriet emerged in the history of the Black radical tradition and global resistance movements as the 'Moses' of her people.[2] Over a century and a half later, Tubman's torch is carried in the hands of another liberator — a woman released from prison and serving those others have left behind.

On an unforgettable February morning, I walk into a busy office in South Central, Los Angeles. A half dozen ethnically-diverse, women staffers gather around a table, trying to reconcile speaking requests from both near and far. That legendary church in Atlanta. Some classroom at Princeton. Somewhere across the pond in Portugal. At the head of the table, the woman at the center of this avalanche of invites dons a vibrant orange dashiki with black and blue trim, and listens to the discussion with the warmest smile and most gentle patience.

I stand at the entryway in anticipation of her embrace. A week earlier, we just missed each other on separate visits to the largest federal detention center in the country, *the Metropolitan Detention Center* in Brooklyn, New York City — a facility that would soon come under scrutiny by human rights activists and the city council after a power outage left men inside without heat for four days amidst a freezing polar vortex .

But here in the City of Angels, the staff of *A New Way of Life* was strategizing around how to navigate an impossibly hectic schedule. As soon as we lock eyes, she welcomes me with a cool *hello* and the hug. I was hoping would not be an intrusion on the more important business of a woman regarded around the world as one of the great freedom fighters of our time. Her name is Susan Burton.

Ms. Burton is the founder of *A New Way of Life Re-entry Project (ANWOL)*. While countless voices in the rising movements for racial and gender justice call for 'changing the narrative' around mass incarceration, Ms. Burton and her organization are changing *the Narrator*. Since 1998, ANWOL has secured and provided housing, case management, pro bono legal services, advocacy and leadership development for more than 1,000 women and children who are rebuilding their lives after prison. In her inspiring memoir, *Becoming MS. Burton*[3], she shares her personal story of healing, redemption and resilience, for which she has received overwhelming acclaim. In fact, the day before this meeting, her publisher's website crashed after a twitter shout-out from legal scholar and author of The *New Jim Crow*, Michelle Alexander, caused her book release announcement to go viral — before over 10,000 copies had to be printed.

This is the new normal for the formerly incarcerated *CNN Hero* who is quickly become regarded as one of the leading civil and human rights activist of our time. Without any hint of hyperbole, her name is now being referenced to the likes of Angela Davis, Ida B. Wells, Sojourner Truth, and yes, even Harriet Tubman.

BB: *Becoming MS. BURTON:* now has over 11,000 copies in print. Congratulations!

SB: Thank you.

BB: I know it's been a long journey to get here. Can you tell us a bit about your journey towards becoming Ms. Burton?

SB: I was born in a housing project. My mother and father, through the conditions of the South, came

1. Blackett, Richard (October 2014). "The Underground Railroad and the Struggle Against Slavery". History Workshop Journal. 78 (1): 279.
2. Clinton, C. (2004). *Harriet Tubman:* The road to freedom. Little Brown & Company.
3. Burton, S. (2017) *Becoming Ms. Burton: From Prison to Recovery to Leading the Fight for Incarcerated Women.* New York: The New Press

to California looking for a better life for themselves and had six children. I was the only girl. I had five brothers. The household was full of stuff. There was laughter, there was fun, but there was also lots of trauma, violence and childhood — different levels of abuse.

And I endured, and I endured, and I endured all types of abuse up until the time I lost my son. My son, KK. He was five years old. He was accidentally killed by an LAPD detective and at that point I kind of fell off[4]. My body couldn't hold any more pain, disappointment and especially the grief of losing a son so I began to drink and that escalated to illegal drug use. It was during the time that our communities were saturated with cocaine that escalated to crack and I succumbed to using it and was imprisoned for that.

For 20 years, I traveled in and out of incarceration because of a drug addiction — really because of medicating the pain, the loss, the grief and the disappointment of life[5]. And in 1998 I found a place on the west side, in Santa Monica, that gave me treatment for my addiction and counseling for the grief and trauma and early childhood abuse[6] and I became stronger.[7]

And that led me to look at what happened in that westside of Santa Monica area — how people were not sent to prison for the things that we were sent to prison for in South LA. And I began to think that if women had a safe place to go, if they had a place, that if they would find safety and a welcoming community like I experienced in Santa Monica, then just perhaps they wouldn't go back to prison.

I saved my few little dollars from a minimum wage job and got a house. And I would begin to greet women at the bus station, as they got off the bus and welcome them back to the community, and offer them a bed at my home, which I called *A New Way of Life*.

BB: What was the reaction of women at the bus station when you first approached? Did they expect you to be there?

SB: They did not expect me to be there. Some women were cautiously suspicious. Some women were glad to have a place to go[8] and some women declined so it was a mixture of responses to the offer of a safe place. prison.[9]

BB: What are the major challenges women coming home from prison in South LA experience?

SB: First of all, every woman that comes back to south LA gets off a bus at the downtown Greyhound bus station on Skid Row and there are lots of predators waiting for women to step off that bus. You're very vulnerable. You are a woman, so we carry certain attributes. Period.

So, you know people are just so ill-prepared to begin their lives without an ID, without a safe place to go. Women have so much [responsibility] around keeping the family together that they carry that burden of motherhood — getting back into the community to make a life, make a way and being vulnerable to relationships that might have been why they were incarcerated in the first place- hailing from the abuse of not only before incarceration but while incarcerated — beginning to understand how to make better choices, safer choices.[10] You know women are much different from men.

I had five brothers. The household was full of stuff. There was laughter, there was fun, but there was also lots of trauma, violence and childhood — different levels of abuse.

BB: So, from the point at which you decided to purchase a home, meeting women coming home from prison, what were some of the major challenges you faced to get *A New Way of Life* from that point to where it is today?

SB: Bryonn, I was so happy to be able to make my life count and useful. I didn't realize the enormity of the challenges that I was taking on. It was so nice to see women and have that community of sisterhood in the household. I didn't really understand the enormity of the challenges I was facing because we were a community, we were all healing, we were all important to one another and so the outside prejudices and

4. Unarmed blacks are killed by the police at five times the rate of unarmed whites. At least one in three blacks killed by police were identified as unarmed. In 2015, police killed at least 102 unarmed black people, nearly two each week. Of these cases, only ten resulted in police being charged, and only two cases saw convictions of the officers involved. One officer received a four-year prison sentence. The other officer was sentenced to jail for one year, though he was allowed to serve his time exclusively on weekends.
5. The United States, with 2.2 million people behind bars, imprisons more people than any other country in the world.
6. More than 60 percent of incarcerated women report having been sexually assaulted before the age of eighteen.
7. It is estimated that as many as 94 percent of incarcerated women were victims of physical or sexual abuse.
8. In large urban areas such as Los Angeles and San Francisco, up to half of those on parole are homeless.
9. Nearly 80 percent of formerly incarcerated women are unable to afford housing after release. Most public housing authorities automatically deny eligibility to anyone with a criminal record. No other country deprives people of the right to housing because of their criminal histories.
10. The majority of incarcerated women are mothers of underage children. Over 40 percent of these mothers, report that, upon incarceration, they were the only parent in the household.

discriminatory practices didn't impact us to get in the way of our healing or our thoughts about what we meant to each other in that community.[11] But going outside of that community and trying to get a job or trying to get a woman's child back, there were serious problems.

And I began to understand that after you do your time, you continue to do time with the level of practices and policies and laws that are in place and that led me to begin to do some advocacy and policy work to address the discriminatory policies[12] and practices that all people who have been convicted of a crime face.[13]

BB: So, you say in your book — specifically in the letter that you write to incarcerated men and women, you say there are no *throw-away* people and you say your life matters and that's a big part of the message you've shared all around the country and internationally — I hear you've been invited to speak from Princeton to Portugal — So when you met Ingrid Archie was that a part of your message? What was that meeting like? And how did that relationship begin?

SB: So, I first met Ingrid Archie in 2007 and she was a bright-eyes bubbly young woman and she had a little girl tagging along behind her, holding her hand. And they came into the home, and I would take her with me to meetings and we would share our story and we began to understand that sharing our story was an important part of getting the message across and our own personal power to voice. And she did well and she moved out and we always had this closeness and the bond and especially her little daughter.

Unfortunately, in 2015 Ingrid had to return because she ran into a store while she left her daughter in the car — and she was re-arrested[14] for child endangerment even though the child was not hurt and I often wonder had Ingrid been in another part of town or if she had not been Black[15] would she have been given services — parenting classes, counseling instead of three years in prison and labeled a child endangerer?

BB: The numbers that I've seen show that 75 per cent of the women involved with *A New Way of Life* don't return to prison?

SB: For a third of the cost of incarceration — we can house a woman for a year and she's much more functional, she's much more able to provide for herself and her family, she becomes a tax paying, contributing member of our society.[16] We spend $75,000 a year to incarcerate a woman. And for $16,000 women can be here at *A New Way of Life* and return to her power, beyond her power and to being a functional member of our society.

The numbers that I've seen show that 75 per cent of the women involved with A New Way of Life don't return to prison

BB: The work you've been doing for decades now has such an impact that I've heard multiple people in completely different situations refer to you as the Harriet Tubman of our time — that says so much. But I know a part of why you're motivated by this work is because of the real lives that your impacting rather than the glorious claim of that kind of connection. How do you feel when you come across women like Ingrid, other women and see that because of the work you've been doing their lives have been so transformed? How does that feel?

SB: It feels so powerful to be a person in the midst of being a change agent — leading women to their purpose and leading women to their power and ultimately their freedom. You know, Ingrid is not a throwaway person and her children are not throwaway

11. Black women comprise 40 percent of street prostitutes, though 55 percent of women arrested for prostitution are black, and 85 percent of women incarcerated for prostitution are black. Two-thirds of those working as prostitutes disclosed having been sexually abused as children—and more than 90 percent said they never told anyone. Only 1 percent reported having received counseling.
12. Every year in L.A. County, 45,600 people are released on parole. A survey revealed that over 40 percent of L.A. employers would not hire a person with a criminal record.
13. In the United States, one in three adults has a criminal record—though black men are six times more likely than white men to be incarcerated. Over 60 percent of the formerly incarcerated will still be unemployed a year after release. Those who do find employment are typically in low-level jobs, earning 40 percent less pay than adults with no criminal background.
14. The California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation has one of the highest recidivism rates in the country, with nearly half of women with a felony conviction returning to prison—and a 61 percent recidivism rate overall. The majority of people returned to prison within the first year of release.
15. Black women represent 30 percent of all incarcerated women in the United States, although they represent less than 7 percent of the country's population.
16. In most states in America, anyone convicted of a felony loses the right to vote until their sentence plus parole or probation is complete. Voting rights may be permanently revoked in ten states (Alabama, Arizona, Delaware, Florida, Iowa, Kentucky, Mississippi, Nevada, Tennessee, and Wyoming), even after someone has been released from prison and completed parole and probation—and while still requiring payment of taxes. Eight states (Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, South Carolina, and South Dakota) restrict voting for anyone convicted of a misdemeanor. Only two states, Maine and Vermont, allow voting from prison.

children and by Ingrid finding that path it also empowers her to become an efficient parent and lead her children in a way that they'll become great women. Her children are girls.[17] And her 15-year old has an appointment to shadow Senator Holly Mitchell. Her daughter wants to aspire to be an elected official and we're able to support that and Ingrid is able to facilitate that because of who she is and who she's becoming.

BB: I want to shift a little bit and talk about some policy. We are living in a real exciting time with lots of changes happening, also a lot of challenges at the federal level. You have this whole tension between the federal government refusing to get rid of prohibition of marijuana, of cannabis whereas, half of the states in the union from California to Colorado and so on, have decided to decriminalize marijuana. We are looking at it specifically in the sense — from Prop 64 to this recent ballot initiative last year — the issue has come up quite a bit. What are your thoughts on the impact of the war on drugs. Specifically, as it relates to women who have been involved with *A New Way of Life* — to what extent have drug-related crimes been a part of their journey ending up here?

SB: So, we really are able to understand that we are living in a country that's divided. There are the people who are liberal and want equality and fairness and then there are the people who are bigots and racists and capitalists. And we're coming out of a time that our communities, urban communities were under a hell of an attack through the war on drugs and that (those) attacks I believe, just devastated the women in our communities and drove them in droves, by the thousands, into prisons across this nation.[18] And now we're realizing what happened and we're beginning to repair that damage that happened through the war on drugs. While we're having a divided country, a lot of the women who come into *A New Way of Life* have had drug convictions and non-violent crimes. But there are also the women who come into our communities and come into our homes that have had crimes that they've been tagged 'violent'.[19]

I don't see either of those women being different in the way of being able to recover from whatever happened in their past and many times these women were defending themselves[20] and someone got hurt and they got labeled 'violent'.[21] But each one of them have healed and each one of them are capable of being great members of our society, great parents[22] and contributing members — and I think that this country when it makes a distinction between a person whose been convicted of a non-violent versus a violent crime, I think their making a big mistake because one instant cannot label a person, one instant cannot label a person deserving or not deserving because we really need to check that out and look at that and understand what we're doing making a distinction between the deserving and the undeserving.[23] Again, there are no throwaway people and we're all able to recover from that instant or from that way of being.

I don't see either of those women being different in the way of being able to recover from whatever happened in their past

BB: Why do you think politicians, elected officials are trying to make that distinction so much — in conversations and how they frame some of the legislative proposals? What do you think is behind them in trying to label non-violent drug-related offences as something different from folks who have other kinds of offences?

SB: So, politicians are not deep investors or risk takers. And right now, in this era of decarceration or mass incarceration — depending on how you look at it, it's safe to say let's help the non-violent ones. It's not safe to say let's help everybody. You know, somebody

17. Most women are behind bars for social or victimless crimes—while the real victims, which the flawed system perpetuates, are the children. The number of children under age eighteen with a mother in prison has more than doubled since 1991. Approximately 10 million American children have or have had a parent in prison.
18. The majority of offenses committed by women are nonviolent drug and property crimes, motivated by poverty and addiction. Most women offenders are under thirty years old, and are disproportionately low-income, black, and didn't complete high school. The lifetime likelihood of imprisonment for white women is 1 in 118; for black women, it's 1 in 19.
19. Approximately 90 percent of women imprisoned for killing someone close to them had been abused by that person.
20. It is estimated that as many as 94 percent of incarcerated women were victims of physical or sexual abuse.
21. Being abused or neglected as a child increases the likelihood of arrest as a juvenile by nearly 60 percent, and the likelihood of adult violent crime by approximately 30 percent.
22. More than 75 percent of incarcerated women had at least one child as a teenager.
23. Sixty-five million Americans with a criminal record face a total of 45,000 collateral consequences that restrict everything from employment, professional licensing, child custody rights, housing, student aid, voting, and even the ability to visit an incarcerated loved one. Many of these restrictions are permanent, forever preventing those who've already served their time from reaching their potential in the workforce, as parents, and as productive citizens. "The result is that these collateral consequences become a life sentence harsher than whatever sentence a court actually imposed upon conviction." —American Bar Association president William C. Hubbard.

always has to get thrown under the bus. And that's just not fair, or is it the best most effective approach when we look at cost and long sentences. I had a woman who came to *A New Way of Life* who had been incarcerated 47 years.[24] It doesn't take that to rehabilitate. Forty-seven years.

BB: And you make the point about just the cost — obviously the deep cost to our communities, to our families, there's the human cost of it. But it doesn't make sense, even in the logic of these bigoted capitalist folks, who actually are committing these resources you talked about, is not an effective use of resources. If over 95 per cent of the folks in prison are coming home, you'd rather invest in truly rehabilitating and educating, giving folks opportunities or keeping folks in this system that doesn't work. So, I'm curious to know if you think that using some of the resources — the taxes that are gonna be taken from the decriminalization of cannabis — using those resources towards community programs like legal aid, like drug treatment, addiction treatment, like community gardens and beautification of the community — if that's one effective step towards using those resources in a more responsible way?

SB: So here we are in 2018 and on January 1, legalization of marijuana has taken place in California and there's a tax on there that will benefit the community. But, I think back to all the people that languished in prisons and were criminalized for this marijuana that's legal now[25], and the pain that we suffered on the back of marijuana being illegal. So, we can't undo the past but, we can step into a future that will help our communities become whole, safer, and resourced.[26]

I also think about how people capitalized on the incarceration of folks for marijuana and now that it's legal, while we'll get some resources but who is also capitalizing off the marijuana industry now? Is it the same people who provided services and capitalized off the incarceration of folks? So, I guess we'll take the tax dollars and resources and try to make the most of it in our communities — but these other questions really linger in my mind.

BB: NPR did a story a couple weeks ago where they talked about how all these major corporations were setting up to take advantage of the legalization — and they were put in place whereas — they spotlighted one sister in Oakland who had been in and out of prisons around multiple marijuana charges and she was having a hard time just getting the license to be someone who could actually benefit from the legalization. So as this contradiction happens, it seems like we should be concerned about who is going to make the most of it, who's gonna benefit actually from what seems like progress — But we've seen it before.

SB: We've seen it before.

BB: And the bait and switch is happening — so I think being cautiously optimistic is a way to approach it.

SB: So, we'll take the tax dollars, and try to do the most and the best that we can with them. But I have to interject and say — we know how to make our community safe — we know how to do that. Hopefully these tax dollars will resource us to do that.

…we know how to make our community safe — we know how to do that. Hopefully these tax dollars will resource us to do that

BB: The Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation in California — what can it do to more effectively incentivize rehabilitation — to support rehabilitation?

SB: Ah, the Department of Corrections! When I was imprisoned it was called 'Department of Corrections' — then they put 'Rehabilitation' on the end of that, but it never did go back and correct its core mission which is to *punish.*[28] So, I believe we need to go

24. Women commit far fewer murders than men, but receive far longer sentences. A woman who kills a male partner receives, on average, a fifteen-year sentence, while a man who kills a female partner typically receives two to six years.
25. Only around 15 percent of those serving time for a drug-related offense are given access to a drug treatment program with a trained professional.
26. Though drug use and selling occur at similar rates across racial and ethnic groups, black and Hispanic women are far more likely to be criminalized. Black women are more than twice as likely to be incarcerated for drug offenses as white women.
27. Because of the crack epidemic and the harsh, racially discriminatory policies of the Anti–Drug Abuse Act, one in three black men will see the inside of a jail cell. The average time served by African Americans for nonviolent drug offenses is virtually the same as the time whites serve for violent offenses.
28. States with the toughest crime laws saw the largest spikes in prison population over the past two decades. California's Three Strikes law, one of the harshest sentencing policies in the country, sent people to prison for life for offenses as minor as petty theft. At one point, "strikers" made up a quarter of California inmates, serving extreme sentences that didn't fit the crime, on the taxpayers' dime.

back and look at that core mission and build out from there — you can't just tag a word on the back of a department and think that it's done. Its core mission is to punish and it needs to go back there and begin from there to push out its function from its mission.

BB: I know we can't wait for any department to do the work we need to do. I think that's why I am so honored to know you and to have the opportunity to just share this time with you. Thank you.

SB: Well, I am just one person... And I can't do this work alone. You are in the community and working in the prisons and on the campus too. So, I thank you.

Though our interview was over, Ms. Burton's day was just beginning -— with a host of meetings and community events to come. While her hectic schedule highlights the overwhelming work being organized to end mass incarceration, it also speaks to something else: Ms. Burton's unyielding commitment to advocating for women and families.

Ms. Burton is a true change agent and has the results to prove it. 75 per cent of all women who attend *A New Way of Life* do not return to prison. The women go on to serve in their communities, find fulfilling work, and build meaningful relationships with their families and communities. From meetings with legislators to lectures at Princeton to Portugal, Susan Burton shares the same message: 'There are no throwaway people; everyone's life matters.' She believes her work is to lead women to their power, their purpose, and ultimately, to their freedom. And it is that steadfast leadership and commitment to others liberation that has drawn comparisons to Harriet Tubman.

In a 1886 interview, Tubman said: 'There was one of two things I had a right to: liberty, or death. If I could not have one, I would have the other.... I should fight for my liberty as long as my strength lasted.'[29] And now over 130 years later, Susan Burton carries the torch with the same fire and unyielding power as the architect of the Underground Railroad that paved the way for the one she has forged.

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29. Bradford, S. (1993). Harriet Tubman: The Moses of Her People. 1886. Bedford: Applewood.

Reviews

Film as radical pedagogic tool
By Deirdre O'Neill
Publisher: Routledge (2018)
ISBN: 978-1-138-63182-3 (hardback)
Price: £100 (hardback)

It has been widely argued that the general public have little or no direct experience of imprisonment and therefore rely upon media representations, whether documentary or fiction, to inform their views.[1] These representations often emphasise particular aspects including the most serious and violent prisoners, the most dramatic situations and the most unusual characters. They therefore reinforce the legitimacy of prisons and even support more punitive responses.[2] Although there are more empathic and reforming representations, these are less prominent.[3]

Inside Film is a project that challenges this orthodoxy by working with prisoners, ex-prisoners and people on probation to produce their own short films. These are then screened at small scale events and made available online. The intention of these projects is to raise the political consciousness of participants; offer an alternative form of production and distribution, and; create films that provoke and challenge audiences with different perspectives. As the title of the book suggests, these projects aim to enable participants and viewers to undertake learning and personal growth (pedagogic) while also challenging dominant political ideas about the criminal justice system and those entangled within it (radical). This book examines the work of Inside Film, and is written by its co-founder, Dierdre O'Neill.

O'Neill describes that her particular concern is with class. Her own biography has shaped her work, particularly her experiences as a working class, single parent living in social housing, who came to academia later in life. She has undertaken her own journey to critical political consciousness, understanding the structures of power and inequality that dominate the world in which she lives. This is reflected in the work of Inside Film, where: 'Our aim is to build an awareness of the possibility of an oppositional consciousness and provide the students with an analytical framework within which they can begin to explore the ways in which this hierarchy, this them and us, is produced.' (p. 7).

The project involves practical sessions on film equipment and techniques as well as theoretical sessions on class politics and radical cinema practice. The participants produce '…short, questioning and angry films…' (p.4) that 'represent the 'embodied experience' of the working class…' (p.5). O'Neill nearly summarises the radical element of the project as offering:

'…a counter-hegemonic intervention challenging the essentialist, personalised, and negative taxonomies of working-class people and working-class life. Not just by pointing out that they are, to put it very simply, 'wrong,' in the representational sense of bearing very little resemblance to working-class life but also wrong in what can only be called the moral sense because of the ideological role these representations play in normalising the negative images of working-class people utilised in the media to justify, legitimize, and continue the brutal inequalities that are the reality of working-class life in this country' (p. 14)

Throughout the book, O'Neill offers decoding and critique of popular films. These readings are significant in understanding the strengths and limitations of her approach. Predictably, as a Marxist, the films of Ken Loach are praised for exposing the problems experienced by working class people and the structural causes of inequality. While I also love the work of Ken Loach, I would also recognise the criticism that he offers a sometimes romanticised view of working class life, that his films can overplay the political critique at the expense of

1. Surette, R. (1997) Media, Crime, and Criminal Justice Second edition Belmont: West/Wadsworth
2. Brown, M. (2009) The culture of punishment: prison, society, and spectacle New York: New York University Press
3. Wilson, D. and O'Sullivan, S. (2004) Images of Incarceration: Representations of Prison in Film and Television Drama Winchester: Waterside Press
4. https://www.amber-online.com/

authentic dialogue and experiences. Better, if lesser known illustrations would be the work of the Amber collective in Newcastle, who have for over 40 years used photography, film and documentary to represent the lives and changing communities of the North East of England[4]; or Peter Watkins, who in films such as the six hour long *La Commune* (2000) mixes recreation, mock documentary and back stage material in order to radicalize the actors and technicians as well as the viewer. In contrast, a film such as *Billy Elliot* (UK 2000: dir Stephen Daldry) is dismissed by O'Neill for its representation of working class culture as an obstacle to the title character fulfilling his potential as a ballet dancer. Such a dismissal ignores that the film reveals some of the tensions between the intersection of class with masculine identity and sexual orientation. *Billy Elliott* is about more than simply a narrow concept of class and O'Neill's reading reveals a dogmatism in her approach: a film is either an acceptable Marxist text or it is nothing. Further, O'Neill describes how she viewed and discussed *The Green Mile* (US, 1999: dir Frank Darabont) with a group of students. While they were positive towards the film and its representation of the unjust sufferings of the main black character, O'Neill is insistent that her more critical reading is correct and that the alternative is simply the product of false consciousness on behalf of a group of people indoctrinated into dominant ideas and values. Such a stubborn and reductionist view again reveals the dogmatism at work.

This book is both fascinating and infuriating. O'Neill's work with Inside Film offers a distinctive and particular approach to art in prisons. Arts have often been promoted on the basis that they humanise the prison experience, but have also been criticised for lending prisons an air of legitimacy for an elite audience.[5] Inside Film seeks no such cosy accommodations, but instead intends to induce discomfort and resistance. The frustration comes from the narrow Marxist perspective, trenchantly expressed and inflexibly applied. Class is not the only lens through which to view the world and there is more than one perspective. Having said all of that, this book is to be applauded for being provocative, for stimulating a reaction and wanting to make some noise. Whether O'Neill is right or wrong, she certainly couldn't be accused of being bland.

Dr. Jamie Bennett
Deputy Director, HMPPS

Opening the Doors: a prison chaplain's life on the inside
By Paul Gill
Publisher: Waterside Press (2018)
ISBN: 978-1-909976-60-3
Price: £19.95 (paperback)

It is first important to say something about the format of this book. It is published in A4 and on each of the pages, a different design (sometimes a photograph) in colour provides the background of the text. The images are often of prison or objects commonly associated with crime and street life. The text itself is set in different typefaces and font sizes, and the layout of the pages varies a great deal. This design is suited to its content which is divided into nine chapters (with titles such as 'On The Inside', 'In the Nick', 'Justice', and 'Finding God in Captivity'), each of which is subdivided into sections that are rarely longer than a page and frequently only a short paragraph. There are 167 of these sections in a book of just 154 pages (including the frontispiece, the 'Author's Note', 'A Word of Thanks', a foreword, the Contents and a short note on the author).

Although the book's sub-title indicates it is a prison chaplain's life, it is less an autobiography than an anthology of the experiences of the author's ministry in prisons (he served in prisons in Australia and latterly in England, before he recently retired). Much of its content can be described as a series of 'snap-shot' contributions (sometimes with quotations) from prisoners, victims (and the families of both prisoners and victims) and staff. Accompanying almost every contribution is a brief reflection or religious commentary, sometimes a prayer or quotation from the Bible.

Some of the images used in the design are powerful, as are some of the insights the contributors have provided. For someone who has worked in a prison, however, few of either the images or the contributions will be new. That doesn't mean that they may not be meaningful: it is salutary to be reminded of the difficulties faced by those who live and work in prison, and those faced by their families and their victims. There is, for example, a poem about crystal meths written by a woman who was imprisoned

5. Cheliotis, L. (Ed) (2012) The arts of imprisonment: Control, resistance and empowerment Farnham: Ashgate

for drugs offences. The poem tells of the fateful control this drug has, and a footnote informs us that the woman took her own life shortly after her release. Another contribution is from a man who was executed after having spent 22 years on death row (some contributions are, with footnoted acknowledgements, taken from other books).

However, for all the poignancy of some of the content, the absence of any fuller contextualisation of the experiences depicted — and without too some extended commentary on some of the complexities these experiences reveal — something is missed. The reader who knows prisons well with most likely think this. Without it, someone with less knowledge of prisons may be misled or at least less fully informed. The contextualisation and commentary that is provided is that of a sincere man of faith, whose faith is explicitly evangelical. This will deter some because not everyone will find scriptural quotations, prayers and the offer of spiritual redemption helpful or even relevant. The very succinct references to criminology will frustrate the knowledgeable reader. The less knowledgeable reader will need the discipline to use this book to research elsewhere the issues that arise.

It is therefore likely that book will be picked up and read more frequently by those who know little of prison. However, it is not an 'introduction to prisons' or even a vade mecum for prospective or new chaplains. It is, to coin a phrase, towards the 'kaleidoscopic' rather than 'encyclopaedic' end of the information continuum. As such, it is a book that will probably be dipped into rather than read straight through — which the clearly detailed 'contents' enables. It is first and foremost the reflections of a life spent working in prisons as a chaplain. It provides a reflection of the witness this man of faith has borne and his evangelical convictions.

William Payne, former Prison Governor

The Maze Prison: A hidden story of chaos, anarchy and politics

By Tom Murtagh OBE
Publisher: Waterside Press
ISBN: 978-1-909976-50-4
Price: £40.00

The tensions over the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland in early 2019, have highlighted how fragile and complex the political situation is in the province. Whilst the Troubles are over, an unsteady peace was forged that still simmers with conflict beneath the surface. During the period of time labelled 'The Troubles' very few places or institutions were more synonymous with the chaotic political manoeuvres, violence and fatalities of the time, than the Maze Prison.

Tom Murtagh has brilliantly captured the culture and tactics of the often opposing factions of prisoners, who over a period of 29 years completely undermined the authority of the prison staff and managers who were attempting to provide a decent custodial environment for them. He has also managed to detail perceptions of the political wrangling that the Northern Irish Prison Service HQ and Ministers were engaged in with these factions in custody and the community. Their aim was to try to assist attempts at a peace process in the province by offering concessions to prisoners as the Maze, unlike many prisons, was not isolated from the rest of Northern Irish society but was in fact a social pawn in various propaganda campaigns by all sides. Murtagh describes in epic detail (at times on a day by day basis) how this further undermined managers and staff already dealing with an almost impossible situation.

Murtagh worked in prisons in Northern Ireland and England for almost 40 years, including governing various prisons in both jurisdictions and ending his career as Area Manager in the English Prison Service. Crucially, he was Head of Security and Deputy Governor of the Maze, which provides the uniqueness of this book; although many accounts have been written of life inside the Maze by former Republican and Loyalist prisoners little has been offered from the perspective of those working there. Murtagh spent ten years researching documents and interviewing people with experience of the Maze and has produced a fascinating and well evidenced tome that runs to almost 800 pages covering the 29 years of the Maze largely in chronological order. The book can be read cover to cover as a historical account but also be used for academic reference following the extensive research Murtagh has undertaken.

The story of the Maze is full of extreme experiences and incidents. This book describes how staff witnessed the hunger strikers being pressurised by those powerful in the Provisional IRA to continue to the point of death even when they knew they would not achieve their aims. It includes elaborate mass escape attempts,

occasionally involving guns, that were facilitated by the way staff were intimidated and undermined by the situation that was allowed to develop. It also describes how the prison was essentially totally destroyed by rioting prisoners attempting to force the government into mass releases due to lack of suitable accommodation. In this respect, Murtagh provides first-hand accounts of how a few brave staff, Spartan-like, prevented a huge number of prisoners escaping from the prison. He also describes how the Army, who patrolled the perimeter and did not understand the culture of imprisonment, used excessive force when resolving that incident. The latter provided a rallying call for prisoners held in the Maze and a propaganda boon for those outside.

Moreover, Murtagh details the intense pressure on staff working in the prisons of Northern Ireland. Not only were they subject to an immensely rising population, unsuitable accommodation, serious assaults, intimidation, understaffing and corrupt colleagues, they were also subject to death threats, assault and murder within the relatively small and close-knit outside community. During the period described in the book 29 members of prison staff were murdered and the police foiled 6 murder attempts on the author, one attempt to kidnap his wife and child, and one attempt to murder his wife with an explosive attached to her car. It was only at this point he relented and returned to the English prison system.

Importantly the book also describes how staff, managers, headquarters and the whole system was effectively conditioned to allow prisoners to separate into discrete units, consolidating their power and influence over staff, and frustrating the aim of imprisonment in every sense. The conditions ultimately obtained by prisoners in the Maze are also relevant to how the prison system, particularly in England and Wales, manages the present day terrorist threat from within prisons.

Overall, this book is provides lessons that are relevant to practitioners, students, academics and even politicians, wishing to draw lessons from history on dealing with high risk terrorists, understaffing and new recruits, corruption and conditioning, and the importance of considering the views of prison service professionals when engaging in significant changes that can impact the lives of those who work and live in prisons.

Paul Crossey, Deputy Governor at HMP Huntercombe

Your Honour, Can I Tell you my Story?

By Andi Brierley
Publisher: Waterside Press (2019)
ISBN: 978-1909976641
Price: £19.95 (paperback)

The latest in a line of acclaimed turn around stories from Waterside Press, Your Honour, Can I Tell you my Story?, provides a unique insight into the author's personal journey through care and incarceration, to youth justice practitioner. The author shares his experiences openly, bringing abstract concepts to life through a reflective lense. This creates a unique exploration of criminal justice narrative alongside lived experienced.

The author, Andi Brierly, gives an emotional account of his experiences of care as a young child, the prison system as a child and adult, and his later desistance from offending in this candid and authentic text. Andi, now a married father, works as a Children Looked After/Care Leaver Specialist within Leeds Youth Offending Service. With his qualifications, experience, and work ethic he has now dedicated his career to supporting young people involved with the YOS.

The book aims to gives readers the opportunity to explore the author's childhood trauma, alongside his socio-contextual situation and the subsequent reactive pathway of addiction, offending, and incarceration. The author provides a personal account and perspective on desistance with an honest and emotional inner dialogue that distinguishes the text from many others. The overarching themes of the book explore current criminal justice policy narratives of risk, choice, and consequence in the trajectory of the author's lived experience. The author paints a highly convincing argument in a heavily researched and debated area; that is to address the criminalisation and incarceration of young people.

The author begins his story with a succinct introduction, this chapter goes beyond its implied introductory title of 'Who am I?' and gives a detailed insight into the family experiences, and structural and ecological factors involved in his early life. The next chapters then develop into the common cyclical narrative of care, crime, addiction and imprisonment in which the author shares his experiences of navigating through, and surviving the prison system. The final chapters of this book discuss the author's road to desistance, including finding work after custody, volunteering and

becoming a youth justice practitioner. Themes of identity, stigma and resilience follow the author throughout his journey into the world of work and education in these final few eye-opening chapters.

There are many strengths within this book, and within those of the same genre. It provides readers with an inside view into the physical and emotional experiences of someone who becomes involved in offending. It is written in a clear way and is accessible to a wide range of audiences. However, this book particularly stands out for the following two reasons. Firstly, the author writes as a qualified youth justice practitioner, giving the book an interesting reflective characteristic. The author applies criminal justice discourse and narrative to his own experiences and uses this theme to pose questions to the reader. This guides the readers interpretation somewhat but highlights important points to consider within criminal justice practice. Secondly, this book provides insights into the thoughts and experiences of someone with lived experience that then goes on to work for the criminal justice sector. It is interesting to read the author's position on the operation of the sector and to see how this view is utilised within the service. It also provides points of reflection relating to the stigma associated with criminal convictions and challenges us to consider our unconscious bias with interesting accounts of the authors experiences with colleagues.

Whilst finding this book so engaging, there were points I felt I was left wanting more information. Whether this was regarding detail of the events or perspective of the author, I wanted the narrative to develop its evaluation. Admittedly, this was largely to satisfy my own intrigue. It is likely that added analysis would detract from the accessibility of the work.

Overall, this was an excellent read. I got through the book very quickly, which is a testament to the compelling nature of the memoir. I would recommend this book to a range of audiences; from academics and students, to criminal justice practitioners in prison, probation, and youth justice services, to social and youth workers. It provides insight into the common socio-economic circumstances of offending which become unfortunately familiar. However, this is alongside the emotional and cognitive experiences that people rarely disclose, therefore broadening understanding of the affective domain. Additionally, I would recommend this book to young people or adults with similar experiences. Pathways into offending behaviour are often individual, however this book provides discussion of the very personal experiences of emotional battles around shame, confidence and identity. This gives the book relatability throughout which, as the author points out, is essential when providing positive role models and, essentially hope for the future.

Sarah Waite, Leeds Beckett University and Sheffield Hallam University

Interview: Pia Sinha

__Pia Sinha__ is Governor of HMP Liverpool. She is interviewed by __Paul Crossey__, Deputy Governor of HMP Huntercombe.

Pia Sinha joined HMP Holloway as a qualified psychologist twenty years ago, before taking up a similar role at HMP Wandsworth. From there she completed the Senior Prison Manager Programme, a fast track scheme designed to recruit those with considerable experience from outside of operational roles for development towards becoming Governors of the future. From HMP Wandsworth she became Head of Reducing Reoffending at HMP Wormwood Scrubs, before taking Deputy Governor positions at HMP Send, HMP Downview and then HMP Liverpool in 2012. Pia's first in charge position was as Governor of HMP Thorn Cross, from where she became Governor of HMP Risley before returning to HMP Liverpool as Governor in 2017.

The interview took place in February 2019.

PC: What do you consider to be the purpose of imprisonment?

PS: When I first started working in prisons, I understood that my purpose as a member of staff was dealing with an individual. This would include discovering what was distressing for them, what their life experience was like, and working out how to get them from a place of crisis to a place of stability by instilling in them hope for their future. Fostering hope was the mission of the prison service then, and I believe that perception is unchanged now. My philosophy, that I would explain to prisoners, was that whatever chaos has happened in your life prior to coming to prison, that has lead you to being here, your arrival marks at some level the end of something bad in your life and you have this period of time to get a fresh start. My purpose is to encourage that in any way that I can so that when you leave you have a more hopeful vision of yourself and your future. The purpose of prisons is to be catalysts in a moment in someone's life where we could try and affect as much change as we can. This may take multiple attempts, but each time we are chipping away at whatever is holding you back. As a governor, my purpose is about creating an environment, systems, and developing people who start to think that way, so that we are all working towards that goal.

PC: There are are many leadership models in use across the Civil Service, Ministry of Justice and the Prison Service. How do you conceptualise leadership as a governor?

PS: My personal journey to governing has been a very iterative process. When I took charge of my first prison, I approached it based on what I understood to be the received views and perceptions of being a governor. I carried this baggage of what a governor should be initially because I think that for me it had to be a very immersive experience. At the time, I arrived with all sorts of ideas about what the leadership challenge would be and I focused on taking ideas and practices from those I considered my role models as governors. Through trial and error, I attempted to fit these with my values. However, in the end I asked myself what was personally important to me and I found that I simply wanted to be a leader who people wanted to work for. I reflected on the times in my life when I enjoyed work, felt engaged and motivated. I considered the times when I had a cold and decided to come into work as opposed to staying in bed. I used those principles to try to create an environment where people feel included, that their voice is heard, and their ideas are accepted. People want to be in place where they feel they are making a contribution. My role is to model a person who is energetic, enthusiastic, motivated, and genuinely affected by the work, and that has the impact of inspiring others to do the same. Occasionally, I realise the enormity of my responsibility as a governor, but I push that to one side and ensure that I trust my instincts and be authentic.

PC: Given that you had that immersive instinctive approach did you plan for your first 100 days?

PS: By taking an instinctive approach I quickly realised that I could draw on a range of experiences, some of which were buried in my subconscious. My initial focus was about moving from that unconscious competence to a position of conscious competence. At my first prison, HMP Thorn Cross, I quickly got a sense of what the prison might need and what the next steps might be. It felt like 'prison heaven'; a perfect cat D, nice physical environment and everything working well on the surface. However, underneath that I sensed that both prisoners and staff were not happy and I took time to reflect on it. Thorn Cross had been a young offender institute and

had been the 'jewel in the crown' before its purpose was changed. It became a standard cat D establishment with adult prisoners, but staff keenly felt the loss of the special role they had had. Staff still treated most of the adult prisoners like young offenders and that had a negative impact on relationships. I quickly realised that what this jail needed was to mature, to have its own identity but in a way that felt congruent. Once you have this big picture, I approach it with my psychologist's perspective: I reduce it to strategies, priorities and the focus of communication that needs to happen so that everyone can get on message. Then I look to break it down further by looking at how we can improve relationships, the geography, alter processes and procedures that will all subtly start making those changes happen. Some of that is quite a conscious process, some of it is quite unconscious which is why I think being authentic and congruent is the key. I've never stopped thinking about prisons in that way; I did the same at Risley and Liverpool. Governors are always under pressure, especially in your first 100 days, and that is good because it structures your thoughts. I always spend the first few weeks just immersing myself in the establishment to get a real accurate sense of what the prison is about, what makes it tick, what are the skeletons in the closet, and who is going to tell me about those.

I think the best part about being the Governor is that when you arrive your vision becomes the whole prison's vision.

PC: How do you make hard choices about who can help turn a prison around and who might be holding it back?

PS: I think the best part about being the Governor is that when you arrive your vision becomes the whole prison's vision. Once I have outlined my vision to the team, people tend to quite obviously fall into three camps. There are those that share your vision, those that do not share your vision but will work with you and those who will not be converted. The latter group will never 'get it', probably because their vision is completely different and they are entitled to that. However, if their vision is too incongruent, then the conversation needs to be focused on whether this is the right place for them. It is not about them being a bad or an incompetent person. There really are only two options. Either they work hard and separately keep their belief system or if they are not prepared to do that then I will help to find them somewhere where it feels more congruent. That was what I did at Liverpool. As Liverpool was under intense scrutiny at the time, I was given quite a gift to be able to get the team that I needed to fix the prison, which is something governors do not normally have the ability to do. I had those open conversations with people saying this is the deal here, do you think you are up for it?

PC: What do we need from new officer recruits and what more can we do to make sure they are best prepared?

PS: Whatever we try and do, whether it is simulating an experience through training or coaching, nothing prepares you for what the first day feels like. What is more important, therefore, is to select people on their values and resilience. Our selection should focus on recruiting the right type of people that will cope in this environment rather than just getting through high numbers. We lose a lot of people in that process and we may damage people too. A more considered recruitment process would be higher risk as we select only the right people in the first place, ensure they know what they are letting themselves in for and additionally they will 'self-select'. When I joined the service, I knew quite quickly whether I would like this environment or not.

I did the standard training and it was satisfactory. However, when you 'went live' the most important thing was your first 'hair-raising' experience and whether you can bounce back from it. It was also whether personally there was something about that experience that pulled you in to this world. I am not quite sure how you select for the people with that attitude. In terms of training the Norwegian model of two years of training, akin to social workers, seems right when coupled with periods of on the job experience, but Norway is a very different type of country.

PC: How do prisoners have a voice and involvement with improving Liverpool?

PS: It is something that I feel proud of and our improvement journey would not have happened without us including our men as a vital cog in this process. They are involved in their environment; cleaning, painting, decorating and repairing. It creates jobs and pride. We have men involved in every single meeting. They are not aware yet of how best to use that voice but they have the platform.

Recently, we included our user voice as part of the interview for healthcare positions. We have inspection representatives that test our evidence in anticipation of the next inspection. There are no better people that will tell you how it really is. Men are also involved in our radio station. Our journey has been shaped by the voices that we are hearing and getting men involved in everything we do.

When I toured the prison when I first started prisoners would complain about not receiving what they were entitled to, the lack of response to applications, the ignorant attitude of some staff. Now it is all about being involved and getting a job. It is about finding opportunities to contribute to the prison and they are excited by it. They may be proud when I escort visitors and they show me how clean their wing is and they compete with each other across wings for the cleanest. We make sure that they get praise and recognition for it. It is also more than just cleaning floors or putting a window up, as these activities can lead to better outcomes for the men here. For example, we have a refresh team who fix our broken windows. There is a man on the team who had a trade on the outside and thanks to his work with us, our contractor Amey wrote a reference for court which led to a more compassionate sentence. He has continued working here with our improvement work alongside Bagnalls (who are providing work here) as an apprentice, and on release he is going to get a job with them. When that became known across the prison, more people want to help and we uncovered a number of tradesmen we were unaware of. As they take ownership of the work, our vandalism has come down and littering has reduced.

PC: Is it possible to improve a prison that is in the situation Liverpool was in at the time that you took charge, without getting additional staff or reducing the population held there?

PS: We have had a significant financial investment, although we are only now reaping the rewards. Previously Liverpool's story was of the forgotten prison; unloved, no investment, poor facilities. Importantly, the investment has shown someone does care about us, and that is powerful. I have used that as the message to staff and it is part of our logo, securing the future of Liverpool. We have reduced our capacity but maintained our staffing levels and that has been helpful to us. It is always a risk, depending on what is happening externally, but we have been able to refurbish at pace. It is not unique to Liverpool, but we have had to be worthy of it. Senior management want to invest wisely and therefore Liverpool needed to be a plausible place worth investing in. You can save bricks and mortar but unless you feel that there is something to believe in within the culture, it is a waste of money. The culture is the most important thing to get right.

Ironically, reducing the population has given us more problems with safety because our churn has increased. We are still serving the same courts. However, as the churn increases, we experience more self-harm, violence, and short-term prisoners including more people on remand.

PC: One of the key factors in the Strangeways riot in the 1990s was overcrowding. Do you think reducing the population here has directly made the prison safer?

PS: Ironically, reducing the population has given us more problems with safety because our churn has increased. We are still serving the same courts. However, as the churn increases, we experience more self-harm, violence, and short-term prisoners including more people on remand. We operate similarly to a reception prison and we have had to invest in front end services. Key work has been crucial including the new staff. Liverpool has healthy attitude to new staff. Peter Clark (the Chief Inspector) said to me he could often tell the nature of the culture of a prison by how established and new staff interact with each other. Key work means talking to prisoners in depth and we connect with them as people and vice versa. All of those things are more significant in making Liverpool feel safer, as well as cleanliness, decency, getting our systems right, and having an engaged senior team. It then becomes a virtuous cycle.

PC: What do you think will be the impact of introducing PAVA here?

PS: I was governing Risley when PAVA was piloted and I was nervous about it. The research seems to be mixed. I think the readiness assessment linked with PAVA, including safety diagnostics, body-worn video camera use, key work and five-minute intervention roll outs, is helpful and sensible. It is a measure of how mature you are as an establishment to handle PAVA which is vital. Our use of force governance in Liverpool is getting better and we have fewer inappropriate instances of force. If the establishment is moving towards a mature attitude towards use of the force then I think that PAVA would be a useful addition but I do not think we are quite there yet.

PC: What challenges do you face with substance misuse, particularly psychoactive substances, and what is your strategy for dealing with it?

PS: We face significant challenges with drug use in Liverpool. Originally, it was exacerbated because nearly all of the cell windows were smashed out, giving easy access to move drugs around. Since then, we have fixed the windows, which prevents drone deliveries, and made the prison more generally decent and purposeful for the men. Drug use has lessened, but it remains a cat and mouse game, requiring constant attention. The suppliers switched to paper forms of psychoactive substances (PS) which caused a significant amount of disruption across the prison. We reacted by photocopying all mail and that forced a switch back to the use of drones. Cannabis seems to currently be the drug of choice partly because we have closed the route for PS and partly because they have seen the impact of taking PS and think of it as a 'dirty' drug. The smoking ban has also had an interesting impact because it easy to smell anybody smoking anything now. However, the demand for drugs is the more interesting aspect, and it is obvious to me how we reduce it. Prisoners should be busy, tired out from work, engaged, and spending time out of their cells. Apart from a small group of people who are really invested in criminality, all most people want to do is get on with their time in prison, and be safe while they are here. If you believe that, then you can be imaginative in your response, rather the reverting to simple punishment which on its own, does not work. We are persuading staff to use a restorative approach, a recovery-based model, and it is showing some green shoots.

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PC: What has been the Liverpool experience with key work is it sustainable?

PS: It is sustainable, because we have purposely designed it to be more sustainable. Previously, when it failed it was because there was no ownership, we did not value the work and we were not holding people accountable for non-delivery. Residential custodial managers are now responsible for making it happen and are supported by a technically good regime management plan (RMP) (which tells us what regime can be delivered depending on our staffing levels). Many prisons which operate poorly, do so because they do not manage central detailing of staff properly. The way that our orderly officers think and manage the jail is a little antiquated. However, if they have the right tools like the RMP, then it starts working quite mechanically. Prison management is largely about getting the right people in the right places at the right time with clear objectives. The RMP gives us that. Staff respond to that because they know exactly what they need to be doing, why they're doing it, who will check on them and what will happen if they do not do it. That almost formulaic part of prison management does not mean that it is always delivered, but we do know when, who and why it is not delivered, and then we can then do something about it.

We can also see a correlation between when key work takes place and incidents. It may not stand the rigour of an academic assessment, but we started correlating incidents with when key work uptake was at its best and the graphs literally show a positive

straight line. If you speak to our men, they will say that they notice the same.

PC: Overall, what are you most proud of as governor of Liverpool?

PS: I am incredibly proud of our staff. I am absolutely blown away by the way they have gone from the lowest point in terms of their professional self-worth, self-esteem and experiencing what had happened to the prison, to the journey that we have all taken. They have trusted me to make the right decisions, even when they have not liked some of them, but they have rolled their sleeves up. Liverpool's personality as a prison is very much like Liverpool's personality as a city; it is creative, vibrant, and all about the heart. I am very similar but the staff have made things happen.

There never really was a resistance to trying something different, trying something new, taking a risk and so much of how you progress or not is on the good will of your staff. You can still do it but it becomes very hard work. That has got a shelf life while we are still on a high. However, I said in my new year full staff briefing that this year the focus will be on engagement. I said that during the last year, while we were in special measures, it was a bit of a benign dictatorship. I thanked them for trusting my decisions and following through with it. But we have not consulted them enough, and we have only focused on prisoners and I do not want to get that prisoner/staff divide. Now we need to do a lot more around consultation and we need to focus on those everyday things that matter to staff. They don't care if you paint the walls blue and make the carpets fluffy, but they want to get their leave on time, they want to come on a shift where they are with the colleagues that they know and working in an area that they know. That is where I am going next because I want to say thank you to the staff. We need to look after them now or I will lose that good will.

I am incredibly proud of our staff. I am absolutely blown away by the way they have gone from the lowest point in terms of their professional self-worth, self-esteem and experiencing what had happened to the prison, to the journey that we have all taken.

PC: Do you feel empowered as a Governor to be able to do the things you need to? Has the new Prison Group Director (PGD) model had any impact on this?

PS: Liverpool is a special case and I have taken advantage of it. I have had a lot more freedom, autonomy, and power because I said if you want me to fix this you are going to have to allow me to make some decisions and think outside the box. I have not had a lot of resistance about it. It could be because it is Liverpool and they want Liverpool fixed or it could be because I have credit in the bank. Either way I used it to my advantage so I have felt fairly free. I have not experienced some of the scrutiny, micromanagement, regular ministerial visits where you have to drop everything to prepare. I do experience the copious amounts of action plans, but I recognise that I need to feed the machine and I do not give it too much energy.

We have only recently moved to the PGD model but I think that it is more about the person who is your PGD. If they see their role as, with fewer prisons, they can do a lot more strategically and enhance the direction of travel, while leaving individual prisons alone and their governors to govern, then it is a great model. I know it was put in place to give better assurance to the centre, but that should not become the whole reason for the change of model. We have a good PGD who was a governor of a local prison for a very long time. He knows our business and he is respectful of the governor's skill. My fear is that the PGD's become the new level of assurance providers and so the scrutiny that they are under will obviously become more enhanced.

PC: Do you think governors should spend a minimum amount of time in one post?

PS: There are some that should and some that should not. You need to be a round peg in a round hole. For me, I will get bored after a long period of fixing the same types of problems, because a lot of prison governing is repetitive. You return to the same issues and tinker with them, trying to make them better, unless you are in a lovely place like an open prison where you can be a lot more creative. Some people like that, they know what they are doing and they just want to keep repeating that process and making it better and better. But there are others who go in, give it all their energy, make it better, and then

need to do something else. I think it very much depends on what you need, what that prison needs, and whether there is a match between the prison and the governor. The next phase in Liverpool's development is stability. You do not want someone coming in and changing everything because it will just cause chaos. Whether I am the person to do that I do not know, but it needs to have that. Other places you could have someone in there for too long and you stop seeing the problems and you can become blasé about it.

PC: As a female, BAME, former psychologist, governing a large local prison, do you think HMPPS embraces diversity at a senior level?

PS: Well there are not many of me around so I think that it is an aspiration. I think that HMPPS wants more diversity but I am not sure it knows how to. The will is there but maybe the how HMPPS goes about encouraging more diversity, it needs to really think about it in a different way. I personally have felt I have been valued. I feel valued as a woman, as a woman of colour, I feel valued as someone who has come from the non-traditional route. However, I do not know what it would be like beyond my level. Also, I am a governor doing a good job, so is that what is driving the valuing because they are thinking it does not matter that Pia is an Asian woman who is a psychologist, she is doing a good job for us and that is all that matters. Really that is all that should matter. As far as that is concerned, I feel that I enjoy a really trusting relationship with the senior members of our organisation but I have not tested it.

PC: Is it the same post Lammy with BAME prisoners?

PS: In some ways it is easier with prisoners because, as a governor, you can really introduce systems and practices within your jail that will have an immediate beneficial impact on your men, as long as you believe in making it the centre of all you do. We have done this before. Post Mubarak there was a shock wave in the service about how we look after our BAME men and women in prison. It became the front and centre of every governor's thinking. You paid a lot of attention to it and we saw the benefits of it. It has fallen away because of everything that has happened in the last 6 or 7 years but, if we want to resurrect it in prisons, you have to have the right governor's really believing in it.

PC: What are your thoughts on the current media approach to prisons and do you think the public really understand prisons?

PS: I think that the media and the public have a very ambiguous relationship with prisons. I really noticed this whenever I went to inquests and things like that. Whenever something really bad happens in prisons, it pricks the collective conscience of society in general. Society then suddenly feels their responsibility for putting people in prisons and then they think we must treat them well, and we must hold prisons to account. Then when you talk about prisoners having televisions and we try to get them employment through twining projects, then the attitude is 'so I have to offend to get the best from life'. The same person would shout about privileges in prison and vilify prisons if we messed things up. I think that reflects our really confused view about incarceration generally.

The media reflects that view because we don't know we feel. There is a human being behind every single cell door, in a small room that is locked at the end of the day. It is quite tragic to think about and we therefore try not to think about it because it is difficult. Every now and again we are shocked into not being able to get away from that reality check and it makes us really question ourselves and our morality. In Liverpool we have tried to engage the public. We have taken some risks with our Twitter account and the good news stories that we are putting out there. We are just trying to make small conversions and chip away at the perceptions of what actually happens in prisons. I think as a service we are trying to be more extrovert and prouder of our professionalism. It is a very difficult job and there are some highly skilled individuals working here.

For a long time, we have undermined our professionalism and the value of our work by just battening down the hatches, thinking that no one cares about us so we do not care about them and continuing in our bubble. But now we are saying 'come in and have a look at what we're having to deal with'. I think that Rory Stewart was excellent as an advocate because every time he gave an interview about prisons, he praised our frontline staff. He sent a message to everyone that you are worth something and I will continue to carry that message, regardless of how the media or public react.

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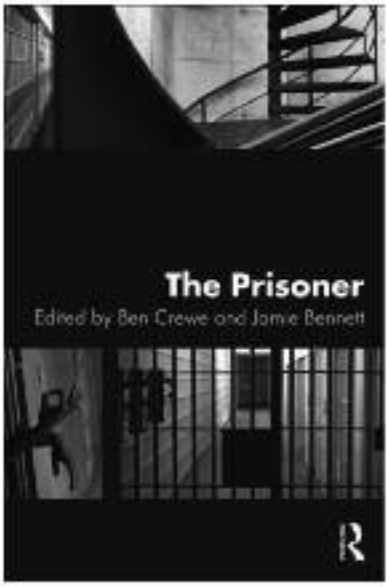

The Prisoner

Edited by
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and

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