

The Artist in Residence at HMP Grendon 2014-2018

Evaluation Report

October 2018

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Introduction

In September 2015, Birmingham City University were commissioned by Ikon Gallery to lead an evaluation of the second artist in residence at HMP Grendon. The Research Team was led by Professor Elizabeth Yardley and Dr Martin Glynn with Shona Robinson-Edwards, Morag Kennedy, Dan Rusu and Cristiana Cardoso contributing towards the project as Research Assistants. This final report details the findings of the evaluation and proposes a set of recommendations regarding the future of the artist in residence at HMP Grendon.

About the HMP Grendon artistic residency

The artist in residence at HMP Grendon is supported by the Marie Louise von Motesiczky Charitable Trust. The 2014-2018 residency was the second such project at HMP Grendon and during this time, the role of the artist in residence has been occupied by Edmund Clark. Clark's residency was preceded by the residency of Lorna Giézot, which ran between 2010 and 2014. This residency was also supported by the Marie Louise von Motesiczky Charitable Trust, demonstrating the Trust's longstanding commitment to artistic residencies at HMP Grendon. The 2010-2014 residency was evaluated by Dr Laura Caulfield of Birmingham City University (Caulfield, 2011), drew upon interview data with 16 residents, and noted the following positive impacts:

- The residency was open and inclusive - in part a benefit of having sessions on each wing;
- The notion of 'responsivity' is key in successful working with offenders. The residency embodied this concept, being highly responsive to the needs of individuals;
- For the most part the residency groups formed as supportive and nurturing environments, yet also spaces where constructive criticism was encouraged. This was particularly significant because outside of their Grendon community, many of the men were unlikely to have ever experienced truly supportive and co-operative group environments;
- The men experienced considerable progress in their creative and technical abilities;
- Many of the men experienced significant improvements in confidence and self-esteem;

- The men who had been involved in the activities worked on their art outside of sessions, providing them with constructive activity for which they felt great enthusiasm.

The aim of Clark's 2014-2018 residency was to develop a critical discussion around prison, rehabilitation and criminality. Clark's role as the artist in residence involved developing a body of his own work in response to the prison and helping to facilitate the artwork and creativity of men serving sentences at HMP Grendon – hereafter referred to as 'residents'. Clark explored HMP Grendon as an environment, a process and a place of incarceration. This involved becoming familiar with structure and culture of the prison and engaging with residents and prison staff.

Clark's role was not one of Art Tutor or Art Therapist. His role did not involve overseeing studio activity or participating in the therapeutic programme. Rather, he organised discussion groups about the art work that residents made on their own, often in their cells, sharing thoughts while procuring art materials. In November 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2018 Clark worked with the residents to put on an art exhibition in the prison's conference centre. This provided the opportunity for residents to meet visitors, among them arts professionals, and talk about their work. As such, Clark devised an informal art course of sorts considering his ongoing experiences during his residency. Clark's residency at HMP Grendon culminated in his own exhibition at Ikon Gallery, which opened in December 2017. Ikon Gallery also led the digital and media campaign around the Ikon exhibition in addition to arranging a February 2018 symposium, which attempted to bring about more active discourse around criminal justice.

[Turbulent Times: The policy context of the artist in residence](#)

The broader context of Clark's residency at HMP Grendon was a challenging one for the English and Welsh prison system. Since the coming to office of the Coalition Government in 2010, there had been significant cuts to public services in response to events following the 2008 financial crash. In 2010, the then Secretary of State for Justice, Kenneth Clark, expressed his support for government austerity measures and noted that serious consideration should be given to reducing the number of people in prison. His proposals were backed by the then Prime Minister David Cameron and the then Chancellor of the Exchequer George Osborne. However, Clark was replaced by Chris Grayling in 2012 and whilst his successor shared the aim of reducing the Ministry of Justice budgets, this did not involve a commitment to reducing rates of incarceration.

With Chris Grayling at the helm of the department, February 2015 saw the launch of the Ministry of Justice's *Transforming Rehabilitation* initiative, which involved the outsourcing of a large portion of the probation service. Thirty-five individual Probation Trusts were replaced with the National Probation Service, tasked with the

management of high-risk offenders. Twenty-One Community Rehabilitation Companies – or CRCs – would take on responsibility for managing low to medium risk offenders and the supervision of short-sentence prisoners (those sentenced to less than 12 months in prison) on release. Critics argued that the focus on the privatisation of probation was a distraction from the growing problems within the prison system.

Grayling was succeeded as justice secretary by Michael Gove in May 2015. Many saw Gove – a former Education Secretary - as a potential reformer, particularly after designating six institutions the status of “reform prisons”. Gove had several challenges on his hands. However, he was reluctant to invest additional funds in the service and agreed to budget savings of between 25% and 40% over five years in a 2015 settlement. The Prison Reform Trust’s annual prison fact file of that year noted,

...a new impoverished normality...Violence and disorder have risen sharply. Suicides continue to rise...Longstanding structural flaws remain. More than a quarter of prisoners live in overcrowded conditions...20% to 30% of prisoners have a learning disability or difficulty that interferes with their ability to understand the criminal justice system. A staggering 12,000 prisoners do not even know when they will be released...average sentence length has increased by a third. (Prison Reform Trust, 2015)

Following the election of the new Prime Minister Theresa May in July 2016, Gove was removed from his post. Gove’s replacement, Elizabeth Truss, appeared to have secured a small victory in 2016 when the government pledged to recruit more prison officers. However, Truss’s tenure as justice secretary was short lived and she was replaced by David Lidington in June 2017. The Prison Reform Trust’s 2017 prison fact file was concerning reading for all those with a stake in the prison system. The report stated that 300 people had died in prison in the year to September 2017, over a quarter of whom had taken their own lives. The report also claimed that prisoners and staff were less safe than they had been at any other time since records began. In addition, the prison system was reported to have been overcrowded every year since 1994. In 2016-17, almost a quarter of prisoners were held in overcrowded accommodation, many doubling up in cells designed for one. However, the report also quoted figures from the Ministry of Justice stating that spending on prisons had begun to increase and additional budgets of up to £500 million had been committed to a government safety and reform programme between 2017-18 and 2018-20. The report included words of advice for David Lidington,

Given this briefing’s depressing catalogue of failure to improve conditions in our prisons over the last 12 months, it is essential that the current justice secretary—a historian himself—learns the lessons of the past. He can no more build his way to a decent prison service than any of his predecessors. There is an affordable and practical route to reform, but it requires a fundamental rethink of who goes to prison, and for how long. A wise secretary

of state should choose no other foundation on which to build. (Prison Reform Trust, 2017)

Only months later, Lidington would be gone. He served only seven months in post prior to being succeeded by David Gauke in January 2018. Gauke is the sixth person to occupy the post of Secretary of State for Justice in the eight-year period from 2010. In the summer of 2017 there were riots at the Mount prison – the same institution which had received considerable praise in its inspection report of 2015 (HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, 2015). Commenting on the context at the time, one critic has argued,

Cameron and Osborne made the call that people didn't care very much about the condition of our prisons, and if budgets were to be cut this was a place to cut particularly deeply. They ignored the signs that the system was creaking and forgot that changing your justice secretary every 18 months is a sure-fire way to create problems. Most importantly, they forgot that there is no better symbol that government is out of control than riots within the facilities they are meant to run. (Gash, 2017).

This was the context of Clark's residency – a prison system characterised by a turbulent policy context and a lack of investment that had gone on for so long that it could be argued that 'crisis' had become the new normal. This system had been a way of life for many of the prisoners who Clark would come to work with at HMP Grendon. However, HMP Grendon is unlike other institutions in many respects. The following section provides an overview of Grendon's history, structure and culture.

About HMP Grendon

HMP Grendon differs from many other institutions within the English and Welsh prison estate in that it is the only prison to operate wholly as a therapeutic community. The prison can be described as a democratic therapeutic community (DTC), which contrasts with the concept-based hierarchical therapeutic communities (HTCs) seen in the United States. Both are heavily community-based and address psychological disturbance, but HTCs focus on individuals for whom drug abuse is the symptom, while DTCs focus on individuals for whom offending is the symptom—ultimately, HTCs deal with a narrower group of individuals (Lipton, 2010). HTCs are firmly stratified, with identifiable chains of command, whereas DTCs have a flatter structure and interactions between staff and residents are less formal. In HTCs, most staff are recovering addicts, while in DTCs they are professional psychologists and therapeutically trained correctional officers. Within the HTC, work is the organising principle, while in the DTC, jobs are still important but are just one among many building blocks of the therapeutic process.

Potential residents apply to go to HMP Grendon and must demonstrate a significant commitment to change (Ministry of Justice [MoJ], 2017; for a general introduction to the work of HMP Grendon, see Genders and Player, 1995). If successful, the

applicants then spend an initial period in the induction unit, where their motivation and capacity for engaging in the therapeutic regime are observed. The staff then decide either to progress the applicant onto one of the main wings or to return them to their sending institution (Brookes, 2010a). If applicants still wish to continue, they must be serving sentences that will allow a stay of at least 24 months at Grendon (MoJ, 2017), a stay that for many will represent a period within their prison life rather than the destination; having completed therapy at Grendon, most are then transferred to other establishments, with an average of only six men released from Grendon directly into the community each year (Brookes, 2012). The prison is home to up to 235 residents (HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, 2017), the clear majority of whom are serving life sentences (Brookes, 2012). The main offences of HMP Grendon residents are violence against the person (62.4%), sexual offences (19.3%), robbery (13.3%), and other offences (5%; HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, 2011). Grendon residents present complex needs and psychological disturbance, some have engaged in self-harm and suicidal behaviours, and many have a significant history of institutional misconduct in other prisons (Newberry, 2009; Newton, 2010; Shine and Newton, 2000). However, Grendon represents, for these men, an opportunity to embark upon a process of change with the “supportive and affirmative social climate” of the DTC (Shuker, 2010, p. 463).

Rapoport’s (1960) four underlying principles of TCs—democratisation, permissiveness, communalism, and reality confrontation—are operationalised within HMP Grendon through several mechanisms. Every Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, residents participate in small therapy groups (Brookes, 2010b). The small therapy groups, consisting of up to eight people, are the forums within which all elements of residents’ lives are considered and discussed, including childhood, family life, offences, victims, educational experiences, relationships, working life, and incidents or events that have occurred in the prison. While “permissiveness” (Rapoport, 1960) enables residents to behave “as normal” and tolerate each other’s perceived deviancy within the community, “reality confrontation” (Rapoport, 1960) comes to the fore in the small therapy groups, where all behaviours come under scrutiny. Residents reporting their experiences within the small therapy groups emphasise that the therapeutic process “is not an easy option” (Brookes, 2010a, p. 483), as “Don,” one of the participants in Stevens’s (2013) research, comments,

You’re talking about yourself day in, day out, really personal stuff and even though I know the end result is absolutely joy, at the present time, it’s hard and I feel like I’m being punished every day. I don’t sleep. I’m talking about things that I never thought I’d talk about and it’s daunting; it really is. How horrible it is when you’re lying in your pad knowing you’ve got to come down here next day and talk some more. Sometimes I just hate it and want to leave, but I know I’ll benefit in the end and so will everyone else, because I won’t be running around causing mayhem. (p. 73)

Progress made within the small therapy groups is communicated to other staff and residents through wing-community meetings at which additional issues affecting community life are discussed and voted upon, for example, the organisation and allocation of paid work. The twice-weekly community meetings are an example of “democratization” (Rapoport, 1960) at work in HMP Grendon—meetings are chaired by an elected resident and enable ongoing access to the decision-making process for all residents. Community meetings also provide a glimpse into the principle of “communalism” (Rapoport, 1960). All residents take on responsibilities relating to their physical environment and the events that happen within that environment. Every resident will undertake a series of “rep jobs,” which may include roles as diverse as entertainment coordinator, health and hygiene compliance officer, family day coordinator, or drugs strategy advisor (Stevens, 2013, p. 104). Therefore, HMP Grendon is a living-learning situation (Kennard, 1998), within which “every aspect of prison life is an integral component within the therapeutic environment” (Brookes, 2010b, p. 103). Narrative is central to psychotherapeutic interventions in which life stories are elicited, interrogated, critiqued, and reformed (Adler, Skalina, and McAdams, 2008; Adshead, 2011; Lieblich, McAdams, and Josselson, 2004), and HMP Grendon is no exception—such an environment is a facilitator of narrative reconstruction, as Stevens (2013) notes,

. . . conventional “con” self-narratives, those hypermasculine, anti-authoritarian, crime glorifying, risk-taking tales of criminal derring-do, sometimes intertwined with self-pitying justifications to the effect that “life made me do it” (p. 159)

The scrutiny applied by staff and fellow residents within the small group and community settings enables such narratives to be actively challenged and reframed, supporting each resident’s evolving model of a ‘good life’¹. This process involves the discovery, rediscovery, and trying-on of identities—which are created and maintained by alternative narratives and are not premised upon their master status as an offender or prisoner (Stevens, 2013). In the later stages of therapy, new identities and the narratives through which they are given meaning are tested, reflected upon, and approved by fellow residents (Genders and Player, 1995; Stevens, 2012; Wilson and McCabe, 2002). Interrogation of the narratives deployed in the telling of life stories during small group sessions is central to the therapeutic

¹ The Good Lives Model of offender rehabilitation is a strengths-based approach to rehabilitation concerned with the enhancing offenders’ capabilities rather than simply focusing upon deficits or risks. The GLM is based on the premise that both offenders and non-offenders pursue the same range of goals or ‘primary goods’ in life – which includes states of mind, personal characteristics, activities and experiences. These goods are sought as ends in themselves and achieving them increases the likelihood of psychological well-being. The core primary goods are: life (including healthy living and functioning), knowledge, excellence in work and play (including mastery experiences), excellence in agency (i.e., autonomy and self-directedness), inner peace (i.e., freedom from emotional turmoil and stress), friendship (including intimate, romantic, and family relationships), community, spirituality (in the broad sense of finding meaning and purpose in life), happiness, and creativity. Secondary goods provide pathways of securing these, for example, certain types of work (i.e., good of mastery), relationships (i.e., good of intimacy), or leisure activities (i.e., good of play). The primary aim of GLM is to equip people with the knowledge, skills, and competencies to reach these goals goods in a pro-social, non-harmful way once released from prison. (Ward and Maruna, 2007).

process. Peers and staff actively critique the narratives adopted, challenging those who are bereft of personal responsibility, as self-narratives “act to shape and guide future behaviour, as persons act in ways that agree with the stories or myths they have created about themselves” (Brookes, 2010b, p. 105). In her research with Grendon residents in the later stages of therapy, Stevens’s participants displayed a shift from their old offending selves to a “new me” (Stevens, 2012, p. 14), summarised below:

To hear these residents narrate the ways in which they had changed in the TC and describe their belief that these changes were “for real” was therefore powerfully affecting...Hopelessness had been replaced by hope, and low self-esteem by self-confidence and self-efficacy...they could construct their own self-fulfilling prophecy and embed it within the reconstructed narrative identity. (Stevens, 2013, pp. 162-163)

Therefore, HMP Grendon residents leave therapy with redemption scripts (Maruna, 2001) or restoried lives, forming part of a toolkit alongside psychological, physical, and social resources—these components all come together to enable better plans for living a good life. This history, structure and culture of HMP Grendon provided a unique space for the artist in residence. The remainder of this document reports upon the evaluation which aimed to capture the extent to which a critical discussion around prison, rehabilitation and criminality developed from this space.

Evaluation Objectives and Methodology

The Research Brief

The research brief was to undertake an evaluation of the artist in residence at HMP Grendon with regards to the extent to which the residency had met its aim. This aim was - *To develop a discussion about prison, rehabilitation and criminality*. The research was to focus its activity upon the two objectives through which this aim was to be met. Firstly, *the artist producing a body of his own work*, and secondly, *the artist sharing his practice with long-term residents of HMP Grendon*.

From this research brief, the Research Team established two central research questions:

1. To what extent has the residency contributed to the development of critical discussion around prison, rehabilitation and criminality?
2. To what extent has the residency had an impact upon the residents of HMP Grendon in their journeys away from offending?

Conceptualisation and Design

The evaluation commenced with a scoping exercise and literature review, which ran between November 2015 and April 2016. The purpose of these activities was to further explore the aims and objectives of the residency and draw upon existing research from a range of literature to develop a conceptual framework and methodology for the evaluation. The findings of the scoping exercise and literature review were presented to the Trustees of the Marie Louise von Motesiczky (MLVM) Charitable Trust in May 2016.

Evaluation Themes and Concepts

The literature review and scoping exercise led to the identification of key concepts and themes that were important for the evaluation to explore. These concepts and themes are outlined below. Their relevance and importance for the evaluation is explained and questions are posed in relation to each one.

- *Uniqueness of HMP Grendon*. As the only prison in the English and Welsh prison estate to operate wholly as a therapeutic community, HMP Grendon is unique; it is an exception to the rule. It was therefore important that the evaluation explored the extent to which the residency captured this uniqueness. However, HMP Grendon is, nevertheless, still part of the prison estate and, as such, must comply with the institutional policies, rules and procedures that apply to the management of all prisons. Therefore, the

evaluation explored the extent to which the tension between uniqueness and conformity emerged within the residency.

- *Narratives of HMP Grendon residents.* We all construct stories, which we use to tell others about our lives and establish our own sense of identity or self-narrative (McAdams, 1993, 2008). At HMP Grendon, residents analyse and confront their stories (Brookes, 2009, 2010b). Challenging the narrative identity is a key part of leaving crime behind (Maruna, 2001) and, as such, this is an important premise of the therapeutic approach at HMP Grendon. Photography is similarly about storytelling and the construction of narrative. However, photography has played a significant role in constructing the criminal body and identifying criminals as deviant, distinct and *other* (Carney, 2010; Carrabine, 2014; Ferrell and Van de Voorde, 2010; Sekula, 1986). Therefore, photography is also about control, decisions and choices.

Residents at Grendon have been – and many always will be – under some form of monitoring and surveillance. Decisions about them are taken by others and representations of them are produced by others. In relation to the images produced during the residency, the Research Team anticipated that this may raise some interesting questions around their control over narratives. For example, what were the resident's views around the narratives associated with the images? What were their thoughts on the meaning that audiences may attribute to the images – and in turn – the residents' narratives? To what extent did the residency and the images that emerged from it play a role in the shifting narrative identities of the men? Art is about identity, defining oneself in a particular way through creative expression – how would this have an impact upon the residents' desistance journeys?

- *HMP Grendon residents as stakeholders in the images.* HMP Grendon is a therapeutic community underpinned by principles such as democratization and communalism (Rapoport, 1960; Genders and Player, 1995). Everyone in the community plays a role in nurturing and maintaining the culture and physical environment. Therefore, residents had a significant stake in the images Clark produced during the residency. HMP Grendon is their home - their space - over which they have a sense of ownership and pride. As such, the evaluation sought to engage their views about the images produced during the residency. Photography has historically been done *to* prisoners– Clark's work represented photography that was done *with* residents– what were their views about this?
- *Counter-images and counter-narratives.* Prisons are often seen as closed and separate entities existing on the edges of mainstream society. This supports the *othering* of prisoners – if they cannot be seen they are easier to demonise and exclude (Cheliotis, 2010). The public rely heavily upon media representations of prison and 'official' images created by the Ministry of

Justice, HM Prison and Probation Service and their service providers. However, some images have the potential to challenge official discourses. The images created during the residency might be considered an example of the counter image, and in turn the counter narrative (Brown, 2014; Schept, 2014). Through prompting reflection upon lives lived out behind prison walls, the images Clark would produce had the potential to facilitate a re-humanising of the residents. To what extent was this realised? In addition, the Research Team anticipated that the residency may also evoke broader questions around attitudes, beliefs and values in relation to control within society (Deleuze, 1992).

- *Victimhood and offending.* The residents at Grendon are men who have in the past been labelled as “evil” and “bad”, defined by their crimes. Their experiences at Grendon involve reflecting upon their early lives and childhoods, which often encompass other identities – for example as victims (Stevens, 2012, 2013). Whilst Clark’s images do not depict the residents or identify them personally, the images are *representations* of them and their lives and the spaces in which these lives are lived. This is relevant in relation to residents’ narratives as the images will inevitably invite questions about who they are and what they have done. How do residents feel about this and the audiences’ ability to separate the images from the context of their creation?
- *Affect and encounter.* The images produced during the residency would be seen by audiences. This included those present at the annual *Grendon Exhibition* and *In Place of Hate* at Ikon. In addition, audiences would also be indirect in nature – for instance those who may see coverage of the residency in mainstream or social media. As the aim of the residency was to develop a debate about prison, rehabilitation and criminality, the evaluation needed to explore the reception that the images received from these audiences – essentially the *affect* that was generated from the *encounter* with the *image* (Young, 2005, 2008, 2010, 2014). What affect does an encounter with the image engender in those who attend the exhibitions? Were the images opening a more compassionate envisioning of the residents and the spaces in which they are held? Were they showing the *impossibility* of being able to judge? Beyond the exhibition, what affect does an encounter with the image engender among wider audiences? What was the nature of debate taking place in mainstream and social media? Did the counter-images and counter-narratives produced and stimulated by the residency gain traction media environments?

Evaluation Scope

Having identified key themes and concepts, the scope of the evaluation is presented below. This outlines the key groups with whom the evaluation sought to engage.

1. Impact of residency upon HMP Grendon residents and staff;
2. Impact of residency upon wider stakeholders;
3. Impact of residency upon wider debates around prison, rehabilitation and criminality;
 - a. Amongst direct audiences – annual *Grendon Exhibitions*, *In Place of Hate Exhibition*;
 - b. Amongst indirect audiences – mainstream media, online and social media debates and discussions.

Evaluation Methods

The following sections outline the methods that were used in collecting and analysing data for the evaluation and explains why they were appropriate. The key methods and techniques planned by the Research Team were semi-structured interviews / image-elicitation interviews, participant observation and media analysis.

Semi-structured interviews / image-elicitation interviews

Image-elicitation interviews (IEIs) are a type of semi-structured interview which presented an opportunity to develop insights into several of the key concepts and themes within the evaluation. They are an example of a visual research method (Rose, 2012) and are essentially a way of integrating images into the interview process and, as such, eliciting new layers of data (Gariglio, 2015). One such layer is the visual narrative - stories which are constructed with (and / or about) images that themselves tell a story (Riessman, 2001, 2008). The Research Team used IEIs alongside traditional semi-structured interviews to explore narratives around the images created by Clark and the residents during the residency. Within IEIs, participants had the space and flexibility to explore what images meant to them. Images were used to inspire dialogue, to give the participants more scope and freedom to construct and share their narratives than was possible in semi-structured interviews. The questions posed during the interviews were flexible and responded to the natural flow of conversation around the images being discussed.

Interviews were led by Professor Yardley or Dr Glynn. In relation to interviews that took place at Grendon, Shona Robinson-Edwards was in attendance and took handwritten notes of the interviews. Interviews outside of Grendon were recorded using a digital recorder with the permission of the interviewee. All participants were allocated non-gender specific pseudonyms. Handwritten notes were typed up after the interviews and audio recordings were transcribed. The data was analysed via qualitative thematic analysis, assisted by NVivo qualitative analysis software (QSR International, 2012). Examples of the type of question that were included when an image was being explored were:

What is in the image?

What is the image of, what do you think it represents?

How is the image presented?

Who do you think will see it?

What does the image show?

What does it conceal?

Why do you think particular things are shown or hidden?

How does the image affect you?

What are your thoughts and feelings about it?

How do you interpret the image – is it a ‘counter’ image?

Does it make you look at the subject in a different way?

We carried out ten interviews with Grendon Residents. Six interviews were carried out with residents who were at HMP Grendon at the time of the evaluation. These interviews involved exploring residents’ experiences of the residency, images that had been created by Clark during the residency and where applicable, images created by the residents themselves. We also wrote to and received replies from four residents who were at other institutions or released from prison at the time of the evaluation but who had previously been involved in the sessions Clark ran at the prison. Nine participants were residents who had engaged with the residency – notably through participating in Clark’s discussion group and producing their own artwork. One was not directly involved to this extent but shared his observations about the impact on his fellow residents. We also received written material from two residents who had shared their reflections on the residency via the comments boxes that were situated in each wing. We conducted four interviews with members of staff. We conducted nine interviews with wider stakeholders – all representatives of organisations working at the interface of the criminal justice system and the arts and cultural sphere who had attended one of the *Grendon Exhibitions* or were at least aware of the residency.

Participant Observation

The events at which the images from the residency were exhibited and discussed represented important opportunities to explore the impact of the residency upon debate about prison, rehabilitation and criminality. Annual exhibitions were held at the prison in November 2016 and November 2017. At these events, the Research Team engaged with the concepts of the *encounter* with the image and the *affect* that the encounter engenders (Young, 2005, 2008, 2010, 2014). As such, members of the Research Team attended these events and conducted participant observation.

This involved being amongst the audience as they were looking at the images and noting reactions and key themes within conversations that were taking place during these encounters. The observation was *overt* in that attendees were aware of the presence of the Research Team and the fact that we were there to talk to people about their thoughts and impressions. The Research Team took notes of conversations, which were included in the thematic analysis.

Media Analysis

It was anticipated that the residency would spark considerable debate in mainstream and social media around the themes of prisons, rehabilitation and criminality. Given that the aim of the residency was to develop a public discourse around these themes, it was important to capture the nature and extent of such debates. The Research Team were keen to capture and analyse such debates in relation to the Grendon residency to explore what themes were being raised around prisons, rehabilitation and criminality and what attitudes, values and beliefs were evident in discussions. This enabled the evaluation to consider the impact of the residency beyond the direct and immediate stakeholders.

The Research Team conducted a structured search for any relevant content through setting up Google alerts using combinations of key search terms such as “Edmund Clark”, “Artist in Residence” and “HMP Grendon”. We also monitored social media platforms. In some instances we used specialist software programmes. For example, we used Chorus Analytics (Brooker, Barnett and Cribbin, 2016) to collect Tweets sent after the opening of *In Place of Hate*. On other platforms, we conducted general searches – for instance in relation to Instagram, we collected all posts in which Ikon Gallery was tagged as a location and saved those relating to the exhibition. All such content was copied to a repository before being uploaded to the NVivo qualitative data analysis software. We used qualitative thematic analysis to draw meaning from the data. The data for the general media content analysis was collected from June 2016 to January 2018. Social media content was collected during the first six weeks of the *In Place of Hate* exhibition.

Research Approval

The Research Team applied to relevant bodies seeking approval for the research - an internal university ethics committee and the National Offender Management Service (NOMS). Our application to the Birmingham City University Faculty of Business, Law and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee was approved in June 2016. The Research Team also applied to the National Offender Management Service. This was considered at the July 2016 committee and approval was granted in August 2016 (REF 2016-274) subject to a range of revisions. We received final approval for the prison-based elements of the evaluation in November 2016. With the Evaluation Framework and initial research materials finalised and all necessary

approvals in place, the non-prison-based data collection commenced in June 2016 and the research with HMP Grendon residents commenced in October 2017.

Key Findings of the Research

This section presents the key findings of the evaluation in relation to the two main research questions.

Question 1. To what extent has the residency contributed to the development of critical discussion around prison, rehabilitation and criminality?

The findings reported in this section relate firstly to the participant observations conducted at the *Grendon Exhibitions* and semi-structured interviews with stakeholders who attended these events. The data collection period encompassed the exhibitions in 2016 and 2017 – but as previously noted, there were additional exhibitions in 2015 and 2018 that fell outside of the scope of the evaluation and as such, are not captured by the research. Following on from this, we identify key themes emerging from mainstream and social media coverage of the In Place of Hate exhibition. This section of the report concludes in a summary of our findings in relation to the question, “To what extent has the residency contributed to the development of critical discussion around prison, rehabilitation and criminality?”.

2016 and 2017 *Grendon Exhibitions*

In November 2016 and November 2017, exhibitions of work created by residents during Edmund’s artistic residency took place. Below are the key themes to emerge from analysis of our observations and semi-structured interviews with those who attended the exhibitions.

The art gallery

The environment in which the work was exhibited at HMP Grendon drew comment from many attendees. Some were surprised at how professional the set-up was. The residents were considered serious artists and not simply hobbyists. This was important for conveying the significance of the residents’ work. This was an exhibition, not an attempt at an exhibition.

On entering the exhibition, the layout, presentation and organisation of the work was really impressive. It looked like an art gallery. (Sarah)

The exhibition space was housed in a large hut. On entering the space my first thoughts were how impressive it all looked. It was literally transformed into a space that any gallery in the community would have been proud of. (Billy)

I could see the other visitors expressing all sorts of gasps and sighs in response to the power of the art on display. (John)

Visitors expressed delight and amazement at the pieces of work that were on display. (Research Team Field Notes)

Audience diversity

The Research Team noted that there was a lack of diversity amongst the audience at the *Grendon Exhibitions*. There appeared to be an over-representation of people from an arts background and an under-representation of people from ethnic minority groups or working-class backgrounds. This was commented upon by two attendees,

The one thing that struck me as a bit of a negative was that the visitors didn't look like the prisoners if you know what I mean. They (the prisoners) varied in age, race and social background but the visitors tended to look a lot like me – artsy, over 30, female, white and probably middle class. You don't have to be really into your art to appreciate what's being shown here either – so many different people could have their eyes opened by this, I thought that was a bit of a shame. (Sonia)

To my dismay the lack of diversity among the audience was quite disconcerting. There were no people of colour outside the evaluation team. For me this was troubling – this experience could have benefitted by having a diverse group of consumers. Those are really important questions – 'How representative were those who were observing, watching and engaging with the prison-based artists?', 'Would those audiences connect with the artists on a level beyond the creative representations?' (Billy)

Prisoners who produce artwork or artists who happen to be in prison?

The issue of identity often arose during our observations and interviews with attendees. The attendees - whilst clearly aware of the fact that the residents were prisoners who were serving sentences for serious offences – often commented upon the primacy of the artwork in relation to the exhibition. Whilst there was some discussion of offending and what the men had done in the past, this was contextualised in relation to the artwork that they had produced in terms of how their experiences had shaped what they had created.

At the start I did ask myself, 'Was I here to witness a spectacle of offenders presenting art or artists representing life from inside prison?'. I'm pleased to say that by the end of the day, it had been very much the latter. (Billy)

For me the most extraordinary aspect was that in asking them about their work and what they were intending to do and then feeding back to them my reactions and observations, I almost automatically slipped back into sort of tutorial mode. So, in fact it was just like talking to art students. It's almost as if the prison around you disappears when you're talking about the work. (Geoff)

Yes, I was aware that I was in a prison and they would go back to their wings afterwards and each of them had some sort of awful history in terms of what they'd done but that wasn't part of it. Neither did it feel important. I didn't feel I wanted to ask them anything about who they had been. It was what they had produced and who they were and how they were thinking about themselves now that I was interested in. (Damien)

Visitors in the room did not appear outwardly bothered by the residents' past offences, the sole focus appeared to be on the resident as an artist, not an offender. (Research Team Field Notes)

Becoming an artist

The attendees spent time speaking with the residents about their artwork and this raised a range of themes and perspectives around the residents' development as artists. Attendees commented on the varying levels of confidence that the residents displayed and noted that this had given them some insights into the different stages of development that the residents were at. It was observed that the residents had not all begun their journey at the same time, nor would they all progress at the same pace. Attendees spoke of how the identity of 'the artist' is one that some of them men seemed very comfortable and confident within whilst others were reluctant to use it as a way of describing themselves. There was a new appreciation amongst some attendees that these men's' journeys as artists sometimes looked very different from the trajectory of artists who had not been in prison. It was also clear that the residents enjoyed and benefitted from being able to discuss their artwork with people they had not met before and experience the process of articulating the meaning and significance of their work to an audience who were interested in it.

The younger men I spoke to talked about how the sheer weight of their sentence eclipsed the work itself, whilst the older men revealed the difficulty and upset at experiencing such a positive moment so late on in their lives. (Billy)

I wasn't expecting the men to be so articulate and self-confident. One man was really open about his inspiration. I felt a bit bad about being surprised – why wouldn't they be articulate and confident? I think that just shows how even people like me who work in the arts can buy into some of the prejudices about prisoners. (Sonia)

When he explained what it was, it made sense, but he was a bit taken aback that I couldn't see what it actually represented so we were able to talk about my response to it and his surprise at my response. It was very much a dialogue in that sense. I had to ask "What does this actually represent?" because it wasn't clear at all but it was to all intents and purposes a representational drawing. (Jenna)

It wasn't just people producing something as a demonstration that they could do it – they were genuinely learning and developing through making these things. (Geoff)

Many received a lot of praise for their efforts and talent. Some expressed that they were not used to receiving so much positive feedback. In a sense it is understandable how this could be both an overwhelming and encouraging process. (Research Team Notes)

The importance of context – stories of the artwork

Attendees at the exhibitions noted the importance of the context of the work. For them it was crucial that the residents were in attendance to explain the creative process and meaning of their work to the visitors. Some attendees noted that they had visited the website prior to the exhibition and looked at images of the artwork that the residents had created. However, they stated that the thoughts and feelings they experienced through seeing and discussing work at the exhibition was considerably different from merely looking at the images on the website. When context was provided in this way, attendees were much more able to see the relevance of particular pieces of work in terms of the broader themes of prison, rehabilitation and criminality and engage in more critical debate around these themes. Several attendees had visited other exhibitions of artwork created by offenders - where the artists were not present - and noted that the *Grendon Exhibition* was unique. Their discussions with the artists opened up a dialogue not only about that individual's art but its connection to contemporary debates around criminal justice. It was also noted that the stories behind the artwork have a role to play in tackling the 'othering' of prisoners amongst the general public and the media.

One point that occurred to me was that the images of the prisoners' work on the website – maybe there were stories behind them that could light them up for me. The problem was that I did not know those stories (Geoff)

For people seeing this work – and indeed Edmund's work – outside of this environment, stories and narrative are important. Finding out about someone's journey or the story behind an image, which doesn't need to go into personal detail and all the hullabaloo that creates, acts to personalise these artists. They're not just numbers or unseen faces behind prison walls but people with experiences and aspirations, people who the public can perhaps begin to feel empathy for and maybe help to start to address their prejudices attitudes about offenders. (John)

There's always a tendency that one would look upon these as artworks in a disembodied way. It was only when the individuals talked about why they took that form, why they had chosen to make those things and the significance that they had for them that the whole thing began to make sense. (Jenna)

I was particularly impressed by how each man who was exhibiting could clearly describe what it was that had inspired them. They were fluid and engaging in what they said. (Damien)

Each man had a story to tell, was eager to share their story, where they revealed the history behind their art. For many of them their work became a gateway to provide some human context to a life that was anything but straightforward. Tales of pain, loss, anger and hurt revealed why these men found art not just a release but a way to reframe their lives, replacing bad memories with good ones, insensitivity with reflection, trauma with humanity...the art produced somehow became a three-dimensional representation of the therapeutic process which for some was as painful as it was visually invigorating (Billy)

Aesthetic quality and cultural value

Attendees commented upon the aesthetic quality and cultural value of the artwork. A key point to emerge was the extent to which work would translate and have an impact upon wider audiences outside of the context of the exhibition.

Pieces that stood out were the precision and mastery of the wood crafted work, contrasted with some reflective pieces emerging from the prison experience itself, which were all deeply moving. Those reflective pieces challenged preconceptions about what prison artists think and feel. (Billy)

I think there's a need to be really careful that the messages in the men's artwork don't get lost on the outside. I've seen plenty of times when offender artwork goes into competitions and the ones that win the prizes are the ones that are 'pretty', popular and more pleasing to the eye – it's too often a case of aesthetics over meaning. Some of the work I saw at the exhibition was loaded with significance and so important for encouraging critical debate, but I fear it might be just skimmed over because it's not fashionable, trendy or it wouldn't look good on the wall of some office or organisation. (Jenna)

Enhanced awareness of HMP Grendon

A further theme to emerge from our analysis was the considerable extent to which attending the exhibition generated increased awareness of HMP Grendon specifically and the concept of the therapeutic community in general. Attending the exhibition clearly led to enhanced knowledge of Grendon, even amongst those who already had some insights into the institution. It was particularly evident that the artistic medium was an effective way of not only introducing people to the philosophy of Grendon but also beginning a conversation about how this philosophy might benefit other parts of the prison estate.

There was one piece in particular that revealed a prison therapy group in full flow, which comprised of small figurines all positioned to indicate the complex nature of the therapeutic community operating in Grendon. I asked a few questions about the piece and despite knowing a bit about how Grendon works, those conversations really did help me make more sense of it. (Sarah)

It seemed to me to have a secondary effect of promoting the work of the prison. During the event a 'road show' of visiting staff from other prisons came to the exhibition. The 'road show' seemed to be a way of informing staff at other prisons how HMP Grendon operates. The residency therefore clearly can be used to inform a variety of audiences about what HMP Grendon does and what it can offer. (Damien)

I had no idea about Grendon before. I had no idea what sort of place it was. I'm more interested in it now. I got a lot of insight through talking about some of the artwork. So, the story behind the paper fireplace – the guy said he had put it in the community room and one of the staff said it should be removed because it was a health and safety hazard. The prisoners liked it, they wanted it there, said it made the room feel homely. Their lobbying carried it through and it stayed there, it had meaning for them. There's a sense in which the room was their space, they had a stake in it, they could come together and decide as a community – democracy behind prison walls – amazing! (Jenna)

It was clear that the work itself, the shifting personal narratives of the men, combined with the safe space that is Grendon, revealed what could be, might be or should be. (Billy)

The artwork was a reminder that the artists themselves are involved in a powerful process of confronting their past traumas within a therapeutic community, whilst at the same time, exploring their experiences through art. (John)

Residency as collaborative and enabling

Attendees discussed the relationships between prison-based artists and those who worked with them. The topic of exploitation came up but attendees were keen to emphasise that whilst this was a topic that was often in the background – there was a danger in any project like this that prisoners were a vulnerable group of people and there was the potential for them to be exploited for the purposes of creating art. However, they felt that this residency was far from exploitative and emphasised that those who participated had clearly chosen to do so and were being enabled rather than constrained. Furthermore, attendees with experience of working in therapeutic settings emphasised the value of an artistic residency for the development of healthy, professional relationships. It was noted by one attendee that Clark had a positive relationship with the residents and had been accepted into the communities - particularly on one of the wings – which was not easy to accomplish given that

many prisoners can be very suspicious of 'outsiders'. At the same time, there was an awareness and an acknowledgement that Clark's time at HMP Grendon would come to an end and his departure would provide additional opportunities for learning and development about the changing nature of relationships and their endings. In addition, the involvement of the residents in the curation and organisation of the events also drew comment from the attendees. The spirit of collaboration amongst the residents and with Clark were noted by many. For some, this challenged expectations and preconceived ideas about prison-based artists as solitary and isolated. Attendees noted that the exhibition didn't just demonstrate that an artist in residence facilitates meaningful artwork but also has the capacity to have a positive impact on the group of residents who are involved in it through the development of a community around a common skill and interest.

I was interested to discover that with the pinhole camera images, Edmund had asked the prisoners to then add to the portraits themselves, creating their own interpretations of the images he had produced. For me this raised the importance of giving people a voice, an opportunity to respond, being active rather than passive, being involved rather than having things done to them, which is probably what most people's experience of prison are like outside Grendon (Jane)

I suppose I had this idea of how people would do art in prison. So, I had this vision of prisoners sitting alone in their cells on their own, painting, drawing or creating pieces from things they have at hand. Whilst people clearly do that, what I found out through going to the exhibition was that it also involves an awful lot more than that. They'd worked together – on pieces of artwork, on organising the exhibition, they supported and encouraged each other, they were a little community. (John)

I think there's a fair bit of suspicion when someone from the outside comes in. There's a distrust around 'do-gooders' who claim they've come in to 'help'. It's clear that the prisoners I met at the exhibition did not feel that way at all about Edmund. He's built a good rapport with them by listening to them, sharing his experiences as an artist and also creating his own work in there. (Chris)

From other exhibitions of prisoner's work that I've been to, it's often really obvious which prisons have an artist involved because there's a bit of a family resemblance in the work. I very often think that artistic egos have probably overridden what they would have produced originally. But Edmund doesn't seem to be like that at all, all the pieces were really distinctive and unique – as the men who created them are all distinctive and unique. (Jenna)

It was really good to see the inmates so eager to sing the praises of their fellow prisoners. One came over to me and said, "Have you seen my mate's sculpture over there?". He wasn't just proud of what he'd done but the achievements of others and I found that really heartening. I suppose there's

this view of offenders as self-centred, it's all about them, but that wasn't the case last week at all. (Chris)

In my early years as an artist working in prisons I experienced moments where the sharing of the prisoners' work became voyeuristic and a spectacle, which had a really negative impact. How times have changed, there's not a hint of that here. Also, photography in prisons is so contentious - how might victims viewing these images feel? At a time when access to mobile phones in jail is widespread and they are used to bait and further victimise people it is questionable how ethically viable taking a photograph can be. In saying that, Edmund's residency is founded on the principles of using a different lens in prisons to understand the complex nature of some of these issues. (Billy)

Some residents appeared to have taken on informal mentoring roles, helping others to build skills and confidence – this was talked about on a number of occasions. (Research Team Notes)

Three residents had collaborated using different art forms. One played the guitar whilst the other read out a poem that a fellow resident had written. (Research Team Notes)

Prison artists beyond the residency

Attendees were keen to explore the 'What next?' question with the research team and each other. It was noted that men who had exhibited work at the exhibition had considerable talent and passion, which should be nurtured beyond their time at HMP Grendon, whether that be in other prisons or in the community. Attendees noted the importance of a good probation officer in developing and continuing art beyond the prison gates. However, it was also emphasised that the current punitive ethos of the criminal justice system presented a key structural barrier to enabling this. It was noted that receptivity towards arts-based projects within the Ministry of Justice and HM Prison and Probation Service had always been lukewarm at best but was particularly challenging in the current context. Attendees noted that those who saw the value of the arts in criminal justice were in the minority and their views were often misinterpreted and labelled as those of liberal apologists who were excusing what offenders had done. This was a frustration expressed by many attendees who felt like they were up against strongly held beliefs and stubborn stereotypes of prisoners that were reinforced by some sections of the media.

You can see what creating has done for some of these men, and whether they want to pursue a career in the arts or whether they just want to do it privately after prison, probation officers made a huge difference. Their role is so key in either encouraging or completely disillusioning someone who is passionate about art. A lot of people come away from long sentences with no support network whatsoever so the probation officer is really crucial. (Jane)

We can all see how valuable this residency is for this prison, for the men, for rehabilitation, for society, for the arts. But we know this field, we don't need convincing. How do we tackle the stubborn, punitive approach that treats these men as numbers and figures rather than individuals who can make a positive contribution to society? That requires a change in ideology, a change in values in the criminal justice system and that starts with the tone at the top. You need Ministers behind the arts. For that you need the voting public behind it and that's a tough nut to crack. (Sonia)

Prisoners are hidden, they're invisible, their voices are rarely heard. That makes it so much easier for people to make assumptions about them and fall in with the Daily Mail brigade, "lock them up and throw away the key". If this residency is to actually stimulate some debate, it's so important that this work is so visible that people *can't avoid* talking about it. (Jenna)

It needs young people behind it too, we need to think about the future of our criminal justice system and realise that whilst we might not have a lot of joy convincing some of the current decision-makers, we can influence the future ones. We need to play the long-game. (Chris)

The public tends to have a view of prisons as either holiday camps or mini concentration camps. It seemed to me that if we could give them images of the reality of prison that serves better public understanding of imprisonment. Prison reform is not overnight changing the public's attitudes towards prisons and prisoners. Its small steps and I just feel that this kind of initiative seems to me to offer the best chance of those small steps being taken and being long lasting (John)

By the time the visit had concluded I was thinking about what would happen next with this, especially given the deficiencies in the wider criminal justice system. How do we reincorporate these men back into society? To what extent can people value them as artists rather than offenders? The current climate is so unforgiving. (Billy)

Edmund's calibre as an artist is hugely important in generating impact from this residency. He has the capacity to engage with a much broader audience. It's important that this opportunity is maximised because what's been created in and around this residency is really powerful stuff. (Damien)

Summary

The observations and interviews conducted with those who attended the *Grendon Exhibitions* revealed many interesting insights into the extent to which the residency has developed critical discussion of around prison, rehabilitation and criminality. Whilst the audience was limited in relation to numbers and socio-demographic diversity – there were several ways in which these exhibitions made an impact. Firstly, the audience - most of whom had worked in or around arts and cultural

sphere – considered the exhibitions professionally presented events showcasing work by accomplished artists who were serious and committed about their artwork. This was important in ensuring a focus upon the artwork in terms of its meaning and significance in relation to debates around prisons, rehabilitation and criminality rather than a spectacle around the artists and what they had done in the past. The organisational skills of those who contributed to the curation and running of the exhibition and the legacy of these two exhibitions holds considerable potential for future events of this nature. Whilst some of the attendees did have preconceived ideas about prison art in terms of form and practice, these beliefs were revealed, critiqued and dispelled by these exhibitions. The exhibitions also enabled a greater appreciation of the strengths and needs of prison-based artists.

The primacy of the artwork was a prominent theme in our analysis – attendees were interested in the residents as artists rather than offenders. Linked to this, it was observed that the residency had facilitated a range of positive outcomes associated with desistance from crime. This included the trying on of a new identity (i.e. ‘the artist’), peer support and collaboration, professional relationships and enhanced opportunities for interacting with audiences from different walks of life. These outcomes are closely aligned with key protective factors identified in the desistance literature – notably hope and motivation (Bottoms and Shapland, 2010; Burnett and Maruna, 2004; Le Bel, Burnett, Maruna and Bushway, 2008), having something to give to others (Bottoms and Shapland, 2010; Burnett and Maruna, 2006; Maruna, 2001), having a place within a social group (Farrall, 2004), not having a criminal identity (Chiricos, Barrick and Bales, 2007) and being believed in (McNeill, Batchelor, Burnett and Knox 2005; Rex, 1999).

Whilst there was already an awareness of some of key challenges and barriers facing arts in prisons, the exhibition enabled attendees to crystallize these issues and prompted thinking and suggestions about ways forward for arts in the criminal justice. Our findings highlight that if art is to be a powerful catalyst for critical discussion around prison, rehabilitation and criminality, the artwork cannot be presented in isolation from the journey that led to its creation. The stories of the artists and the narratives that accompanied their artwork were crucial in prompting the attendees to reflect upon and critically consider the current state of criminal justice. This suggests that where possible and appropriate, spoken narratives or written accounts should accompany artwork created by prison-based artists if the work is to stimulate debate. For mainstream audiences, this work will not ‘speak for itself’. In addition, here is the danger that ‘aesthetics over meaning’ will further limit the contribution of prisoners to this debate. Without this context, we would argue that the voices of the artists are not heard. As noted previously in this report, such silence would serve to further reinforce the *othering* of prisoners – if they cannot be seen they are easier to demonise and exclude (Cheliotis, 2010).

The philosophy of HMP Grendon - as revealed via the artwork - was important in prompting reflection and critical consideration of contemporary criminal justice. Our

findings suggest that this institution should be central to critical discussion of prisons, rehabilitation and criminality because of its aspirational nature in offering glimpses of what prisons could, should or would be. HMP Grendon offers a tangible example of an environment in which the arts can both play a role in the process of change and act as a means for dissemination for the promotion of alternative and complementary approaches to rehabilitation – notably the Good Lives Model. The way in which the residency has worked *with* residents and facilitated them working with each other embodies the “communalism” principle of the democratic therapeutic community (Rapoport, 1960). The residency is not something that has been done *to* them. It has enabled a spirit of collaboration, the building of a group around a common interest and a sense of belonging to an artistic community. We believe that this is an important learning point for future initiatives like this one. The residency highlights the fact that prisoners are key stakeholders and as such, emphasises the importance of including them in critical debates about criminal justice.

The *Grendon Exhibitions* stimulated debate amongst attendees about the legacy of the residency. Several observations and suggestions as to how the impact of residency could be maximized were made. It was noted that the outputs and outcomes of the residency should be shared with the National Probation Service and Community Rehabilitation Companies given the significance of probation officers in enabling prison-based artists beyond prison gates. In addition, the importance of communicating the messages from the residency to a wider public audience beyond the arts and cultural sphere was taken to be of crucial importance. As such, attendees felt that there should be a considerable effort to ensure that the residency was publicised in the mainstream media. In addition, a further key audience were identified as young people – particularly the future decision-makers and leaders within the criminal justice system. Attendees felt that if attitudes, values and beliefs about prisons, rehabilitation and criminality were to be challenged, the residency was one important step in achieving this cultural change. However, it was felt that this would be slow, incremental and would require a sustained effort consisting of projects like the residency over a long period of time.

Reponses to *In Place of Hate*

The sources we drew upon to gauge the nature of responses to the *In Place of Hate* exhibition were published reviews of the exhibition and visitor feedback and reflections. Visitor feedback and reflections included posts on social media in which the exhibition or the gallery were included as a hashtag or location.

Published reviews

The following reviews of *In Place of Hate* were flagged up by our online search alerts:

- Bankes, A. (2018). Why we need to free art by prisoners from behind bars, *Apollo: The international art magazine*, 8th January. Available at: <https://www.apollo-magazine.com/why-we-need-to-free-art-by-prisoners-from-behind-bars/>
- Bidder, J. (2017). REVIEW: Edmund Clark's 'In Place of Hate', *Arts Brum*, 9th December. Available at: <https://artsbrum.com/edmund-clarks-place-hate-exploration-invisible/>
- Green, M. (2017). In Place of Hate: Edmund Clark's new work from Grendon Prison, *FT Magazine*, 2nd December. Available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/26c74b6a-d49e-11e7-8c9a-d9c0a5c8d5c9>
- Millington, R. (2017). Edmund Clark: In Place of Hate at Ikon Gallery, *Grapevine Birmingham*, 13th December. Available at: <http://www.grapevinebirmingham.com/edmund-clark-in-place-of-hate-at-ikon-gallery/>
- Montrone, D. (2017). Edmund Clark's immersive study of prison life goes on show at the Ikon Gallery, *British Journal of Photography*, 1st December. Available at: <http://www.bjp-online.com/2017/12/clark-shadow/>
- Webb, H. (2017). Life & Art from HMP Grendon: Edmund Clark at Ikon Gallery Birmingham, *Blouin Art Info*, 1st December. Available at: <http://www.blouinartinfo.com/news/story/2683083/life-art-from-hmp-grendon-edmund-clark-at-ikon-gallery>

Having conducted a qualitative thematic analysis of the reviews – which included consideration of the use of images within them - several key themes and perspectives were identified. These findings and how they relate to the evaluation question, “To what extent has the residency contributed to the development of critical discussion around prison, rehabilitation and criminality?” are presented below.

Images used in the reviews

All six of the reviews included images from *In Place of Hate*. The image that was used most frequently was one of the pinhole camera pieces, the same image that had been used in the promotional materials for the exhibition (see Figure 1). This image was used in all six of the reviews. Images of the pressed flowers in the cell-sized light box - from $1.98m^2$ - (Figure 2) were used in four of the reviews (Bidder, 2017; Green, 2017; Millington, 2017; Montrone, 2017). Images of the exterior of the prison's buildings (see Figure 3) appeared in three of the reviews (Montrone, 2017; Green, 2017; Bidder, 2017). The following images appeared in only one of the reviews: resident's creative responses to pinhole camera image – *Pinhole Image Interventions* - (Figure 4) (Green, 2017); stills of the prison corridors from the video installation *Vanishing Point* (Figure 5) (Green, 2017); image of community room (Figure 6) (Green, 2017). The review featuring the most images from the exhibition – twelve - was Green (2017). Millington (2017) and Montrone (2017) and Bidder (2017) featured three, whilst Bankes (2018), Webb (2017) included one. Reflecting upon the use of images, it was not surprising that the images in Figures 1-3 featured in the reviews because these images had been included in promotional materials about the exhibition – for example within the flyer or on Ikon's website. The choice of images beyond this was interesting – and whilst this was a very small sample, we reflected upon whether these choices might be indicative of the affect that these particular images had had upon the authors of the reviews. This was something that we considered as we explored the themes that emerged from written texts.

Figure 1. Pinhole Image

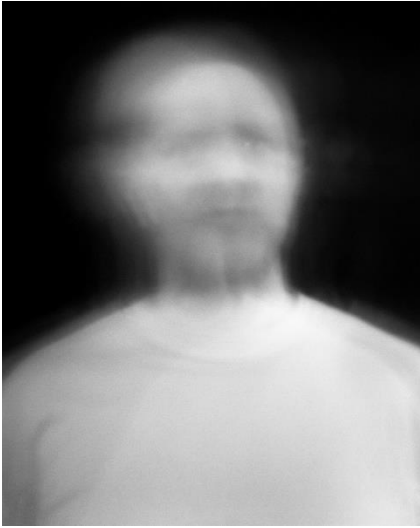


Figure 3. Prison exterior



Figure 5. Prison interior: stills from Vanishing Point



Figure 2. Images from 1.98m²



Figure 4. Pinhole Image Interventions

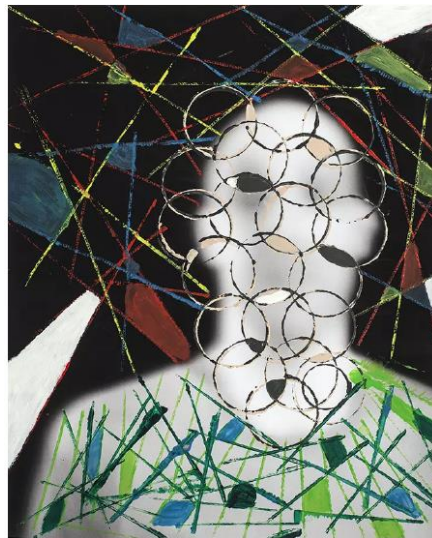


Figure 6. Prison interior: community room



Calibre and authority of artist

The articles all noted the calibre of Edmund Clark as an artist with considerable experience of working in and around carceral settings. Throughout the articles, the authors conveyed that *In Place of Hate* does not stand in isolation and was part of an ongoing interest and curiosity on the part of the artist into this topic area. The effect is that the articles present the exhibition as a chapter in a book about prisons, rehabilitation and criminality and that that book is one written by an authority on the topic. As such, the work is understood as holding considerable reach and significance for these debates from the outset.

The artist, known to have worked and produced works from Guantanamo Bay the CIA secret prison programme, and with terrorism suspects in England, in the past has a deeper and well-shaped engagement with issues of censorship, security and control (Welsh, 2017).

Clark, winner of *BJP's* International Photography Award in 2009 and many more since, has long been interested in issue surrounding confinement and incarceration, having previously made work on Guantanamo, Bagram Air Base, control-order houses and elderly lifers at HMP Kingston. (Montrose, 2017)

HMP Grendon

The articles noted the uniqueness of HMP Grendon as the only prison to operate wholly as a therapeutic community in the English and Welsh prison estate and indeed in Europe. Some went further in describing elements of the prison regime in terms of psychotherapy and the principles of a therapeutic community. HMP Grendon was often compared to other prisons, with some articles including statistics and quotes from prison experts. In such cases, HMP Grendon was presented as the exception to the rule, a prison that succeeded despite the current political, economic and social climate rather than because of it. As such, it could be argued that these review articles have the potential to generate awareness and knowledge of HMP Grendon, particularly in terms of what prisons should or could be.

... the internal democracy of Grendon, designed to foster personal and mutual responsibility, interests policymakers. Recent moves in the prison system as a whole — depriving prisoners of the right to smoke, for example — tend to be in the other direction, infantilising adults and making them even less able to thrive on release. (Green, 2017)

Frances Crook, the veteran penal reformer and chief executive of the Howard League, describes it as “the only successful prison in the country” ...Pamela Dow, a former senior Whitehall strategist on prison policy and a rehabilitation expert, says Grendon is...”an island” surrounded by an otherwise creaking

system...According to Crook, Grendon is successful because it does “the exact opposite of all the others” (Green, 2017).

Established in 1962, HMP Grendon requires inmates to accept responsibility for their offence. Within the prison environment they can exercise a degree of control over the day-to-day running of their lives, making a commitment to intensive group therapy and democratic decision-making, whilst holding each other to account. Evidence shows that Grendon has delivered lower levels of violence in prison and reduced instances of re-offence after release (Millington, 2017).

Affect

In writing about *In Place of Hate*, writers referred to their thoughts and feelings about their experiences. In terms of the affect that their encounters with the images engendered (see Young, 2005, 2008, 2010, 2014), words such as ‘eerie’, ‘frightening’ and ‘disconcerting’ were used – particularly with reference to the pinhole images. It could be argued that such reactions draw on stereotypes of violent offenders evident in mainstream media and popular discussion. However, these words were often accompanied by expressions of empathy and consideration of how the images created a sense of proximity to prisoners – particularly when a resident’s words formed part of the images. As such, in relation to affect, the overriding reaction throughout the articles appeared to be a sense of discomfort – that the exhibition made them feel uncomfortable. Those writing about their experiences of the exhibition found the work immersive and challenging – perhaps indicative of the artwork’s capacity to articulate and reveal the problems and difficulties that exist within the contemporary criminal justice system.

In the first room is an immersive installation consisting of a light box the size of a cell: it *makes you realise* the issue of overcrowding and the lack of space in which prisoners live. It really *is claustrophobic* (Millington, 2017, emphasis added)

In the Ikon’s Resources Room, we are met by a series of ‘self-portraits’ that remain *eerily* unidentifiable and almost shadow like in their portrayals of their human subjects (Bidder, 2017)

Visitors can also sit on the same chairs which appear in the footage, joining the circle of offenders’ group therapy (Millington, 2017).

“I hate myself because I am a murderer... You can’t save me... We are a faceless, forgotten part of society...” These are just some of the *intimate*, often *devastating* thoughts of the inmates at HMP Grendon, a category B men’s facility in Buckinghamshire... (Montrone, 2017, emphasis added)

(re pinhole camera images) ...the blurred black and white images are *disconcerting*, and some are quite *frightening* ...about a dozen (residents)

have made their own artwork from prints of the photographs...Their verbal reactions are *extraordinary* and *painful* to read: “No wonder people look at me weird – is this how they see me??!! I look like the White Orc from *The Hobbit* or some sort of f***in’ phantom” (Green, 2017, emphasis added).

Beyond ‘prisoners’

It was clear within the articles analysed that the images encountered in the exhibition had been influential in shaping the way that visitors were looking at residents of HMP Grendon. They were seeing them as more than ‘prisoners’. These questions of identity also encompassed a humanising of ‘the prisoner’ in the eyes of the writers, who drew upon terms like ‘peopled’, ‘delicate’, ‘vulnerable’ and ‘human’ in describing and exploring the themes that the exhibition presented. These words are not often associated with the stigmatizing discourses around prisoners, criminals and offenders.

...the Grendon work is *peopled* by the shadowy photographs that represent the prisoners and a few of the staff. (Green, 2017, emphasis added)

(re the bedsheets piece) The identity of the prisoners has been protected, and so they are marked by a blurred quality, creating questions about self. They can also appear intimidating and, at times, quite frightening. But the bedsheets, which move as viewers pass by, also appear *delicate* (Millington, 2017, emphasis added).

(re residents’ responses to pinhole images) Another commented: “I am *terrified* to take the mask off and feel *vulnerable*.” (Montrone, 2017, emphasis added).

On the surface of the light box are flowers and plants picked by Clark and the prisoners from Grendon’s gardens; they appear *fragile* and you can see every vein running through them. (Millington, 2017, emphasis added)

(re *The Oresteia*) In this piece, the spectator becomes a fly on the wall within a group therapy session...simultaneously personal and impersonal, giving the spectator a rare insight of watching a group of faceless, nameless but undoubtedly *human* inmates attempt to come to terms with the pain suffering and anguish they have both inflicted and suffered themselves (Bidder, 2017, emphasis in original)

Contribution to contemporary debates

The articles suggested that *In Place of Hate* highlighted many contemporary issues within the prison system. There were several reflective and critical comments about the nature of criminal justice in the Twenty-First century, which appear to have been prompted by attending the exhibition. In addition, the reviews were often

contextualised in relation to specific challenges – for example issues with overcrowding, violence, drug use, suicides and self-harm. As such, the articles highlighted the capacity of the exhibition to articulate contemporary fears and anxieties around imprisonment within the bigger picture of penal punitivism and the carceral state. In so doing, the articles suggested that the exhibition was contributing towards debate about prison, rehabilitation and criminality in offering visual representations of a largely hidden and denied group of people that audiences could then further explore themselves. The reviews did not consider the exhibition to be “political” per se in that it did not take a position or judgement about what should be done but they did acknowledge that it raised political questions i.e. questions of power, control and authority.

Will they, I wonder, want to see such darkness made visible? Because the theme of the shadow, the mysterious silhouettes on a prison wall, has another wider meaning — the suppressed societal dysfunction that we would rather ignore, particularly the addiction, the abuse, the violence and mental-health issues that afflict so many criminals and so many others outside the prison walls too. (Green, 2017)

(re *The Oresteia*) Lines about ‘honour killings’ and ‘kingly responsibility’ resonate with gang violence, sexual assault and the pressures of extreme masculinity (Millington, 2017)

The word “political” is hard to avoid in relation to Clark’s affinity for making art about incarceration, criminal justice and security enforcement (Green, 2017).

...how we treat our prisoners offers a profound, and valuable, insight into our society: they hold up a mirror, and challenge the humanity of us all (Bankes, 2018)

The thematic representations of how prisons and the criminal justice system are perceived and discussed by the public, politicians and media in Britain today is ably captured in his seminal works (Welsh, 2017).

What remains truly fascinating about *In Place of Hate* is how it picks out the personalities that operate within this faceless society that is so separate from that which lies outside the prison grounds...He unlocks the cells and cross-examines numerous of bricks within the same wall and, if anything, the restricted scope of the project plays to Clark’s advantage. In a sense, we see more through the keyhole than we do through the open door as we piece together the fragments of personal opinions, experiences and stories that are offered by the anonymous members of the society that lies on the other side of the barbed wire fence. (Bidder, 2017)

Summary

Many interesting themes emerged from our analysis of the published reviews of *In Place of Hate*. Firstly, Clark's calibre as an artist experience in working in carceral settings was considered important in ensuring that this exhibition informed a 'bigger picture' of debate around incarceration. Clark's previous works were referred to throughout the reviews and as such, they served to highlight the ongoing nature of the issues the exhibition raised. *In Place of Hate* was therefore not considered simply as a stand-alone exhibition or a snapshot of prison life but part of an unfolding and ongoing revelation of incarceration within a broader economic, political and social context. Within the reviews there was also an appreciation and awareness of the uniqueness of HMP Grendon given that this institution was the focus of the work. However, this focus upon HMP Grendon did not minimise its relevance to the broader context. The reviews frequently linked the insights developed from seeing *In Place of Hate* to issues and debates around imprisonment in general, critically commenting upon various challenges and problems with the system. If anything, in seeing HMP Grendon as the exception and the success story of the English and Welsh prison estate served to further magnify the nature and extent of deficiencies and problems within the other institutions and prompt critical comment about the same. Exploring the affect that encounters with the image engendered, the prominent feelings expressed within the published reviews were feelings of awkwardness and discomfort as writers struggled with reconciling existing myths and stereotypes about prisoners with experiencing empathy for prisoners, recognition of their humanity and feelings of proximity to their experiences. Linked to this, questions of identity also emerged as prominent themes within the published reviews as writers reflected not on what those depicted in the exhibition had done, but who they were, how they felt and the therapeutic process they were engaged in. The pinhole camera images were particularly prominent in considerations of identity. Indeed, such images were incorporated into *all* the published reviews as the most enduring of the images in terms of the affect upon this audience. Considering these points, it could be argued that amongst this audience at least, the residency has made an important contribution to debate in prompting critical reflection upon values, attitudes and beliefs about prison, rehabilitation and criminality.

Social media

Social media was considered an important potential site of debate about the residency and the *In Place of Hate* exhibition. Through the duration of the residency and the first six weeks of the exhibition, the Research Team monitored discussion in these forums. As noted in the methods section of this report, this encompassed Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. Until the opening of *In Place of Hate* in December 2017, we did not receive any alerts about content relating to the residency appearing on any of the above social media platforms. However, when the exhibition opened, we did begin to receive alerts for some of the platforms.

Ikon's Facebook page featured posts about *In Place of Hate*, for example information about the exhibition. These posts received many Facebook 'likes' but did not receive any comments. As such, the Ikon Facebook page did not emerge as a space for debate around prison, rehabilitation and criminality. Turning to consider Twitter, we collected 107 tweets during the first six weeks of the exhibition. The tweets largely consisted of promotional tweets sent from Ikon's Twitter account, retweets of the same, or links to published reviews generated by the publications noted above in the [Published reviews](#) section. Whilst there were tweets sent by people who had attended the exhibition expressing positive sentiments, these tweets did not generate further debate about the residency or the issues that it raised. As such, Twitter was not a space in which any detailed reflection or discussion about prison, rehabilitation or criminality emerged.

By far the most active social media platform in relation to *In Place of Hate* was Instagram, an image-based photo-sharing application that allows users to share pictures and videos publicly. During the first six weeks of the exhibition, our searches discovered 134 Instagram posts relating to the exhibition, all of which included pictures of images from the exhibition. Regarding the nature of the images that were being shared, over two-thirds of (69%, n=93) Instagram posts during this period were pictures of one particular part of the exhibition – 1.98m² - the pressed flowers on the cell-sized light box. Just under one quarter (24%, n=32) were of the projections of pinhole camera and flower images onto bedsheets. Other categories – notably photographs of multiple images, photographs of the therapy room installation and photographs of the residents' responses to the pinhole images - each constituted 5% or less of the Instagram posts relating to the exhibition. We found it interesting that the largest category of Instagram posts related to 1.98m², images that were not direct representations of Grendon residents to the same extent that the pinhole images were. The very low number of posts depicting Clark's representations of the prison environment – for example the photographs of the prison buildings and the video installation *Vanishing Point* - was also curious. Whilst these images were clearly a key part of Clark's work, when we examine what visitors are choosing to share from the exhibition on Instagram, these images are largely excluded. Therefore, it could be argued that despite the importance of these images in stimulating conversation about prison, rehabilitation and criminality through their function in revealing unseen elements of prison life, visitors to the exhibition did not feel as strongly about sharing them as they did other images that included more subtle and allegorical references to incarceration.

Considering the text that accompanied the posts, the vast majority (n=121, 90%) consisted simply of hashtags relating to the exhibition e.g. #EdmundClark #InPlaceofHate #Ikon Gallery. However, 1 in 10 (n=13, 10%) did include responses, thoughts and reflections about the experience of visiting the exhibition (see Figure 7 for examples). It was clear that for these individuals at least, *In Place of Hate* had caused them to consider wider themes and issues around incarceration for example

identity, change and invisibility – as well as learning about the uniqueness of HMP Grendon.

Table 1. Categories of image shared on Instagram about the exhibition

Part of exhibition	Number of Instagram posts	% of all Instagram posts of the exhibition
1.98m²	93	69%
Projections onto bedsheets	32	24%
Multiple images	5	4%
Therapy room	3	2%
<i>Pinhole Image Interventions</i>	1	<1%
TOTAL	134	100

Figure 7. Instagram post examples



@scarlett.ward

Went to see this exhibition in Birmingham yesterday- the artist @edmund clark wants to show the humanity of prisoners that lose their identity and become faceless after their incarceration. These are flowers grown and picked in the prison grounds, and the views of the prison on the long screens shows pixelated exit doors to illustrate how for some there is no reality outside of this place. Really moving exhibit. And on a purely aesthetic level being surrounded by so many pressed flowers pleased my little soul greatly. A great exhibit tinged with sadness. #ikon



@samuelspencerb

"In the binary of good and evil that afflicts the discussion of criminal justice, human beings are refracted into sharp stereotypes of victim and perpetrator." #InPlaceOfHate #EdmundClark Great exhibition - probably not one for the Daily Fail brigade.



@elliepesto

'In place of hate' Edmund Clark Pressed flowers from Europe's therapeutic prison, a creative and thoughtful approach for prisoners actively seeking rehabilitation and access to the community. This prison has lower levels of violent and re-offending behaviour, so why aren't the same therapeutic principles being embedded in all secure settings? #ikon #ikongallery #birmingham #edmundclark #grendonprison



@_breakfastwithtiffany

Today I got completely lost, in the city of Birmingham and in my own mind. The power of being alone is greater than anyone commonly realises. Our deeply personal thoughts and affirmations have the ability to turn our lives into what we have always dreamed them to be. All you have to do is believe and manifest your ideas, focus on them and at just the right time, you will be free. ☺ Just some thoughts inspired by my visit to the Ikon gallery which focused on ones perspectives and how to create change within ones self and ones life 😊



@under_a_pewter_sky

Still crushing on the visual delight that is the "In place of hate" exhibition. I need to go back and see it again. It gave me so much to think about. #life #inplaceofhate #pressed-flowers #floralfix #floralhub #wmwildlife #igersbirmingham #ikon #imagination #art #freedom #prison #liberty #changes # I keep thinking " Bloom where you're planted " @edmund clark #artistsoninstagram #artistlife #lifeisart #birmingham #ikongallery #pursuepretty #ahubwithnoname #myhappyviews #brummie gems #culture #exhibition @ikongallery 🍷 #weeds #wildflowers #seekthesimplicity



@ikongallery

@edmund clark's flowers are a mix of weeds and garden varieties grown by the men of HMP Grendon, and have been pressed between layers of paper towels from the prison bathrooms. "Put them on a light box and you can see every vein, every blemish", Clark says. #ikongallery #edmundclark #inplaceofhate #gallery #contemporaryart #exhibition #birmingham #ilovebrum

Conclusions

In considering our findings in relation to the first key question of the evaluation – *To what extent has the residency contributed to the development of critical discussion around prison, rehabilitation and criminality?* - we believe that the residency has contributed towards the development of critical discussion around prison, rehabilitation and criminality to some extent. We summarise our conclusions relating to the *Grendon Exhibitions* and *In Place of Hate* below. It is important to note that our conclusions regarding *In Place of Hate* should be considered indicative rather than final - our data was collected during the first six weeks of the exhibition and the exhibition ran until March 2018, beyond the submission date of this report.

The impact of the *Grendon Exhibitions* in relation to creating debate around prison, rehabilitation and criminality was limited in terms of reach given the fixed restrictions on the number of individuals who were able to visit the exhibitions and the relative lack of socio-demographic diversity amongst the attendees. However, it could be argued the significance of the impact was more considerable. The *Grendon Exhibitions* helped reinforce the importance of a focus upon who prisoners are rather than what they have done. They helped dispel myths about the scope and processes of prison art. They enabled an appreciation of the strengths and needs of prison-based artists. They helped visitors see clear links between arts in prison and outcomes associated with desistance from crime. The exhibition emphasised the importance of the prisoner voice alongside the artwork they create in ensuring that prison art is appreciated for its cultural value as well as its aesthetic quality and that the othering of prisoners is not reinforced in the dissemination of their artwork. Knowledge and awareness of the unique nature of HMP Grendon was enhanced through the exhibition and the importance of working *with* prisoners in creating artwork rather than art initiatives being something done *to* them was emphasised. The *Grendon Exhibitions* also stimulated debate and suggestions about what should happen next in terms of ensuring a positive legacy for Clark's residency and ensuring its learning points and messages were disseminated to a wider audience beyond the arts and cultural sphere.

With regards to *In Place of Hate*, we offer several provisional observations about the nature, reach and significance of its impact upon debate around prison, rehabilitation and criminality. Firstly, we noted that reviews were published in a range of spaces that would be accessed by a wide range of individuals – from broadsheet newspapers with a large general readership (e.g. Financial Times Magazine - Green, 2017) to local arts blogs for a more specialist audience (e.g. ArtsBrum - Bidder, 2017). We did feel however that had other types of publication also covered the exhibition, this may have enhanced awareness and established pathways for impact amongst a more diverse audience. Examples include newspapers with a broader readership encompassing wider socio-economic groups. Despite this, our analysis of published reviews revealed that *In Place of Hate* was clearly seen as part of an ongoing revelation of key issues and challenges around incarceration. The reviews

further enhanced awareness and knowledge of HMP Grendon and the contrasts made with the rest of the prison system served to further magnify the challenges within the latter and prompt critical debate about the same. The exhibition generated feelings of discomfort and awkwardness in the reviewers – whose preconceived ideas about prison, rehabilitation and criminality had been challenged by the images. The use of images in the published reviews was consistent with these observations – the pinhole camera pieces embodying questions of identity, change and uncertainty – were particularly prominent, featuring in all of the review articles. Questions of identity came to the fore and the focus of these articles was much more firmly upon who prisoners were now rather than what they had done in the past.

The impact of *In Place of Hate* upon debates about prison, rehabilitation and criminality in social media spaces was limited. These debates were absent from two key platforms – Facebook and Twitter. Instagram emerged as a more significant site for the sharing of photographs of the exhibition. However, posts including thoughts and reflections upon the exhibition represented a minority of the posts we collected and there appeared to be a tendency amongst those who shared images of the exhibition to focus upon those pieces that had more subtle references to incarceration – notably the pressed flowers – than those featuring starker and more direct representations of prison life – notably the photographs of the prison environment. On one hand, it could be argued that this represents an ongoing othering of prisoners. If they and their environments remain unseen – they are easier to demonise and exclude (Cheliotis, 2010). However, on the other hand, it could be argued that the pressed flowers represent counter images and counter narratives (Brown, 2014; Schept, 2015), distinct and different from media and official visual representations of prison and prisoners and as such, hold potential to challenge official discourses.

Within the next section of this report, we consider the second key question of the evaluation, *To what extent has the residency had an impact upon the residents of HMP Grendon in their journeys away from offending?*

Question 2. To what extent has the residency had an impact upon the residents of HMP Grendon in their journeys away from offending?

The findings reported in this section draw upon our analysis of the interviews conducted with residents and staff at HMP Grendon about their experiences of the artist in residence. In addition, this section draws upon an analysis of letters received from former residents who were invited to share their thoughts about the residency with the Research Team and those who provided feedback on comments sheets. Within this section of the report we outline the key themes that emerged from our analysis of our research encounters with residents. References to notes taken during the interviews and direct quotes from the written material are included for illustrative purposes – the nature of the source is noted at the end of each reference and quote. This section concludes with a summary of our findings in relation to the question, “To what extent has the residency had an impact upon the residents of HMP Grendon in their journeys away from offending?”.

Access to arts materials and resources

One of the clearest themes to emerge from our discussions and interactions with residents was the fact that the artist in residence had ensured access to arts materials that were not previously available - or which would have been difficult to access without this support. However, it was noted that materials were not simply ‘handed over’ unconditionally. There was an expectation that if Clark provided someone with materials, they would make use of these materials constructively and were responsible and accountable for them. As such, whilst access to materials was beneficial in enabling residents to engage in their artistic practices, the way in which this was operated was very much in the therapeutic community spirit of Grendon. This is a living learning situation (Kennard, 1998) in which all elements of prison life, even those which might be considered by people on the outside as minor, like the provision of arts materials – are “an integral component of the therapeutic environment” (Brookes, 2010b, p. 103).

I don’t know what I would have done if we didn’t have an artist in residence, I would never have been able to afford some of the stuff (Letter - Jason)

Paul made the point that without the residency, he would not have been able to fund his art (Interview notes – Paul)

Kevin had observed those involved in the residency getting access to new materials. He said he was pleased to see that there was some accountability around this though – Edmund wanted to see what people had produced with the materials, he didn’t just supply them and move on. Kevin said this encouraged people to make use of the materials they had. (Interview notes – Kevin)

The process of getting access to the arts materials – they may want a particular thing but they know they have to wait for it and they realise that having patience is important (Staff Interview – Jackie)

Rediscovery / development / diversification of technical abilities

Residents noted that the presence of an artist in residence had a positive impact not just on their capacity to continue to practice their artwork through the provision of materials but also in terms of how the residency created a space in which to rediscover old artistic endeavours and develop and diversify existing practices. The confidence, positivity and future-focus evident amongst these residents links clearly to desistance factors around hope and motivation (Le Bel et al, 2008). In addition, these activities also embody elements of the strengths-based Good Lives Model (GLM) approach to rehabilitation in providing pro-social pathways to the achievement of goals or 'key primary goods' such as knowledge, creativity and excellence (Ward and Maruna, 2007).

Edmund knew I was seriously interested in art and he organised for me to get art materials in a regular basis, which helped me so much. For the first time I felt free to paint whatever I wanted and because of that freedom I painted portraits, which remain my best works and I went on to win some awards. (Letter, Danny)

This has opened my eyes to all the things I can do. I have found so many different things that I am good at. (Letter, Jason)

As a child I was fascinated with Lego and Meccano sets and would spend hours upon hours building things. This world became short lived when I suffered immense abuse inside and outside the family setting before eventually being taken away from home and placed into care...it has reconnected me to my old Lego bricks and Meccano sets, which I now find in my art work and projects I take on. (Letter, Jim)

Paul described how he had adapted his techniques during Edmund's residency, and had tried out things that had not occurred to him to do before. Paul described how Edmund's residency had helped him focus on the future and the things that he would do to continue to work on with relation to his art. He said that the residency had contributed to his longer-term thinking and planning. (Interview notes – Paul)

Richard talked about a sculpture he had created and what various parts of it represented. He explained that Edmund's advice had encouraged him to think outside of the box and develop his work in new ways through support, challenge and constructive criticism. (Interview notes – Richard)

Expression and reality-confrontation

As noted in the About HMP Grendon section of this report, “reality confrontation” is one of the key principles of the therapeutic community environment where behaviours come under the scrutiny of others and thoughts and feelings are confronted (Rapoport, 1960). The artwork created by residents during Clark’s residency appeared to complement this element of the therapeutic community. Opportunities to develop artistic practices have enhanced the range of methods and means through which residents could express themselves through art. As such, it can be argued that the residency has further facilitated achievement of inner peace and freedom from emotional turmoil and stress – a further ‘primary good’ identified in the GLM approach to rehabilitation (Ward and Maruna, 2007). However, some emphasised that the artwork they engaged in around the artist in residence was refreshing because it sat outside of the formal psychotherapy and art therapy sessions. As such, these residents considered it not part of the therapeutic process but a relief or a break from it.

I painted a small black/red abstract which I put up in my room. I used this image to explain how I thought I made decisions, that I would have a chaotic lifestyle and make chaotic decisions, the image itself was very chaotic. (Letter, Steve)

(Re response to pinhole camera image) I really enjoyed this part of the project and was eager to receive my image. I decorated my image with white writing, all capitals, with very little punctuation to symbolise what I felt the image portrayed – of a person who never stops, who goes on and on without a thought for another. (Letter, Steve)

Carl stated that art was very important to him, he said, “It’s like being able to write with paint”. He went on to say that this was important for many prisoners given the low levels of literacy within the prison population. (Interview Notes, Carl)

Daniel expressed the importance of art, explaining that it helped keep him level, calm and enabled a channelling of frustration. (Interview notes - Daniel)

Richard described the work he has done with Edmund as a ‘breath of fresh air’ – explaining that it takes him away from the therapeutic elements of Grendon, which can be very demanding and draining. (Interview notes – Richard)

Kevin said that residents who were involved in the residency had a glow about them – “Ed has done a lot of work with the lads to give them a voice through their art”. (Interview notes – Kevin).

The scheme helps motivate a different outlet for hurt, pain, sadness, guilt through the medium of art, giving some of us a voice when we didn't have one. (Comments sheet – Nick).

Visible and invisible trauma - for a lot of the men here, their trauma was invisible when they were kids. The only way to communicate it was through violence. Trauma is seen here at Grendon and it can be transformed – a lot of this can be linked to the work Edmund is doing. (Staff Interview – Helen).

Narrative Identities

In the [About HMP Grendon](#) section of this report, the importance of narrative identity at Grendon was noted. This relates to how people tell stories about their lives and the way in which they present themselves as characters in these stories (Adler et al, 2008; Adshead, 2011; Lieblich et al, 2004). The spirit of Grendon encourages and facilitates the challenging and reframing of narrative identity – residents 'try on' identities that aren't premised on their status as a 'prisoner' or an 'offender' (Stevens, 2013). The concept of the narrative identity was prominent in resident's accounts of their experiences during Edmund Clark's residency. Residents described themselves as artists, poets, "more than just an offender". Getting involved with the artistic residency further reinforced these new identities, created a space in which they could be explored and contributed towards feelings of confidence. There are clear associations between these findings and the importance of not having a criminal identity – a core desistance factor (Chiricos et al, 2007; Maruna, 2001). In addition, this identity reshaping that has occurred during the residency represents a pro-social means of finding meaning or purpose in life and achieving autonomy and self-directedness – core primary goods within the GLM.

There was a critical awareness of the extent to which other people – notably the public - would be able to overcome the persistent myths and stereotypes about prisoners. Residents welcomed the *Grendon Exhibitions* as an opportunity to meet new people and be seen and accepted artists but acknowledged that these events should be open to a broader range of people. For some, art was an interest rather than an identity, but it was nonetheless valuable and contributed to their sense of self outside the offender identity. Having an artist in residence also served to legitimise art as an activity that was valued and indeed permitted – which had not been the case in some other prisons.

As I began to do this (create artwork), I started working in therapy at value and self-esteem, ensuring that I allow time in my life to do the things that I enjoy and making sure that these things are not forgotten. I am much more than just an offender. Without Ed I would not have been able to do this (Letter, Steve)

The idea that the artist behind the work should be heard – if not visible – was emphasised. The story that led to the work was important for people looking at it. (Interview notes - Daniel)

Carl explained that most of the time, people beyond the prison walls do not have the opportunity to see the artist behind the work. Carl found it difficult to see how boundaries, stereotypes and labels could be overcome if the artist is invisible. Carl was very enthusiastic about the *Grendon Exhibition*. On broaching this topic with him, his demeanour shifted, he began to smile and was visibly proud of his work and his role in organising it, “It was brilliant. The people were seeing me as an artist not a killer”. (Interview notes – Carl)

Paul had sent his artwork off to competitions, saying that Edmund’s encouragement had been instrumental in this. He said that prior to working with Edmund, he would have just rolled up his artwork and not done anything with it. (Interview notes – Paul)

I have been involved in the sessions that Ed put on. Art helps me find other things to do with my life, my time. Being bored is a trigger for me. (Letter, Jason)

When I first came to prison...I lived in an empty cell with no pictures, colours or anything. I defaced a wall in my cell with a picture of a window gazing out over fields, and then was moved cells! (Letter, Steve)

Richard described how he was looking forward to the *Grendon Exhibition* as his work would be on display. He shared that this had boosted his confidence and he was pleased that people were interested in his art. (Interview notes – Richard)

Whilst Kevin had not been directly involved in creating artwork around the residency, people on his wing had been. He said identity was important, explaining that being known as a poet or an artist instead of his offence had boosted his fellow residents’ confidence. Those who were involved identified with something new and Kevin saw the positive effects of this – people with a sense of who they were, and a purpose in life. (Interview notes – Kevin)

For a lot of the men, this is the first time that they’ve felt that what they’ve done is worthwhile. They might have been interested in art during their childhoods but have no memory of that so this was a chance to do and be somebody else. (Staff interview – Carol)

The men’s identity has been linked to their offence for a long time and they feel everyone hates them outside but art gives them something else, something outside of therapy but very much in the spirit of change. (Staff Interview – Helen)

Sharing artistic work with others, building relationships

Some residents spoke of how their art was both a bridge for building relationships with loved ones and a way of leaving a positive legacy for them, creating new and positive memories and experiences. As such, for these residents, it can be argued that the residency strengthened their capacities with regards to building stronger relationships with friends and families – a recognised factor in helping individuals desist from crime (Maruna, Le Bel and Lanier, 2003) and a core primary good within the GLM (Ward and Maruna, 2007).

I get a lot of pleasure out of sharing the things I make with others. (Letter - Jim)

I started to spend time in the evenings making cards, for family, for friends, even for staff at times. (Letter - Steve)

Paul spoke of his children being a driving force behind his inspiration to create art, “at some point my artwork will go to them”. (Interview notes – Paul)

As with other men here, I have difficulties dealing with emotions and a lack of self confidence in social (and artistic) situations. Critical areas of rehabilitation for me include getting in touch with emotion and broadening my self-confidence. Support and encouragement from the residency has assisted me with these therapeutic goals. (Comments sheet – Adam).

Communalism

The principle of communalism (Rapoport, 1960) is central to a therapeutic community, as noted in the About HMP Grendon section of this report. Opportunities to take on responsibilities relating to the therapeutic environment and the events that happen within it were evident within the activities around the artist in residence. The residents we spoke with who had been involved in the *Grendon Exhibitions* expressed their pride and sense of achievement in assisting with these events. Residents expressed their sense of pride at having contributed to the appearance of the environment through having their artwork put on display within the prison. This enhanced the sense in which they felt they had a stake in HMP Grendon as their home. This provides evidence of the residency facilitating the achievement of a further core primary good – community (Ward and Maruna, 2007). Furthermore, the artwork they created added to the uniqueness of HMP Grendon – they expressed that Grendon does not *feel* like any other prison but with the artwork, it *looked* less like other prisons too. There was also a sense in which the residency had encouraged staff and residents to come together around artistic endeavours and see each other as artists.

I have toured all the communities and seen the art, pictures, sculptures that are there is big part due to Ed and the Trust supplying the much-needed

financial support. Without them the place would be just magnolia/grey and not personalised at all. (Letter, Steve)

Daniel's artwork was in the community room where the interview was held. He was very confident in pointing it out and appeared very proud of it. (Interview notes - Daniel)

Carl spoke enthusiastically about the *Grendon Exhibition*, which he had been part of organising alongside others. This event seems to have been very important to him. (Interview notes – Carl)

I don't think I would be able to rebuild my self-esteem if I didn't have something like art to be proud of and for people to be proud of me for it. (Comments sheet – Nick)

I was talked into doing a pinhole camera image by one of the residents and I really enjoyed it. The residents see another side to the officers when we talk about art - one of them commented "Wow, you draw!". (Staff Interview, Jane)

There was a real sense of pride on the wing (about the Grendon Exhibition) even among those who were quite isolated – they felt very much involved in that. (Staff Interview – Helen)

Grendon is like a tapestry and the artist in residence is part of that, very colourful and powerful. (Staff Interview – Jackie).

Exposure to new perspectives and views

Some residents felt that being able to discuss their work with Clark had created an awareness of different views and perspectives. They were able to see why someone else would take a different position from them on a topic or a piece of artwork and as such, the discussion groups enabled constructive conversations over opposing and conflicting views. Staff involved in the therapeutic process also commented upon the extent to which the residency had encouraged them to reflect upon their own practice as therapists.

...the discussion groups I found fascinating, in some way Edmund was able to give me an empathic understanding of other people's feelings on the subjects we discussed and the material he was able to show us, from photos to short clips of films on his laptop...The only thing I can say about the class itself, I wish they could have been longer but all in all it was a brilliant experience and long may it continue. (Letter, Jim)

Ed discussed this image (that Steve had created) with me and explained that everyone does this in some way or form, that decision making as an idea is difficult for all of us and that everyone makes the wrong decision at some point in their life. (Letter, Steve)

Paul described Edmund's artistic background and made the point that although Edmund was not a painter like him, his photography had had an impact on his own practice and had influenced some of his work. (Interview notes – Paul)

It has an impact on your work as a therapist and helps you to think outside of your world. There are lots of ways to reach these men. There is a tendency to think “My way is the only way” and hold onto your modality protectively but there are many ways in which people can be helped. (Staff interview – Helen)

Engagement in an artistic community

Residents explained that the presence of an artist in residence had brought a group of them together in a new way and created a sense of community – a key primary good (Ward and Maruna, 2007) - amongst those who were interested in the arts. They worked with each other and with Edmund on pieces of artwork and on organising the events around the residency – for example the *Grendon Exhibitions*. They reported a sense of belonging and stated that they had enjoyed helping others to develop their artwork. In this sense, the residency has further facilitated desistance through enabling the residents in having something to give to others and having a place within a social group – recognised as important contributing factors in desisting from crime (Bottoms and Shapland, 2010; Burnett and Maruna, 2006).

The support that Edmund and his assistant provided with my artwork made me feel part of a group and part of the work Edmund did as the artist in residence. (Letter, Danny)

Daniel placed a lot of emphasis on the importance and impact of the discussion group with Edmund. He explained that this was beneficial to the development of his artwork and building a sense of community among the artists on the wing. (Interview notes - Daniel)

Carl explained his involvement in the creation of the artwork in the community room and how he had enjoyed working with others to create it, sharing his knowledge and skills with them in an informal mentoring capacity. Carl acknowledged that many of his fellow residents had benefitted from Edmund's residency and stated that he would like to see the establishment of a prison-wide arts group. (Interview Notes – Carl)

Paul had enjoyed the sessions and discussions with the group. Having said this, he did think it would have been better if all the artists at Grendon could have come together in a classroom rather than holding separate groups for separate wings. He thought that this would have been beneficial as it would have allowed a larger group of people to see the work and processes of their peers. (Interview notes – Paul)

Because of his background in photography he would give me an insight into exhibitions and galleries, I'd never really understood how that all worked until Edmund took the time to explain it to me. (Letter, Danny)

Inspiration, accessibility and support without pressure

The way in which Clark had managed his artistic residency drew much praise from the residents and staff. They observed that there wasn't any pressure to get involved, that was a decision that was down to individual residents. Clark put on regular sessions and if people wanted to come, they came. If they didn't want to, there was no judgement or criticism. He was described as someone who opened doors to opportunities without creating dependency. He was considered approachable, creating his own work whilst responding to the residents' strengths and needs but without an agenda. Clark's belief in the residents was highlighted throughout our research encounters with them – they valued his opinions and appreciated the time that he devoted to enabling and facilitating their work. Some residents had been wary of him at first because of their fear that as an 'artsy' person he would be pretentious and would misunderstand them, but it was clear that these boundaries were soon broken. In this way, the residency contributed towards desistance because being believed in and communicating the belief that people can change and have something to offer to society and others is a key factor in desistance from crime (Rex, 1999; McNeill et al 2005).

He'd always be about his office in education you could go to whenever he was in and he'd always make you feel welcome and be really encouraging...When I arrived at Grendon there was an artist in residence, but we only saw her once every two weeks and it was quite disjointed in the way it ran. When Edmund took over, everything changed. He was working in the prison once or twice a week. (Letter, Danny)

In my view the work that Edmund does with inmates you cannot buy with any amount of money. (Letter, Jim)

I approached Ed and explained that I enjoy making cards and would there be any help that he could provide. (Letter, Steve)

Paul described how Edmund would frame the artwork that had been created by residents and would arrange for it to be displayed so others could see it. Paul said that this motivated people to create more artwork and commented that he liked Edmund's approachable nature – saying "he's proper down to earth" and that he was someone who you would stop and chat to easily in the corridor. (Interview notes – Paul)

Richard explained that he initially had some scepticism about Edmund in relation to his motives and what he was doing at Grendon. However, he explained that this view quickly changed, and Edmund was now a much

respected and well-regarded member of the Grendon community. (Interview notes – Richard)

Kevin stated that Edmund was very approachable and even though he wasn't involved as much as others in artwork, he enjoyed talking to Edmund about different art forms. He said that if there was another artist in residence at Grendon, they would have "some big boots to fill". (Interview notes – Kevin)

This is more than just a job for Ed, he goes out of his way and genuinely cares about the men and their art. They very quickly cotton on to people who aren't genuine but Ed has gone down very well with them. (Staff Interview – Jane).

Ed has a real passion for this work, he has been a role model for the men. He has been touched by them and affected in a positive way. They can see Ed being positively affected and they think "I must matter then". (Staff interview – Jackie)

Prison and the arts – general observations and thoughts

All residents expressed their frustrations about the lack of resources and support for arts in prisons. There was a recognition that at HMP Grendon, they had benefited from the artistic residency but that people in other institutions were not so fortunate. Residents also noted that key to enhancing awareness of the power of art was opening prison art up to a wider audience of people. Some of the staff also commented that they would very much like to become more involved in the residency as artists because the residency had inspired their own creativity.

Carl was very passionate about the value of arts in prisons. He referred to prisoners at other establishments and made the point that Grendon was the exception, other prisoners did not have the same arts resources or opportunities as men at Grendon. He summed this up by saying, "The whole prison system is missing the point as to how powerful art can be". (Interview notes – Carl)

Paul stated that the wider public – not just people from the 'arts bubble' needed to be able to see prison art and speak to prison artists if arts in prison were to receive more funding and support. (Interview notes – Paul)

...my contact with people visiting the exhibitions at Grendon has been very positive. They have not only been impressed with the work on display but keen to talk with the artists and learn something of our lives within the prison system. (Comments sheet – Adam).

I love art as well and it would be good if this was opened up to staff members, I think it would bring the staff and residents together more and help the residents see the more human side to us! (Staff interview – Carol)

I would love to have access to some arts materials, I'd really like to do some clay modelling. (Staff interview – Jane)

Summary

In considering our findings in relation to the second key question of the evaluation, we believe that the residency has had an impact upon the residents of HMP Grendon in their journeys away from offending to a large extent. The nature of this impact is multifaceted, encompassing a range of desistance factors including hope and motivation, having something to give to others, having a place within a social group, not having a criminal identity, being believed in and building relationships. The residency has also opened pathways for the pro-social achievement of a range of goals or primary goods identified within the GLM (Ward and Maruna, 2007) – notably knowledge, excellence, agency, inner peace, friendship, community, finding meaning and purpose in life and creativity. In relation to the extent of the impact, we believe that this is likely to be felt throughout Grendon but that those residents who have been directly involved in the residency have benefitted the most.

Conclusions

Within this evaluation, we set out to address two central research questions: To what extent has the residency contributed to the critical debate around prison, rehabilitation and criminality? To what extent has the residency had an impact upon the residents of HMP Grendon in their journeys away from offending? Within this section, we summarise our conclusions. Our proposals with regards to further maximising the impact of the residency are outlined in the [Recommendations](#) section.

To what extent has the residency contributed to the critical debate around prison, rehabilitation and criminality?

We argue that the residency has contributed towards the development of critical discussion around prison, rehabilitation and criminality to some extent. The impact of the *Grendon Exhibitions* was limited in terms of reach but more considerable in terms of significance. They facilitated enhanced awareness of the scope and process of prison art, the strengths and limitations of prison artists, the link between arts and desistance, the importance of the prisoner voice and the positive contribution of HMP Grendon as an exceptional and successful institution. These exhibitions also enabled a future focus in terms of embedding the legacy of the residency within the wider criminal justice system. The impact of *In Place of Hate* is still in the process of being generated given that the exhibition was ongoing at the writing of this report. However, thus far, impact upon the audiences considered in this report has reach, significance and is promising for the future. Published reviews highlight contrasts between HMP Grendon and the wider prison system, promoting critical debate about current challenges and issues. In addition, they demonstrate critical questioning of longstanding myths and stereotypes about prison and prisoners and a stimulation of curiosity about identity and change. There exist a range of further opportunities to promote debate more generally amongst more diverse audiences in both mainstream and social media. Of particular interest are differing levels of receptivity towards particular images within the exhibition and the affect underlying this.

To what extent has the residency had an impact upon the residents of HMP Grendon in their journeys away from offending?

We argue that the residency has had an impact upon the residents of Grendon in their journeys away from offending to a large extent. Positive outcomes were noted which were associated with a range of recognised desistance factors. Through their involvement in the residency via creating their own artwork, being involved in Clark's discussion group and contributing towards the curation and organisation of the *Grendon Exhibitions*, residents demonstrated enhanced hope and motivation,

enhanced capacity to give something to others, a sense of belonging within a social group in which relationships were built and maintained, a further disassociation from criminal identity and a boost in confidence at being believed in. The residency has also opened pathways for the achievement of aims through positive and non-harmful objectives – notably knowledge, excellence, agency, inner peace, friendship, community, finding meaning and purpose in life and creativity. In relation to the extent of the impact, we believe that those residents who have been directly involved in the residency have benefitted the most although others are likely to have benefitted indirectly from the positive outcomes experienced by their peers.

Recommendations

- 1) Where work created by prisoners is exhibited in spaces they are unable to be present within, that the artwork should be accompanied by a short, written account by the artist to enable insights into the process and context.
- 2) The National Probation Service and Community Rehabilitation Companies have the potential to facilitate and encourage the continuation of an interest in the arts beyond prison. The learning from the artist in residence project should be shared with them in an appropriate manner, perhaps through a tailored online resource for Continuing Professional Development.
- 3) Given resource constraints and continuing austerity measures within the Ministry of Justice, in future evaluations of arts-based initiatives, attention should be given to monitoring and demonstrating return on investment. The current safety and reform programme 2017/18 - 2018/20 offers an opportunity to propose evaluations which explore the potential contribution of the arts in reducing violence and disorder in prisons.
- 4) The images and messages from this residency about prison, arts and rehabilitation need to be shared much more widely. The February 2018 symposium and future events should encompass delegates from mainstream media, education and the criminal justice system.
- 5) It is particularly important that young people considering careers in the criminal justice system are aware of Clark's residency therefore it is recommended that an accredited module drawing on key learning outcomes be developed for students studying criminology and criminal justice in higher education institutions.
- 6) There should be a more pro-active stimulation of critical debate on social media platforms around *In Place of Hate*. Given its diverse and extensive user base, Facebook should be a target. However, the image-based nature of Instagram also holds potential as a key platform for encouraging debate and reflection.
- 7) Consideration should be given to the setting up of an award that focuses on recognising prisons where arts and creativity are facilitated and enabled. This would complement existing awards i.e. The Koestler Trust Awards, which recognise individuals as opposed to institutions.
- 8) The residency has inspired creativity among members of staff as well as residents. As such, the possibility of staff members participating in arts based activities alongside residents should be explored if a third residency takes place.

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