

**Exploring the relationship between an arts
course and rehabilitation for young people in a
Young Offender's Institute: a grounded theory
approach**

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ABSTRACT

Exploring the relationship between an arts course and rehabilitation in a Young Offenders' Institute: a grounded theory approach

Applications for funding for arts interventions in prisons need to show the intervention will be working towards reducing reoffending. Previous studies mainly focus on the rehabilitative results of the arts intervention in repairing deficiencies in offenders' social skills. These deficiencies prevent offenders from making constructive social interactions and are proved sometimes to be characteristic of criminality. However, the aim of this investigation was to use a grounded theory methodology to deconstruct the link between arts and rehabilitation by engaging in a research study in a young offender's institute (YOI).

The findings from the pilot study revealed that the link between rehabilitation and the Arts emerged as its potential to enable the appropriation of new roles. Taking these findings into my literature review, I developed a core framework around rehabilitation, an intervention typology, the Arts and role theory. I took this framework into my main investigation in a YOI in South West England amongst young people involved in music and art courses.

From later stages in my research design emerged the significance for young people of the use of autobiographical techniques, showing the potential for participants to gain emotional and cathartic release before moving to a consideration of their future. Further depth of understanding of this pedagogical strategy was gained through interviews conducted with those involved in another course using autobiographical techniques: the *Write to Freedom* course. The outcomes revealed the place of role in developing and affirming identity and the pedagogical influences which were necessary to enable rehabilitation.

The findings add to understanding about pedagogical structures, which can help a young person to envision a new role in a future that embraces desistance. These

findings have implications in other contexts where participants inhabit roles which prevent learning development. These techniques can change perception enabling participants to appropriate renovated roles which offer new direction.

ABSTRACT	i
LIST OF TABLES.....	viii
List of Figures	ix
ABBREVIATIONS	x
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
1.1 The rationale for the research	1
1.2 Developing theoretical context for the thesis	3
1.3 Research Questions.....	4
1.4 Structure of the thesis.....	6
Chapter Two: Literature Review	9
2.1 Introduction	9
2.2 The formation of identity from the given	11
2.2.1 Surveillance and security.....	11
2.2.2 Institutionalisation, Prisonisation and the concept of macho-identity	14
2.2.3 Rehabilitation and desistance	19
2.2.4 Conceptualisation through role theory and masking.....	27
2.3 The renovation of identity through the arts.....	31
2.3.1 The rationale behind prison rehabilitative arts projects.....	33
2.3.2 The implementation and outcomes of prison arts projects.....	34
2.3.3 The use of role	38
2.3.4 The link between symbols, roles and identity.....	43
2.4 Conclusion.....	47

Chapter Three: Methodology.....	55
3.1 Introduction	55
3.1.1 Decisions post pilot.....	58
3.1.2 Research questions.....	59
3.2 Rationale for the choice of methodology	61
3.2.1 Reasons for a Grounded Theory methodology	64
3.3 The research process	67
3.3.1 Collecting data	67
3.3.2 The interviews	77
3.4 Data Analysis.....	83
3.4.1 Coding.....	83
3.4.2 Memos.....	91
3.4.3 My position as a researcher	92
3.4.4 Reflexivity	97
3.4.5 Generating concepts.....	101
3.5 Ethical considerations	107
3.5.1 Informed Consent.....	107
3.5.2 Enabling young people’s voice and issues of confidentiality	109
3.5.3 A consideration of power relationships, gender and age influences	112
3.5.4 Relational ethics	115
3.6 Conclusion.....	119
Chapter Four: Findings.....	126

4.1 Introduction	126
4.1.1 young people’s behaviour and their assigned identities in the YOI.....	131
4.2 The formation of identity from the given	132
4.2.1 Young people’s perception of their pre- prison identity.....	132
4.2.2 Assigning group identities	135
4.2.3 Staff and young people’s rationales for the presentation of aggressive behaviour.....	136
4.2.4 Validation from the Behaviour Award Strategy	140
4.2.5 Validation through the prison processes.....	142
4.2.6 Validation through role	146
4.2.7 Links with life outside prison	150
4.3 Using the past as a tool for the future	155
4.4 Gaining insight through catharsis	160
4.5 The renovation of identity through the arts in HMP XXX	162
4.5.1 The rationale for delivering the Arts	162
4.5.2 The influence of autobiographical techniques on renovating identity.....	164
4.5.3 Pedagogical considerations in Rap Workshops.....	167
4.5.4 Use of the Gangsta Raps: the teachers’ rationale	172
4.5.5 Use of the Gangsta Raps: the young people’s rationale	174
4.5.6 Use of the Apologia and the Cautionary Raps: the teachers’ rationale	178
4.5.7 Use of the Apologia and the Cautionary Raps: the young people’s rationale	180

4.5.8	Young people’s symbols of success	183
4.5.9	Interviewees’ perception of renovation through inner development	187
4.5.10	Pedagogical considerations in the Write to Freedom Course ...	195
4.5.11	The Write to Freedom Courses: the young people’s perspective	197
4.6	Discussion.....	203
4.6.1	Forming identities from the given.....	204
4.6.2	Rationale for writing about the past	205
4.6.3	Using the arts to re-invent identities through autobiographical techniques	207
4.6.4	The strategic facilitation of catharsis.....	213
4.6.5	The importance of validating strategies.....	218
4.6.6	Renovation through new roles.....	219
4.6.7	The significance of renovation through autobiographical strategies	221
Chapter Five: Conclusion		224
5.1	Introduction	224
5.2	Rehabilitation and the arts pedagogy.....	226
5.2.1	The influence of formal validation strategies on young people’s developing identity.....	227
5.2.2	Developing identity through the arts	229
5.2.3	Developing identity by use of a pedagogical focus on autobiographical techniques.....	230

5.2.4	Developing young people’s perception of their future agency.	231
5.3	Challenges in the research	233
5.3.1	Practical and conceptual challenges.....	233
5.3.2	Ethical challenges	235
5.4	Research limitations and possibilities for future research	237
5.5	Immediate outcomes	239
	Afterword	241
	Appendices	243
	Appendix One: Interview questions.....	245
	Appendix Two: Network of codes connected to catharsis	246
	Appendix Three: Extract of coding around the code family of catharsis.....	247
	Appendix Four: Examples of member checking.....	249
	Appendix Five: An explanation of SEPE	255

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Intervention typology based on the focus of responsibility (adaptation of Brickman's (1982) typology, as cited in Sugarman, 2001, p 189)	25
Table 2	The difference between planned, granted and actual interviews (source author)	69
Table 3	Sampling Record (source author)	71
Table 4	Rationale for methods of data collection (source author)	74
Table 5	Different methods of data collection (source author)	75
Table 6	Code Families (source author)	83
Table 7	Code families under the categories Assigned and Appropriated identities (source author)	84
Table 8(a)	Code families relationship to findings section: "The formation of identities from the given" (source author)	87
Table 8 (b):	Code families' relationship to findings section "the renovation of identity through the arts" (source author)	88
Table 9	Hierarchy of codes (source: author, with reference to Charmaz, 2006)	89
Table 10	The linking of research questions to section headings (source author)	226

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	The place of reflexivity towards final conceptualization (source author)	99
Figure 2	The grounded theory process (based on Charmaz, 2006, p 11)	120

ABBREVIATIONS

BOSS	Body Orifice Security Scanner chair – a highly sensitive metal detector used in place of body cavity searches
HMP	Her Majesty’s Prison
ODJ	Offenders developing journey - prison terminology for the movement in attitude and achievement every young person should make from their entrance to their exit from the prison
RAP	Rhythm and Poetry
ROTL	Released on temporary licence
SEPE	Supporting Employability and Personal Effectiveness (Edexcel Award)
YOI	Young Offenders’ Institute
YOT	Youth Offending Team

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

9.1 THE RATIONALE FOR THE RESEARCH

There is strong support for rehabilitative interventions in prisons in the UK, the aim being to keep the reoffending rate down and thus reduce costs. The average cost of keeping a prisoner in prison is £37,183 per annum and for young male offenders between 15-17 the average cost is £76,913 (Ministry of Justice, 2011). But how should these interventions be targeted? Ministry of Justice (MOJ) figures show that reconviction rates were higher for prisoners who had been excluded from school, taken into care, were homeless or jobless before being sent to prison or had witnessed violence in their childhood home (Travis, 2010). In 2008, the Government's Social Exclusion Unit reported that nearly half of those children in custody had literacy and numeracy levels below those of an average eleven year old and over 25% were equivalent to those of a seven year old or younger (The Government's Social Exclusion Unit's Report 2008, as cited in Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2008). These findings of three years ago seem to show little improvement. In 2011, findings revealed that out of those excluded from school, between 50% and 60% of the prison population had significant literacy and numeracy difficulties. Furthermore, 40% of young men and 53% of young women between 15 and 18 in custody were last in school when they were 14 (Eastman, 2011). Perhaps unsurprisingly therefore, young offenders have a low perception of their own attainment with 73% describing their academic achievement as zero (Royal, et al., 2011). The fact that many young offenders have low educational achievement can make rehabilitation through education difficult, as fear of repeating previous experience which gave them low self-esteem can be a block to rehabilitation and future desistance (Lofland, 1969).

Within prisons, arts education is very popular, and for many it is a re-introduction to education (Clements, 2004). Lord Ramsbotham (2008) reveals the way in which the Arts can act as a catalyst for encouraging those offenders towards work. However, communication about the rehabilitative nature of the Arts in helping young people

create meanings for their lives seems sparse in government documentation. Indeed in the Government Document "Breaking the Cycle" (Ministry of Justice, 2010) which focuses on rehabilitation, there is no reference to the Arts. In the present economic climate, there is concern that budget cuts may present challenges to the delivery of the Arts (Dick, 2011). Anecdotally, there is evidence that budget reductions in prisons are resulting in art tutors being made redundant or part time. Research evidence suggests that arts tutors are vital in engaging those who otherwise may not access any education or training. They are also critical in providing activity which is meaningful to all offenders (Dick, 2011).

Past studies focusing on arts interventions in prisons give evidence of improving participants' social skills. However, while a lack of social skills can be a characteristics of criminality (Balfour, 2004), other studies which focus on rehabilitation which leads to desistance refer to the need for an offender's appropriation of new roles unlinked to offending (Berson, 2008; Maruna, 2001; McLean, 2008). Achieving a change in self-presentation through a new role needs support and validation through the prison processes (Berson, 2008; McLean, 2008). The context of my investigation therefore aimed to address an identified research gap by focusing on an aspect of an arts curriculum embedded into the prison system to see how far the prison processes added any validation to any changing roles and self-presentation in young people.

This thesis seeks to address two areas of research where investigation is limited in the field of Arts in prisons. First of all, I focus on the possibilities of the arts curriculum to change an offender's appropriation of role. Secondly, I investigate whether these processes develop a sense of agency which can be used by their future selves. The aspects of pedagogy in my findings that encompassed the points above revealed the importance of autobiographical techniques in offender development. As previous studies have given limited space to young people's views, this thesis aims to flesh out concepts around rehabilitation through the arts by giving the perceptions and experiences of the young people who engaged in an arts course in a prison. I was

interested in exploring the connection between rehabilitation and the arts by exploring possible changes in identity through any changes in appropriation of role. I aimed to gain insight by investigating through observation and interview.

9.2 DEVELOPING THEORETICAL CONTEXT FOR THE THESIS

There were several stages in my development of a theoretical context for my investigation. My initial interest in this area came from engagement in research around the applicability of an “Employability through the Arts” qualification to prison participants who had participated in a time-limited external arts intervention. When interviewing participants after the project, the results revealed that involvement in the arts could be influencing participants in something more profound, beyond the development of soft skills as one interviewee stated:

This project made me more than I am.

This changed my perception. I now became interested in finding out instead what meanings were actually emerging through engagement in the arts. However, this broad brief meant I needed to engage in a pilot study to refine the focus of my study (see Section 3.1). For the pilot I used a Grounded Theory methodology, from which emerged the importance of the developing identities appropriated by young people through arts courses embedded in the curriculum, and the rehabilitative influence of the arts. These findings informed my literature review, where I explored previous studies around identities formed in prison processes and prison arts projects, alongside theories of rehabilitation and desistance. This helped me to form a framework encompassing a model of rehabilitation and desistance which involved young people’s re-thinking of their sense of identity through their newly appropriated roles and a consideration of possible future roles, but also enabled me to identify some gaps in the research. I wanted to use the focus of my research investigation to discover if I could find answers to bridge these gaps, but also I wanted to have the

freedom to explore fully any new meanings and unexpected and important trajectories which emerged from the data. The use of a Grounded Theory methodology enabled me to explore this direction and conceptualise accordingly.

9.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The formulation of my research questions ran in parallel with my developing conceptualisation up to the start of my main investigation. It was also shaped by some of the findings. After I had interviewed prisoner participants involved in an employability through the arts project, I had realised that something profound may be occurring which went beyond the acquisition of soft skills. I therefore ran a pilot to try and give direction to my main investigation. More detail about the pilot can be found in Chapter Three. The question which started the inquiry at the stage of the pilot was:

What is the link between rehabilitation and the arts as presented in a YOI from the perspective of young offenders?

I took this question to my pilot investigation to try and provide myself with some direction through initial exploration of the concept of rehabilitation through the arts. My findings through Grounded Theory revealed a clear link with between engagement in the arts and changing identity. This therefore led to my question:

In which ways does engagement in the arts influence young people's self-perceptions of their developing identities?

However, not only was there some evidence of changing identities, but in the case of one young person, the idea of appropriation of a new role for himself emerged. I wanted to explore this in my main investigation to discover whether or not this was a common occurrence. However, having taken the theme of identity into the literature review as a result of the pilot, I came across the idea of "renovation of identity" through Peters (2009) and so wanted to explore the concept of changing of identity in

more depth as a result. This led to a further specification and clearer focus of my research question:

In which ways, if any, does engagement in an arts course lead young people to move to renovate and appropriate new identities?

The idea of agency as a result of involvement in an arts course emerged in a few of the interviews with young ex-offenders and so this seemed important to explore in some depth in my main investigation. This led to the question:

In which ways, if any, does engagement in an arts course lead to young people's consideration of their possible agency in the future?

Further findings from the pilot study and reflections on my own professional experience within the prison context led to my final question. First of all, I observed that the arts courses which my ex offender interviewees noted as significant in their development and consideration of their future roles post prison were enmeshed into the curriculum, yet the literature I had come across around the arts in prisons were all focused on short courses. I decided therefore to focus on an arts curriculum within the prison of my investigation: I wanted to investigate the influence if any of the prison processes on young people's consideration of their futures once leaving prison. Secondly, I was influenced by my literature review. I had brought the theme of rehabilitation to my literature review to explore the theoretical nuances of this area. The reading revealed further significance of prisoners' consideration of their future which matched a desistance model (Maruna, 2001). Coupled with this, these two aspects led to the question:

What role does the context of prison play in developing young people's identity?

In summary, the research questions which emerged from and directed my study are:

Key Research Question

What is the link between rehabilitation and the arts as presented in a YOI from the perspective of young offenders?

Sub research questions

In which ways does engagement in the arts influence young people's self-perceptions of their developing identities?

In which ways, if any, does engagement in an arts course lead young people to move to renovate and adopt new identities?

In which ways, if any, does engagement in an arts course lead to young people's consideration of their possible agency in the future?

What role does the context of prison play in enabling these young people to consider their future post prison in new ways?

9.4 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

In Chapter Two, I discuss the theoretical framework of the thesis to understand the way in which identity within a prison is first of all constituted by the institution of prison itself with its focus on surveillance and security. It highlights the formulated perception that institutionalisation creates an over-compliance, which however is not internalised (Lofland, 1969). I then contrast this concept with prisonisation, a concept which represents the presentation of an overly macho-identity (Bayliss, 2003; Morris & Morris, 1962). Rehabilitation prepares offenders for re-settlement outside prison by working to propel them away from either of these self-presentations. I explore understandings of rehabilitation through a variety of theorists, including Lofland (1969) and Maruna (2001), both of whom support the importance of rehabilitation in helping to change offenders' self-perception. However, there are also a range of other views about rehabilitation. For example, Reuss (1999) argued the importance of focusing on the use of rehabilitation for personal growth. While Lofland (1969), Maruna (2001) and Reuss (1999) focus on the desired endpoints of rehabilitation,

Giddens (1991) argued the unrealistic task of trying to predict the future effects of rehabilitative interventions. Whichever direction rehabilitation takes, it is often sought through education. Deacon (2002), however, argued that by using education for rehabilitative purposes, education is being used to “normalise” rather than to free minds.

After exploring some wide-ranging theories of rehabilitation, Chapter two continues by exploring role theory (Goffman, 1959; Jenkins, 2008; Lawler, 2008), linking to the assignation and appropriation of offenders’ self-presenting a macho-identity. It then considers the links between rehabilitation, role theory and engagement in newly appropriated renovated roles through the arts (Bruner, 1991, Giddens, 1991, Presser, 2004).

In *Chapter Three*, I explain the methodological context in which the thesis is framed. I explain other considered approaches and my rationale for using a Grounded Theory methodology and how this enabled me to reflect and conceptualise from the data.

In *Chapter Four*, I focus on the empirical data, analysing the findings at the end of each chapter. I focus on the way in which the prison staff both assign identities but also through their processes validate developing identities by recognition of achievement. This chapter provides evidence for the value of prison processes in validating achievement. It reveals the symbols that the institution accepted as representing achievement and success and investigates the meanings which these had for the young people concerned in their developing identities. One of the main techniques used in the music workshops was a focus on the use of street culture, through rap (rhythm and poetry). The way in which these young people used rap was to explore aspects of their lives, so that they were in fact autobiographical to a large extent. As a result, in the findings two major codes emerged: autobiography and catharsis. As I was not expecting to discover the emergence of these concepts, I had not discussed them in my main literature review in Chapter Two. Therefore, there is a section which explores past studies of autobiographical techniques and catharsis so

that they can be compared with the findings. I then provide an in depth analysis of the way in which young people and staff formulated meanings through the construction of raps and the *Write to Freedom* Course. Pedagogical considerations around these autobiographical techniques were analysed to see their place in developing identity. There is an analysis of the young people's perceptions of symbols meaningful to them for success and their meaning-making of these symbols. Young people's ideas of their developing journey from pre-prison to the present and a consideration of their future is also investigated as representative of their developing identity.

In *Chapter Five*, I discuss the research findings in the wider context of validation, role theory and models of desistance and rehabilitation. I explore the rehabilitative advantages of using an embedded arts course within a prison to develop young people's identity. I also discuss the potential of using autobiographical approaches with young people beyond the context of prison with the way this approach can be rehabilitative in facilitating a heightened self-awareness and concept of their potential. Further, I consider how renovating identity through newly appropriated roles can be conceptualised using autobiographical techniques in a way which also has possibilities of wider contextualisation.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The position of this Literature Review in my thesis does not match the chronological order of events. I ran my pilot study prior to writing my literature review. This enabled me to focus my reading of previous research studies around the themes which emerged from my pilot. The pilot suggested that there was a movement in a sense of identity shown by young people's participation in an arts course in a YOI which engendered a sense of rehabilitation. Therefore, this chapter investigates previous research studies to present the rationale for rehabilitation which will then contextualise any rehabilitative journeys made. As the aim of rehabilitation is to reduce reoffending rates, I also investigate models of desistance.

It is because of the focus of my investigation in a YOI for young males that I often refer to offenders as "he" as it is the nominalisation most relevant to my own investigation. Whereas young offenders are termed "young people", adult offenders are termed "offenders". I therefore use both these terminologies as appropriate. However, where I am exploring academic research around arts projects in prisons, I also sometimes refer to offenders as arts participants, or students, again where it seems appropriate.

In order to investigate the relationship between rehabilitation and engagement in the arts, I focus on how the young offender self-presents, the roles available for the offender to inhabit, and the role of rehabilitation to enable new strategies, new aspects of himself to develop and be presented. To enable the broad spectrum of inter-related concepts around this investigation, I seek to explore what the literature has to say about this journey. The literature review is divided into two sections: to

examine the way identities are appropriated and assigned through prison processes and to examine the rehabilitative possibilities of renovating identities through engagement in the arts. Section 2.2 investigates the formation of identities which are given by prison processes, offenders' perceptions of the role of an offender, and theories of rehabilitation and section 2.3 investigates the links previous studies make between rehabilitation and the arts.

The commonality between both sections of the Literature Review is the implication of theories of identity on the offender's development. It is important to explore the known aspects of a prison which affect an offender's identity such as institutionalisation (Comfort, 2002; Foucault, 1995) and Clemmer's (1958) concept of prisonisation (also developed in Giddens, 1991; Houston, 2009; Kolstad, 1996; Morris & Morris, 1962; Paterson, 2008; Pollock, 2006). However, also needed is a more progressive understanding of those rehabilitative aspects of arts education that develop the arts participant's role beyond that of deviant offender (Lofland, 1969).

The theory of identity explored in this chapter is role theory. This is because the pilot revealed how engaging in an arts project had led two of the interviewees to change their perception of the role they now played amongst their peers and in their consideration of their roles in their future. Besides these young people's discussion of their changed roles, they were also conscious of their assigned identities as young offenders when in prison. The way in which they choose to present the role of "offender" can play an important part in their readiness to learn.

Owing to the frequent reference to assigned, appropriated and renovated identities, throughout this thesis, it is necessary to offer some definitions. Previous studies reveal the importance of offenders' renovating roles through engaging in arts projects in prisons (see for example Balfour, 2000; Clements, 2004; Hughes, 2005; Moller, 2003; Silber, 2005). For definition of a "renovated" role I refer to Peters (2009) idea of changed ways of self-presentation. A renovated role emerges from the actor's own rising potential and changing interests. It is a role he chooses to appropriate.

However, some roles are given out, or assigned to an offender. These roles may or may not choose to be appropriated by the individual concerned.

As a result of the findings from the pilot, one of the aims behind the structure of the thesis has been for me to clarify conceptualisation of the link between the appropriation of role and rehabilitation. The literature review and the findings chapters are therefore structured into two main sections. First of all they develop understanding about the influence of prison on appropriating compliant or aggressive identities and secondly they develop understanding about the renovation and appropriation of individual identities through the rehabilitative influences of arts education.

Section 2.2 addresses the inter-related effect of prison processes on an offender's assigned and appropriated identities. It discusses theories of rehabilitation, theories of desistance and investigates how a model of interventions addresses these theories. Finally it explores role theory. Section 2.3 investigates previous studies of arts in prisons to investigate the connection between engagement in the arts in prisons, theories of rehabilitation and models of desistance. Previous studies mainly focus on adult offenders, and so this literature review has had to straddle research around both young people and their adult counterparts.

10.2 THE FORMATION OF IDENTITY FROM THE GIVEN

10.2.1 SURVEILLANCE AND SECURITY

The rationale for the mode of treatment of prisoners in prisons is complex. Overcrowded prisons put increasing strain on resources and on supplying a rehabilitative experience for those imprisoned. The critique of prison continues to take one of two directions:

either that the prison was insufficiently corrective, and that the penitentiary technique was still at the rudimentary stage; or that in attempting to be corrective it lost its power as punishment. (Foucault, 1995, p 268)

Research reveals clear influences from the philosophies behind retributive and deterrent punishment (see for example Carlsmith, 2006; Ripstein, 1999). These bring together the tensions between prison itself being the punishment on the one hand, and this being perceived as insufficient punishment on the other. Hopwood (2010) suggests that people forget that imprisonment itself is the punishment, arguing that further punishment should not be happening after this point. The relevance of these concepts for my argument is that the prison experience of both rehabilitation and security and discipline influences the way offenders present their identity (Kolstad, 1996).

According to Foucault (1995), prison is a centralising form of power which emphasises the power of the state. One of the ways in which this is experienced by the prisoner is through the security regime, which is firstly indicated by the method of “distribution of individuals in space” (Foucault, 1995, p 141). The use of surveillance of these “distributed” individuals has an impact on offenders’ experience in the prison, emphasising their assigned identity as an offender. For example, in the Home Office Report (2009), Alan Johnson stated:

We have introduced new equipment in prisons to improve searching and detection, including BOSS chairs, and we are increasingly prosecuting prisoners, visitors and staff caught smuggling mobile phones or drugs into prisons. But there is more that we can do, both in terms of preventing mobile phone use in prison and the abuse of legally privileged correspondence. (p 41)

There is here the idea of prisoners being forced to comply with a search. This supports Foucault’s (1995) argument that the suppression of usual comforts is emphasised because discipline and punishment are priorities. Characteristics behind the assignation of the role of “offender” emerge from this treatment.

As Foucault, (1995) argued, from this procedure emanates the disciplinary code, a code which underlines offenders’ assigned identities. Within the prison system, it is the Prison Officers who maintain security through the disciplinary code, which affirms

the role of the offenders whose security they are maintaining. This can be seen in job descriptions of Prison Officers on the Prison Service website (H.M.Prison Service, 2009) which emphasise the necessity to maintain security:

To carry out security duties as required, contributing effectively to the safe and secure custody of Prisoners.

Ensure that all incidents are reported and dealt with effectively, including bullying, assaults, substance misuse and self-harm.

Prepare reports as required in a timely manner.

Complete searching in adherence to local and national policy

Encourage Prisoners to follow regime activities.

Apply authorised control and restraint procedures where appropriate.

Foucault (1995) argued that the prison system had direct bearing on the way offenders create meanings around their developing identity. He argued, they are "called upon to participate in the fabrication of a delinquency that it is supposed to combat" (Foucault, 1995, p 278). Not only is prison assigning identities but, according to Foucault (1995), creating and affirming delinquent identities.

As the relationship between Prison Officers and offenders present the interface between the offender, the security regime and the disciplinary code, it is pertinent to view the way in which Prison Officers define the role of offender. Braggins and Talbot (2005) argue that Prison Officers' views deny the possibility that offenders "might have a valid view or a right to choose their own learning journey" (p 46). The reasoning for this was that "for the most part officers appeared confident that they knew what prisoners needed" (p 46). These views support Foucault's (1995) argument that prisons "contains all the asymmetries of disciplinary subjection" (p 231). Having been identified as "offenders", the performance of their assigned identity is formulated through the disciplinary regime: the offender is expected to be the passive receiver of order to which he is expected to respond compliantly (Bayliss, 2003; Gooch, 2009). The aimed effect on the offenders is to create what Foucault

(1995) terms “docile bodies,” because the order that follows from this presentation makes tight security easier. All these factors impact on the formulation of assigned and self-assigned identities of the offender (Balfour, 2004; Bayliss, 2003; Hua-Fu, 2005; Lofland, 1969; Presser, 2004).

In reality, however, Prison Officers carry out a range of tasks in a day, apart from focusing on security. Braggins and Talbot’s (2005) interviews with prison officers suggest a realisation of a range of needs of the prisoners in their care: “In one day, an officer can be a supervisor, custodian, disciplinarian, peacekeeper, administrator, observer, manager, facilitator, mentor, provider, classifier and diplomat” (p 15). The range of needs as recognised by Prison Officers gives some insight into both the experience of the Prison Officer and the offender. As Prison Officers in that Study felt they knew what was best for offenders, it did not give the offender any chance of taking initiative. Where the emphasis is solely on security and surveillance, it is difficult for an offender to develop new roles away from that of a deviant (Lofland, 1969).

Assigning group identities of offenders has tension with the idea of developing individual potential. The focus on security helps to emphasise the assignation of the role of offender. The fact that the public do not always perceive engagement in the arts as representing sufficient punishment (Hopwood, 2010) could have an influence on the way the Arts are delivered. Individual development is encouraged through engagement in the Arts. How far individual development is supported by the prison is important for my investigation.

First of all, though, I explore the roles which emerge for offenders through institutionalisation and prisonisation.

10.2.2 INSTITUTIONALISATION, PRISONISATION AND THE CONCEPT OF MACHO-IDENTITY

The focus on security and surveillance in the organisation of a large group of offenders can militate against the development of the individual in prisons (Bayliss,

2003). This influenced my decision to explore reflexivity between culture, institution and personal identity through my interviews (Loseke, 2007). I would then be able to examine the tensions between assigned identities and those which are appropriated.

Cultural identity can be explored through symbolic codes, as Loseke (2007) argued: "Symbolic codes surround cultural narratives of identities because they contain images of the rights, responsibilities, and normative expectations of people in the world (p 665). These symbolic codes, indicative of the interviewee's view of himself in the world, are contextualised in and by the prison community (Loseke, 2007). A significant strategy for an offender's self-presentation reveals the tensions involved because of the institutionalised coercion to conform. Loseke (2007) argued that we see offenders construct an identity, with the offender responding with "the right story ... before parole is possible" (p 671). Loseke (2007) argued that the offender's self-presentation may be affected by an attempt to comply with the institution's assignation of the role of reforming offender. The individual offender's presentation of his story and that of the institution's view of the offender are reflexive: the offender as social agent has the choice of adherence to the master narrative. I realised I needed to be aware that the young people I interviewed were likely to be institutionalised and present a view perceived by them as "appropriate" rather than presenting me with their individual views.

Foucault (1995) argued that prisons aim to make "docile bodies" to present the power of the state over those within the regime. The phenomenon of "docile bodies" has been much observed, and is attributed to institutionalised compliance (see for example Comfort, 2002; Kolstad, 1996; Pollock, 2006). Surveillance and security measures are strongly linked to the assignation of "docile bodies". Pollock (2006) argued the reason for this is a manifestation of the influences of the paternalistic rituals of prison, which reduces the prisoner to a child by subjugating him or her and taking away the ability to initiate ideas. Furthermore, Comfort (2002) argued that

institutionalisation prevents the use of initiative, revealing “a desensitisation to carceral existence and a loss of ability to function outside of the prison walls” (p 470).

Prisoners’ behaviour is transformed into submissiveness, a phenomenon explored in Zimbardo’s (1973) study of a virtual prison with volunteers acting as guards and prisoners for the experiment. Zimbardo observes that “as the days wore on, the model prisoner reaction was one of passivity, dependence and flattened effect” (cited in Balfour, 2004, p 31). Zimbardo (1973) attributes the changed behaviour to compliant non-thinking individuals through the need to survive because of their enforced institutionalisation. Kolstad (1996) observed a similar phenomenon with a group of especially selected mature and stable imprisoned educated college men. Kolstad (1996) argued how they

were radically transformed under the institutional pressure of the prison environment. Their submissiveness and strange behaviour arose out of situational factors in an institutional environment. What would otherwise have been termed "pathological behaviour" became "appropriate" behaviour in the prison. (p 331)

The difficulty for the expression of individuality in this regime is that it presents no internal advantage, as the main rationale is for the smooth running of the institution. For that reason, only the conforming individual is termed as manifesting “appropriate” behaviour, because they then perform the idealised role of the offender.

However, while institutionalisation can bring on outwardly compliant behaviour, Lofland (1969) argued there is in fact no internal adherence. This suggests that there is no chance of any individual development through compliance alone. Indeed, Kolstad (1996) goes so far as to argue that far from desiring compliance, offenders’ interests and opinions should be valued, as they are pertinent and should be considered alongside other deliberations. His argument is that most prisoners are rational and are "socially deviant, not pathological" (Kolstad, 1996, p 325). His emphasis draws away from a generic objectification to an appreciation of them as individuals. Over-compliance is in direct opposition to those rehabilitation

interventions which encourage a sense of agency. These interventions can have the added difficulty of working against the complying results of a prison regime.

Prisonisation is a second observed presenting behaviour. The concept of prisonisation was mapped out in 1958 by the sociologist Clemmer (see also Bayliss, 2003; Houston, 2009; Morris & Morris, 1962). According to Clemmer, prisonisation is similar to institutionalisation in that it erodes the personality. It is more positive in that it does not produce apathy but it is a subliminal process affecting prisoners' responses and routines. Morris and Morris (1962) refer to "prisonised" man's exhibiting behaviour which "forms the hard core of inmate sub-culture which we believe influences other prisoners to a far greater extent than do prison officials" (p 348). The rationale behind the adherence to the role of the subculture may be similar to Downes and Rock's (2007) study of gangs. In this study, two reasons are given for the adherence to this role: a desire to fit in, and/or the subculture's correspondence to an individual's "inner moral world" (Downes & Rock, 2007, p 162).

However, Giddens' (1991) analysis of the reasons why prisonisation occurs is linked to his notions of the fragility of day-to-day actions' masking a lurking chaos. Giddens (1991) reveals insight into prisoners' needs to make "a sense of the very reality of things and of other persons" in their prison environment (p 36). They have to learn a new framework of reality as they enter prison life because, as Giddens (1991) argued, they need to gain new understanding of "what makes a given response 'appropriate' or 'acceptable'" (p 36). There is significance in "the development of 'shared histories' with others" in order to "provide settings in which ontological security is sustained in the relatively unproblematic way, at least for specific phases of an individual's life" (Giddens, 1991, p 126). The offender finds that the culture of the prison becomes his new society, which inhabits him in such a way as to enable him to exist within it. However, in that existing, there are the possibilities of influencing others. The difficulty can be in disentangling the superimposed identity of the prison environment from the offender's presentation of his pre-entry identity, and also in discovering how

far the offender is being influenced and how far he is influencing others (Pollock, 2006).

A shared criminal past presents a route to acceptance by others' presenting similar behaviour because it symbolises a shared history (Kolstad, 1996). Kolstad (1996) argued that prisoners obtain their identity from shared deviancy and "had to conform to law breaking and criminal norms to be accepted" (p 328). A code between offenders influences values, beliefs and actions. This code manifests a dominating culture of machismo, where deviance from this is scorned (Houston, 2009; Paterson, 2008). The disorientation occurring from imprisonment can "escalate Actors to pivotally deviant identities or to reinforce and support a previously assumed deviant identity" (Lofland, 1969, p 253).

While institutionalisation suppresses and is manifested in over-compliance (Comfort, 2002; Foucault, 1995), the development of a macho-culture can produce problems of containment. This therefore emphasises the need for a focus on punishment and security (Gooch 2009). The areas of exploration for my research will explore how the effects of institutionalisation and prisonisation are reflected in any young people's views of their developing sense of identity. Dr Honey, (a Trustee of Prisoners Education Trust and Management Consultant) argued: "When we feel happy with how we are this becomes an identity we are prepared to keep hold of" (Prison Education Trust, Inside Time, & RBE Consultancy Ltd, 2009, p 27). Sometimes it may be that the institutionalised conforming individual or the prisonised aggressive individual is the identity which is easiest for them to take comfort from. There is room for added understanding around whether or how their arts course or project has moved offenders away from being over-conforming or presenting aggressive behaviour and attitudes, and how far they feel coerced and manipulated in this activity (Deacon, 2002; Solomon & Higgins, 1982). In the next section, however, I consider relevant theories of rehabilitation, thus exploring the link between interventions and models of rehabilitation.

10.2.3 REHABILITATION AND DESISTANCE

Although the aim of rehabilitation is to prevent offenders' reoffending, there are differences between theories around rehabilitation and models of desistance. This section begins by exploring theories behind rehabilitation, followed by a desistance model. It finishes by examining an intervention typology, exploring the alignment of the presented intervention models to rehabilitation and desistance.

There are many definitions of rehabilitation. James (2010) argued the problem of finding a stable definition of "rehabilitation". Prior to a consideration of the underlying principles behind rehabilitative interventions, I investigate how rehabilitation is often defined both sociologically and psychologically. Lofland (1969) argued that initially there should be reflection around "what it is that people construe one another and themselves to be and for what reasons and what consequences" (p 34). Earlier in this chapter, I considered both the complexities behind offenders' self-presentation and how they are defined by others (see section 2.2.2). However, these stereotypical means of self-presentation can be barriers to rehabilitation. Prisoners' over-compliance as indicated through institutionalisation (see section 2.2.2), is seen to be in conflict with the role of rehabilitation, which often demands a sense of some agency rather than compliance from the offender (Kolstad, 1996).

For young offenders, there is an added factor that may militate against rehabilitation: their perceived "neediness" in demanding adult contact is often being seen as a nuisance (Gooch, 2009). However, in contrast, there is also the perception that that these young people may "change", so members of staff are prepared to spend more time with them (Lofland, 1969). Relevant to my investigation, the background of rehabilitative work in prisons through the arts with young people has as its starting point the motivation of the possibility of influencing their forming characters. As with adult offenders, there is the need to move them from over-compliance towards some kind of agency. However, the rationales behind the strategies for rehabilitative interventions are complex.

Strategies for rehabilitative interventions reflect both the belief systems of the instigators and the cultural context in which they are taking place. For example, Solomon and Higgins (1982) argue that the prison regime makes the assumption that those in authority know how and when to coerce. Furthermore, they argue, behind this treatment of prisoners is the belief that the resulting effect will be of benefit to society on their release. As a result, the offender receives rehabilitation interventions as mandatory activities. This argument continues to show the purpose of prison as coercing prisoners towards a successful exit from prison so that “they are set free, forced to stand up, and dragged forcibly up the steep and rugged ascent into the painfully dazzling light of the sun” (Solomon & Higgins, 1982, p 95). Those in charge, who are said to be in the superior and powerful position of knowing what is best for their charges, objectify the offenders by pushing them, in effect, through a production line.

Deacon (2002) argued that when linked with educative interventions, this forcible production line militates against education being rehabilitative. Instead, it presents a Foucauldian account, which links the development of educative techniques to a regime focusing on power. Conventional analyses of education are inadequate because they “associate education with personal growth” (Deacon, 2002, p 455). However, in a prison, Deacon (2002) argued, intellectual development is linked instead with “ideological indoctrination, economic growth, social reproduction and/or critical transformation, or as promoting or combating class division, gender bias or racial discrimination” (p 455). According to Deacon (2002) and Solomon and Higgins (1982), rehabilitation through education is in fact a system of taking agency away from the offender, because the offender is coerced to follow the values and ideologies which the teacher is espousing.

Text from the Prison Service itself, however, tends to refer to giving “help” rather than coercion. The help is strongly linked to repairing what is lacking within the

prisoner, which the Prison Service aims to remedy. For example on a board outside every prison's gate (as in 2009) is a notice which reads:

Her Majesty's Prison Service serves the public by keeping in custody those committed by the courts. Our duty is to look after them with humanity and help them lead law-abiding and useful lives in custody and after release.

The idea of rehabilitation here is linked to the phrase "help them lead law abiding and useful lives in custody and after release." The implication is that prior to prison they did not have the skills to achieve this and that they now need to be led towards success. Prison, it implies, is reparative in fulfilling the lack that pre-existed in the offender and producing a change in behaviour. This perception of offenders' deficiencies is also evident in previous studies concerned with arts interventions in prisons. Balfour (2004), for example, argued that offenders have poor social skills. There is evidence that this belief is also held by HM Prison authorities, as the designers of rehabilitation programmes are to focus on developing "social skills that assist offenders with rehabilitation, reducing the risk of offenders committing further acts of violence on release" (HM Prison Service Order Number 2750, 2007). Silber (2005) has categorised the common personal and interpersonal dysfunctions in the prison population as: (1) lack of self-esteem (Hancock & Sharp, 1993; Gibbons, 1997); (2) lack of sensitivity toward others (Wardle, 1980); (3) lack of self-control/impulsivity (Larson, 1992; Murphy, 1983); (4) aggressiveness (Megargee, 1976; Cohen, 1987); (5) need for immediate gratification (Murphy, 1983; Melnick, 1984); (6) lack of trust (Greer, 2002; Murphy, 1983); and (7) non-acceptance of authority and rules (Wardle, 1980; Goetting & Howsen, 1983; Rio & Tenney, 2002) (cited in Silber, 2005, p 252).

Many of the deficiencies listed may be manifested in aggressive behaviour which conforms with prisonised rather than institutionalised behaviour. Martin and Varney (2003) argue that rehabilitative change from a display of aggressive behaviour can be achieved by focusing on changing offenders' central principles, as "behaviour flows out of the core values of a person" (p 214). The argument is that if the core values can be changed then so also will behaviour, as "it is only sensible to conclude that

conversion – namely, changing the opponents’ core values – is the mechanism by which nonviolent action should bring about change” (Martin & Varney, 2003, p 214). Lofland (1969) argued that work on changing an offender’s values should begin as soon as he arrives in the prison, because he will be disoriented.

While Balfour (2004), H M Prison Service (2007), Martin and Varney (2003) and Silber (2005) refer to the idea of enabling change through reparative strategies, there is also the concept of rehabilitation being transformative, implying a changed sense of identity. For example, Duncan (1988) argued that “the rehabilitative ideal [has at] its core ... the notion that the sanctions of the criminal law should be used to effect a transformation in the offender with the two fold aim of protecting society and of enhancing the offender's well-being” (p 1243). According to Duncan (1988), the rehabilitative regimes offered by prisons aim to reduce recidivism by transforming the offender so that society will profit from the change, and the offender will feel an increase in well-being. The rationales behind making rehabilitation reparative or transformative may well suggest different learning and teaching strategies: the first being teacher-led with specific tasks set and carried out in a specific way, the second perhaps being a voyage of self-discovery which the learner owns. If either can be achieved, it presupposes there must be strategies to achieve this end and that there must be funding to ensure it happens.

Whenever funding is involved, it brings with it accountability. In the application for funding for prison educative interventions, there is the necessity to make generalisations about their potential rehabilitative effects in their possibilities of reducing reoffending (Marsh 2009). Contrary to the necessity of implying this prediction, Giddens (1991) argued, the “degree to which a future realm can be successfully invaded is partial” (p 125). It is difficult to make definite predictions that rehabilitation will be causal in any development leading to a law-abiding life outside prison. Nevertheless, the link of “lack of social skills” to offending is a driver towards a reparative intervention claiming to help improve social skills, therefore suggesting

the possibility of an end to participants' offending after release. Linking the concept of "transformation" and enhancing the participant's well-being to a reduction in reoffending is less secure as a pre-requisite for funding unless a clear connection can be made.

After the end of an intervention, Marsh and colleagues (2009) argue that a prison needs to prove its success and therefore cost-effectiveness. Prisons are measured, Giddens (1991) argued, by "whether a person was able and willing to function satisfactorily in the wider social environment" (p 160). The measurement feeds the targets on which the funding for rehabilitative interventions are triggered (Marsh, 2009). Within the conceptualisation of rehabilitation as "change" there are "issues of power, control and responsibility [which] are never far away in any programmatic attempt at alteration" (Sugarman, 2001, p 188). The results have to be reported, but as Lerner and Riff (1978) argue "the effect of any intervention will vary between individuals, and ... interveners must select ... the one that is most appropriate for that particular goal under those particular conditions" (cited in Sugarman, 2001, p 188). This puts intense pressure on education programmes to select the evidence of reformation of the offender participants that best fits the rehabilitative goals towards which they are aiming for funding purposes.

The funding pressures of presenting how a rehabilitative strategy has been successful can work against presenting individual personal growth and transformation. Instead results can be presented as generic to the whole group. There seems to be a tension between the needs of the prison, in terms of its government targets, and the needs of the prisoner. In this context it is difficult to perceive how far the individual needs of the prisoner can be taken into account (Duncan, 1988). Yet there is importance in rehabilitation's enabling personal growth by reflecting the individual needs of the prisoner (Reuss, 1999). Reuss (1999) argued:

The emphasis should be shifted from the needs of the prison with its complex agenda of deterrence, punishment, security and rehabilitation

to the needs of the prisoner and the potential for personal development.
(p 115)

According to Neilson (1998), the majority of offenders are not considering the value of rehabilitation for a future of desistance from crime. Instead, they are valuing activities for the joy of learning, for opportunities for fulfilling their potential through self-expression in ways they can use when they leave prison. Rehabilitative intervention can also give opportunities for an offender to understand his transgressions (McLean, 2008). These strategies differ from the idea of growth as defined by the ability to remember and imbibe indoctrinated values (Deacon, 2002).

Although the prison system's aims of rehabilitation are closely linked to hopes of future desistance, there are different foci between these two concepts. Unlike theories of rehabilitation, models of desistance do not focus on repair in the same way. Maruna (2001) in his work with ex-offenders focuses on the need to enable offenders to see themselves as having positive qualities. Therefore it is "repair" through giving them confidence to feel empowered to use their social capital. Maruna (2001) emphasises the necessity for ex-offenders to re-form their self-perceptions, so that they see themselves as having a positive role in society. In both theories of rehabilitation and models of desistance there is a focus on change which suggests the need for appropriate interventions to allow this to occur.

Consideration of appropriate rehabilitative interventions can be complex in considering both the aims of the intervention and which intervention to use. In table 1, I show an adaption of Brickman's (1982) intervention typology. I have reformulated it to contextualise it in the light of theories of rehabilitation and models of desistance. Closely connected to Brickman and colleagues (1982), my typology is based on attributions of responsibility. There are four models: the Enlightenment Model, the Compensatory Model, the Medical Model and the Moral Model. First of all I categorise which models are aligned to theories of rehabilitation and which to models of desistance, and the consequent implications. In section 2.3, categorising

arts interventions from previous studies into the relevant model enables a method of defining the focus of responsibility.

Within the Enlightenment Model, the offender would take no responsibility for preparing for life within and outside prison, but would take responsibility for the reasons why he was there. The intervention would work on empowering the offender to realise he has agency in considering the way he lives his life both within and outside prison. This therefore fits into a model of rehabilitation and desistance which is transformative (1988; Lofland, 1969; Maruna, 2001).

Table 1: Intervention typology based on the focus of responsibility
(adaptation of Brickman’s (1982) typology)

	Individual is VERY LIKELY to attribute the responsibility for preparing for life within and outside prison to self	Individual is UNLIKELY to attribute the responsibility for preparing for life within and outside prison to self
Individual is VERY LIKELY to attribute the responsibility for being in prison to self	Moral Model	Enlightenment Model
Individual is UNLIKELY to attribute the responsibility for being in prison to self	Compensatory Model	Medical Model

In the Compensatory Model, the offender does not take responsibility for the reason why he is in prison, but takes full responsibility for preparing for the future, so the

intervention would focus on reparative work with the offender to take responsibility for the reasons for his being in prison. This model may work more closely with a model connected with therapeutic techniques. However, it should then empower the offender towards a consideration of his life outside prison.

In the Medical Model, the offender would take no responsibility for being in prison and no responsibility for finding a way to prepare for life inside and outside prison. Thus the intervention would be reparative, working on the perceived “lacks” in the offender’s “armoury” (Balfour, 2004; Martin & Varney, 2003; Silber, 2005). The control in this model is with the people delivering the intervention in that they are making the decisions on how to minister to the prisoner.

Within the Moral Model, an offender would take full responsibility for committing the crime that led to imprisonment and for finding the best way to prepare for life both within and outside prison. As this is a model aligning to willingness for personal agency, the intervention would need to empower the offender to work towards preparing for his release in a way appropriate to the offender.

There are a range of hurdles to overcome in order to fit appropriate intervention models to offenders. First of all, I argued earlier in this section, any rehabilitative intervention needs to show it is cost-effective and will project the possibilities of a reduction in recidivism (Marsh, et al., 2009). The potency of putting in an intervention according to the Enlightenment Model (see table 1) is in its rationale of developing an awareness of agency in choosing how to plan their futures outside prison. However this model assumes an offender has taken responsibility for his past. There are some challenges to enabling the Enlightenment Model, according to Maruna’s (2001) evidence where he reports offenders’ sometime disassociation from their crimes, which implies lack of acceptance of agency. To make the step towards planning their future, there is a needed self-belief towards the possibility of agency, and this from a body of people often seen as having low self-esteem (Carr as cited in Hopwood, 1999, p 118).

All interventions have as their aim some idea of change within the participants. The links between changes in self-perception and concepts of identity are explored in the next section through role theory.

10.2.4 CONCEPTUALISATION THROUGH ROLE THEORY AND MASKING

A conceptualisation of macho-identity (Morris & Morris, 1962) through role theory and institutionalisation (Comfort, 2002; Kolstad, 1996) presents the offender as choosing how to play the role. He knows how to interact because his observation of individuals enables him to “know in advance what he will expect of them and what they may expect from him” (Goffman, 1959, p 14). Goffman (1959) continues his argument:

They are asked to believe that the character they see actually possesses the attributes he appears to possess, that the tasks he performs will have the consequences that are implicitly claimed for it. (p 29)

The self-presentation of compliance may present an offender’s revealing of his willingness to comply in order to enable his parole. The presentation of aggression may be caused by an offender’s attempt to claim status amongst other prisoners. There are difficulties in attaining an awareness of an offender’s individuality from the assumptions made around his presenting identity. The difficulties of separating the idealisation of the role from the person who undertakes it is a dilemma in role theory that is explored by Jenkins (2008) and Lawler (2008). Jenkins (2008) presents these two aspects of role theory with the introduction of the idea of the “nominal role”, recognising the idealised version of the role, and the virtual role, which is the way it is carried out. This is relevant to my thesis because the prison staff may well have different idealised versions of what an offender’s operation in the nominal role of offender both will and should be like. These versions will be different in each individual case from the virtual way in which the role is played. Others perceive an offender’s behaviour as the manifestation of his role through the tasks he performs and the way he performs them. Marshall (1977) defines “the actual behaviour of any

given individual” as the “behaviour adjusted to a particular role” (cited in Gay, Evans, & Redman, 2000, p 307). Extreme compliance, where an offender presents institutionalised behaviour or extreme aggression in the portrayal of an offender displaying prisonised behaviour presents a virtual representation of the role. In these cases the offender has adjusted his behaviour to fit his idealised perception of the nominal role.

In suggesting the rights and duties that are nominally extant in an institutionalised identity, they “shed further light on the internal external dialectic of identification” (Jenkins, 2008, p 165). The virtual accomplishment of these roles and duties are only possible if they are recognised by those around the person taking on this role. The role of offender is hardly a written role with job description but it is a role assigned by the prison system. Assumption of institutionalised roles forms part of institutionalised conduct (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Jenkins, 2008). The way in which the roles are assigned, and who assigns them sets up some kind of idea about the way in which the “actors” are expected to play those roles. An individual can only ascertain how to play the appropriate role in any given situation by knowing *who* he is” (Foote, 1951; Goffman, 1959; Jenkins, 2008). As well as playing the role we feel is assigned to us:

We are also the multiple audiences that view any play and bring to it the multiple and often contradictory interpretations based on our own emotions, our own reading of the situation and our own imaginative positioning of ourselves in the situation. (Davies & Harre, 1999, p.42)

The use of the term “imaginative positioning” is pertinent in further elucidation of role because the status we may feel a role accords us is not necessarily accepted by the other person with whom we are having the interaction (Jenkins, 2008). The role of compliant offender may not necessarily be accepted by the aggressive offender who is playing a prisonised role because the different masks each is wearing can be incompatible. The concept of masking is relevant; as my investigation explores how

or whether young people may move from presenting themselves through different masks within their arts course.

The idea of “masking” is complex, as it represents the way in which we try to make the invisible visible in order to dramatise and clarify our roles both to ourselves and others (Lawler, 2008). There are two main strands to the concept of masking. On the one hand, the mask an offender assumes is important as it defines his identity (Lawler, 2008). Furthermore, Park (1950, cited in Lawler, 2008) argued that by taking on the mask associated with a role we gain aspirations towards the self we should like to be by copying an imagined original. The complementary argument is that masks can hide an identity from others so that they do not “give a true presentation of who [we] are” (Lofland, 1969, p 249). We have therefore a tension between the mask which hides our “true self” (Lofland, 1969) and the idea from Park (1950) that the mask presents an idealised self.

The strand of the concept which goes through Park’s (1950) conceptualisation is developed further by Goffman (1990, cited in Lawler, 2008), as he argued that we play a wide range of roles which need sometimes contradictory masks. Some of these roles may be disowned, and attempts made to discard the mask. Maruna’s (2001) findings through his work with ex-offenders reveal that the roles they took as criminals are often disowned. Maruna (2001) argued that every desisting narrative has a “real me.” He cites as an example an interviewee’s comments: “The Judge was saying I’m no good as a mother. They don’t know me as a person. They just judge me by what I’ve done” (Maruna, 2001, p 88). This discarding of mask seems to reflect, Maruna (2001) argued, a de-emphasis on “the centrality of crime in the life history and suggest that they were just normal people all along” (Maruna, 2001, p 89).

Where the mask is recognised and perceived by the interlocutor, dramatic realisation occurs (Goffman, 1959). Within a YOI, or adult prison, as in society, the way in which offenders behave “is done for the benefit of the social group of which [they] are a part - whether or not there is anyone there to witness [them]” (Lawler, 2008, p 107).

It “requires playing sub-overtly the role appropriate to the identity of the other in the situation” (Foote, 1951, p 16). Sometimes, therefore, a role has to be assumed in order to engage with the other person. The roles taken become aspects of the person “some more owned, some more resented, but always an evolving side of what the person is” (Hacking, 2004, p 290). However, where the role is “more resented” and assumed rather than owned, problems can be created. Those taking on the macho-identity of prisonisation may be hiding another identity beneath (Lofland, 1969) because

if they are hiding their identity from others, then the presenting identity is in flux because it is not a true presentation of who they are. If this happens there are few to validate who they really are. (p 249)

Furthermore, Houston (2009) argued:

once a convicted criminal (judged by his actions) enters prison, his body becomes a site for playing out of fears and enforcing the boundaries of coded communal relations and appropriately sanctioned behaviour. (p 100)

The offender’s fear is revealed in the way he speaks and uses his body; he learns the inter-relational coded body language and the behaviour that is expected both from his prison and from his peers (Houston, 2009). This indicates that his presentation of identity actually is connected to his fears in prison. At the same time, it fits into the codes of the relationships around him and the behaviour that is considered appropriate within his group.

The role of the offender who sees his identity as a social deviant is one that can blight the possibility of an offender changing his self-perception towards a socially positive role when he leaves prison. The difficulty for offenders if they cannot let go of this view of themselves as deviants was displayed clearly in McKendy’s (2006) study, which explored offenders’ life stories and their use of narrative. He refers to “their status of criminal [which] overrode other subject-positions they might have been able to take up” (McKendy, 2006, p 474).

The status of skilled criminal in these cases therefore blocked any further development of their sense of identity. If an ex-offender sees himself as a criminal s/he is likely to become one again (McKendry, 2006). Sociologists have often referred to the relationship between individuals' self-perception and the way this relates to society's expectations of them being a source of anomie. While the high status of skilled criminal gives a source of identity and aspiration, there are also those offenders who have "incredibly low self-esteem" (Carr as cited in Hopwood, 1999, p 118). If offenders continue within this state of poor self-esteem right through their sentence and beyond, then the main society rejects them (Douglas, 1986). According to Maruna (2001), the importance of an ex-offender's ability to see the self positively is important to a desistance model, and is also rehabilitative. It is clear that rehabilitative interventions need to work against prisonised or institutionalised identities by using an intervention that encourages an offender towards an identity which involves future desistance. Ideally, therefore, a rehabilitative intervention should be working towards an offender's appropriation of a new mask. The potential is given to reinvent her or his identity so that the individual is able to reconsider a life direction resulting in future desistance. In the next section, I explore the rehabilitative focus of arts projects in prisons.

10.3 THE RENOVATION OF IDENTITY THROUGH THE ARTS

The first main section of this chapter, "The formation of identity from the given" (section 2.2) focused on the assigned identity of "offender". It investigated both how members of prison staff perceive offenders' identities, and how the role of offender may be appropriated by offenders themselves through institutionalisation or prisonisation. It then investigated concepts of rehabilitation. The second part of the chapter focuses on previous studies investigating rehabilitative change through the arts in prisons.

Rehabilitation interventions can give the possibilities of the emergence and movement towards a renovative role. The thesis explores whether or not the decision

to renovate a role can be seen as one of choice. When discussing improvisation, Peters (2009) argued that the improviser has *the choice* of repeating the same material or renovating his persona through new improvisation. While this thesis is not focusing on improvisation, I wish to explore in this thesis how far offenders have the choice of self-presenting with a macho or institutionalised identity or changing to a self presentation wrapped up with the arts. Then if this change happens, how far is it related to the pedagogical strategies used. In this choice of how to self-present there are links with role theory as shown by Goffman (1959) and Jenkins (2008, see section 2.2.4). Peters (2009) argued that there is generosity in the presentation of a new self-identity because of the vulnerability experienced through unveiling and exposure.

Rehabilitative actions need to give the offender the space to move from identification with the objectified role of offender, towards space to being someone with confidence in his individual potential. Foote (1951) argued:

as soon as he encounters alternatives, he is released from such pre-conscious bondage to any particular concept of himself. Thenceforth his identities accrue from more conscious choice and pursuit of the values he has discovered in his experience. (p 19)

According to Foote (1951), by giving offenders rehabilitative interventions which enable them to find alternative versions of themselves, they can escape over-allegiance to any idealisation of the role of offender. However, it has to be questioned how offenders position themselves in this combination of discourses, and how much choice they feel they have to do so. What Foote (1951) describes as “pre-conscious bondage” could be said to be the opposite, the apparent rationale for self-presentation for example, whereas it may well be the renovative choice which is the “pre-conscious” rationale. It is difficult to know how we would find out if someone is “released from pre-conscious bondage” by encountering alternatives and is then open to “any particular concept of himself.” However, through my findings I explore ensuing identities coming out of engagement in arts courses, investigating if arts

courses engage not in the proffering of alternatives but in the very dilemma of identity.

10.3.1 THE RATIONALE BEHIND PRISON REHABILITATIVE ARTS PROJECTS

I argued in section 2.2.3 that concepts of rehabilitation are synonymous with the aim of reducing recidivism. This affects applications for funding for arts projects, which need to show how they will be rehabilitative tools in reducing reoffending (Hughes, 2005). The link between arts interventions and reducing reoffending is often presented as “repairing” those offenders’ deficiencies which are perceived to be causal to reoffending. The implication is that by effecting these repairs, the offender will be less likely to reoffend after leaving prison.

In order to consider what needs “repairing”, there have been a range of offenders’ dysfunctions identified. Silber (2005, see section 2.2.3) lists them as lack of self control, a need for self-gratification and non acceptance of authority and rules. If the starting points of an intervention are repair of the offenders’ “lacks”, it suggests that any intervention should therefore be in the Medical Model (see table 1). Ministering to the repair of the offender participants is also presented as giving the offenders the potential for social change (Baker & Homan, 2007, Berson, 2008, Cox & Gelthorpe, 2008). Baker and Hoffman (2007) refer to the hope that teaching music in juvenile detention facilities in the USA will encourage “positive change in the lives of incarcerated youth” (p 462).

However, behind the aims of some arts projects is a concentration on reparation through the therapeutic aspects of the arts. Engagement in an arts project, Hughes (2005) argued, “can be a way of engaging populations resistant to therapeutic intervention in exploring personal experiences and thinking critically” (p 43). The arts are used as therapeutic interventions where other forms of therapy have failed. The link with resulting individual change is seen where the outcomes are “exploring personal experience and thinking critically”, which does not focus so much on

normalisation (Foucault, 1995) as in those reparative interventions, but on developing, even renovating identity. Moller (2003), a member of the “Rehabilitation through the Arts” project in New York, argued: “if it builds ego, if a man feels better about himself, consciously or unconsciously, it is a therapeutic experience” (p 64). Through arts therapy, the emphasis on increasing a person’s feeling of self-worth concentrates on moving the arts participant from a state of low confidence to one of self-esteem. This process is linked to renewal, because by increasing self-esteem, an appetite for learning is introduced (Prison Education Trust, et al., 2009).

The next section explores the presentation of the outcomes of arts interventions in prisons through previous studies.

10.3.2 THE IMPLEMENTATION AND OUTCOMES OF PRISON ARTS PROJECTS

Hughes (2005) argued that arts projects can “facilitate personal change” through “improving perceptual thinking and emotional insight” (p 69), summarising the impact of arts projects as follows:

specifically, four types of impact are identified: changing individuals’ personal, internal responses to drivers or triggers that lead to offending; changing the social circumstances of individuals’ lives by equipping them with personal and social skills that can help them build different relationships and access opportunities in work and education; changing and enriching institutional culture and working practices; changing wider communities’ views of offenders and the criminal justice system. (p 71)

The impacts on the individual participants were reported as improving social skills and promising causal effects, which Hughes (2005) linked to the possibility of the reduction in reoffending, the rehabilitative results given as possible causality towards employment after leaving prison. The results of an arts intervention, as Hughes (2005) argued, can be very profound. It can develop participants personally and socially so that they develop “a sense of self, enhanced self-esteem and self-worth, increasing different forms of self-confidence, enriched personal skills, growth in

awareness of others and empathy” (p 28). Cox and Gelsthorpe (2008) extended their findings to possible effects in the future of:

foundational aspects of selfhood and human capital (the capacity to co-operate, relate to others, negotiate and share, for example). These things can lead to improved outcomes once someone has been released from prison - for example, in terms of establishing relationships, confidence in one's self, and abilities - all of which contribute to the development of social capital (opportunities, connections, and new horizons). (p 2)

Cox and Gelsthorpe (2008) assume the foundations of their arts course in improving social capital will enable participants to have transferable skills in the future.

The observed outcomes tend to be revealed in language which focuses on effects. Cox and Gelsthorpe (2008) referred to the effects of developing competence and self-esteem, an effect also observed by Silber (2005). Silber (2005) refers particularly to the effects of performance, the affirmation from prison officials, their peers and visitors from the outside having “the most marked effect on them” (p 266). In Hughes’ (2005) analysis of Thompson’s TIPP project, a drama based employment programme of the 1990’s, she refers to the positive results in preparing arts participants for release who “may make maintenance or transference of gain from programmes more likely for arts projects than for programmes employing traditional approaches” (p 43-44). There was no proof that the project would reduce recidivism, but there was emphasis on the possibility of transferability of skills.

Group activity, which usually features in arts projects, is often seen to be an important factor in rehabilitation and is also seen as being causal in developing social skills (Clair & Heller, 1989, cited in Silber, 2005, Houston, 2009; Silber, 2005). Group activity not only counteracts the alienation of confinement, with also the possibilities of changing perception, but can fill the group with “social energy” (Silber, 2005, p 252-3). This enables the individual to learn the value of group constructive and cooperative effort. Working together in a safe environment helps develop trust (Hughes, 2005), a quality often lacking in offenders’ lives (Silber, 2005). It can replace

offenders' lack of self-esteem with confidence, compensating for a lack in social skills existing in some offenders by developing their sense of responsibility to one another through their capacity to work together.

In Houston's (2009) project, the development of understanding in the offender participants that same gender touch was permissible without its representing homosexuality helped develop social responsibility to "the other" and showed the power of group validation in changing perception. The dance project involved touch, in a community where same gender touch was symbolic of both violence and homosexuality "potentially unlock[ing] fears of violence, fears of criminal upheaval" (Houston, 2009, p 100). Houston's (2009) project is relevant to this thesis in the relevance and importance of touch as representing support and trust, rather than violence which is explored later in my findings. The reluctance to touch is part of a culture which has certain taboos, "taboo" being defined as a "spontaneous coding practice which sets up a vocabulary of spatial limits and physical and verbal signals to hedge around vulnerable relations" (Douglas, 2003, p.xii). Touching by others in this context crossed the boundaries around their roles, symbolising an intrusion into privacy which "might break through the emotional defences built up" (Houston, 2009, p 99). Douglas' (2003) conceptualisation of reactions to non-cultural behaviour is useful in explaining what happened here. Douglas (2003) argued that a "recognition of anomaly leads to anxiety and from there to suppression or avoidance" (p 6). By applying Douglas' (2003) conceptualisation to a prison it is not difficult to see that in a social community such as a prison where lack of autonomy makes prisoners vulnerable, taboos maintain social order amongst the prisoners, an argument aligned also to Morris and Morris (1962). Prisoners form their own social rules and vie for status which encourages the ritualised playing out a prisonised role (Morris & Morris, 1962; Paterson, 2008). Contrary to the evasion of familiar touching (Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Houston, 2009), those who do not play out this role with the accepted ritualisation can be subjected to the "rough touch" (Houston, 2009).

Clair & Heller (1989) focus on the power of collaboration and group identity possible in the arts in their reference to William van de Wall, a pioneer in music therapy. They demonstrated that group singing by offenders fosters feelings of belonging and loyalty, providing them with the tools to relate more appropriately to society at large (cited in Silber, 2005, p 254). Silber (2005) refers to the “therapeutic results” and the “normalising” influence of a choir on women in an Israeli prison. Out of the enjoyment of being part of the choir group process, participants are encouraged towards culturally acceptable habits. This is supported by Cox and Gelsthorpe (2008), who argue that an arts project can both distil each individual’s self-perception and create how they are perceived by the rest of the group. Similarly, Reed (2002, cited in Silber, 2005, p 254) described how, alongside task mastery, the positive results of the increased ability to express emotion and more socially appropriate behaviour was observed in a Gospel Choir formed with a group of mentally disturbed offenders.

McKean’s (2006) project was also concerned with affective changes as a result of validation and affirmation. In McKean’s (2006) drama project at HMP Winchester, she focuses on two offender participants for whom the arts project gave affirmation about their self-worth:

One participant stated that she had been considering suicide but that becoming part of the project had enabled her to gain a perspective on how she would cope once released from the system. Another prisoner stopped self-harming during the rehearsal period and said that this was because participating in the play had made her feel “better about herself.” (p 322)

The resulting “repairs” of spirit seem significant and rehabilitative, particularly as facilitated through the possibilities of working together in performance. The project fits into the Medical Model (see table 1), being analysed as being rehabilitative in terms of ministering to individual needs, moving one therapeutically from depression with a potential for suicide towards a positive perspective and another from self-harm, towards self-belief. There is however little evidence quoted from the participants themselves, so their actual thoughts cannot be explored.

The next section reconceptualises the academic investigations around prison arts projects through role theory.

10.3.3 THE USE OF ROLE

Maruna (2001) refers to the re-casting of role as necessary for the criminal to believe he is essentially “good”, “allow[ing] the person to rewrite a shameful past into a necessary prelude to a productive and worthy life” (p 87). To enable a positive development of identity within a prison, Foote (1951) argued that an offender needs to develop an:

accruing conception of who he is as verging on ultimate reality rather than as ultimately arbitrary ascriptions by others. Of course as soon as he encounters alternatives, he is released from such pre-conscious bondage to any particular conception of himself. Thenceforth his identities accrue from more conscious choice and pursuit of the values he has discovered in his experience. (p 19)

This section examines past studies, seeking explanation of how an offender can move from the role of offender towards a role which represents a new self-identity. According to role theory, the understanding of choice and alternative values could help an offender to reconceptualise his identity by developing and appropriating a new role rather than accepting one ascribed by other people (Hacking, 2004, see section 2.2.4). However there are factors militating against this change within prison life. O’Connor (2003) argued that cultural rejection of offenders silences them from revealing their agency in their crime. This was revealed when roles were impersonalised in the telling as in “I caught a murder charge” (O’Connor, 2003, p 150). Personal agency is therefore denied with the “I” seen as a passive recipient rather than an instigator. This is connected with an offender’s feeling of identity, for example, not as a murderer but as someone who “caught” the charge. He is in other words denying the role through the narration. He protects himself from the sense of identity as a murderer, and sees himself instead as a person unlucky in being caught,

a victim without agency and responsibility. Ways need to be found to lessen the stigmatizing "victim of circumstances" role (Gibbons, 1997).

The role of offender has further complications for young offenders. As Hughes (2005), argued, they are often viewed as "diminished adult criminals" (p 332). The fact that they are assigned an identity which delineates them as "diminished adult criminal" suggests the expectation of future criminality as adults. It also suggests that their identity is similar to, though without the status of, adult criminals. The rehabilitation of young offenders has to use this transitory time of their lives to counter-balance the potential of this need to prove themselves as criminals, by giving them the possibility of renovating through new roles. Like any new learning situation, a rehabilitative intervention has behind it the hope that "the individual learns to export and transfer successful behaviours and responses to new events and encounters" (Watson & Emery, 2009, p 776).

The importance of appropriating new roles is in its influence on developing new self-identities. The status of criminal is devalued in society so by having the opportunity to take a role through the arts, an individual has the chance to be seen instead as someone of worth (Chandler, 1973, cited in Hughes, 2005). Previous studies reveal relationship between agency, role and cooperation. In Houston's (2009) study of dance participants in HMP Dovegate in a Contact project, she refers to "the egalitarian sharing of initiatives" (p 104). Houston's (2009) pedagogical strategy of enabling everyone to have equal say in the direction of the project facilitated the possibility of participants taking active roles as opposed to a passive acceptance of direction. They were therefore given a voice and recognised for their input. The arts therefore can give a chance for roles to be taken where the participants are heard and recognised. The focus on ensuring the learners have roles which enable them to contribute to their learning, rather than their being in receipt of teaching, has positive consequences. A gamelan project in a prison used a "style of facilitation including the ability for participants to shape the learning experience to a large extent" (Wilson,

Atherton, & Caulfield, 2009, p 31). Wilson and colleagues (2009) argue that that this egalitarian sharing of roles to mould the learning was one of the reasons for the results in the development of soft skills as seen in the rise in confidence, improved communication and social skills.

Roles given out in arts projects have strong links to the production of professional art. Becker (1982) argued, “[we] think it important to know who has that gift and who does not because we accord people who have it special rights and privileges” (p 14). To achieve the final product, Becker (1982) argued, everyone needs a definite role in its formation which plays to his or her strengths. He suggests a cohesive social organisation, “a network of people whose cooperative activity, organised by their joint knowledge of doing things” (p ix), which enables the power to be shared. Becker’s (1982) analysis of the professional world of the arts brings to the fore the “craftsmen who help make art” showing them to be “as important as the people who conceive them” (p ix). The principle of his analysis is “social organisation not aesthetic” (Becker, 1982, p ix). While this is a different context from prison, this use of shared competency to produce a co-operative final result bears similarity to some of the projects explored within this section.

An arts project working towards a final performance necessitates group working. This can help in the re-assignment of identity through a developing group identity where more articulated emotion is enabled. Through the acceptance of others in the group new roles can be appropriated. As Lofland (1969) argued:

That delicate object called the self requires for the maintenance of its identity, feedback from Others that supports and validates whatever that identity is thought by an Actor to be....However the nature of the deviant acts involved in the performance of the role conduces to Actor's increasing isolation from almost all supportive Others. (p 249)

Where young people in society perform criminal acts, there is often a decrease in support from those around him. Within the prison, by enabling offenders to be in a performance, feedback from “supportive others” can once again be given, so the

performance process is revealed as a tool in validating an inner sense of achievement. Furthermore it also changes external perceptions of the participant (see also for example Balfour, 2004; Berg, 2003; Hughes, 2005; McKean, 2006; Moller, 2003; Neustatter, 2006; Purves, 2009). Moller (2003) reports that after a performance when offenders returned to their cells they may be greeted by standing ovation. She also refers to a temporary change of identity which can occur. For example, the prisoner playing an African President in the play became referred to as “the president” for months.

Through taking both dramatic and technical roles in putting on a performance, participants experience struggles as opposed to talking about them. Hughes (2005) argued that for youthful offenders, this is helpful in “recognising the important developmental tasks” (p 332) in which they are involved. These roles affirm the relationship between the assigned, nominal identities behind the given role and the virtual way they are actually carried out (Mareno, 1946, cited in Casey, 2001, p 67). This is important in the consideration of how an offender’s identity is both perceived by others and by himself. However, there is little direct evidence of the participants’ opinions of the value of these projects to them, a focus that I investigate in my own research.

I shall be considering the journeys young people in their YOI make in their appropriation of roles through the arts. It is important to consider that the initial appropriation of roles when entering prison for the young people in my investigation would grow from both their given and their self-assigned roles, roles which will be related to their pre-prison life, when they may have been assigned as a social deviant. Joy (2008) argued that often the presentation of the role of social deviant is motivated by the need to be different:

the need to be different ought to dispose toward originality almost irrespective of extrinsic reward or other situational factors, but its expression may differ depending on the social surround, perhaps tending toward creativity when rewarded but toward eccentricity or even deviance when punished. (p 264)

Joy (2008) conceptualises that the difference between a leaning towards the arts versus that of deviancy is socially constructed and the application of either reward or punishment given for originality. This is useful in consideration of the attraction of the arts to those wanting their individuality to be noticed as being different from the crowd. Joy (2008), however, does not make the argument that creative expression could replace deviancy, or that there may well be many reasons for deviancy apart from the need to be different, however, nor does his exploration produce the voices of those he is discussing. Joy (2008) also does not present a reason for why a young person may change his appropriation of a role.

Within the context of a prison, the movement between offenders' being a passive recipient of orders in the prison to taking agency in decision-making in an arts project bears some similarity to Boal's (2000) change of the passive role of spectators to that of agents. Boal (2000) argued: "the spectator no longer delegates power to the characters either to think or to act in his place" (p 134). The spectator's involvement enables him to have the revolutionary and renovative action of creating his view of Man because: "The spectator frees himself; he thinks and acts for himself" (Boal, 2000, p 155). By enabling agency, the young person can have the opportunity to re-create his own view of himself.

There are, therefore, possibilities for renovation where projects are set up which enable an offender that choice of developing an active role (see for example Houston, 2009, and Wilson et al, 2009). In Houston's (2009) and Wilson and colleagues' (2009) projects, learners were transformed from passive learners to agents with roles who determined their learning. This resulted in a shared direction between teacher and learner. Hopwood (1999) also argued for the importance of agential roles during a filming project which he engaged in with prisoners. The roles occurred as a natural result of these projects, and were a part of the reasons for its success. The egalitarian relationships set up within the arts teams in all those projects recognised everyone's role as being invaluable to the overall success of the project results, as argued by

Becker (1982). However, in all these projects the research design does not allow much insight into the participants' perceptions of their developing sense of identity as a result. It is difficult to know whether the experience and consequent validation through performance had been sufficient for them to re-think their roles in their lives after prison.

The exploration of the importance of role through the reflexivity between the individual narratives of the offender, the artists and that of the institution is missing from previous studies (see for example: Baker & Homan, 2007; Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Hagstrom, Lindgren, & Dobson, 2010; Houston, 2009; Hughes, 2005; McKean, 2006; Silber, 2005) because that was not the purpose of their research designs. Through the lens of role theory, I have been able to discuss the importance and success of developing a sense of agency through the use of role, but what is not clear in the evidence is agency towards what? While the use of role has been seen to develop a more active part for the participants in some of the projects, apart from Wilson et al (2009, see section 2.3.1) there is little evidence where the sense of agency can be directed after the end of the project.

10.3.4 THE LINK BETWEEN SYMBOLS, ROLES AND IDENTITY

This section focuses on how the learner's appropriation of different roles can change learners' perception from that of a presentation which blocks a learning disposition to one which encourages it. The significance of this is that a focus on playing out a prisonised macho-role within an arts workshop (Kolstad, 1996; Morris & Morris, 1962, as seen in section 2.2.2) can prevent the forming of a renovated role which enables a disposition to learning forming (Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Houston, 2009). Developing a learning disposition needs validation from others as "appropriate behaviours are reinforced and rewarded in mutually social relationships" (Watson & Emery, 2009, p 776). If an individual's self-view is changed through taking a role in the arts, this new self-perception needs validation so that it "enables the individual [to retain confidence that] he is indeed who he thinks he is" (Berger & Luckmann 1966, p 170).

Within Houston's (2009, see section 2.3.2) project, the creative process involved in the workshops had an effect on changing the participants' perceptions. When the group began, same gender touch represented a threat to the ritualised playing out of the prisonised role. Later, same gender touch came to symbolise positive feelings "igniting hopes of communication, hopes of relating to others without needing to close down emotionally, to dismantle the untouchable 'armoured' front" (Houston, 2009, p 100). The perceptual shift was strongly related to a new way of self-presentation and was facilitated through group discourse and practice. The power of group identity to change group members' perception around the symbols of cultural significance to them is also seen in previous projects (see also Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Goodman, 1976; Hopwood, 1999; Maruna, 2001). The perceptual shift that occurs is "an important process if there is to be a successful rehabilitation and return to society for an inmate". However, in order for the pedagogy to facilitate a changed perception, the new perception has to become part of the group's cultural understanding.

Fitting into this group of dancers with Houston (2009) involved rejecting symbolic aspects of the culture possibly formed pre-prison, and validated through prisonisation (see section 2.2.2). The change was in their acceptance and embracing of new symbols and codes of the group which also govern wider society. The project was therefore compensating for the participants' lack of understanding of the acceptability of same gender touch as they saw it as symbolising a form of deviancy and homosexuality in what has been described as an overly masculine culture (see section 2.2.2). It enabled the participants' development to be driven by their changing perceptions when they viewed same gender touch in the context of dance. Through this change, macho-behaviour was able to be dismantled through the project. By reassigning different meanings to symbols, a new perception was formed which produced a change in attitude and behaviour. A similar change in perception around symbols can be seen in Neustatter's (2006) report, which refers to performance in dance by juvenile offenders in Yorkshire through Dance United's

Academy in Bradford. One of the participants said that his initial reaction to dance was that it was “gay”. The fact that he went on to star in a performance shows how, like Houston’s (2009) project, his understanding of dance had changed and that it no longer symbolised an opposition to machismo behaviour to him. His sense of identity as a dancer was achieved because his meaning of symbols had changed. Performance gave him a “buzz”. He "gained confidence and the ability to take criticism and concentrate on what people are saying" (Neustatter, 2006), resulting in his enrolling on a course in Performing Arts at a College.

The importance of the way in which the dancers in both those projects changed their symbolic understanding of their roles as dancers is that it represented a rehabilitative journey of understanding, which Goodman (1976) argued is akin to a new perception of one’s role within the social world, this changing perception being a form of cognitivism (Goodman, 1976). The implications of this concept for those offenders engaged in arts projects is that by giving voice and vocabulary to a new set of symbols it enables the possibility of new strands of thought (Millington, 1999, as cited in Hopwood, 1999, p 25). Furthermore, there is significance in the importance of symbols in linking concepts of role and masking, because the symbols represent the ritualisation which then takes place (Boal, 2000).

The link between renovation and rehabilitation can be conceptualised through Boal’s (2000) exploration of the soul as dividing into faculties, passions and habits. Boal’s (2000) definition of faculties is as potential. According to Boal (2000), an individual’s potential is linked to what one is good at, one’s passions. If passions are enabled and the experience repeated, they become habits, and if the passions developed are socially acceptable, they enable us to behave virtuously (Boal, 2000). Boal (2000) argued that to move from one position to another may involve previous unacceptable working and creative habits to be unmasked. Movement to a new position involves re-ritualisation and re-masking. The Enlightenment Model (see table 1) as seen through Boal’s (2000) lens, and as applied to young offenders, depends on an

intervention which enables the encouragement of passion and the cultivation of ensuing habits to allow creative self-expression. The intended results from this would be therefore to engender change from the predilection towards social deviancy instead towards a sense of agency for the future.

Boal (2000) describes the necessity of unmasking and re-masking, de-ritualising and re-ritualisation to establish the important system of the Joker. The journey the Joker takes in his formation of a character is analogous to the development of identity in offenders in a prison, where their ideas are taken into account to mould the action in their arts project (see section 2.3.3). The Joker is anarchic, in that this character turns the formal direction of the play upside down by responding to the present, using the audience's ideas to mould the action. Within the symbol of the Joker is also a range of roles. The Joker has a multifarious role as director, master of ceremonies, or exegete. He represents the author who knows story, plot development, and outcome as no individual character can. Empathic feelings are problematised by fostering a "magical reality," one beyond the space and time of the characters. In this function the Joker is a theorist. S/he is also a trickster who employs an aesthetic of ambiguity to obscure easy answers, to discourage heroism, and to deem submissiveness untenable (Cohen-Cruz & Schutzman, 1994, p 147). Importantly, the complexities of agency are problematised through the Joker which helps re-vision the future, a conceptualisation which may be useful in my analysis of any agency demonstrated by the young offenders in my investigation.

As seen with the Joker, the formation of a role is created through the symbolic ritualisation of re-masking (Hacking, 2004) and this formation is part of the renovation of identity. While the offender's engagement with the arts can in no way be ascribed to all the characteristics of Boal's Joker, the possibilities in re-masking and an agency which goes in new directions is there, as rehabilitative techniques through the arts may also include both these elements. Houston (2009) refers to a participant

in the dance project who stated his thoughts about the difference in the authority figure running the course and the prison guards:

Although Kevin was an authority figure like the guards, he turned it upside down. He'd take on your ideas; he'd get you involved....Actually having people who treat me as me. That was his way of dealing with who I am today. (p 104)

The sense of the offender's awareness of development is seen in the phrase "dealing with who I am today." It represents a sense of re-masking, though it is difficult to know if this is a re-masking as a participant of the project, or if he is referring to a significant general development.

10.4 CONCLUSION

There is little doubt about the longing of those connected with the Justice System to find a rehabilitative system which is guaranteed to reduce recidivism, and that education in prisons is linked to a search for a system which achieves this end (Balfour, 2004; Lofland, 1969; Marsh, et al., 2009; Maruna, 2001, see section 2.2.3). This perceived connection between education and rehabilitation is unsurprising as education inside and outside the prison system is linked to socialisation (Biesta, 2009). However, there is a lack of consensus on the most appropriate methods to achieve this.

Any application to put in an arts project in prison has to convince the funders of its capacity to reduce recidivism (see for example, Lofland, 1969; Maruna, 2001, section 2.2), as it is this aim which is connected to targets and also to funding (Marsh, et al., 2009). There is an attempt to populate the future with possible "improved outcomes," but there is in reality no control over the influence of these outcomes in their post-prison future (Giddens, 1991). The pressure on evidentially producing rehabilitative effects in an arts intervention therefore seems focused on that which is measurable and can be evidenced (see section 2.2.3). It seems that this driver is the rationale behind the design of research projects around the arts in prisons. In section

2.3, I argued that some arts projects engage with their participants, identifying various “lacks” of social skills in their participants (Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Hughes, 2005; Silber, 2005), the evidence of the repair of the “lacks” is presented as results which it is hoped will be effective in reducing recidivism. However, I argue that this driver inhibits in large measure the design of a research project which enables other observations to be made around the influence of arts projects on the participants.

As those outcomes which are not measurable were therefore not foregrounded, there was only limited evidence about the rehabilitative and immeasurable profundity of personal growth particularly seen in the observations from Houston (2009) and McKean (2006, see section 2.3.2). This revealed scope for adding to research evidence through my investigation. Any observations of any deeper meanings that offender participants made of their projects do not seem to be used within any ensuing pedagogical planning. For example, several researchers commented on the importance of repairing the lack of trust in their projects (Hagstrom, et al., 2010; Houston, 2009; Silber, 2005). However, there is limited evidence in research concerned with arts in prisons about how or if developing trust facilitates offenders’ developing identity and if this is significant in the way in which they construct meanings and agency towards their future. The forming of trust between arts participants and their teachers was seen to develop group identity. This was further delineated by the way the participants embraced the symbols surrounding the group (see for example Houston, 2009, section 2.3.2). While the development of trust seems integral to renovation of identity, its development seems to be observed as arriving as a by-product of engaging collaboratively, rather than its being a predetermined part of pedagogical aims and objectives and planned pedagogical techniques

My academic exploration of development of identity within this literature review has focused first of all on assigned and already appropriated identities within the prison processes as presented by the hegemonous group, which examines the formation of

identity from the given. Secondly, I have focused on any evidence of re-inventing identities through the appropriation of new roles through arts projects. One of the main challenges is in moving offenders from the presentation they give of the virtual role of the offender (Jenkins, 2008, see section 2.2.4), as this tends sometimes to become ritualised into institutionalised, compliant behaviour (Comfort, 2002; Foucault, 1995) or macho prisonised identities (see for example, Downes & Rock, 2007; Lofland, 1969; Morris & Morris, 1962, section 2.2.2). I argued in section 2.2.3 that the offender can be so adhered to his mask of criminality (Lawler, 2008) that it blocks a learning disposition towards change (Kennedy, 2006; Watson & Emery, 2009). However, my investigation is focusing on any observation of young people's movement towards a learning disposition that allows them to re-envision the future because this has been linked to models of rehabilitation and desistance (Bayliss, 2003; Lofland, 1969; Maruna, 2001). There are several indications that any renovating of identity towards this end may be a challenge for individual participants (McKendy, 2006; Prison Education Trust, et al., 2009).

By locating conceptualisation in the epistemological framework of role theory it will be easier to delineate more clearly the presentation of the movement between the roles of prisonised or institutionalised offender to roles that are socially rehabilitative. However, before discussing this further, this in itself brings on particular issues. The concept of change and personal growth fits into general concepts about rehabilitation (Duncan, 1988; Lofland, 1969; Martin & Varney, 2003, see section 2.2.3). However, it is a "becoming" state that is defined against a hegemonous constant, which propounds a conceptualisation of what rehabilitation actually looks like. There is a lack of meaningful understanding of rehabilitation from the offenders' viewpoint. This may be narrowing the scope of rehabilitative projects which are meaningful to the participants. An individual who is part of these arts projects has choice in the way in which s/he decides to appropriate the role, the virtual rather than the nominal aspect of the role (Jenkins, 2008). The importance of the appropriation of roles that are an integral part of the final product (Becker, 1982) is in its possibility of renovating a

sense of identity from that of a self-perception as an offender towards a new role showing new potential. Its significance is seen in Maruna's (2001) theory of achieving desistance for ex-offenders, which cites the imperative of changing a negative self-perception towards one that is positive. Any changing of self-perception and self-presentation through a change of role locates the conceptualisation of this phenomenon in the epistemological position in role theory of re-masking (see section 2.2.4, Park, 1950, cited in Lawler, 2008).

The idea of renovation is strongly linked to enabling new masks to be assumed through new roles. Boal's (2000) perception of connectivity between role and masking links the concept of renovation also to the use of symbols and ritualisation, as revealed in his conceptualisation of the role of Joker (see section 2.3.4). The use of roles is pertinent to all arts productions (Becker, 1982). It is explored in several arts projects revealing the interaction between role and identity as used in prison arts projects (see for example, Hopwood, 1999; Houston, 2009; Wilson, et al., 2009). Emerging from the research studies around the arts in prisons was a pedagogy which focused on the way in which the participants were treated in egalitarian fashion (see section 2.3) in that they were able to take roles which enabled them to contribute to the content of their learning and the direction the production was to take. This was also shown to be important to the success of the project (see for example Berson, 2008; Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Houston, 2009; Hughes, 2005; Wilson, Caulfield, & Atherton, 2008).

The roles as seen in arts projects in prisons encourage and increase self-esteem (see section 2.3), being part of a pedagogy which empowers through allowing agency. The necessity of facilitating participants' agential input into their performance (Park, cited in Houston, 2009; Neustatter, 2006; Wilson, et al., 2009) provides excellent opportunity for choice and opportunity to self-present differently. Being part of a project enables the appropriation of newly assigned roles and the symbols behind them (Boal, 2000; Jenkins, 2008). In appropriating a role in an arts process, an

offender has to engage with a new set of symbols connected with the art form (Goodman, 1976). In turn these symbols represent new strands of thought (Millington, 1999, as cited in Hopwood, 1999). Acceptance or rejection of these symbols represents the success or failure of the project and was evidenced as being important in rehabilitative work through the arts (see for example, Hopwood, 1999; Houston, 2009; Wilson, et al., 2009). I argue that a focus on role, symbols and identity are useful tools for conceptualising perceptions of arts participants renovating their identity from the role of prisonised offender to that of a creative identity (see section 2.3). Using this epistemological conceptualisation, the significant point of the re-masking is that while the role may be assumed in order to engage with others in the group, according to (2004), the role will always become an aspect of that person. This implies the individual will take away the experience of the role appropriated in the project.

However, while the role may always become an aspect of that person (Hacking 2004), I argue the importance of an arts project in a prison in providing a link behind the roles inhabited in the project and their consideration of roles in their future lives. Apart from Wilson and colleagues' (2009) project, there is no evidence of any focus of a consideration of the future, or any follow up by the prison afterwards (see section 2.3.1.) The encouragement of an offender to understand that they can choose to change their self-presentation requires a change in their thinking (Jenkins, 2008; Peters, 2009). This change can be conceptualised through an epistemological framework around role theory. For arts participants to use the project to consider their long term future after prison, they are reliant on the pedagogical approach. The pedagogy has to embrace a sense of agency towards the future, so that the intervention is not simply reparative but instead follows the Enlightenment Model (see table 1). While renovation of identity and a consideration of the future are linked in this model, there is no relationship between them if the project does not facilitate both concepts. My research design enables me to focus on whether the arts curriculum delivered enables young people to re-conceptualise their futures.

McLean (2008) refers to the lack of research around the way in which use can be made of young people's delinquent transgressions to help them make meanings of their lives. She argued that by understanding a transgression an opportunity for growth is provided. Whether or not this is present in an arts project would be determined by the pedagogical philosophy. McKean's (2006) project showed evidence of her project enabling her participants to make meanings from their past lives, but this was with women rather than the young people Mclean (2008) is referring to.

In conclusion, previous research designs mainly focus on generic observations of changes in the arts participants in order to make clear the effects of their interventions (Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Houston, 2009; Hughes, 2005; Moller, 2003; Silber, 2005, see section 2.3). There are some gaps in past studies which have informed my own research study. As shown through the chapter, these gaps are connected to the lack of connection of arts projects to enable participants to re-consider their roles outside prison as seen in the Enlightenment Model. The emergence of "trust" has been seen as significant in many of the projects (Hagstrom, et al., 2010; Houston, 2009; Hughes, 2005; Silber, 2005), but there is little evidence of trust being added as a pedagogical strategy. While there is evidence of arts participants taking roles, there was a gap in research in looking at how or why participants may move from the passivity of insitutionalisation or the aggressiveness of prisonisation towards appropriation of new roles. There was evidence of affirmation through audience appreciation of performance (Joy, 2008; Lofland, 1969; Maruna, 2001; McKean, 2006, see sections 2.2.4, 2.3.2), but a research gap in any validation through prison processes after their projects had finished. Furthermore, there is limited evidence of offender perspective and finally there is a dearth of academic exploration around young offenders' engagement with the arts. By aiming to explore the link between role, rehabilitation and the arts for young offenders, I explore whether, and if so, how, an arts project may be deemed to be linked to a rehabilitative strategy which has links to a desistance model. Through my findings, I

help to provide some evidence which is pertinent to this identified gap in academic research.

However, before addressing these issues through the findings and conclusion, chapters the following chapter discusses my methodological and ethical considerations in exploring the links between rehabilitation and engagement in an arts course in a YOI, giving an insight into the research design, sample and research methods.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

11.1 INTRODUCTION

I came to this study after years of both teaching and participating in the arts, and then being the evaluator of a prison music project which had aimed to develop employability skills. After this project had finished, I interviewed some of the offender participants. Their responses convinced me that something profound was going on within these arts participants, which went beyond that of gaining further expertise in the arts or gaining soft skills. The inkling of profundity came from one participant in particular who said,

This project made me more than I am.

I wanted to discover what he meant, and whether it was a shared experience in a fulltime prison arts course. However, I needed to gain focus for my investigation to find out exactly what I was seeking. First of all, therefore I needed to conduct a pilot to focus my research.

I went into the pilot with an open question: *“What is the link between rehabilitation and the Arts?”* I then designed a pilot study which would enable an interpretive approach through Grounded Theory so that my emerging ideas would be firmly based within my data. As access to prisons is difficult, I decided to keep my main investigation focused on a prison, but see if I could interview ex-offenders for my pilot. I used interviews as my main source of data so that I could explore the issues in

more depth with the people directly involved. In order to ensure inbuilt flexibility enabling a change of direction in my interviews, I used open questions.

My initial plan for setting up interviews for the pilot was to give individual interviews to probation staff, prison staff, and artists who were connected with the Arts in prison, or who had views about the power of the Arts. This would then give me an indication of the different perspectives I may meet in the main investigation. I interviewed a musician who worked in prisons, two managers of education in two different prisons, a project leader who organised arts projects in different prisons, and a probation officer. These interviews varied in length from 30 minutes to an hour. I also interviewed six young people from a Charity who catered for young ex-offenders just coming out of prison. Using BERA guidelines (BERA, 2011) I kept issues of confidentiality and informed consent prevalent in my setting up of each interview. I decided to record the interviews so I could make transcripts of them, and then to put the transcripts into a computer program Atlasti, which would help me to manage the coding process. Using a Grounded Theory design through my methodology, I then coded the transcripts line by line to see what themes would emerge.

My focus was in investigating the meanings the ex-offenders ascribed to having been in a prison arts project. Out of this pilot, the themes of prison and the arts emerged, with the theme of identity connecting both to the arts and to rehabilitation. The emergence of the theme “identity” arrived after analysing the interview data of the two young people looked after by the Charity who had had most engagement with an arts course in a prison. One young man, Frank (pseudonym) had been in a poetry course and was out of prison that day. The experience he had had writing and performing poetry, and finally having the group’s poetry put in a book, had affected his sense of identity. In the following quotation, Frank described how the act of writing had dissipated his anger.

Frank (ex-offender, pilot)

If I were feeling angry or sometimes I was feeling wound up and like started to think whilst I was in prison, if I couldn't sleep at night then I would turn to my notepad and write about the day and then it was a way of letting things out. It was my way of just getting it out there

More than this, he described how the act of writing had developed his sense of identity, enabling him to communicate this sense to others:

Frank (ex-offender, pilot)

Personally I think about things a lot myself and I think it's just seeing it – it's just myself I want to –

Interviewer: You want to communicate.

Yes. I want to communicate. I find that sometimes people find me a complicated person and difficult to understand but I want them to understand.

Interviewer: Mm.

Because it's kind of my way of saying this is why I do this. This is why I'm like this...(irrelevant text) And lots of my poetry and writings are about myself because I feel that I've been told that I know myself very well.

Interviewer: Mm

I like that about myself. I can sit down and sometimes I feel I can sit down and I can start writing and the writing helps me learn more about myself. Obviously then I'll be writing things down and so I'm thinking, 'Where did that come from? That makes so much sense.' And I find that every time I write I'm learning something new.

For Frank, writing things down for himself and others seemed to be a more direct way of explaining his sense of who he is to others. Furthermore, the act of writing itself enables him to learn something new, which significantly, he says a little later, "helps [him] to realise things." It seems therefore to have illuminated his perceptions.

Another young man, Jamie (pseudonym) revealed that the arts course with which he engaged enabled him to realise the commonality in perceptions he had with others

whom formerly he had assumed would hold different views, a realisation that had led to his being more tolerant:

Jamie (ex- offender)

On my previous life I have got a homophobic attack as a child I was actually abused. A big barrier a big barrier came up so I couldn't associate with people like that. But we have actually got somebody who is gay here at the house, you know but I speak to him you know and we have a laugh. I think if it wasn't for that course it couldn't have made me realise that we are in fact all the same. You know, I can't judge a book by its cover.

Jamie's perception was that part of the reason for his lessening of homophobia was joining with a wide range of people in his arts course at the prison:

Jamie (ex offender)

But when you get them say doing drama or playing music...there's a sort of connection. People say well you did what you did but at the same time you are a human being as well. That's a big thing in gaol, you know.

These responses made me realise that there were a number of meanings which these two young people were ascribing to their work on arts courses: the way in which writing could help dissipate anger, the ways in which an arts course had helped them develop realisation in a profound way. This developing self-realisation seemed related to a sense of developing identity. Furthermore, this emerging theme was supported by interview data from arts staff who worked in prisons. Tommy's (arts tutor) observation was that the Arts give more self-awareness, so that "you gain more awareness of yourself that reflects on the choices that you make of yourself it impacts on the choices you have on life." There seemed to be a link emerging in the data between developing identity and rehabilitation. I was concerned to gain clarity of thought about the meaning making involved in the Arts in a prison and later the role they had in developing identity.

11.1.1 DECISIONS POST PILOT

After undergoing a pilot study, I then wrote up my literature review, looking at previous research studies on the arts in prisons, rehabilitation, identity and identity as delineated through prison processes, taking these findings into the composition of my research questions (see section 3.1.2). I overcame the challenges of gaining entrance into a prison to conduct research and was granted permission for an interview at a private prison for young offenders in the South West of England. Gaining access to a Young Offenders' Institution (YOI) is a complex process, which involves different stages of discussion and negotiation. The work I had been involved with in prisons with a project in the arts, and my findings in my pilot helped me to put together a persuasive account for the potential interest of the research.

The formulation of my research design was influenced by my pilot. In order to develop my understanding of the paradigm around rehabilitation, identity and the arts I needed to discover how their self-expression developed through the arts would influence their appropriation of identities. Young people in a young offenders' institute live in a regime which is bound by government rules and regulations, so that they lead regulated lives with the assigned identities of offender in an ordered regime which delivers them into defined locations at specific times of the day. I needed to find out how or whether they used their assigned identities to develop the appropriation of new or different identities. It therefore followed that my methodology would involve interviews that I could record, transcribe and analyse to discover how they constructed their identity and how far this related to their engagement in the Arts. I favoured a view of social reality "which stresses the subjective experience of individuals in the creation of the social world" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p 8) because I wanted to focus on the voices of individual young people rather than only on the perceptions of the staff.

11.1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The development of my decision making behind my questions reflects the journey of my investigation. My journey began when I was teaching drama in an FE College and

realised that in preparing for “A” level theatre studies, the students were gaining many affective skills and profound understandings not accredited through the qualification. This conceptualisation became further clarified when I engaged in research to explore the influences of a music project on offenders at HMP The Verne: the changes in the arts participants were put into a rehabilitative context. At the same time as I was considering my interview results in that project, Jack Straw, the then Home Secretary, was putting restrictions on the use of the arts in prisons (Dugan, 2009). Yet this seemed an extreme reaction because my experience at HMP Verne had revealed that there appeared to be a strong link between the arts and rehabilitation, but what and how did it occur?

The rationale behind my formation of the questions occurs in the introduction (see section 1.3). However in order to show how my methodology was interlinked with the research questions, I repeat the questions below.

Key research question

What is the link between rehabilitation and the Arts as presented in a YOI from the perspective of young offenders?

Sub research questions

In which ways does engagement in the Arts influence young people’s self-perceptions of their developing identities?

In which ways, if any, does engagement in an arts course lead young people to move to renovate and adopt new identities?

In which ways, if any, does engagement in an arts course lead to young people’s consideration of their possible agency in the future?

What role does the context of prison play in developing young people's identity?

11.2 RATIONALE FOR THE CHOICE OF METHODOLOGY

My focus on the possibility of young people's gaining rehabilitation through the arts through their developing identity led to a detailed consideration of the best methodology to use. The institution of prison attempts to find "a one size fits all" system, which will at once rehabilitate and keep society safe, the aim being to norm behaviour away from deviance. This can lead to mechanistic processes such as the focus on a cognitive behaviourist framework (Clements, 2004). It is unsurprising therefore, that prison research often involves positivist methodologies which seek to gain information around a system which will be appropriate for all prisoners.

The striving for "norming" (Foucault, 1995) within a prison has overtones which may indeed be attractive for positivist research. The institution of prisons for deviant behaviour implies that there is a form of behaviour outside prison to which we all aspire and that this is what is deemed to be normal. Any behaviour not fitting into this aspiration is deemed to be deviant. This suggests that there is a need to collect generalisable information about prisoners' journeys towards future desistance. However, I needed to consider whether I was seeking a one size fits all solution and whether I actually wanted to separate facts from values, values which may well be non-generalisable and dependent on so many individual factors.

Positivist research did not seem appropriate. As Charmaz (2006) argued:

Positivist methods assumed an unbiased and passive observer who collected facts but did not participate in collecting them, the separation of facts from values, the existence of an external world separate from scientific observers and their methods and the accumulation of generalisable knowledge about this world. (p 5)

While the prison itself strives for timetabled regularity of the movement and location of its inmates, enabling control and efficiency of movement, the effect on individuals varies. Research focused on engagement in the arts involves individuals using their expressive, creative nature. A positivist methodology is unsympathetic to research around the arts, unless one is looking at marks gained, or various quantitative measures. Therefore, a positivist approach seemed inappropriate when looking at such sensitive issues as the impact on rehabilitation of developing identity through new roles, which does not sit well with detailed statistics, as each journey will have marked differences. Furthermore, a positivist approach cannot easily embrace concepts of multiple identities, fragmented identities, individual self-perceptions etc.

Kierkegaard's (1846) argument regarding the difference between positivist and interpretive research focuses on the question of truth:

When the question of truth is raised in an objective manner, reflection is directed objectively to the truth as an object to which the knower is related... When the question of truth is raised subjectively, reflection is directed subjectively to the nature of the individual's relationship; if only the mode of this relationship is in the truth, the individual is in the truth, even if he should happen to be thus related to what is not true. (Kierkegaard (1846) cited in Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p 17)

I did not see an objective truth out there for me to discover. However, I did see my understanding arising out of my reflection and relationship with the data. I wanted my perceptions to emerge through an analysis of the patterns coming from the data gained through different approaches and different "voices" in interviews. Not only was I investigating how or if engaging in the arts creates meanings for young people's lives, but also how this influenced their sense of identity.

Conceptually, there is a tension between gaining individual responses and the way in which prison processes deal with prisoners en masse. The processes imply an objectification of prisoners (Foucault, 1995) through the application of the regime to the group of prisoners. The systems used with the prisoners also imply that the officials know what is best for them. However, I wanted to discover individual points

of view from the young people themselves. An interpretive methodology would better suit my aims because by striving to find the relationship between rehabilitation and the arts I was investigating the complexities of human nature in the prison arts situation. The complexities were extenuated by the location of my research in the closed community of a prison, where the rules are different from “outside” and often confusing for me as a researcher unfamiliar with the processes. There was therefore further reason why to form an early hypothesis, as in a positivist approach, seemed almost patronising and restrictive to the possibilities of viewpoints I may gain from my interviewees’ extensive experience within the prison system.

In investigating which type of interpretative approach to use, I did see some possibilities between my intended investigation and an ethnographic study. I was intending as far as possible to understand the world of the closed community during the time I was there. However, I would not be there long enough for this approach to be appropriate. Once I started the study, boundaries between insider/outsider statuses were never crossed because I was conscious of investigating their perceptions of the world they inhabited in their arts course. I was not seeking to be a part of their work in their arts workshops because even had it been practical to gain access to the group, I would not have had the skills to take part in their work within it. I also considered analysing the interviews through a set of discourse analyses following a series of researchers in psychology, sociology and cultural studies such as Coward (1984) and Henriques (1984, as cited in Bryman & Burgess, 1994) who have investigated the way individual subjects fit into institutions through the workings of a set of discourses. However, a focus totally on diverse individual stories did not seem to make sense for this research study because I was searching for an interconnectedness of ideas and concepts which would emerge from the data which was likely to be inherent in the study both in terms of staff and arts participants.

In order to attempt to distil the complexities of different perspectives regarding the influence of the arts on young people’s formulation of identity I did consider a Case

Study approach because it is an interpretive, highly flexible approach and one which would take into account the limitations of access I expected to find. However, I wanted my conceptualisation to emerge from the data in my interview transcripts, which is more a characteristic of Grounded Theory. I did not expect to find enough flexibility in the prison to follow a sampling plan to saturate my data, a necessity of Grounded Theory methodology. In addition, I did not know if security issues would prevent my being able to record my interviews, which would make detailed transcripts impossible. I thought I would have to take notes during interviews, and possibly therefore within the act of note taking begin to select and construe what to write before I was ready to involve myself in interpretation. Thankfully, permission was granted both for recording my interviews and for sampling when I needed it, and so I was after all able to consider a Grounded Theory approach.

11.2.1 REASONS FOR A GROUNDED THEORY METHODOLOGY

There were several reasons why I chose a Grounded Theory methodology. I needed a methodology which would, as Kierkegaard argued, be “directed subjectively to the nature of the individual’s relationship” to meaning making (Kierkegaard, 1846, as cited in Cohen, et al., 2007, p 17). As already outlined in section 1.3, I began with a wide question: “What is the link between rehabilitation and the arts as presented in a YOI from the perspective of young offenders?” I had no idea where this question would lead me. The use of a Grounded Theory methodology enabled me to focus solely on the interview and observation data and to explore carefully and methodically what theory or theories were emerging. In accordance with the key principles of the Grounded Theory approach, it enabled me to engage in interviewing, coding, creating initial memos, raising codes to tentative categories, creating theoretical memos and using further theoretical sampling to generate sufficient data to saturate my data. This process then enabled me to form my Grounded Theory, in answer to my questions.

I wanted to investigate if meaning-making through the arts enabled individuals to develop their own idea of self and their views of their relationship with their peers and with prison staff. Where an interviewee may have a view which no one else holds, he still has his understanding of his relationship to the way he perceives the world. This is particularly relevant when interviewees' attitudes to the arts are explored. The arts are developing individual potential so that individuals will develop in idiosyncratic fashion depending on the motivation, skills and application and the emotional background, which exists in each individual. Furthermore, while members of staff have their own views of what is going on in these young people's emotional lives, a young person may often be able to give a better account of his own development through the arts course.

My rationale for focusing on interviews of a range of young people was that interviewees' ideas would be individual, but there may be some measure of similarity between their responses to their arts courses. I therefore needed a methodology which captured this, giving me insight into their world. As Crotty (2003) argued so succinctly, I wanted "to seek[s] to ensure that the theory emerging arises from the data and not from some other source" (p 78). While I was not generating theory, I was developing conceptualisation as a result of this investigation. I aimed also to "encourage the initiation of research without any preconceived theoretical ideas about the topic being researched" (Kierkegaard, 1846, as cited in Cohen, et al., 2007, p 17). Using Grounded Theory would enable this critical approach as using its analytic structures would lead to my conceptualisation (Crotty, 2003).

In my research design, I wanted to use interviews to ask my interviewees to reflect on any changes they had perceived in their maturation and its links with engagement in the arts. Furthermore, I hoped to gain understanding through observation of them at work in their classrooms. My ideas would also change and mature as I gained more understanding through the data analysis. Recording the interviews increased the possibility of developing my analysis by focusing on the words said by the

interviewee: during the interview, when listening to the recording and then when transcribing, reading, coding and analysing the transcript. I wanted to grasp the points of view of “the other,” the person I was interviewing, and understand the identity or identities projected by the young person (Slattery, Krasny, & O'Malley, 2007). This was because I intended to focus in a post structuralist sense on “emergent, ambiguous, tentative, eclectic, and sometimes contradictory Identities” (Slattery, et al., 2007, p 539). There would not be a logical conceptual progression with definite structure, but an organic realisation of what was emerging, and these ideas would sometimes be contradictory and ambiguous before final concepts would become clarified. I needed to be conscious not only that I was fusing the horizons (Gadamer, 2004) of my own understanding with the interviewees’ understanding, but transforming my understanding as a result.

My post structuralist approach meant that unlike Glaser and Strauss (1967), I did not want to use Grounded Theory so that it became a positivist piece of research. I was not proving a point, or trying to make a scientific enquiry. My objective was for my ideas to emerge rather than proving my previously held beliefs. Like Charmaz (2006) I was conscious of wanting to be an agent in the construction of ideas as a result of the data. I was aware that others may use the same data to construct ideas differently. The ideas would not be objective truths to be discovered, but constructed out of the collective sense of social reality perceived by the group of people interviewed, as described by Berger and Luckman (1966). I was therefore aiming to use a Grounded Theory approach arriving at understanding through a series of interviews, which would elucidate and clarify the same concept, leading me on to re-explore previous data to see if the same concepts were emerging there.

I wanted to be aware of the macro relevant issues and theories concerning prisons, the arts and identity and for these to inform my study. However, my requirement was to gain the views of those involved with the young offenders and some of the

young people participating in the arts courses. It was particularly important to hear their perspectives, as so often their voices are silenced (O'Connor, 2003).

They are talked about rather than having their own voice. By exploring their notion of self, it would, as Layder (1993) argued “point[s] to an individual's sense of identity, personality and perception of the social world as these things are influenced by her or his social experience” (p 74).

The design of the research is further explained through the following sections: the research process; data analysis and ethical considerations.

11.3 THE RESEARCH PROCESS

11.3.1 COLLECTING DATA

My initial ideas of design for collecting data from my prison investigation involved interviews and observations. However there were plenty of challenges to overcome before I could start along this path. Gaining access to the YOI was described briefly in section 3.1.1. Besides the challenges of finding a prison to accept my research investigation, there were then further challenges of access to gather data. I had to write a document explaining the purpose of the research, have an interview persuading the Education Manager of the usefulness of my work, and fill in a prison ethics form as well as one for the university. This all had to be passed by the Director of the Prison. Good relationships with the relevant staff is crucial in this process (Kendrick, 2008) so I had further discussions with the arts staff about the context of my proposed work, focusing on both the ethical and practical aspects of my proposed investigation: the proposed visit schedule, the content of the questions.

In order to create an interview schedule for the fieldwork, I had to make an educated guess of the interview sample I would need to enable me to answer my research questions. Layder (1993) argued that

the size of the sample will depend on how well confirmed the emerging theory is, or becomes, during the research. Similarly the nature of the

sample and the choice of comparison groups (what kinds of people will be studied) will be decided as the theory emerges from the data. (p 20)

Layder's (1993) comment is useful in ideal situations, and also seems embedded in a wider framework, which was not quite appropriate for my situation. The only concepts emerging were from the pilot and the literature review. I had no pre-conceptions of what would emerge from my investigation. I had to think ahead much more than Layder's (1993) analysis suggests, because access to a prison is limited, and the people there are very busy. I had to assume that I would not be able to interview any young person twice because they are shifted about quite a lot from prison to prison, or out of prison at the end of their sentence. I therefore had to ensure that I made the most out of every interview in order to discover both staff's and young people's perceptions.

Because I wanted to try and ensure that young people's voices were as prevalent in my research as the views of staff, I aimed to ensure that the interviews and observations combined to encompass about the same number of staff and young people. Originally I had thought I would see about 12 young people from one class, and 12 from another, as I guessed that they would have about 12 per class. Within the initial schedule for the fieldwork (see table 2), I requested a series of interviews with 24 young offenders and 24 staff between January and December in 2010. I initially wanted the staff to include arts teachers, managers, and prison officers. I then was at the "mercy" of those in authority: they had the power to grant or not grant me my request. This initial interview schedule adhered to a conventional plan for qualitative research as I was seeking to address my research questions (Charmaz, 2006). I also wanted to begin ethically by ensuring that in granting my request they would understand I would need to come in several times. My initial schedule was therefore a guess as I did not know which direction my data would take me, and what further sampling I would actually need to do, whether this sampling would actually be possible and whether it would be possible to interview this many people.

Table 2 shows the differences between planned, granted and actual interviews which gives an indication of this journey. Three factors occurred regarding my initial interview schedule. First of all, while all interview requests were initially granted I discovered that in actuality it seemed I had been very unrealistic in the amount of staff and young people it was going to be possible for the prison to present to me to interview. Secondly, a Music Teacher had been assigned to organise the interviews for me, adhering as closely as possible to my initial interview schedule (see table 2).

Table 2: The difference between planned, granted and actual interviews at the Young Offenders' Institute (*source author*)

Planned interviews in original interview schedule (OIS) and later planned interviews through sampling (S)	Granted interviews/ observations/ focus groups as a result of original schedule and as a result of subsequent requests for interview sampling	Actual interviews/ observations/ focus groups
16 offender participants connected with the Arts (OIS)	16 offender participants connected with the Arts	10 offender participants: 3 Write to Freedom 2 Arts students 7 Music Students (2 of these also took either Art or Write to Freedom course)
1 Education Manager 4 Music and art staff (OIS) 2 Write to Freedom staff (S)	1 Education Manager - music and art staff 2 Write to freedom staff (as a result of need for further sampling around autobiographical methods)	1 Education Manager 3 Music and art staff Later also ensuing discussions with arts staff
6 Prison Officers (OIS) 4 Case Workers (S)	6 Prison Officers 4 Case Workers (a request to add to information which prison officers had given me)	2 Prison Officers 4 Case Workers
Focus group (S)	Focus group of 2 Music and 1 Write to Freedom member of staff:	Focus group of 2 Music and 1 Write to Freedom member of staff
Observations (O.S) (S)	This was arranged with the music teacher	4 observations of Rap Workshops

This affected the selection of my interviews in the following ways. It became quickly clear that most of the young people I would observe, or would interview were involved in music classes. I had no control over this as I had to go with the

gatekeepers on this direction. Those taking music were presented as being more ready to talk in an interview situation, and as being more motivated. I only had two prison officers to interview, as more could not be spared from their jobs. I was not able to interview quite as many young people one to one as I had hoped, because, I was told, interviews are disruptive to their routine and accessibility is difficult and sometimes impossible.

However, I was able to make several observations of music workshops, which enabled me to observe and speak to young people. I did manage to interview most of the arts staff, and also two managers, and also some case workers.

Thirdly, as my interviews and initial analysis progressed it became obvious that I needed to saturate some of my codes more fully and so would need to engage in more sampling. This therefore meant that I had to gain permission for some groups of interviews which differed from the original schedule. The use of sampling drove decisions around which interviews to request and which direction they needed to take to help my analysis. My final sampling record (see table 3) looked very different from my initial plan. By saturating my categories, I was able to formulate my central codes (Charmaz, 2006). As Glaser (2001) argued: "Saturation is [...] the conceptualisation of comparisons of those incidents which yield different properties of the pattern until no new properties of the pattern emerge" (Glaser, 2001, cited in Charmaz, 2006, p 113). Sampling needs emerged as I began analysing and coding my data. The first need for further sampling arrived as a result of analysis of data produced from interviews with prison officers, which alerted me to the extra perspectives that case workers may be able to give me regarding young people. I then ensured my analysis of the interviews of young people saturated the data sufficiently. I needed to gain enough material to assimilate both commonalities in the story coming from them about the culture around these courses and individual differences on the influence of the courses on their developing perceptions. The emergence of autobiography as a code came from analysis of the interview data.

Table 3: Sampling Record (*source author*)

Rationale	Action and personnel involved
<p>To gain overview of the Manager’s opinion of the influence of the Arts on young people in the prison To provide me with more background around the Prison Officers’ perceptions of the lives of the young people in prison and to give me information about their view of the influence of the Arts on these young people</p>	<p>Interviews with Manager and with Case Workers (Case Workers’ views sampled as a result of Prison Officers not having sufficient information to answer all my questions previously) 18/2/10</p>
<p>To gain more understanding of the influence of the Arts on the students through observations.</p>	<p>More observations of Music Workshops 25/3/10</p>
<p>To investigate the perspective of the young people.</p>	<p>Interviews with Arts students. Most of these students were music students. (14/4/10).</p>
<p>To saturate data in the emerging theme of autobiographical techniques and to see the difference between the influence of these two courses</p>	<p>Interviews with more Music Students and also Write to Freedom Students as a result of analysis of staff interviews and initial interviews with some arts students (23/6/10).</p>
<p>To gain understanding of some of the opportunities available for ex offenders and to interview one young man who was an ex-offender from the YOI where I was conducting my research</p>	<p>Meeting with Second Chance – at Knowle Media Centre. (28/7/10).</p>
<p>To explore the pedagogical strategies and rationales around catharsis - a theme which emerged through the data</p>	<p>Focus group of Music and Write to Freedom staff as a result of memo begun on catharsis, meaning the data needed saturating (1/12/10).</p>

Exploration of all the quotations around this code revealed the use of autobiographical techniques through rap and also led to the need for further sampling to saturate this code. An important trajectory which emerged from my

coding of my interview data was the importance of the use of autobiographical techniques. These emerged through the Rap Workshops where the young people were using their lives as the subject of their raps. To develop my understanding of the influence on these young people of using autobiographical techniques, I gained permission to further my sampling by interviewing those young people who had taken part in another course which used autobiographical techniques, the *Write to Freedom* course. The *Write to Freedom* course was a course which focused on the writing of autobiographical modules of the past, the present and then extended out into their future. This was enhanced by discussions in a weekend away.

A chance to extend my understanding of the possibilities of these young people's futures after leaving prison emerged. By interviewing an ex-offender in employment, whom previously I had seen in the prison, enabled me to gain an understanding about life immediately after leaving prison. In order to deepen my perspective, I therefore widened my outlook through a period of voluntary work on the advisory committee for the charity which had given him a role when he left prison. As this charity was also involved in a project concerning the prison in my investigation, it introduced an understanding of the arts in the prison from a group of practitioners who worked in many different contexts.

My final request for sampling came as a result of writing a memo around catharsis, a code which had come from the data around autobiographical techniques, as I realised I needed to saturate the data in this area. I therefore planned for a further sample through a focus group meeting with a member of the *Write to Freedom* course and the two music tutors to discuss their understanding of the catharsis talking place in their courses amongst the participating young people. As I was unable to gain permission to record this meeting, on this occasion, I gathered data by writing field notes:

Field Notes

Exploring ideas around catharsis December 1st, 2010
(Meeting in staff room at HMP XXX)

Having analysed the quotations around the theme of catharsis and written a preliminary memo, I realised the data was insufficient to saturate my understanding. I needed therefore to set up a meeting with the music teachers and the *Write to Freedom* teacher. The purpose of this meeting was to explore the idea of catharsis and to try and clarify my evidence and test out my conclusions so far. I wanted to find out how they felt catharsis influenced their students and what their thinking was around how or if it took place within their course. Did they in fact think that catharsis was essential for each individual to experience in order to develop?

While much of my data was collected through interviews, I also brought together a focus group and engaged in observations: observations of the Music Workshops and the young people in corridors and the staff in the staff room. Table 4 shows my rationale for the different methods of data collection. These different approaches enabled me to see how staff perceived their roles; how staff and students worked together and how engaged the young people were in the workshops both individually and in their work with each other. I had therefore a variety of rationales for different methods of data collection which can be seen in table 4.

Instead of my sampling providing a point of departure, as in sampling used to address initial research questions, it elaborates and refines the concepts (Charmaz, 2006). While I did not aim to provide data for generalisability around the concepts emerging from the data, I did aim to clarify the emerging patterns within it. It enabled me to crystallise my ideas so that my conceptual understanding exactly matched my data.

In their interviews, their involvement and motivation in the Music Workshops was evident: my observations enabled me to see it in action. From the data analysis, it became evident that both staff and young people considered the role of “mentor” important. Through interviews with staff and interviews and observation of the young people I was able to consider what part if any the role of mentor played in linking their experience in the arts to any rehabilitation.

Table 4: Rationale for methods of data collection (*source author*)

I recorded interviews to enable me to transcribe and subsequently code the whole interview. It also enabled me to give eye contact to the interviewee, helping the relationship within the interview. Furthermore, I was able to listen to the interviews several times to gain any extra understanding which may emerge from the tone in which words were said.

Although I had planned and informed the prison I wished to record the focus group, when I arrived I was not allowed to take the recorder through security on that occasion. Therefore I had to make handwritten notes instead.

I decided to use hand-written notes for informal discussions because a) not everything in an informal discussion is relevant, and b) they were often impromptu, so it would have been inappropriate to suddenly press the recorder button.

I also decided to use hand-written responses to the interview questions when an interview was done by phone because I did not have the facilities to record the phone interview.

At times I added to my field notes by observing in the staffroom, and took notes too of anything of particular note which staff told me. The recorder would have been inappropriate because it was too noisy.

I also added to my field notes for the observations in classrooms. It was too noisy to record, and by taking notes I was able to sit on the edge of the classroom at some points to observe the workshop as a whole, and at other times go and speak to individuals where I wanted to explore their rationale behind what they were doing.

During the observations I took field notes, because away from the more formal situation of an interview, often casual asides, or observed behaviour can produce confirmation of developing concepts or alternatively give ideas for further questioning. This added to the richness of the data, as Charmaz (2006) argued:

obtaining rich data means seeking "thick" description such as writing extensive field notes of observations, collecting respondents written personal accounts, and/or compiling detailed narratives (such as from transcribed tapes of interviews) (p 14)

The quantitative data concerned with data gathering can be seen in table 5.

Table 5: Different methods of data collection (*source author*)

Method	Participants	Time spent
Observations	4 Rap Workshops	40 Minutes each
	Staff in staff room at breaks and lunch x 4	15 minutes at breaks 30 minutes at lunch
	Young people in corridors on 3 occasions	10 minutes at a time
Focus Group	Music staff and 1 Write to Freedom member of staff	45 minutes
Individual Interviews	10 young people: 3 from Write to Freedom Course; 2 from Art course; 7 from Music (2 Music students took either Art or the Write to Freedom course as well)	Variable between 15 minutes and 45 minutes depending on how much interviewees were able/wanted to contribute
	2 Managers	45 minutes
	Arts Manager, Arts and Write to Freedom staff	45 minutes
	2 Prison Officers	30 minutes
	3 Case Workers	30 minutes

The data consisted of records from focus groups, observations and interviews. My focus group with a group of staff lasted about 45 minutes. It consisted of one member of staff from the Write to Freedom Course and the two Music Teachers so that I was able to explore their understanding of catharsis in their courses. My interviews varied in length between fifteen minutes and forty five minutes, depending on how much interviewees had to say and their commitments after the interview. I interviewed 10 young people: 3 from the Write to Freedom course, 2 art students, and 6 music students. One music student was also a Write to Freedom

student. One art student was also a music student. I also interviewed 2 managers, 4 arts teachers, 2 prison officers and 4 case workers. I was unable to interview as many prison officers as I originally requested because they were unavailable for interview. However, I interviewed the prison officer who was in charge of the corridor around the arts rooms, and a prison officer from the Segregation Unit.

I observed 4 groups of 8 young people working over 4 workshops and I gave some interviews with some of the arts staff. I also observed staff in the staff room at break for 15 minutes at a time and young people in the corridor as they went to and from lessons, or gathered together in the central courtyard for about 10 minutes a time. Away from the more formal situation of an interview, often casual asides, or observed behaviour can produce confirmation of developing concepts or alternatively give ideas for further areas of exploration.

11.3.2 THE INTERVIEWS

To explore the nature of any idea of developing sense of identity in the young people interviewed, it was useful to perceive identity as seen through the narrative of the interview. My initial aim was to use interviews to gain insight, ideas and opinions from the interviewees on their perceptions of whether and how their engagement in arts courses influenced their own sense of identity. As I aimed to investigate whether attribution of any development had its agency in engagement in the arts, I needed to make an enquiry which searches for motives and attributes changes. I was most interested at looking at the catalysts which were perceived and ascribed by both young people and staff to the young people's development and insight. My emphasis was on qualitative data emerging from a flexible use of questioning with my sample (Layder, 1993).

While Gadamer (2004) refers to the necessity of guarding "against over hastily assimilating the past to our own expectations of meaning" (p 304), the same principles apply to guarding against imbibing someone else's understanding with my own perceptions. It was important in the Grounded Theory methodology I had chosen

that the ideas emerged from the data and not from any preconceived ideas I may have had. This inhibition was as Layder (1993) suggests "flexibly adhered to according to the demands of the interview situation" (p 39). I needed to allow dialectic between my preconceived ideas, adjusted with each interview through a logical methodical analysis of the data.

The prison context of my research both made the interviews interesting, and at the same time hampered them by the sometime difficulty of access. As Layder (1993) argued, "Institutional or structural features of society are intimately interwoven with behaviour and activity" (p 55). The institutional context had a direct bearing on whom I could interview, the timing of my interviews, their length, the rooms where they were sited, their content and people's reactions within the interviews. It was necessary for me to interview both staff and young people in order to ascertain the influence of prison systems on young people's sense of identity. I wanted to juxtapose this with their own definitions of how their choice of self-expression within their courses was influencing their development.

The design of the interview questions was crucial to ensure that I gained the data I needed for my analysis. I designed the initial questions as a result of the findings from the pilot and the work from previous research studies (see Chapter Two). I formulated the questions in the light of the themes which had emerged from the pilot, and also some of the reflexivity I had undergone as a result of the literature review. They can be seen in Appendix One. Initially, I designed the questions for the interviews to focus on the meanings young people made out of their lives through engaging in the arts. I was interested in the way this may or may not affect their sense of identity both within the prison and in their projections of their future selves. I wished to find out whether their arts courses were rehabilitative in giving them any sense of agency. I wanted to discover whether engagement in the arts had sent these young people on a journey which developed their sense of identity.

As I was interested in exploring both the influence of identities assigned by the prison as opposed to identities appropriated by the young people themselves, I needed to explore whether or not assigned and appropriated identities were emerging through norming behaviour picked up through being with their peers and encouraged through staff; or whether any appropriated identities emerged through engagement in the arts. The design of my interview questions embraced this in two ways. I designed questions on roles given them by the prison and their perceived significance; I explored their perceptions of the importance of any peer collaboration and group learning. I wanted to find out if any peer collaboration which took place came out of the structure of their arts lessons, or whether they initiated it themselves.

In seeking answers to these questions, I did not want to frame them as closed, direct questions, because I did not want to influence interviewees' responses, but to keep the questions open. I began my interviewing sessions with the staff because I wanted to gain an overview of the young people from their perspective. I found this decision useful in helping me edit the questions to the young people before I went into those interviews. For example, after discovering from a prison officer the tendency of these young people to use symbols to construct their status within their prison world, I framed a question asking them to think of a symbol or picture which summed them up before going into prison and one which summed them up now. This enabled me to explore their sense of agency around their projected future selves after prison.

It was important when considering the analysis of these young people's views through their interviews that I had access to open and revealing responses as far as possible, as this would enable me to formulate my own understanding more clearly. The length of the interviews varied between 20 and 40 minutes as it depended on how much each young person had to tell me. As interviews were taking place in a male prison with young males aged from 14 – 18, as well as mainly male staff, in order to analyse the "voice" coming to me from interviews, I had to consider that interviewees responded to me in a specific way because of the many discrepancies

between us of age, gender, culture and race. I therefore had to consider, as Manderson, Bennett and Andajani (2006) argue:

Discrepancies or proximities of age, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and gender all influence and, to a degree, predetermine the relationship of interviewer and interviewee. These factors shape what is asked and how stories are told. (p 1333)

Because of these factors of difference, I made several considerations before coming into the interview. First of all, pre-interview, I focused on strategies to encourage rapport and the route of my initial questioning. Sharing Srivatava's (2006, as cited in Cousin, 2009) succinct observation about having to assume a "field identity," I also considered my dress before going and considered also how to present myself as I was reflexive about how I may be received. Once the interview began, I tried to remain open to the differences between us (McDowell, 2001), but also to those areas of similarity: my personal interest in writing poetry, for example, was a useful entrance into their thoughts about writing their lyrics.

McDowell (2001) refers to the distance between herself as an older middle-aged woman and her adolescent male interviewees, a distance I shared and which gave me a distance of culture which I wanted to explore in order to understand the underlying assumptions of the interviewees. Initially, my lack of understanding of their discussion of the culture they had formed around their rap workshops created a distance between us. Srivatava (2006, as cited in Cousin, 2009, p 17) argued that we come to the research setting with some form of "lack" but that the "lack" can refer to being an outsider. This was certainly true for me as a researcher within the prison setting. First of all, this came to light in my lack of control over the different locations used for my interviews. Sometimes I had to negotiate sharing a classroom or I had to search for an interview room. Then secondly, once the interview began, my outsider status was present because of the issues and factors of their prison culture they took for granted which were outside my experience.

It was important that I considered the questioning technique so that I could gain the quality of response I needed from these young people. Manderson et al (2006) argue that a flexibility of approach enables a facilitating of communication and sufficient trust for most interviewees to expand on their answers fully, an approach I tried to maintain. Butler (2001, cited by Chinnery, 2006, p 333) refers to the ethical posture of the “unknowability of human existence.” There was plenty of “unknowability” for me to try and understand around my research with these young people. Rapport was therefore essential in order to gain the most material possible from the interview as, with the difficulty of accessing prisoner interviews, I had only the one chance of interviewing these arts students. As Charmaz (2006) argued, “If researchers do not establish rapport, they risk losing access to conduct subsequent interviews or observations” (p 19). Because I was recording the interview, it left me free to engage more successfully with the interviewees, making eye contact, rather than being immersed in note taking. I used the strategies of humour and relaxed conversation to help establish rapport from the outset and also ensured I gave verbal clues of encouragement (Manderson, et al., 2006). This strategy was also used with the prison staff.

By establishing rapport, I was then able to lead into more sensitive and complex areas. As Charmaz (2006) argued, “the interviewer is there to listen, to observe with sensitivity and to encourage the person to respond. Hence, in this conversation, the participant does most of the talking” (p 19). Rapport was also helped by my decision to have semi-structured interviews as this enabled me to engage with my interviewees more fully. By travelling into previously unsought directions, I was able to discover new aspects of their understanding, ensuring however to stop responses where they strayed into areas I did not need to learn about.

The questions I had formulated were designed firstly to relax the interviewees and then to explore if there was any deeper significance for young people in engaging in the arts course. While engaging in the interviews, I had mentally to construct the

world within the prison which the interviewees were relating to, while realising that their perspectives were also influenced by different life experiences and differing roles. As Balfour (2000) argued:

The personal construction of the world becomes more than something that is learnt and unlearnt; it is something influenced by common ideologies held by different groups of people determined by social formations like class gender, race, and age. This relationship between the individual and the social environment, and how the one influences the other, is a key area, which distinguishes cognitive-behaviourists from social learning theorists. (p 15)

I was interested in focusing on how much the construction of identities were influenced by the social context of the prison and how much from the communities formed by their classroom groupings formed by studying the arts. I had to use the interviews to "discover" the social world of the YOI using qualitative methods, so that I could discover the "common ideologies held by different groups of people determined by [their] social formations" (Balfour, 2000, p 15).

Presser (2004) argued that the interview is a "joint effort to interpret social problems and in so doing to identify the informant" (p 83). The interview was a joint effort in that I needed to clarify interviewees' perspectives by checking my understanding through the strategy of reflecting their words back to them. This then often caused interviewees to explain in more detail which was an aid to elucidation, and also gave them back control over the interpretation of their words as they corrected any misunderstandings I had. Interviews with both staff and the young people revealed many of the young people had engaged in deviant behaviour pre-prison and sometimes within prison. However, I found these young people courteous and bright, humorous and helpful. Like McDowell (2001), I found their responses very open. Perhaps my gender helped me obtain such openness in the interviews to an extent, as Manderson et al's (2006) research reveals that women tend to find it easier to introduce topics connected with emotion to encourage men to open up.

11.4 DATA ANALYSIS

11.4.1 CODING

The methodology of Grounded Theory analysis aims for emergent themes which come from the coding of the transcripts. As Charmaz (2006) explained “coding distils data, sorts them, and gives a handle for making comparisons with other segments of data. Grounded theorists emphasize what is happening in the scene when coding data” (p 3). To help my management of the coding process, I transcribed the interviews and stored them in the programme Atlasti.

From my pilot had emerged the themes of “Identity”, “the Arts” and “Prison”, and my literature search following this led me to explore these areas in some depth (see sections 2.2 and 2.3). These therefore became three of my focused codes or code families. This structure was therefore fixed in my coding in my main study because this was the focus of my study and therefore my questioning. I coded the transcripts line by line, a common way of coding in Grounded Theory coding (Charmaz, 2006). As is also common in Grounded Theory, this often involved putting several codes together around the same lines of transcript. I found that this method enabled my analysis in revealing how some of the codes were related. During the coding process many other codes then emerged. Occasionally, my decision around the naming of a particular code was imported as the result of a comment in an interview. For example, my decision to use symbols as a code was suggested through comments made in the interview, rather than through my analysis of a transcript. However, I then analysed all transcripts to see if this code emerged elsewhere. I also decided to listen carefully to the recordings of the answers given by young people to see if symbols figured prominently at all and also referred specifically to symbols in one of the last questions I asked the young people I interviewed. Several of the young people interviewed talked about “spitting” raps. I realised then that the raps themselves were representing other important issues, and this made me start to analyse their importance in more depth.

Two unexpected codes which emerged were catharsis and autobiographical techniques. As I had not expected this in my findings they had not appeared in the literature review, and so I included a short review of them within the Findings Chapter. The code catharsis became a code family. The new code families which emerged from the main investigation (see table 6) emerged from the codes which had the most quotations attached to them.

Table 6: Code Families (*source author*)

Code Families	No. of quotations from interviews with young people and prison staff
Self- realising	167
Reflective qualities of the arts	91
Symbols	87
Home social environment affecting young people	79
Offender developing journey (ODJ)	78
Power and authorising	65
Recognising individual talent	53
Assuming macho-identity	49
Catharsis	45

Through the Atlasti program, it is possible to extract all the quotations attached to each code family. An example of the network of codes around catharsis can be seen in Appendix Two.

Analysing the quotations around a code family facilitated the findings analysis and conceptualisation (see Chapters Four and Five). In order to explore this analytically through the data, I attached different code families to each category (see table 7).

Table 7: Code families under the categories Assigned and Appropriated identities (source author)

The formation of identities from the given: assigned and adopted identities		Appropriating renovated and assigned Identities
Power and authorising	⇔	Using own initiative/ self expression
Assuming macho-identities	⇔	Catharsis – enabling a break with macho-identity
Offender developing journey (ODJ)	⇔	Self- realising
Symbols – symbols of success according to the prison system, also symbols which indicate deviance, gang allegiance etc	⇔	Symbols which are important and significant to the young people may not all be the same as those which are part of the prison system
Home Social environment – used as explanation of deviant attitudes and behaviour	⇔	Home social environment – references to it used to retrospectively situate their pre-prison selves which they compare to their achievements within the prison and their hopes for their life outside.
Recognising individual talents – and validating through role, awards and qualifications	⇔	Recognising individual talents – self recognition and growing self awareness

By thorough exploration of the code families through my memo notes (see section 3.4.2); I found that the code family with least codes, “catharsis” was actually a major player in my conceptualisation.

Through writing up and analysis of my memo notes (see Appendix Three) and finally the analysis of emerging codes, I found I had gathered some negative sampling (Charmaz, 2006) as I had examples which did not fit into the emerging concepts around autobiographical techniques and catharsis. This data was useful in enabling me to use these emerging concepts to delineate more clearly those students who had learnt purely about arts techniques, and those whose course was also designed to develop insight about their past, present and future. As Strauss and Corbin (1990) argue, by examining negative cases it comes close to “the emphasis on variation in a category or process” (as cited in Charmaz, 2006, p 102). There was in fact enough similarity in response to allow individual differences to add to the emerging concepts, rather than detracting from them. It also enabled the avoidance of misrepresenting a collective truth where one did not exist (Charmaz, 2006).

While my pilot was a flexible structure, as a result of my findings in my pilot, a structure emerged for my main study in the prison. The categories I formulated emerged as a result of my understanding of the way in which engagement in the arts for the young people in my pilot had affected the roles they took and also had changed their self-perception. Part of my investigation was exploring the difference if any between the way identities assigned through prison processes influenced the way young people appropriated identities and any renovation of identity they engaged in through arts activities. In response to this conceptualisation, my two categories, or axial codes, were: the formation of identities from the given and appropriating

From analysis of the quotations attached to each code family under each category, the relevant concepts began to emerge. Strauss and Corbin (1990, cited in Charmaz, 2006) refer to the necessity of axial coding to avoid fragmentation. I used code families to build up groups of codes, assembling them then under categories or axial

codes. The emerging categories guided the write up of my findings in Chapter Four. There is relationship of the categories, to the structure of my findings chapter, Chapter Four. The two categories, as seen in table 7, are (a) “the formation of identities from the given: assigned and adopted identities” and (b) “appropriating renovated and assigned identities.” In Chapter Four, the two main sections are entitled: “the formation of identity from the given,” which links with (a) and “the renovation of identity through the arts,” which links with (b). Ideally I would have then have divided findings in these sections under the code family headings as seen in table 7 to make the link between the code families and the section headings clearer. However, there were two factors militating against this. First of all, Grounded Theory brings forward unpredictable trajectories because of the use of theoretical sampling to saturate the codes. There was an unexpected emergence of the code autobiographical techniques and the code family catharsis. Their close relationship, in that catharsis was either caused or expressed through autobiographical techniques, meant that I needed to make two further sections in the findings chapter with a mini literature review which explored the prevalent ideas around these concepts. Secondly there was much overlap and repetition of material between the code families, and so I had to construct a structure which would both avoid the repetition and make a clear pathway through the findings. Thus the chosen headings show how I restructured the findings revealing further conceptualisation.

To clarify the relationship between the code families and the sections headings, in the table below I show how the section headings in section 4.2 relate to the code families as seen in table 7:

Table 8 (a): Code families' relationship to findings section: "The formation of identities from the given" (source author)

Main section heading	Relationship to category
The formation of identities from the given	The formation of identities from the given: assigned and appropriated identities
Sub section headings	Relationship to code families
Young people's perception of their pre prison identity	Assuming macho identities
Assigning group identities	Power and authorising
Staff and young people's rationales for the presentation of aggressive behaviour	Home social environment Power and authorising Assuming macho identities
Validation from the Behaviour Award strategy	Offender developing journey (ODJ) Recognising individual talent Symbols of success
Validation through prison processes	ODJ Recognising individual talent Symbols of success
Validation through role	ODJ Recognising individual talent Symbols of success
Links with life outside prison	ODJ Recognising individual talent Symbols of success

As can be seen there is much repetition of code family headings amongst the headings in the chapter. My structure attempts to avoid the repetition of material, though it does help to authenticate the results through the consistency of the narrative coming out of it. The mini literature review engaging with both autobiographical techniques and catharsis then comes after this section, following on

with section 4.5. The relationship of code families to the headings in section 4.5 is seen in table 8 (b) below

Table 8 (b): Code families’ relationship to findings section “the renovation of identity through the arts” (source author)

Main section heading	Relationship to category
The renovation of identity through the arts	Appropriating renovated and assigned identities
Sub section headings	Relationship to code families
The rationale for delivering the arts	Using own initiative,/ self expression Catharsis Recognising individual talent
The influence of autobiographical techniques on renovating identity	Using own initiative,/ self expression Catharsis Recognising individual talent
Pedagogical considerations in Rap Workshops	Using own initiative,/ self expression Catharsis Recognising individual talent
Use of the Gangsta Raps: the teachers’ rationale	Using own initiative,/ self expression Symbols Recognising individual talent
Use of the Gangsta Raps: the young people’s rationale	Using own initiative Symbols Recognising individual talent
Use of the Apologia and the Cautionary Raps: the teachers’ rationale	Using own initiative Catharsis
Use of the Apologia and the Cautionary Raps: the young people’s rationale	Using own initiative Catharsis
Young people’s symbols of success	Self- realising Symbols Home social environment Recognising individual talent
Interviewees’ perception of renovation through inner development	Catharsis Self- realising Symbols Home social environment Recognising individual talent
Pedagogical considerations in the Write to Freedom Course	Catharsis Self- realising
The Write to Freedom Course: the young people’s perspective	Catharsis Self- realising Symbols

Again code family headings are spread amongst the section headings, so that, for example, “using own initiative” appears over four sections; “catharsis” over six. The importance of these code families is evident in their provision of evidence for so

many sections, but by splitting up the findings under each heading, I have been able to deepen my conceptualisation.

My hierarchy of coding (see table 9) has similarities to Charmaz (2006) and Glaser and Strauss (1967), although my terminology sometimes differs. Some of this difference emanated from my computer programme, because Atlasti enables the formation of “code families”, a term which I therefore used instead of the more common term used of “focused codes” (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Another analytic strategy I used to achieve this was the use of “in vivo codes” where I took a specific phrase which I noticed was often repeated to discover if it had particular significance.

Table 9: Hierarchy of codes
(source: author, with reference to Charmaz, 2006)

Hierarchy of codes as discussed by Charmaz (2006, Chapter 3)	My hierarchy of codes
Initial coding – remains open to whatever theoretical possibilities can be discerned	Open Codes – I began with an open mind as to which codes would emerge and therefore which conceptual possibilities
In vivo codes – codes of participants special terms	In vivo codes -emerging from parlance particular to views on developing identity
Focused or selective coding – more directive, selective and conceptual	Code families – these codes were partly related to the pilot: arts, prison and identity, but also then emerged out of the open codes and became code families and are similar to focused coding because they are conceptual
Axial coding – relates categories to sub categories, reassembling the data	My use of categories is aligned closely to axial coding. They emerged from my pilot. I allotted Code Families to them so that I was able to organise my data.
Theoretical coding	Coding towards my conceptual understanding – enabled through the use of categories

I coded phrases such as “kicked out of school”, “on the out” because this process then enabled analysis of the relevant quotations attached with conclusions being able to be drawn as a result. For example my in vivo code “on the out” provided indicators of the link between the music these young people heard outside prison and the music they were listening to and also creating within prison, with some of them hoping to become rappers when they left prison.

A variety of methods connected to coding emerged in my study all of which had impact on the analysis. As Turner (1989) argued:

The qualitative analyst is much more likely to vary the methods of analysis according to variations in the data being examined and so is in much less of a position to impose an orthodox approach which can disregard local variations. (p 209)

Considering the language used, and the common occurrence of words such as “fire”, “CD”, “qualifications”, “mentor” which in themselves had symbolic significance for these young people, led to further analysis around the importance of symbols in developing identity. As a result, I decided on the use of symbols as a code family, which then led me to write memo notes.

11.4.2 MEMOS

Making a printout of the codes for each Code Family, and analysing what was emerging from the codes and their underlying quotations enabled many complexities to surface, leading me into different unforeseen areas. It was as I wrote the memos for the code families that I realised there were gaps which needed to be saturated by further interviews. The new data enabled me to complete the memo notes from which I was then able to form concepts. An example of the construction of a memo note around a quotation can be seen in Appendix Three. My understanding emerged from the data, rather than forcing “preconceived ideas and theories directly on the data” (Charmaz, 2006, p 17).

The place of autobiographical techniques in formulating meanings became a major area of exploration. Once exploring this trail, further intricacy became evident. As Charmaz (2006) explained, “A telling code that you constructed to fit one incident or statement might illuminate another” (p 59). I found this process occurred in my analysis. The illumination of the use of catharsis arrived by my focus on the code self-realising, where many quotations around change and self-development were apparent. I then explored all the transcripts adding the code catharsis where relevant. It was clearly a significant code, and as a result I wrote memo notes around it. (See Appendix Three for an extract from these memo notes).

Memos served as further catalysts in my analysis process. Concepts emerged through the analysis by interpreting and making links between the codes, writing memos to explore their significance, saturating the code families through targeted sampling, and analysing the results. Through the memos I was able to compare data, explore ideas about the codes and be directed towards further data gathering through sampling.

11.4.3 MY POSITION AS A RESEARCHER

I came to this journey with experience of teaching the Arts, working in a prison, engaging in an evaluation of an arts project in a prison, and finally engaging in the pilot which involved interviews with staff and young people who were ex-prisoners. While I had the advantage of some experience of the Arts in prisons, this also meant that I had some preconceived ideas already which I needed to be prepared to abandon as I focused on the data I was collecting from the investigation. I needed to be open to the information coming to me, but I could not pretend that I had not had these experiences. It became important to consider both how to use the experience and also how not to allow it to influence my perceptions forming from my findings. I therefore decided to use my experience in the way I interviewed and presented my findings, but to ensure I focused carefully on the data in order to conceptualise.

First of all, I decided to ensure that my approach did not objectify the young people because research shows that many men feel inhumanity within a prison (Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008). I did not want to exacerbate the tendency of referring to the young people objectively as that would seem to reflect this inhumanity. I became aware anyway that as a researcher there was inter-dependence between us: I was dependent on them for their perspectives given in interview, but I was in control of the way I present my findings. When deciding how to present my findings and indeed the whole thesis, I had to make a decision about whether to use the first or third person. While Foley (1998) stated that an author must use the third person to sound authoritative, Eisner (1991) stated that he wants readers to know that the author is a human being. I wanted my research to show that the author is an individual trying to make sense of the world of this study with the help of other individuals. I was not engaged in a positivist approach, objectifying the foci of my study and therefore did not need to use a third person impersonalised approach, but a study which is rich and idiosyncratic because it is placed in one prison which happens to have a set of circumstances which produces these results. The study itself is around the development of identity, so for this combination of reasons writing in the first person was most appropriate

I was engaged in complex interactions through the interview and observation process. I was also aware of Cilliers' (2004) argument that whether from the structuralist or the post-structuralist perspective, meaning is conceived through relationships of difference through complex interaction. I was aware that there was always the danger that my opinions may come forward to the exclusion of others. However, I could not concur with Wacquant (1989) who argued that "the deeper object of the reflexive return [was] entailed in objectifying one's own universe" (p 33). It is almost impossible totally to bracket your own "universe" in objectification.

In many interviews, I was aware that the values presented were often different from my own and it was useful within my methodology to consider Joas' (2001) argument:

A value may be the result of one cultural tradition but this does not mean that other traditions cannot be reinterpreted or rather cannot reinterpret themselves so that their own potential to articulate this same value comes to light. (p 56)

While I have been involved in work in several prisons, I had never worked in this prison and so did not have knowledge of their routines and expectations. Also all the interviewees' backgrounds were different, and their own cultural understandings did not necessarily tally with each other. I aimed therefore to see each one of them as separate from myself in order to understand what I was hearing, but at the same time to enable analysis of synchronicity and difference. As Gadamer (2004) argued, I needed to work with the "fundamental non definitiveness of the horizon in which his understanding moves" (p 366). By developing an understanding of synchronicity and difference I then was enabled to conceptualise within the paradigmatic focus of my investigation around rehabilitation and their developing sense of identity.

As well as being aware of being in a prison where the societal rules have differences from those experienced outside prison, I was also aware that each individual came from a different familial and situational culture. I sought to find out if and how their engagement with the Arts was rehabilitative in developing their sense of identity, through a range of processes: interviews, observations, discussion and data analysis. I was therefore observing in part the young people's relationship between these three situations: their pre-prison familial situation; their reactions to being in prison and whether or not the Arts helped them form perceptions to enable them to clarify their sense of identity.

While sometimes the interviewees were able to be very self-reflective, I could not, however, expect them all to be self-analytical as far as the dialectic between the institution and their development in the arts were concerned. As Layder (1993) argued, "There is certainly no reason for researchers to assume that people know, or should know about (or could be expected to analyse) the institutional circumstances of their activities" (p 66). Keeping this in mind provided my rationale for interviewing

not just young people but also staff, and gaining additional data from observations and a focus group. By keeping an openness towards what they were saying, the "fullness of meaning is realized in the changing process of understanding" (Gadamer, 2004, p 366). Understanding was focused not in the capacity to see similarity instead of difference but to be prepared for the unexpected and the unknown. Rather than attempting to overcome or annihilate otherness by seeking for the commonality with myself, I sought to understand it.

However, I wanted the writing up of the research to be more than a confessional declaration of difference (Cousin, 2009). By this, I mean I wanted to go beyond what was different about being in prison, to the different relationships which the arts and later in the research process autobiographical techniques were bringing to these young people, all of which enable development of a sense of identity. The fact the young interviewees were in a prison was important to the research because I was exploring whether or not the arts had advantages specifically for their rehabilitative development in this closed community. However, the arts reach into all our cultural lives and in an exploration of the creative process there was a commonality of experience between researcher and the researched, and with this the realisation that the processes used in this prison would have transferability.

In writing up the work, an accepted "master narrative" could be presented which actually oppresses the young offender (Cilliers, 2004; McLean, 2008). Regarding the traditional concept in analysis of people's motivation within prison, McKendy (2006) argued:

The conceptual schema is organized around the assumption that many criminals think differently from law abiding citizens. They are pathologically inclined to deny, excuse, justify, minimize, and blame others for what they have done. Cut out of the everyday contexts in which they emerged, criminal acts are construed as emanating from such individual pathology. (p 476)

My aim was to veer away from the stereotypical by using my methodology to present the results as they occurred through interviews. However, in interviewing the staff, the world of the young person was reified through the language of the adults, making a social reality based on objectified concepts (Scott, 2010). Structural relations between interviewer and interviewees formulate possibilities of disclosure or hiding information. An over-emphasis on members of staff's views to the detriment of those of the young people could, as Potter and Wetherall (1994) argue, result in an analysis which inadvertently becomes "designed to counter real or potential alternatives" (as cited in Bryman & Burgess, 1994, p 48). I wanted to branch away from this powerful master narrative to the narrative offered by the young people themselves, as although all of the adult narrative concerned the young people, interviews with young people did not necessarily reflect their attitudes at all (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

My findings regarding the initial projection of identity by the young people revealed I was entering a community where these young people sometimes had at least an initial problem in projecting their individual identity. They co-exist with strangers, in a sometimes nomadic existence, where they are sent to a number of prisons for a length of time, and I was another stranger coming in. Chinnery (2006) refers to a "negative" commonality in that we had a shared condition of "lack or incompleteness" (p 331). My "lack" of understanding was gradually replaced by my developing perception of what they were telling me, but I have a "lack" in that I can only imagine what incarceration is like. Their sense of incompleteness would have varied but being away from family and friends and out of their home environment all adds to a sense of disjuncture. As Chinnery (2006) argued:

We need to suffer with them in the tension of not knowing who they/we are, and with the impossibility of ever truly knowing the other. For it is precisely the capacity to receive the other as other, to resist the impulse to reduce the other to the same, and to take that demanding path together. (p 336)

In exploration of notions of identity I appreciated that we are all hesitating towards some light to reveal our uniqueness from others. I needed to confront “with otherness that is conversation” in order to find “the critical distance essential to hermeneutics” (Gadamer as cited in Gonzalez, 2006, p 339).

11.4.4 REFLEXIVITY

Glynis Cousin (2009) refers to the reflexive process which places the researcher in the process, as opposed to being objectively outside it. In initiating this investigation and then organising some sampling interviews to saturate my data I was very much involved in the process. I was conceptualising the work in the Arts at this YOI and the influence it had on the young people and involving further interviewees in engagement with my findings by checking out my understanding on them during the interview. In this way we were all participants in forming a narrative of conceptual understanding together. I started to feel involved both through the data analysis and my emerging conceptualisation but also through the relationships I was building up with the interviewees. I developed a liking for the young people and the staff, particularly appreciating the passion which the music teachers displayed towards the young people there. However, reflexively I realised I was becoming seduced, wanting it all to be successful for everyone concerned, so that when a prison officer challenged this perception, I felt angry. Although the recording does not reveal that this anger was evident, and did not apparently affect the way he was responding to me, that experience did raise my awareness of the necessity to keep closely to the text of the interviews in my conceptualisations. I realised the value of negative sampling in delineating the perceptions coming out of the other interviews. A constant return to the transcripts, and their analysis was useful in steering me away from an emotional response to a focus on analysing data from "the other." I was therefore able to be reflexive in that it enabled me to see new meanings in the data, widening my understanding of the views expressed.

In order to form theory, I needed to explore the data to search for the meaning young people found in their creativity and artistic expression. However, it also involved my own personal development enhanced through dialectical thinking, and consciousness-raising as a result of critical reflexivity (Clements, 2004). As Charmaz (2006) argued, "What you see in your data relies in part upon your prior perspectives. Rather than seeing your perspectives as truth, try to see them as representing one view among many" (p 54). I had to consider reflexively the relationship amongst my growing understanding of cultural, institutional, organisational and developing personal identity of these young people (Loseke, 2007). Interpreting the data requires researcher reflexivity, or as Maltreud, (2001, cited in Manderson, et al., 2006, p 1318) describes "the knower's mirror." However, because concepts would emerge through the data and change as I gained a more detailed and sophisticated understanding of what was involved in this study, I aimed for my approach to embrace hermeneutics, because "all human endeavours involve hermeneutic interpretation" (Slattery, et al., 2007, p 538). This relationship for me occurred in the reflexivity I engaged in within each stage of the research process. Taking an idea from Schleiermacher's (1977), who expanded the concept of the hermeneutic circle beyond textual analysis towards generic theories of understanding about the human condition (as cited in Coltman, 1998, p 34), my methodology would aim to focus on a microcosm of prison life at this YOI as it affected those interviewees involved in the Arts as staff or student.

Ermarth (1981) argued that "the interpreter must already have a preliminary sense of the whole matter and context being presented if he is to grasp the particular meaning at hand" (cited in Coltman, 1998, p 34). However, a preliminary grasp of a situation may be a mistaken one, borne of prejudice, as Gadamer (2004) argued:

...a hermeneutical situation is determined by the prejudices that we bring with us. They constitute then the horizons of a particular present, for they represent that beyond which it is impossible to see. (p 304)

I considered the reflections of the interviewees by returning to the data. However, I then needed to reflect on what the data was revealing to me. It was at these points that my understandings drew together. I then jotted down my thoughts and returned to the data to ensure I had not been diverted from it. I was after all concerned to ensure the trustworthiness of my research, which positions the researcher reflexively in the research (Savin-Baden & Major, 2010).

My knowledge of the world described is concerned with the reflexive mediation between different stances (Cousin, 2009) with the ensuing emerging interpretation. The interpretation became a fusing of horizons (Gadamer, 2004) as I strove for a shared positional space on the basis of dynamic, individual viewpoints, and observations. This therefore broadened the scope of my reflexivity because it expanded what I could view as my experience within the investigation (Cousin, 2009). My reflexivity included being accountable for the interpretation of personal, interpersonal, institutional, theoretical, epistemological and ontological influences on my research (Macfarlane, 2010). The place of reflexivity towards my final conceptualization is shown in figure 1. Like Gadamer (2004) I found that the different processes and resulting influences resulted in realising the “fullness of meaning in the changing process of understanding” (p 366).

I began the research investigation possessing a perspective formed through experience with projects in the prison system. Reflexivity after my pilot study informed the focus in my literature review. Previous research studies then enabled further reflexivity which informed the design of my investigation. This led to my planning and data gathering and analysis, which led me to a long process of reflexivity and finally to conceptualisation.

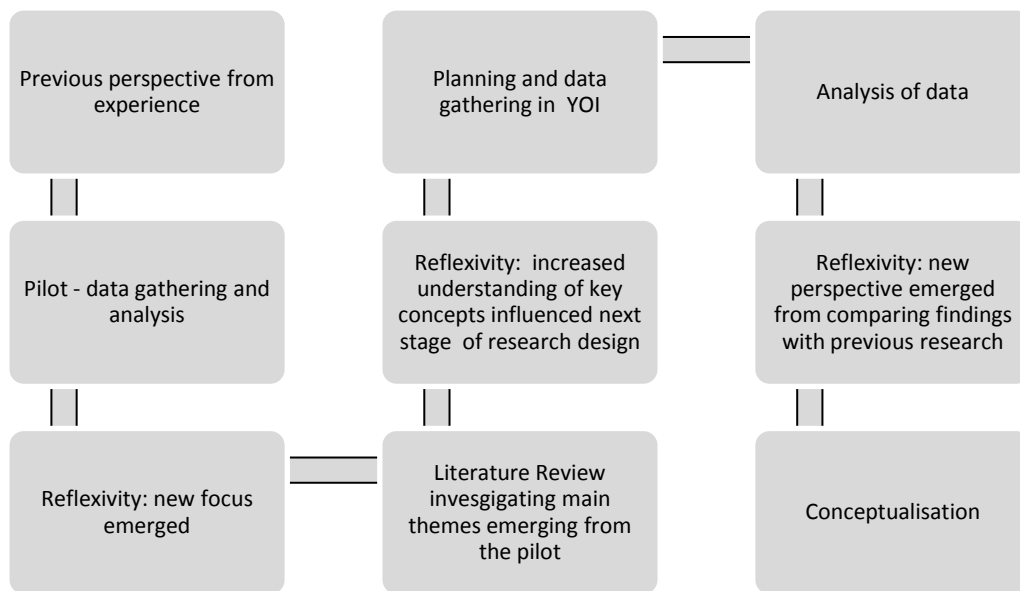


Figure 1: The place of reflexivity towards final conceptualisation (*source author*)

It was important for me to be reflexive with the “otherness” I came across in the prison interviews. This was not only because the young people’s experience of life before being in prison was so different from mine, but also because now they were in prison they were all incarcerated in a closed community from which I was excluded. By using Grounded Theory in my methodology, it allowed a shift of perspective with its focus on developing theoretical ideas which fit the data, rather than making the data fit some preconceived hypothesis.

The way to conceptualisation has many twists and turns. As Turner (1989) argued, “I need to caution that many of the stages I have mentioned were iterative. The journey which we took did not follow a straight line: we took diversions and doubled back on ourselves” (p 208). As explored in section 3.3.1, my journey also did not follow a linear path through the use of sampling to gain the data needed to refine my

conceptual understanding. New concepts which emerged through reflexivity were not necessarily “better” than previous concepts I had formed but were certainly better informed” (Pring, 2000). The research has led me to different, unexpected conceptual understanding.

11.4.5 GENERATING CONCEPTS

In some ways using Grounded Theory processes interpretively is much messier than positivist research which remains clearly focused on proving a hypothesis, so the shape is like a tube where you seek data, analyse it and either prove or disprove the theory. By using a Grounded Theory methodology, concepts emerge at first rather fuzzily, and then clarify as the data is saturated. The methodology chosen enabled simultaneous data control and analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), enabling comparisons and conceptualisation during each stage of the analysis with the final emergence of the conceptual framework as seen in the final chapter.

By using an interpretivist approach, I was denying the existence of an objective reality, but although I was not using a scientific methodology, this did not mean that my work should lack rigour. Although the notion of truth and certainty needed to be abandoned, I had to ensure my conclusions were validated so that I could present them with “the degree of confidence” which emanated from the trustworthiness I placed in my conclusions (Hammersley, 1995, cited in Angen, 2000, p 383). In order to ensure their trustworthiness, I needed my position to be informed by my intersubjective involvement with the different perspectives offered up through my data. It was important that my conclusions were authentic, that they were not formed through pre-conceived assumptions and a pre-determined precisely worked-out course of action (Savin-Baden & Major, 2010). The pilot, the literature review and finally my research investigation in the YOI all led to “my chain of reasoning” (Nielsen, 1995, cited in Angen, 2000, p 390). Through this process I constantly developed and revised my understandings.

The use of the interview was essential to my data collecting process, but I had to ensure that the data I collected as a result was authentic. By enabling open communication, I developed a trusting relationship with my interviewees so that the “performance” by the interviewee was authentic. The authenticity of the interviewees’ responses was encouraged by my flexible interaction with each new participant (Manderson, et al., 2006). The stages of my interviewing were determined by the need to saturate my data. Glaser (2001, as cited in Charmaz, 2006) describes saturation as: “the conceptualisation of comparisons of these incidents which yield different properties of the pattern, until no new patterns of the pattern emerge” (p 113). Although the process of saturation is different from triangulation, Glaser’s (2001) description of saturation has some alignment to triangulation in the sense that it seeks to arrive at a perception of what is authentic to the investigation. In order to allow the patterns to emerge from the data, which I could then analyse, I needed to use three methods of triangulation: different methods of data collection, different data sources, and member checking (Yin, 2009). This ensured I developed conceptual propositions. This process was useful in helping me to formulate concepts which had at their route a range of perspectives, enabling the forming of an interpretation authentic to the context.

Triangulation of method (Shih, 1998) was achieved through semi-structured interviews, tape recording, observation and listening. This is a form of triangulation argued as being effective by Foss and Kleinsasser’s (2001) in an investigation around the way trainee teachers learn. In my study, the actual process of triangulation of method foregrounded the voices of the young people with the observations leading to better understanding of the issues emerging by contextualising the data. From my total immersion in the data from the interviews (Foss & Kleinsasser, 2001; Shih, 1998), I came to initial conclusions which I then needed to add to and clarify through the observations of the classes, and through the focus group. The notes I made during the recordings, and the use of field notes, in which I recorded use of detailed observations of the rap sessions and the salient points of a staff focus group, offered

me different windows to form perceptions of emerging patterns. From these processes I was then able to triangulate by considering the data which emerged as a result, which helped me formulate my conceptualisation. It was not therefore the fact that I used several methods which was important to ensuring the trustworthiness of my conclusions I drew, but “the attempts to relate them so as to counteract [any] threats to validity” (Fielding & Fielding, 1986, cited in Shih, 1998, p 633).

Hughes (2005) argued that understandings about the meanings of Arts in prisons can only be reached by consulting different perspectives. This “challenge” led me to see the importance of using triangulation of data source, which Ernst and Monroe (2006) refer to in an education setting as “the classic sense of triangulation.” Triangulation of data sources enables “different windows on the often elusive phenomena under scrutiny” (Farrier, Froggett, & Poursanidou, 2009, p 64). As Farrier and colleagues (2009) argue in consideration of offender based restorative justice, I was therefore aware that “the processes underpinning intervention effects are very complex” (p 64). In order to gain different perspectives through the interpretation of different data sources (Angen, 2000), I triangulated data source by gaining different perspectives from the young people, the music teachers, education managers, case workers and prison officers. As I was seeking to study the empirical world from the perspectives of the interviewees, I aimed to understand the values, meanings, beliefs, feelings and general characteristics of those involved in the study (Shih, 1998). Like Foss and Kleinsasser (2001), I was aiming for the use of several data sources as “an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question.” While I was not aiming for generalisability because “objective reality can never be captured” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, as cited in Foss & Kleinsasser, 2001, p 274), strong patterns of convergence emerged which were authentic to that setting. As Decrop (1999) argued, “Triangulation is above all a state of mind [...] The search for convergence is the motto” (p 159). While convergence of data was the basis of my conceptualisation, it was more sharply delineated by investigating inconsistent and contradictory data so that I could highlight the complexities of my educative

investigation (Foss & Kleinsasser, 2001). There were some texts which had extra codes which did not fit into any other texts. This led me to check if they were anomalies. Sometimes it made me look at the other transcripts differently re-forming therefore my conceptualisation as I gained more understanding of the complexities around my investigation.

Finally I found it essential to use member checking (Decrop, 1999), so that my conceptualisation through my data was mediated by the participants (Simonot, Jeanes, McDonald, McNicholl, & Wilkinson, 2008). It was important that I checked that my interconnections of ideas were authentic to my data, as that would help me both to validate their authenticity and to make any revisions necessary (Farrier, et al., 2009). I achieved this in several ways: by verbally checking out my understanding within an interview, reflecting my perceptions back to the interviewee and revising where necessary; by checking understandings gained through previous data with interviewees during the interview. A third process of member checking I used was to email work to the staff (see Appendix Four). I had necessarily to make choices about what to do with the responses which came back from staff. I needed to act and respond appropriately in each situation from the prison officer who seemed cynical in his answers, to the music teacher's response to some of my initial conceptualisation from the data. As the music teacher felt that there was something new in the pedagogical approach they were using that he was unable to articulate, we reached some understanding by my going in again to gain further information about the influence of these methods on the young people. Member checking helped me to prioritise and to perceive where contradictory viewpoints were important because repeated several times, and where similar patterns were emerging from the data. Used in combination with the triangulation of data and method, member checking helped me to consider which aspects of my findings were most significant, by giving further clarity and contextualisation of the voices heard. Indeed the responses from some members of staff around my presentation of their strategies helped me to contextualise the responses young people gave me of the meaning-making enabled

through their courses. This aided my awareness of the politics inherent in the prison system, and the creativity and articulate responses of so many of the interviewees.

Through my research process, I was able to form conceptualisation about how each individual was “inducted into participation in the societal dialectic” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p 149). To form conceptualisation of the processes occurring, Grounded Theory methodology enabled exploration of many elements of the socially constructed world of the interviewees inside the prison (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Cohen, et al., 2007). Besides coding analysis, and further interview sampling, a further depth of conceptualisation was gained from other strategies. For example, observations noted down in my field notes provided further material for my analysis. This enabled me to add richness to the analysis by giving some visual observations and also recording my own reflections at the time aided my conceptualisation. Email correspondence with staff who worked in the prison brought in their perspectives. In addition, endemic to my analysis was frequent re-reading of the data.

Charmaz (2006) argued the result of the Grounded Theory methodology should be that “Our work culminates in a ‘Grounded Theory’ or an abstract theoretical understanding of the student experience” (p 4). My initial aim was to formulate a conceptualisation around how the use of arts in a prison setting was influencing the meaning making and sense of identity of these young people. My role in analysing was to communicate this understanding. As Gadamer (2004) argued:

a person who understands a text...has not only projected himself understandingly towards a meaning - in the effort of understanding- but the accomplished understanding constitutes a state of new intellectual freedom. It implies the general possibility of interpreting, of seeing connections, of drawing conclusions. (p 251)

Layder (1993) criticises the limitations of Grounded Theory as being immersed in the empirical world of the study, arguing that “such a focus cannot tell us about the mechanisms which may exist below... [as] the whole thrust and meaning of the theory formed is irresistibly driven by the empirical world” (p 61). However, as it is

presented through interviews and observations, my focus aimed to form conceptual understanding from the empirical world as experienced by those actors within it at that particular time. That allowed me to conceptualise the influence of those areas under observation.

Contrary to Cohen's arguments (2007), I found strength in an interpretive approach and contrary to Layder's (1993) criticisms many advantages in using a Grounded Theory methodology. The strength was in the possibilities of conceptualisation from this study which emerged from my increasing understanding of the social world around my young interviewees in the prison. Interviews revealed that there was a constant flow of young people in and out of the prison, so the "seal" was not airtight, and did not prevent outside influences affecting their viewpoints. Their viewpoints were also at times affected by their access to their family, their understanding of the work of professional artists and their access to the media. In conjunction with this, my entrance in and out of their social world resulted in my perspective in analysis being a merging of my previous understanding, my reading and my findings.

I was always conscious that the prison was also operating in the wider world. Therefore, young people's ideas were not restricted to those collected within the prison system and developed through their experiences in their arts workshops; they were also influenced by their multivariate past (Cohen, et al., 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and their concerns about their future. I did want to distil my understanding by keeping an awareness of issues which may affect these young people once they leave prison. Alongside the work with Second Chance, I was able to follow an ex-offender who had been given the opportunity to lead a project with them. He was very successful within the role, but ended up back inside prison due to circumstances exacerbated by the conditions of the hostel in which he had been placed. This helped me keep my vision realistic and to realise that success within the arts does not give a ring of protection against recidivism.

I am firmly of the belief that if anyone else had looked at the same data they may well have followed different lines of enquiry and formed a different conceptualisation. Unlike Glaser and Strauss (1967) who insisted objective truths were hidden in the data, I see this as interpretive rather than scientific research. My views affected my naming of codes and my interests led me onto other modes of enquiry. My views and interests have been formed as a result of my empirical experience. As Layder (1993) argued:

Obviously researchers cannot rid themselves of all preconceived notions but the point of Grounded Theory is to encourage the researcher to be as flexible as possible when interpreting the findings of the research. In this respect the researcher should adopt theoretical ideas which fit the data collected during the research rather than collecting data that fit a preconceived hypothesis or theoretical idea. (p 19-20)

Thus my conceptualisation arrived as a result of the data; I did not collect data in order to fit into a preconceived perspective.

Collecting the data involved many ethical considerations, which I explore in the next section.

11.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

11.5.1 INFORMED CONSENT

Section 3.5 begins with a consideration of the use of BERA guidelines, and finishes with a discussion of how relational ethics influenced my work. The students were assured that we would work within ethical guidelines. I informed them of the specific implications of this for the study as I explained to them the meaning and implications of informed consent, confidentiality, and anonymity. While I had stated the groups of interviewees I needed to further my research, the actual individuals from the groups of staff and young people I had requested were chosen for me by the music teacher who had been given the task of arranging the interviews for me.

BERA (2011) guidelines state that “Researchers must take the steps necessary to ensure that all participants in the research understand the process in which they are to be engaged, including why their participation is necessary, how it will be used and how and to whom it will be reported.” Before each interview began, I clarified to each interviewee what my investigation involved and informed them that I hoped to write a thesis as a result. While I promised to keep their individual contributions anonymous, I did tell them that the prison would want to see my findings. I then gave them the option of staying or leaving. They all opted to stay and signed a consent form which again stated clearly what the study involved (Kendrick, 2008). I explained that my research would not directly impact on their lives in terms of immediate changes so that they fully understood the immediate lack of impact of the research on their lives (Kendrick, 2008).

The setting up of interviews themselves produced ethical considerations because as a researcher I did not want them to feel it was mandatory. Conscious as I was that these young people have to obey orders within the prison, I made clear that taking part in my research project was not mandatory. Ethically, I did not have concerns that they may be in the interview against their will. This was for several reasons. They were very prepared to speak to me and were open in their responses. Secondly, observational evidence revealed a lack of enforcement by the music teachers in ensuring young people came to my interview: they came if they wanted to. Also, the supporting evidence for this came from the music teacher organising the interviews who told me he had asked them if they were prepared to have an interview with me. Thirdly, the lack of compulsion extended to non-enforcement of a young person who forgot to bring his lyrics book from his room for me to see. I have observed the excellent relationship the music teachers have with these young people and all this circumstantial evidence leads me to believe that anyone who was not prepared to be interviewed would have his wishes respected prior to the interview, as well as my respecting his wishes within the interview.

11.5.2 ENABLING YOUNG PEOPLE'S VOICE AND ISSUES OF CONFIDENTIALITY

Some of the power of the qualitative researcher is in the consideration of how to present interviewees' voices, and whose voices to present. When researching in a prison this has particular significance because, as argued (O'Connor, 2003), prisoners' views are silenced in three ways: the lack of public knowledge about prisons; prison segregation which means that the public do not visit them so are unaware what is going on; self-silencing when prisoners may not be open in their conversation because of their fear of being bullied. Academic research in the area of Arts in prisons tends to focus mainly on analysis of observational data (see section 2.3).

It could be argued that the fact of imprisoning people so that they spend important developmental years of their lives in prison in itself presents ethical dilemmas. Fortunately it is not my role to disentangle the ethics behind those decisions. However, having a research investigation which focuses on young people in prison in turn brings ethical considerations into the research process. Cilliers (2004) defines ethics as "the strategies we use to cope with the messiness of the world as best we can, for example, in the effort to behave ethically"(p 2). This definition seemed to encapsulate my experience of researching in a prison for young adults. I had to make ethical decisions which transcended formulas and self-oriented decisions, and make judgements "in terms of the welfare of the persons and groups upon whom his own fulfilment intimately depends" (May, 1992, as cited in Reich, 1995, p 9).

Although my ethical practices were guided by BERA (2011) ethical codes and guidelines, as Bai (2003) argued, I still had the responsibility of being moral in my approach and needed to consider fully the effects of my actions or presence on the world of the prison. I was moving into their ways of interpreting their creative world (Bruner, 1991) and members of staff's interpretation of this also, and needed to show it at "the interface between complexity theory, political theory and ethical theory" (Osberg & Biesta, 2010, p 157). I had to be prepared for the occurrence of the

unplanned: the unasked for divulgence of crime had to be sidetracked where not relevant; the views of a young person referred to by a member of staff as “a smiling assassin” had to be given equal weight with those of other young people.

It was important that I gave the young people interviewed my full attention so that they knew they were being carefully listened to (Kendrick, 2008). Allowing the construction of concepts to be mainly formulated through young people’s voices rather than being constructed entirely through adult observations (Kendrick, 2008) was in itself an ethical consideration. However, it also gave me the ethical responsibility of ensuring I was not misinterpreting their views and experiences. In order to ensure I was ethical in gaining the information I wanted for my investigation, I did not reveal to the interviewees the full thrust of my investigation. I wanted any ideas relevant to this topic to come from them unprompted where possible. This allowed them the opportunities to expand on elements they brought to the interview in territory they were familiar with, letting them at least in part take control of the interview. Therefore, instead I would say something like: “I am very interested in the arts course you are taking at this prison and am trying to find out whether or not you find them useful and if so in what way.” I informed them I was finding out about their understanding of the value of these courses from their point of view. All interviewees knew I was not employed by the prison, because I told them where I had come from and because unlike all the members of staff I was not wearing a uniform.

While I was ensuring young people had a voice in my research, I developed my understanding of the investigation through the process of interviewing both staff and young people. I was immersed in the inter-subjectivity which emerged in interviews by members of staff reporting on their views of young people, the young interviewees’ views both of their development and also of the part the staff played in their lives at the YOI. My inter-subjectivity with them entered into an ethical approach because in engaging in their views I was involved in the “ethics of answerability” (Slattery, et al., 2007, p 539). In the interviews, I was an interlocutor

who was sometimes speaking and sometimes being addressed. In order to understand the voices of these young people, I carefully considered my responses in interviews, using my responses to clarify my understanding. I also carefully considered areas of confidentiality.

Confidentiality is based on the idea that the person being researched is vulnerable (Macfarlane, 2010). However, as identity is one of the foci of this study, I thought it appropriate to refer to each interviewee by a name within my thesis, although all names are pseudonyms. As Kendrick (2008) argued, I found the willingness of young people and staff to be named in any research. This presented a possible power conflict as my desire to protect them through anonymity conflicted with their views. The interviewees' views needed to be taken into consideration, but as researcher I had the ethical responsibility of protecting their best interests as it is impossible to predict if any harm would come to them as a result of openly identifying the source of their points of view. As BERA guidelines state (BERA, 2011) it was important to ensure that no harm came to the interviewees as a result of my research. I therefore explained it was in the best interest of the participants to have their identity hidden in case any reports or presentations made would lead inadvertently to their detriment (Kendrick, 2008). I explained to them that I felt very privileged to have their trust but that I had no control over who would read the work and then what implications that could have on them in the future as a result. This may impinge on the professionalism of the staff at the prison. As far as the young people were concerned, it was necessary to consider that they would usually be released from prison at some point when being designated as an "ex-offender" could make them particularly vulnerable to judgements which people may make about them. For that reason, I explained to my interviewees that their anonymity would be assured and that they could be assured confidentiality. All interviewees were content with the explanation. However, I also made clear to the young people interviewed that if anything was disclosed which related to potential harm to themselves or to others, I should have to inform a member of staff (see BERA, 2011, point 29 under "Disclosure", also Kendrick,

2008). This example shows how relational ethics worked in practice (see section 3.5.4)

Where sensitive material was being discussed, I was careful to respond appropriately where a non-response could be perceived as judgemental; or where a young person may be explaining something that was of emotional significance to him, as the effect of a non-response could have been detrimental to the young person (Bai, 2003). For example, a young person described how he had been constantly living with a variety of foster carers and how he supposed he was just too much for his Mother to handle. I was careful to make enough response to show I was listening, but without making a value judgement: a comment considered inappropriate by the young person could have been damaging both to the young person himself and also to the interview process. Similarly, I kept my response impassive when young person described what must have been a violent incident he was involved in. I did not need to know the details, and it was not up to me to judge what had happened. I had control of when to change the direction of the interview, and also of the writing. As I was going to be quoting from the young people themselves, I had the responsibility to ensure that this functioned ethically both in interview and also in the writing. Collecting their diverse voices regarded ethical considerations at all points: for interviewees to admit we were entering areas they had not previously considered, required a generosity on their part and also a humility which I did my best to recognise (Chinnery, 2006).

11.5.3 A CONSIDERATION OF POWER RELATIONSHIPS, GENDER AND AGE INFLUENCES

Notions of power within this research are diverse. Deacon (2002) refers to the power which is enforced through imprisonment by centralising powers. Within this section I am focusing on notions of power for the researcher both as the research interviewer and in the writing up of the work afterwards. Ethics enters the tension in the interdependency between myself as researcher and the gatekeepers (Fine & Glendinning, 2005), who were the staff in the prison enabling my research. As a researcher there

was paradox between trying to ensure my ethical approach did not exploit the power structures within the prison versus my necessary use of these same structures to enable the interviews to occur. Without permission from the authorities in the prison I would have had no interviews, and without the power structures within the prison there would be no organisation of the prisoners. The gatekeepers “gave” me interviewees from the groups of personnel I requested. They did not always give me as many as I wanted. However, I was able to remedy this by the use of observations of workshops and discussions within the classroom, and by coming in several times, a strategy needed to engage in sampling. The power relationship between gatekeepers and researcher did not affect my final conclusions.

Charmaz, (2006) argued that “relative differences in power and status may be acted on and played out during an interview” (p 27). I investigate how this relates to the ethics of power in both the interview situation and considerations of power in how the subjects of the interview should be portrayed. I was aware that the authority of the state as carried through prison officers and prison teachers means that their decisions have a direct consequence on these young people’s lives (Foucault, 1995). As a researcher, I did not have this same authority, but of course I could at any time relate something to those with authority which could have an effect on the young person. A consideration of confidentiality was important (see section 3.5.2).

In the same ways as the power structures between teachers and students are intensified in a prison (Hagstrom, et al., 2010), so are the inequities in power structures between researcher and respondents (Cousin, 2009). I was trying to create an informal situation within the formalities extant in the prison (see section 3.3.2). At all times I tried to be aware of the influence of possible power imbalances within each interview as I wanted to receive genuine reactions from the interviewees rather than the reactions they may glean I was seeking. Charmaz (2006) refers to the way in which within an interview the relative differences in power and status can be played out. My responses could also affect the power structures within the room. If I

entered a research interview officiously, then the overt presentation of power was unlikely to result in the giving of open opinions. Conversely, if I entered with an attitude which is overly “caring” this would give me the risk of diminishing their power, or being viewed as patronising by putting the interviewee into the role of a victim (Fine & Glendinning, 2005; Osberg & Biesta, 2010). I could do my best to bestow the same “universal beneficence” each time, as Bai (2003, p 28) argued, but an identical approach was impossible on each occasion because each situation was constrained by personal and circumstantial differences.

Within the interview situation, as I was the one gathering data, the power I wielded was linked to what Bai (2003) terms the “conception of cognition”, which he then refers to as the “ethics of power” (p 26). This is a power duality because the subject, the interviewer, has the choice of the control over “the object”, that is the interviewee. The questions framed, use of language and the interviewer’s response to the interviewee are directly aligned to the results coming out of the interview, and therefore the construction and analysis of the account (Manderson, et al., 2006). In the interviews with young people we were mainly focusing on any sense of change they had reflected on as a result of their course, I mainly did not suffer the conflict in value system and challenges to my personally held cultural beliefs as seen by some ethnographers (Savin-Baden & Major, 2010). However, when asking them to describe themselves pre-prison, there were occasions when their accounts did challenge my own value systems. I therefore had to consider the power relations in the room, and keep my own beliefs out of my responses as they were irrelevant to my study. While I did not want to show approval of their misdemeanours, at the same time I did not want to abuse my position of power as the interviewer to judge them. Society had already done that, and that was not my mission as researcher.

The power duality is reduced, Bai (2003) argued, where there is participatory conception of cognition. I was conscious of co-participation when I was trying to understand what the young people were saying. They had the power of cognition as I

sought to understand empirically the epistemology of incarceration, engagement in the arts and any changes in identity it had wrought with them. Ethically, I needed to ensure the inter-relatedness of the views of teachers, prison officers and young people to develop understanding in this research. This concept of “existing for” others also fitted the concept of relational ethics which is explored in the next section.

11.5.4 RELATIONAL ETHICS

Bai (2003) defines relational ethics as an “interpenetrating matrix of relationships” (p 27). This inter-connection leads to the responsibilities associated with trust and inter-dependency between researcher and participant (M. Duncan & Watson, 2010; Venegas & Huerta, 2009). Ethics entered the tension in the inter-dependency which existed in this research (Fine & Glendinning, 2005): my dependence on the gatekeepers and their expectations of me. I am presenting the worlds of these young people “out there” and so they are dependent on me to present it authentically and with integrity; I was dependent on them for the information and understanding they can give me.

Relational ethics threaded through the data collection and analysis, which meant that reciprocal generosity, became an integral part of the research process and analysis: I was charged therefore with acting responsibly and ethically (Clark, 1990, as cited in Slattery, et al., 2007; Bai, 2003). I was responsible to the interviewees, to the University and to the Prison Education Department. I was also responsible to Serco who ran the prison, and entrusted not to misconstrue their intentions or to paint them in a bad light. The education manager took responsibility for my having a set of interviewees who corresponded to my needs. The music teacher took responsibility for looking after me and ensuring I had everything I needed.

The “establishment of inter being” (Bai, 2003, p 27) was important within my interviews in order to establish my interviewees’ views and understandings. While I was with the young interviewees there was the inter-connectedness of “dynamically interpenetrating relationships” (Bai, 2003, p 23), which is revealing of a relational

universe which is non linear. As Bai (2003) argued, the interviewees had part of the knowingness of a seer and my task was to arrange the threads to produce the pattern. By conceptualising the intertwining of patterns rising from the data, I was enabled subtly and gradually to change my relationship with the world of the research, as my understanding changed and as a result enable complexification beyond prediction (Bai, 2003). The fluidity of the pattern meant that it could not all be precisely contained in one frame (Bai, 2003); something new was emerging rather than something deterministic (Osberg & Biesta, 2010). I had to become the holistic “over seer” and therefore to become part of the phenomenon presented.

As a researcher, the responsibility for behaving virtuously and ethically (Annas, 2005) is within the judgment of the individual researcher. Considerations of operational decisions are related authentically to all the complexities of the moment (Macfarlane, 2010). Making the right decisions was important to my being able to continue with the research while keeping the trust of the staff. While this may be difficult because there are no formulas, and no ways in which the taking of decisions should be driven because they fit into the specific research design, it is consistent with the life experiences of the researcher as doing her best to employ virtuous practice. I was wrestling with a set of questions central to any ethical discourse, investigating, as Bai (2003) explained “who is responsible to whom, for what and to what extent” (p 27). I could not come to one answer because there is no single “who.” As Macfarlane (2010) argued, one of the difficulties of qualitative research is in foretelling the exact problems which emerge from the process. While it is important to celebrate difference with all its cultural magnificence, the complexity of the ethical considerations arrives because we cannot provide single descriptions of the world.

While I followed BERA guidelines (see sections 3.5.1, 3.5.2); this does not present a flow chart to explain what to do in each situation. While strategies were planned to deal with issues of informed consent, confidentiality and power (as discussed in

3.5.1, 3.5.2 [see particularly page 110] and 3.5.4), due to the ongoing nature of ethical issues, there were many occasions where I had to use moral judgement to ensure my research process was virtuous, and that I kept within the boundaries of my remit (Macfarlane, 2010). Cilliers (2004) argued that our social circumstances are so different that generalisation is difficult when considering ethical demands, because they impact on the direction of the research. Two examples give an insight into some of the ethical dilemmas I met. A young person began to divulge some of the details of his crimes to me. Further questioning could have taken me beyond the remit of my study. I therefore put an end to this response by diverting the questioning to issues relevant to my study. The second example was when a member of staff told me the day after the interview that he had been in a bad mood when he answered my questions. This case caused me to review the data for consistency as I needed to consider whether he was representing his usual views or whether he had been particularly negative because he was feeling argumentative that day. There was also the ethical consideration of whether to include his interview because in a sense he had consequently withdrawn some of his more extreme points of view by telling me about his mood at the time of the interview. The views in the interview with this Prison Officer differed from other people's perceptions and also showed internal contradictions. There were also issues of authenticity and truthfulness to consider. If I ignored the interview then I needed to question my motives. I would be guilty of suppressing evidence. However, if it was so different from everyone else's responses and also contradicted itself how much weight should I give it? I needed also to assess reflexively my own responses. I had felt angry during the interview, although I had disguised this in my responses. My feeling of anger was caused by the fact that everyone else had been praising the work of the music teachers, and my own observations in the workshops had borne out the views of the other interviewees. It seemed therefore that his attack was unjustified. However, I wanted to suppress my instinctive rejection of what he had said, because within the response there may well have been very useful material which I would otherwise have missed. I was therefore

placed in the dilemma between his own rejection of his more extreme comments made in his bad mood, and my attempt to move away from my emotional reaction to what he had said.

In the event I kept the coding and analysis of the interview as it stood. There were indeed some salient points so that it did more than serving as a negative sample by adding further depth to my consideration of the influence of art classes on the participants in particular. However, in deference to the point he had made about being in a bad mood himself at the time of interview, I did not use any of his more extreme comments in any direct quotations.

I became interested in how the individual's perception of reality fitted into members of staff's conceptualisation, as the phenomena I was exploring had the complexity of a multifarious diversity of viewpoints (Cilliers, 2004). While an "objective world of extension" (Bai, 2003, p 22) was presented as a reality by all interviewees, members of staff and young people, I became aware of several trajectories from this reality. The reality of prison officers, senior managers, case workers, music teachers and young people all presented different perspective on the world, within which there were sometimes diametrical differences. The worlds as presented by these different perspectives were therefore important because if I ignored them I may miss some significant points. If I focused on the general and the abstract, instead of listening to how various individuals were involved in "combating ...real, contingent injustices" I could well be "circumventing ethical responsibility" (Cilliers, 2004, p 3). If I were to focus purely on "facts" I had a problem, because perspectives are not facts and their perspectives varied. However, so often they would say, "But it is not always like this" which showed the relational rather than the deontological nature of the ethics behind my work, as the discussion led to joint cognition and the co-emergence of perception (Bai, 2003). My relationship with the world of the research therefore developed subtly and internally.

My ethical practice was applied through my understanding of the need to be reflexive about the information given me, so that it was inserted into the context of social, political and moral values (Joas, 2001; Kaufman, 2006). I became as much concerned with practice as with accumulating information because the practice, the process and the accumulation of data were so interconnected.

11.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have discussed the rationale behind my methodological approach and the rationale for the methodological decisions I made during the research process itself. The rationale for the choice of methodology emerged from my realisation that I did not know what influence engagement in the Arts had on the participants, and so I wanted my understanding to emerge through the data. The Grounded Theory methodology I used in my pilot study had provided evidence of the profound experience and changes felt by some of the participants as a result of engaging in the arts when in prison. This had led me towards an initial conceptualisation: the exploration of the place of the arts in the way young people who have left prison make meanings out of their lives and their resulting developing sense of identity. I wanted to explore this insight in more depth with young offenders in prison to find out how arts courses influenced their sense of identity, investigating the way it enabled them to make meanings of their lives. I was interested in investigating whether they projected any emerging identities into their envisioned future after prison.

I was able to continue with a Grounded Theory methodology within my main investigation once I realised that I could have sufficient flexibility within the prison to use sampling to satisfy areas which needed further investigation. This enabled me to focus on the patterns emerging, and to form conceptualisations that would have wider implications. I wanted my methodology to diffuse the lines between theory and research because I wanted to gain realisation through reflexivity around this particular context. I wanted my conceptualisation to emerge from the research so

that it actually was a part of the process having its roots in the data rather than being separate from it.

The prison context affected my preparation for the research. Satisfying the demands of the prison prior to my research necessitated my setting out all the needs of the research. This included clarification about how many times I was likely to be coming into the prison and whom I would need to interview; the visits I would make and the people I would need to see (see section 3.3). While I was able to have some flexibility in the groups of people I wanted to see, and the mode of data collection, this initial timeframe plan was a driver for the time span of the discussions, focus group, interviews and observations I had subsequently.

My Grounded Theory methodological processes have similarities to Charmaz (2006, see figure 2). I began with the research problem formulated in an initial research question. I undertook my pilot where I made an initial data collection, sensitising my concepts through my pilot. As a result of the pilot, I imported into my main investigation the strategic codes of identity, arts and prison which had emerged through the data.

The initial coding in my pilot emerged through the data. It was from this coding that my focus on the theme of identity emerged. As a result of memos in my pilot, I raised some of my codes to the two categories: the formation of identity from the given and the renovation of identity through the Arts, two categories which I used in my literature review. I used these categories as headings under which I organised both my literature review and the findings from my main investigation. This was to enable ease of understanding the arguments in the literature review as compared to those in the findings. My initial understandings were clarified through engaging with the literature review enabling me then to firm up my opening research questions.

Gaining permission through security to record my interviews in the prison enabled the Grounded Theory process of transcribing and coding. I was able to conduct my interviews in such a way so as not to lock my thinking into more preconceived

directions. I delivered semi-structured interviews allowing the chance for exploration of unexpected leads from any interviewees where this seemed relevant to my investigation, and stopping transgressions into areas of irrelevance.

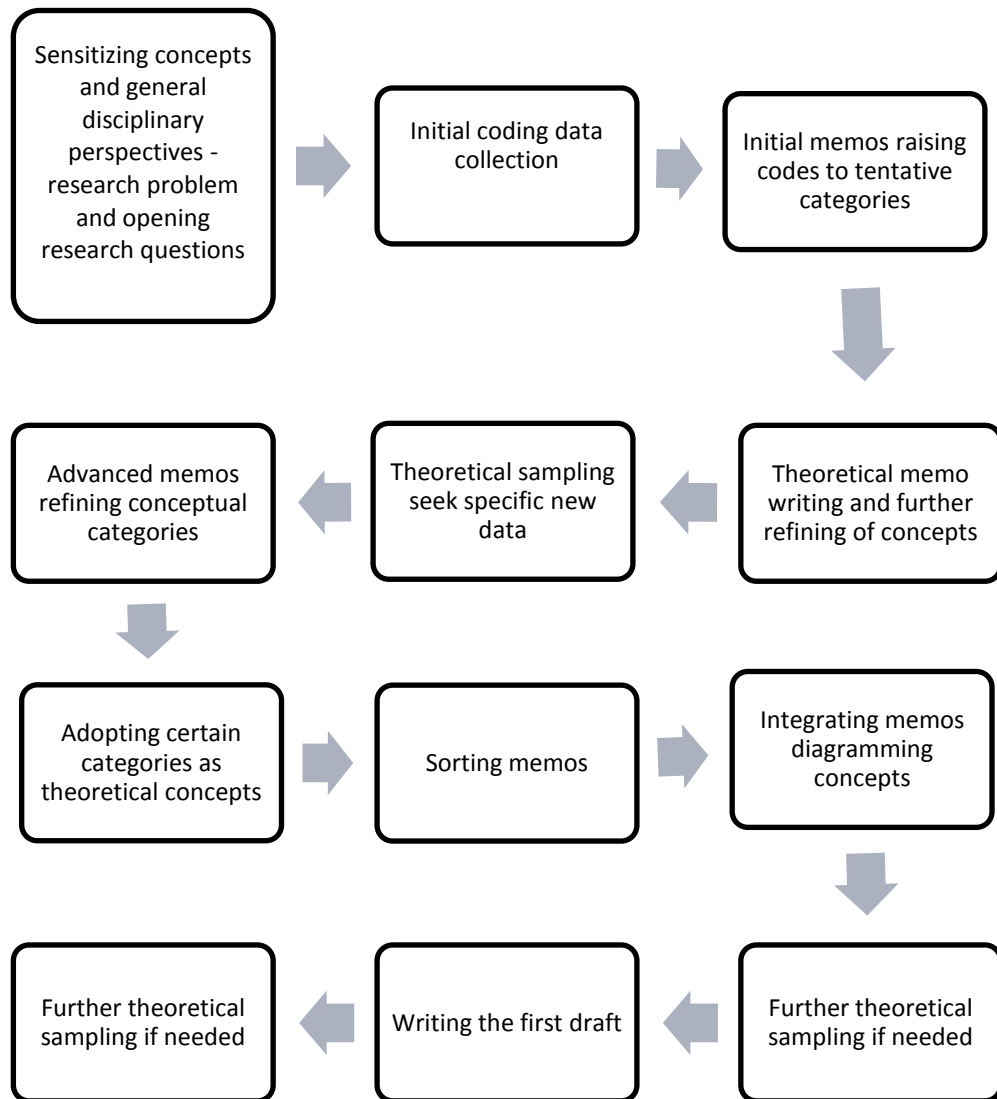


Figure 2: The Grounded Theory process *(based on Charmaz, 2006 page 11)*

Once I transcribed the interviews I was able to code them. The code families under each category were not preordained but emerged through the data and I then designated them to the appropriate category (Charmaz, 2006). I worked towards

conceptualisation by analysing the code family data under each category (Charmaz, 2006).

By writing memo notes it became clear that I needed further sampling to seek specific new data. The prison context affected my sampling in that I needed to keep the staff and manager informed of the direction of my research and my findings, as part of their allowance of my researching there. My initial planning of a long time-frame with several visits enabled the flexibility for the sampling to occur. The importance of autobiographical approaches at this YOI became clear, leading to my request for specific interviews to help clarify my understanding around this area. A request for a focus group emerged from the formulation of a memo around a code where it became evident I still had not saturated my data in that area. There was one occasion where I set up an interview and an observation in order for me to share my understandings with a teacher, and to gain more depth of understanding both of his perspective and also of the strategies used within the classroom and the young people's responses to them.

I analysed the relationships between the theme of rehabilitation, and emerging themes of autobiographical techniques, catharsis and their impact on developing identity. I then began to sort the memos in order to clarify the forming conceptualisations, deciding then on the need for a focus group and further observation. Following this, I then went through further refinement and sampling alongside member checking and discussion enabling further clarification of the concepts which had emerged and began a deeper conceptualisation as a result. Several drafts of the thesis were then made prior to this final version.

Using a Grounded Theory methodology enabled me to conceptualise the way in which these young people were able to make meanings of their lives. Engagement with the arts through autobiographical techniques was rehabilitative in delineating their sense of identity. I was able to explore the inter-connectedness of both assigned and appropriated identities on the validation of their sense of self. By

gathering data from a wide range of staff alongside the participants themselves, a wide perspective has been gathered. Furthermore, my use of Grounded Theory processes has facilitated a reflective approach in considering the links between themes. Grounded Theory builds theory from qualitative data which flexibly uses emergent theories which rise out of the data as a result of sampling and research design (Charmaz, 2006). I have been able to form a conceptual analysis within this context. I ensured that each visit was purposeful, choosing the interview sample to fulfil the needs of my study. To avoid "accusations of uncritically adopting research participants' views" (Charmaz, 2006, p 23), I refined my understanding from the pilot, to the main study, and in the main study ensured I took a range of views across staff roles, as well as young people, returning several times to refine my findings at the YOI.

The influence of the macro, at institutional level and also at macro societal level is always at the margins of what people were saying to me. Individuals' views of their world were influenced both by their peers and by the processes they were subjected to, which is the operation of the prison influenced at macro level. Views of their aspirations beyond the prison were influenced by the media and by ideas brought in by their teachers, visiting speakers, the Prince's Trust and other outside groups. Each young person brought with him his knowledge of the social world they had experienced outside prison and melded it with his understanding of the world within prison and the final result was then internalised as an objective reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Each individual in the prison was overtly revealing his personality through his self-presentation in this Young Offenders' Institute while at the same time internalising his emerging sense of identity through self-reflection. Through the range of interviews, I was able to make sense of the aspects of their socially constructed world which their interviews revealed had strong connections with their use of autobiographical techniques. This allowed me privilege to their perspective of the world they were describing.

Nevertheless, while I am therefore making my study at the micro level of social interaction and everyday life in the prison, the macro societal issues are ever present. Layder (1993) argued that a Grounded Theory approach characteristically is insensitive to the different factors and timescales involved in social processes and social change. I was aware the intense focus of my investigation took a point in time to analyse a phenomenon within the context of the study, but this was over a year. Through the conceptualisation which emerged from my Grounded Theory methodology, I realised there are characteristics about the way in which the participants react which may well be applicable to other situations, and which not only add to understandings around other studies of the arts in prison which spread over decades, but are applicable to other contexts. While my conceptualisation aims to understand what is happening in their world, I was coming in and out of their closed community and bringing with it my empirical and theoretical knowledge, both of which affect my perceptions. Reflexive practice has shifted my understanding as I have moved from face to face interviews, to analysis of transcripts, to further interviews, observation, analysis and deeper understanding. I am reflexive about the fact that it is difficult to avoid one's own preconceptions colouring the data analysis. After all, I cannot pretend I have never seen participants' positive interaction with the Arts, or never worked in a prison before. The study emerged as a result of interviews giving positive reactions to an arts programme in a prison some years ago. However, while my preconceptions influenced my focus it did not determine the final focus as this emerged from the data. I have been able to move towards developing "concepts which are theoretically insightful and provide[s] useful starting points for further research"(Layder, 1993, p 49).

Chapter Four concentrates on the findings from the data with regard to the overall aims and objectives of the investigation. In essence it will reveal the result of the research processes discussed in 3.3. The final chapter, Chapter Five, concludes the thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Now that I have established my methodology, I shall concentrate on presenting my findings. I present the analysis of my data in the light of the objectives of the project. I showed in section 3.1.2 that the main aspect is the possible relationship between rehabilitation and engagement in the arts. If this relationship exists, how consistent is the link? To come to a conclusion I have concentrated on the following questions:

Key Research Question

What is the link between rehabilitation and the arts as presented in a YOI from the perspective of young offenders?

Sub research questions

In which ways does engagement in the arts influence young people's self-perceptions of their developing identities?

In which ways, if any, does engagement in an arts course lead young people to move to renovate and appropriate new identities?

In which ways, if any, does engagement in an arts course lead to young people's consideration of their possible agency in the future?

What role does the context of prison play in developing young people's identity?

As in the literature review, I have organised my findings into the formation of identity from the given (section 4.2), and the renovation of identity through the arts, (section 4.5). The two main headings, section 4.2 and section 4.5 divide the analysis of the findings into two halves: "The formation of identity from the given" and, in section 4.5, "The renovation of identity through the arts". By separating the findings into

these two main sections, I was able to present in section 4.2 those influences on young people's developing identity which occur outside the arts workshops through prison processes and in section 4.5 those influences on young people's identity which occurred from engaging in the arts. These two headings also relate to the headings in the Literature Review in Chapter Two, to enable easier comparison between the literature and my findings, as explored in the discussion section in this chapter, section 4.6. As explained in Chapter Three, in tables 8 (a) and 8 (b) in section 3.4.1, there was also strong relationship between the two main headings and the two axial codes. Tables 8 (a) and 8 (b) also revealed that the sub sections under sections 4.2 and 4.5 relate to the titles of the code families.

The findings showed that young people's sense of identity was influenced by a variety of complex sources. Young people's self-analysis of their pre-prison selves (4.2.1) and the initial assignation of identity onto the young people by prison staff and their analysis of young people's presentation of prisonised identities (section 4.2.2) affected their sense of self. The data which informed these sections emerged through the code family "assuming macho identities". The presentation of macho identities was indicative of prisonised behaviour, where young people sought to maintain status amongst their peers. Analysis of the reasons behind this presentation is explored in section 4.2.3. The reasons for this presentation were complex and the titles of the code families attached to this sub section "home social environment", "power" and "authorising and assuming macho identities" give some indication of the motivation for presenting prisonised behaviour. Young people's pre-prison environment, their self-protection and formation of status as they assumed prisonised behaviour, and their reactions against the presentation of power and authority within the prison system were all factors influencing their sense of identity.

Sections 4.2.4 - 4.2.7 show how young people's improved motivation to learn in the music workshops was validated and affirmed through privileges given out through the prison, and also through their gaining of qualifications and gaining awards. The data

from the code family “offender developing journey” was revealing of the way this validation process was a marker along the journey of the young person. At the same time, the link with the code family “recognising individual talents” was important because recognition is a form of validation which then marked them out as individuals, affirming their sense of identity. The final code family to inform these sections was “symbols of success”. All these validating strategies were used around aspects of success which were recognised by the prison. The presenting behaviour as seen in the first three sections (4.2.1 - 4.2.3) and the validation of their changed behaviour and improved skills as seen in the final four sections in 4.2 (4.2.3 - 4.2.7) revealed the way the prison marked and affirmed young people’s individual journeys.

The findings analysed in section 4.5 revealed the pedagogical use of autobiographical techniques including the strategic employment of catharsis. As neither of these strategies was present in the findings from my pilot, they did not inform the reading I engaged in for my literature review. In sections 4.3 and 4.4, I therefore include some investigation into previous research on their use. I have included them in this chapter to give some idea of the journey I made by using a Grounded Theory methodology. I have inserted them to mark the point of realisation that I needed to explore this pedagogy through the literature before analysing my findings.

Section 4.5, “the renovation of identity through the arts”, gives an in depth exploration and analysis of the way in which the use of arts in this YOI influenced young people’s developing identity. The pedagogical strategy of using autobiographical techniques flows through this section. The code families which informed the first three sections, 4.5.1 - 4.5.3, showed a mixture of the pedagogical strategies of validation from peers and teachers, in “recognising individual talent” and enabling “self-expression” and “using their own initiative”. Self-expression was shown in the autobiographical raps. Their progress in expression and electronic beat was recognised by their peers and also by the music teachers, and affirmed through self- appointed, and peer assigned roles. The data under the code family “use their

own initiative” revealed encouragement to these young people to use their own initiative to empower their own learning, and to choose the way they progressed. It is possible that those code families would have emerged alongside analysis of many arts courses at a prison. However, the difference with this YOI’s strategies in their teaching of Music was seen with inclusion of data from the code family “catharsis”. Catharsis arose through the use of autobiographical techniques, through the Rap Workshops and the *Write to Freedom* course. Explanation and analysis of these courses is seen in sub sections 4.5.4 – 4.5.11. In discussion of the first genre of raps used, the Gangsta Raps, sections 4.5.4 – 4.5.5, analysis of data from the code families “using own initiative”, “symbols” and “recognising own talent” revealed that two of these code families were linked to the pedagogical strategies as shown in sub sections 4.5.1 – 4.5.3. This was hardly surprising because the use of Rap Workshops was the result of the Music Teachers’ pedagogical strategy. However, the code family “symbols” indicated the symbolic importance to the young people of presenting their desired status amongst their peers through the raps.

With the two sub sections following, 4.5.6 and 4.5.7, the focus was on two further genres of rap, the Apologia and the Cautionary raps. The two code families for these two sections were “using own initiative” and “catharsis”. This was indicative of two important factors which emerged in the analysis of these sub sections. First of all, the code family “using own initiative” informed my understanding that young people had chosen to move towards these rap genres, abandoning their Gangsta Rap focus. Secondly, the significance of the code family “catharsis” was in its illumination of the link of young people’s changed perspective to the expression through rap of some expulsion of negativity in their lives. Sometimes this provided moments of enhanced understanding.

The analysis of young people’s symbols of success, section 4.5.8, had a broad range of code families attached to it. The first, “self realising”, revealed data connected with the ways in which young people felt they had developed their potential. The code

family “symbols” revealed the data connected with young people’s consideration of symbols of personal significance for them. It was very pertinent to see those areas of similarity and difference between their symbols of success and those of the prison validating processes. The areas of difference clarified the importance of using autobiographical techniques through the arts as a strategy for developing young people’s sense of identity. Analysis of the code family “recognising individual talents” explored young people’s self-recognition of their developing talents alongside validation from peers and from staff. Both self-recognition and affirmation had influence on the roles which young people chose to adopt. The code family “home and social environment” revealed the importance of young people’s home environment on their self-identity at the beginning of their journey. This contrasted with the symbols of success which marked young people’s burgeoning skills and social development.

The young people’s success symbols were indicative as markers of their sense of renovation through inner development (section 4.5.9). Analysis of data from five code families informed this section. The code family “symbols” revealed the aspect of the interviews where I asked them to use symbols to show themselves as they were before prison, when they arrived, and at the time of their interview. While the code family “home social environment” provided data around their pre prison sense of identity, it also linked into the data from the code family “catharsis”, because it was a new perception of their past lives which often led to catharsis and a changed attitude. This in turn correlated with the next code family informing this section, “self-realising”, as a re-framing of their sense of identity could lead towards fulfilment of their potential. When this occurred, this led to their peers and teachers “recognising individual talents”, the final code family for this sub section.

The *Write to Freedom* course was not an art and so the code family “self expression” did not inform the pedagogical considerations of this course (sub section 4.5.10). The *Write to Freedom* course focused totally on autobiography, and the code families

“self realising” and “catharsis” also provided data for this sub section. However, for this sub section, it was the planning of future self-realisation which emerged as a result of catharsis. Besides a repetition of those same two code families in the next sub section, understanding of the young people’s perspective of their *Write to Freedom* course (sub section 4.5.11), was also informed through the code family “symbols”. The use of this code family always emerged where young people’s perspectives were analysed (see also sections 4.5.5, 4.5.7 and 4.5.8). It showed the importance young people attached to particular rituals and status, and within the *Write to Freedom* course it highlighted the importance of the camp fire in their weekend away. The fire became a symbol of a trusted friend, yet it was powerful and destructive. Their past was burnt out as their modules about their past went up in flames, and this had powerful influence on their perceptions of their future lives.

The points made in this chapter are then brought together in the discussion section, section 4.6 where my conclusions in the findings are mapped against current literature.

12.1.1 YOUNG PEOPLE’S BEHAVIOUR AND THEIR ASSIGNED IDENTITIES IN THE YOI

The links between behaviour and both assigned and appropriated identities have been explored earlier (see Kolstad, 1996; Lofland, 1969, sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.4). It is useful therefore to give some understanding of how this YOI presents its perceptions of the presentation of behaviour of its young people.

Within the YOI reception there is a notice revealing the number of assaults that week. My notes taken on February 25th 2010 reveal:

Field Notes

February 25th, 2010
(Observation of YOI reception area)

Week ending 21/2/2010 had:

22 threats to staff
1 assault
18 threats to young people
5 assaults on young people

The 2010 Inspection Report revealed there was mention of 21% of young people felt unsafe (H M Chief Inspector of Prisons, 2010). Within the survey conducted in the report the main reasons given for people feeling unsafe were the availability of drugs, aggressive body language and gang culture. While the one in five young people feeling unsafe at the prison was less than the national comparator (H M Chief Inspector of Prisons, 2010), it is logical to assume that those young people feeling unsafe mistrusted many of those around them.

12.2 THE FORMATION OF IDENTITY FROM THE GIVEN

12.2.1 YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION OF THEIR PRE- PRISON IDENTITY

Comments from the staff about these young people's lack of academic attainment pre- prison emerged from the data, and were perceived to affect behaviour and initial presentation of identity within the classroom. This led me to explore this aspect of their lives through their own perceptions of themselves pre-prison, both socially and academically. As I have no access to any interviews which may have taken place with these young people pre-prison, the data from my interviews capture young people's retrospective understandings of themselves during that period. This discussion may be important in understanding their entry behaviour. Interviewing these young people also gave me an opportunity to explore retrospectively any journey they may have felt they had made in their developing identity. I begin by giving situational context to the view of these young offenders' identities, through exploring the young people's meaning-making. As Berger and Luckmann (1966) argue: "identity is objectively defined as location in a certain world and can be subjectively appropriated only along with that world" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p 152).

These young people's perceptions of their schooling had common themes. A typical school narrative involved being "kicked out of school", as we see first with Paul, then Ezekiel and finally Jimmy:

Paul (Write to Freedom student)

I was always in trouble. I got kicked out of school.

Ezekiel (music student)

I got kicked out of school early in my first couple of weeks in High School, Year Seven. I was kicked out. I went to the PRU. Never did nothing there. I got kicked out and then I went on one on one learning. Never did nothing there.

Jimmy (art and music student)

I got kicked out. At seven I got kicked out. I got to Year Eight but when I got to Year Eight, I got kicked out again.

Interviewer Why do you think?

Mainly because I was born I didn't know I had it but I was born with ADHD. You know the teacher think I was mucking about

Interviewer You couldn't sit still?

I couldn't sit still, but the longest I could ever sit still was for about what 10 minutes, 20 minutes.

Their term "kicked out" was never said with any sense of pride, so they were not casting themselves in the role as anti-hero. Neither was it said with shame, but in each case was just stated factually. The phrase "kicked out" itself is aggressive, denoting rejection. In each case the "I" used suggests not agency but a passive recipient of the kicking by the invisible "they". Paul "was always in trouble" with "them". There seems evidence here that "they" interpreted Jimmy's undiagnosed ADHD as being a display of disruptive behaviour for which he was punished. This sense of these young people's lacking a sense of having any control over their destiny seems part of their pre-prison sense of identity.

Initial analysis of the data focused on young people's schooling presented some common factors and the common phrase "kicked out" expressed these similarities. While describing their view of themselves pre-prison, there was commonality in the use of the word "bad" which pervaded their self-perception. However, the use of "bad" had various connotations. Joseph refers to the fact he used to see himself as a "bad person." Later in the interview, his view of being bad suggests that he equates it with (514-520) "messaging about, stealing, selling drugs." With Paul, the term "bad" is applied not to himself but to his past as being "bad." In his case he separates his sense of self from his actions. However, he fears his sense of a "bad" past will reflect people's judgment of him. Leonardo suggests that the burning of the modules during the *Write to Freedom* Course was able to take away "that kind of bad thing." Leonardo's analysis of his pre-prison self, with his focus on being on the margins of society, gives deeper definition of his meaning of "bad":

Leonardo (*Write to Freedom* Student)

Obviously we kind of like see that every day what you - what nice shops you have necessary shops, so obviously what you see every day it just got us immune from that, that kind of emotion that feels like oh - do you know what I'm saying so it was just like a brand period of time innit of seeing certain things and it's like when we go and do something we'd think, "Well it was not as bad as what was intended" so - do you know what I mean?

This time "bad" is used in reference to action, the noun "thing" in fact masking the activity. There is similarity to Paul's meaning of "bad." Leonardo shows a desire for acquisitions from shops, which, he feels, belong to other people, not to him, but to the others, the invisible "they" once more, this time including me as the interviewer. His emotions were dulled through repetition of his acts and the "brand" became the all-important acquisition. His self-justification at the time was that it was "not as bad as intended." From this, it seems that the actions he and his friends took to gain the acquisitions were not deemed by them to have been as damaging as they had predicted. Therefore, at the time they were able to excuse themselves, although his

previous reference to using the fire to rid himself of “that kind of bad thing” suggests he now wishes to cauterise its memory.

Pete (music student) does not use the term “bad” but his terminology implies he castigates his behaviour in these terms with his perception of a destructive macho-self pre- prison:

Pete (Music Student)

Interviewer What did you used to think life was about then?

Just fucking around. Sorry. Drugs. Making money illegally. Um gangs. All the wrong icons basically

Pete indicates that his pre-prison identity focused on gang allegiances, and activity around drugs. Instead of referring to them as “bad” he terms them as “the wrong icons”, which indicates he worshipped them, or they at least dominated his thinking. Initially, his interest was in guns, which he explained was when he was “unformed”. His use of the word “unformed” suggests a developmental journey away from guns which is linked to his “forming.” That these young people come in with a sense of “badness” surrounding their pre-prison identity adds to the complex mix of emotions, which in turn may be a factor in their initial presentation of a macho-identity in the prison.

12.2.2 ASSIGNING GROUP IDENTITIES

While this study has been contextualised in Chapter Three, it is appropriate to continue the contextualisation of the young people at the heart of this thesis by revealing the way in which members of staff assign their identities. The pertinence of seeing members of staff’s views of these young people is to investigate Lofland’s (1969) argument that to maintain identity, feedback from others is needed in order to “validate” the identity the “Actor” is working towards (see section 2.2.4).

When interviewing, I noticed that members of staff used different terminology to describe these young people as a group. Prison Officers and Case Workers used the

official collective noun of “young people”; while the music teachers saw their students collectively as “musicians” (Michael, music teacher: 41). This re-badges them as a group of students with a specific classroom identity, and a common interest. While assignation of identity by badging these young people through different terminology is of interest in itself, there are further assigned identities implied which seem to relate to their behaviour. For example, Frances (a non-arts teacher) seems to view them as criminals until she sees them performing:

Frances (non-arts teacher)

You think they are not actually this impression of the criminal in a green suit. That they are actually people there with personalities and you can see that they are laughing and they are making mistakes and it is just like I do.

Seeing them in performance has had the effect on Frances’ reflection of them as individuals. In a group they are considered differently once individual differences emerge.

This macho-presentation, which is aligned to a group identity, is expanded to represent gang culture by Nick (Prison Officer, Segregation Unit). He argued that this is not only demonstrated through behaviour, but also through graphic symbols representing violent street gangs. Nick argued that these symbols (65-74) are “a form of protection” which they display in custody and also in their individual learning plans (ILP’s), to display visibly their gang membership for protection: “You know - don't mess with me because you will be messing with the entire gang.”

12.2.3 STAFF AND YOUNG PEOPLE’S RATIONALES FOR THE PRESENTATION OF AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR

While there was general agreement about group presentation of aggressive behaviour, members of staff gave different reasons behind this presentation of a macho-identity, such as survival, mistrust and vulnerability. The presentation of

identities assigned through group behaviour was indicated by Russell (Head of Arts) who explained:

Russell (Head of Arts)

In groups these lads are in a horrible group mentality. They are all surviving amongst their peers and it's a difficult dog eat dog world for them, but here one to one they are different people.

Russell perceives the reason for these young people's assumption of aggressive masculine or macho-identities is in order to "survive" when in a group. Reference to the "dog eats dog" mentality seems to suggest a belief in their predatory nature, with the idea of the hunter and its prey.

Frances explained this presentation of macho-identity as follows:

Frances (non-arts teacher)

They follow personalities that they think they should have (pause one second) sort of like their gender personalities. Or their peer group personalities.

Frances' perception is that the young people's behaviour follows a pre-conceived idea of a masculine presentation of identity, identities that they "think they should have" in prison. A member of the music staff's perspective suggests that their aggression is shown because they mistrust everyone. Jack (music teacher: 898-899) explained: "Their trust in adults has gone completely, not just their trust and respect for authority." One of the reasons for these young people's lack of trust of others, Michael (music teacher) argued, is because "nobody's trusted in them" (696). A lack of trust is also indicative of feelings of vulnerability. Nick (prison officer, Segregation Unit) verifies that students feel (65-74) "very vulnerable", and while the prison tries its best to "stamp out bullying (pause) [it] does take place." As lack of trust was perceived to be blocking the rehabilitative process, a strategic decision was taken to

try to improve trust between young people and staff. An interview with a prison officer revealed that previously members of staff often gave vague answers in response to the young people, who found this frustrating. The new way of responding is to convey a definite understanding of the immediate and short-term future, which allays frustration and helps to engender trust in the adult response.

Michael (music teacher) describes the emotions young people have on arrival as anger, fear and disappointment. While Michael also refers to fear causing their defensiveness, his analysis also relates any initial aggressiveness to their anger and disappointment in being caught and imprisoned, and their guilt at letting people down. The display of macho-identity is therefore seen by members of staff as a display of strength both as status, but also as defence from “the hunters”. Lynne (senior manager) explained how physical rather than verbal expression can also be caused by a lack of ability to articulate emotion. As evidence she gives an account of a young man who was sent to the Segregation Unit:

Lynne (Senior Manager)

I've just been down to our Segregation Unit to um a review of these boys who are you know reviewed every week, and one of them's down for you know some unpleasant um assault - assaults and you know racist attitudes and behaviour and this boy came into the meeting for twenty seconds and couldn't handle it. He went red in the face and had to leave because he was so nervous about being confronted with - in front of other people. And I think so some of them - their acts - are almost kind of to cover up their self - it's psychology really - but it's almost to cover up their - their feelings of inadequacy and so when they're confronted with a blank piece of paper sometimes they can't do it. They haven't got the confidence really to actually make their mark.

According to Lynne, this young man had expressed his violent feelings through physical assault, but was then embarrassed at his inability to express himself verbally. The senior manager's perception of this apparent paradox between macho-behaviour and a feminised display of embarrassment is to focus on how the lack of ability in articulating emotion is masked by aggressive physicality.

The links between the presentation of macho-identity and the inability to articulate emotion is also corroborated by a rationale given by Michael (music teacher) for his teaching strategies as he refers to (1643-170) “teaching them how to express themselves or to say what you feel rather than being told.” Michael infers that as they are at present unable to articulate emotion, they need to be given a space where they are both allowed and enabled to express it.

In interview, young people also gave their perceptions of why some young people present themselves aggressively, which echoes that of some of the staff. Joseph (music student) refers to young people’s fear of being bullied themselves (175-176): “They’re scared the kids are scared ...people in here they’re always fighting, trying to get on to people just about the way they dress.” This seems to indicate an environment where young people define “difference” as an excuse for attack. The presentation of Joseph’s (music student) referral to the fear of many of the young people in HMP XXX of being attacked by other young people, even for the way they dress, supports the context of assault and mistrust. Keith (art student) reveals his own fear and consequent mistrust:

Keith (art student)

Although you are in a lesson you are - you've still got to be aware of the other children in the class, the other YP's just in case one decides to do something, you know, kick off, muck about. You see in CDT or in the Art Village if you muck about there is tools in there and it could get dangerous

Keith’s awareness and nervousness of the possibility of violence is obvious in his concern about the necessity of being alert to his classmates’ activities. His reference to them as “children” seems to reveal his perception that he was older and more mature than they were, and perhaps less unpredictable therefore, as it seems to be their unpredictability that most concerned him.

12.2.4 VALIDATION FROM THE BEHAVIOUR AWARD STRATEGY

Interviews with staff revealed that the aggressive display of behaviour has led to strategic decisions around behaviour awards to encourage the suppression of aggressive display and a journey towards rehabilitation. Positive behaviour is rewarded through the awarding of weekly behaviour grades: bronze, silver and gold, the award of gold bringing with it several privileges. Destructive, aggressive behaviour was awarded a bronze grade. Achievement of this grade meant that all privileges were taken away, such as use of the television. If sufficiently aggressive, young people would be sent to the Segregation Unit where they were out in individual rooms separate from contact with other young people. Silver awards were given to young people who were compliant and those young people could use their television; for the achievement of a gold award they had to have shown initiative and enthusiasm and be well motivated. This gave them many privileges besides their use of television such as the use of a small room in the wings where they could meet to talk with their peers also on gold award, or play board games, and importantly be allowed the privilege of Release on Temporary Licence (ROTL) if they were given the opportunity. Much effort was made through the award system to deconstruct the presentation of a macho-identity. An interview with a Senior Manager revealed that there were those determined to present macho-behaviour. She referred to them as “bronze warriors” However, all those I interviewed referred with some pride to their being on gold, its use as a validation of their behaviour seen as aspirational recognition.

The behaviour award system therefore focuses on the idea that these young people choose to behave in a particular way, and that with encouragement can be persuaded to present themselves differently. It could therefore be said to be relational. However, how far can this process said to be rehabilitative? The interview with Dean (ex-music student) showed the motivating factor behind adherence to “good behaviour” was to elicit different grades according to the privileges he wanted (82-

87): "I was on bronze or silver....I'd be on gold sometimes to watch tele." The privileges were motivating him, but not sufficiently to be "on gold" permanently, which suggests that privileges tempted temporary external manifestation of changed behaviour, rather than developing internal change which would show in a more rehabilitated permanent change of behaviour.

There was much evidence from interviews with staff as well as with Dean himself that his whole attitude had changed, from being disruptive to being positive and well-motivated in his work in music. Dean's explanation was that this change emerged when he decided to focus on improving his skills in electronic beats. He reveals that once he focused on his music he suddenly (82-87) "realised [with delight] I was on gold!" The behaviour transformation had occurred because he was heavily involved in working in the music workshops, and his presentation of identity had therefore changed to one connected with music. It had been this developing interest which had elicited the change rather than motivation of the gold behaviour award.

Joseph's (music student) interview shows his decision to steer away from "messaging around" in order to avoid a low behaviour award and loss of privilege:

Joseph (music student)

I was on bronze the other day because I was messing around like but when I thought about it I said, "No. I'll put my mind on the music and like try and get somewhere try and get my gold and stuff like.

Joseph therefore chose to concentrate on music to attain the gold award and the ensuing privileges. For Dean the change seemed to arrive almost imperceptibly while he was focusing on his work. Joseph, however, calculated a strategy to prevent himself from continuing on bronze in the future. He decided to concentrate on music in order to keep him away from disruption. His explanation reveals a link between the aiming for a high behaviour award and a decision to work creatively in his cell.

The award system therefore works to encourage changing behaviour, but it does not evoke a changed sense of identity because the choice is persuaded by incentives,

rather than there being an internal development of “being”. Also where aggressive behaviour is displayed through mistrust, fear and a sense of vulnerability, it is difficult to see where the choice of behaving differently lies. They are not therefore renovating themselves by any internal change, but changing their presentation of themselves in order to gain a reward. However, where Dean’s immersion in his music influences him so profoundly that it influences his behaviour, he then gains a gold behaviour award as a result. This change is caused by a rising interest; an internal change which had a more permanent influence on him than the change affected by the desire to watch television.

12.2.5 VALIDATION THROUGH THE PRISON PROCESSES

The interview data as shown in 4.2.1 demonstrated the young people’s perspective of their lack of successful schooling and their classing of themselves or their actions as “bad”. Both these revelations are important in forming a consideration of their perception of a self-identity pre-prison. The focus within this section is on HMP XXX’s strategy of validating success. I consider whether this encourages the development of identity away from that of “deviant” to one which is linked to some development of their potential. The choices behind what is considered as “success” by HMP XXX for these young people can be seen in when and how they award success.

There are several formal strategies of validation used within HMP XXX, connected to affirmation of success. The first success symbols are seen through external validation of the quality of their assessed work via qualifications or some other external recognition. Staff interviews referred to award ceremonies where individual success is celebrated sometimes with parents present. Young people’s pride in attaining qualifications was evident. Their journey begins with an initial success, as we see with Keith (art student):

Keith (art student)

I did my Level One. ... The teacher put me in for my Level One in Art because I love to draw. I passed that and we started doing pottery and I made some tiles with dragons on.

The product he made gave Keith pleasure, but his pride was in his qualifications, which he equates with success because it served to validate his achievement. Keith's sense of success is furthered in achieving at level two. In contrast to his school non-achievement, Keith has learnt how to focus on his task as he reveals (43-47): "Here you don't get a chance to muck about."

Ezekiel (music student) shows another example of pride in his qualification, which he sees as an achievement (217-225): "That's like the first proper qualification I got now so I felt pretty proud like I'd achieved something." Jimmy (art and music student) reveals the link between qualifications and motivation (473-476): "Because I'm starting to work, yeah more and get my qualification." Jimmy's interview revealed that he has a range of achievements, all of which symbolise success both in his eyes and by prison staff: his being awarded a Koestler Award, being given the role of mentor, working with the Prince's Trust, and achieving a promise of work with support after leaving prison. He revealed that his qualifications are motivating him to work harder. These validating symbols seem important for these young people's sense of who they are.

Within the arts, the focus on preparing for the Koestler Awards is part of a validating strategy. Zak (art teacher) explained how these young people's desire to finish their work to give them a chance of winning a prize can then be applied to working towards and achieving any goal in life:

Zak (art teacher)

Suddenly they're like aware that it wasn't just because they were making something for a competition but that they made that themselves and they could do it again. They could do whatever they put their mind to. They had initial goals they worked towards

In art, by focusing on preparing work for a competition, they experience creative independence and a realisation of the possibility of achievement and social acceptance for that achievement. Besides the Koestler Awards being a showcase for their work, both staff and students' interviews revealed there is also focus in the HMP XXX's art department of students' art work being submitted to public exhibitions. When this occurs, Zak informed me that parents are invited. He spoke of one particular student whose talent was recognised by his Father who wanted to take his son's work of art home. Not only was the young person's achievement recognised, it also had the emotional effects of his talent being appreciated by his Father. It affirms his value and extends his horizons.

Data evidence from members of staff suggested that these symbols of success affect the staff's perceptions of young people. Interviews with all staff revealed that successful individuals are singled out by individual name rather than categorised generically as "young people" (see 4.2.2). However, how this validation links with any inner change is unclear, as Michael (music teacher) explained there are nonetheless "more failures than successes" in terms of young people's perceived inner changes, as he shows with an individual example:

Michael (music teacher)

And when he's going back he was gonna shoot them. He'd got a knife and why the kids were going to

Interviewer: So he hadn't gone through it [any journey]

No and he was the brightest one. Level 2.

Michael argued that just because academic or artistic prowess has been demonstrated and validated therefore, it cannot always be equated with a change in perception of the young person's place in the world.

The students' descriptions seem to suggest it is the emotional effect of the validation which is memorable and perhaps significant. Dean's (ex music student) description of gaining the Koestler Award gives an insight into its validating effect on a student:

Dean (ex music student)

It's not just the physical rewards. It's the reward when you're sitting down and you've got a nice feeling in your chest. Do you know what I mean? And it comes out of speakers and you get a Whoosh.

Dean's description suggests that the validation can be divided into two parts: the physical reward, affirming the high standard of his creativity, and the internal and physical effect it has on his body, which is individually unpredictable. Pride was also evident in Jimmy (art and music student) for gaining a Koestler Award:

Jimmy (art and music student)

I was ecstatic and then I got - when I was chosen I was ecstatic but when I got actual ones not for the Art but for my Music for you know the Koestler Awards for one of the first tracks I ever made on there and I won £25 plus a special Merit Award and as soon as I got that for a couple of minutes I was baffled because I had my head down there and I just I was on Cloud Nine for a little while.

Jimmy's sense of achievement is palpable here. His joy in his repetition of "ecstatic" and mention of being "on cloud nine" had similarities to Dean's physical "whoosh" in his chest. This dual effect is also described by Mike (music student) after performing:

Mike (music student)

After doing it it's like someone has handed me money in my hand. Do you ever get that feeling when someone has just handed you a present? That's the kind of feeling I get.

Mike describes the exhilaration of performance, which in his eyes seems a direct form of self-validation. His comparison of the experience to being handed a present shows his attempt to articulate the intangible in a tangible form. In these three examples, an emotional link to the validation is evident. In each case, I observed the voice of the

interviewee to be rapid and excited at that point. It seemed to be memorable and important to them as affirmation of success.

Another aspect of formal validation comes through assignation to the “super group” for the Rap Workshops. The “super group” comprised young people seen to be progressing well and to have talent in rapping and producing electronic beats. Two music students, Ezekiel and Andreas, show how they react to this affirmation. Ezekiel explained that being in the Super Group had motivated him to aim for his standard to be as high as the others in the group. In Andreas’ interview, I observed how his studied casualness, his self-deprecating terminology of “the super group thing”, belied his pride as seen in his detailed description of his promotion:

Andreas (music student)

Well my friends were already in music innit, so obviously so they said to Michael like I was a good writer and he thought obviously so he told me innit like, “Make a little song for me”, and listened to it, listened to it and because there are different groups innit with higher levels and that and I'm in the super group thing.

There are two examples of validation here: his friends’ recognition of his abilities causing their recommendation of him to Michael and the importance of Michael’s recognition of his work, as seen in the repetition of the phrase “listened to it, listened to it.” Andreas seems to have had a profound reaction, as he later reveals that he got to know (250-253) “that other people think I'm all right really.” As they become drawn into the technology behind the rapping and the writing of lyrics, young people’s self-establishment veers away from that of hard criminal to somebody good at rapping. The affirming of identity through praise from teachers or from peers, as seen above with Andreas’ reactions seems to have enabled a positive self-reflection.

12.2.6 VALIDATION THROUGH ROLE

Further validation also comes from the conferring of roles. There are roles assigned informally in the classroom and formal roles which are given out as part of HMP XXX’s strategy. In the Music Workshops, for example, when bands are formed, or when

collaboration in a rap takes place, then informal roles are conferred, such as, for example, “singer” “lead guitarist”, “drummer”, “rapper”, “producer”. Mike (music student) shows how he reacts to being conferred a role in the Music Workshop:

Mike (music student)

He [Michael, music teacher] said, "I sure wish we could get a band together," he said. So now I am in a class but we've got a band together a drum, a guitar, a piano and Michael's the lead. He's the backing vocals; I'm the singer

Immediately Mike was given a role in Michael's plan for a band, his potential recognised, so through this encouragement he was willing to take on this role, and consequently felt his potential recognised. While Mike's role was informally awarded within the class, interview data from teaching staff, case workers and a Senior Manager revealed the awarding of the role of mentor and/or classroom assistant is a part of HMP XXX's strategy towards recognition of ability and perseverance. Lynne (senior manager) reveals the institutional value accorded the role, referring to student mentors as “the crème de la crème” (420). The public recognition within the institution reveals a social construction of a system, which validates and rewards publicly.

However, interviews with the young people formulated a range of meanings around the role of mentor. An interview with Jimmy (art and music student) showed that he believed that this role was conferred because he knows “95 % of everything, all the equipment and everything” (28). The role validated his self-belief. Dean (ex music student) reveals that the reason he first accepted the role was so that he could do music all day, but shows how this rationale was superseded by a more considered response, as he realised his resulting rehabilitative personal development:

Dean (ex music student)

You know, that put me into like helping people and you know got me into the feel you know for doing stuff like that.

The role therefore moved his perception from being given a wonderful privilege he could exploit by being in the Music Studio all day, to realising that it actually involved helping people. What was more he really enjoyed doing this. Mike (music student) also found that the increased responsibility of being a mentor/counsellor led to a change in his interpersonal relationships:

Mike (music student)

Some of them with problems come to me and I just talk

Interviewer And you didn't realise you could do that?

No (laughs).

Through the conferring of this role, like Dean, Mike has developed facility in counselling others. The mentor role also has the potential to develop their understanding of the creative process. For example, Joseph (music student) discusses what he learnt by helping a mentee with the beats accompaniment to a rap whose lyrics are in a different language:

Joseph (music student)

It's like a different sort of effect. But I have to ask him what he's saying because I don't want to be on a track when he's saying something

Interviewer: About you (both laugh.)

It could be anything.

He realises that where there is no understanding words become a sound- effect, but his humour emerges in his revelation that he checks to ensure that the lyrics do not contain derogatory remarks.

Interview data showed that being a mentor ensures that they work with a range of people often wider than they mixed with pre-prison. For example, Ezekiel reveals:

Ezekiel (music student)

before I would like not stay with my type but I wouldn't if I didn't think you were sort of like on my wave length I wouldn't bother to talk to you but now like through helping other people I see that there's a lot of like - sort of helping people

The mentor role has led Ezekiel to develop his identity as someone who associates with a wider range of people. Now in helping others, Ezekiel has found areas of commonality with people he would not have bothered to communicate with formerly. The phenomenon was also seen with Mike:

Mike (music student)

I wouldn't really hang around with people that weren't like associated with travellers. Do you know what I mean? I wouldn't hang around with anyone.

For both Ezekiel and Mike, the role of mentor has led them to understand there is something of interest to be found in a wide range of people, which has broadened their base of interpersonal relationships to include people of similar interests, rather than focusing only on people with similar backgrounds.

Joseph reveals that being a mentor enables him to encourage the mentee to change from presenting macho-identity through “spitting” Gangsta Raps to a changed presentation of identity through other rap genres:

Joseph (music student)

I like to be the star pupil in the classroom like, work with all the people and help like get on tracks with them and help them to learn how to write different types of lyrics rather than just like their backgrounds.

While Joseph's awareness of others and his desire to help is linked to a desire for status as “the star pupil”, at the same time he has the potential to encourage his mentees to develop new areas for creative expression, to encourage them to move away from focusing only on their own backgrounds. The peer feedback the mentees

receive is, Jack (music teacher: 1018) argued, “the crucial part of it.” It certainly does serve several functions. Joseph as mentor is focusing on encouraging different avenues for their rapping, but as a mentee himself, he describes the value of having a mentor who is

Joseph (music student)

on a higher level. He's supposed to be signed up already like when he gets out. I like to work with him to try and like tell me how he's got from where he was to where he is now.

The student he was referring to had been “discovered” by a visiting firm and was offered a job on exit to produce a rap warning against the use of knives. This student’s experience has given Joseph a hunger to discover how his mentor made that creative journey. Having the role of mentor and mentee seems an important part both of validation of their identity and aspiration. The concept of a role seems to accord status, which was also seen with Dean (ex music student) who spoke of his role he had just attained outside prison:

Dean (ex music student)

Yes I'm project coordinator of Urbanwise Media which is a - is a course run for 14 - 19 year olds

The awarding of this role also was a strong measure of success to Dean, and shows how the success symbols valued by the prison have potential external currency.

12.2.7 LINKS WITH LIFE OUTSIDE PRISON

As this is a closed community, it is important to help students’ sense of identity become linked once again to life outside prison (see for example Berson, 2008; Comfort, 2002; Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Gibbons, 1997; Hagstrom, et al., 2010). Where this is linked to celebrating and validating their developing identity this can also be rehabilitative.

Within the art course, links with the outside are enhanced by a focus on Welsh culture for the many young people from Wales in the prison. This is seen to be advantageous by Zak (art teacher):

Zak (art teacher)

One of my colleagues does actually facilitate that group and you know he does a marvellous job of enthusing these young men to want to learn more about their history

For those many students from Wales, the focus on Welsh culture in these sessions has the potential to expand their understanding of their cultural identity.

Music links with the world outside because it has nostalgic resonances with their sometimes disrupted past. Jimmy (art and music student) refers to the certainty music gave him:

Jimmy (art and music student)

One thing like when I was put in Care I lost loads of things like my family and everything like that but one thing I never lost was my music, my love - my love for music.

Jimmy's only continuous; emotionally sustaining thread linking all aspects of his chaotic life has been his music. Nick's (Prison Officer) example also reveals how music provided a sense of stability in a young person's violent house :

Nick (prison officer, Segregation Unit)

"It drowned out the noise of Dad beating Mum up and it drowned out the noise of Mum screaming.... so I used to play music very loudly," and if you suddenly stopped that they wouldn't be able to - to cope with it

Nick's description suggests that the loud music represented a wall of sound which hid the terror going on behind it. They carry the link between the emotional aspects of music and their life outside.

The emotional aspects of the arts are also illustrated in the way a creative product can be made for a member of the family. Russell (Head of Arts) refers to an incident where a focus on illustrations of sculptures for one art student inspired him to design a pot for his Mother:

Russell (Head of Arts)

"I'm going to make my mum a pot because I broke hers and I'm gonna make her a vase and –"I said, "Oh. Are you going to make her one of them pots?" He said, "Yeah. One of them books I was looking at yesterday." And he pulled it out and sat going through it. And I think just to hear him talk about what he'd seen there. And he told his learning support assistant. He said, "Oh, these books are amazing. It's amazing what they've said. It's amazing. You want to have a look."

This student's art work therefore provided a link to his family outside, which was motivational in his progression. Russell expanded on the advantages of this link:

Russell (Head of Arts)

It's about building relationships with their family or strengthening relationships or re-building absolutely broken relationships and if we can help them to do that I think that's an incredible thing to be able to do alone never mind sort of giving them a qualification or something.

The product symbolises the young person's desire to sustain or re-build family relationships, a result which Russell gauges has more personal profundity than gaining the qualification.

These young people may also be gaining access to locations outside the prison through (ROTL), whether for work experience before release, or as part of a course, which helps to build a bridge towards their re-settlement after release. Within the *Write to Freedom* course, those going outside to Dartmoor on ROTL appreciated exposure to a "new environment" (Leonardo: 426). While the stars free from light pollution were seen as "beautiful", it was nevertheless "quite scary". Paul's experience changed his perspective about the natural world:

Paul (*Write to Freedom* student)

I never used to take the potential out like of like say the hills, and the birds, the streams. All the noises that every single thing makes. You don't pay attention.

Part of the value of the experience was to act as a catalyst to see the natural world differently, increasing his awareness of the sights and sounds evoked. ROTL is also used in both art and music for various performances or exhibitions. Again, while the event can be planned, the short and long term influence on the young people's meaning making around their sense of identity is unpredictable. The validation provided by being included in the event is indelibly linked to individual's experience in going. For Leonardo (*Write to Freedom* student) affirmation also arrived through Caspar's (*Write to Freedom* tutor) validating feedback, using "kind of different words as well so it was quite good", opening up a new perspective of himself, enabling him therefore to adjust his sense of who he was.

Russell (Head of Arts) describes a London Conference where some music students were allowed ROTL to go and deliver freestyle raps to the audience.

Russell (Head of Arts)

Basically they're quite interactive and they got because they knew there was all musicians in the crowd, and they said, "Right. Have we got a base player, a guitar player?" And they all came up and they started getting them to do this beat, and then one of the students started rapping over the top of the beat

Russell's enthusiasm reveals a validating experience for himself, and hopefully also for these rappers who conducted themselves so confidently and professionally. For Dean (ex music student) the ROTL to Music Studios motivated him to seek his dream when he left prison:

Dean (ex music student)

The urge to get out and do stuff really. When I got my ROTL it was just you-you ask-you should ask Jack what I am going to do in my studio. What I'm going to do, how I'm going to do it when I get out. You know,

what else do I need, what equipment should I get? That was only going out on ROTL. You know, going out to the radio station, going out to MGM which is a studio in Thornbury. I was going out there, just all the things that I want to do. You know it's given me the urge to get out.

Visiting music studios outside prison was causal in Dean's plans when he left prison, making him motivated and excited about his future once he left.

There are therefore a range of links with the outside which these courses are providing, through exhibitions, music, making art products for the family and also actually leaving the prison to visit exhibitions or to go on a journey. The range of individual effects of the links with outside even amidst this comparatively small number of examples indicates the value of this aspect of the curriculum. Zak (art teacher) explained his perception of the value of exhibitions as follows:

Zak (art teacher)

I think what it is, is that if you do an exhibition someone else sees it. Someone else rather than your peers or your teacher. In a public space. You don't have to be a professional artist, but you are an artist.

An exhibition gives validation through linking the students with the outside world. It symbolises publicly the young person's positive achievements on his Offender Journey, producing kudos for both the staff and the student. However, it also has the potential to begin restoring fractured relationships within families who come to see their son's art work. While it is a symbol of success, it also can have emotional results. Tony (Case Worker) shows that awareness of the significance of the validation of acceptance into an exhibition extends beyond the arts staff:

Tony (case worker)

That can really change a person. We had one young person here about three years ago - his art work he come to us and his art work was of such a high standard he basically he got put forward for an exhibition...he got temporary release from the establishment to go and attend the exhibition where his art work was . He won a lot of awards. And you know.

Interviewer: How did that affect him?

He went out absolutely buzzing.

The validation which comes by having their work accepted for an external exhibition seems to affirm their potential and affirmation of their growing identity as creative artists. Tony reveals that the effect of success is translated into their behaviour.

Tony (case worker)

I think a lot of it is that when they start conforming if you like in an area things get easier for them and they work on something and they take it from education where - and they take that back to the wing and they find it happens there as well.

There is an obvious link here between rewards and the behaviour desired by prison staff. They are rewarding norming, when displayed through the young person's presentation of "conforming" behaviour. It seems that the motivation, enjoyment and validation they gain from links with the outside by engaging in the arts leads to calmer behaviour on the wings, which is then perceived as "conforming", making prison staff's job easier. Having time away from the prison gives the young person space to think more clearly and may present new ideas for new possibilities outside prison.

The symbols of success are used as validating strategies. They consist of those validating actions which the young people work towards: qualifications, awards, competitions, exhibitions. They also consist of specific actions taken by the prison: promoting a young person to the super group, conferring a role and linking with the world outside prison.

12.3 USING THE PAST AS A TOOL FOR THE FUTURE

Because the arts curriculum in HMP XXX uses autobiographical techniques and also a strategy for facilitating catharsis for some young people, a short section follows which

investigates previous research around the pedagogical use of autobiographical techniques and the concept of catharsis.

The importance of autobiography, whether oral or written, is integral to the establishment of self-identity in modern social life (Giddens, 1991). The act of writing and talking about our past reflects our constant need for its re-ordering against the backdrop of “shifting experiences of day-to-day life and the fragmenting tendencies of modern institutions” (Giddens, 1991, p 186). This review on autobiographical techniques considers academic perceptions around the differences between using autobiographical techniques for the development of the future self, as self-therapy, and using it simultaneously as an art and as therapy.

There is a link between autobiographical techniques, self-reflection and reflexivity. The capacity of reflexive practice on past actions to re-shape future professional practice is seen with Scanlon and colleagues (2002). Their study focuses on the way in which teachers can use self-reflection to enable them to step back and reflect objectively so that their practice can be re-shaped. Reflecting on our past can similarly help re-shape our futures (Giddens, 1991). This trajectory of learning described by Giddens (1991) moves philosophical perceptions in new directions. However, reflecting on professional practice is different from the writer’s self-reflection on painful events and the ensuing besetting difficulties. It is also different from reflecting on poor life choices which we may revisit through investigating our life histories. Giddens (1991) refers to Rainwater’s (1989, cited in Giddens, 1991, p 55 - 57) views of autobiography as self-therapy to induce change. Its success, according to Rainwater (1989), needs an individual to be reflexive, so that it intensifies awareness, creating potential change in and through the self. The use of narrative helps conceptualisations of the past, aiding the framing of future plans (Walton, 2001; Alexander, 2004, cited in Cherot, 2009, p 127).

Those writing autobiography can choose between writing for private or public consumption. Rainwater’s (1989, cited in Giddens, 1991, p 55 - 57) perception is that

autobiography should be written completely for the self, and should not therefore be shared. There is no need to focus on crafting the piece because the words in their raw state are sufficient, the forming of them on the page providing the impact on developing perception (Hunt, 2000). The autobiographer can use the practice of comforting and advising the child, that was as traumatic aspects of childhood are written about and analysed (Rainwater, 1989). This practice can help the writer to escape the clutches of the past and lay the writer open to the future, enabling the consideration of new courses of action instead of being guided by established habits (Rainwater, 1989). However, there is an alternative to using autobiography as a private journal, that of using autobiographical techniques in performance or in poetry. Writing for an audience has different resonances from writing for oneself, and is a totally different exercise. Hunt (2000) refers to how the act of crafting the words, using techniques such as metaphor, can project new and surprising self-images not previously considered. In these cases the autobiographical techniques are used as “art” as well as “therapy”.

There is a dearth of academic work about the use of autobiographical techniques in the arts in prisons. Where it exists, the focus is usually on using autobiography to create performance. When one is working within a group, writing the narratives facilitates the decision-making around the pertinent symbols and frames to be used in order to ensure resonance in any listener or reader (Polletta, 1999, cited in Cherot, 2009, p 127). McKean’s (2006) study on her drama project with adult female prisoners shows that while her project explored prisoners’ experiences within prison; it was the collaboration and sense of community and co-operation which this fostered which was the main personal outcome for the participants. Berson (2008) refers to a dance drama piece performed publicly which dramatised both prison processes and also enabled participating women to make public pronouncement about how they felt about their crimes. Berson (2008) commented on the catharsis this evoked. This project affirmed their close relationships to each other, and also with their families whom they mention in the performance. Graney, the choreographer within this

project, located the potential for personal empowerment in the project's autobiographical creative processes and its demands for constructive social interaction (Berson, 2008). She sees the value of writing and discussion as a vehicle to allow the participants to open up to their feelings. The sharing of their sorrows with one another plus the affirmation they received from the audience would have been affirming (Gibbons, 1997), though as Berson (2008) observes the project team "must consider the potential repercussions of expressions of discontent or the desire for institutional reform for the women who will remain in the prison after the project is over" (Berson, 2008, p 81). She also questions the actual claim that a "truer self" can be revealed in performance and looks at the challenges of negotiating the relationship in a performance between social and aesthetic values.

Previous research around autobiographical techniques has mainly focused on autobiography used in formal therapeutic sessions (as in, for example, Shuker & Sullivan, 2010) or as a reflective learning tool for teachers (see, for example, Leshem & Trafford, 2006). Having come to my investigation when I had completed my literature review, I had considered there was a need for more research about the use of rap in prisons. It is a way of engaging young people with their own street culture, and could be used as a starting point for further perceptual development. However, I had neither considered its being used as an autobiographical tool, nor found any research around the arts in prison which focuses on this. Where research around rap in prisons exists it has mainly focused on suppressing negativity and reconfiguring the language of the street (Baker & Homan, 2007).

While I have found no evidence of the influence of autobiographical techniques used through raps within prisons, Farrier, Froggett and Poursiandou and colleagues (2009) developed reflective learning in their young offenders team (YOT). There were several hurdles to overcome in this course. First of all, the team encouraged the use of positive words to replace negativity, and alternative words to swear words. Secondly, there were initial problems of specifically focusing on the task of self-reflective

writing, because the young people involved saw it as a “feminised” way of working. However, they were able to create a “reparative space [where young people] can think in new ways about who they are and might become” (Farrier, et al., 2009, p 66). Focus on one of the young people mentioned, pseudonym “Tom”, showed there were some forced methods to shift perspective in “Tom” which were initially unsuccessful. Later on as “Tom” develops, alternative identities are explored which results in a changing outlook. The usefulness of expelling thought through poetry is commented on, as the “unsayable from within them so it can be moulded into language, but it must be faithful to the young people's own feelings, concerns and issues” (Farrier, et al., 2009, p 73). Writing poetry enabled a space and freedom to converse which was not experienced elsewhere. It enabled the course participants to symbolise their feelings and link them with state of mind, approaching troubled aspects of their lives obliquely, and then retreating from them. There was the possibility of developing a coherent identity narrative. Performing and revealing this to an audience who bore witness to what they were doing gave them “the beginning of a sense of authenticity that lies at the root of self-regard and is a basis of reparation” (Farrier, et al., 2009, p 74).

The main difference between the autobiographical techniques in the private journal, the writing of poetry and their autobiographical techniques used in performance is the way in which they are seen to help the individuals concerned. While both private autobiography and the poetry course focused on a re-shaping of the future, there was a difference. Those writing for themselves are self-reliant on their own capacity to help themselves, whereas the poetry course was reliant on the mentor/teacher to help them re-work their ideas and the performance-based courses had their performance communities to reflect and recognise their perceptions. The focus on all of the techniques used was the writing about painful incidents. Where the autobiography is kept private, the impact on individuals is not however explored (1989, cited in Giddens, 1991), though it is conceptualised. The focus on poetry gives creative space and ‘permission’ to explore painful aspects of their lives, and craft

them accordingly with the help of their teacher/ mentor. The showing of the poetry had the effect of sharing and recognition by another, with the re-focusing of the sense of identity as their feelings were linked to their state of mind (Farrier, et al., 2009). Where a performance is involved, the sense of collaboration and community is established (McKean, 2006) in both the opening up of feelings to one another and the personal empowerment and agency involved in the decisions around the performance (Berson, 2008). The more public autobiographical techniques therefore were not so self-reliant and had the benefits of others' perception helping shape their own ideas.

The identified research gaps are firstly the use of autobiographical techniques in a prison arts context; secondly the exploration of the influence on individuals to express their past privately; and thirdly a gap in research for investigating the influence on individuals using rap both to express autobiographical incidents and their thoughts behind them.

12.4 GAINING INSIGHT THROUGH CATHARSIS

Aristotle writes of *katharsis*, the suffering found in tragedy, the purging of emotion through pity or fear from an audience or community (Lucas, 1973, cited in Gibbons, 1997, p 73). The point of catharsis in a drama is often the character's turning point. When referring to catharsis in relation to a person, it may be one of many cathartic events as a part of life's journey. Plato in "The Sophist" (in Solbakk, 2006, p 59) used the idea of catharsis as the relationship of clearing and cleansing to the whole person, whereby the "better" part of the person is removed from what is "worse" or "inferior". However, the definition of catharsis for the purpose of this thesis is not that of evoking pity and fear, as in Aristotle, and is not as in Plato the separation of the whole person from its negative aspects. Instead it is a focus on venting one's anger and also in discharging the emotional state previously associated with trauma (Bushman, 2002), an action which can be facilitated through the revealing of secrets (Kelly, Klusas, Weiss, & Kenny, 2001) often associated with pain. Catharsis is defined

as a way of relieving any pressure built up in the psyche by suppressed anger and pain (Bushman, 2002; Kelly, et al., 2001).

I have identified a research gap in the use of catharsis in autobiographical techniques or the arts in general within prisons. I have therefore chosen examples which while not necessarily linked to work in prisons, link in with the ideas emerging from my findings. There is seen to be an intriguing link between the struggle to identify oneself and artistic catharsis (Gibbons, 1997). Facilitating the release of emotion, according to Gibbons (1997), enables the possibilities of creativity which may enable an individual to have more success in that difficult exercise of self-definition. Creative endeavour helps to militate against a rigid administrative regime and can lead to catharsis, the artistic work relieving and changing individual perception (Gibbons, 1997). Casey (2001) refers to the safety and support of an intensive environment in psychodrama often resulting in a cathartic experience. It allows for the release into consciousness of repressed feelings and experiences. Within the psychodrama methodology, "the release allows for ego integration and expansion" (Moreno, 1971, cited in Casey, 2001, p 10). The participant is able to find a way both of integrating all aspects of his identity and also developing his identity further.

The expansion of the ego as a result of catharsis is not however found in Bushman's (2002) study which investigates the results on his research participants of venting anger. Bushman (2002) came to the conclusion that thinking about memories which had originally evoked anger in fact kept aggressive perceptions alive resulting in more and not less anger and aggression. Bringing emotions to the fore, however, is not the same as having emotions aroused without the facility to discharge them. Gibbons (1997) argued that if emotions are aroused but not discharged, perceptual sensitivity is reduced, negative thoughts are induced, thoughts lack clarity and creativity in behaviour is reduced. Kelly and colleagues (2001) refer to the recuperative nature of revealing a secret to an expert able to give new insight because it allows some closure of the incident causing distress. In turn, this enables the participants to feel a sense

of resolution. It also seems to encourage the person to come to terms with the secrets and so diminish his or her negative emotions surrounding the secrets. The revealing of secrets without the gaining of insight, however, can potentially put the revealer at risk of feeling worse about the issues around the secret (Kelly, et al., 2001).

There are, therefore, different theories around the gaining of insights through the release of emotion. While Casey (2001) reports on positive influences on his participants in his psychodrama course, Bushman (2002) refers to the results of his investigation on participants of how, when he evoked feelings of anger it resulted in more aggression. Inducing anger to vent emotion seems therefore to have had negative results, but its natural exposure through the psychodrama course seems to have been more effective. Participants who choose to reveal secrets which may have caused anger or pain in the past, however, are shown to develop new perspectives to be developed where the person told is able to offer some new insight, which accordingly changes perception (Kelly, et al., 2001).

As a result of this insight into both autobiographical techniques and catharsis, the following questions emerged:

In which ways do autobiographical techniques through the arts offer opportunities for a young person to develop their sense of identity

How do autobiographical techniques lead to young people's sense of agency in their future?

12.5 THE RENOVATION OF IDENTITY THROUGH THE ARTS IN HMP XXX

12.5.1 THE RATIONALE FOR DELIVERING THE ARTS

I explored through interviews members of staff's reasons for delivering the arts in this YOI to investigate whether or not any of their responses were related specifically to

issues relating to the development of participants' identity. A common rationale for delivering arts at HMP XXX was summed up by Lynne (Senior Manager) who argued that the use of the arts for those who have had a disrupted education:

Lynne (senior manager)

When they've missed a lot of school, and they can't – they find it difficult to latch onto academic subjects. They find it much more therapeutic - the music particularly, and the art.

Lynne (senior manager) sees the arts as both “therapeutic” and as a route back into education after their disrupted educational past (see section 4.2.1). As this route back into education could assumedly renovate young people's perceptions, I explored further. There was common agreement from interviews with a non-arts teacher, music and art teachers and students and *Write to Freedom* staff that not only do the arts re-introduce these young people into classroom learning, they can help to release and deflect anger, through the development of confidence and self-expression. This may be relevant to Nick's (Prison Officer) comments who said that he found engagement in the arts courses induced calm behaviour. As music teachers, the *Write to Freedom* tutor and arts students argued, it provided another mode of expressing themselves beyond the physical and verbal aggression directed at others and as such was a developmental in providing them with other modes of expression.

However, while there is some agreement regarding the generic rationales for delivering the arts for these young people, the diverse reactions from and influences on individuals depended on the arts course they engaged in and the way they were delivered. Delivery was aligned to the course aims, which in turn reflected the teachers' different belief systems and their differing rationales for delivering the course, as will be explored in the next section.

The art course is aiming for the development of professional skills, and introduces art students to illustrations of work by highly acclaimed artists. As a result, some of these young people produce work which goes into exhibitions and also work which passes

qualifications. A variety of reactions from these young people have been reported by the art staff as a result of this strategy. For example, Russell (Head of Arts) explained that gradually the art students start to be less dismissive of examples of professional art and develop a critical discourse. Zak (art teacher: 730-731) reveals: “They suddenly realised they were not just filling time. They actually enjoyed it. They wanted to do it.” The perception of the art staff reveals that the students’ initial success encourages them to develop further some of the skills of a professional artist, which seems to be one of the main aims of the course. Some results of this development were seen in an interview with Jimmy (music and art student) who revealed that he had become less dismissive of his own efforts (428-431): “Before I was just like that (*screws up a piece of paper*). I would probably throw it in the bin if I saw it, but now I wouldn’t.” This indicates a higher self regard for his own work, an increased self-belief which is helping him progress.

Particular to the art courses was the suppression of the gangster narrative. Russell’s (Head of Arts) rationale for this is that he does not want his art staff to become involved in the collusion of approval of gang symbols.

12.5.2 THE INFLUENCE OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL TECHNIQUES ON RENOVATING IDENTITY

In both the *Write to Freedom* course and the Rap Workshops, the interviews with music teachers and the *Write to Freedom* tutor revealed their courses focused on autobiographical techniques. Staff from both courses reported that the first self-narrative about their past seems inevitably to produce a gangster narrative, either through rap or through the modules on their past which they write in their *Write to Freedom* course

While the strategy of the *Write to Freedom* course was through discussion and writing modules for young people to focus on their past, present and finally the future, the music teachers’ strategy was to facilitate young people’s possibility of moving from

rapping about the past to rapping about the future. They have recognised three main genres of raps used by their students, as Jack explained:

Jack (music teacher)

Once they have expelled this initial rage, the second stage that we see which we call the "wifey stage" just as for something to call it is we start to hear these kind of ... people who were originally quite kind of violent and spitting very kind of crude and aggressive lyrics we start to hear this stuff about - about, "I'm sorry Mum I should be outside, helping you to look after - you know my brother."

According to both the music teachers and some of the young people interviewed, the aggressive Gangsta Rap genre is usually the mode first chosen by these young people. Sometimes this was followed by some renovation through the second often quieter genre of rap, an Apologia, where young people apologise for their actions usually to their Mothers or girlfriend. (Fathers were never mentioned in the interviews.) The music teachers perceived the importance of this form of rap was its tendency to reflect a cathartic experience. They observed young people moved to a third type of rap, a Cautionary Rap warning their peers away from criminal activities, but that this only occurred when the students had gone through the Apologia. The rationale and strategic teaching strategies to facilitate this phenomenon has the overt possibility of achieving a qualification, but covertly (as far as the young people are concerned) the rationale is to develop perceptions through the possibilities of a cathartic experience.

Analysis of data from the music students' interviews reveals progression away from Gangsta Raps only occurs if the student is ready to move on, which in some cases does not happen. This progression is linked to rehabilitation as interviews with the music teachers revealed that the readiness to move position was seen to be linked to a change in behaviour and attitude. Where students do move through different genres of raps, interview data from music staff shows they observed it was paralleled by the development in attitudes, behaviour and self-perception. Interviews with the

music staff showed that during this journey they changed in attitude from being aggressive to being much quieter and more reflective.

Within the arts at this YOI, the strong emphasis on autobiographical techniques brings with it its own discourses and rituals which have been explored within this investigation. There was evidence in the interview data from staff and young people that the use of autobiographical techniques in both the *Write to Freedom* course and the Rap Workshops involved a combination of cognitive and emotional factors which facilitated the possibilities of catharsis and that this had rehabilitative influences on personal development. Whereas validation affirms skills and sometimes evokes emotions which leave a memory trace, the cathartic journey seems always to engender an emotional and profound reaction.

It was important to consider the potential for a cathartic experience through the use of autobiographical techniques used within the *Write to Freedom* course and the Rap Workshops on influencing the renovating of young people's identity. Before I analyse the strategies for catharsis in the *Write to Freedom* course and the Music Workshops, I need to explain that within the study of art, Russell (Head of Arts) argued that arts students do not experience catharsis but gain:

Russell (Head of Arts)

a little bit of a respite from - from their anger or for their attitude... they are all quiet and calm for a minute or they are making something ... they are all happy you just think, "Wow" For them to experience that process, it gives them -most of these lads won't have had that peace.

... [Irrelevant data]

The thing is they are not getting rid always getting rid of the anger. For that instance they are.

Interviewer: OK

In a sense that's what art does. It gives them a little bit of a respite from - from their anger or for their attitude.

Russell refers to a temporary respite from anger through his classes, rather than a permanent change of perception. However, the music and the *Write to Freedom* courses have a different conceptualisation and ethos, and strategically plan their courses to facilitate their students' expulsion of any pain and anger surrounding their past, because they perceive a permanent change of perception as a result.

12.5.3 PEDAGOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN RAP WORKSHOPS

The autobiographical formula of the rapping genre is used as a motivational learning strategy by the music teachers, and one which can develop perceptions as a result. One of the striking aspects of the students I observed working in the Rap Workshops was their close motivation and careful working. This was in direct contrast to the observation made by many non-music staff regarding these young people as having a group mentality of aggressive, macho-behaviour (see section 4.2.2). However, while these young people within the Rap Workshops were not exhibiting aggressive behaviour, they were expressing aggression through their rapping beats and lyrics. It is pertinent therefore to visit the rationale and teaching strategies for delivering raps in these workshops to explore the links if any with developing aspects of identity.

The music teachers chose the use of raps as a motivational tool for their students which reflects their street culture, and to which therefore they can relate. However, giving the potential for these young people to use the three genres of rap (gangsta, apologia and cautionary – see section 4.5.2) does not give a definite deterministic route, as the rap students did not necessarily follow this course. For example, Joseph (music student) progressed through different stages of raps:

Joseph (music student)

Before when I first started it was more about the crimes what I have committed and stuff and now I've tried to make it more things that people would want to listen to like - I'm not saying love songs but I'm more passionate like.

Joseph has moved from writing about his crimes to fitting his music to the tastes of his listeners. He does not refer therefore to a cathartic change but to a commercial rationale. This is not to deride this result, however, for Joseph has learnt that an awareness of others is important in order for people to want to listen to him. It is to point out that engaging in autobiographical techniques through the raps does not necessarily lead to a cathartic experience.

While renovation through catharsis does not always occur, the rationale for encouraging these rap genres as described by the music teachers is to give the young people a chance to renovate by moving from a grand narrative with self-glorification as anti-hero, or alternatively as victim of circumstance, to exploration of the impact of their imprisonment on their loved ones. The final stage of the journey was often seen to be a warning to their peers against following the same path as themselves.

To achieve any development in their students' self-perception, members of staff from the art, music and the *Write to Freedom* courses revealed the importance of building up trust. A lack of trust also impacts on what happens in the classroom, according to Lynne (Senior Manager: 326-344) who explained: "You've got to build a trust in the group and once you trust somebody that they wouldn't laugh at you and all the rest of it then you can progress." Without trust progress is inhibited in the classroom. Michael (music teacher) explained one such strategy to build up trust between his students and himself:

Michael (music teacher)

If I want to say something to them I'm going to have to touch their shoulder, tap them on the shoulder. And they are very happy to come and sit behind me, and they'll stand behind me and think...They tap me on the shoulder and say, "Can I have a pen?" And they can have one. They can just take it out my pocket. And they are not going to take it out my pocket and then shove me in the neck from behind.

Michael's used personal strategies of touch and allowing his students to take a pen from his back pocket to reveal that he trusts his students. Michael indicates the abnormality of this attitude:

Michael (music teacher)

Now a lot of the other teachers would think that exactly. If somebody went like that out of their pocket they would think they were going to get stabbed in the neck.

Michael reveals that his strategy develops from the relationship with them that he wishes to engender in the classroom. He also works to change their negative perceptions of their domestic backgrounds by focusing on helping them realise there was trust involved in some aspects of their past lives, using the Rap Workshops to encourage this:

Michael (music teacher)

I say, "Now hang on a minute. Was there something positive in the past? Did you always have food on the table? Did your Mum work and bring home food?" "Yes." "Right, let's concentrate on that shall we? Let's not go back and say, "I ran around in the streets. Guns bang bang and selling drugs and all that." I'm not interested in that necessarily but you can say it because that's your expression of your past. What about the positive stuff?"

Michael stresses the need for balance between their depiction of themselves as either anti-hero or victim and the positive aspects of their lives, such as their mothers' providing them with food. To encourage them to think less about the negative aspects of their lives, he is emphasising the importance of their recognising that those tasks undertaken by their carer which they took for granted actually represented those aspects of their life they could trust would occur.

The use of a more general strategy involving trust is developed in the Rap Workshops by giving responsibility for their learning to the students. Each person is asked as they enter the class what they are deciding to learn that day. Trust makes it possible for

individuals to begin activity. The strategy in action can be seen from an extract from my field notes:

Field Notes

September 24th, 2010:
(Observation of Rap Workshop)

Michael checks with each boy what they have planned for the lesson. One boy says, "I don't know." Michael reminds them they receive 50p for doing the paperwork towards the qualification in their cells. "I'm still waiting to hear what Larry wants to do this afternoon," Michael says, carefully nudging the student uncertain about his direction for the day towards a decision. He gives him some alternatives including the offer of a podcast. It turns out that Larry has been to the Health Centre for a test but he is unclear of the reason for this and what they actually told him. Michael suggests he tries to find the words so they can talk about it later. Larry is white and talks with a black London street accent.

To develop another student's skill on the computer, Michael asks what sort of track he wants to create and helps him manoeuvre the computer programme to read the section he is looking for. Asking questions regarding the wiring up of the sound system, Michael directs the student towards the right answers by encouraging deduction. Together they work on an agreement about the sound quality, sliding the tone and volume until it is appropriate, with Michael explaining what would work best and why. The student then discovers he is listening to the wrong track.

Meanwhile the drummer is counting 1-2-3-4, trying hard to synchronise his foot with the drum. He keeps grinning at me and grimacing when he gets it wrong. He has a look of pure delight when he achieves with a grin spreading across his face, and then furrows of frustration when he goes wrong, but he is determined and does not give up.

Michael listens to a boy's tape and still the drummer keeps going shouting out, "I've done it!" but then loses the beat again, finding his foot difficult to synchronise. Michael goes back to spend some time with Larry. The drummer is given a peppermint for achieving and walks around the room to get a brief break from his intense concentration.

The drummer returns and suddenly achieves what is needed. He is elated. Playing the guitar, Michael asks him to accompany him. He finds this difficult but perseveres. Michael sings and the rest of the students half listen to the performance and half continue with their work.

The extract shows the individual learning in the class with the focus on trust involved to help students. The trust that these students will formulate their own learning for

the day is seen by Michael's comment, "I'm still waiting to hear what Larry wants to do this afternoon." Michael shows skill in listening to his students, encouraging and motivating them. He questions students, rather than just informing them and encourages deduction in order to take their understanding forward, trusting their ability to respond. Individual learning is motivational towards developing their self-expression and understanding of one another through each other's musical tastes. The noise from the drummer is tolerated by the others who are focusing on their own beats and raps through head phones, but they are entrusted with this tolerance, so that it is expected and becomes part of the culture of the workshop. The results show good-humoured tolerance of one another and motivation shown in those learning new skills in their electronic beats and strong motivation in the drummer's desire to improve. It overtly recognises the importance of the individual, and this focus on the individual is part of the ethos of trust within the class: Larry trusts that Michael will be pleased he has achieved; that Michael will listen to his work on tape and give him some feedback.

The calmness in behaviour which I observed in the workshops seems likely to be both the cultural norm in the workshops and also indicative of the regard in which they held their music teachers. This was also supported from interviews with two young people: Mike (music student) and Dean (ex music student). Mike (72) referred to "the same amount of respect [given by Michael, Music Teacher] as we give him." Dean (ex Music Student) referred to Jack (Music Teacher: 409-410) who "for the last two years he's been brilliant really. He showed me everything." Furthermore, Jack (music teacher) stated that the mutual trust and respect shown by the music staff and the students appear to be communicated to other young people coming into the prison (642-644): "People know you know we hear around the blocks that the music teachers are safe." In street language, "safe" means reliable, trustworthy. It focuses on emotional security rather than the overtness of security measures.

The collaboration involved in sharing aspects of their past lives through the process of creating raps involves the process of listening and advising each other on their work. An interview with Jimmy (art and music student) reveals the way in which the focus on trust infiltrates this collaboration. Jimmy's part in this collaborative process is as a producer:

Jimmy (art and music student)

I don't rap. Um I produce

Interviewer: Right

I produce. Er I basically make tracks for other rappers.

Interviewer: OK

So say if I am using like Fifty Cents raps, huh? He can't make his own beat. He gets another person to. I can make the beat.

Jimmy reveals how other students trust him enough to give him their lyrics and sound tracks to improve. Trust therefore plays a role in being an agency for progress and change. Without trust, no one would ask Jimmy to help them create a beat for their raps. They in turn also learn by listening to what he has done, and seeing it has improved their work. They trust him with raps about their lives, to which he has to learn to respond appropriately. This helps them and gives Jimmy kudos, not only in their request to him, but also in their response to his work afterwards. The interaction gives the potential for mutual respect.

12.5.4 USE OF THE GANGSTA RAPS: THE TEACHERS' RATIONALE

The raps in this YOI are used for their autobiographical nature. When the Rap Workshop students "spit" Gangsta Raps, they are typically an anti-hero in a violent gangster narrative. They present stereotypical images of gangsters, which means they are appropriating well-recognised identities accepted by other members of the group. The music teachers justify their use as an important first stage towards the facilitation of catharsis:

Jack (music teacher)

This is our argument, for why we allow this first stage to take place without very much censure is because it is necessary if your cup is full of-of-of junk, you- you can't put anymore into it, you have to empty your cup first and then you can put other things into it. So I think you know we encourage them to expel this initial kind of rage and frustration and fear and stuff, so they can then reflect ... on exactly what they have done.

Jack argued that expelling anger leaves space for developing other perspectives, explaining it as follows (603-605): “They get out their angry running around the streets, the gangster rubbish. Then they get this: “Sorry Mum. Sorry Girl” “The phrase “get out” suggests both display, as they “get out” their anger in their raps, and also a cathartic sense of “getting it all out” so that expelling their anger then allows progression.

There is seen to be the necessity to enable these young people to express the gangster narrative, but the use of “get out” shows the belief that the young people’s desire to do this will diminish. The need to expel “this initial rage” is corroborated by Michael (music teacher) who also sees expelling anger as vital:

Michael (music teacher)

They've got to get it out. Just the first time sometimes.

Interviewer: Yeah but anybody's listening to it

Anybody, anybody, anybody, anybody, anybody, anybody.

The repetition of “anybody” emphasises Michael’s perception of the importance of students’ realisation of their lack of privacy as they “spit” about traumatic events in their lives, because they are expelling their experiences to anyone in the room who wants to listen.

Lynne (Senior Manager) suggests the need to “get it out” is the beginning of “get [ting] rid of some of those negative things” (317-321), after which, according to Lynne self-expression and development can then begin. This corresponds with what Michael

says about the necessity of “get [ting] it out just for the first time sometimes.” The music teachers however saw further significance in allowing this genre of rap. Both revealed that the end result of enabling the gangster narrative is that it sometimes seems to lead on to a cathartic, developing perspective. Michael’s perception is that the use of rapping enables them to express trauma, which, according to his perception, is itself a possible route to catharsis:

Michael (music teacher)

They don't know- they don't care-care if there's four other lads are half hearing that their sister got killed by running across the street when he should have been looking after her and she got run down by a bus.

Interviewer: Mm

On the way to school and stuff like that you see, I just go, "Oh" If you listen to it you go, "That must have been hard Ryan, all that." "Oh it's all right now, Boss. Don't you worry about it" They get more concerned about me.

By relating these issues in a public arena, the trauma is expelled, shared and recognised. The journey of learning how to “spit” Gangsta Raps full of physical action involves learning better strategies for expressing emotion through beat and lyric, as Michael (music teacher) exemplifies:

Michael (music teacher)

“Are you angry when you're delivering about this girl taken by this crime?” “Yeah.” “Well we'll sex it up. We'll make it harsher. Pah. Boom. Cha.”

12.5.5 USE OF THE GANGSTA RAPS: THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S RATIONALE

It was clear from interviews with the students that the Gangsta Raps were always seen as supposedly real accounts of themselves, although sometimes they were embellished far from truth. In these cases, it seems that the lyricist still hoped that the listeners will take them as real accounts. Their motivation to engage in these raps

builds on the link between Gangsta Raps and the criminal fraternity, which makes the mode of expression acceptable in the eyes of some of these young people. As Joseph (music student) argued:

Joseph (music student)

Like some people like it like

Interviewer: Gangsta Raps?

Yes. Like people who are in the bands like to listen to it.

Interviewer: Oh that's interesting. I wouldn't say that. So you need to explain what you mean.

People in the bands who like crime. Who do the similar type of things like to listen to it.

The students' rationale for the use of the strategy of "spitting" Gangsta Raps is twofold: self-protection from peer aggression by engendering fear and validation and acceptance from those young people who find the raps a reflection of their own social mores. These rappers wish to copy those bands who like crime and who play the same type of music. The use of lying through their rapping to mask their fear is not always successful, as Joseph was determined to tell me:

Joseph (music student)

People are always talking about shooting and stuff but people know and they say - they might say he shot this person and that but people know they are lying certain people don't like to hear stuff about that

While a sense of security seems to be enhanced through this activity, Joseph's perception is that when those listening detect the rapper is lying they do not want to hear any pretence of violence. It is unclear why, but the inference seems to be that they expect the raps to be honest. This seems to infer that the use of raps as autobiographical modes of expression was important, with people expected to be sincere in what they said. Joseph also has a further perception about why people lie through rapping:

Joseph (music student)

Some people think like when they are doing their music and they are lying it might get them a reputation. ...

Interviewer: But reputation? Sorry. What reputation are they after?

Like a gangster reputation.

Interviewer: Right why do they want that?

So they can -so they look big like so they can like -so they look like - like they are making money and stuff but it doesn't make -it doesn't make you good just 'cos you've been doing this kind of shooting and crime

Joseph's perception also points to students' embellishing their raps to gain status, not because of their growing expertise, but because they want to show how much money they made through their actions. However, he has made a connection between the facts that this presentation of money accumulated is not actually a representation of being "good," as it involves shooting.

Pete (music student) corroborates the way that rap lyrics' made an impact on the listeners' view of him when he explained that he initially wrote Gangsta Raps because (288) "it's difficult to establish yourself to start with." However, his reasoning is slightly different from Joseph's. While Joseph explained that the rationale of presenting a "gangster reputation" is in order to self-promote some kind of status, Pete's desire to "establish" himself suggests a need to be recognised as a rapper in his own right, implying initial feelings of vulnerability in his abilities. I have no evidence to know if Pete was presenting his actual actions through the Gangsta Rap, or whether they were embellished. However, it is evident that the Gangsta Rap genre served an important purpose for his feelings of status in the group.

While the music teachers and Education Manager felt that a strong rationale for using the arts is to enable these young people's facility to express emotion, interviews with the young people gave a more intimate account of what this strategy meant to them, as shown by Pete.

Pete (music student)

I just like certain emotions that you feel - certain emotions that you feel when you are in the cell. Because obviously you know when you are in the cell one thing when you are in the cell - when you are in the cell you - your own thoughts everything comes into your head and sometimes you want to lay it out with a pen and paper and you just put it on a track.

Interviewer: Right. OK. Had you ever let it out onto paper before you started rapping?

It's like- I used to think about the same thoughts.

Interviewer: Yes

But it's like when I put it on a piece of paper I don't think about it again.

For Pete, codifying his emotions in his rap stopped his circular thought process, helping his thoughts to go in a different direction.

Ezekiel's (music student) explanation of his rationale for a strategic use of rapping is slightly different:

Ezekiel (music student)

Interviewer: 'Cos what would you do otherwise if you didn't put it down in the lyric? What would you do?

Well if it's bothering me then I have to do something about it. Probably do violence or something like that

The action of writing seems to defuse Ezekiel's otherwise physical response. He re-defines himself from a person who reacts quickly with violence to someone using creative expression as a means of reflection. The reasons for changing attitude and behaviour are rarely possible to attribute to one cause but it seems clear that developing new ways of self-expression have affected the way he reacts to anger. Ezekiel felt it was a useful strategy to replace his tendency towards physical violence as he explained (44-48): "Uh when I rap my lyrics then stuff like that sort of lets my stress free and stuff like that sort of violence and stuff like that." The release of stress

seems to be cathartic as with “let[ing] his stress free”, Ezekiel frees himself from “violence and stuff like that.”

12.5.6 USE OF THE APOLOGIA AND THE CAUTIONARY RAPS: THE TEACHERS’ RATIONALE

The Music Teachers’ observation of their students’ development was seen in terms of their developing skills in writing rap lyrics. While it could be argued that any move away from rapping using Gangsta Raps is a function of the genre itself, interviews with the music teachers showed that progression only occurred when and if the young person was emotionally ready; in some cases it did not occur at all. Where any move to a new genre was observed, it was illustrative of the young person’s felt experience. Interviews with the music teachers and a senior manager revealed that students have to be in a learning mode which reflects their felt experience in order both to change their rap genre and in parallel to change their behaviour, and sometimes their role within the group.

Previous experience in the classroom had revealed that writing anything at all had been a de-motivating factor in the classroom. Now they were observed developing technical and musical skills through rap beats, but also importantly in terms of their perceptual development. Both staff and students I interviewed said that the students kept all their raps, but were embarrassed at their earlier efforts because they could see how they had improved as they developed. There was no indication the rappers were embarrassed by the content of their initial raps, but simply their mode of expression. However, there were indications that the Gangsta Raps often masked their individuality.

The trust built up in the workshops enabled some students’ quiet movement between genres where a rap exposing feelings of guilt to their loved ones was revealed, as seen in my field notes:

Field Notes

December 1st, 2010
(Meeting with music teachers and *Write to Freedom* tutor.)

I explained that the previous time I was in HMP XXX I had heard Thomas spitting a violent rap the day before he was due to leave. He had a flow of about 2 or at the most 3 lines which were constantly repeated, in a deadpan, passionless voice. Jack (music teacher) said that the lack of passion and repetition of the lines revealed a lack of real commitment to that identity. In the film he made with Second Chance Thomas also delivered a Gangsta Rap but at the same time in the film, another of his raps revealed that he went to Church to say "sorry" to his Mum.

Observation of their students' development seems to be framed in their development as revealed through the series of rap genres. Thomas's capacity for only a limited lyrical gangster narrative, and his lack of conviction in performance was perceived by Jack (music teacher) to be in such a different mode to his quiet act of confession and apology to his Mother, which seemed altogether more sincere.

Both music teachers argued that students' change of perception was paralleled by their progress to the Apologia. It seems that reflection on the impact of their actions on others rather than on self-glorification provides the cathartic experience, and the cathartic experience is reflected in a change of behaviour. However, not only do the raps' autobiographical possibilities enable these young people to express their emotions, but also, as Michael (music teacher) explained, the genre itself necessitates an extension of their thinking:

Field Notes

December 1st, 2010
(Meeting with music teachers and *Write to Freedom* tutor.)

They have to think about the whole story. It has to be divided up into 3 verses with 2 choruses. As they are writing they are thinking more closely about their past and their future, but because it is in small packages it is easier for them to cope with and becomes concrete as a result. Some, Jack said, do not care about whether or not they have privacy as they can be heard by everyone, while others go to one side and speak quietly into the microphone.

By close adherence to the genre they have to articulate and in some cases expand their thinking in order to complete the rap. The rap itself enables articulation of catharsis. Jack refers to a music student whose catharsis seemed to occur after drug rehabilitation had enabled him to think more clearly and realise the implications of his actions on his girlfriend:

Jack (music teacher)

Either he had had a visit or a letter or something. And there it was and he was sort of saying, "I am very sorry I am inside and you are outside and I can't protect you and I'm going to miss the birth of my child and what kind of Father am I going to become.

From a focus on violence, the young person changed his use of rap genre to represent a more reflective identity with greater awareness of others. My field notes describe this phenomenon further:

Field Notes

January 27th, 2010

(Notes taken after interview with music teacher)

When Jack referred to an occasion when a student had changed his style of rap from a violent Gangsta Rap to that of an Apologia, he referred to the change in his student's whole demeanour from being loud and strident to being much quieter and secretive, as if embarrassed that he was portraying emotions and feelings for someone else instead of presenting himself as a violent anti hero.

According to Jack's perception, this young man changed genre through a need for emotional expression as a result of some domestic changes in his life. This action coincided with a change in his behaviour. The rap does not seem to have caused but reflected his catharsis, enabling a mode of expression to articulate his emotions.

12.5.7 USE OF THE APOLOGIA AND THE CAUTIONARY RAPS: THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S RATIONALE

Andreas (music student), in his appropriated status as music producer, gives evidence of several rappers using the Apologia genre as a confessional (90-97): "[They] say

about a lot about mistakes that they've made and about things like how their Mum's there for them and things like that." The demand of the genre to develop their ideas about how their Mother or their girlfriend may be feeling can be emotionally gruelling. It is possible to follow a journey through the raps by tracing Pete's development through these different genres.

Pete begins by explaining how he decided to write a rap apologising to his Mother for being in prison:

Pete (music student)

Interviewer: Did it upset you to do it?

Yeah and the stress and everything I put Mum through.

Interviewer: So actually so actually doing that

That's -something I think I learned in jail. That's why you need to obviously when you are on the road you think everything particularly revolves around you and when you look at- when you look at um when you look at -when you look at it from other people's point of view it's just something that -you know there is so much chaos that you've caused - 'cos I look at myself and I think of how my Mum -my Mum will be feeling with her son's out in jail.

Pete's Apologia Rap focuses on his Mother's suffering instead of thinking "everything revolved around [him]" as he had when "on the road". The act of writing the Apologia seems to have been important in helping him realise the chaos that his actions have caused. Prison seems to have given him time for reflection as instead of focusing on action, as he did when he was "on the road" he now looks at himself. He reflects on the significance of this composition:

Pete (music student)

I just felt like I was doing something good to help myself innit.

Interviewer: Mm

So that way I thought yeah. It was like I- It was just like taking steps

Pete recognises this development as “taking steps” in his internal development. The idea of “steps” is not a leap forward but a gradual progression towards a new evolving sense of identity. It is as if the steps are taking him away from continuing to inhabit his past identity towards something he feels is more worthy of him, a feeling of more maturity as he gains the ability to be self-reflective. He then moved on from this to a Cautionary Rap. This change of view came when he considered how far he was from his family:

Pete (music student)

I just changed. I just thought far from my family – my family live in London and I’m over in Bristol and I just thought – a lot of things just came into my head and I just thought, “No,” If you see what I mean and I don’t want people doing the same things I was doing.

He explained how he perceived the importance of the Cautionary Rap:

Pete (music student)

The purpose is for like for other people to hear and showing them things that you shouldn't be doing and that and that life's not a game and jail's not good. It's not cool to be in jail. It's like showing what I've been through and at the same time - cannot show the young these days that it's not about that. You know what I'm saying?

It seems that in his pre-prison identity when “on the road,” life was hectic and just like a game, without his consideration of the implications of his actions. Perhaps pre - prison he had thought prison would give him status, but having experienced it, he realises he realises that actually it “is not cool” to be there. His increase in maturity is revealed in his decision to use his raps to caution others against engaging in the criminal actions which landed him in prison. As Pete argued, instead of his sense of identity being linked to criminal activity, where the end result was prison, which initially he felt was “great”, he has moved to realisation that in fact it is no way to be leading his life. However, a sense of hopelessness creeps in when he says “at the same time [you] cannot show the young these days.”

12.5.8 YOUNG PEOPLE'S SYMBOLS OF SUCCESS

In sections 4.2.4, 4.2.5 and 4.2.7, I explored the symbols of success as perceived by the prison staff, which focused on behaviour awards, roles given out, success in qualifications and exhibitions. This section focuses on the symbols denoting success as defined by the young people themselves. While it was evident that my young interviewees embraced the establishment's criteria for success, their own definitions of success were more fluid, and were defined by their own allocation of roles within the production of raps and the way in which their rap had been received. However, their denotation of success went beyond this to self-reflection. These views were revealed through their own perceptions of the quality of the raps they had produced, but also through their display of their skills to their peers, affirming self-prowess and their perceptions of one another.

All music students were able to produce their lyrics and beats on professional sounding CDs. Potentially they were able to make a track that (313) "sounds like a track that [they] heard on the radio." They can keep these, share them or send them home. Michael (music teacher: 410-412) refers to the CDs as a "source of pride" a measure of "their identity." By centring on street culture through their raps these young people are motivated to enhance their IT Skills through learning how to manipulate electronic beats. Many of them see it as their route (560) "on roadness." Their developing skills influence their identity with a newly-acquired status which gains respect as seen with Mike's (music student) admiration for a former music student:

Mike (music student)

I sat down a couple of times and listened to him and he was like a proper professional. Do you know what I mean? Like – like Eminem, and JD and Fifty Cent and that. Really, really good. And he's got a - he- he's turned round his life round. He's got a - he's got his pro got his computer. He lives in Southampton now. He's trying to break in to the record business now.

This reveals a snapshot of the arts community within the prison in showing the cross fertilisation of techniques and aptitudes across the student body as they listen to each others' work.

However, CDs also become symbols of power, status and currency. Nick (Prison Officer) refers to them as "currency" and also a form of "trade" (312-320), while Tony (Prison Officer) is very aware that they are "a bullion instrument" (352). The demarcation line between the views of the prison officers and music teachers in the symbolic significance of the CDs marks the boundary between a focus on security and a focus on motivation and education in the broadest sense. However, for the students, the production of their CDs is a symbol of their success because it reveals their prowess: the process of sharing their CDs is also to collaborate and gain peer feedback on their work. It is difficult to say if this collaboration is being misunderstood by the prison officers or if there are two separate activities taking place. Tony (prison officer) feels so strongly about the situation he argued (353-356), "Me personally I don't agree with bullion and [words omitted]...anything that can be used as bullion should be stopped."

However, it is clear from the data that a dimension of these students' developmental experience would be lost without the CDs. Jimmy (music student) reveals his symbol of success is wrapped up in his discovery he had a natural ability in operating IT electronic music programmes:

Jimmy (music student)

It's like a jigsaw puzzle. If you've got a jig saw puzzle part of it you've got a base, you've got an edge but if you put it together it sounds like a perfect beat.

Jimmy's description reveals that for him this developed skill represented success, as it did for Andreas, who argued that he feels (393) "the importance of being good at it kind of thing." The focus which these young people give to presenting professional sounding tracks is evident in many interviews. For Pete (music student) the CD

represented the culmination of a period of work involving much invested effort producing a CD where he sounded “good mid flow and in tune” (312).

However, the production of a CD has further significance as the process motivates them to enhance their skills so they are able to express their emotions more accurately. Michael’s (music teacher) techniques in helping a young person to find a voice through the beats can be seen in the following:

Field Notes

February 18th, 2010
(Observation of Rap Workshop)

Michael (music teacher) helps... a student to learn to express himself by matching the beat to their emotions. They sit with headphones on listening to beats.

This emergent possibility of self-expression through beats and lyrics is vital as Jimmy (art and music student) explained (148), or else “no one knows who you are, innit?” The CDs are a symbol of success in revealing an aspect of their identity. Jimmy explained how achieving a good track affects him:

Jimmy (art and music student)

If I come out and I make that track and that track is perfect - not perfect but one of the best tracks I've ever made and you hear it on the [prison] radio, then they know who I am.

The achievement validates his identity, allowing him to represent himself so that “they know who I am.” Andreas (music student) also shows how the CD represents him “so they see me kind of innit” (357). His developing creativity and professional skill has given him opportunity to project his identity within the rap. In Pete’s conversation, Pete explained that the importance of the track was “relating to my life you see. It's relating to my life style.” The genre and the content for Pete therefore are symbols representing the life with which he identifies. Joseph reveals that he has not only learnt to manipulate the medium to express his emotion, but has also

developed the ability to analyse the meaning behind other people's work alongside their techniques. He sees the CD as a form of communication with other people which "sort of lets people know how I'm doing." As the young people pass their CDs around the wing, the CD becomes defined as a possible symbol of peer approbation as Joseph explained he "like[s] to hear people's opinions of my work like."

Joseph's explanation reveals that collaboration has become part of these music students' culture. Joseph's desire to discover "what people think" is indicative that the CD becomes at that point a symbolic representation of himself. With the feedback, he receives his peers' opinion of his work. However, because his sense of identity is so closely linked to the production of the CD, he is also receiving their opinion of himself. As a result, Joseph becomes motivated to professionalise the track. While the teachers encourage them to produce CDs, the young people also buy into this idea because of the affective results which follow.

Pete (music student) gives an insight into the technical help he received from peer feedback. They said that:

Pete (music student)

The setting was a bit not that good. It wasn't coming out properly.

Interviewer: And so did you change it as a result?

Yes. Because I wanted it to sound more professional.

Like Joseph, the drive to "sound more professional" pushed Pete to focus more carefully on his work so that it met the approbation and validation from those listening and only then would it represent a symbol of his success.

The music students' rap CDs not only become an expressive medium but also vehicles for passing on insights into other people's feelings in prison. Joseph indicates that he wants to communicate his state of mind to his peers. The feedback given both

affirms his technical skill and also the self he presented in the CD. He referred to the way his ability and reputation had spread around the prison so that:

Joseph (music student)

the football people on the wing, they shout at me the other day ... I don't know them personally like but I know they can rap and MC like. They just called me and said, "Do you want to jump on a track?" I said, "Yes. I'll do that." I sent them a CD with instrumentals on like and they found one which they liked and it was like "We can do that."

Being known for "spitting" raps, or producing beat opens up a prison network also including those who are not taking part in Music Workshops. When Joseph is recognised as having status and role as a producer, he holds a different and so renovated identity from that held before the course. His success in his new role is affirmed by the recognition of his peers.

The symbols of success from the young people's perspective represents their growing prowess in composing and producing raps, their ability to make clear who they are through their raps and their recognition by their peers. These expressions of success are also officially recognised through their qualifications, their performances, their acceptance onto external courses and the roles they are given. However, it seems that this collaboration with and recognition by their peers is the power house which drives them then to gain plaudits with symbols of success as recognised by the prison staff.

12.5.9 INTERVIEWEES' PERCEPTION OF RENOVATION THROUGH INNER DEVELOPMENT

To investigate any ideas of inner development perceived by the young people engaging in the arts courses, I asked them to formulate symbols of their past and present. The symbols they chose frequently referred to previous confusion and lack of stability. Their symbols of their time in prison represented an experience which was now more settled, with their self-identity seemingly more stable. In order to gain an understanding of the self-analysis which came out of some of these young

people's interviews, I introduce you to three young people whom you have already met: Joseph, Jimmy and Dean (all pseudonyms), chosen for their fuller analysis of their inner thoughts:

Joseph

Joseph (music student) referred to his pre-prison self as being “half a heart and half world war two,” (463-468) although his present state he described as “more love and with a microphone” (540-549). This representation establishes a person who has love as an important part of his humanity, but equally he sees himself with a microphone, which is perhaps representative of his future direction and seems to be reflected by the success he has had in his arts programme. He used to see himself as “a bad person”, who was “violent” (563). He refers to his desire to leave behind his drug dealing and to associate with different people who will not get him into trouble.

Joseph now reflects on his positive nature where he looks to the future and helps others to do the same. He attributes his motivational approach to the music classes, as he refers to his “messaging around” (161) in the gym course in prison. He describes the concentration in the music class where “everyone is just sat around doing their own music. Doing their own tracks and that. Making beats and stuff.” The way in which the course stretches him is shown in the fact that he now has to make all his own beats instead of only composing the lyrics.

Joseph shows his growing maturity in his changing behaviour. He describes his entry behaviour in the YOI as there being “loads of fighting”. He distances himself from this by impersonalising the statement, but the fact that he was designated as being on the bronze behaviour award (the lowest designation) every week indicates that he was involved. He then makes a conscious decision to focus on his Music and at the same time improve his behaviour.

Taking part in the Rap Workshops has renovated his sense of identity as he now describes himself by saying, "I would say I am a rapper." Moreover he now has rejected the idea of himself as a "bad person." Instead he now perceives himself as "a positive guy like trying to get people to move forward like. Everything passes so look forward to your future." He defines the positive attributes of engaging in the Rap Workshops as "helping people to – with their emotions, family problems, like to help them in the future." He sees the cathartic effect of using the music rather "than fighting and that and resort to crime again and that."

Jimmy

Jimmy's (art and music student) revealing of his symbols of past and present also exposed feelings of peace in contrast to the turmoil of his past. He refers to his previous lack of confidence when he "was not confident to say what [he] wanted" until he gained confidence through music. His symbols were (445-457): "before I was like - like all different roads." However, his present was (458) "like - you know a motorway it goes straight." Pulling a variety of art work from his portfolio, Jimmy demonstrated his work as symbolic of his perceptual journey. Originally, he tells me, he would have chosen fiery colours to symbolise his former confusion, but now he would choose lighter colours symbolising his calmer state of mind.

Jimmy (art and music student)

Yes it's much calmer - I'd do something like that- (pulls another design from his portfolio) sandy beach that's what I'd have. Sandy beach.
(Laughs)

He reveals how his priorities have changed from focusing on money to focusing on his family. His present state has a clearer direction. His changed attitude is mirrored by his new preference for a genre of music reflecting a meditative state with "one beat like a soft beat and that is where my mind is right now." This is in contrast to the symbols of speed and confusion he describes in his pre-prison life: "I'd probably be

thinking about cars and everything like that.” Jimmy had a strong sense of the arts as being symbolic and representational of his state of mind. He explained that by listening to music he is able to “just think his mind just empty.” The music he listens to, therefore, not only symbolises his changed state of mind, it also enhances it by inducing meditation.

Within the mental space his new calmness has evoked, Jimmy imagines a mythical conversation when his close family are actually saying the words (462): “You know he’s somebody to be proud of.” He hopes to gain his family’s pride by achieving his goal to be a youth worker because he wants to help prevent youths reoffending and feels they are (81-95) “ going to listen to people who’ve been through what they’ve been through: care homes, prison.” Jimmy’s reflections on which young people are most likely to listen to is astute, but also poignant in his revelation of his own difficult background. He wants to help them to gain developing expertise in electronic music and in art, showing he aspires to develop his identity further in the future.

Dean

(Here I present a longer analysis because I saw Dean on several occasions as he was employed post-sentence within a project in prison as the Project Lead. He had taken part in both the music course and the *Write to Freedom* course He therefore offers retrospective insight into pre-prison, prison and now post-prison.)

While both Jimmy’s and Joseph’s use of symbols to represent their past, present and future give a definite idea of a journey towards a positive view of their present self-perceptions, Dean’s explanation seemed to sum up what he saw as a flaw in his character, as he identifies himself by using the symbol of the yin and the yang. This symbol, however, does not have the commonly understood meaning behind it:

Dean (ex music and *Write to Freedom* student)

I've got my normal side and that is the white side and the dark side which was like after drink or just like - like the moments when I would just

switch and that and the problems that would get trouble. When I was fifteen I would use that - a split world if you know what I mean.

Dean's self-analysis of his past reveals a dark side of his personality, as he defines the black side of the symbol as symbolising non-conformity, himself after a drink, or "the moments when [he] would just switch" which would lead to "the problems that would get trouble." He sees the white side of the symbol as symbolising his perception of what he regards as "normal" which seems to be conforming to society's expectations. However, Dean reflectively analyses his developing identity as follows:

Dean (ex music and *Write to Freedom* student)

When I was on the out was I was not committed to anything [pause 2 seconds] But when I got the national [pause 1 second] because I was committed to do this music I wanted to do it. I was getting the rewards for it. It was a responsibility being in the [indistinct...] being in the studio all day

Interviewer: Right yeah.

Because not many people get to do that. And that was like. In a way it was a responsibility but it was a reward really you know and I think that helped me develop myself as well.

The combination of reward and responsibility seems to have been causal in Dean's developing sense of commitment, contrasting with his pre-prison identity. The "conforming" side of his personality enables him to gain success as defined by the prison staff and the young people. The recognition he gained affirmed his ability to achieve.

Dean defined his perception of his pre-prison self as a goalkeeper when playing with his friends and perceiving he "wasn't sort of anything else" (240). He revealed how he was allocated music as a session in the week during a plumbing course he had opted for. As a result, at first he asked to leave the lessons. He was enticed to stay for a week, as he describes in the following:

Dean (ex music and *Write to Freedom* student)

I had to do music there so I sat there and it was, what can I do in rap?" So I thought, "Well try and make a beat." So they showed me how to use the software, and since then everything has just escalated.

As a result of this epiphanic moment, Dean found how to activate the computer program. He continued developing his understanding of electronic beat, learning how to operate the programs efficiently and creatively. This self-discovery of his rising expertise in technical skills helped to define him. Dean's self-mockery as (241): "I'm just a complete you know geek always in front of the computer," reveals his feeling of comfort with his new found identity and seems a form of self-validation. This has led further to more self-discovery:

Dean (ex music and *Write to Freedom* student)

The weird - the weird - the biggest thing I've noticed I've learnt is my attention to detail. I mean ... I used to be sloppy but now I'm sitting there in a class with Michael [music teacher] and everyone else is doing their thing and I'm like, "Michael. There isn't something right." And I can't hear nothing else going on and I keep going and listening and I stretch it out slowly and there will be a little sound and I will say, "That's annoying me." And that's the biggest thing -one of the biggest things in what I've changed. I've got to have - and everything's got to be finished and commit like that, a real urgent commitment.

The drive for perfection and careful focus on his work was a key part of Dean's enhanced skills and self-discovery, which he analyses not as change but as development, using his talents more constructively so that he is (470) "really just using what I had and using it better what I do."

Dean refers to a number of reasons for his development. First of all he has become more self-aware of the "effect on my Mum, my family and that"; secondly "getting music "and thirdly "realising I was on gold. I was on gold." He realised the power of his own agency as he stated, "I've learnt now you've got to make it right." The desire to identify with his role model who supported him in and out of prison was also key to his development "because what he's like - he's the perfect character I want to be

like.” Dean’s success on so many levels seems to have given him space for thinking of his family. There is therefore complexity in his development but this has been causal in his role reversal after he was released:

Dean (ex music and *Write to Freedom* student)

You know I used to be the one putting my hand up and ask now it's weird. It seems quite quick how it's changed. It's been like the opposite way around now.

Dean’s perception is that the idea of development of identity is a more accurate way of describing his changes in behaviour than a new identity as Dean told me firmly: “I am really just using what I had and using it better in what I do.” Dean seems to analyse what has happened to him as a realisation of a better use of his potential.

The self-analysis given in the interviews of these young people refers to change in attitudes and priorities. However, some of the evidence points to a developing rather than a changing identity and this is important to understanding the journey occurring in these young people. There was plenty of evidence that a developing identity and self-realisation resulted in a change in attitude and behaviour. They were mainly connected with a sense of unpredictability in their pre-prison selves as well as with money and violence (see also section 4.2.1). Their focus of pre-prison lives was mainly centred on a display of macho-tendencies, but also included reference to emotion: the sadness of being in prison, the happiness of early life before it went wrong, and the love along with “world war two.” With regard to their envisioned future, both Jimmy and Dean had clear vocational ideas, while Joseph focused mainly on avoiding those friends with whom he had connected pre-prison.

The analysis of the symbols they used to represent the different stages in their lives revealed that their main considerations were the change in their attitudes and priorities and in the case of Dean, Jimmy and Joseph their lives strongly connected to the arts. This was shown in Joseph’s symbol of the microphone, Jimmy’s discussion of

the youth work he wishes to be connected with in teaching the arts to other young people and Dean's post-prison job in a project with young people in the arts. The structure of their courses had led them to realise that their journey from their past to their present could be influential in their future in a positive way. Interviews with the young people showed that this was more prevalent in those who had been involved in Rap Workshops and art classes, than the *Write to Freedom* course.

Interview data from the young people from the music and the *Write to Freedom* courses revealed evidence that those taking these autobiographical courses had become used to reflecting on their lives. It is impossible to know whether this was a direct result of these courses, but certainly reflective learning was part of their focus within the autobiographical strategies used on their courses. Analysing the symbols and self-reflection in these young people's interview data showed how their hopes, fears and wishes were highlighted and centered on what life may hold for them outside. Their envisioning of their future is clear but very different. Joseph's desire to help others when he leaves prison is linked to his desire to leave his drug dealing behind. "Helping others" is a vague concept and does not clearly define the role he would take in this. Jimmy's thoughts of the future have more clarity in his perception of the role he wishes to take as a youth worker. This is strongly linked to a dream of making his family proud of him. Dean's desire to use and improve his technical skills in a technical role is clearly focused.

Two of these young people are clear about some of the problems they may face: Dean with his self-analysed flaw of taking wrong decisions under the influence of alcohol; Joseph with the bad influence of his former friends. While some of this indicates an awareness of possible pitfalls ahead for them it also contributes empirically to a better understanding of how giving opportunities for self-reflections amongst young people in prison can enable them to develop a sense of self which could populate their future. The analysis of these symbols gives further insight into

the meaning-making around their present and future lives which they attribute to being involved in these courses.

12.5.10 PEDAGOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE WRITE TO FREEDOM COURSE

Information about the content of the *Write to Freedom* course came from interviews with the young people involved, and the two tutors. The first difference between the *Write to Freedom* Course and the Rap Workshops is in size of groups and length of course which affects their delivery. The Music Workshops have about 8 students per lesson and the courses last for 12 weeks; at the time of writing the *Write to Freedom* course had 3 students on it and the whole course lasted a week.

The *Write to Freedom* Course uses autobiographical techniques to facilitate young people in engendering a sense of agency in their future. Caspar (Write to Freedom tutor), who had himself been in prison and understood some of the difficulties of these young people, created the course. In order to be allowed onto the course, the young people have to be granted ROTL. As a precursor to the course and in order to show their commitment, a pre-entry requirement was for them to write three modules about the past, the present and the future. However, Caspar revealed how his open display of trust in a young person can actually affect his opportunities. Caspar refers to the need to

Caspar (*Write to Freedom* tutor: notes from phone interview)

see something in their eyes, some interest I select them. If they haven't completed their assignments then they have the opportunity to do this by the next weekend.

If Caspar trusts the spark of interest he sees, then he waives the need to write the assignments before the weekend away. They are being trusted to write their three modules during the weekend instead of before it and have therefore to show their responsibility in fulfilling this privilege which they have been given.

Within the *Write to Freedom* course, the ethos bears some similarities to the Rap Workshops in that Caspar's (*Write to Freedom* tutor) focus is to enable students to re-think their perspective through autobiographical techniques. However, whereas in both the art and Rap Workshops, students are encouraged to improve their techniques, within the *Write to Freedom* course, their tutor, Caspar explained (10-21): "I am not interested in ability. They can be dyslexic. A lot of them had a difficult experience at school." Caspar has a very definite rationale for using autobiographical modules, which is to encourage young people to shed their past, moving them onto the present and the future by the use of a specific non-negotiable activity:

Caspar (*Write to Freedom* tutor: notes from phone interview)

I tell them, "You have a story to tell, so tell it." They love it. It becomes a gangster story. I am working on that. I have three modules the past, the present and the future. These are key areas to focus on. Things change for them.

He argued that the importance of the autobiographical technique is to reflect their emotions:

Caspar (*Write to Freedom* tutor: notes from Phone interview)

If I feel I was abandoned I need to include the anger. I have to take responsibility for my emotion and the reasons I am strongly influenced by it. I have to reflect on it. There has then to be a time when I say, "This is enough now of my feeling I am a victim of my circumstance." That is what I am trying to do

Caspar sees a direct link between the autobiographical writing and taking responsibility for your actions and your emotions. This he argued leads to inward change. The module on the past is seen as particularly significant:

Caspar (*Write to Freedom* tutor: notes from phone interview)

By engaging with our own stories we turn them into a physical reality so that they attain a mythical status. The main thing that writing does is to give their past a physical reality instead of it all just going round and round in their head.

Following the writing of these modules, the young people are then taken away for a weekend on Dartmoor. While away, they stay in a hostel. They go out for walks with an expert in the wildlife on the Moor, so that they are learning about the environment. The young people are given a mentor, the walks giving them the opportunity to talk to them as well as to their peers. Within the *Write to Freedom* course, the potential for the occurrence of catharsis is more carefully manipulated than in the Rap Workshops. A camp fire is built at the beginning of their stay there, which plays a key role in the weekend. Each evening they collect around it. They burn the module about their past, going up to the fire and whispering their innermost secrets to it. The modules about the present and the future are shared with their mentors and their peers.

12.5.11 THE WRITE TO FREEDOM COURSES: THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

The shortness of the *Write to Freedom* course, culminating in the weekend away, seems to make for a very intense experience, with plenty of time and space for reflection. The external spacious environment of Dartmoor provides opportunity for reflection. By “assum[ing] the environment” of Dartmoor, Leonardo was able to think more clearly:

Leonardo (*Write to Freedom* student)

That's why I took so much time to reflect anyway because. It was - everything around you is free like and everything around you is just like spacious and it is a time to assume the environment. You can analyse your past and where you want to go to and it was -is a good setting for the actual event you know.

Interviewer: So it was easy to -was it easier to reflect in natural surroundings? Is that what you are saying?

Definitely. Definitely away from the -the confinement of the prison system, the prison -prison cells.

Leonardo contrasts the freedom of being in the countryside to the “confinement of prison.” The experience of being outside prison helped him analyse his past and consider his future direction.

The Write to Freedom students had definite ideas about the purpose of writing about their past, which can be seen with Leonardo’s explanation:

Leonardo (*Write to Freedom student*)

Basically you have to try and let go of the past. That's what you have to do. And then something about the past which is painful and you've done it because a child or something,

The idea of release, as Leonardo wishes to “let go” of the past, is contrasted by Paul’s explanation as “letting out” the past:

Paul (*Write to Freedom student*)

We wrote about our past that was dear to us based - and we want to let it out. And the first night at the fire, back on the fire and when you back - I don't know what it was. It felt like a relief.

There is a subtle difference as one is connected to release, while the other is connected to the relief of exposure. The act of writing about things which were “dear” was cathartic as exposing what had happened in the past “felt like a relief.”

Paul (*Write to Freedom student*)

Well to me they are the things that hurt the most. You tell someone and people'll judge you. Like it's like what you've been through but people will judge you kind of thing and to me like for what me and my family's been through, they told people they judged me for like. They don't treat me the same. They feel like- they feel sorry. And I don't want that. I want the respect I've got now... That's what I want.

Paul defined his sense of “dear” as the issues which most hurt him, but which he feels unable to express because they cause people to judge him. Paul displays a negative view of his past life, revealing a drug-fuelled aggressive pre-prison life. He realises that this way of life was misdirected (177-184): “I was going down the wrong path and

needed a wakeup call.” The relief occurs in the ability to expose his past without judgment.

The act of writing about their past had profound and cathartic influence on them. Like Pete’s experience with writing down his thoughts in the raps (see 4.5.9), Paul’s experience allowed him to break out from a circular thought process:

Paul (*Write to Freedom* student)

I didn't- I didn't think about it all the time but I had little things that reminded me of it. It's always been at the back of my mind, so little things just triggered it off. And then, nothing has triggered it off recently. It probably would but it's nice to like to take a little bit of a break for myself.

Similarly Leonardo’s written marshalling of his thoughts seems to have helped him progress:

Leonardo (*Write to Freedom* student)

I think it was quite big for me to write it down, innit because normally you just think about it. When you're just writing you see it and think, "Wow look at that." Then again you think, "You know I'm happy that I've done it because it's off my chest. It's off me." Do you know what I mean?

Interviewer: Right

So it was quite like a relief like that I'd written it off. You can kind of draw a line under it? Yeah. I like to do that and to know that I've left it behind, innit.

Leonardo’s writing about his past was “a big thing” enabling him “to draw a line under it” and advance his thinking. As described by Paul, the major undertaking of this confessional act gave Leonardo “relief” so that it was now “off [his] chest.” It is not an easy task, therefore, for them to undertake because they are not used to articulating the emotions connected with their past, but the relief seems to have acted as balance to the effort.

Dean's (ex Music and *Write to Freedom* student) difficulty however, seems to be caused by a consideration of his pre-prison self which seemed so distant. Instead he was more interested in focusing on the immediate future:

Dean (ex Music and *Write to Freedom* student)

It's just- it's hard like when I was just trying to write it down I was trying to think about the stuff that happened in the past and it just don't come into my head anymore. You know I just think ...It's just about what's happening next, innit.

In spite of this version of his reaction to the exercise, he told me on another occasion that after the *Write to Freedom* weekend he was in his cell "shaking", which indicates that his reactions to the weekend activities were more extreme than he was admitted during the interview.

The writing of their autobiographical module, however, is only the beginning of this cathartic journey. The strategy for setting up the possibility for catharsis is overt as in Dartmoor a camp fire plays an elemental, mystical role. During a kind of ceremony, each student had to whisper to the fire the secrets of their first module. Paul's response is revealing:

Paul (*Write to Freedom* student)

Mm. It's like telling say I'm telling you, you never ever, no matter what like torture or anything like that – you wouldn't tell them.

Paul tells his secrets to the fire in a way he perhaps could not trust to most people. The reason for Paul's lack of sufficient trust in others to reveal this information is unclear. It could be because it is so painful he does not want to be pitied or made vulnerable by the exposure, or so terrible he does not want to be shunned, or punished further. The fire symbolises a totally loyal and trusted friend who has the power to destroy your confession, as Leonardo explained:

Leonardo (Write to Freedom student)

When you write you read it out in front of the fire - and you think like the fire is going to hear you but basically like it's got the power like to destroy it.

The dramatic setting with hot orange flames from “the camp fire sort of burning” and leaping in the dark night must surely have added to the mystical sense of release induced by throwing the module into the fire, as Paul shows:

Paul (Write to Freedom student)

And the first night at the fire, back on the fire and when you back - I don't know what it was. It felt like a relief.

Leonardo refers to the elemental power of the fire symbolically swallowing the past:

Leonardo (Write to Freedom student)

It's quite powerful when you see it because you watch the effect of the fire in it and it gives you heat and it's sort of like it's always valued in it and so it's basically the past is gone like and you look forward to the present, to the future and so on as well.

It seems to be the forming of a physical representation of the past plus the quick and visually dramatic burning which then enables progress. As Leonardo stated: “It was all like a quick second and it was all dark and that and the camp fire was sort of burning.”

Leonardo defines his progress as the new ability to look forward to the future, untying the shackles that bound him to the longstanding burdens of his past: “Everyone commits their past you know sort of put it out of time and it's like what we'd had for so long.” By burning the paper on which his past was written, Leonardo explained, “You are getting rid of all that excess baggage of your past innit.” Expelling “the excess” in the power of the fire seems to have released Leonardo from the burdens of his juvenile actions. Paul also seems to have had a profound experience through burning the module of the past:

Paul (Write to Freedom student)

like the fire is your friend. You're going to take away - he's going to take away. That kind of bad thing.

The fire has become a metaphor for a trusted friend with the power to employ an elemental ridding of his past. For both Leonardo and Paul, it seems to have been the combination of events which has enabled a positive gloss on life beyond prison, as Leonardo reveals:

Leonardo (Write to Freedom student)

My mind goes and obviously I thought about it- everyone thinks about it every day because then I think you know what my present and my future could- could basically - I mean I could make it like that and be like a catalyst. I could do so well in my future and my present innit so not let something bog me down, so kind of like when I know that I have left it behind it's like - I have already like agreed with myself you know that it's going to be left and everything. I know what I could do right now. But I could change my future my present. I know what I am talking about now. So when I'm talking about my present and my future pieces, so when you read it you think, "Oh yeah, man. Just, don't worry about your past." That's not going to be around, innit.

Leonardo's enthusiasm is evident in his realisation that he "could do so well in [his] future and [his] present innit." His past "could be left," but he "could change [his] future, [his] present." The reaction to the cathartic incident then has been to give him a new perspective and some hope. However, Leonardo clearly saw the value of having some remnants of his past as a constant warning for the future, to try and prevent himself from being drawn back into criminality:

Leonardo (Write to Freedom student)

I'm going to keep a lot of my prison stuff and put it in a box so that when I get home I can review it and sort of think, "Oh Yeah" and then again it kind of like keep you grounded so you don't forget that stay in prison. You've still got it in you. You still remember, "Look if you mess up, then you can go back to prison." So it's kind of like- how do you say it - like playing safe.

While the *Write to Freedom* course focuses on symbolically expelling their past, Leonardo realises: “You’ve still got it in you. You still remember,” but he has learnt that he can use it to inform himself, to act as a catalyst to change in his future way of life.

12.6 DISCUSSION

This section analyses the part the arts play in HMP XXX in enabling the rehabilitative journey made by some young people. It could be shown it gives opportunities for young people to move from presenting prisonised behaviour to individualised self-expression. I analyse the implications of the journey from a presentation of prisonised behaviour to individualised self-expression. Prisonised behaviour tended to be the behaviour which some young people felt was necessary for presenting their identity as being hardened criminals and was often aggressive and demotivated (see sections 4.11 and 4.2.2). The discussion focuses on how the strategy of using autobiographical techniques through an arts course gives possibilities for young people both to develop their potential and to renovate their identities. This renovation is then validated through prison processes. The pedagogical strategy aims to empower young people to consider the future. The comparison and contrast of the two courses using autobiographical techniques, the *Write to Freedom* Course and the Rap Workshops revealed significant comparisons and contrasts. Two factors caused the contrasts. First of all, the Rap Workshops were the result of an arts course and focused also on developing strategies for expressing emotion and working collaboratively. Secondly, the Rap Workshop was a long course with a qualification, being part of the Prison Curriculum, which therefore enabled greater validation through prison processes than the *Write to Freedom* Course.

While the power and authority of the prison system assigned identities to these young people, it was only where the young people adopted these identities that it had influence on their development. There was an inter-linking between the

appropriation of identities through roles assigned through prison processes, and the adoption of renovated roles newly inhabited by the young people themselves. I have argued that this emergence is linked to the autobiographical techniques they were using as they revealed a shift in perception from a focus on the past to a focus on the future.

12.6.1 FORMING IDENTITIES FROM THE GIVEN

The use of a “given” identity to young people, assigned by others, was revealed through comments in interview from both the prison staff and the young people themselves. While some prison staff assigned groups of these young people as presenting prisonised behaviour through macho-identities, as individuals they were seen with understanding and compassion, and with some pride (see section 4.2). Members of the prison staff’s presentation of these young people’s prisonised identities was mirrored by the young people’s perceptions of their pre-prison selves (see section 4.2.1). Analysis of the reason for presenting a prisonised behaviour was complex. It was difficult to generalise conceptually whether these were imported pre-prison identities or whether they were adopted for self-preservation and status. In several cases young people showed prisonised behaviour in their adoption of an assumed aggressive identity, because they saw they needed either or both status and protection for survival.

Interviews and observations revealed the presentation of behaviour in both the *Write to Freedom* course and the Rap Workshops as focused and motivated. This seemed to be strongly related to a pedagogical approach which allowed aggression to be expressed in written form: presented through their raps or their modules of the past. This presentation indicated three points. First of all, allowing these young people to express aggression through their writing enabled them to retain a prisonised persona. Secondly, they expressed their feelings in writing which defused the presentation of aggressive behaviour in the classroom. Thirdly, this allowed the opportunity for a new narrative to be played out when instead of aggressive behaviour being penalised,

their motivation in the classroom was then rewarded. They then gained the possibility to re-invent their identities through the skills they developed. It showed therefore that it was possible to use these young people's display of prisoned behaviour creatively so that they were given a way of moving beyond it. Through this movement they gained realisation that it was not necessary to put on this mask, but instead they could inhabit a self which revealed their creativity.

12.6.2 RATIONALE FOR WRITING ABOUT THE PAST

The young people's rationales for writing about their past in both the Rap Workshops and the *Write to Freedom* course were different. The fact that there was an audience for the raps led to an awareness of the listeners' presence and sometimes a perceived need to impress therefore, but the listeners themselves were required to engage in critical discourse in response. Their different intentional stances could be considered around those reviewing the raps. Veracity was sometimes in question and this for several reasons, (as seen in sections 4.5.4, 4.5.5). As seen in these sections, some of the young people involved felt the need to establish their status as a master criminal, thus sacrificing veracity for a fictional gangster narrative involving guns and violence to build up their macho identity, and to present themselves as someone who others should leave alone. Furthermore, the rationale for the Gangsta Rap added complexity: straight narration and/or a display of skill and self-promotion. Why the story was told and how it was interpreted by the listeners, who were in different perceptual states, influenced the way in which peers perceived the artist's skills, and the identity they assigned to the rapper.

In both the rap course and the *Write to Freedom* course, it was the autobiographic writing that served as a tool for realising significant life events. The setting down of their past lives was important in the young people's facility then to release their "given" identity, and move forward to new versions of themselves, but versions that used the social capital they were discovering they possessed. However, there were differences between the two courses in the mode of writing about their past. The

Write to Freedom students had privacy in their accounts of the past and so were likely to write accounts as they perceived them, rather than with any need for a consideration of a public display affecting the content of their writing. The written modules of the past in the *Write to Freedom* Course were quickly written, revealing thought as action on the page. Yet interviews suggested that perhaps it was their secrecy and the intensity of the urgent haste in which they were written, which made them actions of exposure, giving young people an intense experience. Young people revealed in interview that one of the most important results of the *Write to Freedom* course was their growing realisation they could have control over determining their future. The mode of learning seemed the trigger for their revealing depth and profundity in their reflections. Within the Rap Workshops, however, while the intangible learning behind changing perceptions was also present, it was indelibly linked to the acquisition of new skills. The recognition of their skills and acceptance of their lyrics by their peers was important to these young people's sense of community and role within the Rap Workshops.

One of the main rationales for using autobiographical techniques was its potential to move their students from over-focus on their past to a consideration of the future. The two courses revealed differences in their rehabilitative reflective journeys. The *Write to Freedom* students progressed from a consideration of their past to their present and then their future; the rap students could travel from an evocation of their past to consideration of the implications of their actions through their Apologia, to warning their peers to change their ways in the Cautionary Raps (see section 4.5.5, 4.5.7). While the *Write to Freedom* students tended to have a focus on self only, those music students who travelled the journey arrived at their destination in the consideration of others. The complexities surrounding any indications of inner change encompassed those who had a cathartic journey but also those who found fulfilment through the development and then recognition of their skills. This will be explored in the following two sections.

12.6.3 USING THE ARTS TO RE-INVENT IDENTITIES THROUGH AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL TECHNIQUES

In most pedagogical experiences, there is inequality of power between the teacher and the student, but when students are in State Custody the sense of inequality can be deepened (Hagstrom, et al., 2010). In teaching the arts however, there is the potential to militate against these power structures. This was shown in Chapter Two by the various arts projects in prisons which empowered arts participants by making them part of the decision-making, de-centring the teacher (see Balfour, 2000; Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Hopwood & Bennett, 2010; Houston, 2009; Hughes, 2005; McKean, 2006; Moller, 2003; Wilson, et al., 2009). This aligned with humanist theorists such as Carl Rogers (1969, cited in Irwin, 2008, p 517) who was critical of prescriptive curriculum. The strategy of sharing authority in the classroom corresponded with the arguments of Hebdene (2005). My findings revealed a similar more egalitarian and empowering pedagogical structure was set up in both the *Rap* and the *Write to Freedom* Courses. Students actively empowered themselves rather than being empowered, and as a result had the opportunity to find some form of emancipation, depending on their road of cognitive development.

In Chapter Two, I argued that there was a lack of research around how young people can make use of their delinquent transgressions by developing an understanding of them, which therefore provided opportunity for growth (see McLean, 2008). A strategy to enable this understanding was shown by Giddens (1991, see section 4.3), as Giddens argued the power of autobiography in developing a trajectory of learning which then moulded perceptions of the future. Furthermore, according to Etherington (2007), a renovative sense of identity could only emerge if it had links with the past. Although the use of autobiographical techniques in prisons would seem to be one obvious way of enabling this understanding, in section 4.3, I identified there was a research gap around the use of autobiographical techniques in a prison arts context.

There is a dearth of academic research exploring the use of the arts to reflect on past actions. Although not in the context of arts in prisons, Scanlon and colleagues' (2002) work showed the capacity this revealed for objectifying actions (see section 4.3). However, this work with teachers did not deal with painful aspects of their past. In Chapter Two, I referred to the lack of evidence around the stages which an offender goes through in order to move from assuming the role of offender towards a renovated identity and an exploration around how far they feel coerced and manipulated in this activity (Deacon, 2002; Solomon & Higgins, 1982). The desire to tell stories around our past is well documented (Bruner, 1991; Irwin, 2008). The use of the strategy of using street culture to document these young people was accepted by the young people. Raps were part of a culture which they knew, a culture which helped them reflect on local spaces and which belonged to marginalised groups. The use of a pedagogy involving autobiographical techniques enabled the young people to have a direct way of expressing their emotions through those aspects of their life story they chose to write about. This gave them opportunity to voice their combination of anger and disappointment in being caught and their sense of guilt. However, moving away from this expression took time.

The use of autobiographical techniques as used in this prison did not fit into theories around the writing of the traditional autobiographical journals, which was seen as learning through private self-reflection (Rainwater, 1989, as cited in Giddens, 1991, see section 4.3). First of all, the writing of the modules for the *Write to Freedom* course consisted of quick summaries of their past, present and future; they were not written at regular intervals like a journal. The autobiographical modules were also only part of the whole experience of the course which focused also around the weekend away, and the use of the fire for eliminating the written record of their past (see section 4.5.11). Secondly, while both courses were aligned to the writing of a journal in that they enabled the young people inter-relationship with their past self, they also aimed to share the content with their peers.

These young people's desire to tell these stories as seen in their raps and their written modules showed the strength of motivation behind their impulse to narrate (see also Bruner, 1991; Irwin, 2008). In engaging in these courses, these young people started with their given and established understanding of themselves. Interviews with these young people revealed how by engaging in a written version of their lives, they were enabled to move away from repeating the same ideas which previously dominated their thoughts, so that they analysed them from a new perspective and considered other aspects of their lives (see section 4.5 and also Giddens, 2000, as discussed in Chapter Two). Lofland (1969) referred to the reactions to success on the young person who produced not just his current performance but rhetoric, or a set of concepts that discontinued with the actor's past and conceptualised a new narrative for the actor to work on. I argue that this was not seen in the evidence within my findings. These young people reflected on a different display of behaviour and the assimilation of new skills (see sections 4.5.5, 4.5.7, 4.5.8, 4.5.9, 4.5.11), but the use of autobiographical techniques kept a firm link with their past. This was not a disadvantage but instead gave them links they could understand between their pre-prison selves and their projection to a post-prison future.

My findings revealed that a focus on the past created a narrative space which gave opportunity for self-exploration. The past could be reconfigured, and painful aspects of it then accepted instead of fought, resulting in what Peters (2009), terms "negative liberty," a freedom from, in this case, the shackles of the past. While previous studies (see for example, Balfour, 2000; Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Houston, 2009; Hughes, 2005) showed limited evidence around participants' changing perceptions of possibilities for their futures, my findings showed that these young people received opportunity to explore those aspects of their past lives which enabled a readiness to re-imagine their future. They were able to discard the old perceptions, or deepen them into developing understanding of their "becomings" (see also Wenger, 1998). These young people had concerns about their place in the community of their workshops or their weekend away with the *Write to Freedom* Course. Their

understanding of their “becoming” revealed the individual relevance and reference points of their journeys.

Rehabilitative renovation in these courses was linked to the development of the ability to articulate their emotions about their past and the listeners’ acceptance of what they had written and indeed sometimes listeners’ suggestions of new perspectives to consider. Any students’ changed perceptions had its foundations in an understanding of who they had been, who they now were, and who they could become. Some of the young people’s interviews revealed that the way their confrontation with their pre-prison identities helped them re-cast their ideas for their future identities was potentially life-changing. This was an important factor in their moving on and therefore in realising other directions and renovating their perceptions of their destiny.

Within the *Write to Freedom* course, the sharing of their accounts of their present and their future aimed to evoke discussion. By sharing accounts of their thoughts around their lives they were given space for further perspective. Similarly, while self-expression through the raps could help the rappers to dissipate and articulate intense emotion, the CDs recording of their raps were often shared. This occurred both through the collaboration with their peers involved in their production and also by listening to one another’s raps (see sections 4.5). The young people’s developing perception of their lives was particularly evident in those who left their Gangsta Raps to focus on their Apologia and then their Cautionary Raps (see section 4.5). In both the Rap Workshops and the *Write to Freedom* course, the strategy of using personal writing followed by discussion of their work enabled these young people to gain success in making meanings out of past transgressions and negotiate alternative identities. The shortness of the *Write to Freedom* course, while it provided young people with a sense of agency for the future, did not aim to provide space for clarity around what form their future lives could take. However, the Rap Workshops, which were embedded in the curriculum, enabled opportunity for students to consider their

futures. These future plans varied in aims between continuing with their music and helping other young people.

The findings (see sections 4.2.5 and 4.5) revealed the importance of understanding that a pedagogical strategy focusing on engendering trust could help to facilitate the individual expression of their stories. The influence of the pedagogical strategies was seen in these young people's interviews, where they analysed their own sense of growth. The findings show that the gaining of trust enabled narrative expression of a self which would not be mocked or seen as weakness. This created a productive learning disposition, which facilitated willingness for self-expression, a pedagogy aligned to that of creative teachers. (See Cremin, 2009, for discussion of the definition of a creative teacher.) The development of trust was an imperative and shown through the engendering of trust through acceptance of their views by their peers and their teachers (see sections 4.5). My observation of the Rap Workshops (see section 4.5) revealed that tolerance of one another in the classroom facilitated different learning styles. A major strategy in the Rap Workshops was the encouragement of a sense of agency by entrusting all students in the class to their own learning. Their trust in each other was shown by their willingness not only to share their work with each other, but in their ability to collaborate and receive and give constructive criticism. There was trust involved in allowing the *Write to Freedom* students to leave the prison to go on the weekend away so integral to the course. The strategy to make them realise they could have control over their future was also prevalent. The findings in section 4.3 showed that autobiographical techniques allowed the participants to analyse what their developments meant and signified, and to consider the rationale and opportunities around changing the patterns.

By linking autobiographical techniques to the Rap Workshops, discussion amongst the young people focused around the presentation of the rap. The raps were important because not only did they develop young people's artistic skills in writing lyrics and their ability to apply complementary electronic beats, but also helped the young

people to objectify their past. This was achieved because by focusing immediately on the style of the piece, it gave “permission” for discussion of its content. Interviews with the music and *Write to Freedom* students showed their accounts of their journey through their studies. The interviews revealed personal trajectories in their thinking, journeys which could not always be fully articulated in the raps or modules themselves. Within the rap genre certain phrases are repeated. When writing the lyrics, a rapper has to make decisions around which words and phrases to use in order to match the voicing of the experience to the genre. In contrast, the modules written for the *Write to Freedom* course were written quickly and interview evidence showed with difficulty. However the interviews themselves showed that the act of formulating them had developed their thoughts about their present and past identities.

In Chapter Two I showed that previous studies showed many examples of experiential and heuristic learning in arts courses (see for example Baker & Homan, 2007; Balfour, 2004; Hughes, 2005; McKean, 2006; Moller, 2003; Silber, 2005; Wilson, et al., 2009). This pedagogy was also apparent in my findings. Furthermore, the impact of collaboration in the arts being effective in developing soft skills (see section 4.5) also matched previous work (see for example Balfour, 2004; Berg, 2003; Hughes, 2005; McKean, 2006; Moller, 2003; Neustatter, 2006; Purves, 2009; Silber, 2005). These methods all have the capacity initially to develop the identity of the participants from the given. However, previous studies focused on the social and communication deficiencies in their arts participants (see for example Hughes, 2005; Silber, 2005) which needed reparation. The courses I investigated at this YOI focused on using the individuals’ social capital and from this encouraging a sense of agency (see section 4.6). Many of the young people in my findings revealed agency in the responsibility they were taking to prepare for life within and outside prison. Their courses had prepared them for a consideration of the future which was aligned to the Enlightenment Model of intervention (see table 1). The difference between the results of these courses, and those of previous research investigations, was that the

insertion of the course into the prison curriculum meant that the support structures which existed for the whole of the prison curriculum gave solidity and help towards these young people's agency towards preparation for life outside prison. However, this in itself was not sufficient to explain their focus on their future. The unusual factor in this YOI was in its focus on autobiographical techniques. By focusing on an exploration of the self these courses focused directly on facilitating the potential for internal growth and understanding. It was through these pedagogies that the potential for renovation of identity occurred.

12.6.4 THE STRATEGIC FACILITATION OF CATHARSIS

Both reflection and catharsis played their part in these young people's development. The strong relationship between catharsis and intense emotion is well documented (Berson, 2008; Bushman, 2002; Casey, 2001; Kelly, et al., 2001; McKean, 2006; Silber, 2005). The cathartic effect of the autobiographical aspects of performance was evidenced in section 2.3 (Berson, 2008; McKean, 2006). However, previous research had rarely investigated how this then influenced offenders' feelings about themselves as a result. My findings supported the importance of developing the ability to articulate emotion, also explored by Hughes (2005). Interviews with these young people highlighted how the developing confidence to expose past guilt and/or pain both publicly and privately developed this ability (see sections 4.5.7, 4.5.9 and 4.5.11).

Previous studies showed how the life experience of prisoners could be used in performance (see Berson, 2008; McKean, 2006, as discussed in section 2.3). The use of autobiography through performance enabled participants to develop a focused, fixed view of themselves through repeated performances. In contrast, both the Rap Workshops and the *Write to Freedom* course had windows to the present and the future and so the participants in these courses also had the opportunity of expression beyond their thoughts of the past (see section 4.6). My findings aligned to Leshem and Trafford (2006) in that the act of reflection was an aid towards young people's understanding of their self-identities. However, within each of these courses which

used autobiographical techniques, there was an activity which was characterised by self-admission, realisation, and a quiet re-masking and re-ritualising towards a new presentation of identity (see section 4.5).

In this YOI, the pedagogical strategies strategically aimed to facilitate catharsis so that expurgation was facilitated through catharsis of their gangster past and in many cases traumatic childhood experiences (see section 4.5.3, 4.5.10). This initial focus and then expulsion of the negative aspects of their lives resulted in their perceptual progression. My findings revealed differences from both Baker and Homan (2007) and Farrier (2009) (see section 4.3) in the expulsion of negativity because the teachers allowed its narrative to be written down. The Head of Arts within this prison also refused these young people's expression of negative aspects of their lives within their art (see section 4.5.1) because of the fear it could then be seen as the teachers' collusion with the antisocial nature of their artistic depiction. Within the rap course the expulsion of the negative occurred particularly in the Gangsta Raps, symbols of a macho stance and in the *Write to Freedom* Course in the module of the past. The young people found it an acceptable mode of expression because they were able to display the persona they wished to represent. The pedagogical strategy was allowed because the focus on expelling negativity through a natural process was seen by the teachers as a powerful tool to promote deeper reflection. To consider the importance of this, I refer to Peters (2009), who discussed how the act of speaking draws us into thinking so deeply it withdraws into the enigmatic (p 153).

I argue that it seemed often to be the expulsion of the negative which led to a cathartic experience and the development of new insights, the very act prevented in some studies (Baker & Homan, 2007; Farrier, et al., 2009). While some of the young people themselves insisted that all change that had occurred was natural development through maturation not through intervention (see section 4.5.9), I argue that evidence showed a link between the teaching techniques used and the developing perceptions and changing presentation of their identities. Changes from

accepting the inevitability of criminal activity in envisioning their post-prison future, to the possibilities instead of choice and agency in considering alternatives for their future were most pronounced through the cathartic aspects of both autobiographical courses. While prison cannot control their post-prison lives, the fact that these courses produced revelatory moments for some of these students provided examples of their aspirations for change for their future (see sections 4.5.7, 4.5.8., 4.5.9, and 4.5.11). It gave them a chance to review their future by using their own social capital: using their skills in new ways, being active rather than passive in a consideration of their way forward.

In both courses, students' writing of text came from their own experience, so that their writing was always an improvised version of themselves because what they wrote cannot ever capture their entire essence. While they revealed one aspect of themselves they were still engaged in the act of concealing another, the instance of illumination so bright that a shadow was cast over other unchosen aspects of being. In engaging with their past lives, the students were looking for a new world to open up as a result of understanding their place in this one. Both courses had a strategy which could enable catharsis, which then gave the possibility of renovation. However, there were similarities and differences between the way the *Write to Freedom* and music courses enabled this potential for their students. In both courses the teachers perceived that triggering catharsis was often instrumental in their students' development because it helped to rid their students of their continual glances back at their past, and instead enabled them to consider their futures. Within the *Write to Freedom* Course, the young people expelled everything in the purgation of burning the modules of the past so that all aspects of their pasts were destroyed: the positives as well as the negatives. This strategy contrasted with the Rap Workshops in two ways. The music teachers both felt it important to encourage their students to consider also the positive aspects of their past lives. The fact that a *Write to Freedom* tutor decided to reconsider this aspect of their course was indicative of a reconsidered importance of not abandoning all aspects of the past. Secondly,

however, the symbolic annihilation of the past in the *Write to Freedom* Course contrasted with the rappers' retention of their versions of their past in both their lyric books and their CDs. This was because the raps also represented their developing ability to rap and enabled them to remind themselves of their progress. The focus on expelling negativity through a natural process was seen by the teachers as a powerful tool to promote deeper reflection. Interviews with the music and *Write to Freedom* students showed their accounts of their journey through their studies. The interviews revealed personal trajectories in their thinking, journeys which cannot always be fully articulated in the raps themselves.

The fact that one of the two courses was an art was significant in the different priorities on the mode of expression. While within the *Write to Freedom* Course, the focus was only on the reflective qualities of the course, within the Rap Workshops, alongside the deep reflection some young people were also developing new ways of expressing emotion, ways in fact which could dissipate anger (see section 4.5). In addition, while the *Write to Freedom* Course aimed to develop their reflective abilities, and their perceptions on their past, present and future, there was no facility to develop different ways of expressing immediate events as they occurred. On the other hand, the rappers' developing ability in self-expression gave them the facility of immediacy of composition, which gave them the possibility of reflecting changing perspectives through rap of a recent cathartic experience triggered by a domestic occurrence (see section 4.5).

A rehabilitative reinvention of identity was given the possibility of occurrence because by objectifying themselves through text these young people made an ontological leap which saw themselves as out there on the page. In some cases the solidifying of their past sense of being enabled them to recognise this as their past selves. They were then able to distance themselves from that presentation of their role, so that it enabled a new version of themselves to emerge. Their reflections in writing enabled them to break out of the circle which had continued to go around their minds.

Instead they learnt to be in the moment while they wrote and shared their self-reflections. In each course there were events which involved the sharing of their thoughts: in one course the weekend away; in the other the writing and listening to each others' raps. These events were triggers which enabled this leap forward, this cathartic emergence of being. There was, however, in the Rap Workshop an intermingling of cathartic experience and its expression. The expression of their past in rap became as important to them as the cathartic and developmental effect it may have had on them. The different focus on the past between the two courses represented something of the difference between using autobiographical techniques through the arts, and using the autobiographical technique solely to focus and expel those painful aspects of their past.

Interviews with these young people revealed that the telling of their stories through rap and their *Write to Freedom* modules enabled them to make meanings from the symbolic codes created (see also Loseke, 2007). With the *Write to Freedom* course, the symbolic nature of expelling that which was "dear" to them (see section 4.5.11) in their modules of their past and then burning this on the fire, brought forward the fire as powerful symbol, as trusted friend. It brought relief through obliteration of that which was unsayable to others. The ritual emphasised its importance; the ensuing catharsis re-framed their perception. These young people's interviews revealed some idea of the depth of some of the painful experiences and at times epiphanic moments behind the motivation to write. It was clear in some cases from their responses that as a result of their writing they had formed new perceptions of who they were (see section 4.5). Often changed perception seemed to arrive as a result of catharsis.

According to Boal (2000), to move from one position to another may involve previous unacceptable working and creative habits to be unmasked in order to take on re-ritualisation. Through the experience of catharsis, these young people were able to expose and re-frame their vulnerability before moving forward to a consideration of their future. It was the re-masking which enabled the envisioning of a successful and

fulfilling role after prison. In consideration of how this movement takes place it is useful to reconsider Boal (2000). Boal (2000) argued that by developing potential, the protagonist is able to move from one position to another. He further argued that developing potential is linked to the encouragement of passion (see section 2.3.4). Young people were motivated by engaging in the Rap Workshops. Drawn into the group dynamics, they developed the passion to improve and succeed and cultivated ensuing habits to allow creative self-expression (see section 4.5). In both courses, the new symbols they took on were seen to reflect the group dynamic, the ritual and the experiential part of their developing identity. The results of these strategies were seen in the building up of a trusting interaction amongst the students and between staff and young people (see sections 4.2 and 4.5) and fed into the willingness to adopt new roles.

12.6.5 THE IMPORTANCE OF VALIDATING STRATEGIES

In both the *Write to Freedom* Course and the Rap Workshops, interviews with the young people showed that they linked their perceptual development to an event where intense emotion was triggered. This involved self-analysis and discussion of the painful parts of their lives (see section 4.6.1). The validation of these young people's changing selves, however, was important as a strategy to substantiate this change. Interviews with these young people revealed the importance of validation as a reflection of their "becoming" (see section 4.2). To achieve this, rehabilitation involved a journey from the given to a developing identity. While original entrants to the prison may have played a stereotypical macho-role, by becoming involved in their courses they had the opportunity to act out a newly invented narrative.

Prison processes were important in further validating their success; they highlighted the need to understand this validating process as part of the way the whole prison worked. The behaviour award process was a strategy used to attempt to change behaviour from an aggressive presentation to behaviour that shows motivation and a willingness to learn (see section 4.2.5). However, evidence revealed that although

these young people enjoyed the privileges a change in behaviour had rewarded, this approach did not result in changed perceptions, but instead reflected their desire for access to the privileges which came with the award. Secondly, it was not effective in having a permanent effect on changed behaviour. Thirdly, where these young people were reinventing their identities as a result of increased motivation in their courses, their behaviour changed fairly consistently as a consequence. The behaviour award in these cases was a tool in affirming their developing presentation of identity. Also affirming were the gaining of qualifications enabled through the YOI, and success in competitions and in privileges. The conferring of privileges such as going into a course run by the Princes Trust, or being allowed ROTL was both affirming and developmental strategies (see section 4.2.5). The following section reveals how informal and formal roles were seen to be more influential in both supporting a sense of status and developing a sense of identity.

12.6.6 RENOVATION THROUGH NEW ROLES

The young people coming into prison had been assigned the label of “offender” or “criminal” by the Justice System and by the media. Once in prison, for a variety of reasons, many then displayed their ideas of this role through their behaviour. The use of behaviour awards implied these young people had a choice in how to self-present. However, the perceptions behind the rationales of why they may present aggressively revealed a proportion of young people perceived no choice. There was opinion expressed (see section 4.2.) that these young people were limited in their perception of how a man presents an identity: prisonised aggression was seen as the presentation of a mode of survival, masking fear in some cases (see sections 4.2.2, 4.2.4).

In section 2.2.4, I argued that Peters’ (2009) opinion of the courage needed around changing modes of improvisation had connections with the changing of role to a renovated sense of being. Members of staff’s validations of young people’s progress were seen informally in their changed way of talking about these young people and

formally through their assigning of new roles to the young people. My findings showed that staff assignation of the role of mentor reflected their perception that there had been a reassignment of identity from a prisonised behaviour to one more positive (see section 4.6.4). The change was therefore formalised through prison processes. This acceptance by prison staff could lead to the young people's being given further opportunities (see section 4.2.7).

However, interviews with the young people indicated that the appropriation of assigned identities was not the main factor integral to the process of re-assignment or renovating (see sections 4.5.8, 4.5.9 and in Chapter Two see also Park, 1950, cited in Houston, 2009, p 106; Lawler, 2008; Shuker & Sullivan, 2010). Indeed in spite of the development experienced through the role of mentor, far from young people's perception of this being evidence of a renovated identity, they perceived themselves as keeping the same self-identity. However, their perception was that they had developed a new trajectory as a result of appropriating the role of "mentor" (see sections 4.2.6 and 4.5.8. See also Hacking, 2004, p 290).

In Chapter Two, I argued that there are many examples of academic conceptualisation around the use of roles in arts production, where roles were assigned by the arts teachers themselves (see for example Baker & Homan, 2007; Berson, 2008; Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Hughes, 2005; Silber, 2005; Wilson, et al., 2008). Within this YOI, their development was affirmed by their peers within the arts workshops, an importance perceived for example by McKean (2006) and Silber (2005). The formation of informal roles appropriated through peer and self-assignments arrived out of the production of CDs. As seen in Chapter Two, the progression of participants' artistic skills was often not mentioned in previous studies (see for example, Baker & Homan, 2007; Hughes, 2005; Moller, 2003), although in the success of the projects it was implied. Instead the emphasis was on the rehabilitative quality of the project, but at this YOI the development of their artistic skills was vital in the new roles it then allowed them to take on. This process which formed around these Rap Workshops

was accepted by these young people as part of the rituals around the course dynamic. Changing role requires courage as the change process creates vulnerability (Peters, 2009). The production of the CD triggered a collaborative approach in which the participants dropped their habitual masks to adopt the role of rappers, producers; lyricists (see section 4.5). The new roles represented an identity adopted by them rather than assigned by the prison and enhanced the young people's motivation and self-esteem (see section 4.6.3). As they gained competence, confidence and acceptance, they developed a symbolic ritualisation into the expectations of their new role in the group (see sections 4.5.8 The roles announced them as someone of value, rather than a young offender, which is important in the consideration of future desistance where to see oneself positively, is seen as vital (Maruna, 2001).

The taking on of new rituals was also evident in the *Write to Freedom* course in the young people's working together for self-exploration in their weekend away. The validation in the *Write to Freedom* course came in the discussion around the fire and also with their staff mentors. Within the Rap Workshops, the advantage of having a course as part of the curriculum meant there was a wide variety of validating techniques. In the Rap Workshops, besides collaboration influencing students' perceptions, it was very much their new roles which re-defined their presentation of self-identity. Those roles appropriated through a focus on producing arts products were of significance to both renovating and also validating developing identity.

12.6.7 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RENOVATION THROUGH AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STRATEGIES

Within the Rap Workshops, change in presentation of behaviour was caused by deep internal changes in perceptions as they became more involved in their work. The movement away from their habitual self-presentations to a renovated identity seems to come as a result of changed perspectives, both of their past, and of their consequent understandings of themselves (see section 4.5). They presented

differently because they had a new becoming, a new sense of being, and were given permission and recognition for articulating it.

The pedagogical strategies of developing a sense of agency for these young people in taking career choice and opportunity, which some individuals thought would be part of their future, was linked to the agency they were given in the arts course which developed self-expression and role. New understanding of one another as well as of their own strengths and weaknesses helped develop a perceptual shift. However, the importance of the use of autobiographical techniques was in its encouragement of reflective introspection, developing therefore an exploration of their thoughts and ideas and a preparedness to share some of these thoughts with others.

It was evident both from the pedagogical rationales of the Music Teachers and those of the *Write to Freedom* Tutors (see section 4.5), that the rehabilitative movement towards renovation was complex. While the rap genre progression as delineated by both music teachers seemed deterministic at the very least in terms of conventional morality, not every young person chose to take this route. There was no definite indication that identity would be re-invented in every case. In the Rap Workshops, the formation of the roles between peers was created gradually and symbolically through re-masking as different levels of expertise between the young people emerged and were recognised, but role was not the sole factor behind renovation. The significance of the approach was seen most clearly in its peering through the veil of the present, enabling the potential for these young people's emerging self-understanding to influence their consideration of their future. In writing their autobiographical accounts they had the role of author who knows their story, their plot, and then could focus on a "magic reality" beyond the space and time of their prison life to the possibilities of their life beyond.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

13.1 INTRODUCTION

My literature review in Chapter Two established the link between rehabilitation, the arts and its place in repairing perceived deficiencies in offenders (see for example, Balfour, 2000; Hagstrom, et al., 2010; Hughes, 2005; Silber, 2005). The literature review presented several gaps where there was limited evidence given. First of all, there were gaps in previous studies around the connection between taking on a role and the changing presentation of behaviour. Secondly, there was limited research in previous studies in the arts in prison into how and why any movement from abandoning one role and appropriating another occurred. Thirdly there was a gap in the research in the exploration of the place of prison processes in validating young people's developing identities. Finally, I also established a need to add to understanding around the connection of renovating and appropriating a new role and perceiving the future in a different way, as seen in a desistance model, but not developed fully in current literature around the arts in prisons.

By exploring the gaps through a Grounded Theory methodology, the theoretical basis of this chapter emerged. Analysis of the findings revealed that by using a pedagogical framework which includes trust and validation, the use of autobiographical techniques within an arts course enabled the participants to re-perceptualise their vision of their future. The use of the arts and the use of autobiographical techniques were seen to be an effective way for a young offender to explore his sense of identity, giving participants the potential for adopting new roles. The moments of transition from the adoption of one role and the abandonment of a previous self-presentation were linked to internal changes induced by catharsis. Moments of catharsis were able to be expressed and affirmed by expressing them in writing. Engagement in

autobiographical techniques enabled this self-expression and was a trigger for both emotional and perceptual development. The parallel development of artistic skills within this expression was then able to be validated through prison processes. Significantly, the ensuing epiphanic moments were invaluable in invoking a sense of agency, which showed the links between re-perceptualisation and a realisation of agency for the future.

The findings add to understanding the significance of taking on roles through the arts and its relationship with young people's rehabilitation. It also adds to knowledge around changing role in situations where assigned identities are inhibiting progression. The thesis adds to the concepts behind a developing journey which can lead a young person from presenting aggressive behaviour induced by prisonisation (see sections 2.2.2 and 4.6.1, particularly page 203) towards a vision where he holds a positive role in society in the future. It revealed the addition to pedagogical strategies of the validating processes within a prison. It also revealed the place of a desistance model running alongside a rehabilitation model in a prison.

The foundations of this conceptualisation are seen in the sections following which answer the original questions of the research. Table 10 links the research questions to the section headings in the chapter, and includes the two further questions which emerged as a result of my findings. These questions are:

In which ways do autobiographical techniques through the arts offer opportunities for a young person to develop their sense of identity?

How do autobiographical techniques lead to young people's sense of agency in their future?

Table 10: The linking of research questions to section headings (source author).

Main section heading	Key Research Question
Rehabilitation and the arts pedagogy -	What is the link between rehabilitation and the arts as presented in a YOI from the perspective of young offenders?
Sub section headings	Sub (including additional) research questions
The influence of formal validation strategies on young people’s developing identity	What role does the context of prison play in developing young people’s identity?
Developing identity through the arts	In which ways does engagement in the arts influence young people’s self-perception of their developing identities?
Developing identity through autobiographical techniques	In which ways do autobiographical techniques through the arts offer opportunities for a young person to develop their sense of identity?
Young people’s perception of future agency through the arts using autobiographical techniques	In which ways if any does engagement in an arts course lead to young people’s consideration of their possible agency in the future? How do autobiographical techniques lead to young people’s sense of agency in their future?

13.2 REHABILITATION AND THE ARTS PEDAGOGY

Rehabilitation through an arts pedagogy is perhaps more complex than is often presented. While it is often revealed as helping to repair perceived “lacks” in offenders by showing improvement in communications and social skills (see for example Chapter Two, section 2.3, Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Houston, 2009; Hughes, 2005; Silber, 2005), the pedagogy used through rehabilitation through the arts should also focus on developing potential and social capital. These ideas are developed as

follows in the rest of the section: section 5.2.1 “The influence of formal validation strategies on young people” section 5.2.2, “Developing identity through the arts”, and section 5.2.3 “Young people’s perception of future agency”. These sections are all important components of the way in which rehabilitation through the arts can be effective and are symptomatic of the significant complexities around this area.

13.2.1 THE INFLUENCE OF FORMAL VALIDATION STRATEGIES ON YOUNG PEOPLE’S DEVELOPING IDENTITY

When young people first come into prison, they are often perceived not as individuals but generically, descriptions of their self-presentation, characteristic of the prisonised behaviour (see section 4.2.2, 4.6.1, page 203), as described by Morris and Morris (1962, see Chapter Two). The YOI in my investigation aimed to take the young person on a journey away from a prisonised self-presentation towards a self which would fit into society and be employable in the future (see sections 4.6.5, 4.6.6). Achievements were seen to be connected with this journey. The validating symbols around success (see section 4.2) within the prison were emblems of their socially constructed world (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) where academic, personal and social achievements were considered important by the young people themselves and also by the prison staff. The formal validating processes in the prison affirmed the quality of their work in the arts by conferring recognition on the students involved, using the tools of award ceremonies, and the conferring of role. While the pedagogical introduction of arts interventions brought into prisons can validate achievement through role and performance during the course of the project (see for example, Houston, 2009; McKean, 2006; Moller, 2003; Silber, 2005), the insertion of an arts course within the prison curriculum can use the prison validating process as part of its pedagogical strategy. This process gives markers in the deterministic goals for the prison around the offender developing journey (sections 4.2.4 – 4.2.6). This is because it is an established process, a process which aims to establish a development to a new “given” identity which gives concrete “proof” of rehabilitation.

The concept of validation is complex. McNeill and colleagues (2011) argued for the need of “validators”, or “reinforcers”, but the thesis findings showed that “encouragers” were also used and that “validators” could be further categorised into two strands: as “reflectors” or as “developers”. An “encourager” is a strategy which may or may not reflect the young person’s sense of self. Its purpose is to motivate the young person towards a different mode of behaviour through a reward system. This strategy was not a validating strategy when it was not reflecting or affirming any inner change because its purpose then was to attempt to affect changed behaviour through reward. Its results were often short-lived (see section 4.6.6) because young people’s compliance in order to gain the reward did not cause internal change within the recipient (Lofland, 1969). Those validating strategies acting as “reflectors”, such as qualifications and awards, authenticated developing identity, but did not act as “developers”, except as possibly motivating further development to repeat the experience in the future. “Developers” are best described as giving the possibility of new roles. They were important in the way they “delabelled” (Maruna, 2001; McNeill, et al., 2011) the former appropriated identity and instead affirmed the “re-labelling” of the young person by validating his newly adopted role (see section 4.6.5). They were therefore important in moving a young person from the display of a prisonised identity to a socially acceptable role which has status with peers and staff.

The significance of validation from the prison staff’s perspective was that it validated their young people in moving on in their rehabilitative journey, reflecting their personal and social development. For the young person the memories of the validation were expressed through their affective response (see section 4.5.8). The linking of an emotional response and realisation of the developmental possibilities to a role or an award influenced the recipient’s self-perception (see sections 4.5.8, 4.5.9, and 4.5.11). This was seen in the conferring of the role of mentor which gave these young people status in the eyes of the staff and their peers. Unlike Boal’s (2000) concept of re-ritualisation being linked to the taking on of a new role, the young people’s individual interpretation of the role of mentor was not one of symbolic

ritualisation but an organic understanding of its possibilities. The significance of the role of mentor for these young people was both as a “reflector” and a “developer”. They felt that being given the role reflected their prowess, but also felt its development possibilities in the “permission” it gave them to interact with a wider range of people than they would connect with normally (see section 4.6.6). As a result they discovered that their internal perception of the world was widening. It was not a case of young people’s perception of re-masking themselves through the role, as Hacking (2004) referred to the taking on of new roles (see Chapter Two), because the young people saw it as reflecting their prowess. However, it did represent their re-branding by staff as members of staff’s perceptions of individuals were changed as a result, which added further affirmation for the young people concerned (see section 4.2.6). Although taking on the assigned role of mentor helped develop aspects of these young people’s personality and also helped develop those they were mentoring (see sections 4.2.6 and 4.5.9), it nevertheless did not explain the changes which took place prior to being given the role, nor those changes which occurred which were unconnected to the role. It did not give a rationale for why and how there is any movement to renovate an identity.

13.2.2 DEVELOPING IDENTITY THROUGH THE ARTS

While validators reflected and developed young people’s sense of identity, they were not the main cause of a change of a developing sense of self. Involvement in an arts pedagogy which involved street culture motivated young people to explore different ways of self-presentation. The pedagogical approach enabled the movement from an aggressive self-presentation towards a creative self (see section 4.6). It facilitated a self-presentation which the prison’s validating process could then help affirm.

Prisonised aggressive behaviour was voluntarily quelled when young people were able to express it through their writing. Although emotional development remained static at this stage (see section 4.5.3), young people were then able to develop skills of writing and of electronic beat. The focus on a pedagogy which embraced street

culture garnered motivational behaviour and enabled an arts community to form (see sections 4.1-4.8) in which roles could be taken. This was an important part of the pedagogical approach because one of the components necessary for internal change to take place can be found in the possibility of changing roles (Lawler, 2008; Peters, 2009). Preferably the roles needed to be chosen by the young people concerned and accepted and validated by their peers (see section 4.6.5). New ways of self-presentation arrived through the taking on of new roles, involving choice and alternative values (see section 4.6.6 and also Hacking, 2004, Chapter Two). This then enabled the individual to take on a new role rather than being forced to accept the role ascribed by others. The link with a longer term renovated identity was seen in the adoption of particular roles which indicated both mental state (see section 4.6.6), as in their disposition of learning (Watson & Emery, 2009) and also in their mode of writing (see sections 4.5.6, 4.5.7). While roles are available in other projects (see for example, Balfour, 2004; Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Houston, 2009; Hughes, 2005; McKean, 2006, Chapter Two), within this YOI, the roles became enmeshed into an informal arts community within the prison (see section 4.6.6).

These peer and self-ascribed roles were different from the role of “mentor” which was conferred through prison processes, because they emerged through the arts community which formed around the Rap Workshops. The roles which the young people presented as a result became all-embracing and defined individuals. They renovated their identity towards new roles which came organically out of their work: directors, lyricists, producers and mcs. This gave them both peer and organisational status.

13.2.3 DEVELOPING IDENTITY BY USE OF A PEDAGOGICAL FOCUS ON AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL TECHNIQUES

The main opportunity for the development of a sense of identity emerged from the use of autobiographical techniques. As Giddens (1991) argued, by concretising their past young people were able to move away from it (see Chapter two and sections

4.6.5, 4.6.7). This movement then enabled them to re-consider their position in the world. The use of catharsis as a pedagogical strategy where negative aspects of their lives were ejected using their own language was seen as having a positive effect. This is contrary to current academic observations where both the negative and also the use of self expression in the young people's own language were suppressed (Baker & Homan, 2007; Farrier, et al., 2009). However, the ensuing personal development both observed and experienced by these young people was integral to this pedagogy (see section 4.6.4).

Giddens (1991) argued the concept of autobiography enabled a trajectory of learning. However, autobiographical techniques used within the arts developed participants further. Not only did they allow re-perceptualisation of the past, but they also enabled identity to be developed and affirmed through the arts community (see section 4.6.6). By sharing their work and commenting on style and substance the advantage of objectification of their lives on paper was clear. Instead of focusing on the information about their lives, the focus was also on their style. Consequently they developed new ways of presenting their thoughts (see sections 4.6.3, 4.6.4). The arts developed participants' ability to articulate emotion (as seen in section 4.2.3), but at the same time the focus on autobiographical techniques enabled articulation of the most painful parts of their lives. This involvement with deep reflection helped young people to develop their identity through the arts alongside the use of role.

13.2.4 DEVELOPING YOUNG PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION OF THEIR FUTURE AGENCY

The courses at this YOI embraced not only reparation, as seen in studies of other arts courses (Baker & Homan, 2007; Balfour, 2004; Houston, 2009; McKean, 2006), but also a positive slant towards the future. This was enabled by the use of autobiographical techniques where a young person had space and "permission" to reconsider his past. This activity sometimes then led him towards wanting to realise a future where he would play a positive role in society (see section 4.6.3). This re-

visioning of his future role where he played a different role from that in the past is strongly linked to a desistance model (Lofland, 1969; Maruna, 2001) and is also endorsed in McNeill and colleagues' (2011) recent study. For this to occur an Enlightenment Model of intervention is needed (see table 1).

Participation in arts courses which did not embrace the autobiographical techniques still enabled a sense of success in the participants (see section 4.2.5) but there was limited evidence that any re-framing of their perceptions of their past took place (see also, Baker & Homan, 2007; Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008; Hopwood, 1999; McKean, 2006; Ramsbotham, 2008, Chapter Two). Without this re-framing, internal changes which go towards a consideration of the future may be less likely to occur (Giddens, 1991). There was evidence that autobiographical techniques when linked to an arts course enabled the development of identity through role, helped develop self-expression, and gave clearer direction for these young people's consideration of their future.

As this thesis began with an exploration of the link between rehabilitation and the arts, it is pertinent to consider what the arts add to an autobiographical course. Evidence revealed that reframing of their perceptions of their past and their future arrived through writing and consequent in depth discussion of their sharing of their life experiences (see section 4.5.11). However, the lack of a developed artistic community where roles were adopted and peer validated, and the lack of a development of ways of articulating emotion meant that this course, with all its many strengths, did not give the participants the depth of developmental experience of the Rap Workshops. Furthermore the lack of affirmation through prison processes did not enable their self-discovery to be validated formally. Participants emerged with an excited realisation of their possible future agency in their future lives, though with no definite direction to take it (see sections 4.6.2 – 4.6.4). There could be a useful combination of the pedagogical strengths of these two courses for participants.

The pedagogical elements necessary to allow participants the potential to move from their course to focus with any clarity on their future comprised intense self-reflection,

opportunities for the re-framing of their sense of their future role and validation through both informal and formal roles. New understanding of the required ritualisation through the carrying out of their informal roles within the arts community was a vital part of their progress (see section 4.6.3). The new ability to articulate emotion was causal to a diffusion of physical violence (see section 4.5.9). Discussion of what has been written was a vital part of both re-conceptualisation and also validation and affirmation. Alongside their burgeoning skills, further validation of their re-framing arrived both informally through adopted roles within the arts community and the adoption of new roles (see section 4.6.6). The ability to express emotion to reflect cathartic experiences was a vital part of their perceptual progress. An important part of the desistance model is the enablement of re-visioning the future self. The pedagogical structures in the Rap Workshops and the *Write to Freedom* Course encouraged young people to re-visioning their future selves having useful roles in society. In this YOI (see sections 4.5.8, 4.5.9) young people saw their future roles as youth workers, project leaders and rappers. They seemed to have inbuilt desire to help other young people to keep away from the life which had led them into prison. Moreover they gained realisation that they had choices for their own futures. As Leonardo stated simply in his realisation of the inner change that had taken place:

but my future, man, I've got a future. I can. I've got a- I've got a say in my future, innit.

13.3 CHALLENGES IN THE RESEARCH

13.3.1 PRACTICAL AND CONCEPTUAL CHALLENGES

There were several types of challenges in this research investigation that are also present in the relevant body of academic literature: conceptual, practical and ethical.

Practically, the first challenge was in finding a prison to engage in my research study. There were many reasons for this being a challenge: staff shortages; security issues; the length of stay of prisoners being too short to enable useful research to be done

over a period of time. As I was working in a prison, a further challenge was accessibility. I could not as easily access a prison as someone could a school for example, and so this needed to be achieved with diplomacy and tact, and I must say on behalf of the prison was achieved because of the prison staff giving me as much flexibility as was possible. So that the prison could have enough notice to re-schedule some of the staff and young people's activities, I had to make arrangements to go to the prison some time ahead of the visit. This led to my realisation that very careful planning was necessary to ensure I got the most out of the visit as it may be some time before I could go in again. On one occasion I had to attend an extra meeting unexpectedly. However, by adding to my field notes, the unexpected occurrences added to my contextual understanding, rather than hindering me from coming to conclusions. My sampling strategy enabled me to saturate the data around my emerging conceptualisation.

Accessibility through the reception area of the prison was always difficult. Although I had permission to take my recorder in for the interviews, sometimes this permission had not reached the guards at the front, so I had to wait until it was received. Sometimes this permission did not arrive, which meant I had to take notes at the interview instead. Access to an interview room was not always available, which meant I had a range of interview places, sometimes at the side of a classroom when the class was in progress, which could make hearing difficult for both me and the interviewee. Within my investigation, forming conceptualisation through the interpretation of interviews and observations made in my field notes presented me with the challenge of coping and making sense of the large quantity of data. Organisation of the data was essential before I drowned in it! Ensuring I applied the Grounded Theory methodology was really useful in helping me through this organisation. The coding and code families and use of memos were useful as the basis for my writing, helping me to clarify my thoughts as I went through the process. There were challenges between my understanding of my emerging concepts and the views held by the music teachers. Convinced as they were about the uniqueness of

their course, some of the arts teachers I interviewed had definite expectations from my study. A further conceptual challenge therefore was to separate their strong views from those of other staff and the actuality of the young people's perceptions. Having different files for different groups of staff and also for the young people's interviews enabled me to focus on one group's views at a time. I then transcribed and coded that group of interviews, and began to conceptualise their views. I was able to separate the young people's views out in my findings, giving some clarity to the differences in what the groups of staff and the group of young people were saying (see sections 4.5.5, 4.5.7, 4.5.8, 4.5.9, 4.5.11).

It was necessary always to return to the data to formulate the concepts. The challenge after selecting code families was to discover how they connected with each other. By writing the memos, I gathered growing understanding of how the code families inter-linked enabling the formation of my conceptualisation. By focusing on each memo for each code family, I found the links especially between arts; identity, rehabilitation, autobiography and catharsis emerged and helped form one part of the conceptualisation. Alongside this, links emerged between the code families of self-realisation and validation both between peers and from prison staff. As the relationships between the code families clarified, I was able to complete my conceptualisation.

13.3.2 ETHICAL CHALLENGES

Ethically the challenges were around overcoming power relations within the interview situation. There was the power of the prison in deciding within the parameters I had laid out who they would allow me to interview. I was therefore "given" interviewees to interview. However, I ensured that all interviewees understood they did not have to come into the interview and could leave at any time. The possible difficulties of "given" interviewees did not impact on my conclusions because I was able to come into the prison several times to saturate my concepts, and because I was able to

clarify my emerging concepts through a range of methods and interviews with different groups of people.

Secondly there was the ethical challenge of enabling young people their voice in the thesis. There was often a teacher within the room with me, which could have been inhibiting for the interviewees, although the teacher often busied himself tidying a cupboard, or indeed was teaching other arts participants while I was interviewing. I had to ensure I was non-threatening because of the power structures in a relationship where I am free and the prisoners are incarcerated. The interviews also presented a conceptual challenge, as my interviewees were the “experts” in the courses on which they were either teaching or learning, so that while my questions were designed to explore specific areas of my investigation, I had also to remain open to understanding their explanations of concepts which were new to me.

It would also have been useful to have been able to be able to send the transcripts back to the young people themselves to check through so they could clarify further, but getting the transcripts to them was a problem for several reasons. If I had used email or post I would have had to send them to the teachers when they would have been read, further intruding into the privacy of the interview situation for these young people. I did try bringing some transcripts with me when I went in again, but the gaps between when I had seen my former interviewees, which was caused by the time it took to complete the transcriptions and my next sampling visit, meant I was unable to locate those young people whose transcripts I had brought in with me. This was either because they had moved prison, or they had moved department. However, as discussed in section 3.4, I was able to triangulate by using different methods of data collection, different data sources and member checking. I also checked my understanding from previous interviews with the subsequent interviewees.

Retrospectively I would argue that the following stages were important to the completion of my findings. First of all, engaging in a pilot enabled some pre-

understanding of the concepts surrounding my study before going into the prison. Revealing my pilot study findings to the education manager was persuasive in helping me to gain access to the research study. Secondly, once I gained access to the prison it was important that I spent time building up good relationships with the staff, ensuring at the outset that I could have access to the young people at the prison. Without this access I would not have had the all important access to their “voice” which I wanted to form part of my thesis. Following on from this it was important that I gained access to the rap Workshops which were to become such an important part of my thesis. By being allowed to observe the young people there, I was able to gain familiarity with the ethos of the Rap Workshops. This gave me some ideas to work on prior to my interviews with them.

Once I began interviews with the young people it was important for me to use humour to relax interviewees and to listen carefully, then within the interview feeding back my understanding and changing my perceptions through interviewees’ guidance. This enabled me to clarify and begin to form understanding of the key issues which they thought were important to them. Finally, I was able to gain responses from the arts staff on early drafts of my findings chapter. This resulted in their responses giving me either affirmation or further cause for reflection.

13.4 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS AND POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The focus of my research has been on the link between rehabilitation and the arts in an aspect of the curriculum in one YOI. I have been able to engage with this in detail. During my investigation, I limited the scope of raw data to face to face interviews, a focus group and observations with the young people and those prison staff around them. This enabled me to seek reflections from staff on a wide range of roles: prison officer, prison officer in the segregation unit, case workers, managers, arts staff, *Write to Freedom* staff and music staff. By engaging in this way I was able to seek both commonality and differences in their stances, and seek the young people’s reflection

on what they had gained through the activities in either of the two courses. The scope of another study investigating whether there was a link between changes in written style and changes in attitude could focus on written text. This however was not the focus of my research.

Engaging in one aspect of the work with the arts in this YOI has enabled a detailed examination of attitudes and thoughts around a journey of self-discovery for these young people. The scope of my study has not been to compare work going on in other prisons. The findings from this YOI, however, could be a starting point for another study in engagement with other prisons around the same area. I have argued that the teachers' work in the Rap and *Write to Freedom* courses help their students to re-think their roles in their future lives. I have also argued that re-imagining a role in their future has a connection to the desistance model as argued by Lofland (1969), Maruna (2001) and very recently also by McNeill and colleagues (2011). However, while I have shown the link between the strategies used in this YOI and the desistance model, the scope of this research is not seeking to prove that as a result these strategies will lead to desistance. It has been shown that in some cases it influences the changes in how the participants think about their future roles after prison. It would be the scope of a longitudinal study to discover whether the strategies used will influence desistance from offending.

There is theoretical potential in using the arts to explore identity through autobiographical techniques within the arts courses embedded in the prison curriculum, based on guidelines for practice, theory and empirical evidence presented in my methodology. Generic understandings gained from this investigation merits more study to test out how far the importance of this meaning-making shows authenticity in other contexts. The findings from the data gathered from within this YOI had its own unique context which would not necessarily be precisely replicated elsewhere. Further research into the links between desistance models and arts in prisons would be useful in helping to reconceptualise arts courses and projects

around their capacity to facilitate the renovation of roles. In turn this could help participants envision themselves as having socially positive roles in their future lives. Alongside this, future research around the use of autobiographical strategies could develop understanding around the significance of enabling participants to make meanings of their lives.

As this investigation has focused on young offenders, it would be pertinent to study this with adult and also young female offenders, and also to research these strategies in other contexts, for example those at risk of exclusion in schools, a group going through drug rehabilitation, pupil referral units, and those with specific learning disabilities. All these groups may be influenced in their self-identification through the way their roles have been assigned. It would be useful to investigate if the use of autobiographical techniques would also give them opportunities to appropriate new roles giving different perspectives on their future directions and where relevant opening previously closed dispositions to learning.

13.5 IMMEDIATE OUTCOMES

As I drew the field work to an end at the prison, and informed the prison of my findings, there were three immediate outcomes from my work in this YOI. Formerly about to stop delivering the Write to Freedom course, discussion with the staff made them view the course differently. In future, the Write to Freedom course may be longer. This is to allow more time for participants to develop and also to find ways of linking the work with more consideration of their future: while the course developed a sense of agency, the direction of how students would translate this into future action was unclear. Secondly, the Head of Arts informed me (as at August 2011) he was going to investigate how they can focus on autobiography as a theme within Art and he was considering developing this idea through film. This is because an earlier draft of my thesis conclusions revealed to him that the focus on autobiographical techniques has had profound results in developing young people's sense of their identity and their thoughts around their futures. Thirdly, I am currently involved in

transnational research in five European prisons through a SEPE project (see Appendix Five), involving arts projects with prisoners and funded through Leonardo, an ECORYS funder. This research investigates the implications of putting in the Employability through the Arts Award in prisons in these five countries. I have been involved in this work since 2006. Having completed this thesis I am able to add to the depth of that research through exploration of the meaning-making around the use of the Arts in European prisons. This work hopefully will be of far-reaching influence in the countries involved, some of whom are not familiar with the concept of exploring the Arts with offenders in prison as a rehabilitative tool, or indeed in some cases as seeing prison as rehabilitative at all.

AFTERWORD

As at the time of writing, May 2012, the following events have just occurred. Dean is now back out of prison and has the chance to gain another apprenticeship in Bristol. I have just been asked to write the second letter of advocacy for him, which I have done. He will be living in Exeter for a while so I hope to see him.

Secondly, a colleague in the Geography Department is interested in the injustices of those in detention, and wants to work with me as there are some similarities between being in detention (now called removal centres) and being in prison.

Finally, the two music teachers who have run the rap project at the prison where I was engaged in my investigation want me to discuss with them the findings from my thesis as they would like to use this as the basis for a funding application to set up provision for those leaving prison.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Theme Questions to young people at HMP xxx All interviews were semi-structured so that from my questioning, I could follow any particular leads the interviewees gave if that was appropriate to my investigation.

Seeking context How long have you been taking an arts course here?
Do you enjoy other people's art or music?
Why do you think the arts are delivered in this prison?
In which ways if any is it different in an arts class from elsewhere in the prison or is it exactly the same?

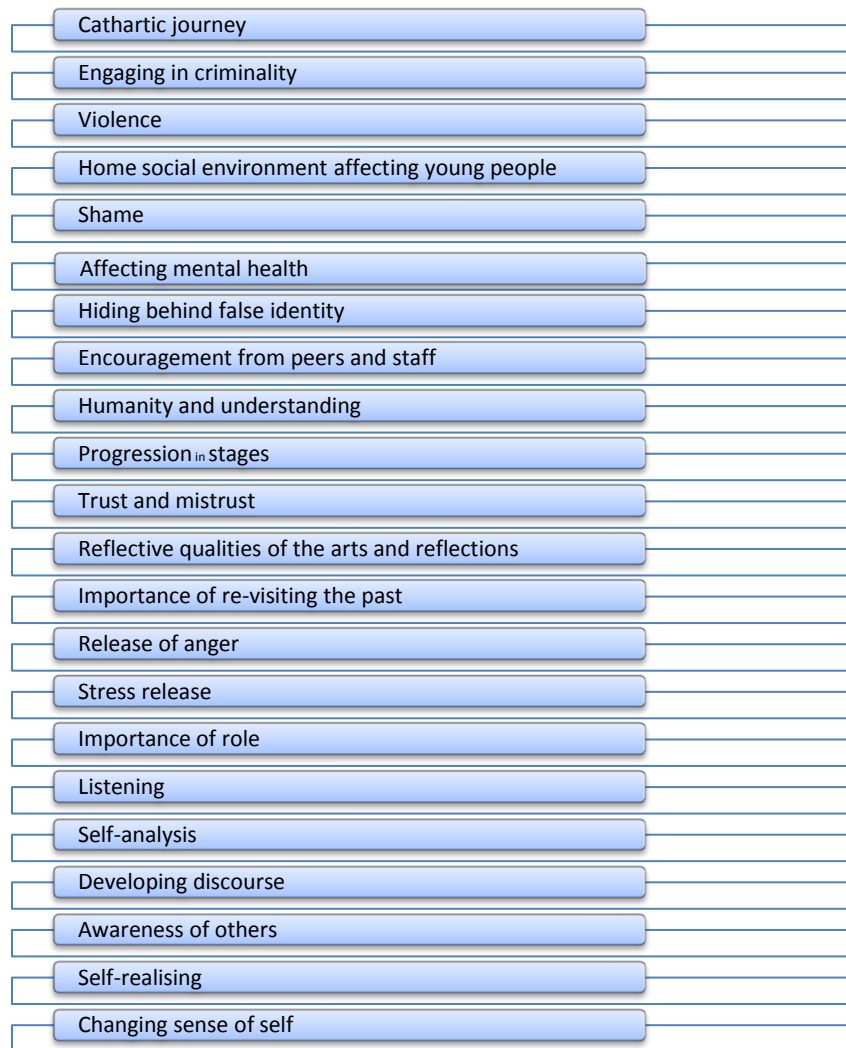
Rehabilitation through the Arts Have you made any friends through this course?
How important do you feel performances/ exhibitions are to you? ~Why? What has been your best success on the course?
Has this course ever produced any unexpected advantages or disadvantages for you? If so what? What effect has that had on you?
How important do you feel performances/exhibitions are to you? Why? What has been your best success on the course?

Rehabilitation connected with a sense of identity Do you talk about the arts projects outside the classroom? Can you tell me a bit about this?
How did any success you have had on the course make you feel? So does the project match, exceed or disappoint your expectations?
If you were to describe yourself before you came into xxx, how would you describe yourself?
Could you give me a symbol which would sum this up? And how about now? Would the symbol be the same or different? Why? What symbol do you think would symbolise your future?

Connection of role to sense of identity Do you have a particular role in the class?
Are you looking to develop your role in the class at all?

Renovation of identity In which ways if any has taking part in the Arts in the prison made any difference to your stay?
How much do your friendships in the group influence your own work in the course?
How important to you is the development of your artistic (insert appropriate Art) skills? Why?
Have you changed the way you see yourself as a result of the project? If so in which ways?

APPENDIX TWO: NETWORK OF CODES CONNECTED TO CATHARSIS



APPENDIX THREE: EXTRACT OF CODING

AROUND THE CODE FAMILY OF CATHARSIS

The following is an example of the way in which I extracted codes around code families through the program Atlasti, and then used the quotations to create my memos. To show this in practice, I have shown how a quotation which I coded to catharsis then formed part of my memo around catharsis. I used the memos then to form my concepts.

The act of writing about things which were “dear” in itself was cathartic as it “felt like a relief”. On asking Paul to define what he understood by “dear”, he revealed:

Well to me they are the things that hurt the most. You tell someone and people'll judge you. Like it's like what you've been through but people will judge you kind of thing and to me like for what me and my family's been through, they told people they judged me for like. They don't treat me the same. They feel like- they feel sorry. And I don't want that. I want the respect I've got now... That's what I want.

Paul (Write to Freedom Student)

There seems sincerity in Paul’s explanation. What are “dear” to him are the issues which most hurt him, but which he feels unable to express because they cause people to judge him. This he finds difficult because now, instead their respect, he has gained their unwanted pity. His view of his past is negative:

I was always fighting, always drinking. I was doing drugs-doing drugs as well. Cannabis, cocaine, that sort of thing. .I was going down the wrong path and needed a wakeup call, and it came

Paul (Write to Freedom Student)

Paul displays his past life, revealing a drug fuelled aggressive pre-prison life. He realises that this way of life was misdirected: "I was going down the wrong path and needed a wakeup call".

APPENDIX FOUR: EXAMPLES OF MEMBER CHECKING

Examples of feedback on transcripts and early thoughts.

Besides triangulation through multiple sources and a variety of methods of data collection, I also used member checking as a form of triangulation, by checking my transcripts and my forming conceptualisations with the prison arts staff and senior management throughout the process. Mainly where people did respond, the responses were positive, but I have included those responses which made me reassess, or go back in to the prison for further discussion:

Email Sent September 20, 2010

[In response to my sending back to all staff their transcripts for checking and comment, Michael, a Music teacher, sent this response]:

Jo,

Where is the incisive thinking from the so called professionals?

It is the phrase "put them against current literature" that upsets me.

Who gave you these remarks?

What do you call "current literature?"

We are creating in XXX something that has never been created before. It's so new; even I can't describe it properly to you.

I need you to find out what it is we are doing, and are we doing it right.

You are the academic; please help us define our success.

Cheers buddy

Michael

Field Notes

September 23rd, 2010
(Reflections)

My reactions

I was upset because I had used the evidence I had and this made me wonder if I either needed to analyse it in more depth, perhaps looking for different directions to take it, or if perhaps I was not interviewing the right people. I realised of course I haven't included my field notes in my analysis, so will need to do this and will insert them where relevant into the themes. I therefore contacted Michael and will be meeting him on 24th September after the Advisory Meeting at Second Chance. I will need to ascertain:

What exactly is he upset about – is it one particular theme or all of them – a particular comment? Is he concerned about the staff comments which he finds stereotypical?

Is he concerned I am not representing his Music course well.

Does he feel something about the boys is not being conveyed accurately?

What points does he feel should be in the analysis which are missing and how can he suggest I get this evidence (is it even there?) Is the setting his expectations too high? Does he understand what my research is about?

I know he is very bright himself – he went to Oxford to study History – and I also respect his humanity and his empowering teaching methods. Hey ho must wait until tomorrow!

Meeting at HMP XXX, September 24th, 2010

The purpose of the visit to XXX was to meet with Michael was to complete the triangulation of the work I had sent him. On discussion he seemed to be most upset about the way art was taught and the way in which the students are given very basic work to do initially which he felt was a bit “schooly” and that perhaps they could consider using APPLE MAC’s and using appropriate programmes to develop their creativity in new ways. He was concerned it was old fashioned and inappropriate for these students. I gave him a copy of my references from my literature review and pointed out a couple he may like to read. He asked if they were from the UK. (I think he meant the references to arts courses in prisons – they are mainly). I told him further suggestions would be welcome.)

Michael wanted me to observe his class as he wanted to understand a way of articulating what he saw as the uniqueness of the Music Workshops.

Further emails – re feedback on the work

From: Jack

Sent: 10 April 2011 15:27

To: Cursley, Joanna

Subject: Re: a further draft of the concluding chapter

Hi Jo

I have perused your latest draft and I find it to be in accord with my own feelings and views about the work at XXX. The conclusions and suggestions are also very helpful, especially the idea of an “artistic wing” where inmates could collaborate with each other.

In the real world however, deterministic education has direct links with the financial (paid for results) obligations of running an educational establishment for profit and to please shareholders. Whilst the qualifications gained by the YP's are deemed to have value in the outside world, for the YP's themselves, these are often seen as arbitrary moments of approval of the self by external forces and for the most part are not valued or prized by the individuals themselves as much as the regulating bodies and the establishment that bestows them. This is something that we are trying to address as you know from discussions with Michael about orientating the work towards qualification for foundation BTEC or HND.

However, the work still remains in tackling the perception that the only way forward in life is “to get rich quick or die trying.” Someone who has been used to making £1000 per week selling drugs is not really going to be motivated by the idea of working through education and into a job earning £1000 a month: status still comes from what one has, owns and wears, rather than “non-material” values such as creativity, self confidence, self worth and just pure happiness with “being” which subjects like Music and the arts promote. The process of education goes right back into their childhood and should begin with their parents promoting should personal values above short term materialism. The media is also totally to blame for selling the idea of material aspiration, since that plugs directly into societies perception of a successful “worker” and the “production” of wealth, a myth which is rapidly corroding the foundations of western capitalist thought.

The point you make about students working under the teacher's own belief systems (where possible) is well made and certainly applicable in our case. It is however, at one and the same time, the grinding stone upon which much of our labours are

frustrated by the demands of the management and the hierarchical system indigenous to these establishments.

Best wishes

Jack

From: Russell

Sent: 25 August 2011 13:54

To: Cursley, Joanna

Subject: RE:

Hi Jo,

Thank you again for all your hard work on this and your enthusiasm for our field of education. This has given me a several new ideas on how we can run new projects based on identity. This research will certainly help me present a good case of running a new proposed Moving image/ film course, again projects that help students make films/imagery about themselves and their own identity can be a powerful tool, engaging them is the first battle, getting them to discover new skills and unleashing their potential is the exciting part...

All the best

Russell

APPENDIX FIVE: AN EXPLANATION OF SEPE

SEPE stands for Supporting Employability and Personal Effectiveness (SEPE). The SEPE award is designed to further help those who may find accessing traditional routes to employability challenging, to build confidence and gain a meaningful and accredited qualification that has currency world-wide.

I began formulating this award in 2006. It has now been accepted by Edexcel. The Award is being taken to 5 European prisons in 5 different countries. My role is to research the impact of the course in these prisons, but also to establish the meaning making arriving as a result of the project in the different contexts where it is taught. . Edexcel describe the Award as:

These qualifications are designed to help learners to gain and retain a job, and then to advance in the workplace, through development of the soft skills that employers are looking for: adaptability, a p 2) "can do" attitude and objectivity about strengths and weaknesses. (Pearson, 2010)

The work I have done in this thesis is already informing my research in this work because implications around trust has emerged, and also the added effectiveness where the SEPE course is embedded in the prison curriculum is an argument I am able to use with some authority. I am more aware of the way individuals make separate ways of making sense of the course, even while the criteria are the same for each individual.

University partnership gives new hope to prisoners

(Western Morning News and university website, March 2012)

Academics at the Marchmont Observatory, part of the University of Exeter's Graduate School of Education are helping prisoners improve their employability skills. A new arts-based skills package is being rolled out in prisons across Europe with five European countries, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Austria and Turkey currently involved. A small pilot run at The Verne prison in Dorset led to three out of the five prisoners involved going into work or further training.

The programme, called SEPE: "Supporting employability and personal effectiveness" aims to help disadvantaged groups like prisoners develop workplace skills such as effective communication; being able to make a positive contribution to a team; demonstrating employability skills in a group project; effective listening and acting on instructions.

Working with a charity called Superact, a not-for-profit arts organisation that uses creativity to improve the health and wellbeing of people from a wide variety of backgrounds and abilities, the project uses artists and musicians to work with up to 15 prisoners at a time.

Jo Cursley from the Marchmont Observatory at the University of Exeter explained "The really unique thing about the project is using the Arts, which have well-known benefits, to assess and give feedback on employability skills, especially at a time of such high unemployment across Europe. Everyone involved, from the prisoners themselves to education managers and prison governors, have expressed surprise at the impact the programme has had."

During focus groups with prisoners in the Netherlands, one prisoner commented "I had lost all ability to trust others both out and in prison and this project has given me hope" another said "I had never been able to work with others before but this has taught me to listen and work together, not to just follow my own ideas."

Ali Smith, Director of Superact added "We work with small groups of prisoners to produce an artistic performance which is staged in front of an audience. The prisoners

often develop the content themselves and, by doing so, learn to listen, trust, work together and communicate – all key employability skills. We have also successfully used the same techniques to help thousands of disadvantaged and at risk young people develop new competencies in this area.”

The project has received funding from the Leonardo Programme, an Ecorys funding agency.

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