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**HMP Whatton
Achieving Change**

HMP Whatton — A Prison of Change

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Introduction

This paper outlines the context and purpose of HMP Whatton and reports a recent research study that was conducted at the prison which evaluated the prison's climate. The main findings will be discussed, as will potential implications for penal policy.

HMP Whatton is a prison that is focused on rehabilitation, reducing offending behaviour and ultimately reducing recidivism. HMP Whatton delivers all NOMS Sex Offender Treatment Programmes (Core SOTP, Becoming New Me, Rolling SOTP, Extended SOTP, Better Lives Booster, Adapted Better Lives Booster and Healthy Sex Programme) and many of the NOMS Living skills programmes (Healthy Relationships, Controlling Anger and Learning to Manage it, and Thinking Skills Programme). The prison has at its core, a focus on change; providing offenders with a broad range of opportunities to engage in activities to change their lives. So whilst offending behaviour programmes are seen as central rehabilitation opportunities at Whatton, the prison also supports access to other services. This includes offering access to counselling psychologists, mental health provision, educational and vocational skills. Critical to the work of the prison is a generalised ethos that change is possible and achievable. Staff communicate a strong messages about the possibility of change and support offenders to hold high expectations about change. The establishment aims to forge relationships between Staff and Prisoners that are active and participatory on both sides, where people are treated fairly and consistently and practical help is offered.

Research Context

The use of rehabilitative interventions for offenders has expanded over the decades and with it so has evidence of their effectiveness in reducing recidivism¹. For example research has demonstrated that sex offender treatment programmes can reduce the number of sex offenders that are reconvicted^{2,3}. Specifically, programmes which take a risk-need-responsivity approach have been found to be the most successful⁴. HMP Whatton is a prominent prison treatment site, with the highest number of sexual offender treatment completions of any institution. It delivers evidence-based treatment programmes that are focused on reducing recidivism. However, treatment outcomes can be effected by a range of factors including treatment implementation and institutional climate⁵.

Whilst it has been found that evidenced-based programmes are effective at reducing recidivism there is increasing concern that the effectiveness of treatment is being comprised by staff drift, organisational resistance and ineffective correctional environments^{6,7}. Successful intervention is affected by institutional climate and rehabilitative programmes will only be as effective as the context in which they are delivered. If, for example, there is organisational resistance to offender programmes and a climate which does not foster constructive relationships between prisoners and staff, the good work of programmes is likely to be undone.

The current dominant model of offender rehabilitation is the 'risk, need and responsivity model'⁸. While the areas of 'risk' and 'need' have been extensively

1. Lipton, D. S., Pearson, F. S., Cleland, C. M., Yee, D. (2002) The effects of therapeutic communities and milieu therapy on recidivism: meta-analytic findings from the correctional drug abuse treatment effectiveness (CDATE) study. In McGuire, J. (ed) (2002) *Offender rehabilitation and treatment: effective programmes and policies to reduce re-offending*, pp. 39–77. Chichester, UK: Wiley.
2. Hanson, R.K., Gordon, A., Harris, A.J.R., Marques, J.K., Quinsey, V.L., & Seto, M. (2002) First report of the collaborative outcome data project on the effectiveness of psychological treatment for sex Offenders. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 14(2), 169-194.
3. Losel, F., & Schmucker, M. (2005) The effectiveness of treatment for sexual offenders: A comprehensive meta-analysis, *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 1, pp.117-146.
4. Hanson, R. K., Bourgon, G., Helmus, L., & Hodgson, S. (2009). The Principles of Effective Correctional Treatment Also Apply To Sexual Offenders A Meta-Analysis. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 36(9), 865-891.
5. Lösel, F. (2011). Offender treatment and rehabilitation: What works?. In M. Maguire, R. Morgan and R. Reiner (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of criminology*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
6. Day, A., Casey, S., Vess, J., & Huisy, G. (2011) *Assessing the social climate of Australian prisons*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology Trends and issues in crime and criminal justice, 427, 1- 6.
7. Smith, P., Cullen, F. T., Latessa, E. J. (2009) Can 14,737 women be wrong? A meta-analysis of the LSIR and recidivism for female offenders, *Criminology & Public Policy*, 8, pp 183-208.
8. Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2010). *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct* (4th ed.). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.

covered by researchers (and indeed have had a great impact on treatment in terms of focus and assessment) the dimension of 'responsivity' has been neglected in international research. Responsivity is overlooked in terms of appropriate staff-offender relationships, therapy dynamics, motivation and crucially treatment context and setting⁹. These are important for correctional climate, as climate has been linked to positive outcome for offenders¹⁰. An effective correctional climate may also play a role in crime desistance; many offenders begin their journey towards desistance from prison. Losel¹¹ argues that while there is no clear evidence on how criminal justice institutions can promote desistance from crime, one thing does seem clear; that encouraging desistance from crime is much more than just requiring offenders to attend offending behaviour programmes alone. The more persistent and serious offenders will have problems across a range of areas, such as mental health, accommodation, education, work and substance misuse. Criminal justice institutions therefore need to enable more individualisation of the offenders' journey through prison, ensuring they are offered a combination of services which meets their individual needs. With sexual offenders this may also include the provision of psycho-pharmacological interventions for a specific subgroup of offenders¹². The need for individualisation of offenders' paths through prison was recognised and embodied in the 'NOMS pathways to reducing re-offending' model in 2006¹³.

Prison, Recidivism and Climate

A focus on the external responsivity issue of correctional climate is necessary and needed given that prison has been found not to reduce recidivism. Evidence suggests that imprisonment itself far from reducing recidivism may actually be criminogenic. Cid¹⁴

offers evidence that those sentenced to prison rather than given a suspended sentence were more likely to be reconvicted. Indeed it has been found that imprisonment was associated with an increase in recidivism and that harsher prison conditions were associated with a 15 per cent increase in post-release criminal behaviour¹⁵. However, prisons with a rehabilitative focus may be exceptions, as there is strong evidence to suggest that evidence-based rehabilitative programmes reduce recidivism^{16,17}.

It has been argued that improvements in the institutional climate, programme implementation, evaluation and stronger integration with other services could further improve rehabilitation in prisons¹⁸. There is some evidence for this in the therapeutic communities (TC) and recidivism literature¹⁹ which found that TC treatment had a significant reduction on reoffending for personality and mentally disordered offenders. While others²⁰ found that completing a TC had a significant effect on reducing the likelihood of re-arrest for prisoners. These findings may suggest that climate could be useful in helping to facilitate the desistance process. Many crime desisters talk about the powerful effect of having someone else believe that they can and will change, that they are good people, and that they have something to offer society²¹. Research around desistance has helped to generate some ideas about how institutions can 'assist desistance' in offenders to enable them to successfully move away from crime. These include, amongst others, focusing on developing strong and meaningful relationships, giving strong optimistic messages and avoid labelling, focus on strengths not just risk, recognise and mark achievement towards desistance, and working with parents/partners and supporting communities²².

Day et al have argued that specialist rehabilitation prisons can succeed in providing an environment that is

9. Birgden, A. (2004) Therapeutic jurisprudence and responsivity: Findings the will and the way in offender rehabilitation, *Psychology, Crime and Law*, 10(3), 283-295.
10. Howell, K., Tonkin, M., Milburn, C., Lewis, J., Draycot, S., Cordwell, J., Price, M., Davies, S., Schallast, N. (2009) The EssenCES measure of social climate: A preliminary validation and normative data in UK high secure hospital settings, *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 19, pp. 308-320.
11. Losel, F (2012) Towards a third phase of what works in offender rehabilitation. In Loeber and B. C. Welsh (eds) *The Future of Criminology*. New York : Oxford University Press (pp 196-203).
12. Lienesley et al page 17 this edition.
13. Home Office A Five Year Strategy for Protecting the Public and Reducing Re-offending (2006).
14. Cid, J. (2009) Is imprisonment criminogenic? A comparative study of recidivism rates between prison and suspended prison sanctions, *European Journal of Criminology*, 91, 425-447.
15. Jonson, C. L. (2010). The impact of imprisonment of reoffending: A meta-analysis. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cincinnati, OH.
16. Cullen, F.T., Jonson, C.L., & Nagin, D.S. (2011) Prisons do not reduce recidivism: The high costs of ignoring science, *The Prison Journal*, 91(3), 485-655.
17. Andrews & Bonta (2010) see n.8.
18. Lösel, F. (2007) Counterblast: The prison overcrowding crisis and some constructive perspectives for crime policy, *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 46(5), 512-519.
19. Lees, J., Manning, N., Rawlings, B. (2004). A culture of enquiry: research evidence and the therapeutic community. *Psychiatric Quarterly*, 75(3), 279-294.
20. Jensen, E.L., & Kane, S.L. (2010) The effect of therapeutic community on time to first re-arrest: A survival analysis, *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 49(3), 200-209.
21. Rex, S. (1999) 'Desistance from Offending: Experiences of Probation', *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 36(4): 366-83.
22. Maruna, S (2011) Re entry as a rite of passage, *Punishment and Society*, 13(3), 3-28.

more conducive to offender rehabilitation than mainstream prisons. It is useful to point out that a prison's rehabilitative climate can be understood as the prison's social climate coupled with the prison's culture, philosophy, and fitness for purpose in relation to reducing reoffending²³. These critical aspects of a prison are likely to have a direct impact on the effectiveness of rehabilitative measures, behavioural and personal change and the overall effectiveness of the prison.

The Research

This research study was a mixed methods study which investigated the therapeutic and rehabilitative climate of HMP Whatton, a therapeutically-orientated Category C prison. The research was split in two phases; quantitative and qualitative. In the quantitative phase prisoners (n=112) and staff (n=48) completed a series of measures designed to evaluate their perceptions regarding the prison's climate, their beliefs about prisoners and to establish whether there were significant differences between the groups. The measures included the Essen Climate Evaluation Schema²⁴ (EssenCES); Attitudes Towards Sex Offenders Scale (ATS²⁵), Correctional Victoria Readiness for Treatment Scales²⁶, Implicit Theories of Offending Behaviour²⁷. The measures were chosen due to hypothesised links with constructs underlying a rehabilitative environment. For example it has been argued that climate is important for rehabilitative outcome²⁸, while positive attitudes from staff and beliefs about change by staff and prisoners are vital for fostering effective offender rehabilitation and promoting change in offending behaviour²⁹. This phase of the research assessed the therapeutic and rehabilitative climate of the prison from staff and prisoner perspectives. The overarching research aim was to explore prisoner and staff perspectives on the climate of the prison, their attitudes towards prisoners and offending behaviour and their beliefs about change regarding offending behaviour.

In the qualitative phase of the research prisoners (n=15) and staff (n=16) were interviewed in order to capture their experiences of the prison, the prison regime

and its climate. The interview focused on the purpose of the prison, prison life, prisoner-staff interactions and the prison regime. It also focused on the rehabilitative ideals/orientation of the prison and opportunities for personal development at the prison. Interviews consisted of semi-structured interviews which lasted between 60-90 minutes. The data were analysed using thematic analysis, which is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns and themes within the data. It aims to capture rich detail and interpret the range and diversity of experience within the data³⁰.

Research results

Quantitative Phase results

The results found that prisoners and staff evaluated the climate positively, however there were significant differences. The results revealed that staff view the prison's climate as more positive than prisoners. Independent t-tests were conducted to compare EssenCES total and subscales between prisoners and prison staff (see table 1).

| Sample | N | Scale/subscale | M | SD |
|---|-----|-----------------------|---------|-------|
| Cat C rehabilitative prison – prisoner | 112 | Inmates' Cohesion | 11.16 | 4.54 |
| | | Experienced Safety | 14.59 | 4.38 |
| | | Hold and Support | 10.96** | 4.71 |
| | | EssenCES Total | 37.18* | 10.30 |
| Cat C rehabilitative prison – prison staff | 48 | Inmates' Cohesion | 12.35 | 2.89 |
| | | Experienced Safety | 14.26 | 3.24 |
| | | Hold and Support | 14.89** | 3.28 |
| | | EssenCES Total | 41.50* | 6.82 |

Significant results noted with *

*p < .05

**p < .001

23. Blagden, N. J., Winder, B., Hames, C. (under review) Climate change? Investigating the rehabilitative of a therapeutically-orientated prison: A mixed-methods case studies. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*.
24. Schalast, N., Redies, M., Collins, M., Stacey, J., Howells, K. (2008) EssenCES, a short questionnaire for assessing the social climate of forensic psychiatric wards, *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 18, pp. 49-58.
25. Hogue, T. E. (1993). Attitudes towards prisoners and sexual offenders. In Clark, C.N & Stephenson, G. *DCLP Occasional Papers: Sexual Offenders*. Leicester: British Psychological Society.
26. Casey, S., Day, A., Howells, K., Ward, T. (2007) Assessing Suitability for offender rehabilitation: Development and validation of the Treatment Readiness Questionnaire, *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, 34, pp. 1427 –1440.
27. modified version of Gerber, S., & O'Connell, M. (2011) Protective processes: the function of young people's implicit theories of crime in offending behaviour, *Psychology, Crime and Law*, 18(9), 781-795.
28. Day, A., Casey, S., Vess, J., & Huisy, G. (2012). Assessing the therapeutic climate of prisons. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, 39(2), 156-168.
29. Kjelsberg, E., & Loos, L. (2008). Conciliation or condemnation? Prison employees' and young peoples' attitudes towards sexual offenders. *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health*, 7(1), 95-103.
30. Braun, V and Clark, V (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3:2 77-101.

Table 1 shows that *Hold and support* is a key difference between prisoners and staff and it is also the subscale which measures aspects of prisoner and staff relationships. While prison staff view the relationships as positive it appears that prisoners see them as less favourable. Both prisoners and staff view the prison as having a safe environment, with no significant differences between the two groups. The prison and staff scores on the experienced safety subscales are high scores when compared to the EssenCES norms³¹.

Staff attitudes are likely to be a key determinant in a supportive and rehabilitative environment. Likewise prisoners' attitudes towards other prisoners will be important both in terms of prisoners' experience of the prison and beliefs about whether prisoners can be rehabilitated. The Attitudes Towards Sex offenders scale (ATS)³² was administered to prisoners and staff and was chosen as it reflected the population of the prison.

| Group | Mean | N | SD | Min | Max |
|----------|--------|-----|-------|-----|-----|
| Prisoner | 103.62 | 108 | 14.22 | 60 | 132 |
| Staff | 92.91 | 46 | 18.09 | 40 | 139 |
| Total | 100.99 | 149 | 15.91 | 40 | 139 |

An independent t-test indicated that staff had significantly less positive attitudes to sex offenders than prisoners ($t(132)=3.697, p=.001$). However, these are encouraging data as both prisoners and staff had very high scores and so positive attitudes towards sexual offenders.

The results also highlight that both staff and prisoners viewed prisoners' offending behaviour as incremental i.e. that is they believed they could change their offending behaviour. Table 3 demonstrates that on average prisoner participants viewed their offending behaviour as strongly incremental (changeable).

| Group | Mean | N | SD | Min | Max |
|------------------|-------|-----|------|------|-----|
| ITOB Total Score | 32.42 | 108 | 4.19 | 14 | 36 |
| ITOB Mean Score | 5.4 | 108 | 0.70 | 2.33 | 6 |

There were also significant correlations between ITOB (self), ATS ($r=.303, n=81, p=.004$), readiness for treatment ($r=.508, n=75, p=.001$) and ITOB (other) ($r=.637, n=98, p=.001$). This suggests an association between believing they can change, believing others can change and readiness.

Summary

In summary both prisoners and staff rated the prison positively. Prison staff, however, held significantly more positive views of the prison's climate and of relationships between staff and prisoners. The measure of prisoner-staff relationships was unexpectedly low particularly given other results in this study. This needs further investigating and may point to areas for improvement for staff-prisoner relationships at the prison. It may also point to limitations in the measure used to capture the quality of prisoner-staff relationships³³. Prisoners rated the prison as having a very safe environment and this seemed conducive to prisoners wanting to address their offending behaviour. The results also showed that both prisoners and prison staff held positive views towards other prisoners and believed that prisoners could change their offending behaviour. This finding is important in a prison which has a rehabilitative focus.

Qualitative phase results

The qualitative phase of the research utilised prisoner participants ($n=15$ of whom 9 had completed programmes and 6 were pre-treatment) and staff participants ($n=16$) in order to qualitatively explore participant's experiences of the prison's climate. Prison staff participants were made up of the governor, senior psychologists, treatment managers, probation officers, prison officers and a prison librarian.

Data were analysed using a thematic analysis which is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns and themes within the data. This approach is not tied to an explicit theoretical position and aims to capture diversity of experience within the data³⁴. This qualitative methodology was appropriate for this study because the sample size was too large for a conventional interpretative phenomenological analysis.

The qualitative analysis revealed four main themes (1) *Purpose and purposefulness* (2) *Positive, constructive and safe environment* (3) *Meaningful and constructive relationships* (4) *Growth and development*.

Purpose and purposefulness — There was consensus from all participants, both staff and prisoner,

31. Schalast, N., Redies, M., Collins, M., Stacey, J., Howells, K. (2008) EssenCES, a short questionnaire for assessing the social climate of forensic psychiatric wards, *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 18, pp. 49-58.

32. Hogue. (1993) see n.24.

33. Blagden, N. J., Winder, B., Hames, C. (under review) see n.22.

34. Braun, V and Clark, V (2006) see n.29.

as to the purpose of this prison. There was a unanimous belief amongst participants as to the purpose of the prison; it was viewed as a prison that was about rehabilitation, personal change and participation in programmes. Indeed the focus on programmes gave the prison a clear identity with the prison regime largely orientated around that focus.

It's about rehabilitation and changing your beliefs erm changing and looking at you offending behaviour so when you get out you don't repeat your mistakes... Programmes has taught me a hell of a lot about myself. (Extract 1 Prisoner participant 11)

I feel clear about what our objective is or what our objectives are and that what we are about really. I think we are very different to other prisons in that our sole purpose here is about helping people who are locked up here to address their offending and reasons for their offending and to try do something about reducing their risk and help them lead constructive lives. I think it's important to have that level of purpose for a prison. (Extract 2 Prison staff participant 16)

Most participants also felt that the prison allowed for purpose to be constructed in prisoners' lives. Many participants discussed the varied opportunities they had from work, leisure to participation in programmes. This allowed participants to have 'meaningful' lives while in prison, rather than wasteful ones where nothing constructive was done with their day. Prisoner participants discussed how this prison favourably contrasted with other prisons that they had been.

Positive, constructive and safe environment

— Participants (treated and untreated prisoners and staff) in this study viewed the environment as positive, constructive and importantly, safe. The feeling of safety was an important and reoccurring theme. All participants felt safe in the prison and this was contributing to them being able to address other aspects of themselves (e.g. those related to their offending behaviour) which previously they did not have the 'headspace' to deal with.

You're going from looking over your shoulder, fearful of being attacked like it was in X to just 'morning', it's a big weight lifted off your shoulders being here... [as listeners] we give a

talk on the induction wing and I say to them relax, you're in safe hands here. (Extract 3 Prisoner participant 7)

All participants discussed how this prison cultivated an environment where sexual offenders felt safe and so they did not have to deal with the anxiety or threat of being ousted as a sexual offender. This appeared to relax participants and enabled them to reflect on where they are now and where they want to be in the future. The reductions in anxiety appeared to contribute to prisoners' readiness to engage in treatment.

Meaningful and constructive relationships —

The majority of participants felt that the staff and prisoner relationships were positive and how social interaction with officers made participants feel as though they were human beings. This is especially important in this sort of specialist prison where prisoners will be experiencing large amounts of shame and stigma³⁵.

It comes down to respect, they treat us like human beings. I haven't seen an officer here who thinks of me as just a number, that's Mr X, you're not just a number here you're a person and that's the feeling you get. (Extract 4 Prisoner participant 7)

For me [why I'm here] it's the men, it's the treatment, it's the change...the people are supportive of each other, of prisoners, they're here for the right reasons...staff talk to the prisoners like they would talk to someone on the outside, you wouldn't know what one was the uniform one and which was the stripy shirt one, that's how it feels here, people take time. (Extract 5 Prison staff participant 5)

Staff were construed as being genuinely interested in the prisoners' lives and their problems. This went beyond any superficial notion of 'pleasant or nice' relationships, but instead had progressed into meaningful relationships. Prison staff were also construed as helpful. The prison climate appears to be important for facilitating constructive prisoner-staff relationships. It has been found that sexual offenders experience local non-specialised prisons as threatening and anxiety provoking which hinders prisoners' engagement in rehabilitative programmes and makes the prisoner more defensive³⁶.

35. Blagden, N. J., Winder, B., Thorne, K., & Gregson, M. (2011). 'No-one in the world would ever wanna speak to me again': an interpretative phenomenological analysis into convicted sexual offenders' accounts and experiences of maintaining and leaving denial. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 17(7), 563-585.

36. Schalast et al (2008) See n.31.

Growth and development — Participants believed that this prison allowed for growth and development. This can also be noted in the themes from previous analysis. Prisoner participants articulated how the prison allowed for personal growth and had also led to them witnessing change in others.

The change in this lad [since participating on the course] is unbelievable, he's more patient, he talks to you, he even talks about his offence now, he's told me all sorts of things and say he feels so much better now, he can't wait to see his family and tell them, you tell a real weights been lifted off him. (Extract 4 Prisoner participant 7)

There's more of a can do attitude here, whilst, if I'm honest, in some prisons they'd be in the minority, the staff are undoubtedly in the majority here. (Extract 11 Prison staff participant 16)

It is interesting how some participants used the same phrase 'can do attitude' when describing the prison and those that work in the prison. Staff appeared actively invested in their work rather than passive or disengaged.

Summary

The qualitative phase of the research found the prison had a clear purpose and that this purpose gave the prison a clear identity. The prison was about rehabilitation, change and providing development opportunities for prisoners. There was a narrative of change which ran through both prisoner and staff responses. There was also symmetry between this narrative of change and staff and prisoners beliefs about change which were captured in the quantitative phase of this research. This finding is potentially important as crime desistance research has consistently found that narratives of change and change in offenders self-identity can promote desistance^{37,38}. Prisons that foster change or have offender change at their core may help promote positive practical identities in offenders, which have been linked to crime desistance³⁹.

The findings from the qualitative phase of the research pointed to positive and constructive prisoner-staff relationships. However, this was not supported by the findings from the quantitative phase of the

research. It maybe that there are inherent selection effects for the qualitative phase of the research, though the research did attempted to reach all prisoners and the final sample included both treated and un-treated participants. While this finding needs greater consideration and a more detailed analysis of prisoner-staff relationships at the institution, it may be limited by the quantitative measure of relationships.

Discussion

This research has found that both prisoners and staff believe that the climate of this prison is conducive to rehabilitation. Particularly prisoners reported, both qualitatively and quantitatively, to feeling safe and secure in their prison environment. This seems crucial as often sexual offenders feel threatened, anxious and have to adapt their identities in order to survive prison⁴⁰. These feelings of anxiety will affect whether they feel safe, affect their attitudes towards treatment and have an impact on their view of the prison's climate. Indeed, there are probably numerous limitations for correctional programmes delivering treatment in unsafe environments to sexual offenders.

The study also found that both prisoners and staff held positive attitudes towards other sex offenders and beliefs that they could change. This finding also appears a key determinant in the rehabilitative climate of the prison, and the prison seemed a key driver for personal change. It seems self-evident that for change to be possible, both staff and prisoners need to have positive attitudes about the possibility of change. Indeed if this prison could be characterised as anything it was a prison of change. Some participants reflected on how they have changed while being in this prison and how the treatment programmes had changed them for the better. This finding perhaps points to treatment programme's ability to help participants develop incremental theories about their own offending behaviour and so help foster 'new' positive identities.

HMP Whatton — A prison of change?

Both the quantitative and qualitative analysis (though more notably in the latter) appear to highlight that this prison is a prison of change. Change seems to drive at the heart of this prison and is embedded in the very purpose of this prison. Participants, on the whole, believed in change and believed change was possible in themselves and others. There was also evidence of

37. Maruna, S (2001) *Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives*. Washington, DC. APA Books.

38. Gobbels, S., Ward, T., & Willis, G.M (2012) An integrative theory of desistance from sex offending, *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 17, 453-462.

39. Ibid.

40. Schwabaebe, C. (2005) Learning to pass: Sex offenders' strategies for establishing a viable identity in the prison general population. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 49 (6), 614-625.

reciprocal relationships between staff and prisoners regarding rehabilitation. Prisoners wanted to change, wanted to show that they had changed and staff were keen to recognise and reinforce this change. Such expectations mirror concepts of the looking glass self, where identity formation/transformation is negotiated in appraisals from others, and Pygmalion in offender rehabilitation⁴¹.

The population at the prison had a high readiness for treatment, with participants articulating that the prison helped them grow and develop in personally meaningful ways. However this 'prison of change' appeared to be driven by its climate which participants articulated as 'a therapeutic environment'. One participant also commented that while the prison was not a therapeutic community, it was a form of 'TC lite'. It has been argued that for a prison to be considered a truly therapeutic prison which serves reformative purposes it needs to have clearly articulated goals, evidence-based interventions, qualified staff and core correctional practices⁴². It is argued that such a prison will have three key documents 1) a mandate, 2) clearly articulated goals and 3) a documented code of ethics. This prison has such purpose, its mandate is documented and disseminated to all staff and prisoners

'prevent another victim' and from this it has a clear set of specific goals which are centred on reducing recidivism. A therapeutic prison is then an agent of change and from Smith and Schweitzer 's guidance⁴³ it would seem this prison fits the criteria of being a therapeutic prison. This is congruent with the qualitative and quantitative findings of this research.

Conclusion

This research investigation, along with previous literature, has pointed to some of the determinants of effective rehabilitative climates for effective rehabilitative prisons. Such environments will foster positive attitudes between prisoners and staff and foster beliefs about change. This research concludes, similarly to Day et al⁴⁴, that prisons which are therapeutic and have an explicit rehabilitative climate can provide an environment which is more conducive to offender rehabilitation than mainstream prisons. Environments such as this prison's are ideal for doing sexual offender treatment programmes and behavioural work⁴⁵, as the climate is conducive to rehabilitation, to rehabilitative ideals and so perhaps ideally placed to reduce recidivism.

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41. Maruna, S., Lebel, T. P., Mitchell, N., & Naples, M. (2004). Pygmalion in the reintegration process: Desistance from crime through the looking glass. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 10(3), 271-281.
 42. Smith, P., & Schweitzer, M. (2012). The therapeutic prison. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 28(1), 7-22.
 43. Ibid.
 44. See n. 6.
 45. Ware, J., Frost, A., & Hoy, A. (2010). A review of the use of therapeutic communities with sexual offenders. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 54(5), 721-742.