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Rehabilitative Culture

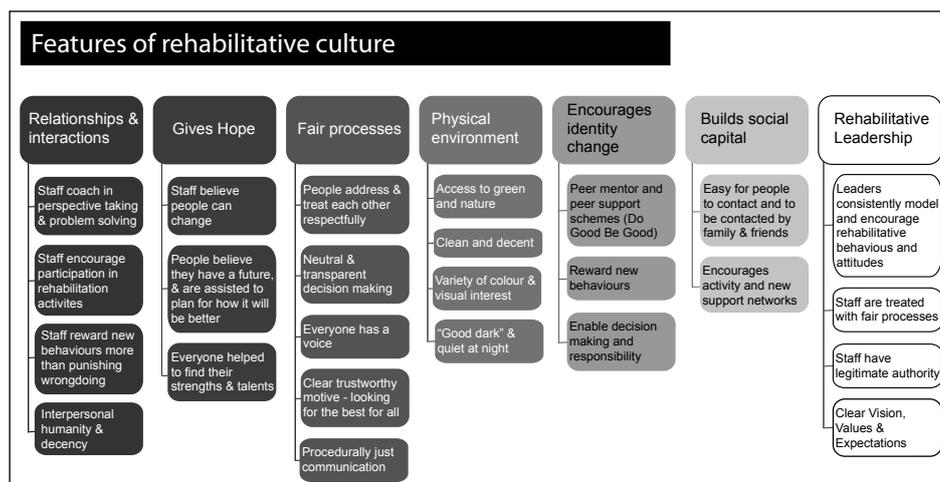
Rehabilitative Culture Part 2:

An update on evidence and practice

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

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



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

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

Relationships and interactions

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

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

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

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

1. Mann, R. E., Fitzalan Howard, F & Tew, J. (2018). What is a rehabilitative prison culture? *Prison Service Journal* 235, pp 3-9.
2. Blagden, N., Winder, B., & Hames, C. (2016). "They treat us like human beings"—Experiencing a therapeutic sex offenders prison: Impact on prisoners and staff and implications for treatment. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 60(4), 371-396.
3. Bourgon, G., Gutierrez, L. & Ashton, J. (2012). From case management to change agent: The evolution of "What works" community supervision. *Corrections Research User Report 2012-01*, Public Safety Canada; Trotter, C. (1996). The impact of different supervision practices in community corrections. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 29, 1, 29-46.

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



Figure 1: Time for Change at HMP Wymott



Figure 2: Catch Someone Doing Good at HMP Haverigg

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

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

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

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

Hope

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fair processes

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



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

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

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

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

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

Physical environment

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Figure 4: HMP Buckley Hall: Healthcare full wall mural

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

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

Encourages identity change

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Builds social capital

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rehabilitative Leadership

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Figure 6: Prison values example (HMP Stocken)



Figure 7: HMP Woodhill Values

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

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

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

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

Concluding thoughts and observations

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

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

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

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

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

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

establishment was fully invested in their growth'.³⁰

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

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

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