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REHABILITATIVE
CULTURE

What is a rehabilitative prison culture?

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Introduction

The phrase 'Rehabilitative Culture' is being spoken with increasing frequency across Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPS). This is music to some people's ears as it provides high-level support to their preferred way of working. However, to others it is simply the latest buzzword, or worse, something that causes them serious concern. This article outlines the evidence for the importance of prison culture in reducing reoffending, the vision of what a rehabilitative culture would look like, why this has become a priority within HMPS, and shares some of the practical ways that have been tested for developing rehabilitative cultures. This will hopefully dispel some myths and help turn talk into reality.

How can a prison reduce reoffending?

Imprisonment does not usually reduce reoffending, and in some research studies it has been shown to increase it.¹ Many aspects of imprisonment are in fact criminogenic — that is, they encourage people to commit crime, rather than discourage it. For instance, a prison sentence separates a person from his or her non-offending support network, reduces their employability, adds to a sense of stigma and alienation from law-abiding society, and forces people with convictions to mix with others who have also committed crime, some of whom are intent on continuing to do so.

The word 'rehabilitation' is usually used to mean processes and activities that encourage people who have committed crime to cease offending and embark on a law-abiding life. Rehabilitation in our context is about giving people the opportunity to change; addressing the reasons why they commit crime and helping them have a better way of living through thinking and acting differently. There are a number of areas that are relevant to offending and which our attitudes, behaviours and the physical environment can either help individuals address or unhelpfully reinforce. These areas include impulsivity, criminal attitudes, alcohol and drug misuse, family and

social networks, employment and use of leisure time, debt and homelessness.² Rehabilitation is often spoken about as being the responsibility of a particular team or department, but in fact, everyone in prisons has a role in rehabilitation and the whole regime has the potential to support or undermine this outcome. For example, small or routine experiences, such as how a property application is answered or how a search is conducted, can reinforce or help challenge someone's attitudes towards authority.

Both academic and government publications confirm that prison is widely hoped, and indeed expected, to perform a rehabilitative function as well as a punitive one. Hence, in order to overcome the many obstacles to rehabilitation that prison produces, the way in which a prison runs needs to be carefully and thoughtfully designed, in ways which may mean quite large changes from traditional approaches to prison management.

Figure 1 shows an evidence-based model for how a prison could theoretically overcome its criminogenic aspects, and instead become a place that reduces reoffending. In this model, a rehabilitative prison must first and foremost be a safe, decent and procedurally fair place. If people do not feel safe, their 'headspace' is taken up with physical and emotional self-preservation. If they do not feel treated decently or fairly, they can easily develop a sense of grievance and alienation against the authorities, a state of mind which does not easily enable rehabilitation. But a prison that is safe, decent and fair is not automatically rehabilitative. Rehabilitative culture is found most strongly in the relationships between the staff of a prison and the people in their care. This underpins and supports further discrete rehabilitative work or activity, which when undertaken within a rehabilitative culture, may have a greater impact.³ However, these levels can also be interlinked. For example, the culture of a prison can impact on 'if' and 'how' we complete tasks associated with safety and decency. One site that wanted a more rehabilitative culture decided it was necessary to start with a full lockdown search of the establishment to first increase safety. How staff communicated the reasons for this and went about completing it sent an important message

1. For example, Villettaz, P., Gillieron, G., & Killias, M. (2015). The effects on re-offending of custodial vs. non-custodial sanctions: An updated systematic review of the state of knowledge. *The Campbell Collaboration*, 1.
2. Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2010). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (5th ed). London: Routledge.
3. Cullen, F. T, Jonson, C. L., & Eck, J. E. (2012). The accountable prison. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 28, 77–95; Smith, P., & Schweitzer, M. (2012). The therapeutic prison. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 28, 7–22.

about how they valued being rehabilitative and why they saw this search as an important first step rather than it being a purely punitive or confrontational exercise.



Figure 1:
How can a prison reduce reoffending?

Rehabilitative Culture

Our culture is made up of our attitudes and ideas, our behaviours and the physical things we have around us.⁴ It's 'the way we do things around here'. Culture is something that we create between us and so we all have responsibility for it, and it is something that can change over time as people change.

A rehabilitative culture is one where all the aspects of our culture support rehabilitation; they contribute to the prison being safe, decent, hopeful and supportive of change, progression and to helping someone desist from crime. The aim is for everyone to feel safe from physical and verbal violence and abuse, for prisons to be places of decency, where everyone treats each other with respect, and people's basic needs are understood and met. Research suggests that the following elements are important parts of a rehabilitative culture:⁵

- Staff have hope
- Staff encourage participation in rehabilitative activity
- Staff use reward and recognition rather than punishment
- Staff coach the people in their care to make good decisions, consider the consequences of their actions and understand other people's perspectives.
- People speak courteously to each other

- Everyday life offers considerable opportunity for people to assist and support each other
- Staff model and promote non-criminal values and identity

Working to develop a rehabilitative culture is not a distinct piece of work but a whole prison approach to, and understanding of, how we use every opportunity, large or small, to better achieve our goals of safety, security and better futures for the people in our care. It is how we do what we do, rather than simply what we do. Rehabilitative culture is certainly not about 'coddling' people, or never challenging poor behaviour, or allowing people to get away with breaching security rules. In fact, a rehabilitative culture should be a challenging place to live, involving establishing and maintaining clear boundaries, often having difficult conversations, and people dealing with the consequences of their choices.

Rehabilitative culture is different from interventions or offending behaviour programmes, substance misuse interventions, employment training, education, and assistance with resettlement. These activities should be part of a rehabilitative prison but they do not form its culture. When a culture is rehabilitative, interventions, programmes, education and resettlement have a greater chance of making a lasting difference in someone's life.

A word about hope

A rehabilitative culture requires that the members of the community share a belief that change is possible; a belief that the individuals in our care are capable of changing and that our prisons can change for the better. One description of hope is that it has two elements; 'the will' and 'the way'.⁶ We need the willpower or energy to achieve our particular goal (the will), and an idea and the skills to go about achieving it (the way).

Hope is an important ingredient for successful change and to moving away from crime,⁷ so a rehabilitative culture must be one that generates hope. The word hope is not often associated with prison. Prisons, for many, can be quite hopeless places; those in prison are often at crisis point or see little chance of being able to do something different in the future. Staff also can see familiar faces returning to prison, and sometimes perceive detrimental changes to be taking place in the service. These features of prisons makes it difficult, but all the more important, that there are

4. Spencer_Oatley Spencer-Oatey, H. (2012). *What is Culture?* A compilation of Quotations. GlobalPAD Core Concepts. GlobalPAD Open House <http://go.warwick.ac.uk/globalpadintercultural>

5. For example, Bennett, P. & Shuker, R. (2010). Improving prisoner-staff relationships: Exporting Grendon's good practice. *The Howard Journal*, 49, 491–502; Blagden, N., Winder, B., & Hames, C. (2014). "They Treat Us Like Human Beings"—Experiencing a therapeutic sex offenders Prison: Impact on prisoners and staff and implications for treatment. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 1–26; Haigh, R. (2013). The quintessence of a therapeutic environment. *Therapeutic Communities: The International Journal of Therapeutic Communities*, 34, 6–15.

6. Snyder, C. R. (1995). Conceptualizing, measuring and nurturing hope. *Journal of Counselling and Development*, 73, 355–360.

7. Burnett, R., & Maruna, S. (2004). So 'Prison Works', does it? The criminal careers of 130 men released from prison under Home Secretary Michael Howard. *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 43, 390–404.

conscious efforts to communicate hope in a rehabilitative culture. As well as being important for stopping offending,⁸ hope helps people to perform better at work, be more successful in achieving our goals, be happier, less distressed, better at coping with difficulties and less likely to experience burnout.⁹ Hope may be passed from person to person; we can probably all think of times when someone else's hope has helped us through a difficult period. As such, for prisons to be more hopeful places, the focus should first be on staff, with the expectation that their hope will, in turn, help prisoners to develop hope too.

One powerful way of spreading hope is to enable people to develop and implement their own ideas for making things better. In prisons, well-functioning and supported councils and consultancy groups, who generate and implement solutions to problems, could be a way to facilitate this. Other suggestions for increasing hope include: having realistic goals and focusing on what possible actions can be taken, developing skills and confidence to help us feel in control, receiving advice and support from others who have overcome similar things, and having mistakes managed without shame. For staff, training opportunities, support structures, how performance and sickness are managed, and how mistakes are handled may all be relevant to how hopeful staff feel.

Rehabilitative cultures are positive places to live and to work in

A rehabilitative culture has the potential to benefit everyone in prisons, not just those living in prison. If we are going to engage in developing a culture that is rehabilitative, then in addition to knowing what this is and how to achieve it, we need to know what the point and value of it is in order to achieve 'buy in' from staff and prisoners. In addition to helping reduce offending, a rehabilitative culture can help make our prisons safer.

Increased levels of support, respectful contact and opportunities for learning reduce the number of aggressive incidents in secure units.¹⁰ A rehabilitative culture may therefore help to reduce prison violence, making prisons safer places for everyone.¹¹ There are also similarities between what makes a rehabilitative culture and what we believe reduces suicide and self-harm. Hopelessness, lack of personal control, poor staff—prisoner relationships and poor coping skills contribute to risk of suicide and self-harm.¹² Also, for prison officers, rehabilitative work has been found to be associated with a source of meaning, lower levels of stress and greater job satisfaction, than a more punitive culture.¹³ Developing staff and prisoner relationships has also been related to increased job satisfaction.¹⁴

The starting point; Understanding a prison's existing culture

Working to develop a more rehabilitative culture involves understanding the current culture and then promoting those areas that support rehabilitation, while trying to change those areas that are working against or are not supporting it effectively. It is important that prisons consider their own approach to culture change, as all sites are unique — they have different populations, staffing and needs, and have different current cultures. One size does not fit all!

Cultural change is a not a quick or easy task. It can take years to accomplish genuine change, requiring engagement and hope from staff and prisoners, which in themselves take work to achieve. Engaging the most hopeful and driven people within a prison to help with this goal can be a useful starting point.

A culture web¹⁵ is one way to begin understanding a prison's current culture. A culture web session considers the current culture in an establishment as well as how people would like the culture to be in the future. Staff and prisoners identify positive features of

8. LeBel, T. Burett, R., Maruna, S., & Bushway, S. (2008). The 'Chicken and Egg' of subjective and social factors in desistance from crime. *European Journal of Criminology*, 5, 131–159.
9. Valle, M. F., Huebner, E. S., & Silo, S. M. (2006). An analysis of hope as a psychological strength. *Journal of School Psychology*, 44, 393–406.
10. Van der Helm, G. H. P., Stams, G. J. J. M., Van Genabeek, M., & Van der Lann, P. H. (2011). Group climate, personality and self-reported aggression in incarcerated male youth. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology*, 1, 23–39; Ros, N., Van der Helm, P., Wissink, I., Stams, J., & Schaftenaar, P. (2013). Institutional climate and aggression in a secure psychiatric setting. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology*, 24, 713–727.
11. Byrne, J. M., & Hummer, D. (2007). Myths and realities of prison violence: A review of the evidence. *Victims and Offenders: An international Journal of evidence-based research, policy and practice*, 2, 77–99; Byrne, J. M., & Stowell, J. (2007). Examining the link between institutional and community violence: Towards a new cultural paradigm. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 12, 552–563.
12. Pope, L. (in press). Self-harm by adult men in prison: A rapid evidence assessment (REA). Ministry of Justice Analytical Series, London; Ludlow, A., Schmidt, B., Akoensi, T., Liebling, A., Giacomantonio, C., & Sutherland, A. (2015). *Self-inflicted deaths in NOMS' custody amongst 18–24 year olds: Staff experience, knowledge and views*. Cambridge: RAND Europe.
13. Tait, S. (2011). A typology of prison officer approaches to care. *European Journal of Criminology*, 8, 440–454; Dowden, C., & Tellier, C. (2004). Predicting work related stress in correctional officers: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 32, 31–47; Hepburn, J. R. & Knepper, P. (1993). Correctional officers as human service workers: the effect on job satisfaction. *Justice Quarterly*, 10, 315–335.
14. Tait, S. (2008). "Care and the prison officer: beyond 'turnkeys' and 'care bears'". *Prison Service Journal*, 180, 3–11; Kenny, T. & Webster, S. (2015). *Experiences of prison officers delivering Five Minute Interventions at HMP/YOI Portland*. National Offender Management Service Analytical Summary.
15. Johnson, G., Whittington, R., & Scholes, K. (2012). *Fundamentals of Strategy*. UK: Pearson Education.

the current culture, and articulate differences between the current and ideal cultures to inform plans for cultural change. Additionally, a culture web session can prompt conversations about culture in the prison, and raise awareness of its importance and of everyone's role in influencing it. For this type of activity to be useful there needs to be a plan for how the sessions and completed webs will be used, genuine engagement from staff and prisoners and an openness to learn from the findings.

Rehabilitative leadership

It can be tricky to balance clear leadership for staff, while also supporting individuals to take responsibility for, and be actively involved in, their workplace. People who actively engage with culture change are those who believe they have an influence and that there is value in them contributing. Safe opportunities for people to share ideas, raise issues or question decisions may be the first step. Rehabilitative leaders are those who encourage people to action their ideas, promote and celebrate success, alongside modelling the ability to admit and learn from mistakes. Councils and staff engagement events, coaching opportunities and general communications style are all relevant here. For example, in one prison, prisoners were constantly frustrated with how staff organised their cleaning rota. Staff (supported by their own managers) encouraged the prisoners to manage the rota themselves. This developed the prisoners' autonomy to be innovative, their understanding of the difficulty of the task and their empathy for staff, their trusting relationships with staff, and for prisoners to become more accepting of the rota that was finally agreed.

A vital aspect of rehabilitative culture is that those who live and work in a place feel that they are treated fairly by the systems and processes that organise their lives.

Fair processes and systems

A vital aspect of a rehabilitative culture is that those who live and work in a place feel that they are treated fairly by the systems and processes that organise their lives. For processes to be perceived as fair, prisoners and staff need to have a voice in decision-making, feel respected and treated with courtesy, believe that decisions are made in a neutral rather than biased way, and that decision makers or authority figures have trustworthy motives, that they are sincere and care, and they are trying to do what is right for everyone involved.¹⁶ There is good evidence that when people feel that processes are applied in a fair and just way ('procedural justice'), they are more likely to

respect and comply or cooperate with authority figures and rules regardless of whether final decisions/outcomes are in their favour or not.¹⁷ For prisoners, better perceptions of procedural justice are associated with less misconduct and violence in prison, better psychological well-being and lower rates of reoffending after release.¹⁸ For staff, better perceptions of justice have been linked with less stress and burnout, greater life and job satisfaction, greater commitment at work, and greater support for rehabilitation and treatment (rather than punishment).¹⁹ These

are all goals of a rehabilitative prison culture.

As procedural justice relates to 'how' authority is used and decisions are made, and is not a separate intervention or programme, this offers exciting potential for prison staff to play a greater and more constant role in the rehabilitation of the people in their care, as well as keeping prisoners and colleagues safe and psychologically healthy. Using authority in a procedurally just way involves the four principles of voice, respect, neutrality and trustworthy motives. For

16. Tyler, T. R. (2008). Procedural justice and the courts. *Court Review*, 44, 26–31.

17. Lind, E. A., & Tyler, T. R. (1988). *The social psychology of procedural justice*. New York: Plenum Press; Tyler, T. R. (1990). *Why people obey the law*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

18. E.g. Beijersbergen, K. A., Dirkzwager, A. J. E., Eichelsheim, V. I., & Van der Lann, P. H. (2015a). Procedural justice, anger, and prisoners' misconduct. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 42(2), 196–218; Beijersbergen, K. A., Dirkzwager, A. J. E., Eichelsheim, V. I., Van der Lann, P. H., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2014). Procedural justice and prisoners' mental health problems: a longitudinal study. *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health*, 24, 100–112; Beijersbergen, K. A., Dirkzwager, A. J. E., & Nieuwbeerta, P. (2016). Reoffending after release: does procedural justice during imprisonment matter? *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health*, 43(1), 63–82.

19. E.g. Colquitt, J. A., Conlon, D. E., Wesson, M. J., Porter, C. O. L. H., & Ng, K. Y. (2001). Justice at the millennium: A meta-analytic review of 25 years of organization justice research. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86, 425–445; Lambert, E. (2003). The impact of organizational justice on correctional staff. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 31, 155–168; Lambert, E. G., Altheimer, I., Hogan, N. L., & Barton-Bellessa, S. M. (2011). Correlates of correctional orientation in a treatment-oriented prison: A partial test of person-environment fit theory. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 38, 453–470; Lambert, E. G., & Hogan, N. L. (2013). The Association of Distributive and Procedural Justice with Organizational Citizenship Behavior. *The Prison Journal*, 93, 313–334; Matz, A. K., Woo, Y., & Kim, B. (2014). A meta-analysis of the correlates of turnover intent in criminal justice organizations: Does agency type matter? *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 42, 233–243.

example, explaining the purpose and value of processes (such as why their cell is being searched) demonstrates trustworthy motives, offering a chance to ask questions and challenge processes (such as why a complaint was not processed more quickly) gives people a voice, explaining decisions (such as why that sanction was given at adjudication, rather than another, according to the rules) communicates neutrality, and being respectful and courteous during interactions (such as calling prisoners by preferred names, and saying please and thank you) are important components of respect.

In prisons, authority is pervasive, exercised in minor and major acts, all of which are a chance to actively employ the principles of procedural justice, and in doing so hopefully improve the culture and outcomes for staff and prisoners. This could range, for example, from asking a resident to clear up a messy wing, to reviewing the privileges they receive, to cancelling an education class, to the speed and way the prison processes property. For staff, this could include formal performance evaluations, disciplinary investigations and daily decisions about roles and responsibilities within departments. These lists are potentially endless.

The use of reward and recognition in a rehabilitative culture

Reward and recognition processes are also an important part of rehabilitative culture. There is good evidence that punishment is an ineffective means of changing behaviour in the long-term, whereas reward and reinforcement have been found to be more effective.²⁰ Punishment may be required for the sake of fairness, but we should not expect this to help us reach our rehabilitative goals because it does not teach people what they should do differently. Praise and reinforcement, on the other hand, help a person to know what we want of them, and to repeat positive behaviours. And this doesn't mean giving out TVs or other material rewards; in fact, verbal reward seems to work best. In one prison, when prisoners explained what they would find rewarding or motivating, their responses included things like 'being listened to', 'being thanked', 'feeling cared about', 'being treated fairly' and

'mistakes being put into context'. Interestingly, when staff were asked the same question, their responses were very similar. Neither group mentioned material or monetary rewards.

In a rehabilitative culture, day-to-day opportunities to reinforce desired behaviours and progress are noticed and utilised effectively. Some top tips²¹ for using reinforcement effectively include: praise coming from someone who is liked and respected by the recipient (making them more likely to take this on board), catching people being good (look for desired behaviours that perhaps we don't routinely notice), thinking small (perhaps someone cooperated with an instruction first time when they don't usually),

making it immediate (don't wait till later on and rely on a NOMIS entry), making it frequent (recognise achievements four times as often as punishing poor behaviour), making it the first option, include a coaching element (such as explaining what skills the person used that are valuable), making it personal, warm and encouraging, making it earned (effective praise needs to be real and sincere) and being aware of unintentional punishment (praising someone publically might feel wonderful for one person, but painful for another!)

It is also the case that the content of our policies and procedures can support or hinder rehabilitation: do we

encourage people to make their own choices, support relationship development, improve self-management skills and reward pro-social involvement where ever possible? Do we consult the people in our care to make our processes as effective and smooth as possible, and do we 'ask' rather than 'tell' people to cooperate? For example, one prison is currently giving serious thought to the Incentives and Earned Privileges (IEP) process, recognising that this can facilitate punishment much more easily than reward and recognition. Another site re-wrote all of their policies with procedural justice in mind, in order to be actively transparent, respectful and hopefully secure the willing and committed cooperation of staff and prisoners. Many prisons have established councils so that staff and prisoners can give feedback on a variety of issues more easily.

Punishment may be required for the sake of fairness, but we should not expect this to help us reach our rehabilitative goals because it does not teach people what they should do differently.

20. For a summary of this research see: Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2010). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (5th ed). London: Routledge.

21. Andrews, D. A., & Bonta, J. (2010). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (5th ed). London: Routledge.

Rehabilitative relationships: supportive and collaborative for all

The relationships between prison staff and the people in their care are the cornerstone of a rehabilitative culture. In a rehabilitative culture, staff have the skills and confidence to make every contact with prisoners matter. These skills, known as rehabilitative skills or 'core correctional practices', support and encourage reflection and learning, contributing ultimately to better outcomes for staff and prisoners.²² Even very short interactions of this nature have been found to make a difference.²³ Rehabilitative culture capitalises on and promotes this. This was the foundation for the Five Minute Intervention (FMI) project conceived at HMP Portland, the training for which has been rolling out across HMPPS for some time, where staff are trained to use rehabilitative skills in all interactions, thus transforming each one into an opportunity for learning.²⁴

Rehabilitative relationships between staff and prisoners are also characterised by the communication of hope and the belief that a positive future is possible. Developing and strengthening a pro-social identity, rather than criminal identity (i.e. seeing oneself as a person who has made a mistake rather than as being an 'offender'), believing you have something to give to others or society, feeling connected to a pro-social group and being believed in, all help people to move away from crime in the longer-term.²⁵ In a rehabilitative culture, focus is given to developing and maintaining a positive identity, developing positive relationships, to the future and one's potential and role within this.

Relationships between prisoners and their families are another central component of a rehabilitative culture, as there is good evidence that such relationships and contact can make a difference for future outcomes and

conduct in prison.²⁶ A rehabilitative culture fosters and develops these, enabling good quality contact where possible. Some prisons have invested in making the environment for visits more comfortable and designing activities for children so that visits feel less intimidating. Improved technology, such as prison voicemail and in-cell telephones also likely improves family contact, and greater flexibility in when this occurs.

For staff, the support of their own family members is important. In one site, staff members' families were invited in to the prison to visit a wing that was closed for development, and listen to talks on working in prison. This was designed with the aim of helping further develop family support and understanding for staff and the difficult but important role that they have.

A physical environment that promotes safety, decency and hope

The physical environment of a prison has an important bearing on behaviour and culture.²⁷ Some environments might increase the likelihood of challenging behaviour. For example, environments with limited opportunities for social interaction, lack of choice and sensory input, or excessive noise, environments that are crowded, unresponsive or unpredictable. Spaces that are filled with sunlight, outside views, varied and interesting colour schemes and normalised materials, encourage participation, reduce stress, incidents and assaults and decrease staff absenteeism. The amount and type of light that enters rooms affects sleep, which in turn can affect mood and behaviour.²⁸

Landscapes are important, ideally real ones, but where this is not possible there is evidence to support the value of artwork and photographs. Some prisons have made considerable efforts to display art work, including

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22. Bonta, J., Bourgon, G., Ruge, T., Scotty, T-L., Yessine, A. K., Guttierrez, L., & Li, J. (2010). *The Strategic Training Initiative in Community Supervision: Risk-Need-Responsivity in the real world 2010-01*. ISBN No.: 978-1-100-15750-4; Chadwick, N., Dewolf, A., & Serin, R. (2015). Effectively training community supervision officers: a meta-analytic review of the impact on offender outcome. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 42, 977-989; Pearson, D. A. S., McDougall, C., Kanaan, M., Bowles, R. A., & Torgerson, D. J. (2011). Reducing criminal recidivism: evaluation of Citizenship, an evidence-based probation supervision process. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 7, 71-102; Pearson, D. A. S., McDougall, C., Kanaan, M., Torgerson, D. J., & Bowles, R. A. (2014). Evaluation of the Citizenship evidence-based probation supervision program using a stepped wedge cluster randomized controlled trial. *Crime & Delinquency*, 1-26. doi: 10.1177/0011128714530824; Taxman, F. (2008). No illusions: offender and organizational change in Maryland's proactive community supervision efforts. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 7, 275-302; Trotter, C. (1996). The impact of different supervision practices in community corrections: Cause for optimism. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 29, 29-46.
 23. Dau, W., Schmidt, A., Schmidt, A.F., Krug, T., Lappel, S.E., & Banger, M. (2011). Fünf Minuten täglich: Kompass—eine stationäre Kurzintervention für junge Cannabis-Partydrogenpatienten nach dem Bonner Modell—Junge Sucht. *Sucht*, 57, 203-214.
 24. Kenny, T., & Webster, S. (2015). *Experiences of prison officers delivering Five Minute Interventions at HMPIYOI Portland*. London: NOMS.
 25. Farrall, S. (2004). Social Capital and Offender Reintegration: Making Probation Desistance Focussed. In S. Maruna & R. Immarigeon (Eds.) *After Crime and Punishment: Pathways to Offender Reintegration* (pp.57-84). Cullompton: Willan Publishing; Maruna, S. (2001). *Making good: How ex-convicts reform and rebuild their lives*. Washington, DC: APA Books; Rex, S. (1999). Desistance from Offending: Experiences of Probation. *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 36: 366-83.
 26. Duwe, G., & Clark, V. (2011). Blessed Be the Social Tie That Binds: The Effects of Prison Visitation on Offender Recidivism. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 24(3), 271-296; Brunton-Smith, I., & McCarthy, D. J. (2016). The effects of prison attachment to family on re-entry outcomes: A longitudinal assessment. *British Journal of Criminology*. doi:10.1093/bjcr/azv129
 27. Wener, R. E. (2012). *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails: Creating Humane Spaces in Secure Settings*. Cambridge University Press; Moran, D. (2015). *Carceral Geography: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration*. Ashgate Publishing.
 28. Wener, R. E. (2012). *The Environmental Psychology of Prisons and Jails: Creating Humane Spaces in Secure Settings*. Cambridge University Press; Moran, D. (2015). *Carceral Geography: Spaces and Practices of Incarceration*. Ashgate Publishing.

covering full walls with pictures of vistas where staff and prisoners may not otherwise get to see these views. Outside areas also vary, with exercise yards sometimes feeling depressing. Some prisons have, after requests from prisoners, added picnic benches and commissioned prisoners to paint murals. Again, while the focus is often on the facilities and environment for those living in prison, staff facilities, such as break rooms, gym access and canteens, may also affect staff well-being and may send an important message about how they are valued.

Cleanliness is vital, first and foremost for health and decency, but also because a clean and pleasant environment signals that law-abiding behaviour is the norm and that the people who share this environment respect and care about each other. One rehabilitative prison began its cultural change journey by organising a system for staff and prisoners to volunteer to contribute to environmental improvement. Once improvements started to take hold, an increasing number of people signed up as volunteers and the sense of community expanded to include other forms of work for the community and its individual members, such as those who were aging, unwell, or simply frightened. This citizenship approach is wholly rehabilitative, enabling people to use their existing skills and discover new ones that they can use for the good of others. The underlying principle of 'Do Good Be Good' has a strong evidence base, confirming that working for the good of others is identity-changing.²⁹

The importance of normality

The way the environment is designed and the regime that is run can influence how disconnected people can feel from the world outside prison. We are beginning to understand the harms of imprisonment better. Loss of liberty is the punishment bestowed by the courts, but how life in prison is experienced can make this a deeper experience, disconnecting people even further from society, which can impact on their transition back into the community. Life in prison is can be thought of as remarkably 'not normal', beyond the loss of liberty which is expected. For example, where a prisoner can be and when they can move is often strictly controlled, basic tasks (such as cooking and laundry) are often completed by others, and access to basic items (such as toilet paper) can require a specific request to be made. Even the language used in prisons further highlights the disconnect between prison and the community;

common language, for example, includes 'cell' rather than 'room', 'canteen' rather than 'shop', 'education' rather than 'college', and 'offender' rather than 'person'. If we can reduce this disconnect, and encourage and support prisoners in taking greater responsibility for themselves, we hope to contribute towards a more rehabilitative culture, and to a smoother and more effective transition back into the community. The use of in-cell telephones and computers is much more in keeping with life outside of prison for example, and some prisons have actively begun changing the language that they use. In one particular prison, senior staff paired up with prisoners to tour the prison to spot 'not normal' language and environmental features to change.

Conclusion

Rehabilitative cultures offer many advantages. While they require a platform of safety and decency, once in place they also contribute to safety and decency. This enables a more productive setting where both staff and prisoners feel free from threat of physical and emotional harm, and are therefore better able to focus on relationships and planning for the future. Rehabilitative cultures are respectful and hopeful environments, places where staff can experience greater job satisfaction and prisoners can experience support and encouragement to make personal and lifestyle changes. Rehabilitative cultures do require sufficient staff, but more important is the approach taken by staff in their dealings with prisoners.³⁰

Rehabilitative cultures are, of course, not the entirety of the vision for more rehabilitative prisons: effective evidence-based interventions are also necessary to strengthen the skills needed for emotional regulation and overcoming substance misuse, as are education, vocational training, and services to assist with financial self-management, housing and enhanced supportive family ties.

There is no one way to develop a more rehabilitative culture in a prison, but the starting point should, it seems, be the people who live and work there, not practices and systems that are imposed by the central administration. In HMPPS, we are seeing something of a cultural revolution taking place, as prison leaders empower their staff and residents to contribute actively to cultural analysis and improvement. Where leaders dare to be different, and take their staff with them as they go, prisons can indeed become places of rehabilitation.

29. Wilson, T.D. (2011). *Redirect: The surprising new science of psychological change*. Allen Lane.

30. Franke, D., Bierie, D., & Mackenzie, D.L. (2010). Legitimacy in corrections: A randomized experiment comparing a boot camp with a prison. *Criminology and Public Policy*, 9, 89–117.