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Prisoners and Fine Art: What works, what doesn't work, and why?

Figure 1: Koestler Trust: 'Property of HM The Queen (Comfort Blanket)'

Nicola Tallon
N0581079

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Abstract

This literary analysis critically examines how Fine Art can aid prisoners rehabilitation and desistance from crime by adopting Tilley and Pawson's (2004) realist evaluation, "what works, for whom and in what circumstances?" (Pawson & Tilley 2004). In order to achieve the research aim various avenues have been examined. Firstly, taking into consideration multiple evaluations conducted on the effectiveness of Fine Art Programmes in prison settings in the USA and the UK. The strengths and weaknesses of research designs were tested using the Sherman et al. (1998) Maryland Scale.

Additionally examined are the challenges that Fine Art programme facilitators face in the running of their programmes, as well as challenges researchers face when carrying out their studies and the limitations of existing research. Furthermore, this research examines the links between high UK prisoner mental health illness levels and the therapeutic benefits of art activities that result in improved well-being for participants. Lastly, this thesis gives realistic recommendations for future research that will strengthen research design, allow for new findings, and aid the continuation of Government funding through the Transforming Rehabilitation Agenda's (2013) payment by results strategy.

"There is a long tradition of the arts being used within custody to motivate and engage learners, with much good work by voluntary and community sector organisations in support of that. We recognise the important role that the arts, collectively, can play in the rehabilitation process through encouraging self-esteem and improving communication skills as a means to the end of reducing reoffending. Future employment or self-employment in, or associated with, the creative arts and crafts can for some represent a potential pathway to life free of crime. Engagement in the arts with the possibility of fresh vision, or at least a glimpse of a different life, often provokes, inspires and delights." (BIS & MoJ, 2011: 19)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Prisoners have been creating works of art for as long as prisons have existed (Ursprung 1997); "…in the 1st century AD, gladiators enslaved in the Pompeii arena scratched graffiti onto the walls of their imprisoning barracks" (Gussak & Rosal 2015: 479). Gussak and Rosal (2015) state prisoner subculture and creative expression go hand in hand; that human instinct to express feelings through visual means is common in imprisonment. Through artistic expression vulnerabilities that prisoners may not wish to verbally discuss can be revealed, allowing the prisoner to come to terms with personal difficulties and escape the pains of imprisonment (Gussak & Rosal 2015). Art exists in all prison and detention facilities, in young offenders institutions, adult male and female prisons, and high through to low-security classifications. However, this thesis focuses on research involving mainly adult males in prison, although literature suggests that 'art works' with young offenders and female prisoners also (see Bilby et al. 2013).

There is a growing body of research seeking to explain the phenomenon that offenders can be rehabilitated through artistic programmes (Robertson 2013); "…the arts are a low cost, high touch, non-threatening intervention that have produced measurable results in the areas of reduction of psychopathological behavior, reduced incident rates, reduced recidivism, improved educational performance and increased self-esteem" (Nugent & Loucks 2011: Hughes 2005: 37). Existing studies have identified common qualities acquired by prisoners due to their involvement in arts-based interventions, such as: better concentration, dedication, patience, confidence, resilience, improved mental wellbeing, self-esteem, feeling happier and calmer, positive learning attitudes towards formal education and employment, and reduction in self-harm and violence in prison (Creative Scotland 2012: McNeill et al. 2011: Halperin et al. 2012: Brewster 2014). Johnson (2008) and Brewster (1984) recognise how prisoner art benefits not just prisoners but prison management and society, this is discussed further in chapter four.

Parkes and Bilby (2010) argue there is not enough solid evidence to explain the success of the arts in prison. Therefore this dissertation seeks to analyse particular research on specific fine arts programmes in prisons, to identify the strengths and weaknesses of existing research whilst making recommendations for future evaluations. Cheliotis and Jordanoska (2015) state little research exists on effectiveness of arts on prisoners post-release – therefore it may be the case that we do not actually know if fine art aids rehabilitation and desistance. Furthermore, this dissertation adopts a realist evaluation approach; to examine how, by what mechanisms, art benefits prisoners (Pawson & Tilley 2004).

The shifting attitudes towards rehabilitation and punishment of offenders through political 'tough on crime' leaderships, specifically post Martinson's (1974) 'what works' publication, have emphasised the need for robust research on rehabilitative programmes. Martinson's publication is examined in chapter three. The delivery of arts in prison will be different in every prison; however, most prisons and prisoners today experience the same challenges (Gussak & Rosal 2015), such as social exclusion, overcrowding, low numeracy and literacy levels and high levels of mental health illnesses. Therefore this thesis will also be examining the barriers faced by arts programmes and whether there has been a shift in Governments attitude towards rehabilitation back to a more humanistic approach, or if one ever existed. Thus examining if the arts are recognised by the Government as a valuable rehabilitative intervention in the UK.

Figure 2 shoes the various ways offenders participate in the arts. Art therapy is a well-established form of treatment for various mental health disorders in prisons, clinical and community settings (Dryden et al. 1992). It must be noted that art therapy is different to arts-based programmes; trained therapists practice art therapy sessions with prisoners and have their own framework to follow that is focused on the offender's mental health, the art produced is a secondary feature (Liebmann 1994: 8). This thesis focuses solely on fine art programmes in prison education departments, due to the overlaps between the therapeutic benefits of art activities and art therapy (ibid: 8). Artists teach prison fine art

programmes, they are not trained therapists, but do offer support and guidance on personal issues; classes are not based on the offender's mental health but on the tuition of art practices (Cheliotis 2014).

Figure 2:

There are four main ways that offenders participate in the arts:

1) From their own initiative – e.g. Traditional prison crafts like matchstick models and soap carving
2) In classes in prison education departments – usually in visual arts or writing, leading to specific qualifications;
3) In art therapy sessions as a mental health treatment
4) In music, performance and other art projects run by professional artists in custodial and community settings, usually time limited

(Source: Oliver 2015: 61)

There are high rates of self-harm and suicide in prison; in one year there were 2 suicides a week and over 32,000 self harm incidents (HMCIP 2016). "25% of women and 15% of men in prison reported symptoms indicative of psychosis. The rate among the general public is about 4%" (Prison Reform Trust 2016). Social Exclusion Unit's (SEU) (2002) report recognises pathways to reduce risk factors of re-offending, art programmes are found to increase protective factors for offenders, thus reducing the detrimental effects of institutionalisation and the revolving door of prison. SEU (2002) state adult prisoner literacy and numeracy levels are significantly low, comparing their reading, writing and numeracy skills as similar to, or lower than an eleven-year-old child (SEU 2002). The basic skills lacking in majority of prisoners cannot be taught through narrow specialist classes based solely on numeracy and literacy; practical involvement in subjects such as the arts, provide an informal yet controlled and respectful environment for the offender to develop a basic social skillset (BIS & MoJ 2011: 19).

This dissertation takes the form of a literature review, analyzing both UK and American literature and research, old and new, to compare methodological approaches to research

and findings. Albeit what works in certain American prisons may not work for prisons in the UK, but without robust methodological research this conclusion cannot be reached. Many subjectively know the multi-faceted benefits of creating art; the "…concept of creativity changes over temporal and cultural space, much as crime and culture do… in the modern era, creativity is considered to be an indicator of individuality, sub-cultural attachment or non-consumerism" (Parkes & Bilby 2010: 98). Creating art "… has the possibility to change how we see the world and our place in it" (Robertson 2013). However, the lack of research on prison arts participants after release is commented on by many academics (Halperin et al. 2012: Cheliotis & Jordanoska 2015: Gussak 2006) and is examined in chapter five.

Criminological theories are later examined in chapter six context of explaining two individuals offending behaviours, and how art can remove opportunities for criminal behaviour or victimisation. Discussion on Government views of arts in prison is a common theme throughout the dissertation, with a more in-depth discussion in chapters five and seven. This includes relevant debates about other activities deemed 'unacceptable' by the public and politicians, taking into account a recent crime substitution hypothesis and how this closely relates to creativity and play as a means to reduce and prevent crime. The penultimate chapter offers recommendations for future research and an assessment framework that could be used by arts programmes to strengthen research findings.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This dissertation is conducted through literary analysis, Hart (1998) states that literature reviews are integral to the success of academic research (Hart 1998: 13). Hart (1998) maintains that it is pivotal for the researcher to know about the contributions others have made to their topic and that the ideas and work of others that will provide the researcher with the framework for their own work (Hart 1998: 27). Primary research would not have been suitable for this dissertation due to the difficulties of gaining access to participants in prison to conduct research, however if given the opportunity, primary research would have been beneficial. As Davies et al (2011) express, issues that arise in conducting research in prisons are difficulty in gaining access to interviewee's, control over case selection and the politics that may complicate the research process as well as practical difficulties (Davies et al. 2011: 168). Prisons have traditionally been 'closed' institutions and gaining access for research purposes can be troublesome - a recurring issue rather than a one off hurdle (ibid: 168).

There are many advantages to literature reviews; there is a broad range of information readily accessible (Crowther-Dowey & Fussey 2013), such as peer-reviewed journals, quantitative and qualitative research carried out by others and academic texts. It is important to identify key landmark studies as it "enables the questioning and scrutinising of ideas, methods and arguments, regardless of who proposed them: playing with different ideas in order to see if links can be made and following ideas to see where they might lead" (Hart 1998). Additionally, it is a cheaper method than primary research; Denscombe (2010) says credibility is improved when information is available for public scrutiny. Furthermore, access to peer-reviewed journals and research papers add further knowledge to academic textbooks that can be out-dated, allowing current issues and trends to be identified.

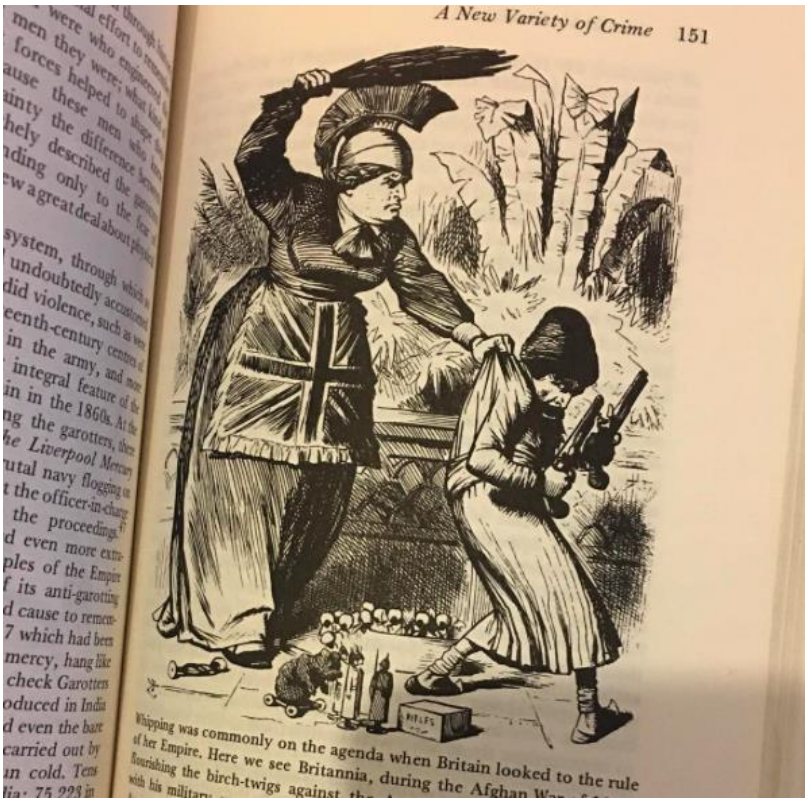
Bryman (2008) states that relying on media sources and non-peer reviewed academic publications could lead to misrepresented research (Creswell 2003). The researcher can be accused of selective reading (Crowther-Dowey & Fussey 2013), in other words, favouring a particular argument and therefore focusing on one view more to achieve a pre-destined outcome. Another limitation could be the issue of 'originality': the aim is not to replicate others, but to add in some way to existing research, something that helps further our understanding of the world in which we live (Hart 1998: 12). Davies et al. (2011) also note that although recommendations may be great in theory, they may have little practical application.

There is "little robust evaluative or research work carried out on artistic endeavours within criminal justice settings", and "an abundance of success stories, but the ability to explain the reasons behind this success is still outstanding" (Parkes & Bilby 2011: 105). Matarasso (1997) states, "…people, their creativity and culture, remain elusive, always partly beyond the range of conventional inquiry" (ibid: 105). In order to connect this criminological research with theory, it is important to understand epistemology and ontology. One of the most important questions in relation to ontology is whether the "social world is something that exists externally to its actors, or whether it is something constructed by them" (Crowther-Dowey & Fussey 2013: 42). Epistemology asks, "How we know what we know", it is concerned with the diverse perspectives used in order to interpret and construct meaning from our environment (ibid).

This research adopts an interpretivist position; on the basis that more thorough understanding is needed, than just analysing quantitative data, to understand the impact of arts in rehabilitation. Interpretivism, it can be said, is concerned with the ways "people subjectively experience and create their own social realities" (ibid). Constructivism will be the approach adopted for this research, based on the idea that the social world constructs its own reality: in terms of social control, constructivists argue that orders are not automatically accepted, but negotiated and constructed (ibid). Crowther-Dowey & Fussey

(2013) also note the effectiveness of constructivist perspectives in the analyses of prison practices.

Chapter 3: History of Punishment & Rehabilitation of offenders



(Figure 3: Pearson 1983)

Defining Rehabilitation

To contextualise prisoners and Fine Art it is important to first look at the history of rehabilitation. This can examine, to an extent, if there has been a decline in the rehabilitative ideal and practice in prison; furthermore, finding out if the golden age of rehabilitation really ever existed. Pearson (1983) states British people perceive the 'golden age' of society as life being much better two decades previously than it is today; such as less crime, better behaved young people and better quality of life (Pearson 1983). However, our society also imagines a deterioration of morality in an unrealistic scale (ibid)."The idea that the past harbours a golden age of tranquillity also readily lends itself to the view that history might furnish us with effective methods of common-sense crime control" (ibid: 9).

Rehabilitation is defined as "…the action of restoring someone to health or normal life through training and therapy after imprisonment, addiction, or illness" (OED 2017). Robinson and Crow (2009) argue the rehabilitation of offenders has a 'symbolic dimension'; the definition of rehabilitation implies the offender is restored to a previous state of a law-abiding citizen (Robinson & Crow 2009). Futhermore, Robinson and Crow (2009) note the symbolic process of rehabilitation as not just behaviour change, but the removal of negative labels followed by reintegration to society after a period of exclusion (ibid).

Rotman (1990) and Raynor (2004) criticised the concept of offender restoration; Raynor announced, "We cannot always assume that offenders were ever in a desirable state to which we would wish to restore them" (Robinson & Crow 2009: 2). Rotman's (1990) view suggests that the intention of focusing on a return to a previous state for offenders ignores the ideology of developing offenders, arguing that rehabilitation should mean improving offenders social bonds and psychological health, whilst acquiring new skills (Rotman 1990: 3-4), to change for the better (Robinson & Crow 1994: 3). The concept of rehabilitation is complicated due to its different interpretations (McNeill 2013). However, rehabilitative programmes that do not work in reducing re-offending rates, could provide other elements that alleviate the detrimental impacts of prison and not make their offending behaviour worse (Martinson 1974).

History of punishment & rehabilitation

In 16th and 17th centuries, prisons drew on classical theories of punishment, such as torture, slavery and public execution (Messner 2013). "Approaches to rehabilitation are never theory-free… they reflect particular criminological theories about why people offend" (Raynor & Robinson 2009: 7). The main views adopted in criminological theory are either classical or positivist; classists such as Beccaria (1764) believe in offenders as rational actors that have free will, and therefore choose to engage in criminal behaviour. "Let the idea of torture and execution be ever present in the heart of the weak man and dominate

the feeling that drives him to crime" (Beccaria 1764: 119). In contrast, the positivist approach believes there are a range of factors, such as biological, psychological and environmental, that act as internal or external forces; viewing the offender as a 'passive victim' with little or no responsibility for their actions and therefore needs treatment or to be helped (ibid: 6).

"In the mid-sixteenth century, Britain saw the introduction of 'institutional regime' as a means for 'moral correction'" (Raynor & Robinson 2009: 33). In 1777, The State of Prisons, written by Magistrate and penal reformer John Howard, was published (Raynor & Robinson 2009). The publication followed Howard's inspection of the local gaol (prison); he found prisoners in ill health and abused and this urged him to inspect all prisons in England. Howard's views were that prisons needed to change from a regime of strict punishment to a more reformative one, conditions needed to improve and that religious practice for prisoners would correct their morals, "making them sober and honest" (ibid: 36: Howard 1929). In 1779 the British Government passed the Penitentiary Act, which made the rehabilitation of criminals a function of all prisons (ibid).

Du Crane's appointment as chairman of the prison commission saw a severe decline in penal reform (Raynor & Robinson 2009), his mantra was that deterrence should be prioritised over rehabilitation. Many criticised Du Crane's views especially the Gladstone committee, "…prison discipline should be more effectually designed to maintain, stimulate or awaken the higher susceptibilities of prisoners, to develop their moral instincts… and wherever possible to turn them out of prison better men and women, both physically and morally, than when they came in." (ibid: Gladstone Report 1895, para.25). The Home Secretary insisted for the views of the Gladstone Committee to be practised as soon as possible (ibid); however, the uniformed prison staff felt neglected after the reformative changes put in place to improve prisons, creating hostility towards the reforms that carried on into the twentieth century (Jewkes 2007).

The 'golden age' of prison reform

Paterson became Prison Commissioner in 1922, the "Paterson era was seen by many as the golden age of prison reform" (Jewkes 2007: 42). Paterson called for the end of Borstals as 'prison' for young offenders and instead for educational institutions, with employment of staff believing in the treatment of young people that 'society had let down' (ibid). Paterson's reforms led to prisoners being allowed to live more openly in prison, in other words, not being confined to their cell for as long periods of time. However, incidents such as Dartmoor in 1932, where prisoners took control over the prison (ibid), and more recently seen in Strangeways and Birmingham, cause public fear of security and control of prisoners, which often leads to a return of prolonged use of prisoners locked up in cells to maintain order and control. "So rather than reducing the pressures of imprisonment, association appeared actually to increase them" (ibid: 44). In other words, the belief that prisoners being allowed to associate more would make their environment less sufferable actually created bigger problems; as well as added stress on staff to control large numbers of inmates that were usually in confinement.

1950's & 1960's: The 'rehabilitative ideal'

Throughout the 1950's and 1960's in Britain, positivism ruled approaches to criminological thinking and treatment of offenders and was therefore coined the rehabilitative ideal (Robinson & Crow 2009). The late twentieth century saw a shift back to classical views, that offenders are rational actors, this was coined the neo-classical perspective (Jewkes 2007); this may have been a knee-jerk reaction to Martinson's (1974) 'what works' publication. However, the return to the rational actor viewpoint may not be negative for rehabilitation as it could help to understand true reasoning behind individual offending; as Hollin (2004) states, "…the revival of the neo-classical perspective has been linked with a revival of rehabilitative optimism" (ibid: 5).

1974: Martinson's What Works research

Following a period focused on rehabilitative interventions for offenders in prison based on the 'rehabilitative ideal', Martinson carried out research concluding that "… with few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far, have had no appreciable effect on recidivism" (Martinson 1974: 25). This was classed as the collapse of the rehabilitative ideal as people perceived Martinson's work as saying that nothing works at all in rehabilitating offenders, but that is not what he meant. Martinson (1974) said there is just very little evidence to support the programmes evaluated; "…it is just possible that some of our treatment programmes are working to some extent, but that our research is so bad that is incapable of telling" (ibid: 49). Overall, Martinson (1974) wished for a more "…fullhearted commitment to the strategy of treatment" (ibid: 49), he says that what works could be something that deters rather than cures (ibid: 50), which is where the arts in prison can play a role in rehabilitation.

The 'what works movement' rejected the 'nothing works' ideology and instead used science to prove that "…punitive interventions were ineffective, and that treatment programmes rooted in criminological knowledge were capable of meaningfully reducing recidivism" (Cullen 2005: Ward & Maruna 2007: 10). However, Farabee (2005) also argued that rehabilitative interventions have little or no lasting impact on recidivism (ibid). Ward and Maruna (2007) found that prisoners tend to be dubious of structured rehabilitation programmes; "…especially those with a psychological underpinning, as opposed to, for instance, job training" (ibid: 15).

Perhaps their resistance is due to the focus of correction on "criminal thinking, re-socialisation and behaviour conditioning" (ibid: 15) rather than an open approach to any underlying issues that may be harming their mental health. Cohen (1985) notes that counselling for the affluent involves a focus on "who you are": "feelings, insight, emotional growth, awareness and self-actualisation" (ibid: 16: Cohen 1985: 153). The link between

art as inducing mindfulness, meditation and relaxation with improving mental well-being has been popular outside of prison; "…it is fascinating to think that prisoners […] are resistant to therapeutic treatments at the same time that the rest of us are going broke trying to afford to pay for counselling and therapy for ourselves…" (ibid: 16: Hillman & Ventura 1993).

Post Martinson

Garland (2001) argued against the 'nothing works' stance and describes it as an "…emotive reaction to the failings of the system, rather than an informed view of the system" (Twohig 2014: 130). Between 1970 and 2000 there were major changes in crime control and criminal justice, after the decline of the 'rehabilitative ideal' followed the re-emergence of punitive sanctions and the privatisation of crime control (ibid). However, "There is increasing indication that the government recognises benefits of eclectic approach to work with offenders because of its focus on partnerships with the third sector" (MoJ 2008: Parkes & Bilby 2010: 100). Third sector organisations, such as the Koestler Trust, provide arts-based programmes in prisons in the UK, as well as mentoring after release, and hold exhibitions to showcase and sell offenders work. Therefore, the next chapter will examine the benefits of these programmes in rehabilitating offenders and reducing reoffending.

Chapter 4: Benefits of Fine Art Programmes in Prison

(Figure 4: Koestler Trust: 'North Sea Camp Visitors Centre' HMP North Sea Camp Evelyn)

This chapter focuses on six evaluations of fine arts-based interventions in prisons. These studies were selected due to being directly on topic, prison art programmes exist in many forms, such as music courses, textiles; stand up comedy, and performing arts (Prisoners Education Trust 2017). However, the chosen focus is on fine art interventions due to the existing literature that practicing art improves mental wellbeing and aids rehabilitation and desistance of offending, this significantly links due to the high proportion of prisoners with mental illnesses.

These studies were chosen to compare existing research between the USA and UK, those using quantitative and qualitative methods and identifying recent studies with control groups. Adopting Pawson and Tilley's (2004) 'Realist Evaluation' throughout to determine the mechanisms of how arts-based interventions aid rehabilitation and desistance from crime, finding out "…what works, for whom and in what circumstances" (Pawson & Tilley 2004). Firstly this chapter will be examining the benefits of artistic programmes in prison. The next chapter will be examining the barriers that arts programmes face, such as, "…has

prison become a political football?" (Grimwood & Berman 2012: 10), and lastly, recognising the limitations of the research findings.

In order to scientifically study crime reduction interventions to see if they work, do not work, are promising and what is unknown, Sherman et al. (1998) developed the Maryland scale (see figure 5). The scale measures the strength of research design and any threats to its validity, level 1 being weakest and level 5 the strongest form of research (Sherman et al. 1998).

Figure 5: Maryland Scale

A. Research Design

	Before & After analysis	Control groups	Multiple Units	Random samples
Methods score				
Level 1	0	0	X	0
Level 2	X	0	0*	0
Level 3	X	X	0	0
Level 4	X	X	X	0
Level 5	X	X	X	X

B. Threats to validity

	Causal Direction	History	Chance Factors	Selection Bias
Methods score				
Level 1	X	X	X	X
Level 2	0	X	X	X
Level 3	0	0	X	X
Level 4	0	0	0	X
Level 5	0	0	0	0

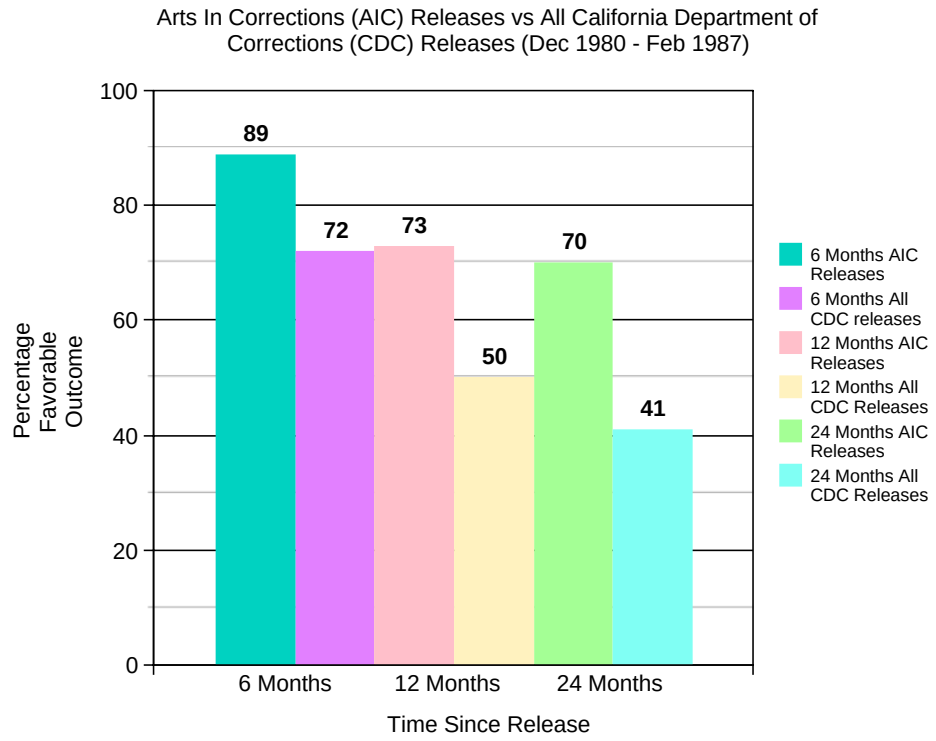
Key: X = Present 0 = Absent

*Apart from when a comparison unit is employed without demonstrated comparability.

(Sherman et al. 1998: 5)

Therefore, if adhering to the Maryland scale, the strongest research thus far on fine art programmes in prison and their effectiveness on reducing re-offending rates are by California Department of Corrections (CDC) (1987) and Cheliotis and Jordanoska (2015). CDC's research spanned a seven-year period (1980-1987), to analyse post-release effectiveness and determine if arts participation had long-lasting beneficial effects on prisoners. They adopted a control group of California state prisoners that were not involved in arts in prison, comparing this control groups re-offending rates with those involved in arts in corrections (AIC) (a random sample of 177 prisoners). The outcomes were measured as either favourable or unfavourable: unfavourable if there was a return to custody for violation of parole conditions or a return to custody for conviction of a new offence, favourable if there was none of the above (California Department of Corrections 1987). As Figure 6 shows, at all stages AIC releases scored significantly higher for favourable outcomes over all releases; 24 months after release arts in corrections releases were reoffending 31% less than all California Department of Corrections releases (William James Association 2017).

Figure 6:



(Source: William James Association 2017)

The Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) (2002) found that being employed reduces the risk of reoffending by between a third and a half, many prisoners have suffered a lifetime of social exclusion, which in turn can make them reject traditionally academic or work-based programmes in prison. According to the SEU (2002), many prisoners have "…little experience of employment, few positive social networks… and mental health problems" (SEU 2002). Research shows the use of art in rehabilitation is addressing barriers prisoners face surrounding mental health and is equipping prisoners with basic skills and confidence to then enrol in formal education classes (Halperin et al. 2012: Brewster 2014). David Lammy (2009), Minister for Higher Education and Intellectual Property voiced, "…not only did an understanding and practice of the arts and creativity enable us to understand the development of our society and culture, but it taught people soft skills, which were valued by employers" (Parkes & Bilby 2010: 103).

The benefits of art in prison can be broken down into four categories: "…therapeutic, educational, prison management and societal (community involvement)" (Johnson 2008: 100). Nugent & Loucks (2011) conducted qualitative interviews on 65 incarcerated women; the interviews were carried out at the beginning and end of the art course prisoners participated in. The findings showed that participants "…grew in confidence and self-esteem, enjoyed learning something new, found courses relaxing, were able to forget they were in prison during the course, appreciated the chance to work as a team and learn new skills" (Nugent & Loucks 2011: 362). Also interviewed were prison officers to get their views on effectiveness of the courses, one said, "…prisoners with mental health issues, more than any other prisoners, were able to benefit from using the arts to build confidence, self-esteem and feel good about themselves" (ibid: 365). Nugent and Loucks (2011) also state that one female prisoner who was a prolific self-harmer did not self-harm whilst participating in her art course because she felt more in control (ibid).

Bilby et al. (2013) identified strong links between participation in art programmes and secondary desistance. Secondary desistance can be defined as "…changes in self-identity and personal agency and the development of social capital" (Bilby et al. 2013: 50) that

lead an offender to desist from crime. "Secondary desistance is about ceasing to see one's self as an offender and finding a more positive identity; it is about successfully peeling off the criminal label that the criminal justice systems are so effective at applying" (McNeill et al. 2011: 3). The desistance process is broken down into four stages by Giordano, Cernkovich and Rudolph (2002): "1) openness to change, 2) exposure and reaction to 'hooks' for change. 3) Imagining and believing in a replacement self, 4) a change in the way that offending and deviant behaviour is viewed" (Bilby et al 2013: 5: Giordano, Cernkovich & Rudolph 2002: 999-1002).

The positive outcomes of arts programmes evaluated by the Arts Alliance show strong links to the stages of desistance. Findings showed participants were able to practice reflection which leads to changes in self-perception and the ability to redefine themselves: they were open to change and went on to take up further educational and psychological opportunities. Engaging in arts enabled them to achieve something, receive praise and see themselves as successful, which improved their behaviour whilst serving their sentence, showing lower levels of aggression as they were able to co-operate better with others (Bilby, et al. 2013: 50-54).

Bilby et al. (2013) state the pure enjoyment factor of the arts can be linked to improving the wellbeing of participants, reducing the high levels of mental health issues in prison. Overall, this study has shown that being encouragingly responsive to offender's individual needs, like these art projects do, will have excellent outcomes in reducing re-offending (ibid). Research continues to show the mechanisms found in arts-based prison programmes, which give prisoners distraction, keep them busy and encourage play.

Cheliotis and Jordanoska (2015) researched the effectiveness of the Koestler Trust scheme, firstly, using two control groups, the first group included prisoners with no involvement in arts, the second group included prisoners with some involvement in arts, but not on the Koestler Trust mentoring scheme. Secondly, pre and post-test questionnaires on control groups and participants of the scheme, pre-test whilst still in

prison and post-test six to nine months after release from prison, face-to-face interviews and observation of mentor/mentee meetings, and lastly analysis of recidivism rates for mentee and control groups (Cheliotis & Jordanoska 2015). This is the strongest most recent research in the UK, if abiding by the Maryland Scale.

Cheliotis and Jordanoska (2015) found "… arts-based programmes promote constant dialogue between participants, create a platform for the provision of constructive criticism... and enable self-reflection and emotional openness" (ibid: 28). Their findings promote the use of arts-based interventions, mentee's express their determination to remain involved, and reporting wishes to become tutors themselves (ibid). They report that "…mentees find it humanising…that their previous involvement in crime is not brought up by mentors during sessions… mentees argue this gives them back their individuality…no longer treated as belonging to an undifferentiated category of criminals" (Cheliotis 2014: 52). Mentee's also said that the mentoring scheme kept them busy post release and helped them stay out of trouble, "relieving boredom and frustration" (ibid: 56). Overall they viewed their mentors as role models and mentors provided "authority that is neither oppressive nor condescending" (ibid: 59).

There are "…social and taxpayer benefits… savings due to less damage to facilities, reduced stress on staff resulting in less staff absence, and fewer social and political costs associated with prison riots and lockdowns" (Brewster 1983: 26). Additionally, artistic interventions have had positive effects on prisoner-prisoner and staff-prisoner relationships, reducing prisoner violence, therefore reducing disciplinary reports and improving communication with the 'outside world' (Halperin et al 2015: Cheliotis & Jordanoska 2015: Brewster 2014: Bilby et al. 2013: Nugent & Loucks 2011). The outcome of fewer disciplinary reports could be related to Routine Activity Theory (Felson & Boba 2010), as there is a lack of availability for the participants to become a victim/offender due to their participation in art. Therefore, change in environment and equipping of skills to keep prisoners busy could be said to give prisoners a sense of escape (Gussak 1997: 2004: 2006), from the bad conditions in prison that often amplify aggression and violence.

With limited funding, researchers may face difficulty in tracking down offenders post-release; this could explain the lack of research tracking prisoner recidivism rates to examine long-term effectiveness (Cheliotis & Jordanoska 2015). It could be argued that thus far, research has focused on skills gained and behaviours and attitudes of participants whilst participating in prison but little research exists on the outside, after release. This leads us onto the barriers and limitations chapter where the lack of solid quantitative evidence in the UK is examined.

Chapter 5: Barriers & Limitations

Barriers faced by Arts Programmes & Researchers

Barriers, when used in this chapter, are used in the context of difficulties that arts programmes and researchers may face. The barriers are, funding, getting access to prisons/prisoners, shortage in staffing in prison means classes cannot always run and research may be delayed or have to change; for example researchers may have been granted 100 prisoners to interview but only get access to 30. Overcrowding significantly impacts offenders' access to programmes, with strains on staff numbers, prisoners are not always able to consistently attend classes (HMCIP 2016). As of February 2017 the prison population of England and Wales stands at 85,245 (Gov.uk 2017), in February 2015 it was 85,567 (Gov.uk 2015). "As of February 2015, 71 prisons (60% of the estate) were overcrowded" (Parliament.uk 2015).

Gussak (1997) states, "Those who adhere strongly to the punitive ideology are more likely to be suspicious of creative activities, and view prisoner art as a threat or problem or have a paranoid reaction to it" (Gussak 1997: Johnson 2008: 115). The arts in prison are often criticised for glamorising offenders, Myra Hindley's and Colin Pitchfork's (see Kisiel 2009) artworks have caused public uproar. Erwin James (2010), ex-offender and patron of arts charity Create, tells of the moment Jack Straw, who was Justice Secretary at the time, found out about a stand-up comedy course running in a Cambridge High-Security Prison (James 2010). Jack Straw decided, "Somebody was taking the proverbial…and he announced a clampdown on inside 'fun'" (ibid). "Straw said: "As soon as I heard about the course at HMP Whitemoor, I instructed that it must be immediately cancelled. It is totally unacceptable" (Anon, The Guardian 2008). This shows a key hurdle faced by arts in prison facilitators is the ability politicians have to put a stop to their interventions to further their political agenda and continue the punitive approach.

Politics play a huge role in what happens in prisons'; "…the politicisation of the debate about the Criminal Justice System in general and the use of imprisonment, in particular,

has hindered the development of evidence-based policy-making" (Grimwood & Berman 2012: 10). In other words, the belief by politicians that the punitive approach of prison works is detrimental to the focus on the actual aims and purposes of imprisonment (ibid). Furthermore, "The Conservatives' March 2008 policy green paper 'Prisons with a Purpose' argued that 'old politics' are not working, the penal system is failing to deliver on incapacitation, punishment, deterrence and rehabilitation" (ibid: 14).

The reasons for failing to deliver were noted by the Conservatives as under-performing prison regimes and overcrowding (ibid). Theresa May, the current Prime Minister, has said, "…prison works but it must be made to work better" (ibid: 12). The assumption that 'prison works' is based on the belief that "…offenders are not committing crimes while they are inside…" (ibid). Arguably, some offenders are committing crimes whilst in prison; also missing is the fact that prisoners can be victims. However, the Government's recent Transforming Rehabilitation Agenda, "A Strategy for Reform" (MoJ 2013), and its plans for partnerships with voluntary and community sector organisations show recognition of therapeutic interventions in offender rehabilitation settings (BIS & MoJ 2011).

If it is believed that people learn criminal behaviour through imitation and their environments (Tarde 1843-1903), then it could be argued that without the existence of humanising rehabilitative interventions, prison is not the right environment to expect positive changes. Digard et al. (2007) recognise that safe spaces for creativity are needed in prisons to enable room for personal growth and transformation to occur (Parkes & Bilby 2010). When considering Sutherland's (1937) differential association theory, if applied to prisoners, arts programmes can be seen to lessen chances of associating with negative influences, spending more time in positive social environments rather than criminogenic ones. As Figure 7 shows, criminogenic factors are for example criminal associates, pro-criminal attitudes and hostility and anger; non-criminogenic needs of offenders involve improvement of self-esteem, group and neighbourhood cohesion, isolation, anxiety and psychological discomfort (Howells & Day 1999: Bonta 1997). Arts based rehabilitation shows improvement in psychological discomfort, anxiety and isolation (Gussak 2004), self-

esteem (Brewster 2014), and group and neighbourhood cohesion (Cheliotis & Jordanoska 2015).

Figure 7:

Table 2: Needs of Offenders

Criminogenic	Non-criminogenic
Pro-criminal attitudes	Self-esteem
Criminal Associates	Anxiety
Substance Abuse	Feeling of alienation
Antisocial personality	Psychological discomfort
Problem-solving skills	Group cohesion
Hostility-anger	Neighbourhood Improvement

(Table remade from source: Howells & Day 1999: Bonta 1997)

McNeill et al. (2011) explain "… the connections between behaviours, attitudes and identities are complex and contingent; sometimes identities change in advance of behaviours" (ibid: 4). Therefore, arts programmes can be deemed as not working if participants re-offend within a year, focusing on re-offending statistics can mean ignoring the effects of institutionalisation and reliance on prison that some offenders have and how difficult it is to break the cycle of re-offending. Missing from research is if a participant were to be imprisoned again, participated in an art intervention a second time then were released and did not re-offend, would the programme still be classed as not working to prevent recidivism, this could explain why there is no statistical significance in the UK.

Limitations of Existing Research

There is little research on post-release effectiveness of fine arts programs, rarely examined is how many participants become artists, mentors, teachers or gain other employment. Brewster (1983) states "…although some people in the [art] Program have become practising artists after leaving prison, the Program does not exist in order to make artists" (Brewster 1983: 24). Whilst the programme does not exist in order to make artists, it

exists in order to help offenders gain skills to aid their rehabilitation and desistance from crime and enroll in education or gain employment. However, no research could be found to follow up with these participants after release to determine what education or employment they are now in. In 2009, the Koestler Trust submitted Koestler award winners details to the Ministry of Justice Data Lab to allow for a comparison to be done with general prison population releases, however when reoffending rates were compared over the one year period, there was only a 1% decrease in re-offending for the participants (MoJ 2017).

Cheliotis and Jordanoska (2015) recognise the scarcity of control group and evaluative studies to see if there has been a lasting effect long after release" (Cheliotis & Jordanoska 2015). Strangely lacking from research is the question if whether the artwork produced by the offender has to be 'good', to enable them to benefit from the intervention, especially in relation to the 18.52% that reported no change in Brewster's (2014) evaluation. Cheliotis and Jordanoska (2015) stated that participants for their research had to have won a Koestler Award, which can show selection bias as these individuals may have benefited more than fellow participants who have not won awards, or were not 'good' at art. Additionally, research does not encounter if there could be or has been, a backfire effect if the participants' art is not 'good', in other words, make the offender feel worse.

A high proportion of research carried out on the effectiveness of arts in rehabilitation and desistance are self-funded, meaning the charities or organisations have paid for the research to be carried out. This could result in bias, even though the researchers are from outside academic institutions. Additionally, it could be argued that they are trying to prove the art interventions work instead of considering what doesn't work and what could be improved. Perhaps the creation of a specific framework to test is needed, such as a replication of the study done by CDC (1987) and Cheliotis and Jordanoska (2015), which include the following recommendations.

Future research should obtain independently funded researchers and focus on more ethnographic methodologies over a long period of time, by adopting an observational focus, especially long after release (Bilby et al. 2013), may provide outcomes not yet revealed. Cheliotis (2014) recognises the difficulties in becoming an artist outside prison, and how mentors advise their mentee's realistically, but also highlights were some prisoners would be set back when they are released from prison and are not always able to make it as a paid full-time artist. This could be detrimental to a participant and cause a relapse in offending behaviour.

The continuation of longitudinal ethnographic research on participants post release, can highlight unknown successful areas and identify areas where the participant is struggling in their desistance journey, enabling the creation of more specific action plans, not just for the art mentors, but everyone included in the offenders rehabilitation. It may be difficult to obtain funding for longitudinal research and trying to keep in contact with offender's years after release. However, the continuation of self-funded studies can be seen as bias and value-laden; and lack of post-release data could be detrimental to the future of arts in terms of gaining Government and non-Government funding, as well as political and public confidence.

Johnson (2008) says, "…prison is intended to strip power and deliver pain: art empowers and delivers happiness" (Johnson 2008: 115). Missing from research is whether the art programmes have a positive domino effect on others in prison who were not on the course, for example whether peer influence has made others join up to either the same course or a different one. Therefore, more research with control groups studying larger samples are needed to identify peer influence. Arguably, the "…prisoner subculture of toughness" (Kornfeld 1997: Johnson 2008: 114), means that some prisoners may see exposing their thoughts and feelings as weakness (Kornfeld 1997: Johnson 2008), and due to this some will not engage in the arts.

In summary, when asking, "what works, for whom, and in what circumstances" (Pawson & Tilley 2004), studies have been shown to have beneficial outcomes for male adult offenders – including those in high and low-security prisons. However, there are no clear findings for exactly 'who' art rehabilitation works for and in what circumstance. Overall, arts programmes are showing qualities that create healthier environments for prisoners, as well as coping mechanisms that have the possibility of aiding their journey to desistance.

Chapter 6: Charles Bronson (Salvador) & Jimmy Boyle

This chapter discusses two of the UK's most 'notorious' prisoners, Charles Bronson and Jimmy Boyle - examining how the arts worked for one and not the other in terms of their rehabilitation and desistance from crime. Taking into consideration relevant criminological theories that could explain their individual criminal behaviours. After thorough searches it has been identified that academic sources mentioning the individuals were very rare, therefore, some information provided in this chapter is through media sources. Nevertheless, they are still very important cases to examine when asking what works, what doesn't work and why, in the context of prisoners and fine art.

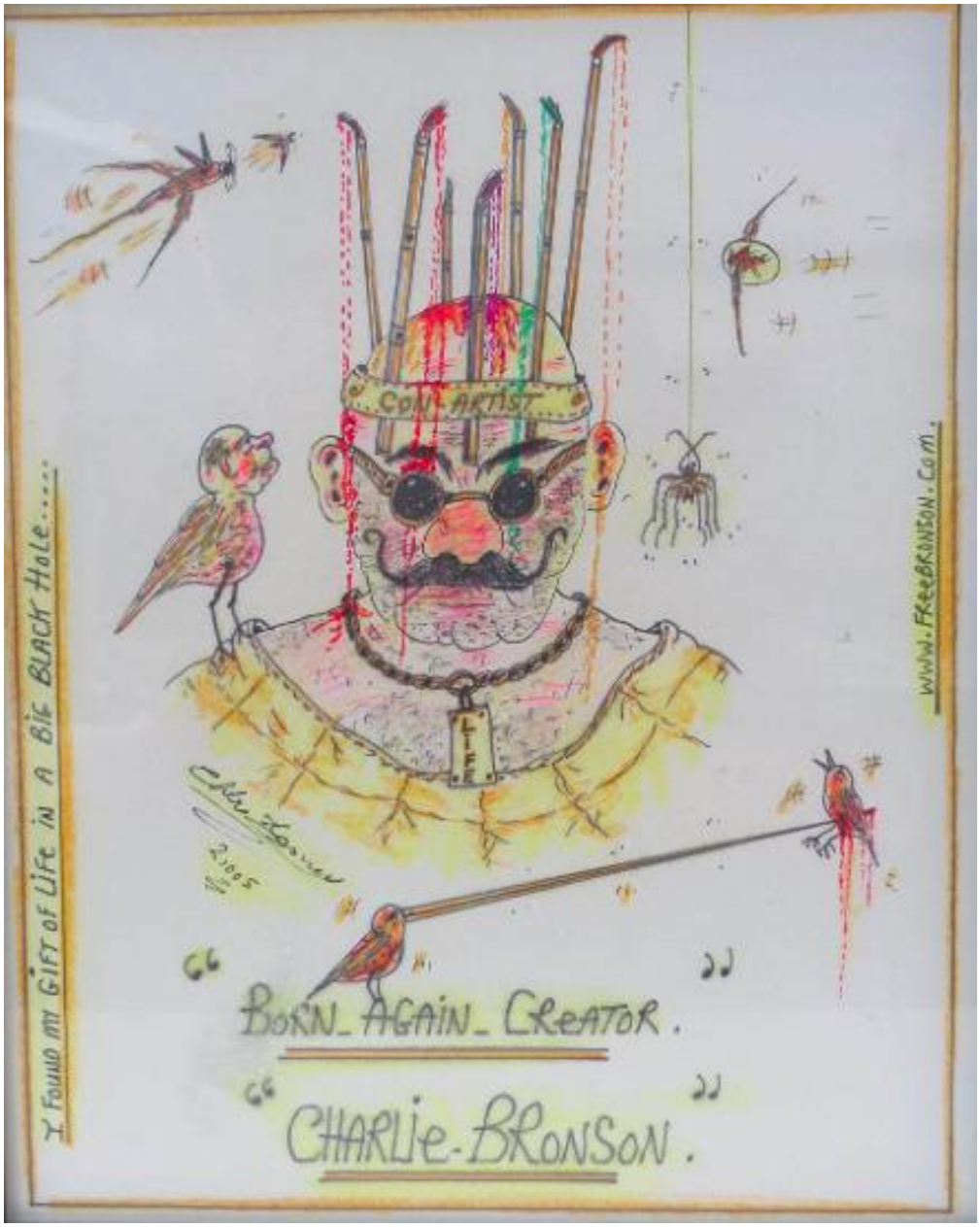
Bronson, imprisoned in 1974 for robbery (James 2013), has taken up art in prison (see Figure 8), and uses his art as a way to communicate with the outside world, donating money he makes from his artwork to children's charities (see Nsubuga 2017: Matthews 2015). Boyle participated in art therapy sessions whilst serving time for murder in HMP Barlinne's Special Unit during the 1980's (see Carrell & Laing 1982). Bronson is still in prison, confined to a specially constructed cage, the "Bronco Zoo" (Bronson 2014). Boyle, on the other hand, lives in the French Riviera, is a sculptor (see Figure 9), established and worked at the Gateway Trust, a charity to help vulnerable people, and has not reoffended. So why did the arts work for Boyle and not Bronson?

Charles Bronson (now Salvador)

Charles Bronson, 'Britains Most Violent Prisoner' (Oppenheim 2017), was born Michael Peterson and his parents ran a Conservative club in Aberystwyth during his younger years (BBC 2000). Bronson (2000) states that his first criminal justice reprimand was when he was 13, he explains the that the criminal justice system kept providing him with alternatives to custody until he was finally sentenced to prison aged 22. Some say he is the "…testimony to the failure of the criminal justice system" (Wells 2000). In terms of masculinity and criminology there are various arguments for whether masculine behaviour can be linked to crimes, unfortunately, they are beyond the scope of this chapter (See

Silvestri & Crowther-Dowey 2016: Messerschmidt 1993). Collier (2004) defines masculinity as an underlying cause of crime (Collier 2004: Tierney: 350).

Figure 8:



(Source: Selby, J., 2013. The Independent)

Connell (1995) categorised the notions of masculinities into two forms, 'hegemonic' and 'sub-ordinated': Bronson would fall into the sub-ordinated category, with characteristics of violent behaviour towards authority, "… competitive individualism, independence,

aggressiveness and capacity for violence" (Messerschmidt 1993: 82). In relation to Bronson's competitive individualism, Wilson (2011) states, "… being normal was exactly what Bronson didn't want – he wanted to be extraordinary" (Wilson 2011: 88). Bronson's fascination with being famous, being branded the 'UK's most violent prisoner', and the attention he receives for his artwork and the film 'Bronson' can be seen as glamorising offending behaviour.

Bronson is labelled as a 'monster', 'Britain's most violent prisoner' and 'Britain's Hannibal Lecter' (Wansell 2009). The change of name to Salvador could be seen as a way to shake the negative association the 'Bronson' label has built up over the years. Becker (1963) states that when an individual is unjustly labelled as deviant, this can encourage the individual to engage in criminal behaviour, live up to their label (self-fulfilling prophecy) and associate with others who suffer similar stigmatisation (Burke 2016: 17). However, it is unknown if Bronson has been a self-fulfilling prophecy of a label unfairly assigned to him, or if he strived to achieve this status. Bronson's main form of communication with the public is through his artwork, and although he expresses empathy and has re-invented himself as an artist it is difficult to investigate objectively whether these actions are genuine. A subjective assessment is that donations of money could be a way to make the public think he is empathetic, however, in Bronson's defence, he has no opportunity to physically show empathy with the outside world.

Jimmy Boyle

In contrast to Bronson, there is Jimmy Boyle, known as "… the famous gangster who came to fame through his rehabilitation in Barlinne's Special Unit in Glasgow" (Wilson 2011: 88). Merton's (1938) strain theory is applicable to Boyle's offending behaviour, the theory suggests that if one's legitimate means to gain aspired possessions and goals is blocked, an individual will use illegitimate means to gain them instead (Burke 2016). Boyle grew up in an extremely deprived area in Scotland, the Gorbals, "Britain's most abandoned slum"

(Roberts 2013). During Boyle's younger years, Gorbals residents suffered serious deprivation, poor housing, health and education, and lack of employment that lead to poverty, drugs and crime (McKenna 2015). It could be argued that Boyle was predestined to become a 'gangster' (Milner 1996). Boyle spent time in a borstal as a boy and continued to engage in gang-related criminal behaviour until he became "…the youngest prisoner in HMP Barlinne" (Shelly 2013).

Cohen's (1955) status frustration theory could seek to explain Boyle's pre-destined delinquent behaviour; due to the 'status frustration' of being a working class boy thus resulting in his display of "display of non-utilitarian, malicious, and negativistic delinquent behaviour" (Messerschmidt 1993: 18). In terms of Boyle's gang relations from an early age, Sutherland's (1937) differential association theory relates in suggesting the "…frequency and consistency of contacts with patterns of criminality determine the chance that a person will participate in systematic criminal behaviour" (Burke 2014: 123). Boyle became resistant to forms of punishment from a young age; he says Borstals amplified subcultural involvement of rebellion against authority (Shelley 2013).

Whilst incarcerated, Boyle shared similar behaviours to Bronson, attacking other prisoners and staff, and was also kept in solitary confinement. Boyle was one of the first to experience Scotland's new radical approach to rehabilitation of prisoners. The Barlinne Special Unit (BSU), which opened in 1973 and closed in 1996, some saw the Unit as legendary due to its ability to rehabilitate some of 'Scotland's most violent prisoners' through the use of creative arts (Nellis 2010). On the other hand, others criticised BSU's approach, believing that the penal system was being too soft (ibid: 1). Nellis (2010) states due to Boyle's fame and success after release from BSU, instead of seeing these success stories as celebratory, the BSU gradually ground to a halt and was then abolished from the Scottish penal system (Nellis 2010).

On arrival at the newly opened BSU, Boyle (1985) explained it as a "disorientating experience" (Boyle 1984: 8), he says it was difficult to adapt to the staff's warm and

friendly approach, compared with his experience with prison officers who were "…unhelpful, authoritarian and potentially violent" (ibid: 9). Boyle was no longer confined to a cage; he was now allowed to move freely around the unit with the other prisoners and plan his days with activities. Nellis (2010) states, the BSU had not anticipated what "relatively uneducated and notoriously violent men might grasp and benefit from complex art" (Nellis 2010), and were evidently surprised by Boyle's reform.

Hirschi (1969) states that when an individuals link to 'legitimate society' is weak or broken that is when offending behaviour occurs, control theory "…identifies four factors as critical to controlling deviation: (1) attachment to parents, school and peers (2) commitment to conventional lines of action; (3) involvement in conventional activities; (4) belief in conventional values" (Messerschmidt: 3). Boyle established the Gateway Exchange Trust (MacDonald 1996), a charity run by the sales of his artwork to provide treatment to help rehabilitate local drug users, it has now expanded to help other vulnerable members of society (Ross 1999). Laub and Sampson (1993) state key factors to an offender's desistance from crime are strong forms of attachment, such as marriage and steady employment (Laub & Sampson 1993: Giordano et al. 2002: 991). Boyle's rehabilitative and desistance process, both in and out of prison, has allowed him to form positive attachments, a wife, children and friends, network with other artists, and take on a positive role in society through close involvement with charity work.

Therefore in relation to Hirschi's (1969) control theory, it can be said that involvement in artistic interventions in prison can aid attachment to peers and tutors, by forming positive social bonds. Offenders involvement in conventional activities and praise received because of this, can further their belief in 'going straight', thus seeing themselves as worthy, successful and talented individuals. Bronson's reasons for offending are different to that of a high proportion of prisoners today who have suffered similar issues to Boyle. It can be argued therefore that Boyle was predestined to become a criminal. Bronson's rationale for offending could not be explained the same way – his background and upbringing cannot be compared to the slums and effects of poverty that Boyle experienced.

Figure 9:

(Source: ArtNet, no date)

The SEU (2002) report shows UK offenders have significant similarities to Boyle's personal experiences, poor life chances for a majority of offender's impact their involvement in criminal behaviours thus resulting in high re-offending rates. A minority of offenders are similar to Bronson; therefore, the arts could be working to rehabilitate the majority of offenders more than we know. However, research that breaks down offender categories would make it easier to tackle certain prisoner groups to find out if there is a specific category the arts works for.

In conclusion, art therapy gave Boyle hope and a new 'identity' as an artist rather than a murderer. Aged 73 years old Boyle still identifies himself as an artist and has not re-offended. We do not know if art has helped Bronson, if he would have been better or worse without art involvement is unknown. However, Boyle's opportunity to learn art practices

whilst imprisoned equipped him with skills he may otherwise never been taught. Boyle may have benefitted because he was participating in art therapy rather than fine art classes, but this is unknown. The theories examined are not the only relevant theories, but due to limitations of the chapter and their relevance they were the ones included. However, given the psychological and sociological explanations discussed in this chapter, it has been proven that the arts lessened the strain Boyle experienced, and increased his positive societal involvement, which seem to have been the main factors to his desistance from crime. Therefore, the next chapter will examine Government views of art in prison, linking these views with relevant debates in relation to creativity and crime reduction.

Chapter 7: Government recognition of Art in Prison

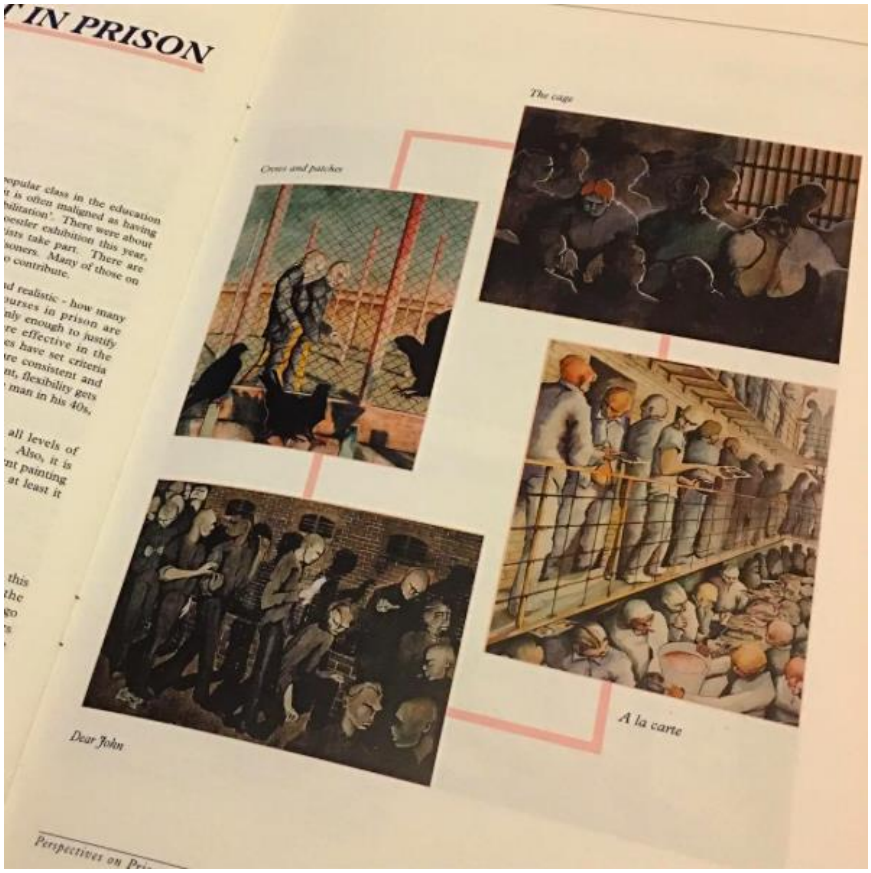
This chapter examines Government perspectives of art in prison. Taking into consideration the barriers and political views discussed in previous chapters, to identify if the Government views arts in prison positively, if they fund art programmes and how creativity can be a form of crime reduction.

Government perspectives in the 1990's:

A document published by HM Prison Service (1992), included an article by ex-offender turned Painter, Peter Cameron, titled 'Art In Prison' (see Figure 10). Peter, raises the question of what courses are suitable for the ageing prison population; stating offenders in their 40's, 50's and 60's serving long sentences may not be interested in participating in academic courses (HM Prison Service 1992). "Art classes can accommodate all levels of experience – there is no start or finish. Also, it is contemplative and therapeutic" (ibid: 26). Government document, Custody, Care and Justice (1991) states, "There should be opportunities to develop artistic and other skills so as to give prisoners a sense of personal achievement and self-respect." (Liebmann 1994: 7). This shows the Government's positive recognition of the arts in prison, even though the late 1980's and early 1990's Conservative era is considered a significantly punitive period.

HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (1995) declared "Once resources have been allocated, the quality of education in prison is determined by the value placed on it by the governor" (HMCIP 1995: 33-34). This report identified Governor's and Prison Officer's subjectivity towards prisoners need for education and training, "Where education is regarded as important by prison officers and by the management team, the quality of education is usually good" (ibid). Additionally, prisons with the best education departments in male prisons tended to be ones that were predominantly female staffed (ibid).

Figure 10:



(Source: HM Prison Service, 1992)

Perspectives today:

HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2016) states "All to often, governors did not give sufficient priority to education and training as a means of reducing offending or rehabilitating offenders, and other activities were allowed to interrupt the working day" (HMCIP 2016: 41). HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2016) found workshops on personal and social development, employability and art were not provided due to staff shortages (ibid). Prison Governors now have autonomy over how to spend budgets, how much time prisoners should spend out of cells and in purposeful activity, and what their activities are (Cameron 2016). However, based on the HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (1995) report, Governors have always had the discretion for these programmes. The 2016 report expresses the same concerns that Governors are not placing 'sufficient priority' on education and other

activities for prisoners. Subjectively speaking, this could highlight issues with 'Governor culture', or it could be that Governor's wish to run all of these programmes, but due to lack of staffing and priorities of maintaining order in the prison, they simply cannot do as much as they wish to.

Government Funded Arts Programmes 2016/2017

Four out of twenty-three of the new grants from The National Offender Management Service (NOMS) are for predominantly arts-based interventions. These are: (1) Koestler Trust (Art in a Box), (2) Tees Valley Arts Grange (Arts to Achieve positive change), (3) The Junction 42 Foundation (music courses), (4) NEPACS (Resource pack produced with artists and offenders for use with offenders children) (CLINKS 2016). The Prisoners Education Trust provides grants for art and hobby materials to offenders. Statistics released by Ministry of Justice data lab (MoJ 2013b) show the difference in re-offending rates between prisoners who received grants for art materials in prison and a control group of similar offenders who did not. Over one year the data lab compared the recidivism rates and found that 27% of arts participants re-offended in comparison with 34% of non-participants (ibid).

Creative play and Crime Reduction

The arts are interdisciplinary and although this dissertation focuses on fine art, it is important at this point to highlight the potential uses of creative technology in prison. PlayStations have sparked controversy in prison, as have the arts by not being seen as a purposeful activity. However, the assumption that PlayStations are of no beneficial use to prisons can be argued against. Griffiths and Sutton's (2013) crime substitution hypothesis states that the use of technology, such as video gaming, has lessened the availability for people to become victims and offenders and correlates with the crime drop.

Playing video games involves intense concentration, and therefore could be a great tool in prison for distracting prisoners and keeping them busy; using their cognitive skills to stay out of trouble and engage in fantasy play. Dr Ferguson (Stetson University, US) said, " When very popular violent video games are released in society there is almost an immediate decline in youth violence in society…" (Griffiths & Sutton 2015: 86). Furthermore, Griffiths & Sutton (2013) state "Video games can have educational, social and therapeutic benefits" (Griffiths & Sutton 2013: 18).

"Prisons enhance digital poverty and strengthen the digital divide" (Knight 2015: 1). Knight and Hine (2009) state, prisoners are bored and want to find activities that keep their brain busy, especially when feeling depressed (Knight 2015: 7). The arts, creative technology and the likes, can help to occupy the prisoner and lessen the detrimental effects of institutionalisation by staying current with the outside world, sharing interests and hobbies that the outside world can relate to, and gaining transferable skills for the future.

Van Rijn et al. (2015) carried out a pilot evaluation of an Avatar based therapy within prisons. ProReal software enables prisoners to create their own avatars (virtual people), create their own environments and act out scenarios. "The software helps people to represent how they experience their world, explore different perspectives and then visualise other options and futures" (ProReal 2017). The evaluation sample size was too small to enable concrete decisions on the effectiveness of the intervention (Van Rijn et al 2015). This shows the barriers faced by researchers for arts/creative interventions in prison in terms of gaining access to prisons due to security and lack of staff, leading to delays in research and difficulty gaining access to large amounts of prisoners. Nevertheless, the study shows outcomes similar to the studies noted in chapter four.

Freiberg (2001) talks of the role of emotions in criminology, how feelings are fundamental to how society reacts to crime and punishment, and how these feelings shape crime prevention policies, such as offender rehabilitation programmes. Conservative MP Nigel Evans said, "Does being sent down for five years of hard PlayStation playing serve as

rehabilitation or punishment?" (James 2008). Shadow Justice Secretary Nick Herbert argues, "Offenders should be learning and preparing for the world of work, not idly playing grand theft auto and preparing to return to crime" (McGee 2008). Jack Straw "I have now decided that, with immediate effect" no public money will be spent on games consoles" (ibid).

In conclusion, the use of creative technology in prisons, such as PlayStations and Computers, offers the offenders the opportunity to engage in "virtual risky behaviours", removes the opportunity to offend or be a victim and keeps the brain stimulated. The technology used is not just for gaming, prisoners can be taught how to use creative software packages for industries they may wish to work in post-release. The frequent use of a trusted list of websites and education in technology use could be beneficial to gaining skills for employment, as most jobs today involve the use of technology no matter the career field.

Chapter 8: Recommendations

This chapter will give recommendations for how to approach future research and propose a framework for art programme practitioners to use to aid researchers. When researching

the effectiveness of fine arts in reducing re-offending an eclectic approach, such as triangulation, the use of numerical and textual data, combining quantitative and qualitative methods, is needed to gain deeper understanding (Creswell 2003). Whilst there is a strong need for quantitative methods to study recidivism rates there is also the need to study through qualitative methods how a subject such as the arts produces the results of reformed offenders. However, Maruna (2010) criticises triangulation methods, arguing that research must take either a positivist or interpretevist standpoint. However, even this thesis aimed to adopt interpretivism but has at times been positivist when stressing the need for re-offending statistic analysis. Therefore, showing an understanding of the need to adopt quantitative and qualitative methods. From an interpretivist perspective, the world simply cannot be understood through solely statistical analysis. "Imagine your favourite movie, a novel by Dostoevsky, or perhaps your life story being represented by a matrix of numbers. Would anything be lost?" (Di Christina 1995: 72).

Future studies that employ independently funded researchers to conduct longitudinal ethnographical research would make research much stronger (Albertson 2015). Baskin (2002) states there can be too much emphasis on the methodology used and not enough on the actual findings and how they can add something new to the field. As discussed in the barriers and limitations chapter, researchers have recognised the lack of strong research; however, repetition of studies and the use of same literature will fail to add new knowledge to the subject unless the research findings are significantly different.

Anderson (2015) states that little is known about "…what arts practitioners are doing in arts sessions with prisoners" (Anderson 2015: 382) and little is known about the content and structure of their classes (ibid). Sherman et al. (1998) state that unstructured rehabilitative programmes that do not aim to address offending behaviour fail to reduce repeat offending (Sherman et al. 1998: 9). Therefore the proposed recommendations for future research and framework to be used by arts rehabilitation programmes are:

1) Longitudinal research on arts practitioner's activities (Anderson 2015).

2) Continuation of longitudinal research after release to observe and interview offenders that participated in fine art programmes, then comparing their re-offending rates with non-art participants (Cheliotis & Jordanoska 2015).
3) For future research to break down the ages, genders, categories of prisoners (A, B, C, D), offence type, educational level, employment, dream job/career, mental and physical health illnesses (if applicable). This would help to pinpoint specific categories in terms of who it works for and in what circumstance.
4) Cheliotis (2014) research states that mentees speak to their mentors about their mental health, and Brewster (2014) used a 'Life effective questionnaire' that assessed parts of mental wellbeing. Therefore, there is a need for a questionnaire to be developed to assess prisoners' mental health, to be completed at the beginning, during and end of programs. This questionnaire should be similar to PHQ-9 and GAD-7 (see Figures 11 and 12), which are used to assess patients undergoing Cognitive Behaviour Therapy (CBT) (NHS 2012). The lowering of scores would show that fine arts programmes provide similar benefits to CBT. As stated in chapter three, prisoners sometimes avoid psychological therapies, however, fine arts classes could be treating mental health illnesses as much as CBT or art therapy does. Therefore this would be a very useful task.

Figure 11:

PHQ-9

Over the last 2 weeks, how often have you been bothered by any of the following problems? *(Use "✔" to indicate your answer)*	Not at all	Several days	More than half the days	Nearly every day
1. Little interest or pleasure in doing things	0	1	2	3
2. Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless	0	1	2	3
3. Trouble falling or staying asleep, or sleeping too much	0	1	2	3
4. Feeling tired or having little energy	0	1	2	3
5. Poor appetite or overeating	0	1	2	3
6. Feeling bad about yourself — or that you are a failure or have let yourself or your family down	0	1	2	3
7. Trouble concentrating on things, such as reading the newspaper or watching television	0	1	2	3
8. Moving or speaking so slowly that other people could have noticed? Or the opposite — being so fidgety or restless that you have been moving around a lot more than usual	0	1	2	3
9. Thoughts that you would be better off dead or of hurting yourself in some way	0	1	2	3

(For office coding: Total Score _____ = ___ + ___ + ___)

If you checked off any problems, how difficult have these problems made it for you to do your work, take care of things at home, or get along with other people?

Not difficult at all	Somewhat difficult	Very difficult	Extremely difficult
☐	☐	☐	☐

From the Primary Care Evaluation of Mental Disorders Patient Health Questionnaire (PRIME-MD PHQ). The PHQ was developed by Drs. Robert L. Spitzer, Janet B.W. Williams, Kurt Kroenke and colleagues. For research information, contact Dr. Spitzer at rls8@columbia.edu. PRIME-MD® is a trademark of Pfizer Inc. Copyright® 1999 Pfizer Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission

(Legart N.D: NHS Choices 2012)

Figure 12:

GAD-7

Over the last 2 weeks, how often have you been bothered by the following problems? *(Use "✔" to indicate your answer)*	Not at all	Several days	More than half the days	Nearly every day
1. Feeling nervous, anxious or on edge	0	1	2	3
2. Not being able to stop or control worrying	0	1	2	3
3. Worrying too much about different things	0	1	2	3
4. Trouble relaxing	0	1	2	3
5. Being so restless that it is hard to sit still	0	1	2	3
6. Becoming easily annoyed or irritable	0	1	2	3
7. Feeling afraid as if something awful might happen	0	1	2	3

(Legart N.D: NHS Choices 2012)

Implications for these recommendations are that prisoners may find it difficult to fill in complex forms; they made need assistance and need help from art tutors or may not fill them in honestly. Art tutors are not trained in mental health and may be unequipped to deal with any issues that arise; therefore presence of a trained healthcare professional may be needed. Prisoners skepticism towards mental health treatments means the questionnaire could put them off attending the course, they would need to be made aware that the course will not focus on any of the information they have divulged in the questionnaire.

Having information on the individual characteristics of offenders that the arts works for and does not would help to tailor programmes or target particular prisoners with art programmes. If evidence shows for example, that fine art programmes do not work for those with a mental health illness, then they may need a more structured program like art

therapy. In contrast, if the programmes do work this could pave the way for other prisons to run similar ones. In turn, addressing criminal behaviours subconsciously, through prisoners learning new skills in a safe and relaxing environment, thus aiding their rehabilitation and desistance from crime.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This thesis had the aim of exploring whether involvement in Fine Art programmes whilst in prison helps rehabilitate offenders, aiding their desistance journey. One of the key themes to emerge from this literary analysis was that participation in art programmes in prison aids offenders' attainment of self-esteem, confidence, improved well-being, improved relationships with staff and other prisoners, less disciplinary reports and self-harm and lower re-offending rates.

These findings are in harmony with previous research, however, it must be said that reliable studies in this field can be repetitive throughout their qualitative data evaluations. Whilst this adds to the validity of the study, consideration of various weaknesses may have been missed. As discussed in the limitations chapter, the replication of studies, with no solid evidence of a reduction of recidivism rates, makes it difficult to draw concrete conclusions that fine art programmes reduce recidivism.

The findings of this thesis are restricted to existing literature, and although there is a significant amount to show the benefits, little is discussed when art does not work to rehabilitate individuals. What does not work must also be taken into consideration for any evaluation of the effectiveness of rehabilitative programmes, not just in terms of research limitations but also programme limitations. Sherman et al. (1998) state unstructured rehabilitation programmes do not work, Anderson (2015) states little is known about Practitioner activity in classrooms; therefore, further research on this area is needed to identify what is not working. A focus on individuals is needed in this complex field to address underlying causes for offending behaviour; this would be done best through observation. By adopting a quantitative only approach to research there can be a chance of missing important information; for example, a focus on re-offending statistics only could be seen as a narrow reductionist approach (Anderson 2015). Similarly, conducting qualitative only research of interviews with small samples of prisoners can be seen as too storytelling and unrealistic. Therefore a triangulation of methods would be best suited to

cover all areas. The recommendations made are realistic and could produce new findings and allow further investigation.

Therefore, it is certain that the methodology adopted within this dissertation was successful in highlighting and discussing key areas that were missing from current research, in turn adding new information to the field. However, given the opportunity, this dissertation would have benefited from primary research had it been allowed. Evidently, the arts has been linked with offenders rehabilitation and desistance from crime, but the scale and scope of how many it helps are still unknown. This thesis has paved the way for future research, given realistic suggestions when taking into consideration the multiple barriers discussed in chapter five, whilst examining the role of emotions in criminal justice decisions and the politicisation of prison. Overall, this dissertations interpretation of results has met its aims and objectives.

Prisons and Probation services make evidence led decisions when choosing rehabilitative interventions, they want the most cost effective interventions with solid evidence to back up the statement that what is being offered works. Furthermore, NOMS funding of art programmes in prison shows there is positive recognition of the arts aiding rehabilitation. What happens in prisons remains beyond easy enquiry, as mentioned in previous chapters, but the lack of research is on the outside. As discussed, Governor's personal values placed on artistic activities and prisoner's entitlement to them can be seen as a key barrier to the delivery of the arts in different prisons, as well as the weaknesses in research designs discussed in chapter five. If the programmes are to be funded with taxpayer money and reliance on donations due to third sector involvement, especially with reliance on payment by results contracts adopted by the Transforming Rehabilitation Agenda (2013), then the research design needs to improve to be able to produce solid findings that fine art programmes do work in reducing reoffending.

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