

***The Role of Spirituality in the Lives of Imprisoned People in the
Cayman Islands***

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Abstract

This thesis aimed to understand the role of spirituality in the lives of people imprisoned in the Cayman Islands. The key objectives were to understand the role of spirituality in (1) identity, (2) relationships, and (3) experiences of imprisonment. Novel contributions were made since a study of this nature – qualitatively exploring the role of spirituality in Caymanian prisons - has never been conducted before. This allowed for the elicitation of ‘hidden’ data which is relevant locally and globally when considered alongside widespread experiences of spirituality and imprisonment – i.e., the pains of imprisonment, and spiritual belief and practice. The role of spirituality in rehabilitation emerged as a significant theme, denoting its discussion within the findings. Constructivist ontological and interpretivist epistemological perspectives were taken within the methodological approach. The aim and objectives were addressed using qualitative methods – double (twice per person at separate times) and single (using both interview schedules) semi-structured interviews, and object elicitation with 14 male and four female participants. Key insights around challenges in prison research (negotiating control with institutions) and opportunities (benefits of insider positionality) were discussed. Thematic analysis and interpretive phenomenological analysis were used to analyse the data. Attachment theory, social identity theory, identity performance theory, actor-network theory, and the good lives model were used to interpret the findings. Key findings include the unique and complex nature of spiritual identity, from which spiritual items and spaces were be created and utilised within the prison to benefit wellbeing, identity, relationships, experiences of imprisonment, and rehabilitation. The findings also demonstrated that spirituality impacts relationships with family, other imprisoned people, and prison staff, although the outcomes were nuanced and complex. Additional findings included that experiences of imprisonment were significantly related to spirituality, which had positive or negative impacts on wellbeing and rehabilitation depending on the individual’s spiritual identity. Spirituality in Cayman’s prisons was inherently subjective, having a complex role within identity, relationships, and experiences of imprisonment from which nuanced outcomes within rehabilitation may occur.

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Introduction

Background and context

This thesis aimed to explore the role of spirituality in the lives of imprisoned men and women in the Cayman Islands (hence referred to as Cayman). The key objectives were to understand the role of spirituality in (1) identity, (2) relationships, and (3) experiences of imprisonment. Qualitative methods (semi-structured interviews and object elicitation) were used to explore these objectives and address the thesis aim. The present study was novel in its organic approach to understanding spirituality and Caymanian context which has been significantly ‘hidden’ in criminological literature. This thesis offered significant contributions to knowledge around spirituality and the lived experiences of imprisonment in the Caribbean which regionally has had a significant dearth in prison research (Lancaster-Ellis 2017).

Spirituality can be understood as a connection between oneself and the sacred or transcendent generally, which may involve other humans, the environment, and belief in a deity (or deities) (Canda et al. 1988). Religion can encompass spiritual beliefs and practices and vice versa, making the two concepts often intertwined (McGuire 2008). The current study understood the distinction between spirituality and religion as the premise that spirituality is primarily based on individual beliefs and experiences, whereas religion generally encompasses shared practices, values, and ethical codes (McGuire 2008). Spirituality has been connected to identity (McGuire 2008); culture (Tsing 2001); wellbeing (Allen et al. 2013; Currier, Holland, and Drescher 2015); relationships (Kiesling et al. 2008; Jang et al. 2020), and rehabilitation (Ward and Brown 2004). These factors are typically subjective and relate substantially to experiences of imprisonment (Allen et al. 2013; Mills and Codd 2012; Beckford 2013; Sykes 1958; Shammass 2017), meaning that the impact of spirituality within this was important to consider.

Spirituality has important implications around wellbeing in prisons (Mandhouj et al. 2014), especially for vulnerable populations (e.g., ageing; Allen et al. 2013) and can play a significant role in relationships between prison staff and imprisoned people (Beckford 2013; Opata 2001). Opata’s (2001) exploration of spirituality and religion in prisons highlight the importance of recognising non-traditional faiths (such as Rastafarianism, an Afro-Caribbean religion), and how

prison ministries require expertise to overcome challenges in administering effective spiritual care. Relationships between staff and imprisoned people are especially relevant to the treatment of spiritual items in prisons, which can be a significant component of spiritual identity (Beckford 2013). This was also explored in the present study through object elicitation. The role of spirituality as it related to individual meaning had yet to be qualitatively explored in Caribbean criminological literature, something which was undertaken in the present thesis. The subjective meaning of spirituality and how it related to identity, relationships, and prison life, were also relatively unknown although there was a clear remit for their significance. This signals the value of the present study in developing academic literature through the exploration of spirituality in Caymanian prisons.

Cayman is a British overseas territory made up of three islands in the Caribbean Sea: Grand Cayman (the largest and most populated island holding the nation's capital and the male and female prison – HMP Northward and HMP Fairbanks respectively), Cayman Brac, and Little Cayman. First discovered in 1503, Cayman was first populated primarily by transient pirates, Spanish explorers, English explorers and finally English colonisers and African slaves who became 'settlers' (Williams 2016). There were no indigenous people (in the true sense of the word), human culture, or spirituality in Cayman although the original settlers and the descendants of which have done much to create a unique social landscape since (Williams 2016).

Spirituality was an important component of identity for Cayman's original settlers and has remained a significant aspect of culture since (Williams 2016). Contemporary links to colonialism should not be ignored, as the prominence of Christianity in the Caribbean is a direct result of the suppression of Afro-Caribbean culture, heritage, identity, and spirituality (Williams 2016; Murrell 2010). The present thesis' approach of eliciting 'organic' definitions of spirituality was considered decolonial as it navigated individual and nuanced experiences from which meaning was interpreted. This allowed for the understanding of individual-centred meanings within and outside of locally relevant religion(s) in a way which was more 'sensitive' in its application to prison life (where appropriate) than overarching definitions of religion and spirituality.

HMCIPS was first established in 1981 and is subject to Cayman's Ministry of Home Affairs (CIG 2025). Both prisons are tiny in comparison to that of a UK prison, HMP Northward holding 183 men, and HMP Fairbanks hosting 12 women at the time of the present study (CIIMB 2021). The

prisons are beholden to UK policy – e.g., The Prison Act 1952 and subsequent amendments made in 2021 (CIG 2025). Cayman’s prisons are therefore significantly tied to UK legislation, although the local Prison Director hold powers surrounding daily prison life, such as visitation rights, work and payment, and transfers to external locations (CIG 2020).

Visiting rights are determined by the HMCIPS Prison Director, decisions of which are made ‘in the best interest’ of the imprisoned person and may allow individual or groups to attend at one time (LRL 1999; LRL 2020). Imprisoned people are also allowed to visit relatives who are dying or their funeral, and can attend external events at the Prison Director’s discretion (LRL 2020).

Imprisoned people in HMCIPS are segregated from each other depending on the type of conviction – detained people are kept separate from those who have been convicted, juveniles are segregated from convicted adults, and people who are under civil imprisonment are held separately to all other convicted people (LRL 2020). People in the High Risk Unit (HRU) are segregated from all others in the prison and do not have access to purposeful activities. They are allowed visits from the Chaplain on special request (CIIMB 2021).

HMCIPS prison policy also states that imprisoned people shall be given the chance to practice their religion of choice within appropriate time and spaces (LRL 2020). The Prison Director’s duty includes interviewing appropriate ministers (LRL 2020). The only permanent minister is the Christian Chaplain, who provides Christian services to both prisons and Early Release Unit (ERU; CIIMB 2021). As of CIIMB’s (2021) report, no non-Christian religious minister has been permanently instated, although they have visited upon special request with the assistance of the prison Chaplain. Multi-faith services as requested to occur on a weekly basis in the visitation centre has not been provided as of 2021 (CIIMB).

I have spent some time interning in the rehabilitation centre at both HMP Northward and HMP Fairbanks between 2014 - 2019. My time in these prisons, especially as an adolescent, gave me a unique perspective into Caymanian prisons and the ecology of prison life. It was evident that the microcosm of the prison was reflective of cultural ideologies, opportunities, and challenges within local society. This observation naturally also related to the wider Caribbean when reflecting on the demographics of Cayman’s prison population (NDC 2023). This included spiritual beliefs, practices, and community, something which can be instrumental to wellbeing within and outside

of prison populations (McGuire 2008; Allen et al 2013). As such, the value of the present study pertains to understanding the highly unique prison environment alongside the value of spirituality.

Gap in literature

The person-centred approach to defining spirituality – i.e., instead of using pre-defined concepts of spirituality and religion – was novel in criminological literature. This included exploring the subjective significance of spiritual items and the overall multi-dimensional aspect of it. The use of an open approach in defining spirituality in this study was novel as it expanded the capacity to understand the often subjective, complex, nuanced, and dynamic experience of spirituality. The broad exploration of spirituality within the present study is a significant contribution to knowledge, especially as it occurs in Caribbean prisons of which little academic literature is available.

There is a dearth of literature concerning the lived experiences of Caribbean prison populations generally and around the topic of spirituality. This is largely due to access challenges (Lancaster-Ellis 2017), signifying the value and importance of the present study within Caribbean criminology, as it offered insights into a 'hidden' prison context and methodological contributions for Caribbean researchers. Cayman had significantly high recidivism rates at the time of the present study, since 49.7% of prison populations as of 2023 (NDC) had offended previously. This highlighted the need of further Caribbean criminological research generally, and especially as it concerned prisons.

While there exists literature on the use of Christian rehabilitative programmes such as Sycamore Tree in Bermudan prisons (Aidoo 2016), exploration of the subjective experience of spirituality and ties to colonialism within institutional frameworks – especially for overseas territories such as Bermuda – is neglected. This is especially important to highlight and dissect in Cayman, where the embracing of a colonised status is prevalent and interwoven into modern-day manifestations of colonialism – i.e., the mitigated sense of personal autonomy and freedom (Smith 2022). This is especially pertinent to prison life in direct relation to the pains of imprisonment (Sykes 1958), thus magnifying the need for criminological research in Cayman, and how this relates to such subjective topics such as spirituality.

Significance of this thesis

The current study's organic approach to exploring participant definitions of spirituality was original and significant within academia as a whole. This is because of spirituality's connection to the broader human experience outside of prisons (McGuire 2008; Canda et al. 1988), signaling important methodological and finding-based contributions to knowledge in the present study. From this approach, the exploration of the present objectives became increasingly significant as it deepened understandings of the novelty of the individual experience and how this related to imprisonment. The limited existing literature on Caribbean prisons is highlighted here, furthering the significance of the present study's value especially as it concerns methodological approaches, challenges, and opportunities. As such, this study conferred significant contributions to criminological knowledge, especially where it related to the present objectives, the multi-dimensional experience of spirituality (i.e., through object elicitation), rehabilitation as an emergent finding, and Caribbean criminology.

This thesis contributed to definitions of spirituality and how it can be experienced within oneself and the [prison] environment. The key arguments in the current study included that spirituality is inherently subjective regardless of religious identity, and thus should remain 'open' in its definition. This corroborated McGuire's (2008) stance on inherent subjectivity of spirituality and additionally purported the significance of spiritual items around spiritual identity and coping with imprisonment (i.e., pains of imprisonment). This was particularly important in prisons as it related to the complex role of spirituality in individuals and thus the prison actor-network (i.e., the intersectional influence of human and non-human actors within the prison environment).

In Cayman where the prison context was exceedingly small (CIIMB 2021; HMCIP 2015), the significance of this increased. Spirituality had a significant role in relationships and experiences of imprisonment, within which individual beliefs and identities defined the outcomes of spirituality's influence. For Cayman where a study of this nature had never been conducted before, this thesis offered significant insights around the key aim and objectives which may support overall rehabilitative initiatives. This was especially significant when considering that the present study occurred in Cayman's only prisons – i.e., it researched the prison context of an entire country. The remit for the present study's potential for supporting positive change is exponential in this regard.

Relationships with family were particularly significant in the formation of spiritual identity and often impacted one's lived experience of prison, highlighting the need to support these relationships in a way which was appropriate to the individual – i.e., the prison may need to consider the positive and/or negative impacts of spirituality within familial relationships. The role of spiritual identity in relationships between imprisoned people and staff was especially related to personal 'convict-codes' - i.e., one's principles of interactions within the environment. Spirituality could have significant transformational impacts on relationships, reducing violence through changes in perspective. This was especially relevant to conflict with prison staff and other imprisoned people with whom one might have a challenging relationship or history. The exploration of spirituality within relationships in prison was significant as it spoke to underlying factors around conflict, violence, and the potential mitigation and/or aggravation of these situations, an important concern within pains of imprisonment and wellbeing.

Addressing the gap in the literature

This gap in literature was addressed using qualitative methods. This included double (twice per person at separate times) and single (using both interview schedules) semi-structured interviews with four female and 14 male participants in HMP Fairbanks and HMP Northward respectively. Object elicitation was utilised, as participants were encouraged to present personally significant spiritual items at the second interview phase, or after the single interview. Data were analysed using thematic analysis and interpretive phenomenological analysis. Data collection occurred during the COVID-19 global pandemic which vastly impacted research conduction. Important notations were made around the potential role of emotional labour for prison researchers and negotiating control within recruitment methods. This study therefore offered novel data collection experiences and insights beyond addressing the gaps in literature. This is important generally but especially in Caribbean criminology as methodological insights on prison research are limited.

The following outlines the chapter summaries within the present thesis. This thesis includes a chapter titled *Literature Review* which explored existing knowledge around spirituality, prisons, and rehabilitation within this. Previous literature discussed the subjectivity of spirituality, the significance of spiritual items (McGuire 2008; Hubert 1994), and how this related to wellbeing in

prisons (Deuchar et al. 2016; Allen et al. 2013). This was important as prison populations are often more vulnerable than the general public to mental illness and adverse experiences before, during, and after imprisonment (Craig, Malvaso, and Farrington 2021; Sykes 1958). The role of relationships with family, prison staff, and other imprisoned people was also explored, informing the second objective of the present thesis – i.e., relationships. This was important to explore as previous literature highlighted the important roles of familial support, personal ‘convict codes,’ and the senses in translating power between prison staff and imprisoned people. The intersection of imprisonment, spirituality and rehabilitation prisons was also discussed, especially in how this related to the Caymanian research context. The discussion within the literature informed the key objectives of the present study (i.e., identity, relationships, and experiences of imprisonment), which were chosen due to their relevance to both spirituality and the lives of imprisoned people.

Following is the chapter titled *Theory*, which explored relevant theories (attachment theory, social identity theory, identity performance theory, actor-network theory, and the good lives model) which were used to interpret data and support findings. The use of psychological (attachment theory), sociological (social identity theory, identity performance theory, and actor-network theory), and criminological theory (the good lives model) significantly benefitted the discussion of findings. These theories allowed for a multi-layered approach to analysing the data, offering multiple perspectives on how spirituality impacted the lives of imprisoned people. Relevant studies around the role of spiritual attachment, self-harm and suicide (attachment theory); spiritual prison programmes (social identity theory); the experiences of imprisoned people with life sentences (identity performance theory); the role of spiritual items and relationships with prison staff (actor-network theory), and spiritual rehabilitation prison programmes (the good lives model) were discussed in this chapter to show the appropriateness and application of these theories to the thesis aim and objectives.

The *Methodology* chapter outlined the empirical approach and design of the present study. The rationale; ontology and epistemology; sample; qualitative framework (including discussion of interview methods and object elicitation); interview methods and object elicitation; data analysis; research setting; ethical considerations, and reflexivity were discussed. In brief, the present study aimed to address an important gap in literature around the personal meaning of spirituality in prisons. The present study took constructivist ontological and interpretivist epistemological

approaches which were appropriate in addressing the subjective nature of the thesis aim and objectives. This aligned with the qualitative research methods - double (twice per person at separate dates with two interview schedules) and single (using both interview schedules from the double interview methods) interviews and object elicitation of spiritual items (chosen by participants pertaining to what was personally significant to them). These methods were utilised with 15 male participants (one was excluded from the present study for ethical reasons) and four female participants who were imprisoned at HMP Northward and HMP Fairbanks [respectively] at the time of the study. Variances in participation – i.e., interview follow-up delays due to natural causes and COVID-19, absences from second interviews and forgetfulness of spiritual items – were also discussed. Data were analysed using thematic analysis and interpretive phenomenological analysis, allowing for a multi-layered perspective which was suited to the interpretation of the nuanced data. My positionality as a researcher was significant within data collection, as the combination of both outsider and insider prison positionalities benefited access and rapport, while also posing challenges - especially around being a young female in a male prison. Methodology is especially important to understand in Caribbean prison research where access is limited, making the present study an important contribution to methodological knowledge for future researchers in this respect.

The discussion section involved three chapters which revolved around the key objectives: *The Role of Spirituality in Identity*, *The Role of Spirituality in Relationships*, and *The Role of Spirituality in Experiences of Imprisonment and Rehabilitation*. Although not a key objective, the theme of rehabilitation emerged as a significant finding, denoting its addition as a distinct discussion topic. These chapters addressed the key objectives of the present study directly and thus answer the research aim: To understand the role of spirituality in the lives of imprisoned people in the Cayman Islands.

In the chapter titled *The Role of Spirituality in Identity*, key arguments include the idea that the role of spirituality in identity is significant as it was subjective and uniquely experienced in relation to the prison environment. Spiritual practices were an important component of this since some participants connected this to their understanding of the 'strength' of their spiritual identity. Spiritual items were discussed as significant aspects of spiritual identity within the prison especially. This included the formation of 'masks' (to use terminology by Goffman; 1959) for

spiritual items within the prison environment as an extension of one's spiritual identity. Important contributions to theory (i.e., identity performance theory) were made from this finding (i.e., 'mask-mastery'), pertaining to the relationship between identity and the multi-dimensional experience of spirituality in the prison. This had important implications for coping and psychological survival especially within prisons, encompassing significant findings.

The chapter titled *The Role of Spirituality in Relationships* included the arguments that spirituality impacts and is in turn impacted by relationships with family, although this could have both positive and negative outcomes depending on the nature of spiritual and social identity. Familial spiritual identity could facilitate motivation to rehabilitate, or present as a significant barrier in these relationships, limiting access to support during imprisonment. Spirituality significantly effected relationships with other imprisoned people and prison staff, resulting in important transformative outcomes which were generally positive. This was significant as these positive changes did not involve explicit external intervention - i.e., changes in approach from prison staff or other imprisoned people were not a component of this positive transformation. However, the flexible nature of spiritual identity meant that it could also be used to justify aggression, and thus cannot be considered a 'one-sided' or 'fool-proof' means of addressing safety and security in prisons. This chapter highlighted the nuance of spirituality's implications within relationships with family, imprisoned people, and staff.

In the chapter titled *The Role of Spirituality in Experiences of Imprisonment and Rehabilitation*, it was argued that spirituality was an important aspect of experiences of imprisonment, although outcomes greatly depended on individuals' spiritual beliefs. From this discussion emerged a contribution to the good lives model – the consideration of *life beyond death* within the primary human good, *life*, as an important factor within rehabilitation. Spiritual items and the prison as actors were important to consider within rehabilitation, as negative and positive outcomes arose depending on unique spiritual identity and influence of the prison as an actor. The function of spirituality in rehabilitation and relationships was also explored, offering important insights regarding imprisoned people and staff. Spirituality could function as an important motivator to engage with other imprisoned people prosaically and become voluntary 'role-models,' which improved rehabilitative prospects among peers. This was significant since this finding occurred independently of prison intervention – i.e., one could 'simply' choose to help other imprisoned

people, within which spirituality was a significant factor – and was recognised as effective by prison staff. Differences in spiritual beliefs between imprisoned people and staff were also important to consider, as interpersonal issues could occur which could inhibit prisons staff's ability to engage in pro-social and rehabilitative relationships with imprisoned people of alternate spiritual beliefs [to their own]. It was important, however, to merit where imprisoned people used their own language and relationships with prison staff to engage with and understand spirituality.

The present thesis offers significant contributions to knowledge since its research aim and approach was inherently unique, pertaining to the subjective and qualitative experiences of imprisoned people in Cayman, a novel research context. Methodological approaches, opportunities, and challenges, were especially important to consider within the 'hidden' Caymanian prison context of the present study, providing relevant insights for future researchers. This is particularly significant within the context of Caribbean criminology where prison research is limited. Important discussions around spiritual identity, relationships, experiences of imprisonment, and rehabilitation were offered, from which the subjective and often complex nature of spirituality must be considered throughout. The use of relevant theory highly benefitted the analysis of participant accounts, allowing for the exploration of multiple perspectives within the current aim and objectives. Contributions to theory were made, informing the significance of spirituality in prisons overall. These findings and contributions to knowledge emerged through the exploration of spirituality in the lives of imprisoned people in Cayman, the aim of the present thesis.

Literature Review

Chapter 1: Understanding Spirituality in Prisons

Introduction

This chapter introduces relevant literature which informs the role of spirituality in the lives of imprisoned people in Cayman. This chapter examines literature around the impact of spirituality on the lives of imprisoned people, including spiritual identity (i.e., beliefs and practices), relationships (i.e., with family, imprisoned people, and staff), and experiences of imprisonment (i.e., the pains of imprisonment; Sykes 1958), the core objectives of the current study. The role of spirituality in rehabilitation in prisons is also discussed as it concerns the emergent theme within the discussion of the present study. This discussion involves discussing the Caymanian prison context, present rehabilitative initiatives, and how they relate to spirituality. This chapter provides important insights which will benefit the discussion of findings in the present study.

Spirituality is an important aspect of identity, wellbeing, and daily life, and is often influenced by culture (Tsing 2001; McGuire 2008; Murrell 2010). The role of colonisation is also important to note here, as it also has a significant impact on Caymanian culture and spirituality (Williams 2016; Murrell 2010). The understanding of spiritual identity and influence is generally important to understand in the prison context, which is often restrictive and destructive in nature (Sykes 1958). Spirituality can significantly impact wellbeing among prison populations (Convocar, Billones, and Supiter 2020; Allen et al. 2013; Grier and Clot-Garrell 2015; Deuchar et al. 2016). This is important to explore in relation to the present study as it concerns a significantly ‘hidden’ prison environment. Caribbean culture is strongly linked to spirituality (though it is largely Christian-based; Williams 2016; Murrell 2010), further signifying the importance of exploring the impact of spirituality in prisons so that this knowledge can be utilised in understanding the findings of the present study.

Experiences of imprisonment are important to understand generally in the present study, as they will inform the findings around spirituality’s role. The pains of imprisonment are seriously destructive to wellbeing (Sykes 1958) and elicit the need to understand underlying factors such as spirituality which may hinder or support wellbeing. Literature around relationships with family,

prison staff, and other imprisoned people is also important to explore within the prison context since they significantly impact experiences of imprisonment, wellbeing, and rehabilitation (Warr 2023; Mills and Codd 2012; Liebling 2011; Pavioni 2022; Miller and Klockner 2019). The review of relevant literature on this topic especially informs the second objective of the present thesis: to understand the role of spirituality in relationships.

The exploration of spirituality in prisons is especially important in Cayman, as prisons here have multiple spiritual rehabilitative programmes (CNS 2019) yet high recidivism rates (CIIMB 2021; NDC 2023; Forde 2006). The importance of rehabilitation is emphasised by the fact that high recidivism rates undermine the protection of society, a key purpose of imprisonment (Table 1 Appendix A; Bates 1937; O'Donnell 2018; Cavadino et al. 2019). It is important to explore the role of spirituality in HM Cayman Islands Prison Services (HMCIPS) as it may connect to rehabilitative outcomes, providing insights on how to improve rehabilitation initiatives. This discussion especially informs the emergent theme in the present study around the role of spirituality in rehabilitation.

Since Cayman is a British overseas territory, its prisons follow the British structure (HMCIP 2015). Cayman has one male and one female prison (HMP Northward and HMP Fairbanks, respectively) located in Grand Cayman which held 12 women and 168 men at the time of this study (ESO 2021; CIIMB 2021). Caymanian prisons have received varying reviews over the years, from unfavourable inspection reports (HMCIP 2015), to being locally referred to as a 'hotel' (Fuller 2018), to reports of a much-improved service with low recidivism rates (14% of the prison population were re-imprisoned within two years of release; CIIMB 2021), followed by evidence of very high reoffending rates as 49.7% of the prison population had offended previously as of 2023 (NDC). This signifies the need for localised empirical study, including around the topic of spirituality which can encompass many aspects of life for the general public and prison population (McGuire 2008; Allen et al. 2013; Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020).

The British influence on Cayman is evident, making the role of colonialism an important factor to consider. Limited Caribbean literature around prisons is available, meaning that the current thesis is largely reliant on literature based in Europe, the UK, and the USA. As such, the focus of literature remains on key concepts relevant to the current thesis – i.e., spirituality, imprisonment,

identity, relationships, and rehabilitation rather than the Caribbean. Therefore, while the present literature provides insightful information, it also highlights the continuation of colonial monopoly in the Caribbean, including within the academic sphere. The current thesis does not condone the reliance on literature from regions which may not be as relevant, but accepts that it must use what is currently available to inform the discussion. This is taken into account alongside the exploration and analysis which can provide findings which are more relevant to the local context and region. This marks a distinct though restricted decolonial effort which coincides with the openness in approach to understanding participant experiences of spirituality and imprisonment.

This chapter serves as a platform to understand the fundamental role of spirituality in the lives of imprisoned people in Cayman. This is done through an exploration of relevant literature around the key aims of the present thesis. These studies emphasise the significance of spirituality in identity, relationships, imprisonment, and rehabilitation for prison populations, signifying the relevance of the present study within contemporary criminological literature. Since Caribbean criminological literature is limited around the topics of the present thesis, studies from other localities are primarily utilised to inform the current review. These studies will inform the overall findings of the present study, also framing the present thesis's contribution to existing criminological literature.

Conceptualising Spirituality

To understand what impact spirituality has in Caymanian prisons, understanding spirituality itself and how it applies to various contexts is necessary. Canda describes spirituality as “the human quest for personal meaning and mutually fulfilling relationships among people, the non-human environment, and, for some, God” (1988, p. 243). It is also described by Puchalski et al. (2009, p. 887) as, “the way individuals seek and express meaning and purpose and the way they experience their connectedness to the moment, to self, to others, to nature and to the significant or sacred.” It is further noted by Oman (2013) as something which can be pursued inside and outside of religious tradition. Definitions of spirituality and religion are important to consider in prisons which must provide appropriate services for imprisoned people (PRT 2020; Beckford 2013). This further

informs the value of the present study in exploring the subjective meanings of spirituality for imprisoned people.

Spirituality can be significantly interconnected with religion, which is defined by the belief that God(s) exist and involve activities of worship and/or teachings (McGuire 2008). Religion is also defined as the “external expression of faith... comprised of beliefs, ethical codes, and worship practices” (Joseph 1988, p.444). As such, the difference between the two concepts is that spirituality is generally more subjective, unique, and person-centred than religion. It is important to remember however that spirituality may include religious beliefs and/or behaviour – again, subjectivity is key within its definition. Though Caymanian culture draws on predominantly Christian faith (Williams 2016), the individual experience of spirituality cannot be accounted for on a communal basis (McGuire 2008). Additionally, prior definitions of spirituality and religion made outside of the Caribbean cannot account for the role of colonialism present within regional identities – further marking the value of the present study.

To draw on the definitions provided by the scholars above and the need to be open to alternative perspective to combat colonial lenses, the current thesis refers to spirituality as a connection with the human spirit (e.g., with oneself and/or others), the environment (e.g., nature, one’s immediate surroundings), a feeling of the sacred and/or transcendent, and/or a belief in a higher power(s). A general definition could conclude that spirituality pertains to what is perceived as sacred and is subject to individual belief.

The idea of sacredness can be understood as implying “restrictions and prohibitions on human behaviour - if something is sacred then certain rules must be observed in relation to it... whether it be an object, or a site (or person), must be placed apart from everyday things or places, so that its special significance can be recognised, and rules regarding it obeyed” (Hubert 1994, p. 11). It is important to note that anything can be regarded as sacred. This is outlined in Durkheim’s (1995, p. 10) quote that “...by sacred things one must not understand simply those personal beings which are called gods or spirits; a rock, a tree, a spring, a pebble, a piece of wood, a house, in a word, anything can be sacred.” The sacred is therefore not limited to recognisable religious or spiritual expression. This is important to consider within prisons which limit access to personal possessions (Sykes 1958), potentially relating spirituality to the pains of imprisonment for some imprisoned people.

A review of previous studies by McGuire (2008) explored the identities, beliefs, practices, and expressions of faith of different people who self-identified as religious. The religions explored in this overview include Catholicism, Judaism, Christianity, and general identifications as spiritual. McGuire's (2008) discussion showed that people identifying with the same religious group and performing the same specific religious practices had different personal beliefs and relationships with religion. Religious practices mentioned included prayer (communicating with God and/or other spirits; Holl 1998) to a deity or specific saints related to one's work or desires; reciting blessings over the home; attending church; meditation (a practice involving focus to achieve a sense of presence and stillness within the mind; West 1979), and gardening. These practices served to give one a sense of protection, confidence, safety, connection to a higher power and the environment, and 'resistance' to temptation [from substances]. McGuire (2008) suggests that individual expressions of faith are constantly evolving and cannot be understood as 'mini offshoots' of mainstream religion. Therefore, even the spiritual beliefs and practices of people who identify with a particular religion must be explored on an individual basis to gain an accurate understanding of overall spiritual identity, as is the aim of this thesis.

Regarding how one engages with spirituality, spiritual practices can involve the use of sacred items, tools, and objects (e.g., imagery, incense, and sacred text) which can be utilised in various methods and settings (McGuire 2008). These practices are typically enacted to express spiritual beliefs and ideals. Spiritual practices can serve many different purposes such as making requests, appeasing, bringing oneself closer to a higher power(s) and feeling connected with people and the environment as examples (Oman 2013). As with individual beliefs around spirituality, spiritual practice is usually personal and can revolve around daily life or important life events (McGuire 2008). Spiritual practices can therefore involve any action or behaviour that someone feels is spiritual (McGuire 2008). Since prisons are usually places of 'suffering' (Shammas 2017; Sykes 1958), it is important to understand the underlying roles of spirituality in the makeup of prison experiences and the inherent subjectivity of this. The person-centred approach of the present thesis study is therefore an important step towards understanding individual spiritual needs in prisons as it will allow for the diversity of experiences to be captured.

Previous academic research on spirituality in prisons identifies spiritual practice as a holistic (i.e., a person-centred approach which treats the individual as a whole; McEvoy and Duffy 2008) tool which helps imprisoned people understand events of the past, present circumstances, and future prospects (Griera and Clot-Garrell 2015). The qualitative study by Griera and Clot-Garrell (2015) examines aspects of the growing successes of spiritual holistic programmes in six prisons in Spain. Programmes include reiki, yoga, and meditation. These classes were facilitated by volunteers of various ages, backgrounds, and mastery including Reiki organisers, Brahma Kumaris (an Indian and women-led spiritual movement; BK 2023) practitioners, and Catholic volunteer groups. During the sessions, a mix of yoga, meditation, and music is observed. In a studied class, 27 attendees were present, including a social worker. Griera and Clot-Garrell (2015) take a social constructivist approach, which purports that religion is a social construct that changes in meaning across time and space (Beckford 2003). A fluid perspective of spirituality and religion is formulated, adding nuance and removing rigidity from the understanding of religion and spirituality. This relates significantly to the approach of the current thesis.

Participants of the holistic yoga class studied by Griera and Clot-Garrell (2015) stated that they were “working on [themselves]” when describing the transformative ritual practice. It is also noted that people who did yoga but did not identify as spiritual stated that they were also able to enjoy the practice. This expands the meaning and scope of spirituality, as someone does not need to claim or believe themselves to be spiritual to partake and benefit from spiritual beliefs and/or practices. These practices were seen as between spirituality and religion, the commonality between participants being that all were engaging in some form of spiritual practice. However, some Muslim and Pentecostal Christians (in the prison population) chose not to partake in the yoga classes since they felt it was not compatible with their faith (Griera and Clot-Garrell 2015). This is an important example of how religious identity can affect participation in spiritual activity, and thus what access religious imprisoned people may have to programmes and services which can improve wellbeing. This study highlights the importance of offering a range of religious, spiritual, and holistic activities which can be utilised by people of all or no faiths - a pressing concern in Caymanian prisons which only offer Christian spiritual services and programmes (CIIMB 2021; HMCIP 2015). This is especially important to consider in the present context as the provision of

alternative religious services have previously been requested in inspectorate reports (HMCIP 2015) and by imprisoned people in Cayman (CIIMB 2021).

Spirituality is especially relevant to daily life through its link to wellbeing (Wnuk 2023; Kamitsis and Francis 2013; Griera and Clot-Garrell 2015). Wellbeing is often ‘threatened’ during imprisonment (Sykes 1958), and links to spirituality (McGuire 2008; Griera and Clot-Garrell 2015), making it important to explore. Wellbeing can be generally understood as what makes a ‘good life’ (Ereaut and Whiting 2008), extending beyond happiness within the moment and incorporating various aspects and dimensions of life (Ryff 1989; Koburtay, Jamali, and Aljafari 2023; Prakash et al. 2015). Wellbeing can be understood in three categories - evaluative (life satisfaction), hedonic (feelings of happiness, anger, sadness, pain, and stress), and eudemonic (sense of purpose, self-acceptance, positive relationships, personal growth, and autonomy; Steptoe, Deaton, and Stone 2015). These categories are especially relevant to imprisoned populations who are often deprived of these factors (Youssef 2023; Shammass 2017). The present thesis defines overall wellbeing generally as the subjective experience of physiological, physical, and mental wellness. The subjectivity of wellbeing is important to consider since the overall experience of imprisonment is also individual-based – i.e., varying outcomes may occur in the prison environment depending on the individual (Prakash et al. 2015; Bloem, Bulten, and Verkes 2019).

Like spirituality, developing wellbeing can involve multiple factors and practices as it relates to different areas of life (Ryff 1989; Perrett, Gray, and Brooks 2020; Diener 2006; Maran, Zedda, and Varetto 2018). In many cases, practices to encourage wellbeing are similar or the same as spiritual practices - e.g., meditation, yoga, singing, and dancing (Ivtzan and Papatoniou 2014; Pascoe, Thompson, and Ski 2020; Sheppard and Broughton 2020; McGuire 2008). It is important to note that due to the similar nature of wellbeing and spiritual practices, these practices could affect both wellbeing and/or spirituality regardless of intention. This means that someone attempting to engage in a spiritual or wellbeing practice may also impact their sense of wellbeing and vice versa. This is seen in the research by Griera and Clot-Garrell (2015) as previously discussed where participants engaged in spiritual practice to gain a better sense of wellbeing. This cause and effect make this relationship worth exploring especially when considering how prisons

endanger wellbeing outcomes (Sykes 1958; Ryff 1989; NDC 2023), and in the case of Cayman, do not always provide adequate spiritual resources (CIIMB 2021; PRT 2020).

Although Grier and Clot-Garrell (2015) discuss largely positive outcomes of spirituality on wellbeing in prisons, Allen et al.'s (2013) study on spirituality among ageing imprisoned males expands upon the subjectivity of these concepts and how positive versus negative effects may occur. This study consisted of 94 male participants imprisoned at Hamilton Aged and Infirm Prison in Alabama, USA. This study's participants had an average age of 57 years (all above the age of 45 years and diagnosed with a chronic illness) and partook in face-to-face interviews. A multiple regression (quantitative) analysis was conducted with the factors of age; race and ethnicity; physical health; parole belief; and positive or negative religious coping.

Allen et al.'s (2013) study found that participants with adaptive spiritual beliefs (i.e., beliefs of forgiveness and acceptance, problem-solving, support and guidance, and collaborating with a higher power for strength) showed lower rates of depression. Participants who engaged in maladaptive forms of spirituality (i.e., beliefs that they were being punished, abandoned, or that their higher power was not as powerful as they had thought them to be prior) experienced higher rates of depression and wished for hastened death (Allen et al. 2013). These results show the importance of spiritual beliefs and practice on wellbeing for ageing prison populations especially, a growing concern in prisons around the world (Codd 2020; Aubert et al. 2002). As maladaptive spiritual beliefs (i.e., the belief in divine punishment) can negatively impact the wellbeing of the general public (Barash 2020), the findings by Allen et al. (2013) are especially important to consider regarding the entire prison population – i.e., beyond ageing and vulnerable populations.

Another important aspect to consider within this discussion is culture. Culture and spirituality are thoroughly linked concepts, as they both relate to aspects of identity, beliefs, and behaviour (Tsing 2001; McGuire 2008; Pontzen 2020). Culture is described by Tsing as learned and shared behavioural patterns, involving a “set of views, beliefs, values, and attitudes toward things in life . . . such as rituals, customs, etiquette, taboos, or laws” (2001, p. 5). Shweder includes the aspect of morality within this, stating that culture is, “a reality lit up by a morally enforceable conceptual scheme composed of values (desirable goals) and causal beliefs (including ideas about means-ends connections) that is exemplified or instantiated in practice” (1996, p. 20). These definitions of

culture and their relation to beliefs, rituals, and behaviour in particular show how it is connected to spirituality. As prisons are institutions based on cultural beliefs, morals, and values (Cavadino et al. 2019), they inherently connect to spirituality, further signifying the academic relevance of this study.

Murrell (2010) discusses the role of colonialism in suppressing Afro-Caribbean spiritualities and religions and how this led to the predominance of Christianity in contemporary Caribbean culture. This is important to explore since it directly relates to the understanding of spirituality among Caribbean populations generally and thus in prisons. During the colonial period, African spiritualities were incomprehensible within European literature at the time, leading to its delegation as forms of evil and further dehumanisation of African people and slaves. Despite this, spirituality remained an important component of Afro-Caribbean identities, intertwining with contemporary understandings of spirituality and religion (Murrell 2010).

Williams (2016) explores this in the Caymanian context, describing how what was 'Black or African' was deemed evil, including non-Western/colonial (i.e., Christian) spirituality. Manifestations of this oppression were observed in the demonisation and prosecution of practicing Afro-Caribbean religions in Cayman among slave populations (Williams 2016), something which also occurred after slave-rebellions led by Afro-Caribbean spiritual leaders (Murrell 2010). Although increased religious freedom has evolved from this colonial past, Afro-Caribbean spiritualities remain heavily demonised in the Caribbean (Murrell 2010), denoting the significant impact of colonialism on experiences of spirituality today. Although the aspect of culture and colonialism is not explored in-depth in the current study, it is important to note that the individualised approach of this thesis is significantly decolonial as it seeks to explore unique narratives of spirituality rather than determine their meaning based on structured definitions.

Finneran and Welch (2024) discuss the integration of colonial-Christian ideology in the Caribbean and how this emphasises order, education, and the visibility of Christianity in all walks of life. This importantly relates to the limitation of permanent (and thus readily available) religious resources and programmes in HMCIPS to those which are Christian based (HMIP 2015; CIIMB 2021). This highlights the role of Christianity in the prison 'order' and rehabilitative and spiritual

education for imprisoned populations. This further exemplifies the role of post-colonial Christianity in HMCIPS as something expected to be visible and integrated into the lives of all, including those with a criminogenic ‘walk of life’ in reference to Finneran and Welch’s (2024) discussion.

Culture impacts how someone experiences life and thus spirituality (Tsing 2001; Delgado 2005). Since spirituality is part of the fabric of Caymanian culture (Williams 2016), the influence of spirituality can be felt within all aspects of society. This includes the structure and management of Caymanian prisons albeit being designed under British prison systems (HMCIP 2015) due to its colonial past and present status as a British overseas territory. Since Cayman’s colonisation links directly to prison management and the predominance of Christianity within contemporary culture (Williams 2016), these factors are important to consider.

Within the conceptualisation of spirituality and how this relates to identity and culture, it is also important to consider the role of relationships, particularly family. Families often have a significant role in experiences of imprisonment (Mills and Codd 2012) and spiritual identity (Kiesling et al. 2008), making them an important focus within the present discussion. Kiesling et al. (2008) discuss the importance of understanding spiritual identity formation as it relates to family spiritual identities. Taking place in the USA, the qualitative study by Kiesling et al. (2008) used semi-structured interviews with 15 female and 13 male participants. Ages ranged between 22 and 72 years, most being young to middle-aged. 14 participants were married (not to each other), 10 were single, two were divorced, and two were remarried. 13 participants had two or more children, and the other 15 were childless. Most participants were European American, four were Black, and one was Hispanic. Over half of the participants identified as Protestant; three were Muslim; one was Jewish; one was Greek Orthodox; one was Roman Catholic; one was Buddhist; one was Pagan and two were non-religious. Participants were chosen for high levels of devotion and capacity to articulate the significance of spirituality in their lives. Almost all participants had at least an undergraduate degree and all were middle to upper-middle class. Most were aiming for/already had a profession associated with their spirituality. Although Kiesling et al.’s (2008) study provides data from a middle-class sample which is unrepresentative of most prison populations, the diversity of spiritual identity in the study is useful in understanding the individuality of spirituality and the role of family.

Interviews in Kiesling et al's (2008) study lasted between two to six hours and participants were invited to use a diagram to represent how spirituality interrelated with aspects and roles in their lives. Participants were categorised into three categories describing how identities have been formed around spirituality: 'foreclosed' (six women and five men), 'in moratorium' (two men and two women), and 'achieved' (seven women and six men).

The results of this study found three main identity developments around spirituality - 'foreclosed' (not open to changing spiritual identity), 'in moratorium' (in crisis around their spiritual identity) and 'achieved' (have gone through a crisis and exploration of spiritual identity which resulted in settling). These spiritual identities also related to relationships, fear of rejection, and openness to others with different identities (Kiesling et al. 2008). This has important implications for imprisonment as it speaks to potential conflict arising within a diverse spiritual population. 'Foreclosed' individuals feared social rejection [especially from family], and 'in moratorium' individuals tended to have issues with family due to crises over spiritual identity and avoided inauthenticity in relationships (Kiesling et al. 2008). This is also important to consider in prisons, as it relates to the potential limitation of support from family, an important component of coping with the pains of imprisonment, rehabilitation, and re-settlement (Mills and Codd 2012; Reef and Dirkzwager 2020). 'Achieved' individuals were most open to having other people in their lives with varying spiritual identities and valued authenticity (Kiesling et al. 2008). This potentially relates to mitigated conflict within the prison environment, an important implication to consider in the present study.

These findings are important to consider among imprisoned populations as they speak to the intersections of spiritual identity, family, and potential implications of imprisonment. Further note is given to the impact of the 'rigidity' versus 'openness' of spiritual identity. This is important since imprisoned people with 'closed' spiritual identities may not have as much capacity to access and engage in potentially beneficial programmes. Although not speaking on the role of spiritual identity in this respect, Grier and Clot-Garell's (2015) study potentially examples this in the exclusion of Muslim and Pentecostal participants from holistic yoga programmes. As such, the underlying factors impacting spiritual identity such as familial relationships are important to consider (Kiesling et al. 2008). Exploring the role of relationships and spirituality may improve

understanding of how to provide adequate spiritual resources to prison populations with varying ‘openness’ within their identity. This would benefit coping with the pains of imprisonment, as well as provide insights into addressing relational issues with family which may impact rehabilitation, re-settlement, and desistance.

Imprisonment and relationships

Prisons often have a destructive overall impact on the lives of imprisoned people (Sykes 1958). The suffering experienced in prisons is commonly referred to as the pains of imprisonment (POI; Haggerty and Bucerius 2020; Sykes 1958; Shammass 2017). Experiences of POI and suffering in prisons generally are important to understand in the present study, as their overarching impact has significant implications on experiences of spirituality (Deuchar et al. 2016). POI can be divided into five categories of suffering: the loss of (1) liberty; (2) goods and services; (3) heterosexual relationships; (4) autonomy, and (5) security (Sykes 1958; Table 2; Appendix A). The loss of liberty refers to the limitations imposed on imprisoned people as to where they can go and what they can do. The loss of goods refers to not having access to material goods and comforts. Lack of heterosexual relationships refers to prisons being tailored towards housing one sex, and thus not being able to interact freely with people of other genders and/or foster platonic or romantic relationships. The loss of autonomy refers to the inability to make one’s own choices, while the deprivation of security relates to being forced to remain in an unsafe environment (i.e., mentally and physically) where victimisation is likely to occur (Sykes 1958; Shammass 2017). Secondary POI such as self-governance, uncertainty and indeterminacy are also important to acknowledge since they deepen the experiences of suffering in prison. An understanding of POI is an important point in the present study as it informs the exploration of the ‘hidden’ experiences of the Caymanian prison population, and how this relates to spirituality.

More contemporary understandings of POI include the pain of ‘shame and self-judgement’ which manifests from the deliberate moral rejection of the imprisoned person from society, and the reduction of status to someone who is untrustworthy and unacceptable (Crewe, Goldsmith, and Halsey 2022). Although psychological adaptation to this POI is discussed by Crewe, Goldsmith, and Halsey (2022), there is a missed opportunity to explore the use of spiritual adaptation as a

participant in their study quotes, “You have to contemplate day in and day out what you’ve done, hoping that you’re forgiven by whatever or whoever, God, your victims” (p.102). This narrative directly infers that spirituality for some imprisoned people may be a significant component of managing POI.

In Caymanian prisons - apart from feelings about reintegration - factors relating to wellbeing such as relationship problems, lack of support, and substance misuse show concerning trends (Ryff 1989; Prakash et al. 2015; Table 3; Appendix A). These factors were directly related to the risk of reoffending by the Cayman Islands’ National Drug Council (NDC; 2023), showing the need to explore and address potential factors which can improve wellbeing and quality of life in Caymanian prisons. NDC’s (2023) report aimed to understand the patterns and severity of substance misuse in HMCIPS through quantitative questionnaire methods. The study included 81% of the total 241 prison population (217 males, 24 females) during its conduction in July 2023. The lack of support and significance of relationship problems is especially relevant to the second objective of this thesis: to understand the role of spirituality in relationships. Since relationships in Caymanian prisons impact wellbeing which in turn connects to spirituality, this signifies the relevance of the current study and its objectives.

Table 3: Distribution of Factors Contributing to Reoffending in Caymanian Prisons

<i>Distribution of Factors Contributing to Re-offending</i>				
Factors Contributing to Re-offending	Frequency (%)	Percent of Cases (%)	Remanded	Convicted
Drugs	30 (19.6)	31.6	6	24
Alcohol	19 (12.8)	20.0	5	14
Accommodation	9 (5.9)	9.5	3	6
Lack of Employment	36 (23.5)	37.9	8	28
Relationship Problems	17 (11.1)	17.9	6	11
Lack of Support	17 (11.1)	17.9	6	11
Other	25 (16.3)	26.3	7	18
Total	153	95	41	112

NDC 2023

Relationships are very important in the lives of imprisoned people (Mills and Codd 2012; Wilf-Ludden 2013; Shearer 2003). In prisons, the quality of interpersonal relationships between imprisoned people mitigates violence which in turn protects physical, mental, emotional, and psychological wellbeing (Wulf-Ludden 2013). Shearer (2003) identifies relationships and spirituality as key factors in forensic treatment for women, signifying their roles within the lives of under-researched prison populations around rehabilitation, and desistance.

Schliehe, Laurenson, and Crewe's (2022) discussion of loneliness exemplifies the value of relationships within social and emotional wellbeing. The results of their qualitative study in Norway and England and Wales show that there are many kinds of loneliness in prisons. This includes visceral, ethical (i.e., feeling that one does not 'fit in'), existential abandonment and hopelessness, and the physical separation from loved ones. The different kinds of loneliness are important to consider as it contrasts a generalised understanding of experiences of imprisonment. With this in mind, one must also consider that different experiences of loneliness may also relate to different forms of coping with the subjective experience. As separation from familial relationships due to imprisonment can be a source of loneliness, but also strongly connected to spirituality (Kiesling et al. 2008), the connection between imprisonment, spirituality, and the importance of relationships is evident.

Østerbye in 2017 emphasises the importance of relational work in prisons, highlighting that relationships between imprisoned people and staff should be reciprocal rather than punitive. This is due to the harmful effects of prioritising a punitive versus a preventive approach (Østerbye 2017). The nature of the relationship developed between prison staff and imprisoned people is therefore crucial within effective rehabilitative work (Østerbye 2017).

The importance of relationships with family for imprisoned people is heightened when considering Booth's (2020) qualitative exploration of imprisoned mothers and telephone contact with children. Booth (2020) discusses how custodial sentences of any length can strain mother-child relationships and lead to challenges around finances, domestic and social life, and psychological difficulties for the entire family. The role of the parent in prison therefore remains crucial within the family

dynamic, imploring the exploration of how they are navigated within ‘hidden’ prison populations such as Cayman.

As the current study explores both male and female prison populations in Cayman, it contributes niche and valuable knowledge to the experiences of ‘hidden’ demographics. The importance of relationships is exemplified in Reef and Dirkzwager’s (2020) study which shows that familial contact can motivate one to engage with rehabilitation initiatives during imprisonment and promote desistance. Desistance refers to one’s continuous ability to voluntarily ‘desist’ from committing crime and the shift from offending behaviour to non-offending behaviour (Weaver 2019). Reef and Dirkzwager’s (2020) study is corroborated by Mills and Codd (2012) who also yet contrarily highlight that familial relationships can involve negative outcomes during imprisonment and rehabilitation.

Mills and Codd’s (2012) review of literature speaks on the role of family in providing emotional support in resettlement and desistance. The factor of emotional support relates to spirituality which can also be an emotional experience (i.e., as it relates to wellbeing and sentiments of sacredness; McGuire 2008). Mills and Codd (2012) discuss how shows of family support during imprisonment may be an important indicator of reduced recidivism as it represents the likelihood of receiving familial support post-release. Spirituality can also be connected to familial relationships (Kiesling et al. 2008), making these concepts – i.e., spirituality and relationships – important to explore in the present study.

It is stated by Mills and Codd (2012) that family may have a negative influence on resettlement and desistance if they too have criminogenic attitudes. Further negative outcomes include the potential that family members may fear the imprisoned individual (especially if they have been a victim of the individual) and thus may not want to offer support (Mills and Codd 2012). As such, the role of familial relationships in the lives of imprisoned people can be understood as complex and nuanced depending on the relational dynamic. Spirituality is therefore an important factor to consider in prisons, as it may relate to conflict within familial relationships (Kiesling et al. 2008) and thus access to support during and post-imprisonment.

To understand how spirituality may impact experiences of POI and relationships within the prison, it is also worth exploring this within the nuance of the prison environment (i.e., compared to the general public) through the lens of the senses. This relates to the immediate experience of spirituality – i.e., through spiritual practice and items. Examples of this include practices such as singing or prayer (aural), touching and seeing a spiritual item, and smelling and tasting food which has spiritual significance (i.e., taking holy communion in church).

Warr's (2023) study centres around the translation of power through touch in prison and is based on autoethnographic and ethnographic reflections; observations; discussions, and data from other studies (including focus groups; Warr 2023). This study focuses on the impact of routine searches more specifically - for Warr, other imprisoned people, prison staff, and forensic psychologists. It is important to note that the sensory experiences of imprisonment are significant communicators of the prison's intent and role within the experiences of imprisoned people, making them a significant element (Warr 2023; Herrity, Schmidt, and Warr 2021). Warr's (2023) study is especially relevant to the use of spiritual items in the present study, within which the dimension of physicality is explored – i.e., how, where, when, and why one chooses to make spirituality accessible through touch, and how this relates to the experience of POI and imprisonment generally.

Warr (2023) reflects on how touch during routine searches reminds one of the prison's monopoly of power, and ultimately the resulting powerlessness imposed upon those without authority – i.e., imprisoned people and non-security staff (e.g., forensic psychologists). These instances are discussed as elicitations of the imprisoned/powerless identity, what it means and represents, and also what it does not represent. The sentiment of absence is significant here, as this touch painfully highlights what one 'is not and does not have' (Warr 2023). This importantly relates to access to spiritual items in prisons – i.e., what one can possess and engage with in a physical sense. Further consideration of the translation of power through touching personal spiritual items – i.e., staff's management of spiritual items – is also significant as it may become entangled within the perceived sacredness of the spiritual item (Beckford 2013). The role of spirituality, touch, power, and relationships with prison staff and items is therefore important to consider.

Issues of race and gender are also discussed by Warr (2023), in that Black children felt racially targeted by prison staff who treated them 'rougher' than their White counterparts. This is important

to consider within the Caribbean context of the present study. Female forensic psychologists also reported targeting and ‘proxy’ sexual harassment through their experience of unusually frequent ‘random’ searches. The intent of these searches was understood as an attempt to ‘dominate’ female staff, imparting a distinctly sexist power-based message through touch and misuse of authority (Warr 2023). This forensic psychologist left the prison as soon as they were able, however this is not possible for imprisoned populations who are subject to the prison authorities who can intentionally or unintentionally cause distress through the senses - i.e., while they may act ‘within their authority’, the maltreatment of one’s body or possessions convey otherwise. This was observed in the study by Beckford (2013; discussed further in the chapter titled *Theory*) which discusses the contempt felt by minority religious groups towards prison staff around the maltreatment of their spiritual items. Importantly, the misuse of touch towards the spiritual item(s) translated interpersonal disrespect, reflecting the findings by Warr (2023) on the use of the senses to communicate power and impact these relationships.

In prisons, it is also important to consider how one might relate to other imprisoned people, and how spirituality might impact this. Pavioni’s (2022) qualitative study with 18 imprisoned men on face negotiation (i.e., concern about the continual presentation of one’s identity; Pavioni 2022) during conflict in prison is useful to the current study since it provides initial insights into the role of identity and relationships with other imprisoned people. Pavioni (2022) discusses two approaches to the ‘convict code’ within their study – individualistic and collectivistic. The individualistic approach involves putting one’s needs above others and results in a generally isolated experience of imprisonment. This approach centres around the idea that actions are motivated by personal compensation alone. The collectivistic approach tends to engage in group membership, generally dislikes authority, and holds the prison group accountable for the behaviour of singular members to avoid potential consequences (Pavioni 2022; Zamble and Porporino 2013).

Pavioni’s (2022) study relates significantly to the concept of ethical codes within religion, bringing to question where these two aspects of identity and environment – i.e., spirituality/religiosity and imprisonment – might intersect. It is important to remember here the potential overlap between religion and spirituality - i.e., while ethical and moral ‘codes’ are typically co-aligned with religious definitions, it may also apply to individual spiritual identity and thus other relevant ‘codes’ in prison. An understanding of relevant identity attributes such as spirituality among imprisoned

people and how they engage in conflict may enable prisons to mitigate violence. This could arise from insights into other spiritual or religious ‘codes’ which may influence one’s engagement in conflict and subsequent management of it. As such, the role of spirituality is important to consider within relationships generally (i.e., with family; Kiesling et al. 2008) and especially in the prison environment as it concerns prison staff and other imprisoned people (Warr 2023; Pavioni 2022).

Spirituality and rehabilitation in Caymanian prisons

Rehabilitation refers to addressing criminogenic behaviours and the factors that underpin them in the attempt to achieve desistance among people who have committed offences (HMPPS 2022). Forsberg and Douglas (2022) discuss the importance of clearly defining ‘rehabilitation’ within criminological nature, which is undertaken presently. This concept is not being used in the current study as an acceptance that imprisoned people need to be ‘fixed’. Rather, the term ‘rehabilitation’ is used in regard to addressing internal and external factors which can link to offending (e.g., challenges with mental and physical health, relationships, finances, accommodation, education, and employment). As such, the term ‘rehabilitation’ here refers to an anti-recidivist approach (Forsberg and Douglas 2022) which includes a more global perspective in addressing factors which lead to and perpetuate offending rather than focusing on the individual as a ‘problem’ that must be ‘treated’. To clarify further, the present study’s use of the term rehabilitation could refer to an individual and/or a community in order to address relevant issues around offending. The current study will explore the relationship between spirituality and rehabilitation in Caymanian prisons, a valuable insight within criminological discourse.

To better inform the role of spirituality and how it may interact with experiences of imprisonment and rehabilitation in the present study, it is important to consider existing literature on the potential impact of spirituality and rehabilitation in prison. A qualitative study by Deuchar et al. (2016) explored the experiences of young men in prison around spirituality and prison chaplaincy in Scotland and Denmark. This study engaged with six male participants aged between 18 and 35 years in Denmark, and nine men between the ages of 16 and 21 in Scotland. The sample was varied in ethnicity, and some (less than half) had previous exposure to religion, largely through parental

involvement. This study's diverse sample – in ethnicity and religious exposure – allows for a nuanced understanding of spirituality in the lives of imprisoned people.

Findings by Deuchar et al. (2016) discussed the improvement of wellbeing during engagement with the chaplaincy, especially merited to the role of the prison Imams and Chaplains. This touches on the objective of understanding the role of spirituality and relationships within the current thesis. Deuchar et al. (2016) discuss how this engagement also nurtured initial turning points, stimulating identity, behavioural change, and sometimes increased commitment towards desistance. This shows a positive effect on rehabilitation through spiritual engagement in prisons, signifying the need for direct empirical exploration of these concepts. Participants felt as if they were 'normal' people when engaging with the holistic services provided. This shows an important link to identity, how it is impacted by imprisonment, and how spirituality can be a positive influence (Deuchar et al. 2016). Deuchar et al.'s (2016) study shows that spirituality can help to alleviate POI during imprisonment as well as undermine challenges around rehabilitation and reintegration (Brown and Grant 2018). The role of spirituality and rehabilitation is thus important to explore within Caymanian prisons.

As Cayman is a British overseas territory, governing institutions tend to mirror the UK (HMCIP 2015; CIIMB 2021; Williams 2016). Cayman has had very high rates of recidivism within its prison population, ranging from 73% of imprisoned men in 2006 (Forde) to 49.7% of imprisoned men and women having offended previously as of 2023 (NDC 2023). However, CIIMB's (2021) report shows a steep decline in recidivism within 2 years at 19% for men and 10% for women. CIIMB (2021) attributes the decline in recidivism to the much-improved placement and management of intervention programmes and post-release follow-ups involving the public and private sector to benefit reintegration. Considering the following increase in recidivism (NDC 2023), these stark contrasts likely reflect the impact of COVID-19 which resulted in the steep decline in crime rates worldwide (Stickle and Felson 2020). This overarching data suggests that while there may be noted improvements, HMCIPS's rehabilitative approaches may not have been as effective as previously hoped, providing further scope for the conduction of the current study.

Rehabilitation and desistance in prisons are typically encouraged through programmes aimed towards problem-solving, perspective-taking, managing relationships, and self-management (HMPPS 2022). These programmes can be tailored for levels of need, specific offences, general patterns of offending and offending related to substance misuse. Programme effectiveness can differ based on programme delivery, staff training, and appropriateness for the audience. If these factors are not addressed, increased chances of reoffending can occur. To meet post-incarceration needs and reintegration, some programmes help with employment, emotional stability and management, relationship skills and personal development (HMPPS 2022). Some programmes with higher relation to spirituality include yoga, art, and wellbeing classes which can present as aspects within programmes if not the main objective or activity (Griera and Clot-Garrell 2015; Parkes and Bilby 2010). In these instances, some programmes which are not specifically geared towards rehabilitation may result in similar effects, exemplifying the value of spiritual programmes in prisons.

HMPPS (2022) states that ensuring that programmes have higher chances of success includes using accredited and evidence-based programmes. This means that there is sound evidence that the programme helps people change, assessment tools target the right audience, and there is committed monitoring of the programme, its delivery, and progress (HMPPS 2022). Additional requisites are addressing relevant factors around reintegration and desistance; targeting the appropriate audience; actively helping the development of new skills; motivating, engaging, and retaining participants; delivery is as intended; and programmes are properly evaluated (HMPPS 2022). Since improper delivery can increase the chances of reoffending, programme quality can be as important as the programme itself. This relates to officer/facilitator training and available resources to ensure effective training and programme evaluation (HMPPS 2022; Gormley 2019).

It is important to include, however, that psychological treatment programmes in UK prisons have shown low levels of effectiveness in Beaudry et al.'s (2021) meta-analysis of rehabilitative prison programme outcomes. This ineffectiveness was believed to be linked to insufficient psychosocial support upon release, as well as the lack of programme suitability around the practical needs of imprisoned people – i.e., accommodation, employment, and financial challenges (Beaudry et al. 2021). However, the effectiveness of psychological programmes increased significantly when

paired with community-based interventions. An integrated approach is therefore recommended by Beaudry et al. (2021) in the addressing of offending behaviour, highlighting the significance of relationships as a research aim in the current study.

An example of a rehabilitation programme which had some negative consequences includes the sex offender treatment programme (SOTP) named 'Core' introduced by HMPPS which was delivered in HMCIPS (CNS 2017b; Mews, Di Bella and Purver 2017). This programme was evaluated as having a potentially worsening effect due to its outcomes of increased risk of offending among some of its participants compared to those who did not participate (10% versus 8% respectively), leading to its subsequent end. The risk of sexual offences against children also increased due to this programme (Mews, Di Bella, and Purver 2017). This finding signals the importance of programme quality and evaluation, especially in sub-jurisdictions such as Cayman which integrate rehabilitative programmes that have been created and evaluated in other contexts (i.e., UK, South Africa, and Colombia; Anderson et al. 2023; Jang et al. 2022; Feasey and Williams 2009) but not locally. This increases the chances of inappropriate application of rehabilitation programmes which are not created to address the nuances of Caribbean culture and experiences of offending and imprisonment.

The contextual appropriateness of rehabilitation programmes is discussed by Blagden, Winder, and Hames (2016) who state that the prison environment must be especially conducive to supporting people who have committed sexual offences. Although this study centres around the treatment of people who have committed sexual offences, its findings are relevant to understanding the roles of imprisonment and rehabilitation, and thus where spirituality may intersect with these factors. The study by Blagden, Winder, and Hames (2016) used quantitative (with 112 imprisoned people and 48 staff) and qualitative (with 15 imprisoned people and 16 staff) approaches to understand perspectives around the effectiveness of the prison context in the rehabilitation of people who have committed sexual offences. The study took place in a prison designed to hold people who have committed sexual offences and had a therapeutic approach. In the qualitative strand, ages ranged from 23 to 58, 45.5% had completed an SOTP, 11.6% were currently participating in an SOTP, and 42.9% had never partook in an SOTP. These participants underwent qualitative interview methods. The quantitative strand was conducted anonymously and had a 28%

response rate. Multiple scales (Essen Climate Evaluation Schema; Attitudes Towards Sex Offenders; Corrections Victoria Treatment Readiness Scale) were used to inform the quantitative findings of the study.

Blagden, Winder, and Hames (2016) discuss how clear [rehabilitative] purpose and direction of the prison; acclimatisation, safety, and viability; and constructive and meaningful relationships are important qualitative themes within effective for people who have committed sexual offences. The arguments made in this study are useful in terms of understanding what the opportunities and challenges may be around rehabilitation within the Caymanian and general prison context. The factors discussed by Blagden, Winder, and Hames (2016) relate to the [contrasting] punitive approaches in Caribbean prisons generally (Lancaster-Ellis 2017) and issues of safety and respect in HMCIPS (HMCIP 2015; CIIMB 2021). Quantitative findings showed that participants felt safe within the prison environment, had positive attitudes towards people who have committed sexual offences, beliefs that people who have committed offences can change for the better, and readiness for treatment. These findings show the importance of the prison environment and suitability within rehabilitation and treatment, especially for serious offence types as explored in this study (Blagden, Winder, and Hames 2016). In the Caymanian prison context, this relates to the need for clear rehabilitative aims which are reflected in the prison environment and staff training. This is especially important to consider in relation to the fact that Cayman does not have specialised prisons (CIIMB 2021) – i.e., what is important for rehabilitation for one offence type must be considered within the general context of the entire prison(s). Since there is a dearth of literature on the experiences of imprisoned people in Cayman and how they relate to rehabilitative initiatives, knowledge of this must first be explored to contribute to effective prison policies and practices.

Efforts to encourage rehabilitation in HMCIPS include programmes revolving around vocational, inter-relational and personal development (CNS 2020). HMCIPS has also enlisted the private sector for rehabilitation needs due to staff shortages (CNS 2017; CIIMB 2021). This includes the Through Care programme which aims to coordinate relevant agencies to benefit reintegration. This programme is part of the UK's Through the Gate initiative and targets imprisoned people with 12 months or less left of their sentence. Through Care in Cayman primarily aims to benefit resettlement through engagement with educational and vocational programmes, and setting up

accommodation, bank accounts, and employment (CIIMB 2021). Several programmes in HMCIPS are spirituality-oriented, such as the Sycamore Tree programme (STP), the Angel Tree programme (ATP), and the Prisoner's Journey (TPJ; CNS 2019). These programmes are based on restorative justice and explore the consequences of crime while focusing on the principles of responsibility, forgiveness, making amends, reconciliation, confession and repentance (STP), connecting imprisoned people with family (ATP; Feasey and Williams 2009), and identity transformation through Christianity (TPJ; PFI 2024; CNS 2019).

In Cayman, all three spiritual rehabilitative programmes are listed under the Prison Fellowship (ATP and STP and/or Prison Fellowship International (PFI) – i.e., TPJ (PFI 2024b; Prison Fellowship 2024a; 2024b; CNS 2019). This singularity in the organisational creation of these programmes is especially relevant considering that the PFI identifies itself as a Christian organisation founded in the USA (PFI 2024b). While the choice to use these programmes is relevant to Cayman's predominantly Christian culture, the mono-religious approach further neglects the non-Christian prison population since there is no rehabilitative programme in HMCIPS using alternative spiritual approaches (CIIMB 2021). The use of these programmes also infers a mono-religious American influence in all programmes regardless of specific programme aims. The American creation of these programmes infers some cultural misalignment in the Caymanian prison context, making them potentially unequipped to address specific issues and needs of Cayman's imprisoned people. Since HMCIPS is a British regime, the use of these programmes implies a confusing intersection of aims and cultural influence within HMCIPS' rehabilitative interventions.

This possibly explains poor rehabilitative outcomes in Cayman (Forde 2006; CNS 2022; NDC 2023) - there is no rehabilitative programme addressing offending behaviour and attitudes which is created (and accredited) by, for, and in the Caribbean. Recent rehabilitative efforts involve a partnership with the University of West Indies, a Caribbean institution, aimed at delivering education and skill development at HMP Northward and HMP Fairbanks. However, challenges in delivery within HMP Fairbanks are noted around the "old and inadequate facilities" (CNS 2022, p.1; HMCIP 2015) which point to unequal delivery of rehabilitative service among imprisoned women in Cayman. While there is also Inspire Cayman Training, a Caymanian-created and centred

vocational training programme which has partnered with the prison, it aims to address employability skills rather than the dynamic and nuanced aspects of offending (CNS 2020; ICT 2019). Although this programme has shown success in accrediting imprisoned people (CNS 2020), further Caribbean and Caymanian-oriented rehabilitation initiatives which address the dynamic causes and attributes of offending are needed to effectively address recidivism in Caymanian prisons. This highlights the significance of the current study, as it may be used to highlight nuanced local spiritual needs within the prison population towards effective rehabilitation.

The challenges facing rehabilitation in Cayman are not unique within the Caribbean. Lancaster-Ellis' (2017) qualitative study involved telephone interviews with people released from Caribbean prisons in 2015 and prison staff in 2016. Lancaster-Ellis (2017) describes participants as hailing from 'English-speaking' Caribbean countries, and mentions specific experiences from prisons in Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago. Lancaster-Ellis' (2017) overview of the effectiveness of Caribbean prisons emphasises their over-reliance on the principle of retribution (Table 1; Appendix A) which feeds into high recidivism rates within the region. Inadequacies in adapting to the challenges and necessities of a modern world are also noted, as the limited focus on rehabilitation and reintegration limit Caribbean prisons' capacities to effectively address reoffending. The difficulty in accessing prisons for empirical studies embeds this difficulty, further 'hiding' the true experiences of imprisoned Caribbean populations and potential contributions to criminological knowledge which may arise from this. The current study therefore provides novel and insightful findings which are a significant contribution to criminological knowledge.

The significant role of spirituality in rehabilitation in HMCIPS highlights the importance of understanding its role in the lives of imprisoned people within the institution. This is important when remembering that spirituality can also do more harm than good when engaged maladaptively (Allen et al. 2013; Barash 2020). The inclusion of potentially harmful and mono-religious narratives in rehabilitative programmes is also important to consider as they exclude non-Christian prison populations and counteract some wellbeing outcomes, important aspects of experiences of imprisonment and POI. Further knowledge and application around the role and utility of spirituality in prisons would offer a stronger foundation to develop appropriate and impactful resources to improve prison experiences and rehabilitative outcomes.

Conclusion

To better understand the role of spirituality in Caymanian prisons, the relevant topics around conceptualising spirituality in identity, imprisonment, relationships, and rehabilitation were explored. An in-depth understanding of each component informed their complex and interconnecting roles. Since Cayman has a strong cultural connection to spirituality (e.g., Christianity; Williams 2016), the influence of spirituality is very much present in Caymanian prisons (CNS 2019; CIIMB 2021). This literature review is useful in informing the findings of the present study which seeks to expand upon existing work around the aim and objectives of the present thesis.

The expression of spirituality can manifest in many forms, which are typically viewed as beliefs and practices (McGuire 2008). Spirituality can be understood generally as the connection to a self, others, the non-human environment, seeking personal meaning, and for some a connection to a higher power (Canda 1988). This should not be confused with religion, as spirituality can encompass any belief, practice, or item, as long as it is viewed as sacred even by a single individual (Canda 1988; McGuire 2008). Religion pertains to specific ethical codes and conduct which are held sacred by a group or community. Spiritual items can pertain to anything regarded as personally sacred (Durkheim 1995). This is important to explore in prisons as the mistreatment of spiritual items can cause contempt between imprisoned people and staff (Beckford 2013). Although Caymanian culture draws largely on the Christian religion, spirituality is the chosen topic of exploration as it encompasses individual nuance and may or may not reflect religious belief. This thesis can therefore encompass an in-depth understanding of personal spiritual beliefs, practices, and items (including those which are religious) present within Caymanian prisons.

Expressions of spirituality, such as belief, spiritual practice and spiritual identity can vary in role and impact on personal life (McGuire 2008). Since spirituality can have a significant impact on daily life, naturally this relates to health and wellbeing. Wellbeing can be understood as a general sense of wellness over time which includes mental and physical wellbeing. Spirituality and spiritual practices in particular have shown a significant link to overall wellbeing (Allen et al.

2013). This is also very relevant to the prison context as shown by Allen et al. (2013) who studied the effects of spirituality on mental and physical health in older imprisoned males. It is also important to note that spiritual practice can have positive effects on imprisoned people who do not explicitly identify as spiritual (Griera and Clot-Garrell 2015).

The sharing of beliefs, values, and perceptions related to spirituality within groups and communities links spirituality to culture (Tsing 2001). This relates to the role of family in the development of spiritual identity, and this may translate to experiences of imprisonment around access to spiritual and wellbeing resources. The role of colonialism is important to note here, as it directly relates to contemporary religion and spirituality in Cayman (Williams 2016). This is reflected within governmental institutions, including prisons (HMCIP 2015). Experiences of imprisonment are often negative (Sykes 1958), necessitating the understanding of what factors may contribute or compensate for this. Relationships with family, prison staff and other imprisoned people are relevant here, as they have significant implications on outcomes of desistance, power dynamics, and experiences of conflict in prison (Warr 2023; Pavioni 2022; Mills and Codd 2012; Beckford 2013).

Spirituality can have a significantly positive impact in prisons, relating to wellbeing, identity transformation, and desistance. Spiritual items were also a significant component of this (Deuchar et al. 2016), highlighting the relevance of object elicitation in this thesis. Relationships with spiritual figures and prison staff have important roles within this dynamic, necessitating greater knowledge of the overall role of spirituality in 'hidden' prisons such as Cayman, and how they can best support imprisoned people. This has important implications for rehabilitative outcomes, relationships within the prison, and overall desistance.

Prison context and effective programming are important in rehabilitation (Blagden, Winder, and Hames 2016). The significance of this is heightened in Cayman, which has no specialised rehabilitative prisons. Though Cayman has multiple spiritual rehabilitation programmes, they are mono-religious and have some ideological links to colonialism, making them culturally misaligned and religiously exclusive within the Caymanian cultural and prison environment. These challenges are important to address, especially as Cayman has consistently high recidivism rates. The current

study hopes to provide insightful evidence towards the improved appropriateness and implementation of rehabilitation initiatives in Cayman.

This review of literature and previous studies show how spirituality can be understood, its role in prisons, and how this relates to rehabilitation in Caymanian prisons. It gives clear examples of what spirituality is, how it affects daily life, its impact on prison experiences, and its significance in treatment. From this exploration, we can see that the role of spirituality is very much dependent on one's relationship with spirituality. Therefore, the definition of spirituality and its role in everyday life can be best understood on an individual basis. As spirituality has not yet been researched in Caymanian prisons, this thesis aims to fill this gap by exploring its subjective meaning in this context. Understanding the role of spirituality in prisons and within the Caymanian cultural context will be useful regarding effective care and the implications of spirituality. This could decrease POI, improve engagement with rehabilitation, and improve desistance prospects. Theoretical explanations regarding the role of spirituality in prisons will be explored through attachment theory (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979); social identity theory (Tajfel 1979); identity performance theory (Goffman 1959); actor-network theory (Latour 2007), and the good lives model (Ward and Brown 2004) in the following chapter.

Chapter 2: Theory

Introduction

To better understand the various explanations and implications surrounding spirituality in prisons in Cayman, the use of relevant theories will be incorporated within the discussion. The theories which have been identified as relevant to this thesis are attachment theory (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979); social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel and Turner 1979); identity performance theory (IPT; Goffman 1959), actor-network theory (ANT; Latour 2007), and the good lives model (GLM; Ward and Brown 2004). These theories were selected after data collection, linking to the constructivist ontological and interpretivist epistemological approaches of the present thesis. This is because the theories were chosen to reflect the experiences of participants, excluding theories which did not appear to have as much breadth or scope as those selected. The theories discussed in the current chapter were relevant to understanding the aspects of historic identity formation and personality development (attachment theory); interrelations and influences from other people – i.e., relationships (SIT); the flexible and multifaceted nature of identity within social contexts (IPT); the significance of non-human items (ANT), and the importance of person-centred approaches to rehabilitation and how spirituality is a part of this (GLM).

These theories complement each other through their exploration of different aspects of identity, relationships, influential experiences, and their impact on rehabilitation. Collectively, they will be explained, explored and discussed to inform the nuanced and complex role of spirituality in HMCIPS. Maguire and Katz (2021) point out that theories used in Caribbean criminology should be as relevant as possible to its context. This is related to understanding the impacts of colonialism within the region's criminal justice system, highlighting how Western theory does not account for this. However, Caribbean criminological theory and literature remain relatively under-developed (Maguire and Kats 2021; Lancaster-Ellis 2017), especially as it concerns the purposes of the present thesis. Birkbeck (1999) permits the modification of Western theory to apply to the Caribbean context in lieu of fleshed-out Caribbean criminological theory. The current thesis therefore aims to make theoretical contributions which are relevant to the Caribbean population albeit relying on pre-existing Western theories.

These theories will be used to create a rounded picture of spirituality's role in Caymanian prisons. Though other theories may also be relevant, the use of multiple theories from psychological (attachment theory), sociological (SIT, IPT, and ANT) and criminological (GLM) fields provides an adequate theoretical 'coverage' which is appropriate for the broad and expansive impact of spirituality and imprisonment. The impact of upbringing (Attachment theory), peers and social groups (SIT), the flexibility of identity in various contexts (IPT), the influence of non-human items (ANT), and the role of spirituality in rehabilitation (GLM) will all be explored in this chapter. All theories will be applied to the prison context and spirituality to gain an understanding of how these factors interconnect and thus how spirituality may impact the lives of people imprisoned in Cayman.

Attachment theory

Attachment theory was developed by Ainsworth and Bowlby in 1969 regarding the bond developed between caregivers and infants (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979). Although it originates in the study of infants and caregivers, the significance of attachment bonds extends to other adult relationships – i.e., romantic, platonic, and non-caregiver familial (Simpson 1990; Heinig 2023; Field 1996; Lee 2003). This theory will be used to understand how attachment interrelates with spirituality and prison experiences. This extends the understanding the role of relationships with other imprisoned people and family especially which relates to the second objective of this thesis. Attachment theory also relates to relationships with deities, making it relevant to spirituality and thus the present thesis (Cassibba et al. 2014). This theory will help to gain insight into spiritual relationships, especially as they relate to adaptive and maladaptive spirituality (Allen et al. 2013). Attachment theory suggests that the bond created between caregivers and infants can be categorised as secure or insecure (Table 1) and make lasting impacts on personality and future relationships into adult life (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979).

Attachment, just like spirituality, is also relevant to cultural contexts, as parenting and attachment styles can be passed down through generations (Hong and Park 2012; Tsing 2001; Kiesling et al. 2008). Hansen et al. (2011) suggest that attachment characteristics may be shared in prisons across cultural contexts. In the Caymanian context, historic links to colonialism, contemporary

multiculturalism (ESO 2021), and the consideration of non-Caymanian/Caribbean prison populations are relevant. Attachment theory will be useful in understanding the relevance of spirituality in the lives of imprisoned people while considering the potential impact of culture in HMCIPS. Attachment also has a significant role in coping with POI (McKeown et al. 2017; Cassibba et al. 2014) which will be explored further in this section.

Attachment theory centres around the relationship between infants (aged from 0 to 18 months) and their primary caregiver(s) (typically the parents of the infant or the individual(s) who provide for the child's needs the most; Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979). The primary study of attachment theory is the 'strange situation' (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979). This study involved infants between the ages of 12 to 18 months from middle-class families being left alone in a room with toys, books, and a female stranger. Their behavioural and emotional responses during the absence and return of their mother (the children's primary caregiver) were observed. The study found that the type of bond created between caregiver and infant (based on parenting styles) had significant implications on the children's responses. The categories of attachment styles could be divided into secure and insecure attachment and are described in Table 1 below.

Secure attachment is defined as a healthy bond which elicits positive emotional responses to the primary caregiver(s) and distress in their absence (Table 1; Appendix B). This attachment style is generally caused by the consistent and appropriate provision of the infant's needs. Insecure attachment is quantified as an unhealthy attachment style, typically defined as indifferent, avoidant, or anxious responses to the primary caregivers (Table 1; Appendix B). This style of attachment can be subcategorised as anxious, avoidant, and disorganised attachment. These styles of attachment are generally caused by inappropriate (Avoidant), poor (Anxious), and inconsistent (Disorganised) responses to the infant's needs (Table 1; Appendix B). Since a high degree of prison populations present with insecure attachment styles, this is important to consider as attachment relates to spirituality as well as coping with imprisonment (Cassibba et al. 2014; McKeown et al. 2017; Hansen 2011; Miller and Klockner 2019).

Table 1: Attachment style and corresponding behaviours and parenting styles

Attachment style	Associated behaviours and attitudes	Associated parenting style
Secure 65-70% of infants	Trust; comfort; exploration and curiosity; playfulness; sociability; confidence; caring and motivation; show distress when separated from caregiver and joy upon return	Prompt; consistent; nurturing, and appropriate (i.e., considering the attitude of the child) responses from the caregiver(s)
Avoidant (insecure) 10%-15% of infants	Avoids caregiver(s); shows no preference between caregiver and stranger; avoids seeking help in adulthood	Authoritative parenting style (i.e., demanding but not responsive to the attitude of the child); not responding to emotional or physical needs of the child
Anxious (insecure) 15%-20% of infants	Shows distress in absence of the caregiver; low independence; low self-esteem; passivity; rigidity; higher chances of anxiety; socially withdrawn	Poor caregiver availability; indifferent parenting; not responding to child's emotional or physical needs
Disorganised (insecure) 10%-15%	Displays signs of different attachment styles; disoriented; confused; may avoid or resist caregiver; parents can be a source of fear and/or comfort.	Inconsistency between parenting styles linked to different attachment styles.

Bowlby (1979); Ainsworth (1978); Hong and Park (2012)

Infantile styles of attachment were found to be congruent with patterns of attachment into adulthood with other individuals (Ainsworth et al. 2015; Mckeown et al. 2017). Attachment theory is therefore useful in providing insight within the age demographic of the present study. However, attachment styles can change depending on circumstances, including prison rehabilitative interventions (Davila, Burge, and Hammen 1997; Miller and Klockner 2019). Attachment styles are also more susceptible to change when one has experienced adverse events in childhood - which applies to a large proportion of prison populations in general (Davila, Burge, and Hammen 1997; Stensrud, Gilbride, and Bruinekool 2019). The impact of traumatic events usually follows people into prison, manifesting as an over-representation of PTSD among this population (Malik et al. 2017; Stensrud, Gilbride, and Bruinekool 2019). The malleability of attachment is therefore an important aspect to consider for the sample of the present study.

Since imprisonment often relates to generational offending, this signals a connection between attachment styles of imprisoned parents, their children (Makariev and Shaver 2010), and thus spirituality – when considering familial and cultural influence (Hong and Park 2012). This is also pertinent to the Caribbean and thus current study where parental imprisonment negatively impacts children (Grant 2024). As such, the link between [caregiver and spiritual] attachment, spirituality and coping with imprisonment (a difficult situation alongside pre-existing traumas) is vital to consider for parents in the present sample, and participants whose parents have been imprisoned. This is especially relevant towards understanding, predicting, and preventing shifts from secure to insecure attachment, and encouraging shifts towards and maintaining positive attachment styles.

This is even more important to consider in the present study when regarding Grant's (2024) discussion of how parental imprisonment in Jamaica negatively impacts their children. Grant's (2024) study focuses on the theories of socialisation, strain, stigma, and human rights to explain these effects. The study explains how parental absence [caused by imprisonment] results in the deprivation of bonding and role modelling. The consequences of this are notably severe, leading to risky behaviour and disengagement in education and the school's social setting (Grant 2024). The factors of presence and bonding relate significantly to attachment between imprisoned Caribbean populations and their children. It also shows how generational insecure attachment and imprisonment are linked since imprisoned parents often lead to risky behaviour and disengagement with school - which can lead to offending (Jung et al. 2021; Burman et al. 2007) - among Caribbean children. Attachment in prisons is therefore a significant aspect to explore as it relates to Caribbean populations, something the present study provides further insight on. As spirituality is particularly important in treatment seeking for Caribbean populations (Turner, Hastings, and Neighbors 2019), this relates to the importance of secure attachment in prisons (McKeown et al. 2017) and rehabilitative initiatives which address this (Miller and Klockner 2019). Not only could this improve prison rehabilitation outcomes, but it may also reduce harm to oneself (McKeown et al. 2017) and the likelihood of inter-generational offending among Caribbean populations.

Limitations of attachment theory

The following discusses the potential limitations of attachment theory, although they are mitigated and accounted for in the present study. Field (1996) discusses how the 'strange situation' experiment involved observing children during a temporary stressful situation rather than a longitudinal non-stressful situation/period. This approach is important to consider regarding the day-to-day expression of attachment styles (Field 1996). Although the prospective results of a 'non-stressful strange situation' would be useful to understand for imprisoned people outside of stress-inducing circumstances, the stressful nature of the prison environment relates significantly to Ainsworth (1978) and Bowlby's (1979) 'strange situation'. This limitation is therefore mitigated in the current study although it would be relevant for the exploration of spirituality for imprisoned people during significant periods of 'ease' in future research.

Another limitation to attachment theory is the ‘nurture assumption’ which was coined by Harris (1998) to explain the influence of peers on identity development. This is especially relevant to the current study, since pro/anti-social peers have a significant role in offending and rehabilitation (Burman et al. 2007; Ward and Brown 2004). However, further development of attachment theory accepts that attachment styles can change with time, life events, and rehabilitative interventions (Davila, Burge, and Hammen 1997; Miller and Klockner 2019), accounting for the role of external factors (and relationships) to parental bonds. This limitation is also addressed in the current study by using SIT which embraces the social influences on identity development and expression. Attachment theory therefore remains a useful tool in exploring the findings of the present study although it is important to acknowledge its potential limitations and address these where possible.

Attachment and spirituality

Since the present thesis centres around the role of spirituality in Caymanian prisons, it is important to note that Caribbean populations benefit especially from the inclusion of spirituality in therapeutic/treatment settings (Turner, Hastings, and Neighbors 2019). This study used the National Study of American Life (NSAL) which involved 6082 total in-person interviews with non-Hispanic Whites, African Americans, and Caribbean Blacks. Turner, Hastings and Neighbors (2019) used the NSAL to analyse the significance of spirituality among 3570 African Americans and Caribbean Blacks aged 18 and over. Their study found that spirituality encourages trust and bonding between the counsellor and the client among these targeted populations compared to non-Hispanic Whites. Trust and bonding are important characteristics of secure attachment (Turner, Hastings, and Neighbors 2019; Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979), signifying a link between spirituality and secure attachment in relationships among these populations. Therefore, understanding attachment theory and spirituality will be beneficial in therapeutic and overall rehabilitative approaches for Caymanian prison populations. This is especially the case as some rehabilitative programmes in Caymanian prisons are centred around spirituality (i.e., TPJ, STP, and ATP).

On the interrelations between attachment and spirituality, a study conducted by Cassibba et al. (2014) on attachment to God and coping with serious illness is explored. This study is relevant to

this thesis due to its exploration of attachment, spirituality, and coping - a factor which is integral to prison experiences (McKeown et al. 2017; Sykes 1958). Cassibba et al. (2014) found that spiritual attachment affects the way an individual copes with negative events/emotions. Generally, secure spiritual attachment led to adaptive coping, and insecure attachment to maladaptive coping (Cassibba et al. 2014). This is important to consider as it may have a significant impact on how one manages the POI and other difficult situations in prisons (Shammas 2017; Allen et al. 2013). As such, this theory is useful in understanding the role of attachment and relationships in spirituality and prisons.

The quantitative study by Cassibba et al. (2014) was conducted in two separate hospitals in Italy with 105 participants undergoing cancer treatment or dialysis (62.7% male participants). Of the cancer patients, 83.3% were female and had various types of cancer, the most common of which was breast cancer. Patients in cancer treatment were awaiting chemotherapy or surgery, and none were at a terminal stage. Some of the dialysis participants were awaiting kidney transplants. The average age for people undergoing cancer treatment was 56 years, and for those on dialysis, it was 62 years. Questionnaires were completed at the hospitals, either during treatments (such as dialysis and chemotherapy) or in private rooms while awaiting surgery. The engagement with research methods during uncomfortable procedures and wait times gives further insight into the role of spiritual attachment at times of distress. This is relevant to the understanding of spirituality during imprisonment which is usually a difficult time for imprisoned people (Sykes 1958; Shammas 2017). The questionnaire evaluated the security of attachment to God, and coping strategies (religious/spiritual and secular) of participants.

Cassibba et al. (2014) found that attachment to God influenced approaches to coping with disease. It was also related to secular (hopelessness-helplessness, anxious preoccupation, cognitive avoidance, fatalism, and fighting spirit) and spiritual coping mechanisms such as spiritual rituals and practices, belief in a higher power, and support from religious communities. Secure attachment styles manifested as higher rates of spiritual belief and practice, support from spiritual groups, and a higher tendency towards fatalism (i.e., believing in fate). These methods of coping were significantly correlated to fighting spirit, fatalism, and low levels of anxiety and hopelessness. Insecure attachment appeared as avoiding thoughts about illness altogether which in turn linked to higher levels of hopelessness and anxiety (Table 2; Appendix B).

These findings show that secure spiritual attachment is very important in effectively coping with difficulties in life - relating to the difficulties of being imprisoned such as POI (Sykes 1958). Since spiritual attachment is related to spiritual and non-spiritual coping mechanisms, this shows the importance of these concepts in prison populations regardless of spiritual identity (Cassibba et al. 2014; Griera and Clot-Garrell 2015). Furthermore, the similarities in secure and insecure spiritual attachment to caregiver attachment infer that these attachment bonds are likely co-aligned. They both have significant effects on coping in general, making them important to consider among prison populations. Since prison populations are more likely to have insecure attachment styles (McKeown et al. 2017), the similarities to spiritual attachment styles in coping outcomes are concerning and important to consider. These links highlight the significance of spirituality in attachment styles for imprisoned populations and thus the current study.

The severity of the illness was not correlated to coping (Cassibba et al. 2014). This infers that the ability to cope effectively is more impactful on wellbeing than the situation itself. This relates to imprisonment, implying that with secure styles of [spiritual and caregiver] attachment, one would be better able to cope with POI. However, it is important to note that participants undergoing dialysis used more avoidant coping strategies (i.e., avoiding thoughts around disease and treatment) than participants with cancer. Avoidant coping mechanisms link to higher rates of suicide in prisons (and anxious coping styles to self-harm; McKeown et al. 2017). This infers that attachment styles should be evaluated and accounted for in prisons as they relate to specific risks to mental and physical wellbeing and thus rehabilitative prospects (McKeown et al. 2017). Understanding attachment styles may enable prisons to arm themselves with the ability to predict coping mechanisms and outcomes, informing effective for at-risk prison populations.

Renal failure was categorised as a chronic stressor (i.e., a severe and continuous illness) whereas cancer patients were reported as dealing with an acute stressor (i.e., serious but with the possibility of remission; Cassibba et al. 2014). This may mean that continuous stressors (i.e., POI) over a period (e.g., longer sentences) could create an insecure spiritual attachment, impeding one's ability to cope adaptively with stress. This is especially relevant to older prison populations who may be dealing with long-term illnesses as discussed by Allen et al. (2013).

For older prison populations with chronic illnesses, spirituality is an important factor in coping as discussed in the work by Allen et al. (2013). Allen et al. (2013) found that maladaptive spiritual coping led to poorer mental health outcomes, the contrary being true for the same population who incorporated adaptive spiritual beliefs – i.e., adaptive spiritual coping improved and protected wellbeing. These two studies combined infer that spiritual attachment is interlinked with coping and wellbeing outcomes in prisons. The negative impact of maladaptive coping in the general population (Barash 2020) further implies that this concept of spiritual attachment is important to consider for the prison population as a whole – i.e., not only for vulnerable populations.

Since attachment relates to identity development (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979) and has very similar outcomes to caregiver attachment (i.e., adaptive versus maladaptive) depending on attachment styles, it can be inferred that spiritual attachment is also related to identity. This infers that changes in attachment style facilitated by spirituality can lead to long-lasting impacts on identity and how one copes with stressful events (Kiesling et al. 2008; Cassibba et al. 2014; Miller and Klockner 2019). In the prison context, the ability for attachment styles to change means that they can be addressed in rehabilitative contexts. Since spiritual attachment relates to spiritual belief and practice (Cassibba et al. 2014), this means that it can be adapted in prisons to benefit coping and rehabilitative outcomes (Miller and Klockner 2019). However, changes in attachment styles from secure to insecure in the prison context are equally important to consider (Davila, Burge, and Hammen 1997). This is especially the case when considering that those who have experienced adverse events in their life (i.e., most imprisoned people; Davila, Burge, and Hammen 1997; Malik et al. 2017), are more susceptible to fluctuations in attachment styles when exposed to change in immediate circumstances (such as imprisonment).

Since spirituality does not necessitate the presence of a physical being (McGuire 2008), this finding explains how individuals with secure spiritual attachments would be able to cope more effectively [than those with insecure attachments] albeit having a difficult and potentially isolating experience. This is especially the case when acknowledged that the times of data collection (during treatment or waiting for surgery) were likely more difficult (Cassibba et al. 2014). The non-physical element of spiritual attachment and findings around secure attachment and coping (Table 2; Appendix B) implies that spiritual attachment can be accessed when alone and/or in an institutionalised space. As such, attachment theory is useful in understanding the bonds and

outcomes between imprisoned people and spiritual ‘entities’ or ‘beings’ - e.g., God. This is promising for prison populations who must cope with POI albeit having less access to family and support networks (Shammas 2017; Sykes 1958).

The findings of higher rates of belief and practice among securely spiritually attached participants and subsequent effective coping (Table 2; Appendix B) infer a link between attitude, behaviour, and the security of spiritual attachment. Implications are that one can change their level of spiritual attachment through spiritual engagement. Therefore, coping capabilities and outcomes can be adjusted and amended, impacting attachment style and vice versa. Changing spiritual attachment has implications beyond personal coping into social aspects since securely attached individuals were also more likely to engage in supportive relationships in prison (McKeown et al. 2017).

As discussed in detail in the previous chapter, research by Grier and Clot-Garrell (2015) around the engagement in holistic yoga programmes in prisons by people who do not identify as spiritual is used here to emphasise the effectiveness of spiritual programmes in prisons. Since the participants in Grier and Clot-Garrell's (2015) study benefited from these programmes - i.e., regained a sense of self; cultivating a calm and safe space amidst the chaotic prison environment; introspection; intimacy with oneself; a regained sense of control over private spaces, and access to inner self - this shows the value of incorporating spiritual programmes in prisons. This is also important for Black and Caribbean prison populations (Brown and Grant 2018), a poignant point concerning the present study. These programmes thus serve to encourage participation in spiritual practices that may be effective in improving spiritual attachment. This should result in the improvement of overall coping and rehabilitative outcomes for imprisoned people regardless of spiritual identification. As such, outcomes from spiritual attachment and its ability to change are important to consider towards coping with POI, rehabilitation, and reintegration for imprisoned people in Cayman.

Attachment in prisons

Research by McKeown et al. (2017) exploring the role of caregiver attachment in coping, self-harm, and suicidal behaviour in men in prison in the UK is utilised to show how attachment theory is relevant to the prison population. This study alongside that of Cassibba et al. (2014) connects the

role of caregiver and spiritual attachment in prison populations. The impact of spirituality and attachment on coping for imprisoned people will also be examined through McKeown et al.'s (2017) study. As prison populations are much more likely to self-harm and attempt suicide (MOJ 2020), this study is especially important in understanding attachment issues and used to better support prison populations in Cayman.

Since spirituality plays an important role in coping (Cassibba et al. 2014; Currier, Holland, and Drescher 2015; Allen et al. 2013) and attachment (Cassibba et al. 2014), spirituality remains relevant to McKeown et al.'s (2017) study. Coping mechanisms explored and identified in this study include rational coping (i.e., problem-focused); emotional coping (i.e., emotion-focused); detachment coping (i.e., distancing from emotions) and avoidance coping (i.e., problem avoidant) (Table 3; Appendix B). These coping styles are useful in understanding the role of attachment in coping and imprisonment, especially for people who are at considerably higher risk of harm to themselves. This gives useful insights into the role of attachment in spirituality, identity, and experiences of imprisonment in Cayman prison populations.

The study by McKeown et al. (2017) explored the differences between participants with and without a history of self-harm and/or attempted suicide. This was measured against adult attachment (without the inclusion of disorganised attachment since it was not found to be significantly related to adult attachment and thus is rarely discussed in this context; Hazan and Shavers 1987; Diehl 1998) and coping mechanisms. Adult attachment is generally the same as infantile attachment (including secure, avoidant, and anxious attachment) but relates to how adults form attachments and engage in interpersonal relationships. This study therefore relates primarily to adult relationships, such as with prison staff and other imprisoned people, especially in the present context.

The study by McKeown et al. (2017) focuses on secure, avoidant, and anxious/ambivalent attachment styles (Table 4; Appendix B). While Ainsworth (1978) and Bowlby (1979) focus on parenting styles (Table 1; Appendix B), McKeown et al. (2017) discusses the adult emotional responses and behaviours related to each attachment styles. These include (1) secure: desirability and ability to maintain relationships, (2) avoidant: evades emotional dependence; seeks to maintain psychological independence; lower chances of engaging in intimate relationships; lower awareness

of emotions for self and others, and generally views others as untrustworthy, and (3) anxious/ambivalent: fears abandonment, higher dependency in relationships, and jealousy (Table 4; Appendix B). McKeown et al.'s (2017) participants included 206 men in a Category B prison (i.e., second highest security/offence risk). Of the participants, 135 were convicted and 37 were on remand. The average sentence length for convicted participants was 29.31 months. Participants aged between 18 and 61 years, averaging 28.92 years old.

The participants partook in a self-report attachment style questionnaire, coping questionnaire, and hopelessness scale. Questions centred around self-harm and attempted suicide. In the sample, 27.2% of participants reported previous self-harm and 3.9% reported current self-harm. 25.2% of participants reported previously attempted suicide. A further 2.9% of participants were on an Assessment, Care in Custody, and Teamwork (A.C.C.T) programme (designed specifically to monitor imprisoned people at risk of self-harm and/or suicide), with 12.1% having been placed on it at some point during their sentence at the time of the study.

Rational coping was notably lower among participants who reported previous suicidal behaviour. Further to this, detachment coping was significantly correlated to participants with no history of suicidal behaviour. Adaptive coping was related more strongly to rational and detached coping overall (McKeown et al. 2017). This means that individuals with secure attachment styles were more likely to engage with adaptive coping mechanisms (McKeown et al. 2017). The similarities in the effects (adaptive versus maladaptive) of adult attachment observed by McKeown et al. (2017) and spiritual attachment on coping seen by Cassibba et al. (2014) implies a link between spirituality, attachment, and coping for prison populations. As such, the examination of caregiver, adult, and spiritual attachment in prison populations is especially important towards wellbeing, support, and interventions. These studies connect significantly to spiritual identity, the role of relationships [with caregivers] and how this impacts experiences of imprisonment, aligning with the key objectives of the current thesis.

The differences in coping mechanisms and attachment connect to variations in capabilities around self-reliance and resilience. Although secure attachment is linked to reaching out for help (Cassibba et al. 2014), the ability to use rationality and detachment in successful coping in prison also shows a connection between attachment and effective solitary coping. It is important to note,

however, that increased self-reliance in people with avoidant attachment styles can result in suppression of psychological distress, a conflicted view of the world [based on distinctions between good and bad] and conspiracy ideation (i.e., the explanation of negative events through the idea that actors are intentionally working together to create said negative event; Swami et al. 2014; Leone et al. 2018). The suppression of psychological distress reflects Cassibba et al.'s (2014) study where participants with avoidant (i.e., insecure) attachment avoided thinking about their illness. As such, the role of attachment should be considered around coping in prisons, especially as it concerns the longitudinal effects of with POI.

It is important to note how caregiver attachment styles as stated by Ainsworth (1978) and Bowlby (1979) show similar results around pre-disposition towards coping in difficult situations as adults (in this case, prison; Mckeown et al. 2017; Cassibba et al. 2014). Furthermore, the incorporation of historic events (i.e., past occurrences - or lack thereof - of self-harm and suicidal behaviour) shows how the past can be used to understand current attachment styles and coping mechanisms. This would also relate to the understanding of spiritual attachment and how one previously coped with difficult situations and how this relates to present dispositions in prison (i.e., risk of self-harm and suicide).

It is important to remember that attachment styles can fluctuate, which prison populations are generally more susceptible to (Davila, Burge, and Hammen 1997; Morley and Fulton 2020 Leone et al. 2018). It would therefore be important to understand past adverse events, previous changes in [spiritual and caregiver] attachment styles and what triggered them, risks to attachment styles in prison (i.e., changing from secure to insecure attachment), and the individual's current style of attachment. From this, a personalised treatment plan may be better informed, which would be especially relevant and important for imprisoned people at risk of harm to themselves. This would be useful towards predicting and preventing future self-harm and suicidal behaviour among at-risk prison populations. Since spiritual attachment is also relevant to coping, this is important to consider within this approach – i.e., one's relationship with God and/or the presence of (mal)adaptive spiritual beliefs (Allen et al. 2013). This is especially important in Caribbean prisons where empirical literature of this nature is yet to be developed, highlighting the significance of the present study.

Participants who engaged in self-harm and/or suicide attempts displayed signs of anxious (insecure), avoidant (insecure), and overall, less secure attachment styles than those who had not (McKeown et al. 2017). Anxious and avoidant attachment styles were significantly related to emotional and avoidant coping mechanisms (McKeown et al. 2017). This shows the significance of attachment in prisons as it relates to dangerous coping mechanisms. Furthermore, these findings are similar to that of Cassibba et al. (2014), as participants with insecure attachment in both studies resulted in poorer spiritual and secular coping mechanisms. This implies that spirituality and attachment are important to understand within coping and experiences of imprisonment generally rather than self-identifying spiritual prison populations alone.

Participants who had attempted suicide reported much lower levels of security in close relationships. These participants also showed significantly less rational coping with stress (McKeown et al. 2017). Just as the avoidant attachment style resulted in poorer coping skills in the study by Cassibba et al. (2014), the avoidant attachment style was a particularly strong predictor of suicide attempts (McKeown et al. 2017). The social aspect of avoidant attachment (Cassibba et al. 2014) and coping shows the importance of attachment in relationships and support for imprisoned people struggling with mental wellbeing especially. This is especially the case with developing secure spiritual attachment, as it was related to social support (Cassibba et al. 2014). Therefore, not only would the facilitation of secure spiritual attachment in prison populations aid coping, but also rehabilitative and reintegrative avenues since they strongly link to supportive interpersonal relationships (Ward and Brown 2004). This is especially important in HMCIPS where 22.2% of participants in the NDC's (2023) study expressed challenges in support (11.1%) and relationships (11.1%).

Suicidal behaviour was also seen as an effective way to help regulate emotional distress in McKeown et al.'s (2017) study. This was particularly relevant when faced with a stressful or threatening event (McKeown et al. 2017). This means that avoidant attachment leading to avoidant coping (Cassibba et al. 2014; Leone et al. 2018) could predict more extreme displays of psychological distress with time as attachment styles become less secure with increase of distress (i.e., longitudinal management of POI). Identifying attachment styles may therefore benefit safeguarding vulnerable (and general) populations in the prediction and prevention of serious harm. This could be benefitted by developing supportive interpersonal relationships, preventing chances

of suicide rather than focusing on situational protection alone (i.e., during the event). This is especially the case when considering that some people engage in self-harm and suicide as a way of seeking support in prisons (Howerton et al. 2007; Biggam and Power 1999). Furthermore, if effective coping measures are established through addressing insecure attachment styles, this could pre-emptively reduce emotional stressors and thus potential harm for prison populations. This is especially important when considering that attachment styles can change, in which case reducing the likelihood of developing insecure attachment through imprisonment would benefit safeguarding.

As such, if criminogenic factors and maladaptive coping mechanisms related to attachment are appropriately addressed in prisons, this can lead to the improvement of the prison experience as well as rehabilitative prospects. The adaptability of attachment styles and the ability of spirituality to facilitate adaptive coping strategies (Cassibba et al. 2014) is also important to consider here. This is because attachment and spirituality can be adapted to encourage positive spiritual and secular coping mechanisms. This would work toward preventing self-harm and suicide and strengthening the overall quality of life in prisons, in turn improving one's capacity engage in rehabilitation (Ward and Brown 2004). Since Caribbean populations benefit especially from spirituality in treatment (Turner, Hastings, and Neighbors 2019), the use of spirituality in prison around attachment could be especially promising for prison populations in Cayman. The current study further addresses the dearth of knowledge around the role of attachment and spirituality in Caribbean prisons, contributing to the literature in addressing issues around identity, relationships, and experiences of imprisonment. The next theory to be explored is SIT which focuses on the role of group membership and identity.

Social identity theory

SIT, developed by Tajfel and Turner (1979), constitutes that one's sense of self is based on group affiliations – i.e., social identity. This theory helps with understanding the social factors which influence social identity and the experience of spirituality in prisons and vice versa (how spirituality affects social identity and the experience of prison). Extensive work has been done

around identity in prisons due to the powerful impact that imprisonment can have on one's sense of self. This has important implications on how imprisoned people interact with others, which in turn impacts mental health support seeking, self-esteem, and recidivism as examples (Byrne et al. 2024; Boduszek et al. 2013). Since spirituality has been connected to experiences of mental health in prisons (Allen et al. 2013), understanding the role of spirituality in identity for imprisoned people and how this is impacted by relationships is important.

From the SIT perspective, individuals seek validation through social 'ingroups' - the group to which one feels they belong and accepted a member (Tajfel and Turner 1979). In this instance, the individual will choose a group which shows similar attributes to oneself, and/or develop characteristics to better align with the ingroup. SIT theorises that self-esteem - the evaluation of personal attributes which informs a sense of self-worth (Alsaker and Kroger 2007) - is heightened when successful discrimination with an outgroup occurs – i.e., the group(s) to which one does not belong. Behaviour is then seen to be driven by compromises between two extremes of leaning towards and against group acceptance (known as the interpersonal-intergroup continuum; Tajfel and Turner 1979). Social identity is therefore a significant driver behind behaviour within SIT, connecting to identity formation through relationships. This links especially to the current thesis' objectives to understand the role of spirituality in: (1) identity and (2) relationships, for imprisoned people in Cayman. This theory will provide important insights into the role of spirituality in the lives of people imprisoned in Cayman, the aim of the present thesis.

A group is defined here as at least three people coming together for a common cause (e.g., sports teams, hobby groups, therapy, work projects) involving consistent/ongoing interpersonal interactions (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Tasca 2020). The activities of groups result in an output (e.g., winning a competition, learning, healing, profit). Individuals who happen to unintentionally find themselves in the same place at the same time (i.e., an audience or classroom) are not considered a group as there is no recognition of the common interest of intentionally working together to achieve an output (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Tasca 2020). As such, the prison population in its entirety would not be considered a group unless everyone intentionally worked together towards something (e.g., during a riot or protest).

Spiritual communities, programme members, and informal prison groups and/or gangs in prisons would be considered groups. From this, group dynamics – the preference to associate with members of one's ingroup (Tajfel and Turner 1979) - concerns the context in which group interactions occur. This revolves around within-group processes, group outcomes, perceptions or experiences of group outcomes and observable aspects of group interactions (Tasca 2020; Tajfel and Turner 1979). The function of spirituality in prisons (e.g., belief, practice, and place) is therefore an important aspect to consider as they relate to identity formation and interpersonal dynamics within prison. These in turn impact experiences of imprisonment, the final objective of the current thesis.

On the concept of intergroup continuum, the perspective is taken by Tajfel and Turner (1979) that for ingroup members, positive attributes of the ingroup and negative attributes of the out-group are exaggerated. The theory of self-enhancement (Jones 1973) proposes the mitigation of negative attributes of the self and group, which increases positive affiliation and a sense of group identity. At this point, boundaries, affiliations, and behaviours are exaggerated, relating to positive directedness (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Jones 1973).

Positive directedness infers that people strive for the positive and engage in prosocial behaviours – from their perspective (Tajfel and Turner 1979). This 'prosocial' behaviour is aimed towards seeking group approval. Group approval begets feelings of group belonging and identity which benefits self-esteem, leading to consciously and/or unconsciously seeking group validation. As the group and individual identities change, this may affect the appeal of a group and relate to group permeability – i.e., members' movement in and out of the group. SIT is relevant to understanding the role of spirituality in Caymanian prisons as spirituality can play a large part in socialisation, affiliated [spiritual] groups, and behaviour (e.g., spiritual practice; McGuire 2008; Kiesling et al. 2008). Understanding how spirituality affects the social identity of imprisoned people and subsequent outcomes on behaviour and peers can help map everyday prison life around the objectives of the present thesis. This can then be traced back to avenues for rehabilitation. SIT connects to attachment theory since both speak on how and why one forms interpersonal bonds, and IPT because both discuss the malleability of identity depending on the 'audience.' SIT also relates to ANT when considering the interconnected effects which occur within and outside of groups.

Limitations of social identity theory

The following discusses some limitations of SIT and how they are accounted for in the present study. Some critics assert that the overarching nature of SIT makes it difficult to test accurately – i.e., many outcomes may be generally interpreted within its framework (Hogg and Williams 2000). While this would mean that SIT may be disproportionately ‘generous’ in its prospective applicability, the present study accounts for this by utilising multiple theories. With this approach, other relevant theories are used to offer alternative perspectives which may or may not align with the remit of SIT. This multi-layered approach mitigates the ‘overarching’ limitation of SIT as alternative theoretical perspectives are offered where relevant.

Other scholars have stated that SIT speaks more on the functions of ingroup dynamics than outgroup dynamics and hostility (Brewer 1979; Brown 1995; Hornsey 2008). This stance purports that SIT neglects the exploration of outgroup dynamics, which would be important to explore around conflict in relationships as an example. This is an important limitation to consider in the present study as prisons often involve significant emphasis on social identification for imprisoned people and staff (Jacobs 1976; Macaulan and Rodelli 2023). The present study addresses this through the application of other theories which encompass positive and negative social responses to perceived ‘others’. An example of this is attachment theory, which speaks on the role of identity and emotional and social responses to individuals who are perceived as trust-worthy or untrustworthy (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979). The use of social theories such as IPT, and ANT, complement this, as these theories incorporate the significance of social perception (IPT), and the unique role of human and non-human actors (ANT). Therefore, while the limitation of ‘ingroup bias’ within SIT may be important to consider, it is addressed in the present study using multiple theories which also address social dynamics. SIT therefore remains a useful theory in the present study as it is relevant to this thesis' objectives, and its limitations are accounted for with multiple theories.

Social identity and spirituality in prisons

To better understand the role of SIT around spirituality in Caymanian prisons, a study by Jang et al. (2020) evaluating the Field Ministers programme (FMP) in Texas is examined. The FMP trains imprisoned people as ministers to help other people in prison. By exploring the direct impact of spirituality on group membership in prison, this study will give insight into the role of spirituality and SIT in prisons. This study relates to social identity as it reports on the intricacies of prison membership - especially around being a member of the FMP - and how this group influences others and relationships. The main hypotheses behind the research by Jang et al. (2020) are that (1) exposure to antiriminal patterns and isolation from criminal behaviour is beneficial towards rehabilitation and (2) exposure to the FMP is directly related to virtue, religiosity, spirituality, and agency. This study directly explores the impact of spiritual social networks on behaviour, experiences in prison, and chances of rehabilitation and reintegration, making it useful for the present thesis. Although the FMP appear to be exclusively offered in male prisons (GPL 2024), as a spiritual prison programme is it important to explore.

The FMP was created by Game Plan for Life (GPL), which has a distinctly a Christian mission within prisons (GPL 2025). This is important to remember generally regarding the study, but also in relation to the Caymanian context of the present thesis. This is due to the existing challenges around meeting the needs of imprisoned people with alternative (i.e., non-Christian) spiritual identities (CIIMB 2021). As such, while Jang et al.'s (2020) study is useful in understanding the impact of spiritual programmes and the value of SIT in a larger prison context, this is not understood as immediately reflective of potential overall outcomes in Caymanian prisons.

The study by Jang et al. (2020) was conducted via self-administered surveys at three maximum security men's prisons in Texas in 2017. The sample was selected randomly and 163 out of 244 men (5% of the total prison population) agreed to participate. Participants were not significantly different from each other in IQ, participation in educational, vocational, and cognitive intervention programmes, number of custodial sentences, number of offences, and minor and major infractions between 2007 and 2016. Of the 163 participants, 48.5% were Black, 26.4% were Hispanic, and 25.2% were White. Previous or current engagement in spirituality was not accounted for. This is an important limitation in relation to Caymanian prisons, since there exist challenges around providing alternative spiritual services (CIIMB 2021). As such, the religious identification of

participants in Jang et al.'s (2020) study would have provided additional insight in this regard. Incorrect assumptions around subsequent findings could potentially worsen strain for imprisoned people who are dissatisfied or frustrated with the inability to access relevant spiritual services.

However, this study sample gives a good representation of social identity around spirituality for Black prison populations, increasing its relevance to this thesis. Overall, participants tended to be younger (average age of 42.8 with a standard deviation of 12.4) and had higher participation in educational programmes and educational achievement (assessed through the prison's school district).

Exposure to the FMP was measured by the frequency and duration of the survey. Frequency and duration of contact were measured for participants. Legal cynicism (negative attitudes towards the law), dissatisfaction with correctional staff, depression, anxiety, [scenario-based] intended aggression, crystallisation of discontent (i.e., dissatisfaction with criminal identity upon 'realisation' that it is the reason for 'failure in life'; Baumeister 1994), meaning and purpose in life, humility, gratitude, God's purpose in life, God's forgiveness, Gratitude to God, religiosity, and spiritual transcendence were measured. Results were analysed using a manifest-multivariate structural equation modelling approach giving an in-depth quantitative approach.

The findings of this study showed that contact with the FMP was directly related to a decrease in criminal risk factors and aggressiveness, and higher levels of virtue, predictors of agency, religiousness, and spirituality. This shows an important effect on the prison atmosphere which links to ANT (Latour 2007; 1999). Therefore, the inclusion of spiritual programmes in prison can create positive outcomes from group membership and social identity in this regard. The factor of decreased aggression speaks to ANT since the danger is reduced in the wider prison environment because of the programme and spiritual identity formation. Participants in the FMP strove to be accepted within the group, showing the role of positive directedness (Jang et al. 2020). From this, the existence of prosocial spiritual groups can encourage imprisoned people to aim towards incorporating positive identity attributes which can benefit the prison as a whole.

Exposure to the FMP's group was also indirectly related to depression, legal cynicism, criminal risk, and levels of dissatisfaction with correctional staff. Implications of this are that exposure to spiritual programmes in prison improves wellbeing and inter-relational aspects and reduces resistance to rehabilitation (Allen et al. 2013; Currier, Holland and Drescher 2015). However, it

would be useful to know if this was related to spiritual identity, something which is particularly relevant to challenges around provision of alternative spiritual services in Caymanian prisons. This shows that spirituality can have positive effects on wellbeing within groups (Allen et al. 2013; Currier, Holland, and Drescher 2015; Brown and Grant 2018) as well as improve rehabilitative prospects although further understanding of the role of spiritual identity would benefit the understanding of these findings.

All effects increased with frequency and longitudinal exposure to the group. This finding alongside the role of positive directedness infers that exposure to the group compounds the chances of positive outcomes for imprisoned people, spiritual groups, and the prison over time. This shows how SIT relates to the spreading of behaviours in prisons, including ones of a spiritual nature which may have positive impacts on mental and physical wellbeing, and rehabilitation. The relevance of this to imprisoned people identifying as spiritual or not (i.e., factors indirectly related to spirituality which impact the wider prison population such as reduced aggression) is very important to consider around spirituality's social influence across prison populations.

This expands the reach of spiritual groups to that of the entire prison when considering the prison actor-network (PAN) – i.e., the idea that actors (human and non-human) impact each other within the prison context. This would especially be the case with more members in prosocial spiritual programmes and/or groups. This shows a connection to ANT and promising effects on the overall prison environment, which could reduce POI (e.g., deprivation of security) for the entire prison (e.g., including prison staff) regardless of exposure to the programme. Furthermore, the influence of positive changes within the PAN such as the impact between people who have been exposed to the programme and those who have not, would be important to consider here, as individuals influence the wider actor-network (Latour 2007).

Although Caymanian culture is largely Christian, it is important to acknowledge that the FMP could be unintentionally exclusive to individuals who are interested or already involved in Christianity. This is an ongoing issue in Cayman (CIIMB 2021; HMCIP 2015) and speaks to the need for non-denominational spiritual programmes in prisons which are less religiously exclusive. The current thesis provides important insights into the individual nuances of spirituality in prisons which can inform what and how spiritual programmes may be best implemented.

Since insecure attachment (McKeown et al. 2017; Cassibba et al. 2014) and maladaptive coping mechanisms (Cassibba et al. 2014) can lead to a damaged relationship with one's deity (Allen et al. 2013; McKeown et al. 2017), it is important to consider whether one would be open to re-engaging with a specific deity they are having difficulty connecting with - even if they believe in them to begin with. Spiritual attachment should also be considered within religious programmes since they may compound maladaptive bonds and thus coping mechanisms. This is relevant to TPJ which incorporates maladaptive spiritual beliefs within its aims (PFI 2024; Allen et al. 2013; Barash 2020) and is offered in HMCIPS (CNS 2019). This is especially important to consider when one is struggling to cope with immediate difficult circumstances such as imprisonment. It is therefore important to explore individual needs, risks, and potential outcomes around one's spiritual identity alongside the inclusion of appropriate spiritual programmes in prison. The current study contributes to this by exploring personal meanings of spirituality and how this relates to experiences of imprisonment, the third objective of the present thesis. The next theory to be discussed in IPT which centres around the nuance of the social environment and how this impacts expression of identity.

Identity performance theory

IPT constitutes that one portrays particular identity projections (i.e., masks) depending on the audience. These projections are also referred to as 'performances' (Goffman 1959). The audience is made up of other individuals and social contexts surrounding the individual, including the individual themselves (Goffman 1959). IPT will be used to understand how identity, spirituality, and social nuances impact the experience of people imprisoned in Cayman. Though IPT has similarities to SIT, as both infer that one's behaviours are connected to their social context (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Goffman 1959), IPT offers nuanced insights, making it relevant for the person-centred approach of this thesis. The distinction can be made where SIT is based on group affiliation and its impact on identity formation (Tajfel and Turner 1979), whereas IPT is more fixed on the immediate social context (i.e., the audience) rather than social ties (Goffman 1959). Therefore, IPT is useful in understanding the motivations and malleability of identity presentation within prisons around spirituality and social contexts beyond group affiliation.

Previous works by Goffman (1963) on stigma can also be considered on how they inform identity performances (whether conscious or covert). Goffman (1963) shows how treatment towards others (identity performance) is affected by expectations. These expectations can be around physical characteristics, behaviour, and roles (i.e., within particular social spheres or affiliations). This brings relevancy to spirituality, imprisonment and culture in Cayman and the influence of these factors on expectations. It is also important to mention here that expectations and identity performance are moderated by one's self-perception, one's perception of the audience, and one's belief of how the audience perceives them (Goffman 1959). As spirituality relates significantly to identity and social groups in prison, IPT is an appropriate theory to utilise in the present study.

The amalgamation of these expectations and perceptions results in what Goffman (1959) refers to as a 'mask' which refers to the outward expression or 'face' of the identity performance. In other words, the mask implicates what can be inferred about the portrayed identity in the performance (i.e., character traits and other attributes). These masks can be used intentionally or unintentionally depending on the desired outcome and the audience (including whether the individual is performing for oneself). Both intentional and unintentional identity performance are related to the goals and motivations behind performances. These goals typically relate to having the audience confirm or deny certain identity attributes (Goffman 1959). Since the perception of self and others is impacted by spirituality, culture and imprisonment, masks will also be moderated by these factors. This further links IPT to the exploration of spirituality in prisons in Cayman in this thesis.

Unintentional identity performances can be understood as manifestations of 'authentic' – i.e., non-performative - identities. However, the implicit role of social identity and self-expectations should also be considered within this. As such, 'authentic' identities and identity performances remain relevant to the present audience and context – e.g., prison. Intentional uses of identity performance can have the purpose of integrating certain identity attributes into authenticity (identity reformation) and can also be used to convince the audience of a particular identity that the individual views as inauthentic to themselves (i.e., manipulation; Goffman 1959). In any case, it serves to remember that all identity performances are in some way linked to the overall identity of the individual. As such, the IPT highlights the interconnectedness and malleability of identity as it relates to circumstances in an individual's life which can be applied to understanding experiences of spirituality, relationships, and imprisonment in Cayman.

Limitations of identity performance theory

It is important to explore potential limitations in the application of IPT as this can offer further insight into the remits and boundaries of application for the present theory. Wilshire (1982) discusses how Goffman's (1959) emphasis on 'roles' which inform the 'mask' negates the concept that we as humans are 'more than our roles'. Wilshire (1982) argues that Goffman's (1974) position that the 'true self' is perhaps 'undiscoverable' infers that identity and thus one's 'mask' is inherently tied to social circumstances and self-perceptions – i.e., one is always 'performing'. This insinuates that we are fundamentally non-social when we are not wearing a 'mask' (Goffman 1959), to which Wilshire (1982) purports is de-moralising and limited in its perspective depth of the human identity. This stance within IPT is important to consider as it has significant implications regarding the understanding of 'selfhood' and identity, and how this relates to social and private engagement with spirituality.

However, Wilshire (1982) acknowledges the 'truth' in Goffman's (1959) reflections on 'embarrassment' that arises from the 'slipping' of a mask. This in turn suggests that 'masks' involve a degree of 'self-deception' which addresses deficiency in self-esteem. Self-esteem relates to both private and social interactions (Goffman 1959; Tajfel and Turner 1979), making it inherently relevant to identity relevant to the idea of 'performance' for oneself and others (Wilshire 1982). Wilshire (1982) addresses the limitations of IPT by acknowledging that as individuals, we are "essentially social, essentially fantasizing, essentially private, and – if we may say so – essentially actual beings" (p.297). Therefore, to adequately address the limitation of IPT which includes a potentially de-moralising and limited view of the 'true' self in its reduction of self-hood outside of private and social performance, the entirety of the elements discussed by Wilshire (1982) must be considered. This avoids a 'limiting' or 'singular' view of the individual, providing for a more nuanced and layered approach.

The current study addresses this through the use of these various perspectives, acknowledging the multiplicity of individual character within different circumstances. Further consideration is given to the use of other theories which address the role of other (f)actors which implicate private, social, and authentic identities (SIT and ANT). Attachment theory is also relevant here, as it relates to development of identity and self-esteem. This consideration is important within IPT as it relates to the foundation of one's performance – i.e., to what degree does one feel that they must 'perform?'

The multi-layered perspective applied in the present study allows for an ‘expansive’ understanding of identity and how this is implicated within private and social environments. IPT is therefore a useful theory in the present study, from which important interpretations can be made, especially when accounting for a broader view of individual identities and contexts.

Identity performance theory and spirituality in prisons

To better understand IPT and spirituality in prisons, a study by Crewe, Hulley, and Wright (2020) is utilised. This study was chosen as it focuses on the effects of life imprisonment in young adulthood, in which identity performance is explored. The topic of spirituality is also present in this study around its impact on prison experiences. Findings from this study draw insight into the uses and effects of identity performance in prison, including the role of spirituality. As such, this study will help deepen the understanding of IPT’s relevance to spirituality and the Cayman prison population.

Crewe, Hulley, and Wright (2020) collected data from 309 male and 21 female participants from 25 prisons across England between February 2013 and December 2014. All participants had life sentences (minimum 15 years) at the age of 25 or less at the time of sentencing. Participants at early stages in their sentence (within the first four years) were purposefully overrepresented in the sample as they were the fastest growing proportion of eligible participants at the time of data collection, and to ensure a follow-up sample. Practitioners were also most concerned about the effects of imprisonment on this group, justifying their enhanced recruitment. The study sample included a significant number of individuals from racially minoritised groups (46%) and participants who identified with different spiritual orientations such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. All participants completed a survey for the study which centred around experiences and emotional responses to life imprisonment total of 126 males and 27 females were interviewed. Interviews took place in two parts discussing 1) life history and 2) prison life and lasted between one to four hours (Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020). Since the sample centres around people with life sentences, this study can show clear impacts of imprisonment on identity with a heavier emotional burden [from knowing that one will be serving a long sentence with associated POI] and a longer period to go through different identity performances and changes. Since prolonged prison identity performances can have negative

impacts on wellbeing (De Viggiani 2012), the focus of the study by Crewe, Hulley, and Wright (2020) is important to consider.

The study by Crewe, Hulley, and Wright (2020) found that the presence of spiritual identity performances in prison can have a positive effect on individuals whether they identify as spiritual or not. This was seen in sentiments among a participant who converted to Islam around the use of 'Muslim etiquette' which “warmed [his] heart towards the religion” (Crewe, Hulley and Wright 2020, p. 178). This shows how spiritual identity performance can uplift the wellbeing of the audience and indirectly encourage and influence them to engage in spiritual beliefs and practices. This relates to the study by Jang et al. (2020) around SIT and the positive influences of spiritual groups in prisons. Since the examination of the study by Jang et al. (2020) centred around SIT, this shows a cross-over between SIT and IPT. Implications of this are that consistent exposure to [positive and adaptive] spirituality in prisons through the form of spiritual groups can instigate positive identity adaptation - through performances - with the potential to spread across prison populations (Jang et al. 2020).

The participant continued to state that the display of brotherhood and care from the Muslim group was an important drawing factor in converting to Islam (Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020). In this case, the aspect of brotherhood could be considered an identity performance since it discusses the expression of a familial ‘mask’ within the group. It is important to note here that individuals in prison who identify as spiritual and religious utilise cooperative coping more than those who identify as neither spiritual nor religious (Stansfield, O’Connor, and Duncan 2018). This helps explain the benefit of familial masking around brotherhood among the Islamic prison group and means that spiritual [and perhaps familial] identity performances can benefit coping. Considering the positive effect on both performers and the audience, this has important implications for prison experiences around identity reformation, social identity, the social environment, rehabilitation, and reintegration.

The mention of cooperative coping is reminiscent of the studies by Mckeown et al. (2017) and Cassibba et al. (2014) around adult and spiritual attachment around support seeking in secure attachment. It is worth considering how attachment impacts identity performance and sociability in prisons. This importantly relates to both wellbeing and survival in prison, significant findings around the use of identity performances. This shows the connection between SIT, IPT, and

attachment theory and why they are useful in understanding the complex experiences of identity, relationships, and experiences of imprisonment.

However, spiritual performances were perceived as negative by some participants in the study by Crewe, Hulley, and Wright (2020). A participant who did not identify as Muslim reported that “prison Islam” is a “big gang” used for protection (Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020, p. 178). A Muslim participant who no longer attended the prison prayer group relayed their disdain for others in the group, stating that the Muslim group was used as a cover for drug dealing (Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020).

The sentiment that religion is used in prison for disingenuous reasons (e.g., drug dealing) points to manipulative uses of spiritual identity performance in prisons (when such allegations are true) which discourages prosocial relationships within the prison. It is important to note that disingenuous spiritual performances may be utilised because they offer certain 'benefits' - i.e., access to spaces where drug dealing may be less suspected or detected. In this case, spiritual performances may 'hide' and potentially promote offending inside and potentially outside of prison. It is worth noting that the existence of disingenuous spiritual performances contributes to this distrust (Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020). The effects of this are important to consider since spiritual identity performances may be met with distrust from outgroups – i.e., non-spiritual imprisoned people – and lead to issues around interpersonal inter-group dynamics within the PAN. This has the potential to undermine rehabilitative support from prisons as well as promote offending in and outside of prison by using spirituality as a cover for criminal activity. This is important to explore within prisons as it relates to imprisoned people who identify with or outside of spiritual groups, concerns the prosocial/trusting climate of the prison, and rehabilitative prospects.

Although disingenuous identity performances are viewed as negative within the prison, Crewe and Ievins (2020) found that spirituality helped people in prison to be more open and authentic. This relates to the positive impacts on identity during imprisonment as discussed in part by Crewe, Hulley and Wright (2020) and Jang et al. (2020). Crewe and Ievins (2020) used findings from three qualitative studies on daily social life and culture in medium security male prisons (Crewe 2009), experiences of people convicted of sexual offences (Ievins 2018), and comparisons between

experiences in English and Norwegian prisons which focused on imprisoned females and imprisoned males convicted of sexual offences.

Participants in Crewe and Ievins (2020) study felt that they were not their “true self” (p.9) before coming to prison. They relayed that imprisonment allowed them to explore their ‘true identity’. Some participants stated that prison provided an opportunity to create a new identity (Crewe and Ievins 2020). This shows that imprisonment can initiate the dropping of 'inauthentic' masks and facilitate identity reformation (Crewe and Ievins 2020). This speaks to the potential for imprisonment to instigate positive changes (Crewe and Ievins 2020) which can be linked to spiritual identity performance (Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020). Though identity can change depending on the audience, the existence of a more vulnerable and open identity within the prison context remains an important aspect towards rehabilitation especially. The link to spirituality can be found here in the ability of adaptive spirituality to help individuals accept and make the most of difficult and traumatic events such as imprisonment (Currier, Holland and Drescher 2015; Kiesling et al. 2008; Cassibba et al. 2014). It is therefore worth considering the role of spirituality in the recreation of adaptive identity performances in prison.

Similar findings around disengaging with identity performances were shown in the study by Crewe, Hulley, and Wright (2020), where participants with life sentences worried less about exploitation and physical targeting, a typical expression of masculine identity performance in prisons (De Viggiani 2012). This was because, “everybody’s killed someone, so you don’t need to prove no more to no one else” (Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020, p.129) which discouraged others from physically threatening those with life sentences. It is important to note the link here to group membership (i.e., being on a life sentence), which means that group identities link to individual identity performances, showing the link to SIT (Tajfel and Turner 1979). This is exemplified by survey results, in which physical threat was rated as 37 out of 39 most stressful aspects of imprisonment for male participants and 36 out of 39 for female participants. To clarify, physical threat was rated significantly low as a stressor (Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020). This is an identifiable link between pre-existing attributes (i.e., offence types) influencing identity performance (or lack thereof) from the audience. This shows the significance of individual identity within the overall PAN, specifically, the mask which other prison actors utilise when in the presence of those on a life sentence. Where findings by Crewe, Hulley, and Wright (2020) show

that audience perceptions of Islam and 'prison Islam' can result in engagement or avoidance of spirituality [limiting its subsequent effects], these are important aspects to consider.

The change in identity within IPT and how this is navigated is a key underlying factor within studies – i.e., the shift to a religious identity (Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020), the sentiment that one can become more 'authentic' in prison (Crewe and Ievins 2020) – making it important to explore further within the prison context. Jewkes' (2012) exploration of identity in prisons also draws on Goffman's dramaturgical ideas to understand the impact of imprisonment in this regard. Jewkes (2012) explains how imprisoned people often report a sense of 'suspension' of their authentic identity, and how their 'mask' used in prison is based on ideas of survival and pragmatism within the harsh prison environment. In these cases, the 'self' is believed by imprisoned people to be the emotional core of their authenticity, whereas one's 'identity' is outward facing and often protective of this inner core. The duplicity of the 'self' versus 'identity' shows that there are distinct ideas of self-dissection and separation which occurs within prisons.

Narrative and understanding of the prison experience was also relevant, as imprisoned people's interpretation of occurrences – e.g., 'caring' versus 'uncaring' treatment from staff – could lead to further internalisation of ideas around failure (i.e., to stay out of prison) and self-worth (Jewkes 2012). As such, the formation of identity around prison experiences and how this interacts with the sense of self is also crucial to understand.

Hardie-Bick's (2018) work on self-narrative in prison support the importance of this effect as discussed by Jewkes (2012), stating how one can reconstruct their identity to empower themselves and cope with the challenges of imprisonment. This was mainly done through reinterpreting experiences of the past and the present to change beliefs, desires, and values (Hardie-Bick 2018). This has important implications to identity formation and reformation, speaking to the significant role of mask construction and thus identity performance within prisons. However, self-narrative reconstruction could also be used to justify the use of violence, relating to negative perceptions of identity as mentioned by Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020). As such, the movement and change within identity, how this occurs, and the role of prison within this is important. The current study will explore how spirituality 'fits' in with this effect, providing further insight into its impact and overall role in identity.

IPT informs key areas around managing everyday prison life, dealing with others (e.g., other imprisoned people), and solitary coping. Spirituality plays an important role here as it can moderate how one interacts with others, also linking to affiliated groups and thus SIT. The theory of attachment relates to one's ability to perform in a cooperative way which is also linked to coping with imprisonment. As to solitary coping performances in prison, this is importantly related to experiences of imprisonment. Addressing theoretical cross-over within prison populations will benefit prisons' ability to support safety (McKeown et al. 2017), coping (Cassibba et al. 2014; McKeown et al. 2017), and rehabilitation through reformatory identity performance (Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020; Goffman 1959). The following theory to be explored is ANT which conceptualises the roles of human and non-human actors and how they influence each other – i.e., the actor-network. This theory is importantly linked to identity, relationships, and wellbeing, drawing together the previously discussed theories (attachment theory, SIT, and IPT) to explore the role of spirituality in Caymanian prisons.

Actor-network theory

ANT explores the relationship between different actors (human and non-human) within a social context, also referred to as the actor-network (Latour 2007). ANT explores the concept of non-human actors (i.e., figures, items, concepts, and ideas which can hold physical and/or social space; Latour 2007) as a key element of the actor-network making ANT unique to the other theories explored thus far. This theory will be particularly useful in understanding participants' relationships with spiritual items in Cayman prisons which is a key aspect of this thesis. ANT is developed retrospectively, following the actors through interactions and methods of socialisation (Latour 2007). Its attention lies in the movement and transformation which occurs during interactions, meaning that it can only be applied once the noted shift has occurred (Latour 1999). ANT is thus aimed at understanding a 'tiny locus' rather than large social shifts. This is relevant to understanding individual meanings of spirituality and how this relates to relationships, unique experiences of imprisonment, and spiritual items in the present study.

According to Latour (1999), ANT focuses on the fact that the actor is aware of their actions and that the researcher should aim to also understand how and why the actor 'acts' (e.g., psychology,

intentions and motivations). This allows for further examination of changing roles and the actor-network itself. The inclusion of evolution around the actor-network infers dynamics around past, present, and future events. This theory therefore also relates to attachment theory, SIT, and IPT as everything that influences the actor becomes relevant to the actor-network. Through this, recollections, present circumstances, and inferences may be used to inform an understanding of the role of spirituality in Cayman's PAN. This is benefitted using non-human spiritual items and object elicitation in the current study.

Latour (1999) highlights the importance of mitigating hierarchical perspectives between actors - i.e., the 'actor' does not necessarily have more significance than the 'network' and vice versa. Importantly, Latour (1999) speaks on the transformative element of these connections – i.e., in perspective, translation, and transportation - rather than an immediate and unmediated movement of actors. Latour (1999) emphasises that the use of the term 'actor' is not meant to diminish the humanity, psychology, and morality present within human influence – these factors are integral to understanding the role of the actor. Furthermore, the actor should be allowed to 'build their own space' rather than being delegitimised as incapable of understanding their own experience (Latour 1999). This relates to the exploratory aims of the present study which seek to understand the role of spirituality from the perspectives of imprisoned people. Overall, ANT highlights the 'circulation' of social influence between actors, eliciting the significance of the 'space' between them and the potential for transformations/networks and change which arises from this (Latour 1999). This speaks to the subjective and somewhat unrefined nature of spirituality and how its significance changes with each individual (McGuire 2008).

Limitations of actor-network theory

The limitations of ANT lie foremost in its potential misapplication – i.e., its misinterpretation and subsequent misuse of the theory can result in misinterpretations of findings (Latour 1999). This is important to discuss as it involves potential discrepancies in theoretical analysis if unaccounted for. Latour (1999) discusses the significance of using ANT correctly, specifically in relation to the use of the hyphen between 'actor' and 'network'. This component must not be forgotten as it encapsulates the fundamental power dynamics between the actor and the network – i.e., the actor and network are equal within the social hierarchy of influence and overall significance. The present

study has a significant focus on the roles of actors (i.e., participant identities, spiritual items, and prisons) and networks (i.e., relationships and the PAN) which balance the prospective ‘hierarchy’ in this respect. This means that the use of object elicitation and the objective around experiences of imprisonment inherently align with Latour’s (1999) guidance, mitigating the potential to misuse ANT. With this understanding, ANT can be used as a relevant and insightful theory in the present study.

Actor-network theory and spiritual items in prison

Since the prison environment and staff attitudes affect wellbeing and rehabilitative outcomes in among imprisoned people (Blagden, Winder, and Hames 2016; Liebling 2011), we can discern that other actors within the PAN may have a notable impact, including spiritual items. Additionally, the role of spiritual items may also be influenced by the PAN, an important consideration in the present study. This means that spiritual items may have different effects inside versus outside prison. This is especially important to consider around the flexible, individual, and complex nature of spirituality, and how it relates to present circumstances and wellbeing (McGuire 2008; Allen et al. 2013; Cassibba et al. 2014). Other relevant actors surrounding the PAN include the country and culture within which the prison resides (Tsing et al. 2001; Smith and Ugelvik 2018; Beckford 2013). As such, the understanding of spiritual items in Caymanian prisons must be examined from the within prison environment itself - a key proponent of the current thesis.

A study by Beckford (2013) highlights the importance of religious artefacts in prisons. This study focused on the experiences of Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh chaplaincies in British prisons to understand key points of contention. This study included qualitative methods, involving telephone interviews with 16 Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh chaplains, (two female and 14 males). Key topics in these interviews included issues around religious registration of imprisoned people, challenges and opportunities for religious practice, monitoring of religious activities, chaplains’ tasks and their perspectives of equality and inequalities between religions and chaplains. This relates to the inequality in access to non-Christian services within Caymanian prisons (CIIMB 2021).

Findings from Beckford’s (2013) study show that spiritual artefacts are held sacred and fundamental to their spiritual practice in prison. This is a crucial finding as it shows that to effectively administer spiritual care in prisons, one must have access to necessary spiritual items.

These items were often related to spiritual beliefs (i.e., religious text) and/or practices such as Muslim prayer mats. Other items mentioned included prayer caps; incense; prayer beads; halal, kosher and vegetarian meal options, and access to food and other required items for spiritual celebrations (Beckford 2013). This relates to the significant role of spiritual items as actors within prisons. Considering that these relate to minority groups, the significance of spiritual items is especially pertinent - they are more likely to come under maltreatment by staff [who may not be aware of traditionally respectful methods of handling specific spiritual items; Beckford 2013] and are not as easily accessible as spiritual items related to predominant local religions (Beckford 2013). As such, SIT is also relevant concerning perceived characteristics of ingroup (familiar faiths) and outgroup (minority faiths) memberships by prison staff.

Beckford's (2013) study highlighted the inequality of access to spiritual items (i.e., prayer beads, prayer caps, sacred text, and incense) leaving Hindu and Sikh participants feeling especially disadvantaged compared to Muslim and Christian imprisoned people. Considering the effects of spirituality on wellbeing (Allen et al. 2013; Currier, Holland, and Drescher 2015), the confiscation of spiritual items could also be considered an additional aspect of POI. This would be related to the deprivation of possessions as well as agency [to practice spirituality in a way which is subjectively adequate and satisfactory]. The aggravation of POI for minority groups in prison (Beckford 2013) infers negative effects on wellbeing and interpersonal associations with staff (Deuchar et al. 2016; Jang et al. 2020), creating further issues within the PAN. This is especially relevant to Caymanian prisons where there is a lack of religious prison programmes and resources outside of Christianity despite requests from minority religious populations (HMCIP 2015; CNS 2019; CIIMB 2021). The unavailability of alternate religious programmes shows a need to improve and ensure access to spiritual items for minority spiritual groups.

Further inequality was felt around the perceived disrespect by prison authorities towards these spiritual artefacts (Beckford 2013). This was aggravated when this issue was not experienced by others who identified as Christian, Pagan or Odinist as examples. This not only shows the importance of access to spiritual items but also shows cultural perspectives in the PAN as a key factor regarding spiritual items. In this sense, cultural characteristics of the prison actors around spiritual items (which are also actors) for minority imprisoned people are significant to consider. This relates to the continuation of colonial governance and religious homogeny in service

provision in HMCIPS, emphasising the need to decolonise prison approaches in spiritual respects in Cayman.

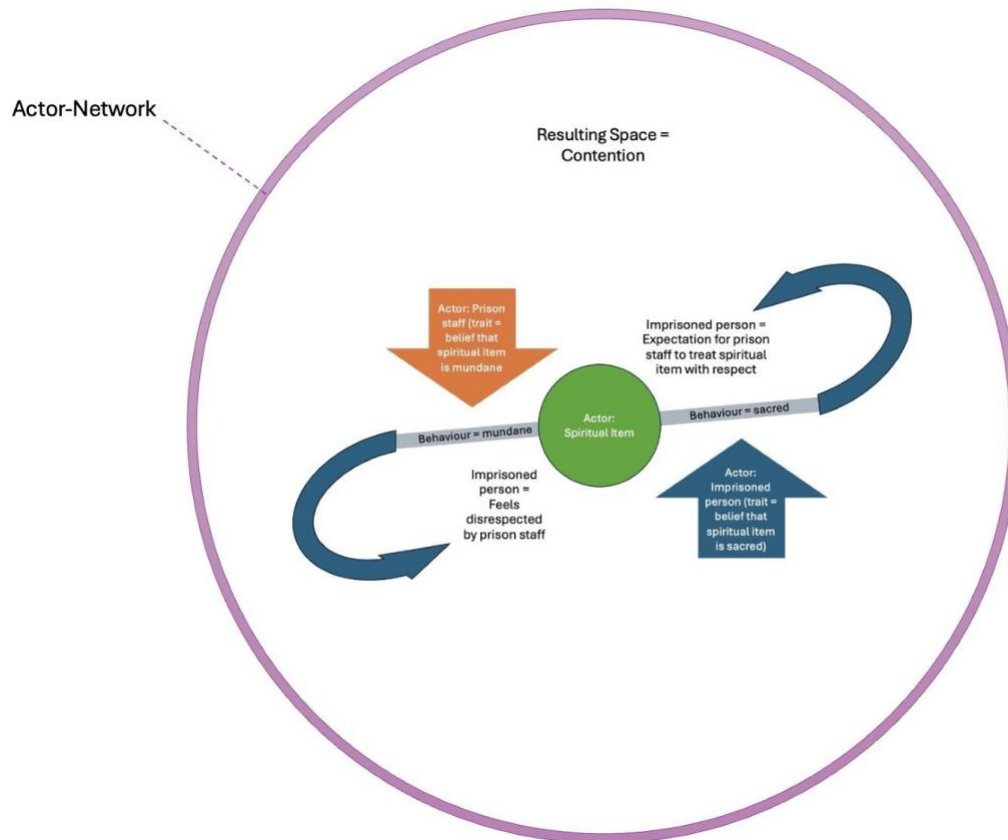
Beckford (2013) mentions the upset caused by the throwing of Hindu holy books on the ground, walking on Muslim prayer mats, and using a dog [considered impure in Islam; Subasi 2011] in routine searches of cells. Another issue raised was around the lack of separation between 'pure' (e.g., halal) and 'impure foods' - thereby contaminating the food for the Muslim participants. This finding relates to Warr's (2023) and Herrity, Schmidt, and Warr's (2022) discussion of touch and the significance of the senses in communicating power and dominance within the prison and criminal justice system. In this case, the misuse of touch with spiritual items for minority spiritual groups is a significant issue in their relationships with prison staff, emphasising the complexity of spiritual identity, how it relates to spiritual items, and how the prison can convey negative messages through interaction with these items. Beckford's (2013) study shows a significant clash around items bearing spiritual significance between minority prison groups and the local PAN's cultural context, an important finding to consider within the context of touch and relationships with staff. This is important as these incidents can also be considered discriminatory and in violation of religious rights (Beckford 2013; PRT 2020).

The resulting upset from the mistreatment of spiritual items points to the connection between the items as actors, and identity – contention is felt towards prison staff not only because they are mistreating their spiritual items, but the staff are also perceived as disrespecting the imprisoned people's spiritual identity. The spiritual item can therefore be considered an actor which acts as an extension of the individual – how it is treated is felt personally, symbolising the role of attachment and identity to the item. This signifies the role of spiritual items within IPT – they are physical extensions of one's spiritual 'mask' and therefore are expected to be treated [and respected] in the same way as the owner. Through this, the spiritual item and owner as actors as fundamentally connected. In the case where ownership is not relevant, but one expects a specific spiritual (e.g., religious) item to be respected, this relates to SIT, as one identifies with the item as sharing the same spiritual characteristics. The item therefore belongs to the same 'spiritual' ingroup where it is a significant member and actor. Since the role of spiritual items is significant among imprisoned

populations, respect in the access and treatment of these items – whether it be familiar, personal, or minority-based - is crucial.

As explained by Latour (1999), the focus of ANT is a 'tiny locus.' The simple yet significant events described by Beckford (2013) provide an example of how short (timewise) interactions can result in high degrees of contention due to the differing perspectives between imprisoned people and staff around the significance of the spiritual item. In this instance, prison staff view the spiritual item as mundane (i.e., ordinary, un-special; Durkheim 1995) while the imprisoned people perceive the item as sacred (i.e., set apart from the mundane, to be treated as special; Hubert 1994). Within this, the differing group membership and resulting perceptions around spiritual items as actors result in an imbalance of expectations – on how to handle the spiritual item. This reflects Warr's (2023) discussion around the differences in staff versus imprisoned people (and forensic psychologists) perceptions of touch in routine searches – they were generally unaware of the negative effect and messaging it could convey. In Beckford's (2013) study, the resulting space around the actors (e.g., prison staff, spiritual items, and imprisoned minorities) transforms from expectation of respect to contention – because of the perceived disrespect arising from the differences in perspective. Figure 1 (Appendix B) is used to explain this theoretical discussion of ANT below. This relates significantly to the lack of non-Christian resources in HMCIPS which signals a lack of understanding around the significance of non-Christian spiritualities to the imprisoned population.

Figure 1: Portrayal of the actor-network of contention around spiritual items (Beckford 2013)



As shown in Figure 1, the mistreatment of spiritual items can negatively impact the PAN through relationships with prison staff (Beckford 2013). Alternatively, and theoretically, treating spiritual items with the same respect that one should treat imprisoned people may garner much more positive outcomes with staff and thus the PAN. Within this, the 'space' between actors is a significant aspect, as it forms part of the transformative process between actors. This has important implications for the Caymanian PAN, as the lack of non-Christian resources can be felt as discriminatory and ostracising for minorities (Beckford 2013). This could result in a lack of faith in the prison system as well as contention towards staff and other imprisoned people who may be [intentionally and/or unintentionally] discriminatory towards minority groups (Beckford 2013). This is understandable when considering that minority spiritual populations in prisons may interpret inequality and inequity in access to spiritual items as a personal offense on one's identity. ANT is therefore useful in understanding the relationships and resulting transformation of actors and networks within prisons through spirituality. The next theory to be explored is the GLM, which centres around relevant factors in effective rehabilitation.

The good lives model

This section discusses the GLM and how it can be useful in understanding the role of spirituality in Cayman, specifically around its potential within rehabilitation. The GLM is a theoretical framework of rehabilitation created by Ward and Brown (2004) as an alternative to the risk-need-responsivity (RNR) model. RNR is the rehabilitative framework used in UK prisons – and thus HMCIPS – today (HMPPS 2022). However, critiques on the effectiveness of RNR (Ward and Brown 2004) remit the exploration of more contemporary rehabilitation theories and frameworks. Since the GLM as an alternative has shown some promising rehabilitation and desistance outcomes (Walgrave, Ward, and Zinsstag 2021; Barnao and Ward 2015), it is used for this thesis. The GLM will be used to address the third discussion chapter specifically: *The role of spirituality in experiences of imprisonment and rehabilitation*.

Since the GLM was created as an alternative to RNR, it is important to understand the purposes and challenges of RNR which instigated the development of the GLM. RNR model focuses on appropriately tackling dynamic risks to reoffending with an intensity that matches one's risk level - i.e., programme placement matches individual needs (HMPPS 2022; Ward and Brown 2004). Ward and Brown (2004) highlight key issues with RNR, including that while managing risk is necessary, it is an insufficient means of effectively reducing reoffending. Other issues include RNR's negative goal orientation - reducing risk through avoidant means (i.e., eliminating criminogenic beliefs, removing desires related to offending, and modifying emotions which justify offending behaviour and attitudes). RNR also does not address motivations to offend or acknowledge of the key role of therapeutic relationships. RNR also does not address the dynamic relationship between risks, further limiting it as a rehabilitative approach (Ward and Brown 2004).

GLM purports that reducing reoffending centres around equipping and preparing people who have committed offences to lead 'good' lives. This includes feeling loved, valued, functioning, competent, and a member of the community (Ward and Brown 2004). The GLM explains that rehabilitation involves acquiring the primary human goods (PHG) that every person needs. *Italic* font is used to emphasise the PHG in text. These goods are *life* (i.e., health and optimal physical and sexual functioning); *inner peace* (i.e., freedom from emotional distress and turmoil); *creativity*; *happiness*; *relatedness* (i.e., familial, romantic, community); *spirituality* (i.e., purpose

in life); *excellence in play and work* (including mastery experiences); *knowledge*, and *excellence in agency* (i.e., self-determination and autonomy). The PHG of *spirituality* relates directly to the aim of the present study, though it is more specific to life purpose within the GLM than the broad and explorative meaning attributed by the current study. The term 'instrumental goods' or 'secondary goods' is used to define the means by which one acquires PHG. Criminogenic needs in the GLM describe the resulting offending which arises when one attempts to acquire PHG through criminogenic or maladaptive means. The factor of 'readiness' is also an important component of GLM and speaks to one's current internal capacity to effectively engage in rehabilitation. This speaks to the person-centred approach of GLM and its increased consideration of dynamic needs and risks. This relates to the unique consideration of spiritual identity in the present study and how it may connect to experiences of imprisonment and rehabilitation.

Though the GLM was initially created to target people who have committed sexual offences, its utility was quickly recognised within wider offence ranges (Walgrave, Ward and Zinsstag 2021). The GLM contrasts RNR in its positive goals, strength-based approach and highlighting of the important role of the facilitator within rehabilitation, making it a more person-centred rehabilitation approach. This aligns with the individual and unique nature of spirituality, making it suitable for exploring rehabilitation and its connection to spirituality in the present thesis. Since initial evaluations of effectiveness, the GLM has continued to show signs of success among various offence types and rehabilitative areas such as sex offences (Chu and Ward 2015) and antisocial behaviour (Loney and Harkins 2017) as examples. It has since become a popular model within rehabilitative settings (Barnao and Ward 2015) with much empirical merit (Loney and Harkins 2017).

Relevant programmes implemented in HMCIPS include ATP, STP, and TPJ. These programmes are all spiritual rehabilitative prison programmes created by the Prison Fellowship and the PFI as discussed in the previous chapter titled *Literature Review*. The present author was not able to discern any available literature on the evaluation of these programmes in Caymanian prisons, making their impact within rehabilitation unknown. It is therefore important to understand the potential for spiritual rehabilitation prison programmes which are relevant to the Caymanian prison context. This will be explored through the examination of the Damascus Road Second Chance programme (DRSCP), a spiritual rehabilitation prison programme for Black prison populations as

evaluated and discussed by Brown and Grant (2018). The current study's qualitative approach will provide further insight into apt rehabilitative approaches which may be more relevant to HMCIPS.

Limitations of the good lives model

Although the GLM has shown success and subsequent increase in popularity as a rehabilitative framework in prison (Willis, Ward, and Levenson 2014), it is important to discuss potential limitations. One of the main limitations of GLM revolve around the lack of standardised testing for its assumptions on the causes of offending (i.e., maladaptive means of accessing PHG) and outcomes of rehabilitative interventions which use GLM as the theoretical framework (Mallion, Wood, and Mallon 2020). This view holds that the GLM is significantly 'intuitive' rather than based in empirical evidence. This is a limitation because the evidence supporting the GLM is mainly garnered post-application (Mallion, Wood, and Mallon 2020). This can be harmful in application *if* the GLM were to show negative outcomes Ogloff and Davis (2004). Zeccola, Kelty, and Boer (2021) support the need for further evaluation of the GLM which can definitively ascertain its effectiveness, what contributes to this, and how it may/or may not reduce recidivism.

Although Zeccola, Kelty, and Boer (2021) state that there is limited evidence support that the GLM reduces recidivism, its use in the present study as a framework of understanding the role of spirituality around personal rehabilitative aims remains relevant. This is to purport that while these efforts may not successfully reduce recidivism – to uncover this is not an aim of the current study – it is still crucial to understand how spirituality impacts engagement with rehabilitation. Therefore, despite critiques of the GLM as a potentially less effective rehabilitative model, it remains useful here as a theoretical framework of understanding how and why participants in the present study use spirituality to engage with personal ideas of rehabilitation. This knowledge would be valuable regardless of whether they successfully reduce their chances at recidivism as it provides further insight into the theoretical and practical role of spirituality within rehabilitation.

Nonetheless, the GLM was evaluated as at least as effective as relapse prevention programmes and had positive effects on participant motivation to engage in treatment and change their behaviours (Mallion, Wood, and Mallon 2020). The scope of empirical studies which support the GLM as an

effective rehabilitative framework has also grown since its conception (Mallion, Wood, and Mallion 2020), making it a useful rehabilitative theory for the present study.

The good lives model and spirituality in prisons

An example of a spiritual rehabilitative prison programme which is tailored for Black imprisoned men is the DRSCP (Brown and Grant 2018). This is important to explore as it relates significantly to the Caribbean context of the present study. This programme is 13-weeks and developed by Bringing Hope, a Christian organisation which enlists Christian facilitators. The DRSCP accepts participants of all faiths and centres around the ideas that: (1) transformation is a process which requires time, nurture, and support; (2) the need for transformation is the start of the journey, and (3) acquiring a new value system, based on the principles of responsibility for one's self, family, and community, is a foundation for this change to occur (Brown and Grant 2018). These aims relate to secure attachment as it emphasises nurturing and support, characteristics of secure [attachment] and authoritative parenting styles (Table 1; Appendix B). This in turn relates to *inner peace* and *happiness*; *spirituality* and *agency* (i.e., self-determination of value systems and responsibility) in the GLM; SIT in its reflection on the role of family and thus *relatedness*; IPT through the focus on identity transformation, and ANT around the consideration of different actors (family, self, and community) within identity transformation.

Brown and Grant's (2018) study used interview, surveys, a focus group, and observational data in a category B men's prison to assess how faith-based programmes contributed to critical group discussions and deconstruction of narrow and dominant narratives of [black] hypermasculinity. Ten participants from the DRSCP were involved, aged 20 to 39 and represented various faith groups – i.e., most identified with Islam and Christianity, while some followed Rastafarianism, no faith at all, or preferred not to say. Three participants identified as having African heritage and seven as having Caribbean Black heritage. The ethnic and spiritual demographics reflect the Caribbean context of the present study. Seven participants were single, two were married or cohabiting with dependent children, and one was married or cohabiting without dependent children. All participants were educated between GCSE and A-Level or equivalent and participated in interviews and completed the Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Wellbeing scale survey weekly. Eight

participants were involved in an end of programme focus group. These participants also completed self-reflections around experiences and perspectives. Interviews with three staff members, one family member, and four practitioners were also conducted.

Participants of the DRSCP are encouraged to reflect on historical significance of social processes in British, Caribbean, and African societies on a wider scale and how this impacts their choices in their own lives. This speaks to the PHG of *knowledge* [of influential factors in one's life and their significance within a historical context] and integrated understanding of ANT within the DRSCP, as it fosters critical awareness of external factors and self-understanding and offending. Brown and Grant (2018) note an encouragement to use 'sociological imagination' (p.24) to understand relevant social structural and historical concepts, showing a push to attain *creativity* in the support of rehabilitation and identity change. This starkly contrasts the aims of TPJ which place sole blame on its participants (PFI 2024; Anderson et al. 2023), thus undermining self-esteem (i.e., *happiness* and *inner peace*) and the understanding of relevant *knowledge* around one's journey to offending. The understanding of this social and historical context is especially important and empowering for imprisoned Caribbean populations (Brown and Grant 2018), highlighting the value and relevance of the DRSCP.

Resulting understanding of predisposition towards offending due to ethnic background and social climate was used to challenge the integration of 'black and hypermasculine' stereotypes (Brown and Grant 2018). Challenges around race in a 'racist society' were also examined, underpinned by self-reflection on how one was conditioned to respond to hyper-masculine labelling and how this impacted the navigation of social and prison life. This shows the development of *knowledge* to benefit *relatedness* within society and the prison environment. IPT is relevant here, as it speaks to the use of *knowledge* to better understand influential factors which create hypermasculine masks and labels, therefore informing how they can be undone. This finding relates to survival in prison as masculine performances are a common approach and component to this (De Viggiani 2012). Since these performances can cause psychological distress over time (De Viggiani 2012), this finding is especially important to consider within spiritual rehabilitative programmes.

The value of group discussion among participants is highlighted by Brown and Grant (2018). This signals the relevance of SIT and group formation within spiritual rehabilitation programmes and how they can be used positively and effectively. This also speaks to *relatedness*, and how it can be fostered within spiritual prison rehabilitation initiatives. This connects to the study by Jang et al. (2020) around the FMP and shows how spiritual rehabilitation programmes may support prosocial ties in prison. This is an important finding which also relates to attachment theory around the significance of secure attachment and support seeking, which in turn correlates with reduced self-harm and suicide (McKeown et al. 2017). The DRSCP therefore may have important implications for attachment, support, wellbeing, and health (i.e., *life*).

The use of therapeutic (i.e., practitioner) and peer relationships in the DRSCP is an important aspect of the GLM (Ward and Brown 2004) and connects to ANT. From the ANT perspective, the present actors create a transformative space which is conducive to prosocial identity reformation and interpersonal relationships. This is significant in general, but especially so in prisons which often create a chaotic and hypermasculine atmosphere, or 'space' (Deuchar et al. 2016; De Viggiani 2012). The actors of the DRSCP are therefore actively combatting the negative hypermasculine influences within their identity (i.e., society and personal life experience) and the prison environment itself. The potential positive implications of this on the PAN are significant as shown in the studies by Jang et al. (2020) and Crewe, Hulley, and Wright (2020).

Brown and Grant (2018) discuss how practitioners are expected by participants to show personal investment and a sincere care about participants' wellbeing. This helped to establish trust, improving facilitation and engagement, especially around learning coping mechanisms in prison and for post-release. The post-release component relates especially to *excellence in play and work* – i.e., learning how to cope with challenges (e.g., around employment and leisure) while desisting from crime. Turner, Hastings, and Neighbor's (2019) study corroborates the importance of spirituality and cultural awareness in trust building among Caribbean populations in therapy. This signals positive rehabilitative approaches within the DRSCP in alignment with the GLM and contextual – i.e., demographic - appropriateness, especially as it relates to coping and thus wellbeing (i.e., *inner peace, life, and happiness*). Connections are made here to the aims of the DRSCP and attachment, as practitioners reflect the characteristics of secure attachment parenting

styles through having an approach of nurturing, care, and trust (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979; Table 1; Appendix B). This is especially important in prison where most of the population have insecure attachments (McKeown et al. 2017; Miller and Klockner 2019). This shows how the involvement in secure approaches in therapeutic relationships in the DRSCP may relate positively to coping, a significant risk when related to insecure attachment (McKeown et al. 2017).

Grant and Brown (2018) describe how the DRSCP uses cultural and criminological *knowledge* and *creativity* to build *agency* and protect wellbeing (e.g., *inner peace* and *happiness*). *Relatedness* with practitioners and other participants is a key factor, giving participants space to deconstruct hypermasculine identities and rebuild themselves around it. This also relates to the deconstruction of colonial impacts on identity and predisposition to offending, an important aspect relating to the context of the current study as Cayman is a British overseas territory 'settler' nation. This importantly relates to coping and survival in prison, as well as desistance prospects post-release. The DRSCP approaches rehabilitation in a way which is culturally nuanced, and especially relevant to Caribbean prisons and populations (i.e., in non-Caribbean prisons) and thus the present study. Brown and Grant's (2018) study also reflect key connections to the other theories discussed in this chapter, showing a rounded approach to rehabilitation. Using GLM to examine the study by Brown and Grant (2018) and has helped to identify some key benefits and challenges in the uses of spiritual rehabilitative prison programmes. This has important implications for wellbeing, rehabilitation, and desistance especially as it concerns navigating a post-colonial society as a racially minoritised individual in a post-colonial world.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the relevant theories to the aim of present thesis: to understand the role of spirituality for people imprisoned in Cayman. The discussed theories include attachment theory, SIT, IPT, ANT, and the GLM. Relevant studies were incorporated into the present chapter to show the connection of these theories to the present study. These theories correlated with the key objectives of the current study, which are to understand the role of spirituality in (1) identity (Attachment theory, IPT), (2) relationships (SIT), and (3) experiences of imprisonment (ANT, the GLM). ANT especially connected to the role of spiritual items in the current study. The use of

theories from multiple fields (i.e., psychological, criminological, and sociological) offers a rounded approach to addressing the key aim of the present study.

Attachment theory can be generally understood as centring around the development of secure and insecure attachment in infants which impacts adulthood interpersonal relationships (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979; McKeown et al. 2017). This theory is especially related to the current thesis objective concerning identity. Within this, secure and insecure attachment styles are important qualifiers of interpersonal relationships and wellbeing, which are significant aspects of imprisonment. Attachment was an important component of spiritual and secular coping as discussed by Cassibba et al. (2014). This had important implications within prisons, as varying attachment styles could result in differing wellbeing outcomes (McKeown et al. 2017). SIT was also important here, since attachment styles related highly to support seeking in prisons. It is therefore an important theory to utilise within the prison context as it can provide significant insights into the cause and prevention of self-harm and suicide, and how this may be related to spirituality.

SIT centres around the idea that identity is driven by group affiliations and social identity (Tajfel and Turner 1979). In this theory, the individual wants to be validated by being accepted as part of the group, leading to adoption of the group identity. This theory was shown to be especially relevant to spirituality in prisons as it the spreading of positive identity attributes through exposure to a spiritual prison programme (FMP; Jang et al. 2020). This showed that group exposure was enough to facilitate positive identity changes linked to positive rehabilitative prospects. This had important relations to the PAN as it connects to eased tensions between imprisoned people and staff. Important connections were also drawn to survival, in which involvement in FMP and subsequent prosocial bonds can mitigate experiences of isolation and the deprivation of security. SIT also linked to attachment styles which are fundamental to how one related with others (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979; McKeown et al. 2017; Cassibba et al. 2014). This factor connected especially to wellbeing and survival in prisons, showing the value of spiritual programmes in prison.

IPT was formulated by Goffman (1959) around the idea that people wear different 'masks' depending on perspectives of oneself and others and the immediate social context. The study by Crewe, Hulley, and Wright (2020) around the experiences of life imprisonment was utilised to explore this theory. Key findings relating to identity performance in prison were identified around cooperative coping, solitary coping, and spirituality. Spirituality was especially relevant towards facilitating positive group memberships and atonement. There were also significant links to [caregiver and spiritual] attachment, in which bonds between other people in prison served as important underlying factors towards cooperative identity performances (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979; Cassibba et al. 2014; Mckeown et al. 2017). The prison environment sometimes served as an avenue to become more authentic (Crewe and Ievins 2020), highlighting the opportunities of prison which can be used towards encouraging adaptive identity reformation and relationship development. IPT is therefore a relevant theory in the exploration of spirituality and imprisonment in the current study, and how this relates to the key objectives.

ANT centres around the importance of various actors (human and non-human) within social contexts and how they impact each other. This theory is especially relevant in understanding the role of spiritual items in Caymanian prisons. Non-human actors are given the same importance within the actor-network as human actors (Latour 2007). The impact of actors within the actor-network relies on perspectives and sentiments between actors as much as it does actions and behaviours. This makes ANT relevant to the first, second, and third objectives of the present thesis. The significance of spiritual items in prison was explored by Beckford (2013) around the mistreatment of spiritual items for imprisoned minority spiritual groups. This was important as it relates to interpersonal relationships with staff, cultural prison contexts, and wellbeing outcomes. This showed the varying values and perspectives around spiritual items in the PAN and the importance of prison awareness around minority spiritualities in prison. This is especially important in Caymanian prisons which offer predominantly Christian services.

The GLM by Ward and Brown (2004) was used to explore the role of spirituality in rehabilitation in prisons. This theory centres around the idea that successful rehabilitation arises from the attainment of PHG through instrumental [or 'secondary'] goods. GLM holds that the journey of rehabilitation should be person-centred, making it a somewhat holistic framework. Brown and Grant's (2018) study on the DRSCP showed the potential benefits of spiritual rehabilitative

programmes in prisons for Caribbean populations especially. The DRSCP significantly related to the attainment of PHG and was aligned with the aims of the GLM. This included the importance placed on relationships between facilitators and participants. The GLM was useful in examining the appropriateness and potential challenges around spirituality and rehabilitation, making it a suitable theory for the present study.

Overall, these theories are useful in understanding key underlying factors around the role of spirituality in prisons which can be related to the Caymanian prison context. The theories will be used to address the research objectives in the discussion chapters, answering the key aim of the present thesis. With this relevant theoretical understanding, risk factors and effective measures can be put in place to predict and prevent self-harm and suicidal behaviour (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979; McKeown et al. 2017; Cassibba et al. 2014); encourage the adoption of prosocial attitudes and social identities through spiritualities which facilitate rehabilitation (Jang et al. 2020); understand and facilitate different identity performances in prisons including the use of spirituality towards effective coping (Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020), and encourage and promote positive uses of spiritual items in prisons within and outside of staff relationships (Pontzen 2020; Beckford 2013). These theories are beneficial towards the Caymanian prison context and will provide a theoretical understanding of the data from this thesis. The following chapter is titled *Methodology* and discusses the research conduction of the present study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This study aimed to understand the role of spirituality in the lives of imprisoned women and men in the Cayman Islands (Cayman). This chapter explains the research methods utilised for the current study. Though previous literature highlights the significance of spirituality in prisons (Allen et al. 2013; Grier and Clot-Garrell 2015; Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020), this study provides novel academic insights. This is the first study to explore spirituality in Caymanian prisons and involved a novel intersection of methods. The qualitative research methods included double (at separate times) and single semi-structured individual interviews and object elicitation of spiritual items at HMP Northward (i.e., Cayman's only male prison) and HMP Fairbanks (i.e., Cayman's only female prison). These methods were chosen in alignment with the constructionist ontological and interpretivist epistemological approaches of the study, enabling a deep, and explorative approach to achieving the aim of the present study. Nineteen participants took part in total though data were excluded for one, leaving the total participant count at 18 (4 females and 14 males). Since spirituality is a significantly relevant aspect of Caymanian and Caribbean culture (Williams 2016; Kleine and Wolhrab-Sahr 2020), and prison life (Allen et al. 2013; Deuchar et al. 2016; Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020), the dynamic role of spirituality was important to explore for imprisoned people within this context.

The need for localised prison research related especially to the Caymanian prison context which has strong governing but relatively weak cultural ties to the UK (Williams 2016; HMCIP 2015; CIIMB 2021). Although inferences could be made from research in other localities, the significant dearth of local Caymanian criminological literature heightens the chances of implementing misinformed and ineffective approaches to spirituality in prisons, something which could be detrimental to the wellbeing and rehabilitative prospects of imprisoned people (Nako 2018; Beckford 2013; Ward and Brown 2004). This was particularly important to consider around Cayman's high recidivism rates despite its comparatively small prison population (CIIMB 2021; NDC 2023). Furthermore, the provision of spiritual care and rehabilitative support for non-Christian imprisoned people remained an issue, highlighting a significant area of need (CIIMB 2021). To best implement effective measures in Caymanian prisons, research around this must be

conducted locally. This was benefitted by my insider positionality as a Caymanian woman with previous experience working (interning) in both Caymanian prisons.

At the time of data collection, I was a Post Graduate Researcher (PGR) at Nottingham Trent University (NTU), aged 23-24. I was born and raised in Cayman, having interned annually at HMP Northward (often working in HMP Fairbanks) from the ages of 16 to 21. These internships involved working under resident forensic psychologists in the rehabilitation centre within the inner prison gate (Image 1; Appendix C). Some tasks I performed involved writing reports, forming and hosting a chess club, presenting on trauma-informed care, and creating content for and sitting in on rehabilitative groups. Though I did not know most participants within the study before data collection, the small population of Caymanian prisons (168 in HMP Northward and 12 in HMP Fairbanks at the time of data collection; CIIMB 2021) meant that my positive preceding rapport was valuable in recruitment and comfort during interviews.

It is important to define the rapport since it was a significant component of qualitative research and the present study, especially as it concerned sensitive subject matter (i.e., experiences of imprisonment; Miller 2017). Tamm, Otzipka, and Volbert (2021, p.2) defines rapport as “the establishment of interpersonal trust between the interviewer and the interviewee, while communicating respect, understanding, and acceptance”, while Newberry & Stubbs (1990, p. 14) describes it as a “harmonious, empathetic, or sympathetic relation or connection to another self”. The present study accepts that rapport involves interpersonal trust between the researcher and the participant, which includes important aspects of respect; acceptance; empathy and sympathy; understanding, and resulting harmony.

The significance of this study taking place in both (all) of Cayman’s prisons cannot be overlooked, as it means that this study can positively impact the entire prison population in Cayman more directly. As to the direct and immediate potential impact of this study, summarised reports for both prisons will be created upon completion and publication of this thesis. Participants were also offered the opportunity to request a copy of the thesis.

Although this study occurred in Cayman, it remains relevant beyond its locality as spirituality and imprisonment are global phenomena (McGuire 2008; Shammass 2017). This also makes the present study especially relevant to racially minoritised prison populations worldwide. The current study

does not purport that non-Caymanian prisons should adopt the findings of this study as wholly relevant, but rather consider the key aims and objectives in a way which is contextually appropriate and applicable. The transferability of this study includes inspiration around potential research approaches and the consideration of areas where spirituality may be worth exploring (e.g., in relation to personal identity and expression, and the use of spiritual items within prisons). Plans for dissemination include a report for HMCIPS on how to best incorporate the findings of this study and publications on the significance of spirituality in prisons generally, and how to approach this topic. Further dissemination includes publications which will be made around relevant topic areas and findings from the present study – e.g., positionality, object elicitation, and emotional labour.

The cross-sections between spirituality and imprisonment are valuable towards empirical consideration in other localities. The academic value of this study extends to the application of research methods towards garnering an understanding of spirituality in smaller localities, encouraging the use of localised research and researcher insider positionalities. This is especially important research for Caribbean prisons, which have been academically 'hidden' due to access challenges (Lancaster-Ellis 2017). Future implications of this study and its novel research approach signify the value of localised research to understand the role of spirituality in prisons and beyond, including the role of spirituality for people on probation; post-release; recidivism, and desistance. The present study has important implications for imprisoned people, their families, prison staff, and fellow imprisoned people (i.e., in consideration of the impact of individual experience and behaviour within the wider prison population).

Research aim and objectives

This thesis aimed to understand the role of spirituality in the lives of people imprisoned in Cayman. This study focused on the impact of spirituality on identity, interpersonal relationships, and experiences of imprisonment. The impact of imprisonment on these factors was also explored, expanding the breadth and depth of this study. Spirituality is a fundamental part of Caribbean and Caymanian culture (Williams 2016) and is thus relevant to Caymanian prisons. Though Christianity is the most popular recognised form of religion and/or spirituality in the

Caribbean, spirituality is a personal experience beyond religiosity (McGuire 2008). The present study aimed to understand the actualities of spirituality for imprisoned people beyond cultural and religious affiliations and assumptions. This meant that personal spiritual experiences, ideas, beliefs, and practices could be explored in an open and explorative manner to understand their relation to prison life.

Though other studies explore spirituality in prisons, this has never been conducted in Cayman, a highly novel research location considering its Caribbean context, rapidly growing (29% since 2010; ESO 2021) total general population and ever-shrinking local (i.e., Caymanian) population within this. This study was benefitted by a qualitative approach, within which the defining of spirituality by participants gave significant depth, linking to the constructionist ontological and interpretivist epistemological perspectives in the current study. This meant that the 'reality' of spirituality and one's understanding of it was distinctly garnered from participant perspectives. This approach addressed the aim of the present study and contributed significantly to knowledge in the 'hidden' Caymanian context and generally on the topic of spirituality in prisons.

As this study addressed aspects (spirituality and imprisonment) which are related to the impacts of colonialism in Caymanian, it was important to include that the current study took a decolonial approach. O'Brien and Charura (2024, p.40) describe a decolonial approach as “breaking down the structures that support power inequalities, such as discrimination, prejudice and racism, within our profession.” As such, using an 'organic' approach to defining spirituality among participants (who are predominantly Caribbean; Table 11; Appendix C) was distinctly decolonial as it contrasted a forced narrative of what spirituality was expected to mean by offering pre-determined definitions. This study provided a novel and nuanced approach towards conceptualising spirituality in prisons on multiple though interconnected levels: individual, interpersonal, and within the PAN.

Additional contribution to knowledge from this study is given to its theoretical considerations - attachment theory, SIT, IPT, ANT, and the GLM as discussed in the previous chapter. These theories were used to better understand how the findings relate to the research aims. Spiritual items in this study were also importantly viewed as actors within the PAN, an important contribution to knowledge. The influence that individuals and spiritual items have within the PAN is vital to

consider as it related to the impact of identity and relationships on experiences of imprisonment throughout the prison. Findings around the role of spirituality in Caymanian prisons may be transferable to imprisoned Caribbean populations globally, Caribbean prisons, and a general understanding of spirituality's role in prisons worldwide. However, it is important to qualify this with localised and individual understandings.

Considering the personal nature of spirituality (McGuire 2008), its effect on wellbeing and health, and its significant links to the pains of imprisonment (POI, Shammass 2017; Allen et al. 2013), it was appropriate to explore spirituality and imprisonment on an individual basis. This justified the use of individual qualitative measures. This connected to the use of constructivist and interpretivist ontological and epistemological approaches – the perspective of the participant was prioritised. As a researcher, this meant that I was not expecting specific definitions of spirituality to emerge from participant narratives, instead aiming to interpret their unique responses. This as the basis of the present study allowed for an in depth, nuanced, and novel exploration of the research aim. This present study was conducted by exploring key aspects of the experience of spirituality in prisons in Cayman as portrayed in the research aim, questions, and objectives below.

Research Aim: To understand the role of spirituality in the lives of imprisoned people in the Cayman Islands

Research Questions:

1. How is spirituality understood, experienced, and expressed?
2. How does spirituality fit into inter-relational aspects among family, other imprisoned people, and prison staff?
3. What impact does spirituality have on the experience of imprisonment?

Research Objectives:

1. To understand the role of spirituality in identity.
2. To understand the role of spirituality in relationships.
3. To understand the role of spirituality in experiences of imprisonment.

These research objectives were selected around important areas of spiritual experiences and imprisonment - identity, interpersonal relationships, and overall experiences of imprisonment. These aspects interlinked spirituality and imprisonment, especially as they relate to rehabilitation

and reintegration (Shammas 2017; Crewe, Hulley, and Wright 2020; Kiesling et al. 2008). Though rehabilitation and reintegration were not key aims of this study, they were important to consider towards implications of any prison research. This was especially relevant here as spirituality has direct and indirect alignments with themes and aims of rehabilitation (e.g., identity, wellbeing, and community; Ward, Mann, and Gannon 2007; McGuire 2008; Ward and Brown 2004). The research questions therefore gave direct and indirect insights into rehabilitative prospects.

Spirituality is uniquely related to identity (McGuire 2008) and has important implications on relationships (Kiesling et al. 2008). These topics connect significantly to experiences of imprisonment, signifying important cross-sections between the research aims and objectives. The use of semi-structured qualitative methods alongside the personal definition of spirituality by participants allowed for an important exploration of how these objectives align with the lived experiences of participants. This connected significantly to the ontological and epistemological of the present approaches as findings were guided by participants without the inclusion of definitions which could relate to implicit hypotheses – i.e., the specific way in which one may relate to preconceived ideas of spirituality and thus its impact on identity, relationships, and experiences of imprisonment. This thesis therefore provides important methodological and empirical contributions to knowledge.

Ontology and epistemology

Ontology

Ontology can be understood as the nature of the world (Crotty 1998) and what can be known about it (Snape and Spencer 2003; Al-Saadi 2014). An ontological discussion is useful to understand the basis of the research questions, data conduction, researcher perspective and role (e.g., in relation to positionality and rapport), data analysis, finding interpretation, and the discussion. This study took a constructionist ontological approach - the perspective that reality is based on individual perceptions which bring about social constructs (Bryman 2008; Al-Saadi 2014). This approach was the most appropriate due to the subjective nature of experiences of spirituality and imprisonment (McGuire 2008; Shammas 2017). This study took the position that participant

realities of spirituality and imprisonment were individually experienced and equally legitimate realities. This framework of understanding was most evident in the use of qualitative semi-structured interviews and object elicitation guided by participant understandings of spirituality and what was most relevant to them as individuals within this. This meant that participant accounts have not been rationalised to fit into a structured objectivist view of reality.

Constructionism takes the position that reality is created through individual experiences and perspectives on the nature of the world. Since constructionism constitutes that reality can only be perceived individually, it rejects the notion that reality can be completely accurately studied and measured and states that reality can only be estimated and approximated (Bryman 2008; Al-Saadi 2014; Table 1; Appendix C). This includes the understanding of reality over time, within which constructionism accepts that reality is not fixed and can change in unpredictable ways – even with measures in place (contrary to post-positivism which uses hypotheses to pre-theorise patterns of social behaviour; Al-Saadi 2014). As such, to most accurately understand or interpret the meaning of spirituality for imprisoned people in Cayman, they must be given space to explain this in full. This works to ensure that the most effective and empirically informed measures were put in place as relevant to the context – i.e., Caymanian prisons. This study offers an empirical layout and foundation towards creating and applying more effective prison research and implementations (i.e., rehabilitative programmes and changes to prison functioning) as it relates to individual-specific/subjective needs.

The acceptance that perceptions of reality change with time related to nuances in experiences of spirituality and imprisonment, the differences between individuals, and the changing nature of identity, circumstances, and the prison as a space. This linked to the relevant theories discussed in the previous chapter such as attachment theory, IPT, SIT, and ANT which spoke on the interchangeability of identity and its link to social and environmental circumstances. The GLM was also relevant, as it accepted the unique nature of rehabilitation and individuals needs to achieve this. This related to the changing nature of social constructs as discussed under constructionism, calling for a person-centred and exploratory epistemological approach. The use of these theories within a constructionist ontological approach benefited the study by adding an individualised perspective through a multi-faceted framework of understanding.

Constructionism also holds that the commonalities between individual realities lead to the creation of social constructs through social interactions and phenomena. Social phenomena and constructs, just like individual realities, are accepted as flexible and ever-evolving. This includes individual and social ideas of morality, beliefs and knowledge based on first-hand experiences (Al-Saadi 2014) - central to experiences of spirituality and imprisonment (McGuire 2008; Shammass 2017). This linked to the theoretical relevance of ANT in this study, as social constructs relate to the PAN and how actors (i.e., imprisoned people and spiritual items) engage with spirituality and each other.

Cultural and spiritual awareness is especially important with Black and Caribbean populations in therapy settings (Turner, Hastings, and Neighbors 2019), inferring that this awareness is also important within research settings towards rapport and creating meaningful discussion (especially relevant to prison functioning and rehabilitative measures; Miller and Klockner 2019; Liebling 2007). To best gain an understanding of participant ontologies, rapport was necessary for participants to feel comfortable sharing their views of reality.

This ontological approach also related to the research method of object elicitation in this study as it allowed for more nuance and depth within the exploration of participant realities on spirituality. Previous literature shows that physicality within spiritual practice, community, and spiritual items can relate significantly to spiritual experience (McGuire 2008). This further justified the use of object elicitation as a research method within the study, as it benefited the constructionist understanding of the research aims around the physicality (i.e., nuanced constructs) of spirituality. In this case, the constructions of meaning around the spiritual item offered valuable insights into the aim and objectives of the present study.

The method of object elicitation can aid with the recollection of memories and ideas which are relevant to the research topic, thus furthering one's ability to communicate their sense of reality. This was particularly important when considering that object elicitation can encourage further discussion on hidden and unrehearsed narratives which could not have been discovered with interview methods alone (Willig 2017). This was very novel for prison research and furthers the use of a constructionist approach within this study by allowing participants to explain their spiritual beliefs, ideas, and practices verbally, physically, and visually.

Since this study explored the beliefs, personal ideologies, and practices around spirituality from the individual perspective, the constructionist ontology was suitable for this approach. Constructionism allowed for an open and receptive understanding of imprisonment and spirituality which was necessary for these topics to be understood in a personal and rich manner (Shammas 2017; McGuire 2008). This ontological approach was supported by my positionality as a Caymanian researcher with prior work experience in both prisons in this study, benefitting rapport with imprisoned people, prison staff, and gatekeepers, and thus eliciting meaningful insights.

Epistemology

Definitions of epistemology centre around what we assume about the world and how we can gain an understanding of it. This includes the nature and form of knowledge itself, how it can be acquired, and how it can be communicated (Bryman 2008; Al-Saadi 2014). This allowed for a deeper understanding of the research approach and what the data encompassed as it related to participants' perspectives and knowledge of reality. In this present study, knowledge was viewed as personal, subjective, and unique - defined as an interpretivist approach (Table 2; Bryman 2008; Al-Saadi 2014; Appendix C). Within this perspective, the subjective experiences of knowledge and reality around spirituality and imprisonment were constituted as the main measure of knowledge. Responses were used to guide theoretical understandings of data, thus adding to the overall empirical and academic value of this study and its transferability through using sociological (i.e., SIT, IPT, and ANT) psychological (i.e., attachment theory), and criminological (i.e., the GLM) theory.

The interpretivist epistemological approach constitutes that knowledge is understood through an exploration of social subjects (Bryman 2008; Al-Saadi 2014) - in this case, the role of spirituality for people imprisoned in Cayman. Since the experiences of spirituality and imprisonment are subjective to each person (McGuire 2008; Shammas 2017), this study took an interpretivist epistemological approach. This allowed for an in-depth analysis of individual experiences around spirituality and imprisonment without rationalising participant narratives.

The interpretivist approach allowed for the participants' understanding of reality to inform the foundation of empirical research. This is important in studies around spirituality and imprisonment since they are individually unique. Further engagement with participant knowledge and understanding of reality was facilitated using spiritual items. Since this study was novel in its aim and context, the use of multi-layered research approaches was significant. This open exploration of participant realities and narratives was especially necessary since Cayman's prison culture was largely under-researched. This aspect of the research was also addressed through my Caymanian insider positionality towards more accurately interpreting participant narratives.

As positivist and post-positivist approaches hold the idea that there is a single reality or one that can be theorised, this fundamentally infers a level of rationalisation within socially accepted constructs of reality. This aspect of the Positivist and Post-Positivist approaches can limit accuracy and depth when researching qualitative experiences (Al-Saadi 2014). This is especially important for policymakers to understand the challenges and opportunities around spirituality for imprisoned people. The interpretivist approach was also important when facilitating rapport as it meant that I was open to novel phenomena, having an unbiased interpretation of data.

The combination of constructionist and interpretivist approaches was most appropriate for such subjective and nuanced topics as spirituality and imprisonment. The use of these approaches was reflected in the explorative use of qualitative semi-structured interview methods and the inclusion of spiritual items. These approaches allowed for the encompassing of individual spiritual views of imprisoned people in Cayman in an open and explorative manner. These perspectives were transferable to prisons in other contexts and localities as they concern the individual understanding of reality and knowledge. Findings can be used to inform empirical measures more effectively around prison issues related to these topics (e.g., POI, reintegration, and desistance).

Methodological rationale

This study aimed to engage with the personal realities of imprisoned people in Cayman around spirituality and imprisonment. Spirituality (i.e., practices, spiritual items, beliefs) and imprisonment (i.e., POI) are very individual experiences. This permitted the use of constructionist

and interpretivist approaches. These approaches and the subsequent informative position of participants were integral to the use of qualitative research methods and the interpretation of findings. This study's exploration of spirituality for imprisoned people was valuable towards understanding its relation to the overall experience of imprisonment and its functionality within rehabilitation. Though cultural nuance is integral to the research context, sample and findings, the research methods and findings relate to global aspects of imprisonment (i.e., POI, wellbeing, and rehabilitation), which are transferable outside of the Caribbean.

As discussed in the previous chapter, relevant theories, attachment theory, SIT, IPT, ANT, and the GLM were relevant to the core topics of the present study. The application of theories varied with each individual as each person experiences different circumstances, perspectives, and realities. This was relevant to the present ontological and epistemological approaches. Since this study sought to understand participant experiences on an individual and social basis (i.e., the exploration of relationships) within the PAN, it was appropriate to utilise multi-faceted research methods and theories. These encompassed the nuances within and between participant realities, and how they came together within the PAN. The use of multiple theories benefitted a multi-layered understanding of spirituality in prisons and how these experiences can be recognised within social patterns and phenomena.

The social and personal aim and objectives of this thesis towards an in-depth understanding of spirituality and imprisonment were best accomplished on an individual basis. Individual interviews were deemed most appropriate for this study because they enable the researcher to ask thorough questions on an individual basis (Bryman 2016; Potter and Hepburn 2005). Interviews also allowed for the discovery of 'hidden' (Bryman 2016) such as personal ideas, beliefs, and experiences of spirituality and imprisonment. Rapport was important here, as the in-person research aspects require a level of facilitation and comfort to encourage openness and exploration of rich data. This is especially important for Black and Caribbean people within therapy (Turner, Hastings, and Neighbors 2019), which relates to the discussion of personal experiences in an institutional research setting. This was benefitted from my insider positionality as a Caymanian researcher with semi-insider status in Caymanian prisons. The term 'semi-insider' is used to incorporate the duality of my outsider and insider prison positionality which is discussed further in the section titled *Reflexivity*. The individual research setting – participants were alone with me in a room with a

closed door in the prison - aimed to facilitate comfort and openness. This may not have been as possible in a group setting where participants would not feel as comfortable sharing experiences. The use of individual interviews was a direct link to the ontology and epistemology of this study towards gaining an understanding of individual realities and how they related to spirituality in Caymanian prisons.

The relevance of researcher positionality extended to its effects on data collection, analysis, dissemination, and implementation (e.g., towards the creation of rehabilitative programmes and their facilitation). Important considerations should also be made towards the impact of the study on the researcher (Knight and Zempi 2020), which at present is not discussed due to confidentiality reasons. However, this redaction highlights the 'hidden' nature of prison research which can also complicate the dissemination of significant findings. This has important implications for future researchers (who may not be aware of potential emotional difficulties) and present researchers who feel unable to be open and honest about their experiences in the field. The present study therefore acknowledges the significance of researcher experiences and emotions although there is a present inability to divulge significant detail.

The explorative scope of individual interviews in the present study was maximised by using semi-structured interviews. Since a study of spiritual experiences in Caymanian prisons has never been conducted previously, the use of a base interview structure allowed for a rich foundation of comparative data between participants. Emergent common themes and differences from this method allowed for an understanding of broad and overarching findings within the sample. The semi-structured aspect enabled further exploration into topics which were more relevant for individual participants (Bryman 2016; Potter and Hepburn 2005). The chosen methods for the present study enhanced the richness and value of data as it related to the sample and on an individual basis. This was benefitted using thematic analysis (TA) and interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) which explore patterns and unique phenomena respectively (Braun and Clarke 2008; Eatough and Smith 2017). Other research methods such as focus groups and questionnaires for this study were considered but not used since they may have impeded participant openness and exploration of novel or 'hidden' findings.

This study used TA and IPA as data analysis methods to interpret findings from interview transcripts. TA accounted for common themes across the sample, and IPA built on this by analysing the significance of unique individual experiences. Shared experiences were not considered more valuable or significant than individual experiences. These methods complemented each other since TA was used to explore patterns within the sample, while IPA was used to focus on unique experiences within this, adding further depth and understanding within the theme (Braun and Clarke 2008; Eatough and Smith 2017). This related to the ontology and epistemology of this study in that no single or shared social reality was considered as more or less legitimate than a reality experienced by a single person. Since this study aimed to understand the meaning of spirituality on an individual basis for imprisoned people, highlighting the differences and uniqueness of participants and their experiences where relevant was an integral approach. This was aided by my Caymanian insider positionality in building rapport and increased understanding of participant narratives.

An interpretivist and constructionist approach which holds that reality is personal and subjective within this thesis warranted a more natural approach and involvement with the participants (Al-Saadi 2014). This was carried out with a qualitative semi-structured interviewing approach, in which rapport and empathetic connection were vital to collecting rich and insightful data. The use of TA and IPA allowed for a deeper understanding of the shared and subjective experience which could only be garnered by thoroughly exploring the experiences and beliefs of others (Bryman 2016).

Research Methods & Techniques

Qualitative framework

Since this study sought to understand the deep meaning, realities, and interpretations of spirituality for imprisoned people in Cayman, the ontological and epistemological approaches made the qualitative approach most appropriate. Qualitative research centres around capturing the dynamic emotional and phenomenological experiences of people (Bryman 2016). The research for this study was conducted through double (twice per person at separate times) and single (with

combined interview schedules; Interview Schedule 1; Interview Schedule 2; Appendix C) semi-structured qualitative interviews with people imprisoned in Cayman.

Quantitative data is most appropriate for research concerning statistics or probability which is garnered to give an overview of general attitudes, opinions, beliefs, views, or preferences (Potter and Hepburn 2005). As an investigative research method, questions and answers should be clear, straightforward, and unambiguous allowing for clear-cut data in which variables can be isolated and defined, and the potential for the creation of hypotheses pre-field work (Potter and Hepburn 2005; Bryman 2016). Though qualitative data should also have clear questions and answers, quantitative measures do not allow for answers to be explored further or clarified to provide nuanced data (Bryman 2016; Potter and Hepburn 2005). Since the current study explored the experiences, perspectives and personal meanings attributed to spirituality and imprisonment which were fundamentally personal and nuanced subjects, qualitative data were chosen as the most appropriate research approach.

Double interviews were chosen as a research method to allow time for participants to consider and choose a spiritual item to bring to the second interview. Participants were invited to the first interview and invited back in 10 days to conduct the second interview. During this time, they would be able to further consider the personal significance of spirituality in their life and choose a spiritual item to include in the second interview (if they chose to). The use of spiritual items in the second interview enabled the discovery of 'hidden' data which would have remained unexplored with the use of interview methods alone (Willig 2017).

There were two interview schedules for the current study. The first interview schedule revolved around conceptualising spirituality and its role within identity, relationships, and imprisonment - the key objectives of this thesis. The second interview schedule aims to gain further understanding of these topics in relation to spiritual items (including lack thereof). Pictures of spiritual items were taken after the second interviews were completed (with the prison and participants' consent). These interview schedules were combined for participants partaking in the single interview. These participants were invited to discuss their spiritual item (or lack thereof) during the interview, after which I took a picture of the item [if it was available].

Qualitative interviewing allows for trust-building and rapport which lessens the impact of hierarchical positions (Phillips and Earle 2010). These hierarchies in qualitative interviewing refer to grounded roles in society (Warren 2002) – i.e., a participant may discuss their perspectives as a parent, imprisoned person, before incarceration, and as a former child as examples. The neutrality of this qualitative approach benefits this by enabling participants to engage various perspectives which have different hierarchical roles – i.e., the parent perspective as the head of the family versus their imprisoned status in society. Since most participants were Caribbean (Table 11; Appendix C), this highlighted the importance of rapport within qualitative measures, in which one-to-one interviewing and my insider positionality as a Caymanian researcher with personal cultural awareness benefited the data collection process. Rapport and its necessitation of engagement in a personable manner connected to this study's constructionist and interpretivist approaches since they necessitate the involvement of the researcher in the study to best grasp the personal reality of participants.

Qualitative studies typically have smaller sample sizes than quantitative research. This means that while qualitative data provides depth and nuance, it requires exponentially more field work to capture large sample sizes (Bryman 2016; Potter and Hepburn 2005). As such, one could argue that small sample sizes cannot be generalised to larger populations - an advantage of quantitative research methods (Potter and Hepburn 2005). Since the present study did not aim to generalise findings to other prison populations, this was not a limitation. The generalisation of findings would contradict the adopted ontological and epistemological approaches. Though the present study had a 'small' sample size, the small overall prison population heighten the percentage of participants within the country's prison population, accounting for around 7% and 30% of imprisoned males and females respectively (out of imprisoned 168 men, and 12 imprisoned women at the time of research conduction: CMIIB 2021). Since the measure of adequate sample size for qualitative data revolves around the intended application of data (Sandelowski 1995), the current study's small sample size poses no limitation. Rather than seeking to generalise, the current study highlights the value of understanding unique experiences around spirituality and imprisonment, further justifying the qualitative approach.

A limitation of qualitative interviews is the assumption that participants are relaying a completely truthful and accurate account of their experiences (Lambert and Loiselle 2008; Bryman 2016).

This can be caused by participants' inclination to relay a truth that is more consistent with their self-image, and thus intentionally attempt to manipulate the 'audience' (i.e., the researcher) to use Goffman's terminology (1959). This could also be related to withholding or embellishing recounts attributed to a desire to impress the researcher (Lambert and Loiselle 2008; Goffman 1981). This was felt to be the case in some instances during the current study. However, it is also important to note that these interactions can garner further insights within the data. As such, it was not considered a limitation within the present study.

This aspect of interviewing gave more insight into the roles of identity, imprisonment, and effects of positionality and spirituality in Caymanian prisons. This linked to the ontology and epistemology around using participant conceptualisations of spirituality in research objectives. This also connected to the effect of researcher involvement in the data collection process, how this informs the interview, and what inferences can be drawn from this. The use of qualitative measures meant that even potential obstacles around prison research (i.e., accessing participants, exaggerated narratives, boundaries, and unexpected challenges during data collection) provided further empirical insight into the research questions and beyond. As such, qualitative research methods allowed for a thorough and multi-faceted research approach to gain significant social insights which benefit from the use of theory and researcher positionality. This study's deep and personal findings could not have been gained with the use of quantitative or group research methods.

Sample

A total of 19 participants (15 male and 4 female) were interviewed for the present study. However, one male participant's data (who contributed one of two interviews under the double interview method) was excluded due to concerns over researcher safety and the participant's mental health and ability to consent. Another male participant was not invited for the second interview due to sexual harassment during the initial interview stage, although their data were included in the present study. As such, there were 18 participants' data sets included in this study - 14 men and four women. The demographics of the participant excluded for mental health concerns was not included in the description of sample demographics as this would have been unethical. The sample

size was considered adequate considering the small prison populations in Cayman at the time of this study (168 males and 12 females; CIIMB 2021) and the qualitative approach (Miller, Chan, and Farmer 2018).

Participant demographics have been grouped due to the small Caymanian prison and general population – limited information can be given without breaching confidentiality. This highlights important ethical insights relating to my Caymanian positionality. To further protect anonymity, male and female demographics have been collated in Tables 6, 7, 8, and 9 (Appendix C). The most common nationality was Caymanian (12 participants), followed by Jamaican (five participants), and one participant of an undisclosed nationality [to protect anonymity] (Table 7; Appendix C). Nationalities were grouped in Table 11 (Appendix C) as ‘Caribbean’ and ‘non-Caribbean’ to further protect participant anonymity.

Table 7: Nationality of participants

Nationality	# of participants
Caymanian	12
Jamaican	5
Other	1

Provided by HMP Fairbanks on 2nd August 2022 and HMP Northward on 9th of September 2022.

The largest age bracket was 41 to 50 years with six participants, then 31-40 years and 26 to 30 years with five participants per bracket, and one participant between the ages of 18 and 25 years (Table 6; Appendix C).

Table 6: Age of participants

# of participants	Age (years)
1	18-25
6	26-30

5	31-40
6	41-50

Information provided by HMP Northward on 9th September 2022, and HMP Fairbanks on 2nd August 2022

The commonality of offence types was calculated by total count of offences within the sample (Table 8; Appendix C). Sentence length is also included within Table 9 (Appendix C) which shows that the most common sentence was between 11-15 years (4 participants), followed by 6-10 years and life sentences (3 participants per category); then 1-5 years and remand sentences (2 participants each); then less than 12 months, omission of sentence, and conditional release (1 participant per category). The inclusion of these demographics complimented the qualitative findings by showing the breadth of spirituality in Caymanian prisons. The diversity within these demographics around age, sentence, and offence type showed the significance of spirituality across the prison population, a valuable insight.

Table 8: Offences of participants

# of counts per offence across participant sample	Offence types
9	Robbery, Burglary, Financial crime
5	Violent, Sexual
4	Firearm
3	Murder
1	Drugs
3	Other

Provided by HMP Fairbanks on 2nd August 2022 and HMP Northward on 9th of September 2022.

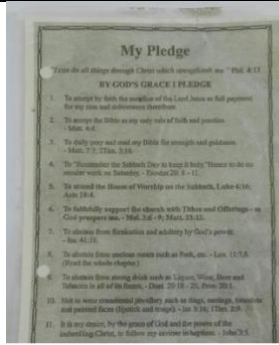
Table 9: Sentence length

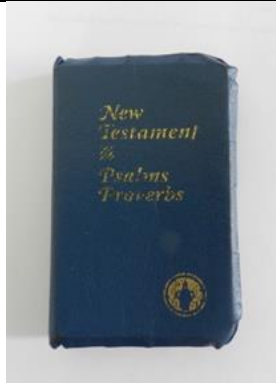
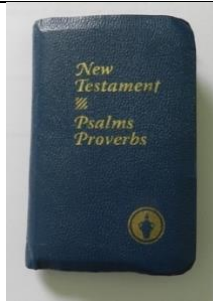
Sentence Length (years)	# of Participants
< 12 months	1
1-5 years	2
6-10 years	3
11-15 years	4
16- 20 years	1
Life	3
Remand	2
Conditional Release	1
Omission of Sentence	1

Provided by HMP Fairbanks on 2nd August 2022 and HMP Northward on 9th of September 2022.

The sample of male participants varied in nationality, offence, and sentence length (Table 4; Table 5; Table 6; Table 7: Table 8; Table 9; Appendix C). All male participants underwent the double interview procedure. This meant that the participants who were absent (or not invited) from the second interview did not complete the second interview schedule or provide a spiritual item. Since the second interview schedule discussed the spiritual item (or lack thereof), participants who did not complete this schedule were not asked to present a spiritual item. Four men presented items to be photographed (Table 11: Appendix C). During research conduction, ten men returned for the second interview. These omissions in the second interview sample meant that only three male participants out of the 13 called for second interviews were unavailable or chose not to come to the second interview. This showed a high retention rate of male participation across the double interview method. These details are shown in Table 11 below (Appendix C).

Table 11: Participant character profiles

Name	Age range	Nationality	Interview Method	Interviews completed	Spiritual/religious status	Spiritual item
Aaron	26-30	Caribbean	Double	2	Spiritual	None
Dan	26-30	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	 Pledge
Romero	41-50	Caribbean	Double	2	Spiritual	None
Mauricio	31-40	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	Cross necklace
Timothy	31-40	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	None
Trent	18-25	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	“Small Bible” (discussed but not presented)
Roy	26-30	Caribbean	Double	1	Christian	N/A
Jerome	41-50	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	His “room” (i.e., cell) where he conducts spiritual practice
Kevin	26-30	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	Pocket Bible (discussed but not presented)

Pablo	41-50	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	“Bible” (discussed but not presented)
Henry	41-50	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	 Pocket Bible
Ronald	26-30	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	 Pocket Bible
Gerald	26-30	Caribbean	Double	1	Christian	N/A
Steven	26-30	Caribbean	Double	1	Non-spiritual	N/A
Renee	Redacted	Redacted	Double	1	Spiritual with Christian beliefs	N/A
Monique	Redacted	Redacted	Double	2	Spiritual with Christian beliefs	<i>The Purpose Driven Life</i> by Rick Warren
Latecia	Redacted	Redacted	Single	1	Spiritual with Christian beliefs	

						Prison owned hymnal
Patricia	Redacted	Redacted	Single	1 (incomplete)	Catholic	N/A

Provided by HMP Fairbanks on 2nd August 2022 and HMP Northward on 9th of September 2022.

Two female participants underwent the double interview procedure, and the other two participants underwent the single combined interview method. Only one participant under the double interview method completed the second interview (Table 11: Appendix C). The other participant – who completed one of the two interviews – was unavailable when I was in Cayman. Of the participants who were given a single combined interview, one gave an incomplete interview as she requested that we stop due to emotional distress. She consented to keep her data as part of this study after being reminded of her right to withdraw and access to support within the prison was discussed. The female participant who completed the single interview had to do so twice due to technical issues - the Dictaphone malfunctioned and did not record the session. To avoid this in future, future research should have two Dictaphones present. Time taken between interviews are shown in 10 below (Appendix C).

Table 10: Time between interviews for participants who partook in both interviews in the double interview methods

# of Participants	The time between the first and second interviews
3 [male participant]	10 days
7 [male participant]	23- 25 days
1 [female participant]	Seven months+

Individual interviews

The main method of data collection for the present study was double (per participant at separate times) and single individual semi-structured interviews. Research methods changed from double to single interviews for two female participants which involved combining both interview guides. Data collection was completed for male participants before female participants – all male participants engaged with the double interview methods. This change in methods was motivated by a desire to have complete interviews for more female participants as the number of women who signed up to participate was low - three women signed up during the initial recruitment stage, of whom one had been discharged by the time data collection was ready to commence in HMP Fairbanks. It was reasoned that the use of single interviews would eliminate the risk of lost interest or participants who had been released before or between interviews. With this change, a complete data set could be collected per participant in a single sitting, informing the decision to change methods.

Two interview guides (Interview Schedule 1; Interview Schedule 2; Appendix C) were used for double interviews – Interview Schedule 1 for the first interview and Interview Schedule 2 for the second interview. The interview guides centred around the key objectives of the thesis and the significance of spiritual items within this. In social research, it is important that questions are clear and relevant to the research aims and objectives, ensuring that the research aim can be addressed (Bryman 2016). A semi-structured inductive approach was maintained around the interview schedules to allow for increased openness for theorising and conceptualising the data (Bryman 2016).

All participants were interviewed with the same interview schedules, allowing for a comparative data set between participants. Comparisons were primarily analysed using TA as it centres around the commonality between participants. However, participants who did not attend the second interview did not provide data for the second interview guide. Individuals were also asked unscripted questions specific to their individual experiences - relating to the semi-structured aspect of interviews. This personalisation of questions was valuable in allowing a rich exploration of participants' experiences which would not have been possible in a structured, group, or quantitative approach. This was primarily analysed with IPA as an individual-centred tool.

Individual interviews as a form of data collection require that the researcher clearly and correctly ask questions and that participants can formulate coherent answers (Lambert and Loiselle 2008). From this, rapport, understanding between the researcher and participant, and appropriate research settings are key to gaining valuable data (Abbe and Brandon 2014). It is also important to note that when the individual is the subject of the research as in this study, body language becomes especially important towards providing cues and further insights into emotional responses in real time (Byrne 2004; Opendakker 2006; Bryman 2016). This was utilised in the present study towards facilitating rapport, measuring interest, avoidance, or discomfort towards questions or topics. This linked to the ontology and epistemology of this project – as it related to interpreting individual experiences - and highlighted the role of the researcher in facilitating an open and comfortable research setting to share personal insights.

Body language was also used in this study as a measure of personal intent, interest, and researcher and participant safety. When participants seemed particularly interested in certain topics (e.g., leaning in, smiling, speaking with increased volume and/or emphasis), this was questioned further, and more time was given for participants to elaborate. When appearing uncomfortable (e.g., becoming quieter, leaning away, looking away), questions were either rephrased or passed on. If participants seemed open to discussing topics which were more sensitive due to cultural stigmas (i.e., mental health) by bringing them up themselves, these topics were more openly questioned in the interview. Knowledge and navigation of discussing cultural stigmas such as imprisonment and mental health (Mascayano et al. 2016; Angermeyer and Matchinger 2003) was also informed by my insider positionality as a Caymanian.

Semi-structured interviews use a pre-determined guide in interviews which can achieve a thematic account of participant experiences. This method also allows for more specific questions around individually relevant areas to be questioned further (Bryman 2016). This approach is inductive since it allows the researcher to remain open to other relevant topics and discussions which may not be incorporated into the interview schedule (Bryman 2016). The use of semi-structured interviews allowed for a flexible approach in which (with the use of reading social cues and body language; Byrne 2004), questions can be amended and changed in a way that results in gaining valuable data from the participant.

This flexible approach allowed for valuable comparative and individual data which gave insight into unique and individual experiences of imprisonment and spirituality in Cayman. Topics with special interest from participants included spiritual questioning and parenthood. These topics contributed to the overall themes within the findings of the present study though they were not explicitly included in the interview schedule. The highlighting of interest on varying topics for different participants emphasised the individual nature of spiritual experiences for imprisoned people and the need for an individual approach. The personal nature of the subject matter also related to the human role of the researcher in qualitative interviews and the ontological and epistemological approaches adopted in this study.

The acceptance of interconnectedness within the PAN according to ANT (Latour 2007), supports the idea that individual experiences of spirituality are significant within the greater prison context. As such, the individualised experiences gained in this study remained a significant factor within the overall Caymanian prison context, making individual interviews a valuable method.

Interviews in action

The following section details the conduction of double and single semi-structured interviews for the present study. Access to the prison was gained via direct contact with the prison director – my previous internships meant that I was familiar to prison management and facilitated this process immensely. My insider prison positionality in this respect was significant in the undertaking of this study, an important insight for Caribbean prison research especially. In both male and female prisons, flyers advertising the project (Flyer 1; Appendix C) were put up alongside blank lined sign-up sheets on which prospective participants would sign up to participate. Ethical considerations around this procedure is discussed in the section titled *Challenges in anonymity and recruitment*. This recruitment method was suggested by the prison as the best approach, to which I obliged as my remit within the prison to mandate or control recruitment methods were limited.

Before the interviews, both male and female participants were asked to go to the interview venue by the supporting officer. If one participant was not available at that time, another would be invited to fill in the time slot. This ensured a random variation in participants as well as no bias in sampling

on my part. Male participants who had signed up to participate were invited and escorted by the supporting officer (to and from the research venue) if they agreed and were available at that time.

All male interviews were conducted in HMP Northward and all female interviews in HMP Fairbanks. All male participants and two female participants underwent the double interview methods. Two female participants partook in the single interview method. The time between double interviews ranged from 10 days to seven months and one week, 8 of which were affected by delays. Three participants were interviewed again after 10 days, seven participants were interviewed between 23 and 25 days, and one participant was interviewed again after seven months and one week (Table 10; Appendix C). These delays were primarily caused by COVID-19 outbreaks in both prisons at separate times and natural disasters (i.e., a severe storm). Five participants did not attend a second interview (two male participants were not called for the second interview, one of which was excluded from the study, and the rest – one male and 1 female - were unavailable), and two participants partook in the single interview methods (Table 4; Table 5; Appendix C). Only four participants in total (3 males and 1 female) did not attend the second interview, showing promise for this technique in prison research. Missing the second interview also provided data, especially on why participants chose not to continue.

Though there were variations in time between interviews for different participants, this was not seen as a limitation since participants who waited longer had more time to consider further responses and experiences between interviews. However, it may have contributed to the forgetting of spiritual items, a potential limitation of this method and arising from the delays between first and second interviews in the present study. This forgetfulness, however, was also considered as a finding – i.e., these participants may have been less likely to ‘keep’ the spiritual item with them outside of the interview circumstances. Since this study aimed to capture a non-physical concept as understood by imprisoned people, any change occurring over the delay was not considered a limitation (Warren 2002). The nature of this study being related to the dynamic nature of human experiences inferred that capturing this data were not inherently restricted to a specific period. Though no participants stated that their spirituality had changed in any way during this break, any changes to participant spiritualities over these delays would only serve to benefit the data and add further depth, insight, and nuance.

Once in the interview room, rapport was established through small talk about the participant's day as an example. This stage lasted between one to 20 minutes as I attempted to keep the interaction as natural as possible to facilitate the comfort and flow of information with the participants. As I was not constrained to time slots for the first round of interviews - aside from mealtimes and work schedules for participants - this did not impede significantly upon interview times. This was significantly benefitted by the flexibility and access given by the prison. This was especially relevant to participants who did not have responsibilities close to the interview time which would limit availability. Though some participants shared information about their spirituality outside of the interview (i.e., while developing rapport), this period was valuable towards building trust and openness during the interview process. This helped develop a better understanding of the topic as it related to the participant, giving some insight into relevant impromptu questions and benefitted the semi-structured approach. Rapport was particularly important in isolated prison populations such as Cayman which had little to no known contact with face-to-face qualitative researchers before the current study, necessitating an emphasis on encouraging comfort and openness (Abbe and Brandon 2014).

After speaking generally with participants and building rapport, they were given the participant information sheet to read at their own pace. I gave participants the option for the participant information sheet to be read aloud to them to account for varying levels of literacy (NDC 2023) without asking or insinuating anything about their literacy levels. Many male participants asked me to read the information sheet for/with them while most female participants took some time to read the sheet thoroughly. No female participant asked me to read to form to them. Regardless of whether participants chose to read the sheet on their own or not, I reiterated the key points of the participant information sheet before commencing:

- Participants were not obligated to answer any questions.
- Participants could pause or stop the interview at any time; they did not have to take part in the second interview.
- Participants did not have to bring an item to the second interview to take part.
- Participants did not have to consent to a picture being taken of their item even if they brought one.
- Participants had the right to withdraw consent within two weeks of the interview.

- If there was any mention of harm to oneself or another, this would be reported to the relevant prison authorities.
- If there was any mention of previously or currently unrecorded offences, this would be reported to prison authorities.

These key points were emphasised at the start and end of the interview so that participants were reminded of their rights as participants. This emphasis also served to ensure that participants did not feel exploited. This was felt to be especially important in the prison setting where participants have limited freedoms (Shammas 2017; Sykes 1958).

After going through the participant information sheet, participants were asked whether they were ready to begin the interview. When participants stated their readiness, I clearly stated and showed when I would start the recording. During the interview, I would begin with the first question on the interview schedule: “How would you define spirituality?” When given detailed answers, I would follow the interview schedule unless responses led towards an alternate, more relevant line of questioning. This semi-structured method of questioning was followed throughout the interview.

When participants were particularly interested in a particular topic or question, they tended to answer these in full without the need for prompting. Areas of piqued interest – i.e., shown through body language or expansive responses - were explored further. Supplementary impromptu questions were used to fill any noted gaps around the general topic areas or wherever relevant for each participant. In these cases, additional questions were asked to gain an understanding of the personal meanings, roles, and aspects of spirituality in the lives of participants. Since this study took interpretivist and constructionist epistemological and ontological approaches, it was important to allow participants to convey what was more or less important regarding their spirituality and individual experiences in general. This was considered while aiming to cover the core aims of this study. From this, a rounded data set was garnered by using a flexible and open semi-structured interview approach.

The use of the spiritual items in the second interviews benefited the data collection process as it opened discussion around topics which were specifically related to the item. Examples of this included further nuance and depth towards Christianity and familial relations which would not

have been discussed in as much detail without the presence of the spiritual item. It is also important to note that all participants who brought a spiritual item agreed for it to be photographed and included in the final publication, even if it could risk their anonymity. This was significant towards the findings and discussion of this study around the willingness to engage visually and the role of participants within the wider actor-network of society through research dissemination.

Further consideration is given to IPT and SIT regarding how participants wanted to/felt comfortable being portrayed outside of the prison – sharing that one was spiritual with the outside community through this study might have been considered beneficial upon reintegration within an exceedingly small community such as Cayman. This may have represented a form of communication with the general public through photos of spiritual items, an important consideration involving the role of the present study as an actor and form of communication for imprisoned people within the Caymanian actor-network. The inclusion of spiritual items and the agreement to photograph them highlighted the nuance of this method and associated findings.

After all questions on the interview schedule had been asked and all observed gaps and relevant areas explored, I informed participants that I had no more questions to ask. Before terminating the interview, participants were asked if they had anything they would like to add or share before ceasing the recording. Some participants stated their gratitude for having been able to share and speak openly about spirituality while others relayed that they were ready to finish the interview. Some shared the same gratitude after the recording had stopped. This spoke to the immediate benefits of this study for imprisoned people – i.e., a space for spiritual discussion - and the significant role of spirituality in Caymanian prisons.

The first participant in the present study (and partaking in the double interview method) stated that they wanted to be asked more questions as they felt they had more to say but it was easier to recall when asked further questions. Another interview was conducted for this participant immediately after the initial interview where supplementary impromptu questions were asked – this participant therefore underwent three interviews, two occurring on the same day. This shows the value of qualitative semi-structured interview methods and rapport (i.e., the participant admitted that they felt that their views had been under-represented in the initial interview), and how they were an

important aspect of this study in garnering significant and relevant data. This was especially helpful for participants who needed further prompting in their desire to engage in the study.

After the recording was stopped, participants were given a debrief form (Form 3; Appendix C) with withdrawal information and support services. Participants left the room after the interview – escorted by the supporting officer to where they needed/were meant to go unless they had business elsewhere which did not require an escort (i.e., rehabilitation group, work, and probation services).

Two male participants either chose not to come back or were not available for the second interview. Data from the second interview guide for these participants was not collected. However, most (10) male participants returned for the second interview, showing that the waiting period between interviews was not a limitation regarding participant loss. Some reasons why participants did not want to take part in further interviews were emotional distress, unavailability, or disinterest. This information was gathered from participants directly and the supporting prison officer (designated by the prison as a practical and safety measure; discussed further in the section titled *Ethical considerations*) when inviting participants for second interviews. The participant who discontinued due to emotional distress spoke with me directly, while the motives of unavailability and disinterest for the other participants were communicated to me by the supporting officer.

Object elicitation of spiritual items

An integral aspect of this study included the use of object elicitation around spiritual items to bring further depth and nuance to the understanding of spirituality in Caymanian prisons. The decision to use object elicitation was made when considering the subjective and unique nature of spirituality – while it could be intangible, the contrary could also be true depending on individual meaning. The value of images around accessibility in for the current thesis was also considered, as allowing the audience to engage with the findings visually can be beneficial towards comprehension and understanding (Roger 2017). This is because photos can act as a metaphor and/or conduit of meaning (Roger 2017).

This research method encouraged further discussion and the elicitation of 'hidden' data which may have remained undiscovered with the use of interview methods alone (Willig 2017). This related

to the 'present' nature of the item in the interview and how participants related to it in the 'here and now' (Willig 2017). Object elicitation allowed participants to engage in the study in an embodied and present manner (Willig 2017). This was appropriate for the present study's focus on spirituality, which is often an 'embodied' experience as it relates to identity, wellbeing, and unique phenomena (McGuire 2008). Within this method, however, it is important to focus on the individual's use and relationship with the object rather than an 'isolated' interpretation of the object's meaning. This was benefitted in the current study by the interview schedules which re-centred questions around the object to the research objectives. Photographs of spiritual items were kept for later analysis and research dissemination.

Object elicitation is cited as an appropriate and revolutionary research method for vulnerable populations especially (i.e., individuals with low life expectancy; Willig 2017; O'Brien and Charura 2024) since it offers an alternative method of engagement around experiences of embodied trauma (i.e., the body's response to a traumatic event; O'Brien and Charura 2024). This means that the object may enable one to focus on an item outside of themselves which holds special meaning and can be used as a central point for the exploration of the research topic, potentially mitigating experiences of embodied trauma during interviews (O'Brien and Charura 2024). This method is therefore appropriate for the sample of the present study since most imprisoned people have experienced trauma (Malik et al. 2017; McKeown et al. 2017). This was important to consider ethically – i.e., in the mitigation of aggravating trauma and distress during research – and empirically around engagement and the elicitation of meaningful data.

The inclusion of spiritual items in object elicitation was a unique aspect of this study since it enabled participants to use alternative methods of communication and engagement to translate spiritual meaning. Therefore, the research methods in this present study allowed for a multi-faceted unique exploration and understanding of spirituality for imprisoned people in Cayman on a spiritual, social, interpersonal, and physical level. Since these pictures are included in the findings of this study, further significance is given to the ability of the reader to interpret these directly. These pictures were used as visual evidence to support the interview data, adding further novelty and nuance to the current study.

Object elicitation utilises memory around the item (i.e., object) to encourage further elaboration and disclosure on the research topic (Willig 2017). This benefitted the understanding of the data and explanation of these layers of experience (Willig 2017). This was further connected to the use of the item as a connector between daily [prison] life and where spirituality fits within it. The inclusion of photographs of spiritual items also allowed for this study to bridge the gap between historical recollection by participants and physical evidence which was representative of one's experience (Johansson 2007). This linked to ANT and the idea that items are actors in the PAN in their own right. As such, the object was accepted to hold its own history (Latour 2007; Johansson 2007). This was relevant and beneficial to research conduction and significant in understanding participant experiences of reality (Ratner 2002; Johansson 2007; Latour 2007; Willig 2017).

Object elicitation in action

Participants were invited to bring an item of personal spiritual significance to the second interview (for the 16 participants – 1 female and 15 males - who took part in the double interview method) or at the end of the single interview (pertaining to one female participant since the other female participant under the single interview method ceased participation during the interview). The participant information sheet contained information about bringing a spiritual item, which was repeated verbally before the commencement of the initial interview. All participants were notified that any identifiable items may risk their confidentiality before initial interviews and giving consent to participate. This inclusive approach was important as it did not limit what participants were able to classify and present as spiritual for this project. In a cultural context such as Cayman which was largely Christian (Williams 2016), the inclusiveness of personal definitions of spirituality and representative methods was an important method and supports a decolonial approach to spirituality. This allowed for an expansion of the concept of spirituality for imprisoned people in Cayman. The combination of research methods gave a multi-faceted approach to understanding the core aim of the present study - the role of spirituality in Caymanian prisons.

To inform participants on what they could bring, participants were asked if they had or could think of any items with personal spiritual significance (which did not compromise prison rules). There were no criteria for what items could be, making this research method inclusive of non-religious

or overtly spiritual items. Participants in the single interviews were asked about the spiritual item during the interview and were given the opportunity to collect/present it after the interview for a picture to be taken. Though participants partaking in single interviews did not have as much time to think about spiritual items to include, all (two participants) were able to think of an item during this interview, showing that the lack of extra time did not pose a severe limitation.

Five out of the 18 total participants (one females and four males) physically provided spiritual items in the interview. Pictures of spiritual items were taken by me after the second or single interview with a camera authorised by the prison [with the consent of the prison and participants] (Table 11; Appendix C). Five more participants thought of and discussed an item during the second or single interview. These items included a Christian book of daily prayers - *The Purpose Driven Life* by Rick Warren, a cross necklace, one's sacred space in their 'room' and two Bibles (Table 11; Appendix C). Items were not provided because they had either been forgotten, the participant no longer possessed the item – i.e., one had given it to her daughter, and another's 'spiritual space' could not be present in the research venue. Though forgetting spiritual items may be considered a limitation of this method, the reasons for the lack of spiritual items at the interview provide significant insights into the data, and thus should not be considered a limitation. From this, we can ascertain that the 'forgotten' spiritual item may not have been as important as a presence in one's daily life, enabling it to be 'left behind' for the interview. This was not as relevant for other participants who brought their spiritual item because they usually had them with them.

Photo evidence of spiritual items in this study added further opportunities for elaboration on the physical elements of spirituality as it pertained to participants' unique meanings. All items physically included or discussed were Christian in nature. The items brought to interviews by male participants included (2) pocket Bibles, (1) religious 'pledge' (list of religious values for their faith and branch of Christianity), and (1) cross necklace. One female participant included a Christian hymnal belonging to the prison. Three spiritual items had noted connections to family (both cross necklaces, and the daily Christian prayer book which had been given to the participant's daughter and thus not present at interview; Table 11; Appendix C), showing how object elicitation was useful in gleaning further insights into the second objective concerning spirituality and relationships.

Those who did not attend the second interview did not have any spiritual artefacts photographed. Though this limited the amount of photographic data, most participants who forgot their item either recalled something which had already been presented by another participant (e.g., a pocket bible or cross necklace) and/or did not seem concerned about the exclusion of their item in the study. Those who recalled rather than presented an item discussed its significance despite its absence, limiting the use of photo elicitation but not qualitative interviewing. Participants who forgot spiritual items were asked by the supporting officer if they would like to have their items photographed outside of the interview, but none returned to have their items photographed. One male participant told the officer that he did not want to have his item included which was understood as resulting from some interpersonal issues post-interview conduct with myself. Details of this are redacted in the present study for confidentiality reasons.

Since half (9) of the total participants either brought or discussed a spiritual item (or space), this showed the value of this method in exploring the aim and objectives of the present thesis. The significance of spiritual items was evident and supports the necessity of exploring their role in prisons and experiences of imprisonment. This has important implications for prison policy as it concerns spiritual care especially, including access to and appropriate treatment of spiritual items. This is especially important regarding spiritual items which may not be overtly recognised as spiritual or pertain to minority religious or spiritual groups (Beckford 2013).

Research setting

Interviews with men took place in three locations: (1) the forensic psychologist's office, (2) the visitation room (located at the prison gate), and (3) an office in the prison gate referred to as the 'gate office' (Image 1; Appendix C). The forensic psychologist's office was chosen as it was available, the forensic psychologist was on the prison team supporting me in conducting this study, and the room was familiar to me from previous internships. Furthermore, the office was regularly available when the forensic psychologist was at HMP Fairbanks, when facilitating group programmes, and when on leave (for about two weeks during research). The changes in the location of the visitation rooms were due to issues around researcher safety and emotional labour (details redacted for confidentiality reasons) and the occasional unavailability of the visitation

room after the research venue was changed. The gate office was used in these instances. Although emotional labour is not discussed presently, an important note is made towards the consideration of my emotions before, during, and following the conduction of the present study. The present study supports that as suggested by Knight and Zempi (2020), researchers' emotions are important to consider within studies generally and especially around sensitive research topics as was the case for the present study.

Though the location changes and personal relationships with different prison spaces (Crewe et al. 2014) are important to consider in the prison context, these factors were not regarded as limiting. This is because of my positionality, the fact that we (participants and myself) were still in prison, and the interview and research topics remained the same. Furthermore, since this change occurred after completing the first interview round, all participants who attended interviews in alternate venues were already familiar with me from the first interview or previous internships. Additionally, since the new research venue was mostly the main visitation room, it was likely that participants were already familiar with the setting and seeing prison outsiders there (i.e., family, and legal staff). This was thought to limit discomfort around unfamiliarity within the new setting. No participants gave any indications of discomfort (which were recognisable to me) in the alternate research settings whether verbally or through body language.

Interviews with female participants took place in an office used by probation officers and other prison staff members. This room was chosen as a research venue (by the prison team allocated by the prison to help with this project) due to its privacy and availability. This room was not familiar to me before research conduction but was relatively comfortable for me and appeared to be comfortable for participants as well.

Recruitment

Recruitment and data collection with male participants was conducted and completed before commencing recruitment with female participants. This decision was made to complete data collection with the larger male prison population first (accounting for the likelihood of having more male participants). Since data collection occurred during COVID-19, there was concern that

research could cease or change (i.e., methods) abruptly, further justifying the primary focus on male participants – i.e., the larger prison population. The prisons are also in different districts (neighbourhoods) in Cayman, making it easier to focus on one prison at a time for data collection. This also allowed the bulk of data collection to be completed before focusing on the smaller HMP Fairbanks sample. The prison team aided in recruitment by putting up and collecting flyers for the study and spreading the word about the project within the prison.

Since the prison team (discussed further in the section titled *Anonymity and Confidentiality*) was based at HMP Northward, this meant that the supporting officer was not at HMP Fairbanks. When getting through prison gates and inviting female participants to the research venue, present officers at HMP Fairbanks would assist. This is important since the supporting officer at HMP Northward was provided as a safety measure. Though HMP Fairbanks is much smaller than HMP Northward, this confers that ensured communication between all parties on safety measures should be incorporated into future prison research in general as no officer at HMP Fairbanks was present at the initial team meeting in HMP Northward.

Forty-one men signed up to participate in the present study – 24% of the total male prison population at that time (CIIMB 2021). 15 male participants took part in this study (around 7% of the male prison population at the time) - one male participant was excluded from the sample data due to mental health and safety concerns. This exclusion also related to emotional labour and restrictions on recruitment though details are not discussed presently. Since restrictions on recruitment involved confidential experiences of emotional labour - which is not discussed - they are not included in the present thesis or discussed in depth where mentioned. It is important to note that restrictions on recruitment were largely ineffective and the resulting sample remains diverse as it concerns potential risk-categories (as this is unknown in the present study).

A total of 14 male participants' data were included in this study. All participants were notified of the research project through flyers put up around the prison (Flyer 1; Appendix C). Flyers were in the communal areas in the cell blocks where most prospective participants would see them. The only block not included in the sample was the High-Risk Unit (HRU) due to the high-risk levels of this population and behavioural concerns which could have risked my safety. This was an outcome of restrictions on the recruitment as per the decision of the prison before data collection.

In HMP Fairbanks, flyers were put up on the walls near the phones between the inner prison gate and the cell block. Two different flyers were used in HMP Fairbanks (Flyer 1; Flyer 2). The second flyer was used to inspire more interest in the project due to the low response rate at the initial recruitment stage. Sampling occurred twice in HMP Fairbanks because only three women signed up initially and one had been discharged by the time the first flyer/signup sheet was collected. However, the small overall prison population meant that the female sample of this project accounts for around 30% of HMP Fairbanks population at the time of this study.

The two female participants partaking in the single interview method were asked by a prison officer if they wanted to participate while I was present. It is important to note here that the officers offered (to me) to ask women if they wanted to participate to which I agreed. This reflects Bosworth et al.'s (2005) discussion that institutions (i.e., prisons) may be helpful in identifying potential participants. It is worth considering that these participants may have felt expected to participate, although neither participant showed signs of discomfort around this invitation and as all other participants, were informed that their participation (or lack thereof) would not impact their sentence in any way. In this instance, relationships with prison staff and sentiments of personal agency are important to consider within the prison and research context. This is an important methodological contribution to knowledge since Caribbean prisons often face many obstacles around research conduction (Lancaster-Ellis 2017). Therefore, insights into building trust with institutions and potential research participants in the Caymanian prison context are valuable. However, the functions of relationships with staff and personal agency within invitation methods are important to consider within future research.

A female participant indicated that the women in the prison were more likely to partake in activities if they involved people from outside the prison, though she did not explain why. As such, directly inviting imprisoned women was a more effective method of gaining female participants. Outsider positionality was therefore a significant recruitment advantage at HMP Fairbanks, an important contribution to methodological knowledge in the field of Caribbean criminology.

Data analysis

Since this study focused on experiences of spirituality and imprisonment in Cayman using qualitative methods, this warranted the use of appropriate qualitative data analysis methods. The data analysis methods chosen for this study were TA and IPA. TA was appropriate for qualitative data because it explores experiences and perspectives which are common across samples and identifies key themes within data. IPA was effective for this study because it captures unique individual phenomena, focusing on the meaning attributed by participants (Braun and Clarke 2019; Nizza, Farr, and Smith 2021). Spiers and Riley (2019) discuss how using TA and IPA is useful in gaining a multi-layered understanding of phenomena in qualitative research. This was especially relevant to the unique yet sometimes shared experiences of spirituality, making analytic pluralism in this approach appropriate to the present study.

These tools were appropriate to the study of spirituality and imprisonment since they are unique to each person but can share common themes across participant samples (McGuire 2008; Shamma 2017). This made them appropriate in the exploration of spirituality and imprisonment in the current study. The use of these data analysis tools was further complimented by multiple theoretical considerations (Attachment theory, SIT, IPT, the GLM, and ANT) which deepened the understanding of the emergent findings. The use of two data analysis methods and multiple theories allowed this study to provide a rounded and rich perspective of spirituality in Caymanian prisons. This is valuable in Caymanian, Caribbean, and prison contexts.

Thematic analysis

TA is a qualitative form of data analysis which involves isolating relevant themes and topics which emerge from the data. In this study, TA was used to analyse both interview and photographic data. TA can be semantic (i.e., based on the use of language) and latent (i.e., building upon inferred and implied meaning), as well as inductive (i.e., garnering specific findings from larger conclusions) and deductive (i.e., developing wider understandings from specific conclusions; Braun and Clarke 2019). This study utilised the inductive method of TA which involved emergent data to identify relevant theories which best apply to the findings. The language used and the direct meaning attributed to experiences by participants were especially pertinent to this analytic approach. The use of this data analysis method was in line with the constructionist ontology and interpretivist

epistemology of this study as it focused on the discovery of relevant perspectives and realities of participants without pre-definition. This related to the semi-structured nature of interviews, allowing participants to develop and reveal significant and hidden themes around the role of spirituality in Caymanian prisons. TA follows steps within the data analysis process. The steps are as follows:

Table 3: Braun and Clarke’s steps to Thematic Analysis

Step 1: Become familiar with the data, Step 2: Generate initial codes, Step 3: Search for themes,	Step 4: Review themes, Step 5: Define themes, Step 6: Write-up.
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Braun and Clarke (2006); Maguire and Delahunt (2017)

The first step included familiarisation with the data. This centred around the re-listening of audio recordings to correct and account for discrepancies in transcription services and accents. **Bold font** was used in quotes in the discussion to emphasise where participants have enunciated their words. This significantly benefitted familiarisation, and it should be noted that the interpretation and translation of accents and participant meanings (i.e., cultural phrasing) were importantly connected to my cultural insider positionality. This further merited the significance of cultural insider positionality in future Caribbean prison research.

During the process of familiarisation and transcription correction, transcripts were coded – using highlighting and annotations (Screenshot 1; Screenshot 2; Appendix C) – into different themes and subthemes (Figure 1; Appendix C). Pictures of spiritual items were viewed alongside their relevant transcript, especially where they were discussed, to connect these methods of data collection within analysis. When significant commonalities within codes which addressed the research question were identified, these were outlined as relevant themes. The themes in this study were explored as outlined by the research objectives: (1) the role of spirituality in identity, (2) the role of spirituality in relationships, and (3) the role of spirituality in experiences of imprisonment and rehabilitation.

The thematic relevance of rehabilitation was an emergent finding, contributing to the overall findings. These themes became the foundation of the discussion of findings.

Themes were reviewed and prioritised in their relevance to the current research question, which led to the exclusion of the themes: 'Gender,' 'Stigma,' and 'Spiritual Phenomena.' The themes included in the present thesis were further developed and defined to outline the specifics of what they entailed – e.g., the code 'identity' became the theme: The role of spirituality in identity. Further definition is attributed to their connections to each other, culminating in a theme map (Figure 1; Appendix C). This review of relevant themes also led to the identification of subthemes and their solidification within the discussion (Figure 1; Appendix C). This review allowed for a comprehensive discussion of the findings.

When discussing the thematic findings, relevant quotes were extracted from the data, explained semantically and latently, and connected to the shared experiences of other participants. This allowed for overt and 'hidden' meanings to emerge. The photographic data of spiritual items have also been used to add context and thematic value to the overall themes and findings within the discussion. Commonalities and differences between participants were explored in detail to expand upon the significance of the theme. This was especially benefitted by IPA which centres on unique participant experiences (Eatough and Smith 2017). A list of subthemes in the current study developed through TA is included below:

Theme 1: The role of spirituality in identity

- Subtheme: Defining spirituality
- Subtheme: The significance of spiritual practice
- Subtheme: Sacredness in space and time
- Subtheme: The significance of spiritual items

Theme 2: The role of spirituality in relationships

- Subtheme: The role of spirituality in familial relationships
- Subtheme: The role of spirituality in relationships with imprisoned people and prison staff

Theme 3: The role of spirituality in experiences of imprisonment and rehabilitation

- Subtheme: The role of spirituality in experiences of rehabilitation and prison space
- Subtheme: The connection between experiences of imprisonment, spirituality, and rehabilitating relationships

These themes reflect the common findings within the study, including nuance between participant experiences, addressing the core research aims of this study. The use of TA in this study allowed for a rounded and rich understanding of spirituality in Caymanian prisons using participant language, perspective, and personal recollections. Object elicitation was beneficial as commonalities between participants' spiritual items were important contributions to the current study's findings. The implications of identified themes can be used towards informing relevant policymakers (i.e., prison officials, and government bodies), stakeholders (i.e., the criminal justice system), and service providers (i.e., probation services, counsellors, and prison staff) on the role of spirituality in Caymanian prisons. Though this study is based in Cayman, themes which relate to global experiences of spirituality and imprisonment can be built upon and are thus relevant on a global scale.

Interpretive phenomenological analysis

IPA was chosen in this study since it is a qualitative form of data analysis which explores personal phenomena from the individual's perspective (Eatough and Smith 2017). This approach made it an appropriate method for analysing qualitative interviews in which the participant was the key interpreter of the phenomenon – i.e., highly relevant to spirituality and imprisonment (McGuire 2008; Shammass 2017). The theoretical underpinnings of IPA are hermeneutic phenomenology, which centres around the idea that phenomenological recollection and query are inherently interpretive (Nizza, Farr, and Smith 2021). As such, reflexivity is an important aspect of IPA to understand how the researcher's interpretation may impact the final evaluation of data (Miller, Chan, and Farmer 2018).

For effective analysis with IPA, it is important to incorporate a coherent narrative; develop meaningful insights; closely analyse language, and address crossovers, outliers, and conflicting

data (Nizza, Farr, and Smith 2021). This linked to the semantic and deductive elements of TA since language is a key tool in interpreting data, allowing these forms of data analysis to further corroborate and inform each other towards the findings of this study. The focus of IPA on individual phenomena was key to this study which aimed to discover the realities and lived experiences which have been previously hidden due to the lack of prison research on the topic of spirituality in Caymanian prisons. This directly related to the constructionist and interpretivist approaches of this study, as the participant was the direct correspondent towards the understanding of reality within the study findings.

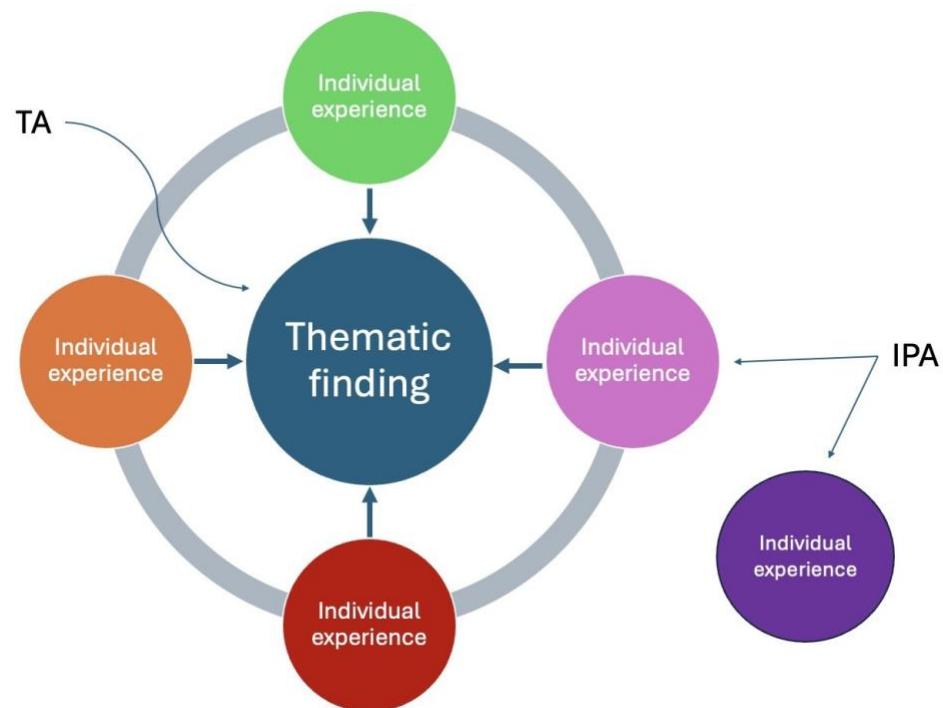
Miller, Chan, and Farmer (2018) discuss the two levels in IPA: the descriptive analysis of participant views of their experiences (i.e., core beliefs, values, and attributed meaning), which was performed by coding participant experiences (Screenshot 1; Screenshot 2; Appendix C). This step was followed by the interpretation of meaning given by participants to their experiences. It was particularly important in the second level to engage theoretical, cultural, and social context which was included in the double hermeneutical approach – i.e., I attempted to understand the participant's perspectives of their experience by re-reading transcripts, especially the narratives surrounding the extract. These quotes were explored in significant depth, eliciting deeper meaning within participant experiences may or may not have related to thematic findings. This allowed for differences in participant understandings of experiences to arise within thematic findings, complementing TA. An example of this included two participants who valued family (i.e., informing the overall theme) but the individual phenomenological significance behind their experience was theorised differently.

The inclusion of object elicitation of spiritual items in IPA added to participants' ability to share their unique and personal perspectives of spirituality and imprisonment. IPA was useful in identifying nuanced meaning within the presentation and significance of spiritual items, making it a valuable research method. In the discussion, IPA significantly benefitted analysis of data through the breakdown of individual narratives and in-depth exploration of personal meaning. This method alongside TA deepened the richness and individual understanding of spirituality and imprisonment in Caymanian prisons.

Both data analysis methods were chosen because they relate to the experiences of imprisonment and spirituality – both can manifest common experiences, yet the individual understanding and perspective within this can be significantly unique. IPA and TA complemented each other as they both focus on significant phenomenological experiences among participants though on different 'levels' - i.e., the broad sample-based theme (TA) and smaller yet just as significant individual locus (IPA). While TA was used to explore patterns within the sample, IPA benefitted this by taking an individual focus, further developing nuance within the theme. The combination of these data analysis methods has been previously supported as beneficial to qualitative empirical studies (Spiers and Riley 2019), further justifying the current approach.

The combination of these data analysis methods in practice revolved around coding. Once significant experiences and/or narratives relating to the objectives of this thesis were identified, TA was used to analyse shared experiences, while IPA was utilised on the unique findings within this – i.e., those that did not fit within a theme. Further use of IPA was involved within the exploration of individual quotes to explain the significance of the theme. While individual narratives created the themes analysed by TA, participant experiences within this were inherently unique, justifying the use of both TA and IPA. Figure 2 is used to explain the use of IPA and TA and how they complimented each other.

Figure 2: Use of TA and IPA in data analysis



Ethical considerations

Ethics is an important consideration for any study; however, the ethics of prison research can be especially challenging (Gomes and Duarte 2020). Some unique factors of ethical prison research include increased transparency between parties – i.e., the prison, myself as the researcher, and university supervisors – and pronounced safety measures regarding the high-risk closed environment (Gomes and Duarte 2020). Trust - linked strongly to rapport – is another prominent aspect of ethical prison research due to participants’ and researchers’ risk of exploitation from each other. As imprisoned populations often engage in distinct (masculine) identity performances to avoid exploitation (De Viggiani 2012), this is an important factor to consider within prison research especially. Trust was also relevant to the relationship with the prison in ensuring safe facilities for research conduction. Further consideration was made towards prison access, which benefitted from existing connections and rapport from previous internships. These aspects were all considered alongside general research ethics by the Nottingham Trent University School of Business Law and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee - hence referred to as the NTU ethics committee.

Before any data collection commenced, the methodology of the present study was considered by the NTU ethics committee. The submitted material included a general research ethics form, the participant information sheets (Form 1; Form 2; Appendix C), debrief forms (Form 3; Appendix C), interview schedules (Interview Schedule 1; Interview Schedule 2; Appendix C) and risk assessment for COVID-19, travel, and prison work. The information forms detailed the aims and procedures of the study, and relevant contact details in case of distress or research queries (i.e., the prison chaplain, myself, the forensic psychologist, and university supervisors). Approval was met in August 2021 which meant that research commenced in Cayman from this point onwards.

COVID-19 was a significant concern at the time of data collection, as it related to travel, prison access (as they could have closed unexpectedly, which occurred twice during data collection), and the health and safety of participants and myself. The current study therefore offers unique methodological experiences as it encompasses face-to-face prison interviews during a global pandemic.

Access to the prison was granted by the prison director post-project approval stage, before seeking ethical approval from the NTU ethics committee. This was to ensure that prison access was granted, and any necessary negotiations discussed before beginning the ethics process were conveyed during the ethics approval process. Before entering, the prison completed a mandatory background check, approved my access, and required that I undertook security training. Changes to prison access around COVID-19 outbreaks occurred twice during data collection, discussed further in the section titled *COVID-19 and Travel Safety*.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Although an integral aspect of ethics to consider, anonymity had to be approached carefully in this study due to the prison environment, small sample size, and small Caymanian public and prison populations. This resulted in the intentional vagueness of participant demographics around nationality, age, sentence length, offence type, and my experiences of emotional labour. The omission of demographic data for female participants was also included due to the exceedingly small prison population at HMP Fairbanks. Cultural awareness and positionality were relevant

here, contributing to the nuanced and necessary understanding of how data must be handled appropriately to ensure anonymity.

The safety risks within prison environments meant that transparency was an important aspect of this study (Silvia and Duarte 2020). This included sharing information with prison staff to avoid risk to my safety and protecting vulnerable participants. This became relevant when issues arose during research conduction – i.e., relating to emotional labour. To conduct research effectively and safely, a team was formed by the prison to assist in this study with which I was able to communicate openly about challenges and other negotiations in the field. This team included the forensic psychologist, prison chaplain, supporting officer, deputy prison director, and the prison director as the primary contact. When challenges around safety and concerns for participants arose, this team was integral to addressing issues and aiding with changes in the research venue to continue research conduction. Since this team was made up of prison staff who were also bonded to confidentiality within the prison, this provided a safe and necessary collaborative aspect which was highly valuable within this study. This is an important factor to consider in future prison research, as the management of emotional labour may be resolved through intervention of trusted prison staff as was the case in the present study.

Since imprisoned people in Cayman were not allowed to have mobile phones, anonymous online sign-ups could not be distributed. The sign-up sheets for this study were placed in prison cellblock common areas, making them visible to all present imprisoned people and staff members. This did not seem to limit recruitment since 41 imprisoned men (24% of HMP Northward's population at the time of data collection; CIIMB 2021) signed up for this study. This likely did not impede female recruitment since technically 30% - i.e., three women - of the prison population initially registered to participate in the study. This is discussed further in the section titled *Challenges in anonymity and recruitment*.

All participants were informed in the participant information forms and verbally that I was required to disclose admission of harm to themselves or others and admission of previously unrecorded or unknown offences to relevant prison staff – i.e., where confidentiality breaches must be made (Form 1; Form 2; Appendix C). Two confidentiality breaches were made – once for mental health concerns for a participant, and once to report the admission of unrecorded offences. I did not

inform these participants that I had breached confidentiality to prison staff. This decision was due to the uncertainty of their reaction and the prospective risk to my safety. Since the consent form did not state that I would inform participants if confidentiality was breached, this was not considered a breach of ethics. These participants were not invited back for interview as this could have been unsafe for myself (i.e., physical safety and emotional labour) and the participants – i.e., the potential for unintentional exacerbation of mental health concerns and/or self-incrimination.

Challenges in anonymity and recruitment

The following discusses the challenge around anonymity in recruitment at HMP Northward and HMP Fairbanks, and how this related to challenges and opportunities in the present study and future research. The use of flyers and sign-up sheets in the recruitment methods meant that prospective participant names were visible to other imprisoned people and staff, reducing the overall anonymity within the present study. As this was the suggested method of recruitment from the prison, this issue highlighted the role of secure/closed institutions in research processes and ethical procedures.

Although my responsibility as a researcher is accounted for here, the negotiation of control over the research project must also be acknowledged – i.e., the final decision on how to recruit participants ultimately laid in the hands of the prison, as they had control of the institution itself. This power-dynamic is highlighted by the fact that I did not have access to prison keys, could not distribute the flyers myself, and did not physically see them in their allocated blocks – i.e., information on how the recruitment procedure occurred was acquired in discussion with prison staff. Although this related to an important ethical consideration, the negotiation of control within research is important to consider for future research.

Although anonymity in who signed up – but not who participated – was a notable consideration to make, the risk of confidentiality of one's data were significantly mitigated in HMP Northward through the random selection of 19 participants out of the total 41 males which signed up. The use of pseudonyms in the data also benefitted this. This limited the confidentiality and anonymity risk

within the published data as it was difficult to be traced back to the participant unless they [knowingly] provided an identifiable spiritual item.

It is also worth noting that the participants who signed up were aware that their name would be visible by nature of the recruitment method. Participants were also made aware that their spiritual item could compromise their anonymity in the present study but chose to have them photographed regardless (when they were not forgotten at the second interview). This shows that perhaps these participants were less concerned about having absolute anonymity and/or confidentiality in the present study, referring to the aspect of using the present study as a form of communication with the general public.

It could be argued that visible flyers may have made some participants reluctant to sign up for fear of appearing ‘feminine’ by openly engaging in spirituality (Deuchar et al. 2016), which is a significant point. However, since the flyers had my name on it – ‘Brianna,’ which is arguably overtly feminine – this ‘feminising’ factor is mitigated by the alternative perception that one was signing up to engage with a female researcher, regardless of the research topic. This would in turn ‘benefit’ masculine images in the prison and explain the high percentage of recruitment in HMP Northward. This was felt to be the case with some participants who either asked me many personal questions outside of the recording. Therefore, while this limited the level of anonymity for participants in the present study, it did not completely compromise it due to the lower number of participants selected than who were not selected.

This challenge also applied to HMP Fairbanks, although there was higher risk to anonymity around participation in the present study due to the much smaller prison environment and population. However, as half (two) of the female participants were invited and did not write their name on the flyer, this somewhat mitigated anonymity risks for these participants. This discussion highlights the practical and ethical challenges of conducting face-to-face research in prisons which have not previously accommodated this kind of study. Challenges – i.e., protecting participant anonymity in recruitment - must be accounted for to inform further research, especially in the Caribbean where prison research is limited. Considerations of participant choices around anonymity were also made, perhaps signalling that the recruited population (i.e., those who signed up) may have had less ‘qualms’ about risking their anonymity as it may have allowed for ‘communication’ with the

general public. Nonetheless, the significance of negotiating control and ethics in novel research contexts is a critical issue to be navigated for future research.

Researcher and participant safety

Inner prison safety

To address inner prison safety while conducting research, the NTU ethics committee requested that I inquire about the presence of a panic button in the research venue. This could not be accommodated by the prison, and I was further advised by the NTU ethics committee to request that a personal alarm be warranted access while conducting research. This request was denied by the prison and supplemented through the provision of a supporting prison officer who would be present during research outside the research venue. In this way, someone was immediately accessible in case of emergency though confidentiality was not compromised. When issues arose, I hypothetically would be able to excuse myself from the room to consult the prison officer. In the worst-case scenario (i.e., a physical attack), the supporting officer would be close enough to hear any commotion. I felt comfortable with this option at the time and this compromise was accepted by the NTU ethics committee. However, it is important to note that this was not an effective safety measure when actioned in the present study and related to my experiences of emotional labour.

During security training before entering the prison for research conduction, I was advised by a prison staff member to avoid two men in particular – one of whom related to my experiences of past and current emotional labour in the present study. I did not encounter the other individual during the research conduction for this study. Further safety measures [undertaken by all prison visitors] were taken, including mandatory searches of belongings and sign-ins upon entering the prison, and being escorted to and from the research venue once inside the inner prison gate. These measures reduced safety risks between the prison gate and research venues, though they did not extend to safety within the research venues (i.e., the forensic psychologist's office). Although further safety measures were requested pre-research conduction (i.e., restrictions on recruitment), they were largely ineffective and resulted in significant experiences of emotional labour.

COVID-19 and travel safety

Due to research conduction commencing during the global COVID-19 pandemic (September 2021), and the aspect of international travel, a risk assessment was necessitated by the NTU ethics committee. Travel safety was ensured by following mandated safety requirements (i.e., mask-wearing) while travelling and using a personal vehicle in Cayman.

At the time of research commencement, there were no recorded cases of COVID-19 in Cayman due to strict travel restrictions and mandatory quarantine upon arrival. This limited social distancing requirements and meant minimal social restrictions in the public which extended to the prison. This allowed me to conduct face-to-face interviews without COVID-19 safety precautions upon commencement. This changed after a COVID-19 outbreak in HMP Northward in late September to early October 2021 and in July 2022 at HMP Fairbanks. During these outbreaks, I was not permitted access to either prison for a week at a time, delaying research. After these breaks, I was able to enter the prison wearing a mask and completing a COVID-19 test at the prison gate. This also related to experiences of emotional labour since the continuation of data collection was uncertain during this time.

The factor of conducting prison research during a global pandemic was extremely niche, especially when placed in the relatively COVID-19 free Caymanian context at the time of the current study. These experiences were highly novel and thus important contributions to knowledge around the navigation of unusual circumstances in prison research.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is important to discuss as it focuses on the roles of power balances, my impact as the researcher on the study, and subjectivity, which are core components to consider (Martinez-Merino 2022). This was especially important in this present study which incorporated double interviews - this increased exposure to participants and vice versa than in single interview methods. My positionality as a perceived cisgender woman, heterosexual, Caymanian, Christian (due to the research topic and assumption of religious identity in the cultural context), a previous intern, a prison outsider and young (aged 23-24 at the time of research conduction) was deemed a

significant aspect. These characteristics contributed to challenges and opportunities within the study which will be discussed in the following section.

Being a young female researcher

An important aspect related to this present study was being a relatively young female researcher who was also perceived as cisgender, heterosexual, and single in a male prison. Gendered attention and harassment are not uncommon experiences for women working in men's prisons (Martinez-Merino et al. 2022). In both prisons, this aspect of my positionality was often felt to be a protective factor since I felt that I was more likely to be seen as a non-threatening young woman or a 'daughter' figure in need of protection by prison staff and imprisoned people. My relatively polite, accommodating, and mild – i.e., 'non-threatening' - personality likely benefitted this as I rarely had interpersonal issues when working in either prison and was generally able to retain rapport with the individuals concerned despite these challenges.

Herrity (2021) discusses the value of attunement in prisons – i.e., a sufficient familiarity with informal rules and rhythms of a setting which arise from acting in and upon it. Attunement importantly allows one to assess the present social climate, making one more adept at navigating potential challenges and opportunities (e.g., fluctuating emotional responses to engaging with interviews and safety) (Herrity 2021). This greatly benefitted the current study in relation to my previous internships which allowed me to accumulate personal experience and understanding of the environment and thus my ability to navigate it safely and effectively.

My 'non-threatening' image was felt to have contributed to the interview being treated as a safe space. This perceived safety was shown through the admission by some participants that they did not share their spirituality with many in the prison for fear of bullying, though they did so with me. They did not explain why sharing their spirituality attracted bullying, but the feminine aspect of vulnerability often included within spirituality could be attributed to this response as spiritual expression may threaten masculine perceptions within the PAN (Deuchar et al. 2016). This signified the relevance of IPT, and how participants might have felt able to 'remove' masculine 'masks' in the research setting. Further consideration is made towards the fact that chaplaincies and

spiritual spaces in prisons are often valued as safe spaces, emphasising the significance of this study's focus and private one-on-one interview methods (Todd and Tipton 2011). As such, the interview setting can be considered a 'backstage zone' where imprisoned people feel better able to be vulnerable about their spiritual identities (Crewe et al. 2014) for some participants.

Assumptions around being heterosexual and cisgender also meant that positive rapport with me was felt to be desired by male participants especially. This however led to sexual harassment from some (although notably few) male participants. This harassment included seeking my company outside of research conduction, asking personal questions (i.e., about my marital status, which school I went to, my age, where I lived, and whether I was Christian), and boasting about their crimes and risky behaviour in the expression of a hyper-masculinised identity. It is important to note that my positionality as a previous intern benefitted my navigation of these situations – i.e., since I had experienced these situations in the prison before, I did not feel particularly uncomfortable and politely rejected this questioning without disrespecting the participant. This was especially important as a female researcher (who is more likely to receive this kind of attention in male prisons; Martinez-Merino et al. 2022), as upsetting a participant [by harming their masculine self-image] might have risked my safety.

This experience conferred that the interview setting could have been a 'frontstage zone' for these male participants, where they felt the need to 'perform' a masculine identity (Crewe et al. 2014). Since Black and Caribbean cultural ideas of masculinity in prison can include hypersexuality (Brown 2018), becoming more pronounced when drawing the lack of heterosexual relationships as a POI, this likely led to me being viewed as a sexual object. These experiences were viewed as an attempt to assert a masculine image with me and within the PAN. This behaviour is thus attributed to IPT and SIT due to the significance of masculine masks in prison identities, survival, and the PAN (Deuchar et al. 2016; De Viggiani 2012).

Cultural and prison insider positionality

The effect of rapport and engagement from cultural positionality can also be attributed to being seen as a cultural insider. This meant that participants could have been more likely to open up and

relate to me during interviews, aiding rapport. This also contributed to possibly being seen as a 'daughter' figure, as it was likely that imprisoned parents would have Caymanian children close to my age. Due to my Caymanian and somewhat Jamaican upbringing, nuances in language (i.e., understanding Caymanian accents and dialects and Jamaican patois) were more easily engaged with and understood for Caymanian and Jamaican participants. This positionality was particularly beneficial towards understanding the localised ontology and epistemology of participants. IPT was relevant here, as participants may have felt less inclined to adopt a 'mask' for cultural outsiders who would not have been able to relate to cultural participant experiences and perspectives first-hand. Since cultural and spiritual awareness is important for rapport among Black and Caribbean populations (Turner, Hastings, and Neighbors 2019), this is especially relevant. This meant that my positionality as a Caymanian was largely beneficial to data collection, analysis, and dissemination.

Insider positionality as a previous intern was beneficial to prison access, rapport (with imprisoned people and prison staff), and overcoming challenges faced. This positionality also helped recruitment and the elicitation of rich data from participants I knew prior, who may not have participated or been as open had I been an outsider in this respect. Previous experience in prison work allowed me to navigate the environment and interviews appropriately, safely, and ethically. This meant that I was less likely to unintentionally upset someone by asking sensitive questions (e.g., about offence types, sentence length, and mental health). However, my insider positionality was directly related to challenges faced during research conduction (i.e., emotional labour). Therefore, while insider positionality was largely beneficial within the present study, it also involved the resurrection and severe exacerbation of previous emotional labour from past internships.

IPT is worth considering around the relevance of cultural positionality. Manohar et al. (2017) suggest that cultural insider positionality may facilitate successful fieldwork in a more sensitive and respectful manner. This is because the researcher understands local values and cultural backgrounds of participants. Being a cultural insider allowed me to approach the topic of spirituality, and Christianity more specifically, in a sensitive manner, understanding that it was an important aspect of Caribbean identity despite its colonial ties (Finneran and Welch 2023).

This understanding was developed by having both insider and outsider religious - (i.e., Christian) positionalities as someone who was baptised and identified as Christian until early adult life. Knott (2009) asks critical questions around researching religion - “Can we ever fully understand someone else’s experience? What is the difference between an account of a religion by an insider and one by an outsider?” (p.243). These questions are related to the ‘experience-near’ and ‘experience-distant’ positionalities, empathy, and critical analysis (Knott 2009). Due to my experience of both insider and outsider religious positionalities, I was able to empathise with religious participants – based in my past ‘experience-near’ identity - while holding an alternative ‘experience-distant’ perspective which allowed me to critically analyse the role of religion within spiritual experiences in prison. This duality of positionality was particularly useful in balancing critical perspectives (e.g., in relation to colonialism) with respecting the personal value of spirituality.

Respecting spiritual identities and experiences on a deeper level was also relevant to cultural understandings of religion and identity. My insider Caymanian positionality allowed me to understand *how* to respect religion in a culturally appropriate manner – e.g., questioning and exploratory engagement would likely be acceptable, but expressing dislike for the religion or important figures might be viewed as disrespectful/a sign of corrupt character. My complex positionality in this respect was valuable as I was able to engage with participants respectfully – with regards to religion and culture – albeit not currently holding the same religious identity. This understanding is also relevant to research dissemination, within which the critical discussion of colonialism and its implications around culture and religion must be managed with care so as not to knowingly disrespect participants, Caymanians, or other people of Christian faith.

My cultural insider positionality also benefited rapport as it supports trust between the researcher and participant, arising from the view of the researcher as a legitimate member of the community (Manohar et al. 2017). IPT is worth considering here, since the increased trust between researcher and participant possibly allowed for more 'authentic' interactions within the study – i.e., the use of more ‘genuine’ ‘masks’. This further related to the interview setting acting as a safe space to be open and honest, inferring that cultural positionality was generally facilitatory of comfort. However, nuances between 'frontstage' and 'backstage' performances (to use terminology from Crewe et al. 2014) merit a deeper exploration of the role of positionality in future Caribbean prison research.

These are important methodological insights in Caribbean criminology especially as they address the dearth of literature on conducting research in prisons within the region.

Prison and class outsider positionality

Since I had never been a full-time prison staff member or obtained the same level of authority – e.g., I have never had access to prison keys - this made me an outsider within the prison beyond my position as a researcher. The lack of autonomous movement in the prison lowered my hierarchy below staff members, benefitting rapport with participants as I was closer to them in the 'social hierarchy' than prison staff. Being an outsider in the prison was especially relevant to female participants. This was evidenced by a female participant who stated that imprisoned women would be more interested in participating when facilitated by prison outsiders. Though this participant did not expand, it represents the importance of outsider positionality and more engaged/active recruitment.

It is important to note that I was also likely a class outsider within the present study as my education level (having attained a Master's degree) was higher than the average prison population (NDC 2023). This was magnified by my mild Caymanian accent which further signalled me as an outsider in this regard. Manohar et al. (2017) suggests that being a class outsider in research can be a barrier within data collection and limits the researcher's ability to represent the perspectives of marginalised communities. While this perspective is accepted as I would not be able to personally identify with and understand class-related issues which link to imprisonment (e.g., systemic challenges around accommodation, employment, and economics), the topics of the current study mitigated this effect as they pertain to phenomena which impact individuals beyond class – i.e., spirituality, identity, and relationships. The issue of imprisonment however is inherently class-relevant, to which the present study's constructivist and interpretivist approaches addressed by aiming to discuss participants' perspectives as accurately as possible. In this case, participants' perspectives were not attempted to be legitimised into my worldview or lived experience. It is important to acknowledge this as a potential albeit mitigated limitation, from which the application of convict criminology - i.e., (ex)imprisoned people who attain higher academic degrees of

criminology and combine this with their experiences of prison (Earle 2018) - would be useful in addressing future Caribbean prison research.

Bosworth et al. (2005) discuss how participants in prison research are often enthusiastic to participate since it offers an opportunity for new relationships outside of prison. This is especially valuable considering the socially isolated nature of imprisoned people (Bosworth et al. 2005; Shammass 2017). This was felt to be the case among male and female participants as both samples were generally friendly and often conversed with me outside of their interviews. However, some male participants did not respect my professional and personal boundaries, which was felt to be related to the attempt to build romantic/sexual relationships and project a masculine image. This was interpreted as an attempt to address the deprivation of heterosexual relationships (Sykes 1958; Shammass 2017). This highlights the importance of developing professional boundaries and managing these with participants generally, and especially in the prison context as a female researcher in a male prison. The current study offers important methodological insights around navigating challenges and opportunities of prison research. This is especially valuable for the Caribbean Criminology which has a significant gap in literature round prison work generally, and as it concerns researchers.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methodology employed in this project. This study took place in HMP Northward and HMP Fairbanks in Cayman to explore the role of spirituality in the lives of imprisoned people in Cayman – the aim of this thesis. Qualitative data from 18 participants was used to understand how spirituality impacted identity, relationships, and experiences of imprisonment in Caymanian prisons, the research objectives. Constructionist ontological and interpretivist epistemological approaches allowed for an open and explorative understanding of reality as understood by participants. This was benefitted by qualitative mixed-methods research involving semi-structured single and double interviews. Data were analysed using TA and IPA to inform the relevant themes and overall findings. Ethical considerations included participant and researcher safety, as well as COVID-19 and travel concerns due to the nature of this research taking

place overseas during a global pandemic. Reflexivity was considered within this chapter as importantly related to positionality, recruitment, and data collection.

The focus of this study being on unique and nuanced spiritual and prison experiences made qualitative research methods appropriate. The qualitative semi-structured interviews allowed for a flexible and exploratory approach. Object elicitation of spiritual items presented by participants was also utilised to gain further insight into the research aims. Interviews were conducted with 15 male (two of which were excluded from the second interview, and one was excluded from the data sample entirely) and four female participants at HMP Northward and HMP Fairbanks respectively. Participants were recruited through flyers and staff invitations. Double interview methods were conducted with all male participants - 10 of which returned for their second interview - and two female participants. One female participant did not complete the second interview due to availability. Two female participants underwent the single interview method, in which both interview schedules under the double interview methods were utilised. One of these participants did not complete their interview due to emotional distress, and the other was interviewed twice due to a technical malfunction. Though small, this sample size was adequate in the qualitative approach of this study and Cayman's small prison populations especially.

Data were analysed using TA and IPA. Both are qualitative data analysis tools - TA was used to explore patterns within participant narratives and IPA was implemented to focus on unique individual experiences. The use of this multi-layered approach accounted for the elicitation of significant differences in participants' experiences and interpretation of how these related to the thesis aim and objectives. The relevant steps for each data analysis process were followed to extract significant data and inform the present study's findings.

Ethical considerations were made around risk to physical safety within the prison, COVID-19, and travel. The study was approved by the NTU ethics committee before commencing data collection. However, some challenges around anonymity in recruitment arose, signalling the significance of control around elements of fieldwork in the present study. Concerns around anonymity and confidentiality in the published findings were mitigated by the lower number of participants selected from the recruited male population than those who were not selected. Half (2) of the

female participants were also invited verbally rather than through the sign-up sheet, mitigating this challenge for this sample.

During data collection, reflexivity around my positionality as a [perceived] cisgender, heterosexual, Christian, Caymanian and single woman was a significant aspect of developing rapport, dialectical understanding, sexual harassment from some male participants, and emotional labour. My nuanced positionality was therefore an important component of the present study, contributing to both opportunities and challenges. Although redacted, my experience of emotional labour in the present study was significant, relating especially to my insider positionality. This was handled through effective prison management around the present study, an important finding as it concerns methodological considerations in prison research generally, and especially in the Caribbean where this topic area remains underdeveloped.

Data collection methods had to be changed during data collection due to natural causes (i.e., storms and two COVID-19 outbreaks in the prisons) and significant emotional labour in the field. Changes to interview methods included delays between interviews for participants undertaking the double interview method, and the shift to combined interviews for the remaining two female participants. Recommendations to avoid and address these challenges include the consideration of practical and emotional opportunities to address issues as they occur. This study was novel in its approach and provides important contributions to knowledge around the conduction of prison research generally and specifically in the Caribbean context, offering insights on challenges and opportunities which may occur and how they can be addressed.

Discussion

Chapter 4: The Role of Spirituality in Identity

Introduction

The current discussion focused on the role of spirituality within identity for imprisoned people in the Cayman Islands (Cayman), the first objective of this thesis. The current discussion of spirituality's role in identity links to the other two objectives of this thesis; understanding the role of spirituality in 2) relationships and 3) experiences of imprisonment. The key subthemes in this chapter centre around spiritual beliefs, practices, and the significance of spiritual items for imprisoned people. The first subtheme is titled: *Defining spirituality*, the second is: *The significance of spiritual practice*, and the third subtheme is: *Sacredness in space and time*, and the final subtheme is: *The significance of spiritual items*.

These subthemes were analysed with thematic analysis to explore common themes within the sample, and interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) to highlight individual nuances which are key to understanding the deeply personal significance of spirituality in daily prison life (Eatough and Smith 2017). Since spirituality is a unique and personal experience, these analytical tools aligned with the constructivist ontological and interpretivist epistemological approaches of the study. This is an especially valuable approach in the current study as it represents open and thus decolonial insights into the present themes. Thus, while the majority of literature through the discussion chapters are based outside of the Caribbean, the use of TA and IPA encompass a broader and more subjective perspective which is relevant to its context rather than colonial powers.

This discussion is novel and highly significant within criminological literature as it investigates the broad yet unexplored scope of spirituality in a prison context which has been academically 'hidden' to a great degree. This study's findings around spirituality in identity are highly valuable within the prison context. This is because they interlink with mental and physical wellbeing (Allen et al. 2013; Currier, Holland, and Drescher 2015; Jim et al. 2015), and significant aspects of rehabilitation such as interpersonal relationships with family and prison staff as discussed in the following chapter of the current thesis.

Subtheme one: Defining spirituality

Spirituality was a significant component of identity for all participants, particularly in coping with imprisonment. This relates significantly to experiences of POI and experiences of imprisonment as a whole. Through the lens of TA in the current study, spirituality was collectively experienced as a sense of connection to the sacred and sometimes divine (i.e., Christian God) towards achieving inter-personal or transcendental connection, support, love, comfort, and peace. The current study's findings around the definition of spirituality among participants are consistent with studies by McGuire (2008), Naor and Mayseless (2020), and Lepherd (2015). These authors also instate that spirituality is an inherently unique and deeply personal experience, based on an innate human seeking for connection, love, and transcendence. The use of IPA showed nuances in how participants personally used spirituality to cope with imprisonment such as emotional management and retaining a sense of control over one's circumstances.

Although participants have nuanced relationships with spirituality and religion, spirituality is a significant aspect of identity which was used to manage the challenges and POI. POI generally concerns the suffering caused by imprisonment and can be understood as the difficulties of daily prison life, i.e., the deprivation of; autonomy; liberty; heterosexual relationships; material possessions and services, and security, (Shammas 2017; Sykes 1958). Romero, Timothy, Gerald, and Renee's quotes are used to express the thematic overall definition of spirituality within identity in the study. As participants were actively sentenced at the time of data collection – these meanings can be directly connected to their experience of imprisonment, a novel and insightful exploration within contemporary criminological literature. Romero and Timothy's narratives are used to explain the breadth and unique nature of spiritual identity captured within the overall findings. Gerald and Renee's narratives draw on the individuality of spirituality, as well as how it can relate to the divine, another commonality among the sample.

To me spirituality means, finding, finding a connection beyond physical things. For example, um... Going to the gym, working out, exercising and doing classes, doing physical stuff. As opposed to, um... praying, not necessarily to one specific thing. For like Christians, Jesus, God, whatever, um... But being able to move beyond that. I think everyone has, hopes,

dreams, and beliefs. These things for me are more in line with, a spiritual concept of things as opposed to a 'physical doctrine', or a class curriculum. It doesn't have to be guided in any way. It doesn't have to be, specifically oriented to one religion or the other. It can be... Anything - it doesn't have to have a specific name... but I think it's - it's, it's... something that requires...

Further thought, further conscious thought from individuals. To better realise the difference between... Being a spiritual being, and learning and understanding... Spirituality as opposed to, just being taught um, religious actions. Like the practice of having faith, as opposed to just saying a prayer for faith because you can say a prayer doesn't necessarily mean that you actually believe it. Whereas, I can believe, in a God that, wasn't ever mentioned all through humanity, all through, whatever, as opposed to, um, I have to believe in just Jesus in order to be saved or vice versa.

Romero

Romero's description of spirituality as pertaining to human hopes, dreams, and consciousness directly relates to the innateness of spirituality, which every human being has the potential to experience (Naor and Mayseless 2020). His maintenance of these sentiments although he is imprisoned is deeply humanising, connecting to the broad yet shared experience of spirituality beyond religion and imprisonment. This relates to SIT configured by Tajfel and Turner (1979) around the concept of shared identity within groups and communities, in this case referring to the human social identity. Romero's breadth in spiritual meaning allows him to identify as human, with other humans, regardless of his imprisoned status. It does not matter what he believes specifically, the fact that he can consciously feel and experience spirituality is enough to identify himself as human. This is an incredibly powerful effect of spirituality as it infers that these beliefs help Romero overcome elements of isolation and internal stigmatisation often experienced by imprisoned people, especially in the Caribbean (Shammas 2017; Leslie 2016). This signifies that spirituality could be an important coping mechanism for POI, specifically as it relates to resulting isolation. Further expansion on what the 'humanness' of spirituality means is given by Timothy who discusses the emotional aspect.

Spirituality to me, is from the heart. What does the heart just, produce... **to me**. Eheh?
How your heart feel towards nature, or another person.

Timothy

Timothy describes spirituality as genuine and emotional, ‘coming from the heart,’ similar to Romero’s description of spirituality as innate and unguided – it is spontaneous, emotional, and human. In prison contexts where one must often portray emotional masks which emit masculinity and hostility for survival (De Viggiani 2012), the significance of spontaneity and genuineness greatly contrasts common prison identities. This shows that for Timothy, spirituality allows him to be his ‘true’ self, interacting with others and the environment “from the heart” rather than survival alone. This is a highly valuable finding, as it shows that spirituality has allowed Timothy to overcome problematic masculine masking in prisons (De Viggiani 2012), allowing him to freely express himself and engage with others.

Timothy’s narrative on emotion towards nature and others brings in the interpersonal element of spirituality, expressing it as involving connections between humans and the environment (McGuire 2008; Naor and Mayseless 2020; Reimer Kirkham et al. 2012). This also relates to SIT as Timothy’s narrative focuses specifically on how spirituality is a bonding agent forming relationships. He therefore identifies spirituality as a link which brings people together rather than a shared label or characteristic. This is also defined by Timothy as individual-specific – how does *he* genuinely feel towards others, inferring that the same applies to how people feel about him. This exemplifies the role of spirituality in creating genuine bonds through an expression of authenticity within emotion and identity, something which contrasts the often survival-based function of prison relationships (De Viggiani 2012). Timothy’s definition of spirituality as a highly personal matter highlights the need for an individual-centred analytical tool such as IPA within the current study – unique participant experiences can be understood within thematic findings. A significantly individualised aspect of spirituality within this study concerned relationships with the divine. This is illustrated with quotes from Gerald and Renee.

Well to me, spirituality is **real**. **God** is real, cause God has done a lot for me. There's nothing that I ask God for that I don't get, even if it take a while, yah know. I always believe in God no matter what happen. I always believe in God. When I'm down, when I'm happy, when I'm up, I always pray to God. I never go to my bed one night and don't pray. I find myself... I pray myself to sleep, wake up, pray. It mean a lot to me, you know.

Gerald

Gerald emphasises the personal significance of his relationship with the divine, showing an unwavering faith in God, who always gives him what he asks for. The fact that Gerald is imprisoned while stating this is incredibly significant, as it exemplifies a deep trust in God's perceived promise to deliver, regardless of how outward circumstances such as imprisonment may appear contrary to this. Gerald does not feel that he is being punished – he infers a belief that everything is unfolding in his favour through God's love for him. This is particularly important within the prison environment, as it displays a deep sense of hope and faith in spirituality to eventually deliver him from his suffering and towards his desires. Gerald's reliance on faith and God to remain hopeful is a truly valuable and considerable experience, as “living from a mode of hope” (Laursen 2023, p.1) as observed in Gerald's narrative can improve psychological wellbeing during imprisonment and post-release.

Gerald's consistent faith in God despite imprisonment shows a deep sense of secure attachment – defined within attachment theory formulated by Ainsworth (1978) and Bowlby (1979) as a healthy bond typically experienced between caregiver (i.e., God) and child (i.e., Gerald). The lack of physicality in this attachment is particularly important in the prison context as possessions and human contact are typically restricted (Shammas 2017; Sykes 1958). However, instead of feeling the absence of connection, God's immateriality enables Gerald to feel supported and protected regardless of where he is or what is happening around or within him. As such, spirituality enables Gerald to overcome significant POI - the prison cannot restrict Gerald's access to God. The result of this is great patience and resilience during imprisonment, something which allows him to retain a sense of positivity even when struggling with his circumstances. This is highly valuable in prisons, as Gerald's relationship with God acts as an unfailing support mechanism which protects his emotional wellbeing during imprisonment. Further significance of spirituality in prison is given by Renee, who emphasises her individual use and benefit of peace from spirituality.

Spirituality is being at peace within yourself, and things around you, your atmosphere, solitude, solidarity. Spirituality is a connection that you have with a higher being on your own terms.

Renee

Renee's narrative emphasises the personal and emotional nature of spirituality as described by Romero and Timothy. She however highlights peace and solace as one of the key benefits of spirituality for her. The significance of peace and solitude from spirituality is a highly valuable outcome in prisons, as they are usually hostile and isolating (Shammas 2017; De Viggiani 2012). This shows that spirituality enables her to accept these circumstances, and further, find an independent sense of 'solace' within it, a great feat to achieve while imprisoned and dealing with POI. Renee's spiritual identity therefore allows her to embrace isolation as solitude, using imprisonment as an opportunity to connect with herself and the divine, a key support allowing her to accomplish this.

Renee's connection to God relates to attachment theory since she evidences a clear relationship and dynamic with expectations (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979). However, her relationship with God is highly unique as she shows distinct control within it – it is “on [her] own terms.” This somewhat contradicts common religious narratives of submission to God (Utomo 2024), making it important to explore as an imprisoned woman especially, i.e., someone who is often viewed as un-empowered (Haney 2004). This is similar to Gerald's narrative since he believes that he always receives what he asks for, inferring the belief that God also submits to his will. However, within Renee's attachment, there is a much more obvious degree of entitlement – the relationship is on “[her] own terms.” Her emphasis on solitude can be perceived as indicative of an avoidant attachment style to other humans which is compensated with an anxious-avoidant attachment to God. Avoidant attachment can be understood as bearing great significance on independence, and anxious-avoidant attachment relates to a fear of trusting others and feeling a need for distance (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979). Though Renee values her distance from others and relies heavily on herself (i.e., avoidance) and God, she shows an element of control of the divine (i.e., caregiver) relationship, showing that she perhaps does not completely trust the divine.

The hostility and traumas of prisons, journeying through the criminal justice system, and the stripping of autonomy within this especially (Shammas 2017) could deepen an understanding of Renee and Gerald's entitlement. When forced with a sense of powerlessness by their imprisonment, God the caregiver could be perceived as either 'working in mysterious ways' as inferred by Gerald, and/or being more subject to individual needs, as shown in Renee's narrative. Retaining a sense of

control over the divine – who is perceived as all-powerful – could subsequently empower them to feel in control of their circumstances, either through trusting in the eventual outcome like Gerald, or by restricting God’s capacity to control their life such as Renee.

Since this relationship benefits them greatly on an emotional level (Renee feels peace in solitude, and Gerald experiences hope and faith), an absence of feeling unconditionally loved and in control of the divine would potentially remove these effects. This could make them more emotionally vulnerable to POI, instilling a sense of powerlessness without the aid and control of the divine who presides over their lives. The divine therefore is a significant aspect of spiritual identity in coping with the emotional challenges of POI, providing a basis of trust, hope, and a sense of empowerment within prison. However, it may also be a source of distrust which must be restricted so as not to lead to further damage and/or disappointment. In either case, spirituality may also be an act of resistance to prison control and power, since it denotes strong sentiments of agency which is greater than their current experience of incarceration. This highlights spirituality as a potentially quiet and subtle form of subversion within prisons. This is important to consider within the often-hostile environment, especially alongside more commonly known violent forms of prison resistance such as riots (Buck and Tomczak 2024). Relationships with the divine, as well as general spiritual beliefs, were often enacted through spiritual practice which is discussed in the following section.

Subtheme two: The significance of spiritual practice

The spiritual beliefs of participants as discussed above through the narratives of Romero, Gerald, Timothy, and Renee were often illustrated through spiritual practice. Spiritual practice can be understood as rituals which enhance spirituality in space and time (Ingersoll 1994; Chandler, Holen, and Kolander 1992), resulting in controlled “extraordinary” experiences (Reimer-Kirkham 2012). In the current study, spiritual practices such as reading the Bible, affirmations (e.g., speaking positive intentions either mentally or aloud; Luskin 2004), prayer, and meditation were typically used instrumentally to address needs which were often related to prison life. These needs included emotional management and aspects of self-guided rehabilitation (discussed further in the chapter titled *The Role of Spirituality in Experiences of Imprisonment and Rehabilitation*), which are hugely significant findings and topics within prison life. Since prison restricts possessions,

movement, and autonomy (Sykes 1958), how spirituality is actively practised here is important to understand as it is a particularly significant aspect of identity for the participants in this study. This furthers the connection between spirituality and POI and the importance in understanding the relationship between these factors. Monique and Roy's narratives are used to explore the significance of spiritual practice, both feeling that it is key to spiritual identity.

I think spirituality is a lifestyle. It's something that you continue to do and it's like, you know you - you rely on prayer to God, I'm a Christian. So, I believe in God, but I also rely on, I also do meditation and affirmations, but um, that's something you do daily. And I don't really do it daily, but I do do it every once in a while when I'm feeling low, or I feel like I need some type of um, opening or some type of understanding. I do pray and I do do meditations and affirmations, so really not a spiritual person. I'm not doing it all the time, but I do, I do use it sometimes to help.

Monique

Monique's instrumental use of spiritual practice – meditation, prayer, and affirmations - to self-manage her emotions is especially important to consider within prisons, especially as emotional management is often a difficult skill for imprisoned people to master (Hemming et al. 2020). This relates to Renee's narrative of peace within solitude – instead of being wholly victim to the isolating and hostile nature of prisons, they both can use spirituality to alleviate emotional difficulties as and when needed. This is particularly relevant to the female participants who are housed within the very small HMP Fairbanks (HMCIP 2015). This is because spirituality may act as an accessible tool to manage emotions within the sometimes-turbulent prison environment (as mentioned by Renee and discussed further in the chapter titled *The Role of Spirituality and Relationships*). The fact that Monique does not identify as a very “spiritual person” amplifies the significance of this finding, as it shows that a keen sense of spiritual identity is not necessary to benefit from spiritual practice within prisons. Monique's identification also emphasises the practical aspects of spirituality in navigating prison life, showing that it is more than an identity attribute.

The benefit of spiritual and holistic practices on imprisoned people who did not identify as spiritual was also found by Grier and Clot-Garrell (2015) on the effect of yoga (a practice based on Eastern

spirituality) in prisons. The study was conducted in eight prisons in Spain with selected imprisoned people, social workers, holistic actors, and other professionals involved in the yoga programmes. The study found that participants who engaged with yoga benefitted from the practice regardless of whether they identified as spiritual or not. This extends the beneficial scope of spirituality within prisons beyond those identifying as spiritual – making personal practices to alleviate emotional distress highly accessible within prison populations. In the current study, the use of non-religious spiritual practice in Caymanian prisons as shown in Monique and Roy's use of meditation and Monique's mention of affirmations, could therefore be considered on a larger scale such as holistic programmes. These findings speak to the value of holistic programmes beyond religious frameworks which could benefit a higher percentage of the prison population. This is because holistic non-denominational programmes would be inclusive to imprisoned people who identify as religious (such as Monique and Roy), as well as those who are spiritual but not religious, such as Romero and Aaron.

Monique's statement that she is not very spiritual because she does not engage in spiritual practice daily can be understood through IPT formulated by Goffman (1956). The theory centres around the intentional or unintentional use of 'masks' which portray certain characteristics depending on the present 'audience.' It is theorised in the current study that Monique's lack of consistent engagement with spiritual practice means that she had not developed a 'spiritual' identity 'mask'. She therefore uses it instrumentally to cope with imprisonment rather than as an integrated "lifestyle" or fully formed 'mask' she wears through the duration of her imprisonment. The instrumental effectiveness of spiritual practice is enough for Monique, further exemplifying the value of spirituality within and beyond identity. Roy's discussion of spiritual practice is used comparatively to Monique's – he appreciates imprisonment as it allows him to re-integrate his spiritual identity into his daily life, a highly unique and insightful finding.

But since I've been inside here like I get, closer to Him. I communicate with Him, you understand? I have more time to read my Bible. I have more time to pray - you understand? I have more time to sit down and look at life and - you understand? - look at it the things that – you understand? - that I have been through – you understand? - to meditate you know? Yeah, and keep focus so is like being inside here is like, you understand, keep me on the right track yah know, like slow me down. I was over there, I was like moving too fast. Yeah, I put it that way, I was moving too fast. Yeah, so since I've been inside here, it's like, I did a bit of, a better

communication with Him and I have, more time to sit down and read my Bible. I have more time to pray, you understand? I have more time to meditate - you understand? - and think about my life.

Roy

Roy's appreciation of imprisonment to connect with his spiritual identity is particularly unique, highly novel, and significant. The impact of this perspective on wellbeing is greatly significant, as it reduces the likelihood of emotional distress as well as difficulty in coping with imprisonment. Beyond this, prison was also appreciated because it allowed Roy more time and space to self-rehabilitate. This was particularly seen around reflection (meditation) and changing aspects of his life to get "on the right track." This finding evidences the direct impact of spirituality on motivating imprisoned people to reduce their own likelihood of re-offending. This shows that they are determined not to reoffend, and that spirituality helps them to achieve this, with or without rehabilitative support from the prison. In this case, the goals of personal spiritual reflection and rehabilitation also align within the prison context. This finding has important implications for the impact of spirituality during and post-imprisonment. The role of spirituality in rehabilitation is discussed further in the chapter titled: *The Role of Spirituality in Experiences of Imprisonment and Rehabilitation*.

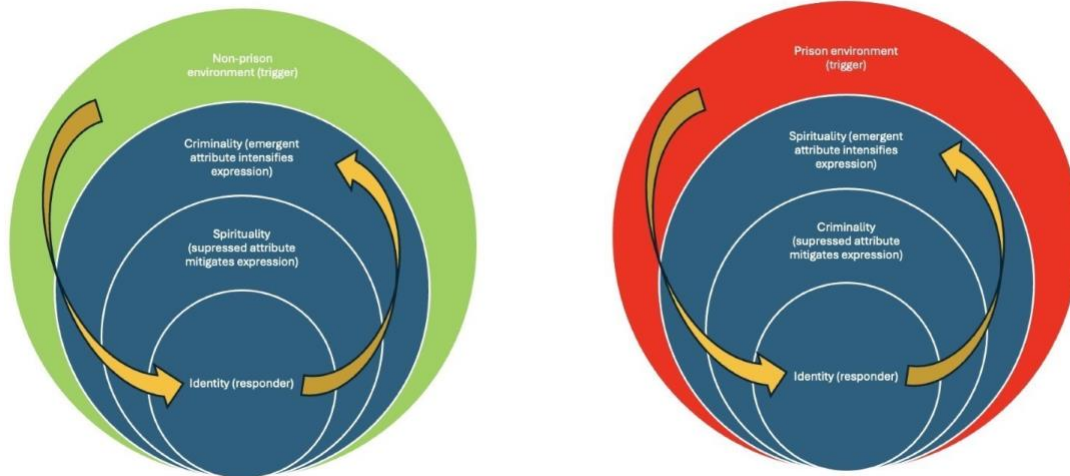
This finding corroborates the study by Crewe and Ievins (2020) which explores positive outcomes of imprisonment using qualitative data gathered from three prior studies on everyday life in prison (UK), experiences of people with convicted sex offences (UK), and a comparative study between people convicted of sex offences in England and Norway. Like Roy, Crewe and Ievins (2020) discuss how for some, prison is a reinventive institution which can catalyse processes of positive identity reformation. Roy's quote aligns with the process outlined by Crew and Ievins (2020) of the reinventive process of an imprisoned male with histories of acute substance misuse: (1) the prison removes potential risks - Roy can no longer engage in the "fast life"; (2) need for constraint - Roy appreciates the separation from criminogenic risks; (3) rebuilding moral identity, relationships, and overall health - Roy seeks spiritual and moral guidance in the Bible and reflects on how to make a better life for himself, and (4) demonstrating change through performance - Roy engages in spiritual practice. The current study therefore corroborates the findings in Crewe and

Ievins' (2020) study and contributes that for some, spirituality is a significant component of this reinventive process.

Another important component of this process is time, as Roy appreciates prison as an opportunity to rekindle his spiritual practices of meditation, prayer, and reading the Bible. Turner and Knight's (2020) discussion of embodiment in prison cells defines the philosophy of these spaces [developed in the early 19th century] as "a space of transformation, isolation, conflict and punishment; a site which the individual offender would, in theory, reflect upon and repent for their sins and alter their future behaviour" (2020, p.8; Johnston 2020). Roy shows distinct use of prison space and time for their original philosophical purposes; to reflect on and rehabilitate his future behaviour. This is a significant finding since it shows how spiritual practice can enable one to appreciate available time allocated towards self-rehabilitation. This also enables one to transform experiences of imprisonment which are often destructive into something constructive whilst incarcerated, significantly mitigating POI.

Roy's narrative also points to the relevance of IPT, showing that spiritual identity remains present though suppressed within one's 'mask' depending on present needs (Goffman 1956). It could be considered that Roy's criminogenic-facing 'mask' is associated with living a "fast life," which is not as useful or suitable to a "slower," hostile, and restricted prison environment. Since spiritual practice allows Roy to feel more connected, supported by the divine, and hopeful for the future, the spiritual identity within his 'mask' becomes more useful than his criminogenic attributes in prison to counter POI. This flexibility within Roy's mask and expression of identity enables him to feel grateful towards imprisonment as he does not achieve the same effects outside of prison when not engaged in spiritual practice. The link between spiritual practice, spiritual masking, and the triggering of self-rehabilitation during imprisonment is important as it shows a self-initiative to rehabilitate influenced by spiritual identity rather than prison services or societal pressures. However, since Roy aims to address his criminogenic risks, they may remain present within his overall identity. Figure 1 (Appendix D) is used to explain the suppression and emergence of spiritual versus criminal attributes based on the environment below.

Figure 1: The suppression and emergence of attributes depending on the environment



Subtheme three: Sacredness in space and time

The outcomes of spiritual belief and practices extend beyond internal feeling, as discussed by Monique and Roy, into the external environment - i.e., space and time. Reimer-Kirkham et al.'s (2012) study of spirituality in hospitals describes spiritual spaces as capable of being material and/or immaterial, incorporating a sense of sacredness such as transcendence, immanence, or connectedness in the everyday. This is especially important in the prison context, as it speaks to the mental and physical experience of the environment, a significant aspect of imprisonment, wellbeing, rehabilitation, and reintegrative prospects.

In the current study, the transformation of 'impure sacredness' into 'pure sacredness' within space is observed. 'Impure sacredness' pertains to what is evil, impure, disorderly, and causes of illness, death, sacrilege, fear, horror, and the profanation (i.e., taking away something's sacredness) of the holy (Kurakin 2015; Durkheim 1995). This relates to the shared experiences of POI (Sykes 1958), and thus why prison is generally considered 'impure sacred' in the current study. 'Pure sacredness' constitutes a sense of benevolence, protection of life, health, moral order, and human values (Kurakin 2015; Durkheim 1995). This describes the influence of spiritual practice on space and time in the current study. Though seemingly opposite, both concepts of sacredness are of the same nature and preside within the same spectrum; bearing high emotional intensity and shared human meaning and experience. Its ambiguity across human experience makes it a transmutable concept,

meaning that ‘impure sacred’ can become ‘pure sacred’ and vice versa, the crux of the current finding. This is shown through Jerome’s transformation of his “room” (the term he uses to refer to where he is staying within the prison – it is uncertain whether this is an actual ‘cell’ or otherwise) from an ‘impure’ into a ‘pure sacred’ space.

[Interviewer: Is there anything, any item, any place, or anything that you would consider to be spiritual?] Yeah, my room. My, my room, that I’m staying in. My, in my corner, that’s my spiritual corner. In my, in my space. [Interviewer: What is spiritual to you about it?]. That is where I - I - I do my devotion, that’s where I, I pray. That's where I put my family's pictures and, look at them and pray for each individual. So, that’s my corner of restoration. [Interviewer: How does it make you feel to be there?] In the sense of where um, prayer, or where spirituality is? It's ok, not really where I want to be to, to – to be involved or to really um, find comfort. But, because now I have no choice of being there, um, that’s the best place for me, sacred place.

Jerome

Through his practice, Jerome’s room becomes a reprieve from the ‘impure sacredness’ of the prison, as well as a space for personal (i.e., finding comfort) and inter-relational (i.e., praying for his family) needs beyond this, making it a ‘pure sacred’ place. His ability to transform the ‘impure sacredness’ of a prison cell into a ‘pure sacred’ spiritual “room” within the prison is hugely significant within this study – it protects his overall health and wellbeing and allows him to foster bonds with his family in a personally meaningful way. This finding speaks to the transformative power of spirituality within physical space and in an abstract and intangible sense – it makes the *physical* room *feel* [pure] sacred. For Jerome, this enables him to feel “restored”, illustrating the power of spirituality to transform Jerome's experience of self and wellbeing, a significant finding. The physical use of spirituality exemplifies the significance of its material presence within the prison, resulting in a powerful outcome for Jerome’s wellbeing and identity. This is very significant within prisons, as spirituality can transform the perception of the often-hostile space into something positive without physical intervention from the prison.

As suggested by Herrity, Schmidt, and Warr (2022) around the significance of the senses in criminology, “just as the sensory can be weaponised to terrorize or deprive, so too can it be

harnessed for survival and resistance” (p. 136). It is important to note here that Jerome's sacred space involves specific spiritual practices and sensory experiences – i.e., prayer (audial) and looking at pictures of family (ocular/visual). The combination of familial pictures and spiritual practice also reflects McGuire's (2008) discussion of the subjectivity and uniqueness of spiritual identity and meaning, furthering the value of the present study's organic approach. The symbolic element here is significant (Herrity, Schmidt, and Warr 2022), as the spiritual practices allow Jerome to feel more connected with his family through time and space. As such, the sensory experiences are positive *because* of their symbolic meaning which is pure sacred. As a comparative example, an imprisoned person with a painful relationship with family might associate their picture with negative connotations (i.e., impure sacred), but for Jerome it is distinctly positive. While the prison overall is an uncomfortable space for Jerome, he uses his “spiritual corner” to create a “make do spiritual oasis,” where he can orchestrate positive sensory experiences. This truly speaks to the transformative power of spirituality in prisons. This has important implications for survival as stated by Herrity, Schmidt, and Warr (2022), as Jerome can protect his psychological wellbeing against the negative effects of the prison through creation of spiritual space. The enactment of positive sensory experiences through spiritual identity is therefore also empowering as it gives Jerome an element of control over his experience of imprisonment and its impact on his wellbeing.

Jerome's transformation of his room from an ‘impure’ into a ‘pure sacred’ space is theorised through IPT. When practising spirituality, Jerome is theorised to be expressing the more spiritual attributes of his ‘mask’ which embodies a mental, emotional, and spiritual sense of pure sacredness. Through his enactment of spiritual practice within the space, his internal sense of pure sacredness becomes manifested within the physical environment. This results in his room becoming ‘masked’ with a sense of ‘pure sacredness’, transmuting its ‘impure sacredness’ which is attributed to the rest of the prison. This is extremely important around emotional wellbeing within the prison environment, evidenced through Jerome's sense of comfort and restoration when describing his experience of ‘pure sacred’ space. This emotional response contradicts the typical sense of the prison environment, often based on hostility and discomfort (Shammas 2017; Sykes 1958) – i.e., the ‘impure sacred’. Jerome's narrative highlights the usefulness of spirituality in the preservation of emotional wellbeing and in creating spaces of safety within the prison. The creation of pure

sacredness is also attributed to spiritual items (i.e., non-human objects) in the current study, which act as wards of the impure sacredness of the prison in the current study.

Crewe et al.'s (2014) observational study through personal observations and interviews conducted by Crewe in 2002-2003 discusses the emotional geography of prisons and how different physical spaces can be succinct to specific emotions e.g., hostility versus vulnerability and safety. The terms 'frontstage' (where one presents a prison/survival 'mask') and 'backstage' (where one can feel more at ease and vulnerable), and 'marginal' or 'intermediate' (where some aspects of 'backstage' and 'frontstage' emotional liberties/restrictions are present) are used to describe the created 'zones' within the prison. For Jerome, he transforms his room into a 'backstage' pure sacred refuge (i.e., zone) from the 'frontstage' impure sacredness of the rest of the prison (i.e., the 'frontstage'). This is done through spiritual practice – i.e., the expression of spiritual attributes within his mask which include sentiments of safety and comfort. The current study therefore corroborates the significance of emotional zones in Crewe et al.'s (2014) study, contributing that spirituality can be a powerful tool in their transformation.

Subtheme four: The significance of spiritual items

The non-human items which embody spiritual significance is referred to as 'spiritual items' in the current study. Reimer-Kirkham et al.'s (2012) study on sacred spaces states that spirituality can be immaterial (i.e., a sense of divine presence) and/or material, including non-human items (e.g., crystals or special fabric). Naor and Mayseless's (2020) study on nature-based therapy included participants stating that nature embodied spirituality, allowing it to become physical and tangible. In the current study, spiritual items are personally significant, enhancing the sense of spiritual identity and/or the pure sacred which could also be carried with them in prison. The physicality of the item is especially important in prison because it makes the 'pure sacredness' associated with it more readily accessible. Spiritual items do not have to be personally owned; symbolic representation was often sufficient to regard it as spiritual. This was the case for Latecia who included a prison-owned hymnal in the present study (Table 11; Appendix C). The flexibility around ownership is particularly important in prisons where access to material possessions is

limited (Shammas 2017), the symbolic attribute making them replicable yet still able to garner the same effects.

Spiritual items are significant components related to spiritual identity for many participants such as Simon, Jerome, Latecia, Monique, Mauricio, Trent, Ronald, Henry, and Dan. The finding of this theme within the sample was benefitted by TA. For Aaron and Timothy, however, they did not feel that unliving beings (I.e., material non-human items) could be spiritual, making them personally irrelevant. Patricia, Renee, and Gerald were not asked about spiritual items due to unavailability for second interviews (Renee and Gerald) and emotional distress during their combined interview (Patricia). Mauricio, Trent, Kevin, and Pablo forgot to bring their spiritual items to the second interview. This is discussed further in the chapter titled *Methodology*. The significance of spiritual items is illustrated through the narratives of Romero and Henry.

I think anything can be spiritualized if looked at in the right way. Like for example, some people, look at images of the cross and consider it, a spiritual item or... Like with Mohammed and Mecca and the [intelligible] black stone that they walk around and they kiss it or whatever, saying that it came from heaven or something like that. Um, anyway I think anything, any object can be looked at as spiritual. And it - for me it depends on, **what the person's belief is**, like if they believe that um, as with the 12-step thing, that a higher power can take like any shape, form, fashion, manner whatever, as long as it, allows you to, basically, place responsibility on something else. And when I say responsibility I don't mean responsibility for your actions. I mean responsibility for your, **Action of non-action**. Being like when you praying to something or you giving thanks to something or you, believe in the efforts of something. Or that it's because of, I had my lucky charm in my pocket, why I won at poker today or whatever. So yeah, I think that that just basically comes down to what a person beliefs are. If, if it be a grain of sand, an actual item that, I don't know, was supposedly blessed by, let's say holy water or something. Um, yeah, I think, I think it is all about what a person themselves believe. What I think the item allows the believer to do is, have closer contact with whatever - whatever they believe in, it's like, you have a relationship with, I don't know a, person and, you talk to them on the phone. It's not the same as holding their hand, looking in their eyes. A hug. You know, it nah the same. So, it like, it brings them closer to, whatever it is they believe in.

Romero

Romero sets the tone of the discussion of spiritual items by explaining that anything can be made spiritual depending on personal belief – i.e., relating to identity. This relates to Durkheim's (1995)

discussion of transforming the ‘profane’ (i.e., the mundane and un-sacred) into sacred since the *transmutable* boundary between them (which result in their distinctions) can be crossed through spiritual rites/performance (i.e., the expression of spiritual belief). Romero states that the overall purpose of spiritual items is to allow one to become ‘closer’ to their spiritual belief in a way which is unachievable in immaterial form – making the item a spiritual conduit. His metaphor of physical touch versus a phone call is especially humanising of the physically spiritual experience – the meaning and benefit of its material presence is significantly more ‘real’ and intense. This comparison relates strongly to the prison environment, where lack of physical touch is a prominent deprivation, relating to both lack of physical affection and fear of safety (Shammas 2017; Sykes 1958). Spirituality in physical form for Romero can therefore be understood as a more rounded and thus intense experience than the immaterial, incorporating multiple layers of how spirituality and the sacred can be experienced.

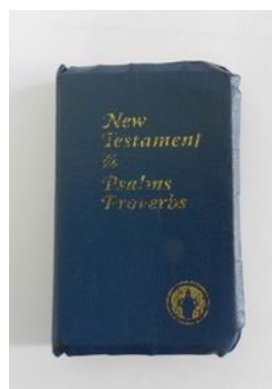
Warr’s (2023) discussion of sensory experiences of imprisonment explains the importance of touch in prisons, particularly how they can imbue one with a sense of subordination, abuse, and power. Warr (2023) highlights the many negative elements of touch within prisons across imprisoned men, women, and staff expanding on the subsequent discomfort and vulnerability. Romero’s quote shows that spiritual items make positive touch accessible. When spirituality is imbued into an item, one can ‘touch’ something comforting, loving, and *close* to oneself within the prison. When involving a relationship with the divine, spiritual items may enable one to feel that they are “holding their hand, looking in their eyes.” Though Warr (2023) and Romero both attribute a great vulnerability within their experiences of touch, Romero signifies a very positive and intimate effect through spirituality although in prison. This finding is powerful in its comparison to the often-degrading experience of touch within prisons (Warr 2023), showing how spiritual items can foster a sense of intimacy and closeness through positive touch whilst imprisoned.

Romero’s explanation of the significance of spiritual items speaks to the relevance of attachment theory. His humanisation and personal significance attributed to spiritual items denote a powerful sense of connection. The process of creating this bond is important to consider within the theory, as Romero’s narrative discusses the transference and potential replication of spiritual attachment to the item rather than the formation of a new bond. This connection originates in the mental and emotional identity, extending towards a physical item and thus giving the spiritual material form.

The spiritual item then embodies personal spiritual significance which can be recognised but not replicated outside of the individual as it relates to a deep and unique emotional meaning. This is very meaningful in prisons, as it shows that one can replicate pre-existing attachment bonds with what they have available. This explains the symbolic attribute of spiritual items – they are a conduit of a spiritual bond rather than the source of it. Through this process and malleability, Romero states how [imprisoned] people can retain the benefits of spiritual attachment while in prison. The channelling of spiritual attachment and its significance in prison is shown in Henry's discussion of his Bible as his chosen spiritual item for the current study. Bibles were chosen as spiritual items for Henry, Kevin, and Ronald, showing that its significance is an important thematic finding within the sample.

I just wanted to bring a Bible, doesn't matter which one. I just wanted to bring a Bible um... This one is pocket-sized, I figure in a way, transport, transportation purposes. But um, this - this right here, this is the anchor, this the bedrock for my religion, and my, my, my, in relation to my spirituality. This is what I turn to, this is what I use, this is what I depend on. This is what guides me, this what gives me strength. This is my main tool, in my uh, in my spirituality, both in and out of prison. But uh, I think especially in prison where certain amenities, certain things are closed off to you, then you have this, you have this [intelligible] when you have any questions, or, moments of weakness, in your faith, head to the Bible. All the answers are there, for me, I believe.

Henry



Henry's spiritual item: Pocket-sized Bible

Henry's discussion of his Bible shows how spiritual items are extremely significant for him in prison. His Bible allows him to feel 'anchored' in his spiritual identity throughout daily prison life and the challenges that come with it. Since prison is especially challenging for him regarding this, its closeness is particularly important to him, combatting what might 'weaken' his faith and sense of spiritual identity. It is a symbolic yet very real and physical source of strength which is especially important to him in the prison environment. Its materiality allows it to be more accessible, while its symbolic nature bears the true rewards of the item, also making it replaceable as stated within his quote. This has strong implications for wellbeing and rehabilitative prospects in prison since Henry clearly shows how his Bible helps to moderate his emotional wellbeing and encourage him to act based on his principles. The fact that he can replace the Bible and achieve the same effects is highly valuable, as it means that imprisonment cannot restrict his ability to achieve this effect so long as he has a Bible (or other suitable item) to refer his spiritual attachment to. Therefore, for Henry, the Bible has more symbolic significance as a spiritual conduit than as a physical medium. This perspective was shared by Latecia, who when asked to present a spiritual item directed me to choose any hymnal from the prison resources (Table 11; Appendix C). Like Henry, it did not matter to Latecia which hymnal I photographed, emphasising the symbolic significance of spiritual items as conduits in prisons in HMP Northward and HMP Fairbanks.

Henry's narrative also speaks to the importance of attachment theory, as his connection to the item is based on the emotional and mental level which is expressed on the physical plane. This channelling of attachment through the Bible allows him to access 'pure sacredness' in the prison, informed by his spiritual identity. The relationship Henry has with his Bible exemplifies the role of attachment in this dynamic – its presence in his daily life through reading and physical touch has a direct influence on his emotional wellbeing and sense of self. This is further evidenced through his consistent carrying of the item - chosen for its size and thus accessibility. This and the clear signs of wear on the Bible show the immense value of the physicality of the item within the prison, a 'pure sacred' item in an 'impure sacred' place which allows him to feel 'anchored' to who he 'truly' is and wants to be.

IPT is used to further explain the role and significance of spiritual items in the current study. It is theorised within the provided narratives that spiritual items are 'masked' by participants when placing attachments on them. As explained by Romero, individual belief, perspective, and thus

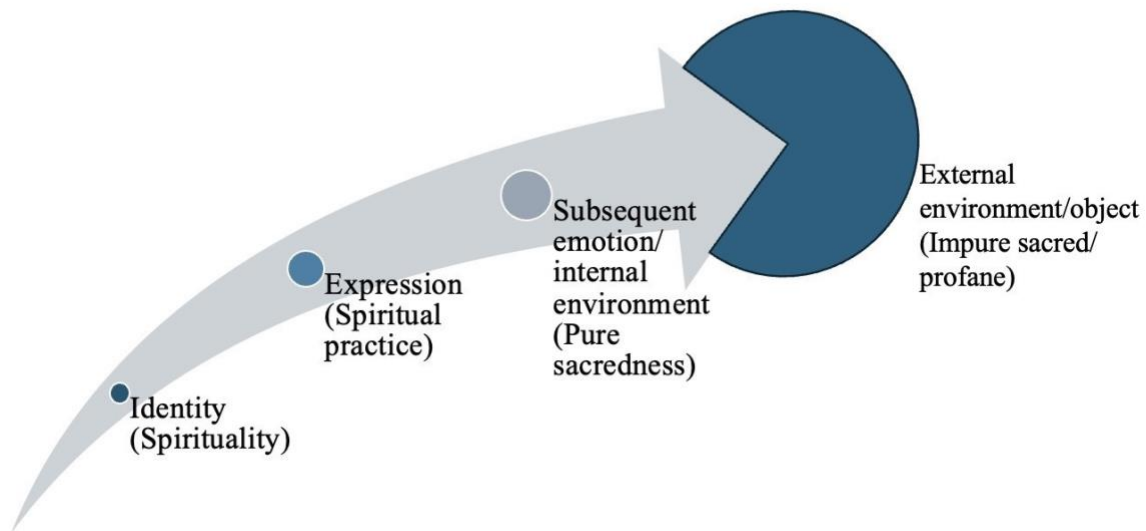
identity are central to the significance of spiritual items, and therefore the overall ‘masking’ process. Henry’s narrative explains his relationship with his Bible, intertwining emotional, mental, and physical experiences to create the ‘pure sacredness’ and thus significance of the item. Therefore, it is further theorised that the personal nature of spiritual experience, belief and practice is what creates the ‘mask’ of the spiritual item. Because of the attachment involved in the perceived value of the spiritual items, the attributed ‘mask’ is therefore inherently linked to individual identity (Goffman 1956).

It is theorised in the current study that spiritual ‘masking’ is more likely to occur during spiritual practice as seen in Jerome’s example of prayer, and Henry’s discussion around reading the Bible. During spiritual practice, the sense of the spiritual and sacred is enhanced (Ingersoll 1984). Therefore, during periods of sacredness in space and time, involved items (i.e., as with Henry’s Bible and Jerome’s family pictures) and/or places (i.e., Jerome’s “room”) are theorised as being imprinted with the perceived significance of the moment. The result of this is a subsequent ‘masking’ of the item and/or space, reflecting the sacred characteristics felt during that time. An example of this is Jerome’s change of perception of his room from an ‘impure’ to a ‘pure sacred’ space once he practised his spirituality there. The transmutability of sacredness (Kurakin 2015; Durkheim 1995) is thus crucial when considering the masking process in prisons, as its malleable nature is what makes it possible for participants to manage a change in perception over such large degrees – i.e., from the ‘impure sacred’ of prison to the ‘pure sacred’ of spiritual spaces.

The uniqueness of spirituality and Jerome’s and Henry’s ability to choose and/or ‘make do’ with the items and spaces that are available to them further signifies the value of creative control within the ‘masking’ process. The ability to transmute the sacred into masks makes them ‘mask masters,’ a term created within the current study to define one’s ability to form and place ‘masks’ on objects. This ability empowers imprisoned people to create and engage with spiritual identity in a way which cannot be restricted by the prison – they decide what is ‘impure’ and ‘pure sacred’ and how it will impact their overall experience of prison and wellbeing. This can be very liberating for imprisoned people as it denotes a sense of control over the experience of their environment. The personal creative element and significance of spiritual items empower imprisoned people to better manage their spiritual identity and expression, using what is available to fulfil needs which are often neglected in prison such as strength, comfort, sense of interpersonal connection, and

emotional restoration (Shammas 2017). Figure 2 (Appendix D) below shows this process of transmutation arising from spiritual identity and resulting in the transmutation of ‘impure sacred’ space or ‘profane’ items (as discussed in Romero’s quote) into the ‘pure sacred’. Although the spiritual items presented in the current study are all overtly spiritual (i.e., crosses and Bibles), the significant point made by Romero that *any* item can be “spiritualised” is also incorporated within the following figure.

Figure 2: The transmutation of space and items from impure sacred or profane to pure sacred through spirituality



This finding relates to the Ego State Product-Person Relationship (ESPPR) model developed by Sepahpour, Blacker, and Chamorro-Koc (2021) around the relationship between inanimate objects and the embodied emotions they can carry. Their study discusses the theory of consumer attachment which states that the individual's sense of self creates meaning and subsequent attachment to ‘special’ products (Schifferstein and Zwartkruis-Pelgrim 2008). This significantly relates to the role and attachment attributes to sacred (i.e., special) items in the prison within the current study. Sepahpour, Blacker, and Chamorro-Koc's (2021) description of the ‘Nurturing Parent’ personality corresponds with the findings of the current study. This personality includes

the characteristics of affectionate; forgiving; unselfish; generous; gentle; warm; tolerant; kind; helpful; praising; sympathetic and understanding. Refocusing on attachment theory by Ainsworth (1979) and Bowlby (1978), spiritual items can be considered as a method employed by participants in the current study to create secure attachment bonds with available spiritual items which embody elements of the 'Nurturing Parent' personality in the prison. This effectively enables one to navigate experiences of imprisonment with the physical presence of a supportive divine figure. In a sense, spiritual items can be considered a physical extension of their 'spiritual caregiver' during imprisonment. This importantly does not have to relate to a specific deity as discussed by Romero, but refers to the subjective spiritual meaning of the individual and what is 'pure sacred' to them.

The spiritual 'masking' of items and space, attachment to them, and subsequent influence in daily life make them worth considering as non-human 'actors' in prison. This refers to ANT developed by Latour (2007). This theory discusses the role of human and non-human actors. Actors can be understood as beings who can influence a social setting, regarded as an 'actor-network.' Since the link between identity and the 'masks' of spiritual items is undeniable, its role as an actor is considered an externalised and influential expression of personal spiritual identity. The personalisation of spiritual identity means that the functionality of these items in achieving this is uniquely tailored and administered to the needs of the mask master. The role of the spiritual item is therefore to make physically accessible a sense of 'pure sacredness' in an 'impure sacred' environment – i.e., prison. The positive effects of spirituality observed within the current study mean that spiritual items as actors are highly valuable within a prison setting, acting as dynamic beings with pro-rehabilitative and pro-wellbeing influence.

Conclusion

The current study found that spirituality was conceptualised within the Caymanian prison context as fostering a connection to oneself and the divine, nature, and inter-personal relations; it was personally defined and thus unique; it could be independent of religion, and could result in feelings of love, acceptance, peace, and support. This is especially important within the prison environment, which is often challenging, hostile, and isolating (Shammas 2017). The primary subtheme centred

around spiritual beliefs which were a core component of identity, guiding what individuals perceived as sacred and spiritual. Attachment theory was used to explain the significance of the relationship with a deity, and how this was potentially used to manage feelings of powerlessness while in prison.

The use of spiritual practice was the focus of the second subtheme and allowed one to address emotional needs, often related to alleviating POI and self-guided rehabilitation. This was importantly related to the benefit of spirituality despite having a 'weak' spiritual identity, and the motivation to self-rehabilitate whilst in prison. This related to IPT as spiritual identity reformation was a significant component of this.

Spiritual items provided important access to positive experiences of touch whilst imprisoned, a significant finding as it contrasted the often-hostile nature of the prison environment (Warr 2023; Sykes 1958). The use of spiritual practice, guided by belief, resulted in the creation of pure sacredness, which could be sensed in space and time, the core finding of the third subtheme. The ability of spirituality to transform the impure sacred (i.e., prison) into the pure sacred was hugely significant as it can greatly influence one's experience of prison.

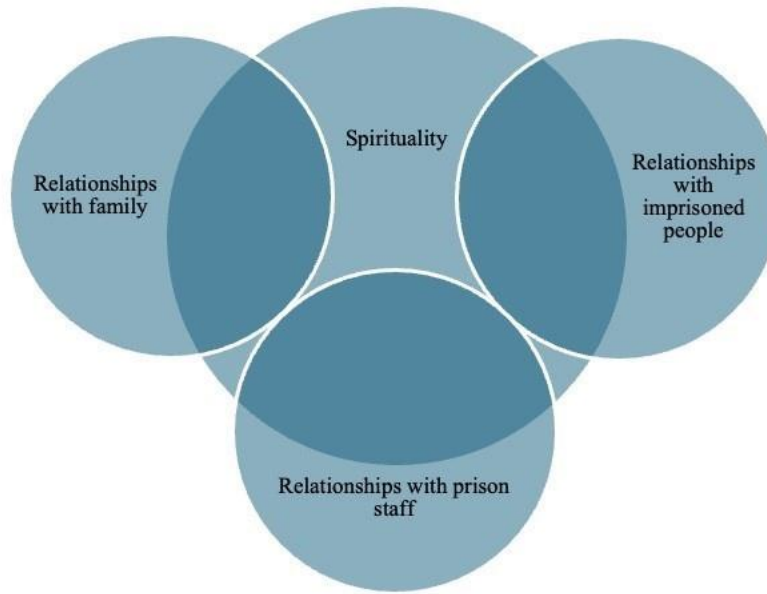
The final subtheme discussed the creation of pure sacredness which often resulted in its imbuement into spiritual items, which emanated its personal value in physical proximity. In prisons where next to everything is stripped away as a means of punishment, the role of spirituality within identity allowed one to feel unconditionally comforted, accepted, loved, supported, and empowered to claim their own identity and connection to themselves, the divine, loved ones, nature, and the transcendent.

Chapter 5: The Role of Spirituality in Relationships

Introduction

This chapter addresses the second objective of the current thesis: understanding how spirituality impacts relationships for imprisoned people in Cayman. This follows on from the first objective, understanding the role of spirituality in identity, since spirituality has a unique impact depending on the individual. The current objective around relationships also links to the following chapter which focuses on the role of spirituality in experiences of imprisonment as both the current and the following chapters explore relationships with imprisoned people and prison staff. The role of relationships for imprisoned people is often vital to effective coping with POI and rehabilitation (Kjellstrand et al. 2022; Wiecezorek 2017; Ward and Brown 2004). This includes the consideration of supportive and prosocial relationships versus challenging and/or anti-social peers. To address these factors, two subthemes are discussed in this chapter: (1) *The role of spirituality in familial relationships* and (2) *The role of spirituality in relationships with imprisoned people and prison staff*. The primary subtheme involves the role of spirituality in relationships with family whilst in prison. The second subtheme discusses how spirituality relates to conflict management, emotional wellbeing, and altering perspectives to change the nature of relationships with imprisoned people and prison staff. The overall role of spirituality in relationships is shown in Figure 1 (Appendix E) below – spirituality converges in all three relationship types; family, imprisoned people, prison staff.

Figure 1: The role of spirituality in relationships



The following discussion is based in data analysis conducted with TA and IPA, allowing for thematic (TA) and subjective (IPA) insights within the present chapter. Theoretical considerations are used to support the present findings. These theories include attachment theory, SIT, IPT, and ANT. This multilayered approach is beneficial towards the understanding of the role of spirituality in relationships for imprisoned people in Cayman.

Subtheme one: The role of spirituality in familial relationships

The first subtheme in this chapter examines the role of spirituality in familial relationships. Key findings in this subtheme revolve around the value of familial bonds alongside sentiments of shame and guilt associated with being absent from the family due to imprisonment, spirituality being a significant factor within each finding. Familial support during imprisonment is an often-invaluable resource for imprisoned people which can benefit rehabilitation and desistance (Wieczorek 2017; Shammass 2017; Reef and Dirkzwager 2020). In Cayman, family days and parenting programmes (run by the Family Resource Centre) are noted as a positive addition to the prison regime (HMCIP 2015). However, while imprisoned women felt supported in maintaining contact with family and friends, imprisoned men did not feel as positive about this (HMCIP 2015). As the cited inspectorate report is somewhat outdated, with little to no further update on the current situation for family

programmes and outcomes, the current study provides insight into how familial relationships and bonds are maintained and affected overall through spirituality. The theories utilised throughout this subtheme are attachment theory, IPT and SIT.

In the exploration of the positive effects of spirituality within familial relationships for imprisoned people, participants such as Monique, Latecia, Ronald, Gerald and Simon reported significantly positive impacts of spirituality on their familial relationships. TA is particularly useful here in identifying this pattern within the data. Both Monique and Simon have given their children spiritual gifts, signifying the value of including spiritual items and photo elicitation within the current study. Simon's quote is used to show the significance of spirituality and family bonds in prison through the discussion of his spiritual item – a wooden cross that he made with his son while in prison.

Image 1: Simon's cross



My spiritual item is actually a cross, made from wood. The thing about this cross is that when I had just made it, I just was planning to keep its ah, natural colour. The wooden colour. But I actually made it and, I made three crosses, one for me, one for my son, and one for my wife. So, um, this cross particularly, was the one my son had chosen. So when he chose it, I had some markers and stuff. He was very young at that time, he was a year or so. He started scribble-scrabbling on the cross and stuff, yeah and, you know. So the cross became red, blue, green, you know, something different. But, then it all comes down to me, the cross, you know, is the meaning of, Jesus dying on the cross

for our sins, you know, redemption. So, to me the cross is always hope and, I always feel like, it's something spiritual about having a cross that it's like a safety zone. Like it keeps away, maybe, evil spirits or demons or - even bad luck. Like I think when you travel with your cross, whether it's wood, whether it's gold or silver, you know? Doesn't matter what the cross is made out of. But the symbol of a cross is good luck. But this cross will always be, dear to me. I won't get rid of it, and I definitely won't try to lose it. Because like I said, my son, true me and my son, he coloured it and stuff, you know, as a child. And it will always be something too that, I'll have in my heart because, it was me and him that actually did the cross, you know, so.

Simon

Simon's cross bears great significance regarding familial relationships as he initially created the crosses as gifts for his wife and son, inherently linking the meaning of his cross to family. For Simon, this may also represent the idea that spirituality is connected to familial relationships, furthering the meaning behind his spiritual item. His cross is more importantly connected to his relationship with his son, as he cherishes the fact that his son coloured it as a child although Simon initially planned to keep the cross its original wooden colour. Simon's celebration of his son's innocence is inferred through his emphasis on his son's youth throughout the quote. Though he may not state it directly, Simon's reference to Jesus and redemption, and hope amidst the discussion of his son and how much he values their bond, insinuate the importance of being a role model and father – as Jesus is a role model. It can therefore be inferred that Simon hopes to redeem himself as a role model for his son. This relates especially to his belief in the cross as a “good luck talisman” – he carries it within the prison as assurance that his path to redemption – towards his son – will be fruitful (i.e., the outcome will be as desired) and protected. The latent aspect of TA is especially relevant here, accounting for the fact that Simon may feel more adept in communicating his vulnerabilities and feelings through the non-verbal means, hence the significance of the item and the gifting of one to his son. This also relates to the value of object elicitation as a research method, as the present finding would have remained ‘hidden’ without its application.

Reef and Dirkzwager's (2020) longitudinal quantitative (i.e., using self-administered questionnaires) study with pre-trial imprisoned 785 men highlights that imprisoned fathers have a unique deprivation of missing children in addition to general POI. This challenge for imprisoned

fathers is surmounted by additional obstacles around the absence of prosocial role models, and lack of cognitive, communicative, and relational skills (Grattagliano et al. 2016). As discussed in Grattagliano et al.'s (2016) quantitative study of fatherhood and incarceration involving 150 men, the aforementioned factors (i.e., absence of prosocial role models and lack of cognitive, communicative, and relational skills) extenuate the overall difficulty in maintaining healthy father-child relationships. These challenges impact imprisoned fathers' ability to effectively form attachments and create trust and a sense of security which are important within the father-child relationship (Grattagliano et al. 2016). To combat and overcome these challenges, Grattagliano et al. (2016) suggest the need for appropriate contexts which facilitate bonding between father and child. The significance of spirituality regarding bonding in the current study is shown using a creative yet spiritual medium to facilitate relational connection without the need for extensive verbal communication – Simon provided the crosses alongside colourful markers and allowed his son to choose a cross and colour it with little mention of conversation throughout their encounter. The use of art as a spiritual bonding medium is also important to consider, as it emphasises the variety in which spirituality can be used to benefit familial relationships. The current study thusly highlights the significance of spirituality in the facilitation of bonding between Simon and his son, evidencing it as an effective means of addressing the unique deprivation faced by imprisoned fathers (Grattagliano et al. 2016; Reef and Dirkzwager 2020).

Simon's cross and the significance behind it exemplify the role of spirituality, attachment, and familial relationships. Attachment theory discusses the bond between infant and primary caregivers (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979). This theory relates significantly to the current example as Simon emphasises his son's youth and speaks more about the creation of the cross with his son than the cross he created for himself or his wife. After all, he chooses the cross that his son helped him to create as his spiritual item for the current study. As discussed in the previous chapter titled: *The Role of Spirituality in Identity*, spiritual items often retain a sense of attachment to something which is considered sacred to the individual, whether it is tangible (i.e., Simon's son) or intangible (i.e., Simon's redemptive goals). These items embody the emotion and meaning associated with the attachment, enabling the bearer to access this when in the item's presence.

Simon's quote shows how the cross bears a significant degree of attachment to his son as he states he will always cherish the memory of its creation. This has important implications for relational

continuity within father-child relationships (Grattagliano et al. 2016) which Simon can access whilst in prison. The significance of Simon's cross therefore extends to the prison environment – he explains that it acts as a 'talisman' of 'hope and good luck', warding against 'evil' which may contravene his redemption. As such, the cross is an important representation of self-development whilst in prison. Importantly, the cross is a physical item which Simon can keep on his person and access the associated feelings and meanings at any time within the prison, connecting him to his son and reminding him of his redemptive goal. Further significance is given towards the role of these items regarding coping – Simon can feel assured and protected in his path towards redemption so long as he carries the cross.

Simon, Jerome, Monique, and Latecia connect spirituality to a desire to reform to benefit familial bonds. The finding of this theme across participants was benefitted by TA especially as it concerned patterns within the data. A significant underlier of some participants' desire to reform, such as Jerome and Patricia, was negative/poor self-esteem which was projected as wanting to be perceived well by the family. Instead of feeling encouraged and hopeful in this pursuit as shown in Simon's narrative, they felt as if they were disappointing their family and aimed to rectify this by reforming their identity to become more spiritual and thus 'adequate.' This finding is significantly related to religious cultural and familial identities among participants who utilise spirituality to benefit self-esteem and familial bonds while in prison. Jerome's narrative is used to further illustrate the challenges of being an imprisoned father and how spiritual expectations relating to family although motivating him to reform, also negatively impact his wellbeing.

I feel like I let down my family, because I grow up in a Christian home. So, I feel like I let my children down. But this is how [spirituality] helps me, not, not to, kill myself, in a sense where it kill my, my thoughts and you know, beat up myself. Help me to build me back up, and bounce back. And I will be a better - a better person than how I used to be. Difficult, yes, it's going to be. But, I'm dealing with it here. And I have to deal with it here and if - and then I want to go home to my home visit. See my family. It affects their friends. It will affect me. But I feel refresh inside that, things that I used to do, I'm not fooling with it no more. So, it, it's just, I feel embarrassed, feel **ashamed**. Like, that's something that was offered to me all along. Freely. I didn't grasp it once. And then, on the other side, I feel more positive about myself. I have gain more positive attitude.

Jerome's narrative shows clear signs of shame, guilt, regret, and poor emotional wellbeing instigated by his imprisonment and engagement with spirituality. This is evidenced by his emphasis on feeling "ashamed" and speaking about emotionally "killing [himself]" and "beating [himself] up" because he did not embrace spirituality sooner albeit growing up in a Christian home. This contrasts Simon's narrative which focuses on the positives of reunion with family – Jerome's elicits a significant sense of longing, shame, and the deprivation of separation (Shammas 2017; Grattagliano et al. 2016; Reef and Dirkzwager 2020). Grattagliano et al. (2016) speak on the impact of imprisonment on fathers' sense of self as a parent, influenced by negative stereotypes that they 'cannot be adequate fathers.' This is evident within Jerome's example as he feels that he "let [his] family down" and "should have been" a better and thus more 'adequate' father to begin with. Jerome's spirituality – likely referring to his spiritual practices as discussed in the previous chapter and his interpretation of religious values within his own life - motivates him to be accountable for the consequences of his imprisonment on his family. This is shown when he says that he will become "a better person" in prison by "not fooling with" what he used to in the past. We can infer from this that the "foolishness" Jerome cites relates to criminogenic behaviour since he relates this cessation to being "better."

Although Jerome's commitment to self-reform allows him to feel positive about himself, he retains a significant sense of shame attributed to his absence from his family. For Jerome, familial relationships are significantly connected to his spirituality and [seemingly poor] self-esteem. This connection motivates him to reform by adopting spirituality which subsequently improves his self-esteem. The religious identity of Jerome's family has important implications within his spirituality, which he uses to achieve a common religious identity [with family]. This leads to Jerome displaying a strong sense of responsibility, accountability - important factors in father-child relations in prison (Grattagliano et al. 2016) - and hope, which are significant within rehabilitation for imprisoned people (Laursen 2023). However, this is countered by a strong degree of shame caused by separation from family and feeling that he is an 'inadequate' father. Therefore, while spirituality has a noteworthy motivational effect towards Jerome's reform as well as some positive effects on self-esteem - he has a more "positive attitude" - the subsequent impact of poor wellbeing

as seen in his case is important to address among imprisoned fathers especially (Reef and Dirkzwager 2020).

Jerome's shift in identity can also be understood as [internalised] stigma, which Goffman (1963) postulates as distinctly connected to relationships. Kaufman and Johnson's (2004) study on stigma and identity for gay and lesbian participants includes how the 'reflected appraisals' taken from people in the environment – i.e., Jerome's family – form an 'identity standard,' or one's personal expectations which inform self-esteem. Kaufman and Johnson (2004) identify that when there are discrepancies in external reflected appraisals and internal identity standards, one may behave accordingly to ensure that the balance between these measures is re-instated. Jerome no longer views himself as a 'good Christian father' based on the reflected appraisals of imprisonment, which he seeks to modify by engaging in spirituality. The current study therefore corroborates Kaufman and Johnson's (2004) findings, showing how spirituality can be used as an identity moderator between external reflected appraisals from family and society, and one's internal identity standard. Implications around spirituality, identity, and wellbeing are therefore important to consider for imprisoned parents especially.

Jerome's motivation to reform his identity around the perceived perspectives and spiritual values of his family speaks to the relevance of IPT. Goffman (1959) discusses how events which discredit a performance – i.e., Jerome's imprisonment disrupting his self-perception as a 'good' Christian and father – can imbue the individual with shame and is often met with hostility from others. Due to this discrediting and negative impact on self-esteem, Jerome's spiritual journey towards becoming a "better person" can be perceived as transforming his mask (i.e., identity) to be more 'Christian,' like his family. To achieve this, Jerome implements spirituality to incorporate attributes which he feels are necessary to be a good father and family member. To accomplish this, Jerome feels that he must be physically present, as shown in his mention of both his separation from family and that he wants to see them. He also feels that he must be Christian as he relates being a good father to "growing up" in a Christian home, insinuating his Christian parents as positive role models. This relates to self-enhancement (of the ingroup) and positive directness within SIT, since Jerome feels that the 'Christian' ingroup is inherently 'good', and thus aims to incorporate relevant 'positive' attributes. By "no longer fooling with" likely criminogenic behaviours, Jerome eliminates the discredited attributes – they make him feel 'bad' about himself

- which improves how Jerome feels that his family perceives him. This in turn benefits how Jerome perceives himself, improving self-esteem. This relates to the use of spirituality to ‘surrender’ to family as Jerome lets go of criminogenic attributes to be perceived better by his family. The dynamic effect on Jerome’s wellbeing exemplifies the nuanced and subjective nature of spirituality and familial relationships for imprisoned people in Cayman.

The role of self-esteem in Jerome’s spiritual reform in his desire to be a good father also highlights the relevance of SIT. SIT discusses the role of ingroups (a collection of individuals) which one identifies with, and outgroups which one does not identify with. Intergroup discrimination is identified as an important process in building group self-esteem and thus strengthening group identity – the shared attributes of the group (Tajfel and Turner 1979). From Jerome’s narrative, we can ascertain that when he felt discredited as an ‘unspiritual and imprisoned father,’ and spirituality is implemented *because* it relates to familial expectations and thus their social identity. In this case, Jerome seeks to identify with his ‘Christian’ family to benefit his self-esteem. By discrediting his previous behaviour as “foolishness,” Jerome strengthens his self-esteem which is attributed to his familial social identity. However, the resulting discrimination against his past self and current imprisonment – i.e., internalised stigma - hinders his development of positive self-esteem. In other words, Jerome still has a ‘foot’ in both identities/ingroups which results in tumultuous expressions of self-esteem. This is evidenced by Jerome positive and negative relations to self within his quote.

Though the emotional turbulence observed within Jerome’s narrative is caused by a deep sense of shame and responsibility towards his family who know and are impacted by his imprisonment, similar emotional responses are observed in Patricia’s narrative who had not informed her family about her imprisonment. She is the only participant who reported this lack of disclosure. This finding is discussed around the fact that her family is religiously conservative, highlighting spirituality as a relational obstacle. IPA is especially enlightening here considering the small population of HMP Fairbanks (holding 12 women at the time of the current study; CIIMB 2021). Though religious familial identity is an important aspect of this dynamic, Patricia cites voluntary spiritual practices such as praying and attending church, highlighting spirituality as an important component of this dynamic beyond familial religious identity. This finding is significant as it shows how the interplay between spirituality, expectations, and family can impede other significant aspects of imprisonment such as wellbeing and coping with POI. This finding is

illustrated with a quote by Patricia, whose lack of disclosure about her imprisoned status to her family resulted in a lack of support and isolation which was very difficult for her to cope with.

[Interviewer: Did anyone encourage you to be religious?] Uh they don't need to [encourage] us because voluntarily uh, this is the way **I am**, in being like, religious. I go to church, uh every Sunday, [intelligible] – I mean pray and... trying to fo-follow all the ten commandments. [Redacted] So, [in my family] we're quite conservative. And, coming [to] Cayman, it's like, "[gasps] I'm, like, free! [laughs]." Nobody, I don't have any family here. Technically, none. That's why it's hard for me, when I got here... [becomes visibly tearful]. They don't know I'm here... [Interviewer: Would you like to take a break?] [Whispers] Yes please. [End of interview]

Patricia

Patricia shares how her family is religiously conservative and that she has not told them about her imprisonment. Patricia's initial sense of liberation when away from her family exemplifies the significance of religious expectations within this relational dynamic. However, her family's lack of knowledge about her imprisonment and thus inability to support her is very difficult for Patricia to cope with, the discussion of which causes her to become visibly upset and choose to end – though not withdraw – her participation in the study. Further details on this can be found within the chapter titled *Methodology*. As Patricia's family is absent from Cayman, Patricia's initial sense of liberation from religious expectations becomes a significant barrier once imprisoned – she does not appear able to confide in them because of their religious values and expectations. As such, religion has become a barrier to connecting with her family which in turn has important implications on coping with POI and wellbeing. Like Jerome, Patricia infers that the effect of imprisonment is a contrary attribute to spirituality, perhaps making Patricia feel that she has potentially 'let her family down.'

Since Patricia's family is unaware of her imprisonment, Patricia's distress could be perceived as a projection of Patricia's spiritual expectations of herself onto her family – she expects herself to follow spiritual guidelines and practices and thus is distraught at the prospect of her family knowing about her imprisonment. The potential fear of her family's response thus has negative impacts on Patricia's emotional wellbeing. Patricia's fear of the consequences of disclosure

compounds her struggle to cope with POI, specifically [emotional and physical] isolation. This finding is particularly relevant to Cayman where 46.5% of the population is non-Caymanian (ESO 2021). Cayman's HMCIP report (2015) highlights the need to effectively monitor distinct characteristics such as nationality and race. In these cases, it is important to identify imprisoned people who may, 1) be physically separated from family and/or 2) face significant challenges around familial and cultural expectations of religion and/or spirituality.

Although Patricia enjoyed the initial distance from conservative expectations, she shows that she values her relationship with her family by becoming upset when discussing her lack of disclosure. This dynamic shows the connection between the relationship with her family and her self-esteem, signalling the relevance of SIT. In this instance, Patricia's family is considered as the desired ingroup which socially identifies as 'religiously conservative.' By refraining from the disclosure of her imprisoned status – likely countering the accepted family attributes - Patricia maintains the perception that she socially identifies with the family ingroup which in turn protects her self-esteem to a degree. However, Patricia's family is effectively validating an identity which is somewhat fabricated – she voluntarily engages in spirituality but is also imprisoned. As her family are unaware of her imprisonment, they are unable to validate any self-esteem issues around this status. Since Patricia cannot pretend that she is not imprisoned to herself, she hypothetically cannot fully integrate what validation she might receive from her family. Patricia's distress during the discussion insinuates that if she informed her family, she would lose a precious source of support and validation, without which she may not be able to cope with POI at all. Patricia's reluctance to disclose her imprisoned status is likely a protective coping mechanism around her already fragile wellbeing and self-esteem. This finding is significant as it highlights the nuanced and subjective nature of spirituality's role in familial relationships. This relates to the need for individual-centred approaches to understanding spirituality in prisons and potentially how to address relevant concerns around the impact of familial relationships.

Subtheme two: The role of spirituality in relationships with imprisoned people and prison staff

This subtheme discusses the impact of spirituality on relationships with other imprisoned people and staff. This is crucial to the understanding of relationships for imprisoned people, as it relates significantly to bonding and support, coping with daily prison life, wellbeing, and addressing interpersonal challenges with imprisoned people and staff. Implications of this include the development of skills such as prosocial behaviour and conflict management which are important to cope with POI, survival in prison, and rehabilitation (Pavioni 2022; Wulf-Ludden 2012; Wieczorek 2017; Ward and Brown 2004). Key theories within this subtheme include IPT, SIT, and ANT. IPA benefits the discussion of longer quotes to provide rich and substantial evidence within the discussion while TA benefits the understanding of common themes within the sample.

Participants such as Latecia and Monique, Timothy, and Henry identified how spirituality could enable one to create connections with others in the prison, a commonality among these participants identified with TA. These connections could be as simple as feeling acquainted, to feeling “fellowship” with other imprisoned people. Although there is no mention of spiritual family between imprisoned people within the present study, the current finding remains significant as a spiritual supportive group. Henry’s explanation of how shared religion and spiritual discussion (e.g., their personal opinions, understandings, and relationship with religion) brings him closer to other imprisoned people illustrates how spirituality creates a sense of kinship, bonding, and support between imprisoned people.

...I’m not gonna shove my religion in anybody face and thing, no. So I guess, only - yeah only fellow believers, this will come up with day-to-day talking or whatnot. Um, which – which is I feel, you’re supposed to do. You’re supposed to talk to one another. You’re supposed to draw strength from one another. You’re supposed to have fellowship. Because this also tells us, we **supposed** to do that.

Henry

Henry’s quote shows how spiritual discussion mainly arises when speaking with other “believers.” He feels spiritually obligated - as is his interpretation of the Bible - to form “fellowship” with other “believers” in the prison which is incorporated into his everyday life. Henry highlights how bonding over spirituality benefits coping and support when he states that it is important to “draw strength from one another.” This is especially important in prisons as the environment is typically

isolating and lonely (Schliehe, Laursen, and Crewe 2022). this is particularly the case in male prisons, where emotional support is often difficult to find (De Viggiani 2012; Crewe et al. 2014). Henry's narrative therefore signifies an important management of POI through social spiritual engagement – he [and his “fellows”] are better able to cope with imprisonment because they have found a supportive – spiritual – social network.

McKeown et al. (2017) also highlight that imprisoned people with secure attachment are more likely to seek support. Henry's quote signifies an important connotation of pre-existing secure attachment, or how insecure attachment styles may transform from social spiritual engagement. This is important as individuals with insecure attachment styles in prison are more likely to self-harm or attempt suicide. Therefore, social spiritual engagement may be a signifier of secure attachment styles and thus reduced chances of self-harm and suicide, and/or a transformative outcome of spirituality around attachment. This is important as it relates to the mental and physical wellbeing of imprisoned people.

Kerley and Cope's (2009) qualitative study with 63 imprisoned men in an American prison discusses how religious support networks are an important part of maintaining a prosocial identity. This involved helping others, sharing stories, reflecting on their daily choices in life, and generally connecting to pro-social peers in formal and informal settings. This is evidenced in Henry's quote, who stresses the importance of his positive spiritual “fellowship” who support each other through daily prison life, including “day-to-day” spiritual discussions. Importantly – the “fellowship” “draws strength” from one another to retain their sense of spirituality whilst overcoming the challenges of daily prison life. This is inferred from the religious directive present in Henry's narrative – the Bible instructs him to collaborate with others, inferring that this is aimed at achieving and maintaining a strong spiritual identity. As such, the Bible is also an important actor within this dynamic and overall “fellowship”. This relates to ANT and the role of non-human actors, signifying here that the Bible may in fact be the ‘leader’ of the “fellowship” for Henry as he ‘follows its instructions’. As also discussed by Kerley and Copes (2009), sharing is an important aspect of coping for Henry, benefitting experiences of POI. This finding connects the current objective of exploring relationships, to that of spiritual identity – Henry uses relationships with other imprisoned people to cope with POI and manage (i.e., strengthen) his sense of spiritual identity.

Henry's quote points to the relevance of SIT as he speaks on the significance of spirituality in motivating him to form a "fellowship" with other "believers" in the prison. This shows that Henry identifies other "believers" as his 'ingroup' in the prison. Since Henry feels that he is "supposed" to be in this "fellowship," this points to the relevance of positive directedness within SIT – he aims to be "positive" through affirming with the group identity (Tajfel and Turner 1979), further strengthening this social tie through the shared aspect of Christianity. Though Henry does not evidence discrimination towards 'non-believers,' i.e., the 'outgroup,' he does not show that he feels the same bond with them – 'non-believers' are not within his "fellowship." This is important as his "believer" social identity gives him access to support. Therefore, while the fellowship may provide refuge for Henry, spirituality as a social identity attribute distinguishing between "believer" and 'non-believer' may result in interpersonal/inter-group barriers. These potential barriers are important to consider as they speak to the limitation of access to supportive social networks and thus benefit coping with the pains of imprisonment.

Like Henry, many participants in the current study including Trent, Dan, Renee, Timothy, Latecia, Steven, Monique, and Mauricio, use spirituality to guide interactions with other imprisoned people. However, one of the most discussed topics about relationships with other imprisoned people was conflict management, found using TA. Spiritual principles such as positive reciprocity (treating others how one would want to be treated), avoiding conflict, and remaining peaceful when conflict arises are significant aspects of this finding. However, when conflict was not avoided, spirituality could have a distinct role in justifying behavioural responses and variations in styles of conflict management. This nuance is relevant to Ronald and Renee in particular. Renee's quote is used to illustrate the use of religion as a guideline and spirituality as a compromise around conflict. IPA is implemented to address Renee's quote in two sections, exploring her narrative in depth to elicit deeper meaning. The first part of her quote is used to show the significance of religion as a behavioural guideline in prison and the second part is to evidence the use of spirituality as a compromise for religion in conflict.

Alright like, being in here, um, I mean, I always... **Always** I – I - I **always** treat people how I would expect to be treated. But I know that, I'm not gonna get that in return from everyone. So, I'm all about this, do unto others as you'd have them do unto you.

Um, speak to people how you want them to speak to you. Earn people's trust like you would want them to earn yours.

Renee

Renee explains that she has a very (shown in her emphasis of “always”) reciprocal approach to other people in the prison - likely both staff and imprisoned people as she does not specify – based on the Christian principle of ‘treat one how you would like to be treated’ (Volf 2013). This can be considered a preventative and avoidant approach to conflict as Renee aims to increase the positive and reduce the negative aspects of interactions, therefore minimising the risk of conflict (Pavioni 2022). This also relates to the role of ensuring survival in prison, as Pavioni’s (2022) study on the individualistic versus collectivistic approach to the ‘convict code’ highlights that the use of knowledge and skills to respond appropriately to conflict are vital in prison. Although Renee values her religious principle, she also utilises creative and unique spiritual principles when she does not have the emotional capacity to approach conflict “calmly.”

But then you do have people in this atmosphere or this setting, I should say, that don't exactly, weigh things out or see things, the way I do. So, I just implement the 11th Commandment and that's, “Thy man look out for thyself.” So, I mean, in my mind, I know that I should approach, a raging situation with a calm word, in order to quell the tension that's going on, so to speak. But then there are times that I don't really care. I just let it play out how it's gonna play out.

Renee

Renee’s principle of “thy man look out for thyself” shows the use of unique spiritual principles created to address the challenges of prison life. When feeling that she has a low emotional capacity to manage conflict since she uses spirituality to justify her subsequent engagement and escalation of it – she “sees where it goes.” Putra and Anwar’s (2023) quantitative study with 67 imprisoned men on emotional and spiritual intelligence shows that the higher one’s spiritual or emotional intelligence, the less likely they are to engage in conflict. Though Putra and Anwar (2023) do not describe their measures of spiritual and emotional intelligence, Renee remains able to identify and differentiate between her responses to conflict based on her emotional capacity, a clear sign of

emotional intelligence (Mayer et al. 2001). This insinuates that when her emotional capacity is high – e.g., she remains calm – she avoids conflict. However, perhaps when her emotional capacity is lower, she engages in conflict. The current study may corroborate the findings of Putra and Anwar (2023), adding the dynamic of emotional capacity through time as a relevant factor in responses to conflict in prison. This contribution highlights the potential benefit of qualitative methods within this study, unearthing key distinctions and processes in spirituality and relationship dynamics with imprisoned people.

Renee's unique principle is in line with Pavioni's (2022) discussion of the individualistic nature of the 'convict code' as Renee clearly states the importance of placing her needs above other imprisoned people. However, Renee also has the capacity to place her needs above religious values, including the propensity to respond aggressively and escalate conflict depending on her emotional state. This contradicts Pavioni's (2022) understanding of the 'conflict code' since although Renee feels that conflict should always be avoided, Renee recognises this avoidance as dependent on her emotional circumstances, which she then justifies through the creation of a unique spiritual principle. Importantly, HMP Fairbanks is described as resembling a "storage facility" (p.5) with four dormitories (holding approximately eight beds) and three single cells, having a total holding capacity of 39 women (HMCIP 2015). The population is much smaller than HMP Northward (the male prison), with HMP Fairbanks holding 12 women compared to 168 men at the time of this study (CIIMB 2021).

The exceedingly small and physically restrictive prison environment at HMP Fairbanks potentially explains why Renee and the other female participants rarely discuss avoidance as a tactic for conflict management although it is identified as the most common approach to conflict in prisons (Pavioni 2022). It is worth considering that imprisoned women in Cayman may not be able to avoid conflict no matter what emotional state they are in due to the small physical confines of the prison. This may infer a heightened safety risk and the significance of spirituality in mitigating or exacerbating this (i.e., through the justification of hostility). In this case, the physicality of HMP Fairbanks as an actor may have a significant impact on conflict resolution and engagement with religious and spiritual principles.

Renee's creation of a unique spiritual principle involves a negotiation of identity attributes to benefit survival. Goffman (1959) discusses how once one has gathered initial information about a

situation, their understanding is adjusted with additions and changes as the nature of the situation evolves. This negotiation also reflects Keenan's (2006) discussion of the fluidity of Christian identity over time within their qualitative study of identity negotiation for gay clergymen, emphasising that personal religious labelling this is primary based in individual identity (i.e., Renee's beliefs). Keenan (2006) includes that negotiation of spiritual identity involves attention to both tradition and innovation, which is evident in Renee's use of Christian principles amidst the creation of spiritual principles. A trustworthy source is needed for this innovation (Keenan 2006), within which Renee relies on herself – after all, she must 'look out for herself,' inferring that she is the only person that she can trust in the prison. This heightens the significance of isolation in prisons and how this may impact spiritual identity formation and negotiation.

IPT is particularly relevant here, as Renee has gathered information about herself as someone with religious integrity, as she states that she "always" treats others fairly and knows that she should approach conflict "calmly" - i.e., the information pertaining to her mask and subsequent attributes. When Renee is not able to retain a calm and "religious" demeanour, Renee's 'adjustment' involves the remoulding of her 'mask' from 'religious' and calm to more 'spiritual' and survival based. This re-adjustment justifies Renee's hostility, perhaps also relevant to situations where she feels that a calm and 'religious' approach may not feel adequate for survival. This is observed when Renee states that some people "don't think the way [she] does," recognising that the calm 'religious mask' may not be as effective in mitigating conflict in every situation. Renee's ability to incorporate a dual yet contradictory 'religious/spiritual mask' perhaps enables her to maintain a sense of religious *and/or* spiritual integrity regardless of how she responds to conflict. This would enable Renee to maintain a sense of either religious or spiritual integrity, protecting her self-esteem. This finding is significant as it shows the potential compromise between religion, spirituality, survival, and identity to manage hostility in the prison environment.

Crewe et al.'s (2014) discussion of the emotional geography of prisons is relevant here. The resulting findings imply that different physical spaces within prison may be more or less likely to elicit or suppress particular emotions – e.g., aggression and vulnerability. Crewe et al.'s (2014) description of differing zones - i.e., 'frontstage', 'backstage', and 'marginal' or 'intermediate' - are relevant to the discussion of the present finding. In the current study, the exceedingly small size of Cayman's prisons (HMP Fairbanks especially) signifies a novel emotional geography –

there is less physical space to encapsulate specific emotions, minimising the navigation of conflict avoidance and vulnerability. It is evident within Renee's quote that the emotional geography within the prison depends upon the individual she interacts with. It is worth considering that Cayman's prisons have a more fluid emotional geography that depends on who is present – and how they behave - rather than where one is presently located in the prison. Though some intermediate zones such as religious groups are cited by participants within the current study as in that of Crewe et al. (2014), this may also be a question of who chooses to attend the group rather than an underlying sentiment of vulnerability which affects all present. In this case, the small prison environment restricts the navigation of the different zones, meaning that there is minimal chance for their complete separation within the prison environment.

This finding highlights the need for further prison research outside of colonial power bases (e.g., the UK) as Crewe et al. (2014) do not mention the size of the prisons in their study and thus the potential relevance of this to their findings. The consideration of alternative factors (i.e., those which may be uncommon in colonial power bases such as the UK) which may impact relationships within prisons is therefore important to bear in mind when conducting prison research in smaller – and colonised - nations especially.

Mauricio's quote provides further insight into the role of spirituality in relationships in prison, especially around how it has changed his approach to prison staff and imprisoned people over time and what he hopes to achieve by this. Jerome also shares how spirituality impacts his view and relation to imprisoned staff in particular, showing that this finding is somewhat thematic. As Mauricio's quote covers several aspects of relationships with other imprisoned people and staff, it has been broken down and discussed in multiple parts. This is benefitted by using IPA which focuses on the richness, depth, and uniqueness of individual experiences.

[Interviewer: So which areas, of your life, do you think that [spirituality] has improved?]
Um, well, like I say, I trying to not be so, aggressive. Kinda a little hostile like with the officers one time ago. Me and them couldn't really get along for nothing at all. I didn't want follow no rules, I didn't want, take no [laughs] instructions or, anything like that, but you know um, like reading the Bible, God tell you well, "look, the people in authority, I put them in authority," you know so, you gotta follow what they say. You got to abide by the rules because God give you several rules that you gotta abide by, so if they never had, any rules, it would kinda be [laughs] a

chaotic [laughs] - a chaotic world. So just, um, having that little understanding that, abide by the
- by the rules.

Mauricio

Fundamental definitions of spirituality include the sense of connection to others and the environment (McGuire 2008; Canda 1988) which Mauricio extends to the prison staff and overall population. When asked generally how spirituality has changed his life, Mauricio's first response is that it has limited his aggression and hostility towards prison staff, showing that this is a significant change for him. For Mauricio, spirituality mitigates harmful masculine behaviours in prison such as hostility and aggression (De Viggiani 2012). Mauricio understands and takes responsibility for his behaviour within the wider prison and even the global actor-network, not wanting to co-create a "chaotic" world. Mauricio's desire to 'obey' relates significantly to his consideration of others, as he does not immediately identify how he benefits from this behaviour change. This coincides with Pavioni's (2022) discussion of collectivistic approaches to conflict in prison, in which individuals tend to place the wellbeing and needs of the collective (i.e., prison population) above their own. Mauricio in a sense surrenders some elements of his masculinity (i.e., control and authority) to the prison officers. Through spirituality, Mauricio learns to respect and accept their authority as he believes that this is required from God. This is an important finding within the prison environment as it speaks to the dissolution of harmful masculine traits to benefit the overall prison.

Pavioni (2022) distinguishes individualists as those who typically place their own needs above others, whereas collectivists tend to consider the needs of the entire prison population, sometimes sacrificing their individual needs to accomplish the 'best' outcome for the prison. This speaks to Mauricio's understanding of his role within the PAN, identifying the relevance of ANT in the consideration of his behaviour and how spirituality impacts this. Since ANT speaks to the significant roles of individual actors which make up a 'network' (Latour 2007), these actors' impact and influence within a prison environment as small as Cayman's becomes increasingly important. This means that Mauricio's initial hostility changing to consideration of others likely has a greater impact on the overall PAN than in a larger prison context – perhaps attributing to his recognition of his role in creating (and not creating) a "chaotic world." Mauricio switches from an

individualistic to a collectivistic approach through the incorporation of spirituality in his interactions with prison staff. Spirituality can therefore be observed as a positive transformative element which can alter individual approaches to conflict to benefit relationships with prison staff in the PAN. The continuation of Mauricio's quote provides further insight into the role of spirituality in changing perspective to instigate positive relations within the PAN.

Um, then the officers, they also God - God people that He made. So they, I would say my brothers and sisters, although, some people say, "well, we the prisoners and they the officers," but we all God people, you know. So, it kinda, help you with respect, and um, I guess - I don't want use the word "love" too lightly in relation to the officers, but I mean you know, you gotta love them as being your brothers and thing same way even though they might not always do or say what you might like, but I mean... They're doing - they got their - their job to do. I try not to really hate them and hold animosity towards them, and like I would tend to do before, you know.

Um, forgiving and kinda move on from it.

Mauricio

Mauricio exceeds the sentiment of surrender here, highlighting the importance of "love" within his relationship with the officers who are part of his "spiritual family." Mauricio's spirituality therefore allows him to navigate prison relationships by transforming his perception of prison staff from "officer" to "brother" or "sister." This relates to Goffman's (1959) discussion of the adjustments made to the initial information gathered about a situation which one engages in. In this case, the initial information revolves around the fact that the officers are in authority. Through implementing a spiritual perspective, Mauricio adjusts his initial perception of the 'masks' of the officers from 'just prison staff telling him what to do' to 'God's people, his brothers and sisters whom God has given authority which must be respected.' This shift in perception allows Mauricio to engage with prison staff in a more patient, obedient, and kind manner, as he might with a family member. This is very important within prisons since it provides insight into the function of spirituality in developing peaceful relations between officers and imprisoned people. This is significant since power dynamics between prison staff and imprisoned people can be a significant cause of contention, even if conveyed in a 'regulatory' and 'non-malicious' manner such as routine searches (Warr 2023). Mauricio's change in perspective also allows him to cope better with the POI of limited autonomy (Shammas 2017; Sykes 1958) since he willingly accepts orders from

officers which he may not agree with. This finding also converges with the ‘conversion’ response to imprisonment where the individual accepts staff views and complies accordingly (Goffman 1959). The current study therefore contributes to how spirituality functions within this response. However, while Mauricio uses spirituality to positively transform his perception of prison staff, he does not achieve the same effect with his ‘enemies’ - i.e., other imprisoned people whom Mauricio feels significantly wronged by. Although the outcome remains positive in that conflict is reduced, Mauricio’s use of spirituality to transform perspectives around his ‘enemies’ has more individualistic than collectivistic motives and benefits.

The same for, even people that – chhhh - I got a long history of, war and violence with and I have to see every day in prison. But yet now, I still try not to um, take revenge kind of, you know... I have a natural tendency toward the revenge still. Forgiveness and revenge can't really go together. You know so like, you got choose if you want forgive him or [laughs] you want take revenge on them. So, I trying to be, um, not really to try and impress God and that man, because some people might say, "oh, you going make them get away with that?" or whatever but, I just want God to look at me, smile, and say, "well, boy, you **good**." I could - I could take revenge on them, but, I choose not to. I'm trying to change my - my life, and my ways and thing. So, without God that would be, a little harder, so.

Mauricio

Though Mauricio chooses obedience and forgiveness towards prison staff in his collectivistic consideration of the greater PAN to avoid “chaos,” his reason for forgiving his ‘enemies’ is to gain personal favour with God – he wants God to “smile” on him and think of him as “good.” While Mauricio indicates that the officers are “doing their job,” and has transformed his perspective to view them as a spiritual family, his ‘enemies’ are not referred to as his “brothers and sisters” or “God’s people.” They are referred to only as individuals he sees every day whom he has a violent history with – people he wants to take revenge on. Mauricio’s emphasis and reminder that his nature lies towards revenge and that he can instigate this when mentioning his ‘enemies’ indicates that he believes them to be worthy of punishment. Mauricio’s refusal to retaliate against his ‘enemies’ is especially significant because it relates to people that he sees in prison “every day,” revealing that violence in prison (on his part) is mitigated, benefitting the survival of himself and his ‘enemies’ and reducing the potential “chaos” of the PAN. After all, he chooses not to retaliate.

Mauricio's distinction between the officers as "brothers and sisters" versus his 'enemies' infers unique benefits for Mauricio's self-esteem through IPT. By embracing the idea that people who Mauricio has had prior conflict with deserve punishment, Mauricio gives them an 'enemy' 'mask'. By viewing his 'enemies' negatively, Mauricio can 'prove' to God that he is "good" by showing Him that he is actively choosing – every day – not to seek revenge. This is different to forgiving and obeying the officers since Mauricio feels they 'should' be treated with respect. Mauricio's perspective towards the officer shows how he has masked them as 'God's people who have been given authority.' With the masks of 'enemy' and 'God's people with authority,' Mauricio can impress God by showing Him that he can obey [the officers] *and* restrain himself from taking revenge [against his 'enemies']. This distinction in responses to prison staff and 'enemies' benefits Mauricio's perceived sense of appreciation and 'favour' from God, in turn benefitting Mauricio's self-esteem. This highlights the individualistic and flexible use of spirituality to benefit relationships and limit violence in prison.

The small physical context of Cayman's prisons (HMCIP 2015) should also be considered – Mauricio must see his 'enemies' on a day-to-day basis within a restricted physical environment, further signifying the effectiveness of spirituality in mitigating and limiting imminent violence. In his and Renee's case, Mauricio's sense of a 'peaceful' emotional zone (to use terminology from Crewe et al. 2014) may depend on who is present – e.g., prison staff and/or 'enemies' – rather than physical location. The role of spirituality becomes increasingly significant, as it is internal and unique to the individual – Mauricio uses spirituality to change his perception of the people around him – and therefore interpretation of the emotional zone itself - in lieu of submitting to the elicitation of violence in these potentially "chaotic" zones. In a sense, Mauricio uses spirituality to change his inner emotional geography to peacefully interact with both prison staff and his enemies.

As observed within Renee's quote, conflict is not always handled calmly in Cayman's prisons, exemplifying the significant role of spirituality in Mauricio's relationships with prison staff and other imprisoned people. This is significant as where Renee might engage in conflict with 'someone who doesn't think like her,' when she may not have a heightened emotional capacity, Mauricio effectively avoids violence with those he wishes to take revenge on through changes in perspective. This is a highly significant finding within prisons, showing how spirituality directly

mitigates violence and can be a protective factor for physical wellbeing and overall safety. However, as it can also be used to justify hostility, the unique and subjective nature of spirituality must be considered within the prison actor-network.

Conclusion

This chapter addressed the second thesis objective of understanding the role of spirituality in relationships. The subthemes were: 1) *The role of spirituality in familial relationships* and 2) *The role of spirituality in relationships with imprisoned people and prison staff*. The key findings of these themes discussed the value of familial relationships alongside spiritual barriers in support, the use of spirituality as a code of conduct in the prison, and how spirituality was used to change the perspectives of prison staff. These findings were significant as they relate to coping with POI, maintaining family bonds, and overall emotional and physical wellbeing in prison.

The first subtheme in this chapter discussed significant findings around the role of spirituality, attachment, emotional wellbeing, and social identity within the family. Familial bonds were often highly valued in the current study, motivating some participants towards “redemption” to fulfil their roles as parents. Spirituality was utilised as an effective means of addressing the unique deprivation experienced by imprisoned fathers; it facilitated bonding with children and left the father with a lasting sense of motivation towards reform. Spiritual items were also a significant aspect of this finding since the connection between the item and the bond with one’s child led to a sense of relational continuity – an important factor for imprisoned fathers (Grattagliano et al. 2016). However, motivation to reform because of family was sometimes underscored by shame. In this case, spirituality was used as motivation to reform in the hopes of re-affiliating with the family’s social identity, resulting in tumultuous self-esteem. For one participant in particular, religious expectations from family prevented them from disclosing their imprisoned status. This made coping with imprisonment exceedingly difficult for them. The resulting negative impact on emotional wellbeing was significant, highlighting the importance of understanding how spirituality and family expectations can lead to severely negative wellbeing outcomes. The role of

spirituality was heavily nuanced within familial relationships, calling for the understanding of individual circumstances and needs whilst in prison.

The second subtheme discussed how spirituality was important in creating supportive networks among imprisoned people. However, this had the potential to act as a social barrier for “non-believers.” Conflict management was a significant aspect of relationships with other imprisoned people and prison staff. Religion was an important guide in managing conflict successfully though it could also be compromised with spiritual justification of hostility. The flexibility of spirituality in identity spirituality acted as a protective tool for self-esteem when conflict was not handled calmly. The small size of both prisons was a significant factor within this discussion, potentially limiting capacities for calm responses. Respectively, some participants possibly managed by changing the perception of other imprisoned people (specifically enemies) and prison staff with the help of spirituality. This finding was significant as it reduced hostility towards prison staff and other imprisoned people, benefitting overall safety within the prison environment.

The role of spirituality varied significantly within relationships, attributed to its versatile and individualised nature. In relation to family, spirituality had both positive and negative impacts on self-esteem while significantly attributing to motivation reform. Spirituality in prison was an important aspect of bonding and conflict management, sometimes used as a compromise for religious values to maintain a sense of integrity. Spirituality was also used to transform perspectives towards prison staff and imprisoned people, lessening hostility, and violence within the prison in hopes of impressing God. This chapter explored and discussed the complex intersections between spirituality and relationships, something which is exceedingly significant in the lives of imprisoned people in Cayman.

Chapter 6: The Role of Spirituality in Experiences of Imprisonment and Rehabilitation

Introduction

This chapter aims to address the third objective of this thesis: to understand the role of spirituality in experiences of imprisonment in the Cayman Islands (Cayman). During analysis of the data, the intersection of spirituality and experiences of imprisonment resulted in significant rehabilitative efforts (often viewed as a form of self-improvement) amongst participants within the current study. This emergent finding in the current study remits the exploration of rehabilitation as it links to spirituality and experiences of imprisonment within this chapter. This relates to spiritual self-rehabilitation without prison initiatives, and how these efforts are impacted by the prison environment. Present findings around spiritual rehabilitation programmes should not be considered as evaluative where discussed due to the novel and unique nature of the current research – i.e., the focus remains on the role of spirituality within individual lives rather than the impact of spiritual rehabilitative programmes.

Rehabilitation refers to addressing factors and challenges which can lead to offending. In this case, it is both a process and an outcome pertaining to the journey and success in ultimately reintegrating into society (Higgins 2021). An open approach to understanding this is taken in consideration of decolonialism generally and around participant understanding of key concepts such as rehabilitation. This was benefitted with the use of TA and IPA. The current study frames rehabilitation based on the GLM developed by Ward and Brown (2004) due to its value as a framework of understanding the themes within the present study. However, due to the nature of this study occurring in prisons, it cannot account for actual outcomes around recidivism for participants. Therefore, the current study provides important insights into participant understandings of rehabilitation and spirituality within this, but not the actual effectiveness of this upon release. This would be useful to explore in future studies.

This model is positive and strengths-based, focusing on the assisted (e.g., through therapeutic relationships and programmes) achievement of primary human goods (PHG) which equate to nine essential human needs: *life* (i.e., healthy living), *relatedness* (e.g., strong interpersonal

relationships), *excellence in work and play, excellence in agency (agency), knowledge, inner peace, spirituality, happiness, and creativity*. Italic font is used to emphasise PHG within the following discussion. Since the GLM was created outside of the Caribbean context, the current study holds in mind the more subjective understandings of rehabilitation which have arisen during interviews – i.e., the inclusion of additional PHG – alongside the usefulness of the GLM as a framework. This points to the critical understanding of literature utilised alongside a broadened decolonial approach in the present study. Other theories such as attachment theory, SIT, IPT, and ANT are utilised to support the interpretation of findings within the discussion. This is also benefitted using TA and IPA to understand the significance of the data. The use of these tools is important towards the interpretation of findings around the role of spirituality in experiences of imprisonment and rehabilitation for imprisoned people in Cayman.

This chapter is discussed in two subthemes: (1) *The role of spirituality in rehabilitation in the prison space* and (2) *The connection between experiences of imprisonment, spirituality, relationships, and rehabilitation*. The first subtheme discusses the role of spirituality in self-rehabilitation in prison spaces, including prison as a motivator to initiate self-rehabilitation and the challenges around this within the prison environment. The second subtheme focuses on the role of spirituality in rehabilitating relationships with family, imprisoned people, and prison staff and the implications of this. These subthemes centre around how spirituality and experiences of imprisonment intersect and thus impact the individual, a significant outcome of this being rehabilitation.

Subtheme one: The role of spirituality in experiences of rehabilitation and the prison space

This subtheme focuses on the role of spirituality in self-rehabilitation and how experiences of imprisonment impact this. Self-rehabilitation is defined in the current study as the initiative to address one's criminogenic needs and reduce overall chances of reoffending. This may occur in tandem or without external (e.g., prison) rehabilitative initiatives. This is often perceived generally as 'self-improvement' by participants. In the current study, spirituality is greatly connected to motivation to self-rehabilitate. This relates to the PHG of *agency* and 'readiness' as these involve

self-directedness, autonomy, and willingness to choose spirituality and rehabilitation (Ward and Brown 2004). The benefits of using spirituality towards rehabilitation extend beyond the rewards of desistance - i.e., abstaining from crime and thus avoiding the legal consequences of it - towards an improved sense of self and overall life prospects, i.e., towards a 'good life.' In this way, spirituality is an instrumental good towards attaining PHG. IPT, attachment theory, and ANT are used to explain the findings within this subtheme. IPA and TA are used to analyse the quotes within this section on a distinctly individual (IPA) and thematic (TA) basis.

Regarding self-rehabilitation, participants such as Jerome, Roy, Pablo, Dan, Latecia, Monique, and Mauricio self-identify as more spiritually engaged since imprisonment. Not only is prison a significant motivator for self-rehabilitation, but some participants such as Jerome and Roy appreciate the time and space to develop a stronger sense of spirituality. Spirituality is viewed as an important tool to rehabilitate oneself because it is believed to 'make people better/good' by participants in the current study. Christianity is viewed by participants in the present study as a 'moral compass,' and a significant instrumental good towards rehabilitation and desistance. Although this could appear to be an attainment of *agency*, some significant 'external' factors relating to religious fears also motivate participants to self-identify as religious upon imprisonment. This detracts from *agency* and is discussed further using Pablo's narrative, which describes his desire to enter heaven and fear of hell as motivating factors to become religious and to desist from crime.

For Pablo, spirituality within self-rehabilitation, framed as 'self-improvement,' is viewed as a significant instrumental good – because it entails the achievement of heaven and avoidance of hell. This dynamic was held among participants such as Dan, Trent, and Mauricio, Ronald, and many self-identified Christian participants such as Henry and Jerome also believed in hell as divine punishment. As such, hell was thematically considered within the sample as the ultimate spiritual outcome of offending. This relates to the idea that crime is inherently 'sinful' among the sample, resulting in spiritual engagement to self-rehabilitate. However, it is important to note that spirituality may not inherently equate to self-rehabilitation, as its meaning is subjective. In this sense, some participants may have a positivist view of crime being 'sinful', which is held in the broader constructivist context of this thesis. This constructivist research approach acknowledges and holds these connotations of 'sin', exploring them as they relate to participants and wider

constructs around rehabilitation and imprisonment. This discussion is supported by the latent data analysis approaches within TA and IPA, highlighting their value as tools within the current study.

While the desire to enter heaven can be perceived as a positive instrumental good as it has a positive goal, Pablo emphasises his fear of hell more than this desire to reach heaven. This finding therefore highlights the significant [negative] instrumental good of fear of hell towards rehabilitation – detracting from *inner peace* and *happiness*. This is reflective of maladaptive spiritual belief – i.e., the belief in divine punishment (Barash 2020) and that one is actively experiencing it (Allen et al. 2013; Currier, Holland, and Drescher 2015). Pascal’s wager (i.e., to believe or to not believe in God) as discussed by Jackson (2024) is also relevant here, since it describes the choice to abide by Christian ideals and believe in God as protection against hell. Maladaptive spiritual beliefs can impede wellbeing generally and among vulnerable populations especially (e.g., those suffering from PTSD and older prison populations; Barash 2020; Currier, Holland, and Drescher 2015; Allen et al. 2013). This is important to consider as it relates to poor wellbeing and attainment of relevant PHG (i.e., *inner peace* and *happiness*).

However, an important consideration is made to the co-existence of maladaptive and adaptive spiritual beliefs – e.g., the fear and avoidance of hell alongside the desire to enter heaven as discussed by Pablo. This finding is valuable, as it shows that adaptive spiritual beliefs do not ‘cancel out’ maladaptive effects, as seen in participants such as Pablo and Jerome as examples. IPA was a beneficial tool within this as it focuses on participant perspectives of experiences phenomena, allowing for a more detailed analysis of participants’ quotes (Eatough and Smith 2017) – in this case, how the desire to enter heaven and the fear of hell motivate Pablo to self-rehabilitate. Pablo’s quote is analysed in three parts to benefit this discussion.

I’ve been recently baptised about [some time] ago, in prison! It’s something that I was kinda sceptical about, but at the end of the day I said “you know I don’t think it really matters **where** you get baptised, as long as you do”. And you know um, tomorrow not promised to no man you know. My beliefs is you know, you need to get baptised to, enter the - the gates of heaven [...]

Pablo

Pablo's desire to enter heaven is a key motivator for him to engage in spirituality in prison – i.e., through baptism. Pablo shares the sentiment that he will be 'rewarded' for his spiritual engagement with heaven. This can be considered a positive goal in alignment with the GLM as it revolves around a positive outcome – spirituality being an important instrumental good towards this. From this finding, the significance of 'life beyond death' must also be considered, especially as it relates to *inner peace* – i.e., the assurance of 'a good life' beyond death. This is referred to as *life beyond death*. *Life beyond death* refers to the desire to have an optimal life after death. It is considered an additional aspect of the PHG of *life* which concerns healthy and optimal physical functioning and sexual satisfaction (Ward and Brown 2004). The definition of *Life beyond death* is left intentionally vague to reflect the individual nature of spirituality and personal beliefs generally (i.e., concerns about one's 'situation' after death such as burial). This is a contribution to knowledge around the PHG of life in Ward and Brown's GLM (2004) and is important to consider among imprisoned populations. This may be especially relevant to imprisoned people who have spiritual beliefs and/or may be considering the implications/aftermath of their death in prison. This connects significantly to wellbeing and therefore is an important aspect of consideration within prisons.

Pablo's overcoming of his initial hesitancy around baptism in the prison perhaps signals the presence of *agency* as he overcomes the obstacle of the prison environment around this. This is important from a rehabilitative perspective, connecting spirituality to Pablo's self-initiative to rehabilitate. However, Pablo's achievement of this PHG is questioned during the further discussion of his quote. The continuation of Pablo's quote provides further insight into how he feels that spirituality can help him in his self-improvement – i.e., rehabilitation.

The most important thing to me about spirituality is, just becoming a better person overall. I believe spirituality **makes** you a better person overall. You know, more **acceptable**, more friendly, more **relaxed**, more **at peace within yourself**.

Pablo

To get into heaven, Pablo feels that he must engage in spirituality as it 'makes you a better person.' While Pablo's religious beliefs guide 'who he should or should not be,' the unique manifestation

of these beliefs in Pablo's life as attempts at prosocial self-rehabilitation can be considered spiritual. This is because they are based on his interpretation of what he must do to enter heaven – i.e., become a 'better person.' Pablo explains that being a better person means being more "acceptable," "friendly," "relaxed," and "at peace with himself." These relate to the PHG of *agency* [in his prosocial self-determination], *relatedness* [from being "friendly"] and *inner peace* as it concerns being "relaxed" (Ward and Brown 2004).

Importantly, Pablo's rehabilitative readiness is signified by his desire to be "acceptable," showing that he wishes to achieve PHG (at least those cited) in a way which is socially appropriate rather than through engagement with criminogenic needs (dynamic risks). This choice signals a presence of *agency* and a positive strength-based approach which is supported within the GLM (Ward and Brown 2004) – Pablo desires to enter heaven through the achievement of positive goals. This is important as it shows how spirituality acts as an intervention around instrumental goods and criminogenic needs, perhaps enabling one to view criminogenic means of achieving PHG as fundamentally harmful towards oneself and others. Further insight into the negative aspect of Pablo's motivation to rehabilitate based on his spiritual beliefs is provided in the following section of his quote. This is important as it exemplifies the negative impact of spirituality on rehabilitation depending on (mal)adaptivity of beliefs.

It's very important to me and I mean at the end of the day, I believe that there's a God and I believe that there's a heaven, and, and you know I want to go there. I don't want to go to hell. I've been through a lot of hell on Earth so, I can only imagine what the real hell would be like.

Pablo

Pablo expands that if he rehabilitates and reforms successfully, he will be rewarded with heaven by God, but if he fails to do so, God will send him to hell as punishment. Most imprisoned people have experienced severe trauma in their lives (Vaswani and Paul 2019), meaning that Pablo could also be referring to experiences before imprisonment when he refers to "hell on Earth". In this instance, Pablo's experience of prison could also be considered as a form of "hell" especially as it concerns potential experiences of POI. This is because Pablo "has already been through enough

hell on Earth” and imprisonment is a key turning for him to engage in spirituality – it is where he gets baptised and realises that he needs to become more “acceptable” - i.e., prosocial. In this case, Pablo insinuates that he sees himself as the problem, signifying that he may be ‘deserving’ of punishment. Pablo’s hesitancy around baptism in the prison further supports this – the environment is contrary to his spiritual desire to enter heaven which made baptism a difficult choice. As such, imprisonment may be seen as a divine punishment and a sign to self-rehabilitate through spirituality to escape his “hell” and avoid further divine punishment. Prison is therefore importantly related to Pablo’s idea of “hell” as a space which perhaps contains much ‘evil.’

Pablo’s fear of hell as motivation to become more prosocial – i.e., his readiness to attain *agency*, *relatedness*, and *inner peace* – challenges his attainment of *agency* and *inner peace*. Instead of autonomously self-determining as spiritual to become more prosocial, Pablo’s fear of divine punishment is a significant factor within this. Since this motivation is based on fears around God’s (who Pablo views as an external figure) response to Pablo’s behaviour, this finding diminishes the finding of *agency* – Pablo is not only engaging in spirituality to attain PHG but also because he is afraid of being punished by God if he does not ‘please Him’ by becoming more prosocial. This relates to Pablo’s experiences of imprisonment, from which Pablo may fear enteral divine punishment as additional suffering to “the hell he has already experienced on Earth.”

The fear of hell described by Pablo signals that *inner peace* and *happiness* are unattainable until he is assured of escape from prison, and thus “hell on Earth” by becoming more prosocial. Beyond this, Pablo’s attempts at self-rehabilitation directly link to entering heaven, symbolising two sides of the spirituality-rehabilitation “double-edged sword” for Pablo: (1) the desire to enter heaven, and (2) the fear of remaining in hell and the intensification of this experience. Ward and Brown’s (2004) critique of the RNR model raises concerns about how creating negative (i.e., risk-based) goals is not as effective in rehabilitation as instilling positive (i.e., strength-based) goals.

Pablo’s imagining of hell and reminiscing of “hell on Earth” speaks to a focus on negative goals to attain *inner peace* by avoiding hell. The consequences of this are evident in Pablo’s imbalanced focus on hell over heaven, which seemingly creates further stress, undermining the PHG of *happiness* and *inner peace*. This furthers the significance of positive goals within rehabilitation (Ward and Brown 2004) and how spirituality can be either effective or counterproductive as an instrumental good to achieve PHG depending on the individual. Spirituality as an instrumental

good may therefore be ineffective in attaining PHG (and thus rehabilitation) if involving maladaptive beliefs. This skews the results towards a negative orientation, limiting one's ability to attain positive rehabilitative goals.

Fogle's (2022) review of early Christian literature discusses how the understanding of linear time (e.g., one has a single unique life with a beginning and an end) in Christianity can allow for the use of 'apocalyptic literature' to control, correct, and conform behaviours to benefit society. This is especially relevant in the Caribbean, where colonial-Christianity was directed at creating order around indigenous Afro-Caribbean non-conformity (Finneran and Welch 2023). In this case, spirituality becomes political and social, and crime becomes equitable to sin, which can lead to hell. Barash's (2020) review of the impact of narratives of divine punishment contributes that they can lead people to behave more prosaically than they might have. This explains why Pablo's (and other participants') fear of hell results in motivation to self-rehabilitate and increase prosocial behaviour – their engagement with criminality risks their attainment of *life beyond death*.

While prosocial behaviour may be present on the surface of Pablo's narrative in the seeking to attain *life beyond death*, the underlying stress which propels this behaviour is important to consider around the other PHG he attempts to achieve - *happiness* and *inner peace*. While the positive orientation of seeking heaven benefits *agency* to become more prosocial, attempting to escape/avoid hell diminishes *agency* as it is based on the (negative) fear of divine punishment rather than a strength-based approach to attain *life beyond death*. Barash (2020) highlights that belief in divine punishment can result in lowered levels of happiness and satisfaction with life (Barash 2020; Allen et al. 2013; Currier, Holland, and Drescher 2015), compounding the concern around this finding in the current study. Rehabilitative efforts must also consider the role of *life beyond death* where relevant as it may undermine related PHG.

By attempting to change (i.e., rehabilitate) himself to enter heaven and avoid hell, Pablo shows that he believes that he is 'deserving' of divine punishment. Pablo places the onus of offending and life beyond death on his behaviour without acknowledging any external factors which may contribute to this. Pablo's acceptance of himself as deserving divine punishment reflects the message of TPJ, that the "reason that there's something wrong with the world is that there's something wrong with us" (Anderson et al. 2023, p.63; PFI 2024) and that Christianity is the "solution" through "surrender, obedience, and commitment" to Christ (Anderson et al. 2023). TPJ

is an eight-week bible study centred on Jesus' time in prison. TPJ's shame-based messaging undermines the attainment of the PHG *knowledge* (as it instils narratives of self-blame for circumstances and offending); *spirituality* and *creativity* (as it purports a specific purpose of life – to obey - rather than encouraging an organic development of personal meaning), and *inner peace* and *happiness* (through the instigation of self-blame). Pablo's struggle to attain *inner peace* and *happiness* by changing himself through Christianity as the solution (he mentions no other options to avoid hell) further reflects the similarities between his spiritual identity and TPJ. While Pablo did not disclose whether he was in TPJ, this exemplifies the potential harm of this narrative among imprisoned populations. These finding merits significant concern around the application of TPJ within prisons, since its narratives – regardless of whether they are attached to the programme or not – can significantly undermine wellbeing (Allen et al. 2013; Barash 2020; Currier, Holland and Drescher) and thus rehabilitation (Ward and Brown 2004). As such, it is important to explore and understand individual narratives, before, during and, after engagement in spiritual rehabilitative programmes.

Though possible, the navigation of the prison space to achieve PHG through spirituality is difficult for many participants. The exploration of spirituality as an instrumental good in maintaining rehabilitative efforts is significant as the prison itself (e.g., revolving around the temptation to offend and the presence of violence) presented a great challenge. Dan's quote describes the physical attributes that spirituality can have within the prison and how this helps him to navigate self-rehabilitation. Many participants (e.g., Henry, Ronald, Jerome, Kevin, Mauricio, Pablo, Monique, and Simon) also value spiritual items in their navigation of prison life, showing that this is a significant thematic finding. Dan's quote and an image of his spiritual item are used to illustrate this.

Image 1: Dan's Pledge

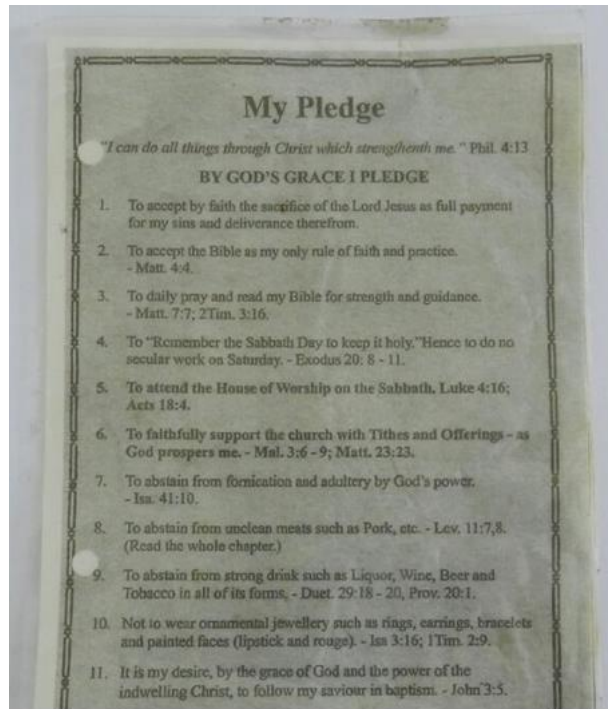


*Image cropped to exclude participant's name.

I have a piece of tape that I keep on the top of it and I hang it, normally I put up on my wall anywhere I go. In the cell, to different blocks or wherever. I try to hang it up and try to look at it every day and try to remember the little things that... I can't really... find myself doing like that no more. Do what I need to do, to really move forward and try to get more closer to God. [Interviewer: Do you feel that it helps you to do that?] I feel like it does help because, without it I'll be, I would be doing other things and I'll probably be lost.

Dan

Dan carries his pledge throughout the day, placing it in eyesight anywhere he goes in the prison. The pledge's presence, role, and influence are significant as it helps him to avoid doing the things which "[he] shouldn't be doing." This likely relates to anything contradicting the pledge, which includes potentially criminogenic behaviour. For Dan, self-rehabilitation means focusing on the positive goals of the pledge – e.g., maintaining 'proper/strict' religious conduct and thus addressing the PHG of *agency*. This enables Dan to resist criminogenic influences within the prison - e.g., addressing his criminogenic approach to *relatedness*. This self-directive to attain

agency and *relatedness* highlights aspects of readiness to engage in rehabilitation, as he actively seeks to engage in positive goals and avoid criminogenic needs (dynamic risks). This is important as it exemplifies *knowledge* of oneself such as goals and personal criminogenic needs around *relatedness*. Dan knows who he wants to be and what he needs to implement to achieve this, showing the presence of *spirituality* (e.g., meaning and purpose in life).

This finding shows that spiritual items can be an effective instrumental good to combat the physical and relational challenges of the prison environment. The personal meaning attributed to the item is also significant as shown by Dan – for him it represents the *agency* to choose who he wants to be despite imprisonment, thus developing this PHG. The connection between *agency* and *relatedness* as personal criminogenic needs also points to the presence of *knowledge* [of oneself]. The scope to use spirituality as an instrumental good - including the physicality [or lack thereof] of its form - is therefore as unique and broad as the individual's needs.

DiPietro and Dickinson's (2021) study of Islam and desistance through the life history of four men with extensive histories of crime and violence discuss how some imprisoned people struggle to navigate a new prosocial identity whilst in prison and overthrow the 'offender' label (DiPietro and Dickinson 2021; Maruna, Wilson, and Curran 2006). DiPietro and Dickinson's (2021) example of how religious dedication results in a commitment to desistance is similar to Dan's quote as he cites how he 'desists' from engaging in criminogenic behaviour whilst in prison due to his claiming of religious values – i.e., the creation of a religious identity. Though post-imprisonment desistance has not been measured in the current study, interventions, and catalysts towards this in prison are crucial steps within rehabilitation (Ward and Brown 2004). The current study therefore shows signs of desistance in prison arising from personal commitment to religion – i.e., spirituality, as pertaining to the unique engagement and meaning this has for Dan.

However, it is important to note that while Dan's desire to be more spiritual and thus prosocial may be positive, the aim of disengaging with criminogenic peers can be viewed as having a negative orientation. As an example, one may seek to disengage in antisocial peers and become isolated (a significant aspect of POI and poor wellbeing; Sykes 1958; Emerson et al. 2021) without the positive goal of building relationships with prosocial peers. This relates to Ward and Brown's (2004) emphasis on the significance of positive, strength-based goals, critique of negative goals

(in RNR), and the potential negative outcomes which can arise from this as observed in Pablo's narrative.

Dan's use of the pledge speaks to the use of spirituality as an instrumental good to achieve identity reformation. This is evident in the use of first-person language in Dan's pledge, drawing reference to IPT as developed by Goffman (1959). IPT centres around the concept of identity 'masks' and how they can be tailored to the present 'audience.' Dan's use of spirituality as an instrumental good can be considered as the reformation of his 'mask' from criminogenic to spiritual, which for him means prosocial. The audience in this case is Dan, the prison, and the pledge which encourages him to 'practice' his religious identity by incorporating chosen spiritual values into his daily life as his own beliefs. Since the pledge is an external and physical expression of Dan's spiritual beliefs, by performing for the pledge, Dan is also performing for himself.

Examples of this identity performance include (*italics for emphasis*), the title "*My* pledge," which states, "It is *my* desire, by the grace of God and the power of the indwelling Christ, to follow *my* saviour to baptism.," "to accept the Bible as *my* only rule of faith and practice," "to accept by faith and sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ as full payment for *my* sins and deliverance therefrom." This 'mask' reformation could be considered as a performance to disengage with the audience of the prison, and to conform to the desires of the pledge as an alternate audience which Dan ensures is present. This also points to Goffman's (1961) role-distancing, as the consistent reminder of the pledge empowers Dan to distance himself from his criminogenic identity despite the 'temptations' of prison life – i.e., fulfilling his criminogenic needs and engaging with antisocial peers. This finding shows that for Dan, a spiritual item is an effective instrumental good towards creating a new 'spiritual mask' and 'distancing' himself from a likely 'criminogenic mask'.

The significant role of the pledge also points to the relevance of ANT. ANT revolves around the role and influences of human and non-human actors which make up a 'network' (Latour 2007). The pledge has significant influence on Dan's mood and immediate environment – its presence reminds him of his values, fortifying his spiritual strength. As such, Dan's pledge has an important role as actor which is related to his special meaning given to it – i.e., the pledge may have no significance as an actor to someone with alternative religious beliefs. Dan's relationships with the pledge should also be acknowledged, it is a present actor which 'communicates' important messages to Dan throughout the day, especially when he feels challenges by the prison

environment. This is a significant finding as it speaks to the significance of non-human items, and how they can have a dynamic role and influence within the prison in a way which benefits rehabilitation.

The importance of the prison as an actor is also important to consider within this dynamic. Dan evidences that the prison ‘pulls’ him ‘away’ from his spiritual identity by influencing him to do things which he “should not.” This further signifies, as alluded to in Pablo’s scepticism around baptism, that the prison is not an apt environment for rehabilitation – it is a negative actor. Pablo and Dan infer that although one may have displayed readiness (e.g., willingness) to engage in spiritual self-rehabilitation, the prison itself threatens this initiative. The nuanced impact of the prison as an actor is important to note, as it was a significant catalyst for Pablo to engage in spirituality although this was not the case for Dan who stated in his interview that he was “more spiritual” before imprisonment. The prison is, therefore, a challenge to rehabilitation for Pablo and Dan, but also a catalyst to engage in spirituality and rehabilitation for some (e.g., Pablo, Roy, Latecia, and Jerome).

Although Dan relays effective navigation of spirituality in the prison towards rehabilitation, the negative influence of the prison as an actor is too great for some to achieve the same effect. The designated religious space within HMP Northward - there is no such designated space in HMP Fairbanks – is the chapel, which was not viewed as particularly sacred by many participants. While there was a distinct appreciation for the services provided for many participants such as Henry, Pablo, Renee, Latecia, and Monique as examples, participants such as Steven, Dan, and Jerome felt that the chapel was insufficient and/or corrupted by the prison environment in some way. Reasons included having interpersonal issues which others present (Jerome, Steven, and Dan) and/or feeling that these spaces were used for ‘illicit’ purposes and were thus irreputable (Steven). In a sense, the chapel is considered deficient in *excellence in work and play*, mitigating its reputation as a ‘spiritual’ space. Steven’s quote is used to explain the impact of the prison environment on his spirituality and thus unsuccessful attempts to use spirituality as an instrumental good towards rehabilitation.

I’m not a Christian you know. Like, don’t get me wrong I baptise in that chapel too you know, in here you know. And the very first day baptised I got into a major fight, right after that.

Not even five minutes after that. [Violent act redacted to protect anonymity] and all that.
Everybody know that, but that show you how bad this place is.

Steven

Steven states that he is not a Christian despite his attempt to become one through baptism in prison. Steven speaks on how immediately after his baptism, he became involved in a violent fight, the news of which spread throughout the prison. Like Dan, the prison has a significantly negative ‘pull’ on Steven away from spirituality (and thus prosociality), though for Steven this pull is ultimately irresistible. Steven’s narrative relates to *agency*, *relatedness*, and *life* as Steven states that the environment undermines his ability to manage his emotions [with others/when provoked] and thus his ability to live safely in prison. Steven infers that he does not feel credible identifying as a Christian because of his violent behaviour post-baptism. This inference is taken from the denouncement of Christian identity despite baptism, which is arguable latently explained by his engagement in the fight. The latent elements of TA and IPA were useful in garnering this significance. This indicates that Steven aims to achieve the very PHG which are challenging for him (i.e., *agency*, *relatedness*, and *life*) through baptism since his ‘failure’ to attain them post-baptism makes him feel unable to identify as ‘Christian.’ This is shown in Steven’s denouncement of a ‘Christain’ identity *although* he underwent baptism, signifying that he ‘should’ be a Christian after receiving this rite but feels unable to claim this identity. Like Pablo and Dan, Steven’s engagement with spirituality is an indicator of readiness – he is willing to make a change. However, Steven’s internal [commitment to abstain from crime and ability to manage emotions] and external [prison and peer] environment mitigates his ability to move beyond an inner willingness to rehabilitate.

De Viggiani’s (2012) ethnographic study on masculine performances in a category C male training prison in the UK discusses the harmful effects of aggression and imminent violence in prisons, a key issue which undermines Steven’s ability to reform his criminogenic needs. De Viggiani (2012) discusses how maintaining reputation, “banter,” toughness/machismo, body image, heterosexism, and legitimacy are all aspects of maintaining one’s masculine ‘front’ in prison. This includes use of language and behaviour to project a masculine image. This served to hide perceived weaknesses and vulnerabilities and thus avoid bullying and exploitation. Some participants felt that they could

be vulnerable with those they had a close relationship with, while others no longer maintain a facade, which led to psychological and social withdrawal – i.e., staying in bed throughout most of the day and avoiding other imprisoned people.

De Viggiani's (2012) study speaks on the overall creation of prison identities which are temporary and used to survive the hostile prison environment, although maintaining these facades can cause significant strain (De Viggiani 2012). Conformity to these identities is felt as necessary for psychological and social survival. This has important implications for rehabilitation, as it speaks to the diminishment of *agency* (as one does not feel able to be authentic in their self-determination); *relatedness* since one feels they must relate to others in specifically masculine formats, and *inner peace* and *happiness* where psychological distress is experienced from either fear or experience of bullying as well as the lack of capacity to conform and the resulting ill-effects from this. This relates to Steven who feels unable to maintain a spiritual identity whilst in prison, signifying further concerns about his ability to engage in rehabilitative efforts due to the impact of the environment. While this could signify that Steven has a 'weaker' spiritual identity than Jerome, Dan, and Latecia (as examples) who are able to withstand the 'pull' of the prison to offend, it also infers the significant challenge of maintaining a spiritual identity whilst in prison. This speaks to the need to approach unique spiritual identities from an individual and environmental perspective - i.e., also considering the role of the prison. This has important implications for spiritual identity and rehabilitation in prisons.

Steven's narrative points to the relevance of IPT and ANT since he attempts to become 'Christian' but does not feel capable due to the negative influence of the prison. Christianity can be considered as a 'mask' which Steven attempts to wear through the 'performance' of baptism. Baptism is therefore an attempt to role-distance himself from his criminogenic mask, similar to Dan's use of the spiritual item. Role-distancing is a theoretical concept created by Goffman (1961) around the idea that one can 'perform' in a way which is atypical to their usual identity (i.e., mask) which creates 'distance' from one's usual 'role.' The prison is perceived by Pablo, Dan, and Steven, as having a 'bad' mask with a violent performance. This argument is made through the use of 'mask mastery' - discussed in the chapter titled *The Role of Spirituality in Identity* – in explaining that the negative experiences related to the prison environment have resulted in these participants perceiving the prison as having a 'bad' mask. This is importantly related to their individual

relationships with the prison as an actor. For Steven, this manifests as a fight between himself and another person in the prison, an example he uses to explain *how* ‘bad’ the prison is – i.e., through its overall influence on his actions. In this case, the prison is a significant actor which has impeded Steven’s ability to successfully engage in identity reformation and thus rehabilitation as he is unable to refrain from violence because of the negative influence of the prison.

Since Steven states that prison makes him feel less spiritual and has disengaged with spirituality and rehabilitative efforts in general and does not cite involvement in spiritual rehabilitative programmes. Steven’s difficulties around rehabilitation may be countered in part by the STP which aims to increase accountability for offending; improve victim empathy; reduce offending behaviour while in prison and prepare imprisoned people for restorative justice if they choose to take this step (Feasey and Williams 2009). Offending behaviour in prison, lack of accountability and victim empathy are shown by Steven’s placement of blame on the prison for his violent behaviour without acknowledging the impact on his victim. Due to “how bad the prison is,” Steven feels unable to change his violent behaviour, justifying his actions against his victims as unavoidable and further mitigating accountability. This finding signifies diminishment of *agency* [to hold personal accountability] *relatedness* around the negative (e.g., violent) relation to others, the risk to *life* to oneself and others through Steven’s engagement in violence, and *inner peace* and *happiness* as it concerns emotional management.

A quantitative evaluation of the STP by Feasey and Williams (2009) was conducted in the UK using 5007 questionnaires with participants who completed the programme. Findings showed that there were overall positive attitude shifts upon completion of the programme. Outcomes included lowered anticipation of future offending for 65% of institutions, and higher victim empathy in 69% of institutions. Within this, pro-offending attitudes also reduced after the completion of the programme. However, the overall impact of the programme varied depending on the institution (Feasey and Williams 2009), signalling the importance of the prison as an actor and contextual appropriateness of rehabilitation programmes (Blagden, Winder, and Hames 2016). Specific factors leading to change could also not be accounted for due to the quantitative nature of the study.

As such, while involvement in STP could be beneficial for Steven by enabling him to better develop his desired spiritual ‘mask’ through the improvement of victim empathy and accountability of offending – thereby developing *agency* and *relatedness*, this outcome is not promised. The current study provides further insights into potential factors impacting the effectiveness of STP – the prison itself and the negative influences within it. This is a key obstacle for Steven and perhaps would diminish his ability to benefit from STP. The finding therefore signifies the importance of appropriate context for rehabilitation to occur as it may reduce personal and programme-based rehabilitative efforts as suggested by Blagden, Winder, and Hames (2016).

Subtheme two: The connections between experiences of imprisonment, spirituality, relationships, and rehabilitation

Spiritual engagement during imprisonment led to some significant changes in approaches to interpersonal relationships inside the prison. This importantly related to spiritual identity and impacted other people's experience of imprisonment. This subtheme explores this effect in relationships with other imprisoned people and prison staff, outcomes of which are nuanced depending upon the participant's spiritual identity and approach to interpersonal relationships. This subtheme relates primarily to *relatedness* and knowledge, although other PHG are inherently connected due to the interconnectedness of rehabilitative factors (Ward and Brown 2004).

In the current study, spirituality is used in peer work (i.e., peers working for the benefit of each other) between imprisoned people. Participants such as Timothy and Latecia find it especially important to set prosocial examples for other imprisoned people while Kevin states that only imprisoned people who were disengaging with criminality would encourage spirituality within the prison. This finding speaks to the role of imprisoned people as voluntary peer workers and rehabilitators outside of rehabilitative programmes, a significant finding. This finding is illustrated by a quote from Latecia who discusses how she successfully – as the outcome of her efforts is recognised by prison staff - role models prosocial behaviour to another imprisoned woman while recognising that a spiritual approach which ‘tones down’ a religious teaching/lingo is sometimes more effective. In this case, Latecia uses her attainment of *relatedness* and *inner peace* to benefit the rehabilitative journey of other imprisoned women. Latecia's quote is discussed in two sections to benefit discussion. IPA is an important analytical tool within this, allowing for the deeper

exploration of singular narratives – through the dissection of the discussion - to ascertain their significance within the study (Eatough and Smith 2017).

The younger one, the more peppery one, comes around me like ninety percent ah (of) anybody else. So, she and she comes now, she will, um, "Blah blah blah blah blah blah blah blah blah!" say some rude things on top of her voice. And I don't react or say anything. So what I'm trying to do now is get her to relax, like me, to mirror my kind of behaviour. And, um, show her - show her that I'm not - that I'm not that type of person. So, if she wants to be around me she have to, you know, relax herself.

Latecia

Latecia discusses how a particularly “peppery” imprisoned woman comes to Latecia and loudly says “rude” things, an example of antisocial behaviour in the prison and absence of *relatedness*. Latecia states that she responds with a calm attitude to show an example of appropriate behaviour, exemplifying *inner peace* and *relatedness* as she shows an absence of emotional turmoil or stress in her response to what she perceives as ‘inappropriate’ from the other imprisoned woman. Latecia also shows *agency* as it relates to self-determination since she knows that she is “not that type of person” - i.e., “rude” or ‘antisocial’.

Nixon (2019) discusses the importance of peer work in prisons, where imprisoned people work together towards desistance. Nixon’s (2019) qualitative study involved interviews in a category B prison with 15 peer-workers (recruited from the Listeners programme, Toe-by-toe mentors, and drug peer mentors) and eight staff members to ascertain the significance of peer-working. This study found that role modelling is an important aspect of desistance (Nixon 2019), inferences of which are evident in Latecia’s example. Improved relations with staff and the prison environment as a whole are also discussed by Nixon (2019), further corroborating and supporting the significance of Latecia’s role-modelling in HMCIPS.

The present finding therefore shows how spirituality can be used as a ‘shared’ instrumental good – it benefits the individual and peers to achieve the desired PHG. Staff appreciation of role modelling between imprisoned people as discussed by Nixon (2019) is also evident within the

following section of Latecia's quote. Here, the 'toning down' of religious discourse is shown to be fundamental to her successful peer work, limiting the resistance to Latecia's role modelling.

[...] but me no tell them 'bout no "Jesus, Jesus, Hallelujah," because some of them when you start to talk to them like that they start to run! So, I'm just trying to convey good ideas good thinking, good mindfulness, good behaviours, good ambitions, good **everything** around them so that so - around her - so that she can try to, you know? And since Ms (prison staff) told me, and Ms (prison staff), par par (making conversation) but, same - the - the same kind of sentiment. That they noticed a lot of changes in her so I must um, continue working with her. So, I say "I don't do anything to her, besides just talk good things out ah me mouth, and condition her mind to think otherwise in my life - in **my** opinion."

Latecia

Latecia acknowledges that religious rhetoric is not always appropriate in her peer work, showing an important compromise in her religious expression to benefit other women in prison. This significantly connects to *relatedness*, as Latecia knows *how* to relate to people in different mind-frames and spiritual orientations (including lack thereof). The subsequent 'toning down' of a religious approach benefits Latecia's ability to form prosocial bonds with those outside of her spiritual 'ingroup' (in reference to SIT). Instead of enforcing religious teachings, Latecia prefers to instil "good" lessons on thinking, ideas, mindfulness (often related to spirituality; Lazaridou and Pentaris 2016), behaviour, and ambition. These concepts are importantly related to the *relatedness* (e.g., thinking, behaviour, and mindfulness), *knowledge* (e.g., thinking and ideas), *inner peace* (mindfulness), and *spirituality* (ambition - e.g., sense of purpose) within the GLM (Ward, Melser, and Yates 2007; Ward and Brown 2004). However, while Nixon (2019) describes the sense of empowerment and authority that can arise from recognition from staff (around peer-work), Latecia somewhat discredits this. This shows that her spiritual identity involves a level of altruism - she is not 'performing' for a reward or recognition but insinuates that her positive role-modelling manifests as an expression of her spirituality. This is significant as Latecia's efforts are spiritual, organic, and voluntary rather than manufactured by prison intervention, resulting in positive outcomes for the other imprisoned woman in their rehabilitative journey.

Latecia's rehabilitative influence on the other imprisoned woman in the prison through role modelling and encouragement speaks to the relevance of IPT. By role modelling positive behaviour (e.g., *relatedness* and *spirituality*), Latecia 'performs' the prosocial behaviour and 'mask' which she teaches the other woman to "mirror." This performance is supported by positive encouragement and goal setting from Latecia, helping the other woman understand how to engage in this performance and mould her own 'mask' – by having "good" thoughts, behaviours, ambitions, ideas, and mindfulness (e.g., positive goals). This finding is particularly significant as Latecia's attempt to rehabilitate the other imprisoned woman is voluntary – Latecia 'simply' role models a prosocial mask which is effectively mirrored by the other woman, benefitting both of their rehabilitative journeys as Latecia practices prosocial *relatedness* when challenged, while simultaneously – and successfully - teaching it.

The fact that the other imprisoned woman is intentionally left unaware of this fact is also significant, emphasising the transferability of spirituality in prison and the subsequent benefits on rehabilitation. Latecia's positive goal setting and role modelling are aligned with the positive strength-based design of the GLM, perhaps attributing to her effectiveness. The recognition of positive change by prison staff shows the effectiveness and significance of spirituality within rehabilitative role modelling in HMP Fairbanks. This finding shows that the GLM may be an effective rehabilitative framework within HMCIPS.

Attachment theory is also relevant within the relationship between Latecia and the imprisoned woman, especially as Latecia describes the other woman as "younger." This relates to Latecia's nurturing approach [of positive goals] alongside healthy boundaries of expectation – i.e., characteristics of secure parenting and subsequent secure attachment style (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979; Hong and Park 2012). The results of Latecia's role modelling are observed within the noted changes of the other imprisoned woman by prison staff. Since the other imprisoned woman is "mirroring" Latecia's prosocial behaviour, this signifies a positive change in *relatedness* specifically. This relates to the development of secure attachment since it concerns the nature of interpersonal relationships (Ainsworth 1979; Bowlby 1979). Since insecure attachment can heighten risks of self-harm and suicide (McKeown et al. 2017), this finding is significant.

Miller and Klockner's study (2019) on Therapeutic Community (TC) in prisons shows that insecure attachment decreased, and secure attachment increased among group participants. Miller

and Klockner explored changes in attachment styles for those participating in the TC intervention in HMP Dovegate male prison, UK. TC aims to encourage desistance and improve interpersonal skills. The group allows for the addressing of negative attachment styles through a holistic community approach (Miller and Klockner 2019). Participating staff and imprisoned people negotiate rules and regulations among themselves and navigate challenges and ‘rule-breaking’ together. Within TC, imprisoned people are invited to discuss challenges related to offending (e.g., criminogenic needs) and relevant difficulties with other group members in small and ‘whole community’ groups (i.e., involving all TC members). Sixty participants took part in Miller and Klockner’s study (2019), the average age being 32 years. Eighteen percent of participants identified with a racially minoritised group. Participants were asked to engage in a multiple card sorting task (MCST) before engagement with TC. The MCST centred around perceived similarities and differences with others – e.g., individuals, children, and/or parents as a group. Participants chose categories to put on cards as part of the activity.

Twenty-six participants remained in TC at the time of the second MCST 12 months after the initial data were collected – 34 had dropped out for different reasons. Some of the ‘drop-outs’ were dismissed for rule-breaking; chose to leave because of perceived insincerity of other members; high staff turnover, and not wanting to be in the same group as people who have committed sexual offences. This methodological finding is important as it speaks to significant interpersonal dynamics which can impede one’s participation in a beneficial programme. This would limit the ability of an intervention like TC to successfully address insecure attachment within prison populations, a concern which could impact risk of harm to self (McKeown et al. 2017). As such, the rehabilitative context is important to consider (Blagden, Winder, and Hames 2016).

Miller and Klockner (2019) analyse their data quantitatively, findings from which show that four more participants had secure attachment styles at the second test point than the initial (three participants). This suggests that TC and positive therapeutic relationships within this are effective in fostering secure attachment styles (Bowlby 1988; Miller and Klockner 2019). This relates to the observed change in *relatedness* by the imprisoned woman after undergoing informal ‘peer work’ with Latecia. The selection of ‘authority figure’ increased at the second test point, which was interpreted as a positive sign regarding support-seeking from prison staff. This relates to McKeown et al.’s study (2017) on attachment and self-harm/suicidality which showed that secure attachment

styles were more likely to engage in support-seeking. The category of ‘peers’ was selected less frequently in the second round, which was also interpreted as a positive since it was often linked to antisocial pressures (Miller and Klockner 2019). The present study contrasts this finding, as increased relation, and similarity to Latecia as a ‘peer’ has positive effects. The role of spirituality as an explicit approach from Latecia is significant, suggesting that it may transform peer relations from negative to positive within prisons. After all, Latecia appears to dislike the other imprisoned woman but continues to “work” with her. Positive peer relations [through spirituality] is also observed in Henry’s discussion of the Christian “fellowship” in the previous chapter titled *The Role of Spirituality in Relationships*, furthering the significance of spirituality within this finding.

Participants in Miller and Klockner’s (2019) study chose to include “siblings” in the MCST more frequently than parental figures at both initial and following test points. This suggests that Latecia’s ‘attachment’ to the other imprisoned woman and vice versa could be more representative of sisterhood than a mother-daughter dynamic. They are in fact both women in prison together trying to cope with daily prison life. This reflects findings in the study by Crewe, Hulley, and Wright (2020) on the impact of life imprisonment on young adults [which is previously discussed in the chapter titled: *Theory*], which describes a Muslim “brotherhood” in prison. This brotherhood helped significantly with coping, an important aspect of attachment especially as it relates to support-seeking and secure attachment bonds (McKeown et al. 2017). Latecia’s peer-work and Henry’s “fellowship” therefore point to the potential organic development of a prosocial community within HMCIPS which transforms attachment styles through explicit (Henry) and implicit (Latecia) engagement with spirituality. The current finding is important to consider regarding POI, as isolation and deprivation of security is diminished through a development of bonding between prosocial and antisocial imprisoned people.

Another important aspect of relationships to explore in this subtheme includes relationships with prison staff, as this was impacted by spiritual beliefs of staff and participants in the current study. The relevant spiritual belief in this discussion was around gender roles, highlighting the potential areas of development within rehabilitative relationships between staff and imprisoned people in the present study. Some participants such as Renee, Romero, Jerome, and Monique challenged their understanding of gender roles which impacted their relationships. This signifies the relevance of gender roles in *relatedness* as a thematic finding in the present study. Romero and Renee

particularly disagreed with religious gender roles, feeling that they were oppressive to women. Romero's quote is used to illustrate how personal spirituality around gender roles and spirituality as an instrumental good to attain *knowledge* is used to highlight discrepancies in rehabilitative relationships with prison staff. His narrative is particularly interesting as a male participant with a distinct dislike for gender roles which are oppressive to women although they might benefit him as a man. Romero's quote is utilised to explain this finding.

...His, Hers, "Hims," whatever. Because, like, Ms [prison staff], she kind of, um, gave me an attitude when I asked, uh, "Why is it when you pray, you say, 'Our Father who art in heaven'? Like, suppose you were to go to heaven and lift up this big gown, that God has on and instead of seeing a prick, you see a fat pussy? What's that? Like you know? So then you can't be like, 'no one's ever met God,' so how can you say, 'yeah, well, because the Bible says that I should say, 'Our Father.'"

Romero

Romero foremostly identifies the ambiguity in which he perceives God within his spirituality – God is not inherently confined by gender labels. The personal experience of spirituality within this is especially important for Romero, shown by his statement that "no one has ever met God," which for him mitigates the justification to believe that God is a man. Romero's conversation with a member of staff who took offence to Romero's questioning of God's gender - though perhaps they were also offended by his use of language when having a spiritual discussion - shows that religion and spirituality differences may be a relationship barrier between staff and imprisoned people. This is concerning as it may further compound difficulties in accessing spiritual resources for non-Christian imprisoned people, especially as they must liaise with the Christian prison chaplain despite HMCIP's recommendation that alternative faith services be provided since 2015 (CIIMB 2021; HMCIP 2015). The lack of non-Christian religious participants in the study means that this aspect remains hidden, and thus an area of concern. As the spiritual/religious demographics of imprisoned people in Cayman are unknown, this remits the need for further insight in this respect. The present finding signifies the potential for negative experiences with prison staff around religion and spirituality to deter spiritual support-seeking for non-Christian imprisoned people – this is due to the evident diminishment of *relatedness* around the issue of perceived offence.

Peirce's (2022) work on masculinity and Christianity in Dominican prisons is relevant here as it discusses the gendering and 'spiritualisation' of rehabilitation in relation to respect from authoritative figures. Peirce (2022) identifies the importance of being perceived as Christian by authoritative figures such as prison pastors (typically an imprisoned person with the formally recognised role of pastor) to gain respect, safety, and access to goods (e.g., money and food). Although Romero is relaying an interaction with a staff member, the power dynamic and potential ill-effect of perceived disrespect (e.g., access to resources and safety) remains a prominent factor. The gendering and 'spiritualisation' of the rehabilitative journey by imprisoned men and prison staff is also discussed by Peirce (2022) – e.g., rehabilitation involves 'turning away from a "dark path" to become a "real man"'. This is highly relevant to Romero's quote because Romero infers that the staff member feels disrespected by his lack of belief in a male God and shared Christian identity. Peirce's (2022) study thus relates highly to the present concern - that the exemplified member of staff would not be able to support rehabilitative efforts in a secular manner where appropriate – i.e., with Romero and other imprisoned people who do not identify as or with Christianity. Differing spiritual identities are therefore key factors to consider within rehabilitative prison dynamics.

This finding relates to *knowledge* since both Romero and the prison staff he converses with appear adamant in their beliefs. This is shown by the persistence of Romero's argument and the staff member's 'ungiving' stance in the discussion. It is important to note here that Romero may also be using his religious *knowledge* to 'play' with the staff member. This argument is taken Romero's language and phrasing which contrasts the potential 'seriousness' of the staff member's stance. This 'seriousness' is based in the staff member's offence to Romero's question, insinuating that they are more considered in their dialogue around religion and spirituality. This finding highlights the issue of religion versus spirituality as potentially conflicting instrumental goods [to attain *knowledge*] between imprisoned people and prison staff, and how disagreement around this can impede *relatedness*. Since therapeutic relationships – i.e., *relatedness* - are a significant component of rehabilitation (Ward and Brown; Bowlby 1988; Miller and Klockner 2019), this finding is particularly concerning.

Ellis' (2018) 12-month ethnographic study in a female American prison speaks on the harmful rhetoric of Christian volunteers in female prisons who proclaim that imprisoned women must be

submissive and find a suitable Christian man. These narratives were predominantly unhelpful and out of touch with the realities of imprisoned women (Ellis 2018). Romero highlights that religious rhetoric of prison staff around gender roles can be inappropriate for non-religious imprisoned people. This supplements the findings by Ellis (2018) as it shows how potentially harmful narratives around religious gender roles can be problematic within male prisons. The elicitation of offence at Romero's rhetoric on gender brings concerns towards religious narratives of staff around gender within HMP Northward and HMP Fairbanks especially. Since female participants did not discuss staff rhetoric around gender roles in the present study, the impact of this narrative remains 'hidden' yet is important to consider within future research. This is a significant finding as it concerns interpersonal issues between imprisoned people and staff arising from this, imploring the need to address narratives of religion and gender roles in male and female prisons (Ellis 2018).

The discussion between Romero and the prison staff member resulting in the staff member's offence speaks to SIT and inter-group dynamics. The staff member seemingly belongs to the 'Christian ingroup' which believes that God is a man while Romero ascribes no gender to God, identifying with a 'spiritual and experiential ingroup'. Romero evidences that he thinks the staff member is perhaps 'foolish' for belonging to their Christian 'ingroup' as he questions how the staff member can believe that God is a man without seeing/experiencing God. The discussion between Romero and the staff member shows the significance of 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' dynamics religious (i.e., staff) versus spiritual (i.e., Romero) social identities in the prison. This is shown in Romero's choice to use potentially offensive language towards the staff member about their religious beliefs. The use of language can be an important component of spiritual, and Christian, identities (Anderson et al. 2023). Romero's status as Caribbean implies a cultural awareness of the significance of Christianity in Caymanian culture, and thus merits the perspective of intentional offence. This is supported by Romero's negative comments about Christianity in Cayman within his interview where he denotes a degree of distrust towards this 'group'.

In this case, it could be considered that Romero has an 'in moratorium' - i.e., in crisis/questioning spiritual identity and experiencing conflict with family over beliefs - whereas the staff member has a 'foreclosed' spiritual identity - i.e., not open to spiritual questioning. This is shown in Romero's persistence in questioning the staff member's religious beliefs to the point of offence. However, the fact that Romero conveys the staff member as taking offence to this questioning shows that

they were likely not open to accepting Romero's alternative spiritual beliefs. This terminology is borrowed from Kiesling et al.'s (2008) qualitative study, which discusses the role of familial relationships in spiritual identity formation. These identity classifications are important to consider here as they relate to the potential friction between imprisoned people and staff based in their 'classification' of spiritual identity in this respect. In this case, the spiritual beliefs are not as important as the openness to discussion and acceptance of others who may have alternative spiritual identities. This is exemplified in the 'achieved' spiritual identity classification, which describes one who is settled in their spiritual identity after a period of questioning yet open to others with alternative spiritual beliefs (Kiesling et al. 2008).

In the present finding, it is important to note that Romero is using his own language to explore his relationship with religion (i.e., pertaining to spiritual *knowledge*) through his relationship with the member of staff. This is significant as, despite the sentiment of offence, Romero's relationship with the prison staff is an instrumental good in his exploration of his own *knowledge* of spirituality and religion. It is therefore worth considering that Romero's intent is in part to use *relatedness* - albeit diminished due to disagreement around religious gender roles - to attain *knowledge*. The fact that member of staff takes offence to Romero's rhetoric as it does not coincide with their religious *knowledge* shows how differences in attainment of this PHG (i.e., spiritual versus religious instrumental goods) can impede *relatedness*. It could be considered that Romero [unintentionally] sacrifices *relatedness* to attain [spiritual] *knowledge* from the prison staff member. The member of prison staff compounds this effect when offence is taken around their [religious] attainment of *knowledge*.

A potential 'solution' for interpersonal challenges around spirituality (i.e., knowledge and relatedness) as exemplified by Romero may be taken from Latecia's example of 'toning down' a religious approach towards the other woman who "runs" from religious rhetoric. Latecia's approach involves an amendment of expressing [religious] *knowledge* due to the prioritisation of *relatedness* to benefit to achievement of other PHG. For the prison staff member discussed in Romero's example, this may involve prioritisation of *relatedness* despite the offence taken. In this instance the prioritisation of a positive – i.e., rehabilitative – outcome must take precedence over interpersonal issues. This is shown in Latecia's example who describes the other imprisoned woman as "rude" but aims to assist her in the achievement of PHG regardless. Latecia's approach

is positive and strength-based – i.e., towards the achievement of positive goals which aligns with the GLM framework (Ward and Brown 2004). In this way, informal rehabilitative relationships between prison staff and imprisoned people may be an effective tactic in reducing interpersonal conflict and benefitting rehabilitation. The context of Latecia's approach occurring in HMCIPS signifies contextual suitability as an organic solution. However, application in MHP Northward may have practical (and unforeseen) opportunities and challenges as this approach was observed within in HMP Fairbanks. This is important to consider around the differences in physicality of prison space and dynamics between imprisoned people and staff. This finding supports the value of the GLM generally and in the Caymanian prison context when administered implicitly between imprisoned people. This is particularly important to consider for prison staff, who are the primary points of contact for individual needs and services in prisons.

It is important to note the significant benefit – and limitation – of interpersonal relationships between imprisoned people and with prison staff in the present study. This is important when considering that the impact of imprisonment and rehabilitative programmes vary significantly depending on the context and relationships with prison staff (Liebling 2011; Miller and Klockner 2019; Blagden, Winder, and Hames 2016). Possible solutions include utilising organic and effective means of relationship building within the prison which can improve *relatedness* and subsequent PHG arising from this. This is benefitted by the constructivist ontological and interpretivist epistemological approaches of the present study which seek to understand the 'organic' formation of spirituality in Caymanian prisons and how this relates to the lives of imprisoned people.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the role of spirituality in rehabilitation within Caymanian prisons based on Ward and Brown's (2004) good lives model (GLM). Other theories such as attachment theory, SIT, IPT, and ANT were utilised to benefit the discussion. This chapter addressed the objective: to understand the role of spirituality in experiences of imprisonment. As participants' experiences of imprisonment and spirituality significantly related to rehabilitation, it was a key topic in the current chapter. Throughout the current study, spirituality was a significant instrumental good

towards the achievement of PHG. However, the unique nature of spirituality contributed to the potential benefits and harms in rehabilitative outcomes. Discussion of findings benefited from IPA and TA throughout to provide rich and in-depth insights into the role of spirituality in experiences of imprisonment and rehabilitation for those imprisoned in Cayman.

However, while imprisonment could motivate some participants to engage in rehabilitation, the belief and fear of divine punishment significantly undermined this. In this finding, the addition to the PHG, *life* was explored as it pertains to *life beyond death* which related to the need to achieve an optical life beyond death. The personal nature of spirituality was thus important to consider around rehabilitation, as the use of negative versus positive goals (as aligned with the GLM) may risk outcomes. Further concern was merited towards the use of spiritual rehabilitative programmes which may compound maladaptive spiritual beliefs such as TPJ. These findings importantly explored the significant aspect of *direction* within spiritual belief and how this may impact wellbeing and rehabilitative outcomes.

Spiritual items were particularly important in navigating the challenges around rehabilitation in the prison environment, enabling one to maintain a sense of spiritual identity through positive effects on *agency* and *relatedness*. IPT and ANT were used to explain the role of spiritual items in re-enforcing new identities in prison when challenged. However, the negative influence of the prison as an actor could negate rehabilitative attempts. Spiritual rehabilitative programmes such as the STP which focused on the development of victim empathy and desistance in prison may be useful in these cases. These findings spoke to the significance of spiritual items and how its physicality can be an important aspect of motivations to desist whilst in prison. The influence of the prison was nonetheless important especially as it concerns individuals who may not feel able to resist negative influences.

Participants' use of spirituality as an instrumental good extended to rehabilitation in relationships with other imprisoned people, and prison staff, the focus of the second subtheme. Skills and related PHG developed through spirituality were used to benefit the rehabilitative journeys of other imprisoned people, through voluntary role-modelling. IPT was used to theorise that the modelling and mirroring of spiritual identity results in positive rehabilitative outcomes. This was importantly related to implicit community development within the prison.

Spirituality, however, could also highlight barriers in rehabilitative relationships between imprisoned people and staff. This finding pertained to the use of ‘religious’ versus ‘spiritual’ instrumental goods to achieve *knowledge*, which counteracted *relatedness*. Spiritual identity in relation to questioning and openness was particularly relevant here since overt differences in beliefs resulted in an exemplified unfriendly interaction. In these cases, it was also important to understand where imprisoned people may be using their own language and relationships with prison staff to navigate spirituality. The prioritisation of *relatedness* between prison staff and imprisoned people may benefit this as an organic yet effective approach to maintaining positive and rehabilitative relationships in HMCIPS.

Spirituality was an important indicator of readiness for many participants, its conflation with ‘prosociality’ showing a willingness to engage in rehabilitative efforts. However, although outcomes are often positive on the surface, the self-guided nature of these spiritual endeavours can unintentionally disguise potentially harmful beliefs and outcomes – even to oneself. As shown in the current study, some are not able to overcome the negative influence of the prison to engage in rehabilitation with spirituality alone. Relationships with family and other imprisoned people benefitted from spirituality, although areas of improvement may be made to foster rehabilitative relationships between imprisoned people and prison staff. The current study’s focus on Cayman’s prison population, though small and unique, discussed criminological evidence towards the role of spirituality in experiences of imprisonment and rehabilitation which are inherently relevant to prison populations worldwide.

Conclusion

Research aim and objectives

This thesis aimed to explore the role of spirituality in the lives of imprisoned people in the Cayman. Relevant literature demonstrated the significance of spirituality in general and prison life, including its impact on wellbeing depending on the incorporation of adaptive (i.e., positive) or maladaptive (i.e., negative) spiritual beliefs (Allen et al. 2013; Currier, Holland, and Drescher 2015; Barash 2020). The key objectives of the present thesis were to understand the role of spirituality in (1) identity (2) relationships, and (3) experiences of imprisonment. Rehabilitation emerged as a significant theme within experiences of imprisonment, making it an additional topic of discussion within the findings.

The objectives were addressed through qualitative double (at separate times) and single (using both interview schedules) semi-structured interviews with 14 male and four female participants. Object elicitation of spiritual items was also utilised to garner further insight into the objectives. My insider positionality as a Caymanian and previous intern in both prisons benefitted access and data collection. Data collection occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic which impacted but did not cease face-to-face fieldwork. This was a novel methodological experience as in-person interactions were severely limited during this time, making the present study unique, especially in its period of conduction. Challenges in fieldwork included [redacted] experiences of emotional labour and protection of anonymity during recruitment. Although the risks to confidentiality were mitigated in the present study, this offered an important insight into the role of control in prison research. This is especially important in Caribbean prison which has had limited research conducted within these contexts.

Data were analysed using TA and IPA to explore the significance of spirituality for imprisoned people in Cayman. This aligned with the constructivist ontological and interpretivist epistemological approaches which hold that participant experiences should be accepted as legitimate rather than rationalised into a pre-determined and set ‘reality’. This was reflected in the fact that the two analytical tools were used to encompass shared (TA) and individual (IPA) experiences of spirituality. Theories used to understand findings in the present study were

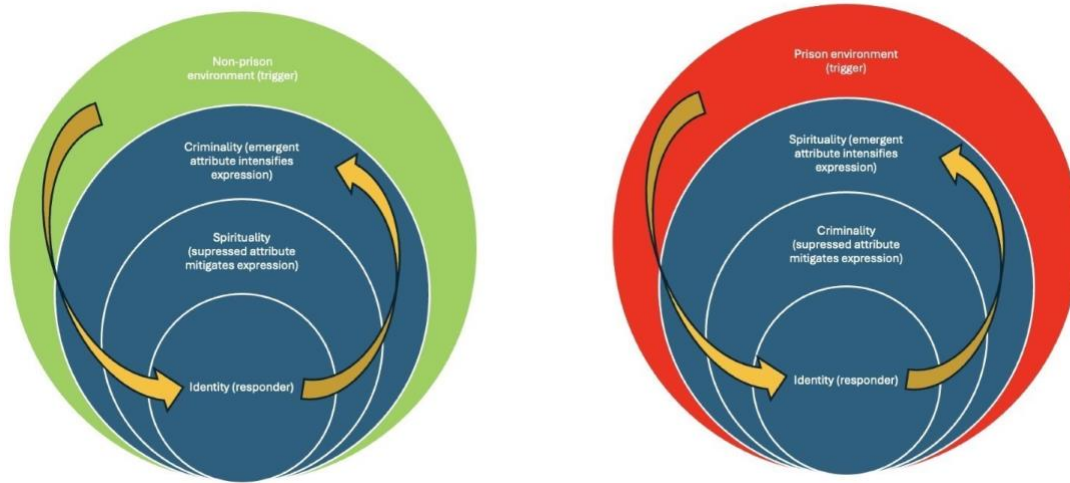
attachment theory, SIT, IPT, ANT, and the GLM. The use of theories from different academic disciplines (i.e., psychology, sociology, and criminology), allowed for a rounded approach to understanding such complex and nuanced topics such as spirituality and imprisonment. The following sections include the key discussion of findings around the role of spirituality in identity, relationships, and experiences of imprisonment and rehabilitation. These sections correspond with the research objectives and thus overall aim of the project.

Research objective one: The role of spirituality in identity

Spirituality was uniquely encompassed within identity, spiritual beliefs, practices, and the use of spiritual items. The thematic definition of spirituality within the current study is that it was an inherently unique and personal experience which centred around experiences of the sacred, transcendent, nature, and human emotions. Spirituality may or may not include relationships with other humans and/or a deity. In some cases, these relationships may be reflective of spirituality as resistance and subversion of the ‘powerless’ imprisoned identity. Spirituality could also be channelled through external non-human actors which in turn impact the environment and individual. The nature of spirituality was thus complex and nuanced depending upon individual identities, relationships, context, and may include experiences of embodied spirituality in external actors.

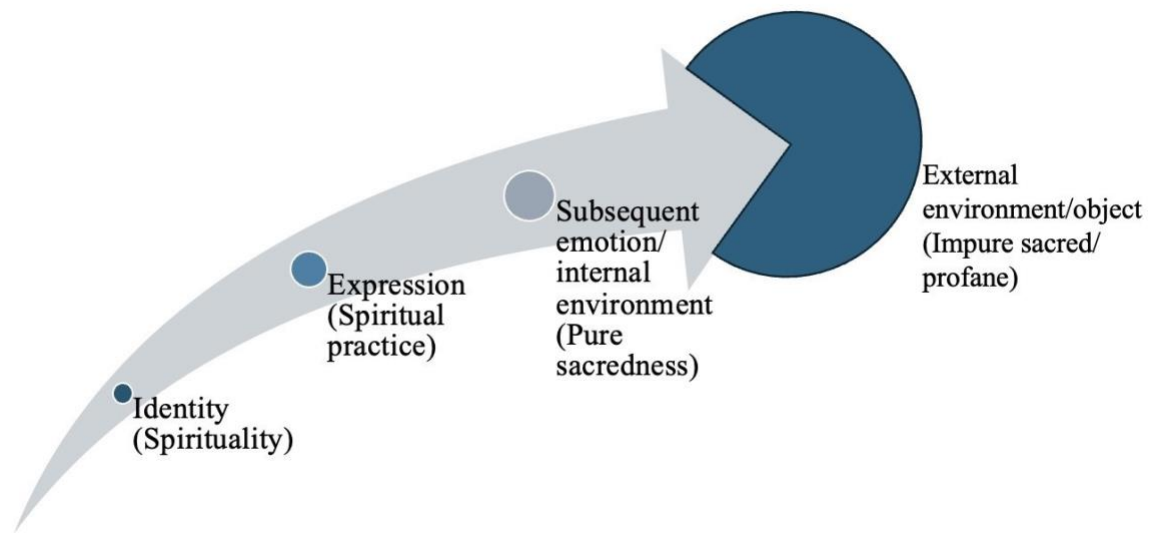
Spiritual practices were also an important part of spiritual identity. For some participants, it was key to feeling that one was ‘spiritual’ at all. This was important to consider within the prison environment which is fundamentally restrictive. Spiritual identity could also shift depending on the environment, which sometimes manifested for participants as being more spiritual in prison than pre-imprisonment. This was an important aspect of coping with imprisonment through spirituality, which is shown in Figure 1 (Appendix D; G). It was therefore important for prisons to understand the unique nature of spirituality for imprisoned people to support them in their spiritual practice and thus identity. Since spirituality was an important aspect of maintaining wellbeing and coping with imprisonment, this finding is significant.

Figure 1: The suppression and emergence of attributes depending on the environment



Spiritual identity could extend from an internal to an external experience through spiritual items – i.e., the item became symbolic of the dynamic spiritual identity of the individual. This allowed for access to distinctly positive sensorial experience within the prison, a significant finding considering the often-hostile nature of the prison environment (Sykes 1958; Deuchar et al. 2016; De Viggiani 2012). This relates to attachment and ‘mask-mastery’ (in contribution to IPT) on spiritual items which were a significant component of spirituality within Caymanian prisons. This created a tangible and physical experience of spirituality within the environment which could in turn impact the individual. This included the creation of “sacred space” – e.g., in one’s cell - where spiritual practice created feelings and sentiments of ‘pure sacredness.’ This is explained in Figure 2 (Appendix D; G) below which shows how prison space can become sacred through spiritual practice.

Figure 2: The transmutation of space and items from impure sacred or profane to pure sacred through spirituality

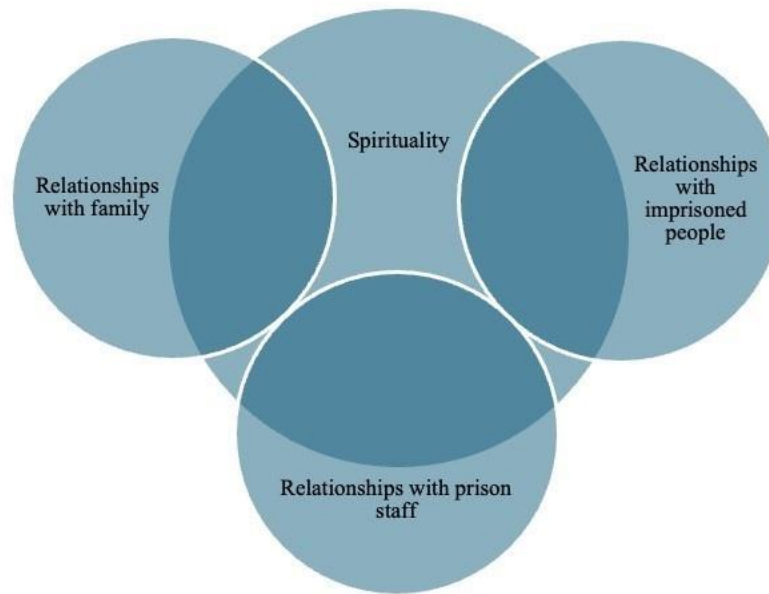


This was significant since prisons are often regarded as predominantly negative and destructive (Sykes 1958; Deuchar et al. 2016; De Viggiani 2012). Spiritual identity as it extended to spiritual practice and spiritual items could therefore change perceptions of the prison environment itself, a significant finding as outcomes implicated positive effects on identity and wellbeing especially.

Research objective two: The role of spirituality in relationships

Spirituality had a complex and nuanced connection with relationships, within which different actors (i.e., family, imprisoned people, and prison staff) were impacted by one's spiritual identity (Figure 3; Appendix G). This chapter discussed the significance of both spirituality and relationships. This was important to consider within prisons as it pertains highly to wellbeing, coping, conflict, and safety for imprisoned people, their families, and staff.

Figure 3: The role of spirituality in relationships



Familial relationships were especially important, particularly for parents. While these relationships motivated participants to rehabilitate, it also resulted in internalised shame which diminished wellbeing. This was important to consider around coping with imprisonment and thus remitted the critical evaluation of seemingly positive impacts of familial relationships on spiritual identity and rehabilitation. For some participants, spiritual items were an important physical representation of connection to family members, and subsequently, reminders of reasons to rehabilitate. Familial bonds were symbolised within these spiritual items. These issues contrasted significantly, highlighting the complex role of spirituality in relationships [with family] and oneself. This finding, though seemingly positive towards ‘readiness’ within rehabilitation, was concerning in relation to wellbeing and thus overall outcomes. These findings are significant as they highlight important wellbeing and rehabilitation outcomes within spirituality and familial relationships.

Relationships with imprisoned people and staff were generally positively affected by spirituality as it promoted interpersonal understanding and reduced violence. This was important as it showed a direct connection between spirituality and the reduction of the deprivation of security within POI (Sykes 1968; Shammas 2017). Sharing a common religion (i.e., Christianity) was positively associated with kinship between imprisoned people and subsequent support-seeking from ingroup

members. This was significant as support-seeking relates to secure (healthy) attachment and a subsequent decrease in chances of self-harm and suicide (McKeown et al. 2017).

Religious [Christian] rhetoric also contributed generally to personal prison conduct (i.e., a ‘convict code’), mitigating aggressive responses to other imprisoned people. This was especially important for imprisoned people who faced significant challenges with other imprisoned people before imprisonment – i.e., ‘enemies’ - and still felt ‘aggrieved.’ The use of spirituality to change the perception of ‘enemies’ reduced the likelihood of violence whilst in prison, further mitigating the deprivation of security in prison. This was significant as it showed how spirituality could change perspectives in a way which diminished violence without changing the environment. Similar outcomes were observed for prison staff (i.e., officers), as spiritual perspectives enabled a view that prison officers were “spiritual family” although they had previously caused conflict with staff. This outlook increased prosocial relationships with prison staff and lessened conflict, a significant finding which did not involve changes in prison staff approaches. Spirituality therefore benefited interpersonal relationships with other imprisoned people and staff, reducing violence where previous conflict and present grievance resided –valuable findings.

However, although spirituality reduced violence and aggression in prison, this was not always the case. The personal and thus flexible nature of spirituality also enabled one to justify aggression in the case of survival when religious guidelines were not deemed adept in managing the challenges of daily prison life. Negotiation of spiritual identity allowed one to respond aggressively to provocation - against one’s religious identity - while maintaining a sense of overall spiritual identity. This was observed for one participant, but remains significant in the small prison context, especially as it related to HMP Fairbanks which had 12 imprisoned women at the time of the present study (CIIMB 2021). Spiritual identity management was therefore a significant component of survival and coping with interpersonal challenges in prisons, from which peaceful and/or aggressive outcomes may occur depending on one’s spiritual identity. This chapter highlighted the overall significance of individual spiritual identity within relationships, and how this related to the PAN.

Research objective three: The role of spirituality in experiences of imprisonment

Experiences of imprisonment motivated some participants to engage in spirituality and ‘self-improvement’ (i.e., self-rehabilitation), which in turn had complex (i.e., both negative and positive) implications depending on the individual's spiritual identity and beliefs (i.e., adaptive versus maladaptive). Rehabilitation therefore emerged as a significant finding within the discussion of spirituality and experiences of imprisonment. A particularly problematic maladaptive belief was in divine punishment and potentially prison as a manifestation of this. This belief resulted in motivation to become more spiritual in prison and self-rehabilitate but significantly impeded wellbeing. Subsequent negative wellbeing outcomes limited rehabilitative progress, exemplifying the need to understand individual spiritual identities and how this related to rehabilitation. However, adaptive and maladaptive spiritual beliefs could also co-exist, having both positive and negative impacts on wellbeing and rehabilitation within the same individual.

This was particularly pertinent around the use of spiritual rehabilitative programmes which encompassed maladaptive spiritual beliefs such as TPJ. Spiritual items were used as physical reminders of rehabilitative goals and as ‘wards’ against the negative influences within the prison environment. They were therefore significant actors in rehabilitation and equally resistance from the negative ‘pull’ of the prison. This was related to the attainment and support of primary human goods (PHG) within the GLM. This discussion highlighted the interconnectedness of PHG surrounding spirituality as an instrumental good, an important consideration within rehabilitation.

However, the negative influence of the prison was too strong for some to overcome with spirituality alone despite significant attempts. This was due to the strength of the prison as an actor, and how this could potentially impede attempts to become prosocial through spiritual ‘rites of passage’ (i.e., baptism) and subsequent change in identity. In these cases, spiritual rehabilitative programmes such as STP may be appropriate as they address issues around victim empathy and encouraging desistance whilst in prison- i.e., rehabilitating factors which may have contributed to difficulties around ‘resisting’ the ‘pull’ of the prison to behave ‘anti-socially’. This may help some imprisoned people to manage their emotions and interactions with other imprisoned people, enabling them to better maintain a sense of spiritual identity as this was compromised by violent behaviour.

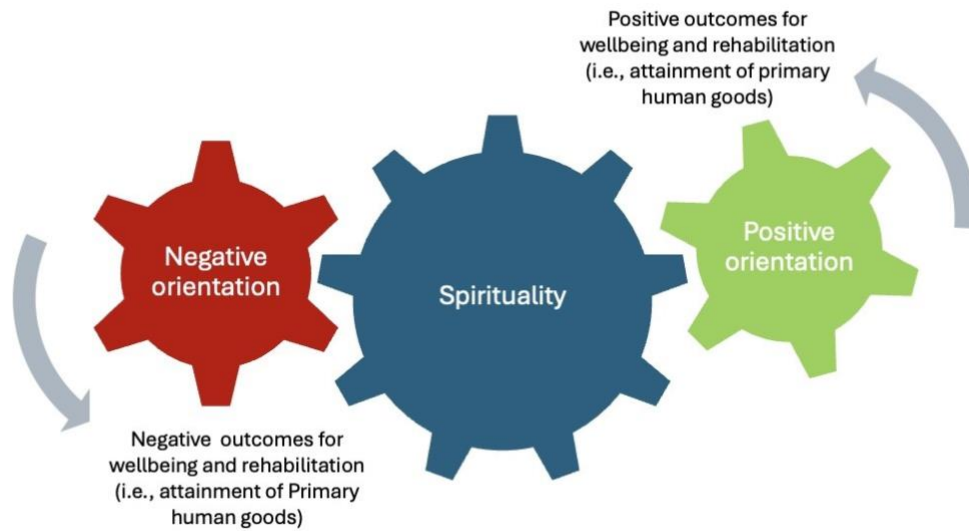
The role of spirituality and relationships in rehabilitation was also explored, within which spirituality positively impacted connections with other imprisoned people but could highlight areas

of conflict with prison staff. A positive and strength-based peer role-modelling approach was effective in promoting prosocial identity reformation between imprisoned people, a significant finding as it related to the voluntary yet implicit use of spirituality to do so. This approach was aligned with the GLM, signalling its potential suitability within Cayman's prisons as an overarching rehabilitative framework, though further research would be needed to identify challenges and opportunities within this.

However, differences in the use of spirituality and religion as instrumental goods (i.e., means/methods) to attain the PHG *knowledge* could cause conflict with prison staff. This also potentially related to 'openness' to others with alternative spiritual beliefs and identities. An example of this was around different beliefs of gender roles in relation to religion which led to interpersonal difficulties. This was important as it related to potential interpersonal obstacles which may impact rehabilitation. However, it was also important to understand where imprisoned people may be using their own language and relationships with staff to explore spirituality, making this a nuanced finding.

Overall, spirituality's impact on experiences of imprisonment and rehabilitation depended on its orientation, or 'direction.' As outlined within the GLM by Ward and Brown (2004), the positive/negative orientation of rehabilitative goals is significant, and the same could be said for spirituality. As such, if one had positive (i.e., adaptive) spiritual beliefs, this had a positive impact on wellbeing and rehabilitation. The contrary correlated with this, as maladaptive spiritual beliefs negatively impacted wellbeing and rehabilitation. Spirituality was therefore neither inherently good or evil, though it was sacred nonetheless and must be respected as such. This is explained in Figure 4 (Appendix G) below.

Figure 4: The role of spirituality in wellbeing and rehabilitation



Contributions to the field

These findings are significant contributions to knowledge. They apply importantly to Caribbean criminological literature around prisons, which are notoriously ‘hidden’ within academia (Lancaster-Ellis 2017). The current study therefore contributed significant insights into the lived experiences of imprisonment for Caribbean prison populations. This includes the contribution that spirituality was a unique experience which can extend from the internal to the external environment (through the use of spiritual actors such as items). Additionally, spirituality had important implications within relationships with family, imprisoned people, and prison staff. The significant impact of spirituality on experiences of imprisonment and rehabilitation are also important contributions. These contributions addressed the research aims and objectives, offering significant academic knowledge around these topics. Challenges and opportunities around prison access were significant, offering insight for future researchers conducting studies in Caribbean prisons. The lack of pre-defined qualifiers of spirituality enabled a more authentic and subjectively relevant meaning of spirituality to emerge, a significant contribution to decolonial literature generally and within the post-colonial criminological and Caribbean context.

As spirituality was subjective to each individual, it is not appropriate to offer an overarching definition, but rather suggest what it may or may not encompass with scope to expand its meaning where relevant. This study suggests that spirituality can extend from an internal to an external experience through practice and/or changes in perspective (i.e. belief). As such, spirituality is not strictly confined to the internal human experience as it can also exist within the environment in a way which may or may not involve other individuals, deities, or non-human objects. This becomes especially important when considering the confined nature of prison spaces – e.g., cells. This is even more relevant to small prison populations and environments such as Cayman – the scope of spirituality’s influence between individuals becomes increasingly significant.

As the Caymanian prison environment was exceedingly small, this benefited qualitative understandings of spirituality within prisons as the present study was able to explore a larger proportion of the prison environment with individual interview methods. The use of psychological, sociological, and criminological theories within this research context was an important contribution to Caribbean criminology. Although Western theories were utilised, their use in understanding Caribbean phenomena has led to contributions to theory which may make them more relevant to alternative contexts. The present study therefore contributed significantly to the development of criminological theory.

An important contribution to IPT around ‘mask mastery’ on spiritual items was made, explaining how one ‘creates’ an identity ‘mask’ for items which encompasses individual-specific spiritual significance. This contribution was used to explain the importance of spiritual items and the influence they may have on the ‘mask master’ and thus their environment. This contribution is significant as it expanded the scope of understanding the role of the individual in creating spiritual items, spaces, and experiences. This is important generally and especially in prisons as it spoke to [imprisoned] people’s ability to transform their experience of prison and space within it. The role of spiritual identity was at the crux of this finding as it dictated the outcome of the ‘mask mastery’ and the impact this may have on the individual and thus PAN.

Another contribution to theory was made regarding the GLM on the significance of *life beyond death* in relation to the PHG of *life*. This had important implications for wellbeing which directly impacts *inner peace, happiness, agency*, and thus overall rehabilitative aims within the GLM. This contribution related to the attainment of ‘optimal life beyond death’ within the PHG of *life*. As this

related to overall rehabilitation outcomes, it is a significant contribution. This finding benefits prisons and practitioners around the provision of apt rehabilitative and spiritual support for imprisoned populations. This was an important contribution generally, but especially in the Caribbean where spirituality is significantly connected to culture (Williams 2016; Murrell 2010). These are significant theoretical contributions as they consider the significance of spirituality in prisons as it relates to identity, the environment, and rehabilitation.

The transferability of this study within the field of criminology and Caribbean prison context is significant as it relates to the use of insider positionality in a previously ‘hidden’ prison research context and qualitative methods to understand the unique role of spirituality within the lives of imprisoned men and women. Insider positionality was important, where formal and informal partnerships with prisons benefitted access. This was especially important for difficult-to-access prison contexts where empirical work can offer significant context-specific insights. The present study emphasised the value of this approach rather than generalising findings from other localities which may be harmful without adequate empirical insights. This pertained especially to the subjective nature of spirituality from contextual and person-specific perspectives, highlighting the importance of undertaking local qualitative research by researchers with insider positionalities. This was also important towards the linguistic interpretation of data, further highlighting the value of the present approach. The present study highlights the rich nuances of spirituality in prisons, and how and why they must be explored to benefit the lives of imprisoned people and rehabilitation. Implications of this include enabling prisons to better address the unique spiritual needs of imprisoned people in a way which can benefit experiences of spirituality, imprisonment, and rehabilitation.

Future recommendations for prisons and practitioners

This section covers recommendations for prisons, practitioners, researchers, ethical bodies, support services, and future research directions. This further signifies the present study’s contribution to knowledge. Wellbeing of researchers was also considered within this, denoting a rounded contribution to the field which includes emotional and practical aspects of fieldwork. This is important since prison researchers generally experience higher degrees of emotional labour, a challenge which has important effects on wellbeing and research outcomes. The current

recommendations are therefore important to consider within the field of criminology generally and specifically to the ‘hidden’ Caribbean prison context.

The findings of the present study remit the individual consideration of spirituality for imprisoned people. While some thematic findings can be made, these are unlikely to encompass the unique and nuanced nature one may have with spirituality. This includes the significance of spiritual items, access to which should be supported where appropriate and possible. The individual consideration of spiritual identity is important since imprisoned people may have maladaptive spiritual beliefs which impede may wellbeing and rehabilitation efforts. As such, the general assumption that spirituality has a positive impact on the lives of imprisoned people is dangerous and may overlook the deeper and more complex impact of spiritual identity on other aspects of life – i.e., relationships, experiences of imprisonment, and rehabilitation.

Relationships are a significant component in providing informed and effective spiritual services, whether they be supportive generally or rehabilitation-oriented. Relationships with family were a key component of spirituality for many participants, signifying the need to support these relations where possible. However, underlying negative impacts may also occur as a cross-sectional outcome between spirituality, imprisonment, self-esteem, and familial social identity. As such, the role of spirituality in the lives of imprisoned people in Cayman as it relates to family should be considered critically and on an individual basis. This consideration should benefit personal wellbeing and rehabilitative outcomes.

It is important for prison staff to understand and respect the uniqueness of spiritual identity, ensuring that *relatedness* is not sacrificed over disagreements of spiritual and/or religious *knowledge*. A potential solution observed within a participant’s approach to other imprisoned people includes the prioritisation of positive goal-oriented *relatedness* – e.g., the encouragement to attain PHG within positive role-modelling. Individual spiritual identities (and lack thereof) must be accounted for and respected within this, creating an approach which is personalised yet does not have to be separate from spirituality. In this way, prison staff do not have to ‘sacrifice’ their sense of spiritual identity within their approach, although it may be worth utilising an approach which is more person-centred and appropriate to the spiritual identity of the imprisoned person. This approach may benefit relationships between prison staff and imprisoned people and

potentially rehabilitation outcomes, especially in the small Caymanian prison context. Further research into the practicality and effectiveness of this approach would be apt.

Considering the unique role of spirituality and relationships with prison staff, the provision of alternative spiritual services which are inclusive to non-Christian and non-religious spiritual populations is important as these populations may not receive the same provision of care as Christian prison populations (CIIMB 2021). Further consideration is given to the development of interpersonal issues between religious and non-religious/spiritual imprisoned populations. Their exclusion from appropriate spiritual rehabilitative programmes compounds this effect and limits their access to rehabilitation services. This may have important implications for relationships with prison staff and rehabilitation, meriting the importance of this consideration/provision.

The aims and contents of spiritual rehabilitation programmes should be cross-checked with adaptive and maladaptive spiritual beliefs before application within prisons. Additional measures should be taken to consider the inclusion of colonial rhetoric and the potential consequences of this. This would be supported by a person-centred assessment of programme suitability - i.e., how it may interact with individual spirituality – and subsequent wellbeing and rehabilitative prospects. The impact of spirituality on the lives of imprisoned people around identity, relationships, or experiences of imprisonment, is important to consider on an individual basis to protect and support wellbeing and rehabilitative efforts.

The present study involved significant emotional labour due to difficulties experienced in past and current research-based work in the prison. Awareness of field-specific challenges should be encompassed within ethical processes and university support services especially. Recommendations to address this include consideration of pre-existing emotional labour (and other health and wellbeing issues where relevant) by ethical committees and how this may impact research conduction. This is important generally, but especially for institutional researchers who encounter physical, psychological, and emotional risk as part of their work. Attempts should also be made by prison staff to prevent risks or factors that can lead to emotional labour for prison insiders and outsiders – i.e., prison staff, interns, third party agents (e.g., programme facilitators), and family/visitors. This was benefitted in the present study through the provision of a ‘prison team’, a potentially effective measure in this respect. This would be benefitted by further research around emotional labour in Caribbean prisons.

For Caymanian prisons, thorough evaluations of spiritual rehabilitative programmes would garner important insights into their specific impacts and outcomes. Contributions to knowledge around the intersection of spirituality and rehabilitation within the prisons would be made from a specifically rehabilitative perspective, informing future approaches. Research around the experiences of prison staff would also show important insights into the role of spirituality in Caymanian prisons, as they have a significant role in the lives of imprisoned people and their experience of spirituality.

Generally, future research should aim to understand localised understandings of spirituality as it exists within specific prisons. From this, further insights can be gleaned towards understanding how to support individual spiritual identities and thus rehabilitation. Caribbean criminology would benefit from increased literature on the lived experiences of imprisonment from imprisoned people, and the connection to spirituality within this. This connects to the significance of convict criminology (Earle 2018) which remains undeveloped within the Caribbean. This would build upon the current study in garnering an increasingly informed understanding of the role of spirituality and other factors in the lives of imprisoned people which were significant towards experiences of identity, relationships, imprisonment, and rehabilitation. Additionally, longitudinal studies of spirituality across time for imprisoned people (i.e., after release) in the Caribbean would be highly informative around the basis of the present study. This would offer important insights into the longitudinal impact and role of spirituality through processes of rehabilitation, re-integration and desistance.

This research would provide a more comprehensive understanding of imprisonment within the Caribbean, the challenges and opportunities within this, and the nature of spirituality in this dynamic. Further research on emotional labour for Caribbean prison workers should also be conducted. This is especially important in ‘hidden’ prison contexts where appropriate safety risks and protective measures may not align with more known (i.e., researched) prisons, necessitating the development of more relevant approaches. This would benefit researchers and prison outsiders (e.g., visitors and private sector agents). The findings of the current study can be built upon in a way which benefits quality of life in prisons, secondary victimisation, and rehabilitation.

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Appendix

Appendix A

Table 1: Purposes of Imprisonment

Purpose	Definition
Punishment	Imposing an unpleasant outcome from authority focused on getting rid of unwanted behaviour (Gade 2021; Cherry 2021).
Deterrence	Dissuading offenders and potential offenders in the community from committing crimes in the future (Gade 2021; Cherry 2021).
Incapacitation and Protection	Making it so that offenders are not able to commit offences against the wider community while in prison (Gade; Cherry 2021).
Retribution	Revenge on offenders for persons affected by their offences through the punishment of imprisonment (Gade 021; Cherry 2021)
Rehabilitation and Reform	Changing a person's behaviour and responses to the causes of crime – this includes programmes to improve skills necessary for successful rehabilitation and reintegration into society (Grimwood and Berman 2012).
Reintegration	The offender can become an active and productive part of society (CJR 2022).

Gade (2021); Cherry (2021); Grimwood and Berman (2012); CJE (2022)

Table 2: Deprivations which make up pains of imprisonment

Deprivation	Reason/cause of deprivation	Primary impact	Secondary impact
Liberty One cannot move or change location without permission, or one must move or change location as dictated by authority	• Protect public from harm	• Protect public from harm • Increases likelihood of recidivism	• Supports case for shorter sentences which lower chances of recidivism
Goods and Services Limitation of what someone can legally access and acquire in prisons- i.e., mobile devices, foods, and services.	• Punish and deter against committing crime	• Deep-seated loss (within capitalist society), • Strain theory	• Produces more criminogenic factors (directly proportionate to longer sentences)
Heterosexual Relationships the inability to engage in a relationship with people who are cisgender (gender identifying as the sex they were born with) and of the opposite sex	• Automatic to being in same-sex prison	• Profound loss • Emotional, psychological, and physical issues • Worsened self-image	• Shows the potential value of conjugal visits
Autonomy the inability to make one's own choices past a certain extent- i.e., accommodation, clothes, meals etc.	• Punishment	• Reduces people to a child-like state of dependency and lack of responsibility • Public humiliation	• Does not allow people to learn independence and responsibility within society and thus encourages dependence on institutions • This leans towards the argument of increasing autonomy in prisons and therefore opportunities to learn independence and increase their chances of desistance on release.
Security The danger, which is ever-present in most prison environments. This includes physical and mental security, as manipulation and physical assaults in prison environments are rife.	• High risk of rape, substance misuse, illicit economy	• High risk of rape, substance misuse, illicit economy	• Can lead to forms of PTSD and other physical and mental health-related issues • Behaviour becomes a direct response to a series of perceived POI

Shammas (2017)

Table 3: Distribution of Factors Contributing to Reoffending in Caymanian Prisons

<i>Distribution of Factors Contributing to Re-offending</i>				
Factors Contributing to Re-offending	Frequency (%)	Percent of Cases (%)	Remanded	Convicted
Drugs	30 (19.6)	31.6	6	24
Alcohol	19 (12.8)	20.0	5	14
Accommodation	9 (5.9)	9.5	3	6
Lack of Employment	36 (23.5)	37.9	8	28
Relationship Problems	17 (11.1)	17.9	6	11
Lack of Support	17 (11.1)	17.9	6	11
Other	25 (16.3)	26.3	7	18
Total	153	95	41	112

NDC (2023)

Appendix B

Table 1: Attachment style and corresponding behaviours and parenting styles

Attachment style	Associated behaviours and attitudes	Associated parenting style
Secure 65-70% of infants	Trust; comfort; exploration and curiosity; playfulness; sociability; confidence; caring and motivation; show distress when separated from caregiver and joy upon return	Prompt; consistent; nurturing, and appropriate (i.e., considering the attitude of the child) responses from the caregiver(s)
Avoidant (insecure) 10%-15% of infants	Avoids caregiver(s); shows no preference between caregiver and stranger; avoids seeking help in adulthood	Authoritative parenting style (i.e., demanding but not responsive to the attitude of the child); not responding to emotional or physical needs of the child
Anxious (insecure) 15%-20% of infants	Shows distress in absence of the caregiver; low independence; low self-esteem; passivity; rigidity; higher chances of anxiety; socially withdrawn	Poor caregiver availability; indifferent parenting; not responding to child's emotional or physical needs
Disorganised (insecure) 10%-15%	Displays signs of different attachment styles; disoriented; confused; may avoid or resist caregiver; parents can be a source of fear and/or comfort.	Inconsistency between parenting styles linked to different attachment styles.

Bowlby (1979); Ainsworth (1978); Hong and Park (2012)

Table 2: Spiritual attachment styles, related coping mechanisms and outcomes

Security of Attachment to God	Coping mechanisms, beliefs, and behaviours	Outcomes of coping mechanisms
Secure attachment	Higher rates of spiritual belief and practice; relied on support from spiritual and/or religious groups; higher tendency towards fatalism (i.e., the belief/attitude that certain events are destined/inevitable; speculated to be linked to following God's will)	Fighting spirit; close and personal relationship with protective and loving God; lower levels of anxiety and hopelessness
Insecure attachment	Avoid thought about illness	Higher rates of hopelessness and anxiety; poorer adjustment and coping mechanisms

Cassibba, Papagna, and Calibrese 2014

Table 3: Attachment Styles and Coping Mechanisms

Associated Coping style	Attachment style	Method	Adaptivity	Emotional and behavioural impacts
Rational	Secure	Problem-focused to solve the problem(s)	Adaptive	Confidence, less likely to have reported self-harm and suicide attempts, negatively related to hopelessness
Detached	Secure	Objective awareness to solve the problem(s)	Adaptive	Confidence, less likely to have reported self-harm and suicide attempts
Emotional	Insecure (anxious/avoidant)	Emotion-focused approach to the problem(s)	Maladaptive	Self-harm, suicide attempts, need for approval, loneliness, and hopelessness (which was a key predictor of self-harm)
Avoidant	Insecure (anxious/avoidant)	Avoids problem(s) and consequences altogether	Maladaptive	Self-harm, [particular predictor of] suicide attempts, discomfort,

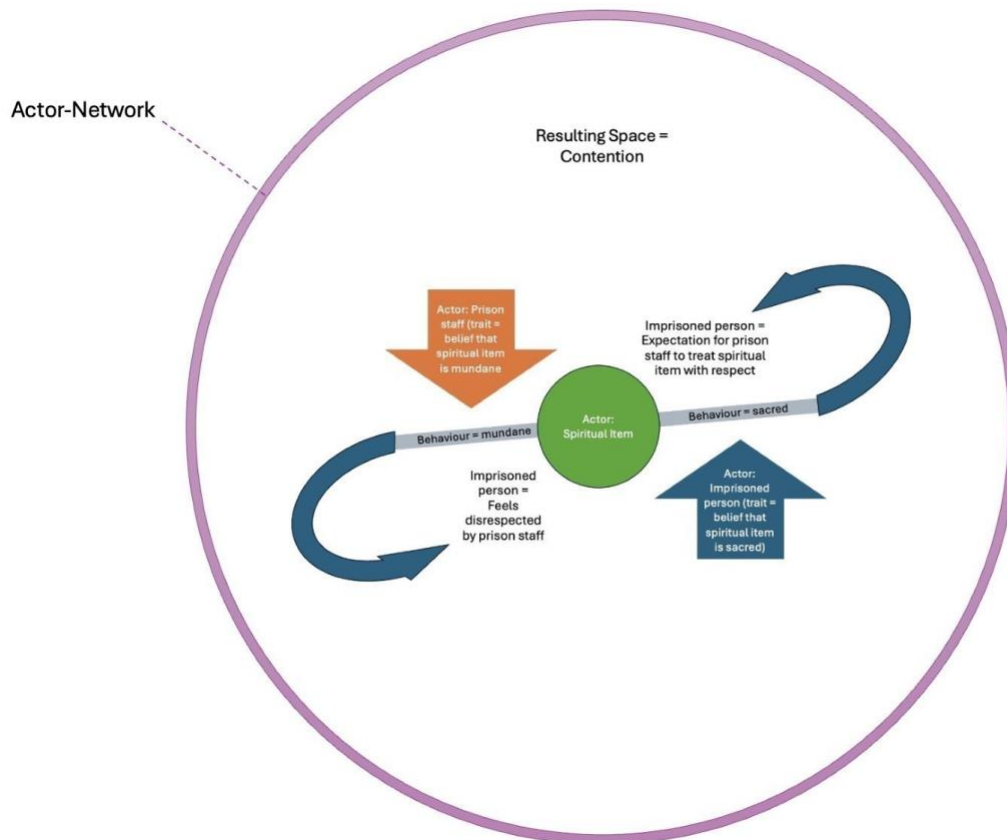
Mckeown et al (2017)

Table 4: Adult Attachment styles and behaviours

Attachment styles	Emotional responses and behaviour (infancy)	Emotional responses and behaviour (adulthood)
Secure	Trust; comfort; exploration and curiosity; playfulness; sociability; confidence; caring and motivation; show distress when separated from caregiver and joy upon return	Desirability and ability to maintain relationships in adulthood
Avoidant	Avoids caregiver(s); shows no preference between caregiver and stranger; avoids seeking help in adulthood	Evasion of emotional dependence; desire to maintain psychological independence; lower likelihood of developing intimate relationships; lower awareness of emotions of self and others; sees others as untrustworthy; low levels of trust, commitment, and understanding
Anxious/ambivalent	Shows distress in absence of the caregiver; low independence; low self-esteem; passivity; rigidness; higher chances of anxiety; socially withdrawn	Fear of abandonment; dependency; jealousy

Mckeown et al (2017)

Figure 1: Portrayal of the actor-network of contention around spiritual items



Appendix C

Image 1: Aerial photo of HMP Northward



hittaker (2013)

W

Table 1: Ontological Positions (nature of the world and existence)

ONTOLOGICAL POSITIONS (nature of the world and existence)	
Position	Assumptions
Objectivism	• Reality exists <i>independently</i> of our beliefs or understanding • Reality can be observed directly and accurately • A clear distinction exists between our beliefs about the world and the way the world is • Only material or physical world is considered 'real' • Social phenomena and their meanings cannot change • Events have causes and determined by other circumstances • The casual links between events and their causes can eventually be uncovered by science • Life is defined in 'measurable' terms rather than inner experiences • Notions of choice, freedom, individuality and moral responsibility are excluded
Constructionism	• External reality exists but is only known through human mind and socially constructed meanings • There is no shared social reality, only a series of different individual constructions of it • Reality is subjective • There exist only estimate or approximate observations or views of reality • Social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors • Social phenomena and their meanings are produced through social interaction and are in a constant state of revision • Life is defined in 'estimate' terms based on inner experiences of humans where choice, freedom and individual responsibility are appreciated

Al

-Saadi (2014)

Table 2: Epistemological Positions (nature of knowledge and how it is acquired)

EPISTEMOLOGICAL POSITIONS (nature of knowledge and how it is acquired)	
Position	Assumptions
Positivism	• The world is independent of and unaffected by the researcher • Facts and values are distinct • Objective and value-free inquiry is possible • Disputes are resolved through observations • Methods of natural science are appropriate for the study of social phenomena • Knowledge is produced through the senses based on careful observation • Only phenomena (and hence knowledge) confirmed by the senses can be genuinely regarded as knowledge • Knowledge is seen as hard, tangible and objective • Knowledge is arrived at through gathering of facts • Social world is approached through the <i>explanation</i> of human behaviour
Interpretivism	• The researcher and the social world impact on each other • Facts and values are not distinct • Objective and value-free inquiry is not possible since findings are inevitably influenced by the researchers' perspectives and values • Methods of natural science are <i>not</i> appropriate for the study of social phenomena for the social world is not governed by law-like regularities but mediated through meaning and human agency • Knowledge is produced by exploring and understanding the social world of the people being studied • Knowledge is seen as personal, subjective and unique • The researcher understands the social world using both his/her as well as the participants' understanding • Social world is approached through the <i>understanding</i> of human behaviour

A1

-Saadi (2014)

Table 3: Braun and Clarke's steps to thematic analysis

Step 1: Become familiar with the data, Step 2: Generate initial codes, Step 3: Search for themes,	Step 4: Review themes, Step 5: Define themes, Step 6: Write-up.
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Braun and Clarke (2006); Maguire and Delahunt (2017)

Table 4: Male participants

# of participants	# of 2 nd interviews completed	Items presented
13	10	4

*Demographics of male and female participants are collated to protect anonymity

Table 5: Female participants

# of participants	# of participants in the double-interview procedure	# of 2 nd interviews completed	# of participants in the single interview procedure	Items presented
4	2	1	2	2

*Demographics of male and female participants are collated to protect anonymity

Table 6: Age of participants

# of participants	Age (years)
1	18-25
6	26-30
5	31-40
6	41-50

Information provided by HMP Northward on 9th September 2022, and HMP Fairbanks on 2nd August 2022

*Demographics of male and female participants are collated to protect anonymity

Table 7: Nationality of participants

Nationality	# of participants
Caymanian	12
Jamaican	5
Other	1

Provided by HMP Fairbanks on 2nd August 2022 and HMP Northward on 9th of September 2022.

*Demographics of male and female participants are collated to protect anonymity

Table 8: Offences of participants

# of counts per offence across participant sample	Offence types
9	Robbery, Burglary, Financial crime
5	Violent, Sexual
4	Firearm
3	Murder
1	Drugs
3	Other

Provided by HMP Fairbanks on 2nd August 2022 and HMP Northward on 9th of September 2022.

*Demographics of male and female participants are collated to protect anonymity

Table 9: Sentence length

Sentence Length (years)	# of Participants
< 12 months	1
1-5 years	2

6-10 years	3
11-15 years	4
16- 20 years	1
Life	3
Remand	2
Conditional Release	1
Omission of Sentence	1

Provided by HMP Fairbanks on 2nd August 2022 and HMP Northward on 9th of September 2022.

*Demographics of male and female participants are collated to protect anonymity

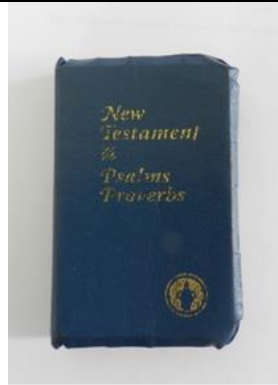
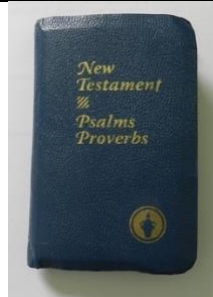
Table 10: Time between interviews for participants who partook in both interviews in the double interview methods

# of Participants	The time between the first and second interviews
3 [male participant]	10 days
7 [male participant]	23- 25 days
1 [female participant]	Seven months+

Table 11: Participant character profiles

Name	Age range	Nationality	Interview Method	Interviews completed	Spiritual/religious status	Spiritual item
Aaron	26-30	Caribbean	Double	2	Spiritual	None

Dan	26-30	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	 Pledge
Romero	41-50	Caribbean	Double	2	Spiritual	None
Mauricio	31-40	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	Cross necklace
Timothy	31-40	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	None
Trent	18-25	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	“Small Bible” (discussed but not presented)
Roy	26-30	Caribbean	Double	1	Christian	N/A
Jerome	41-50	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	His “room” (i.e., cell) where he conducts spiritual practice
Kevin	26-30	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	Pocket Bible (discussed but not presented)
Pablo	41-50	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	“Bible” (discussed but not presented)

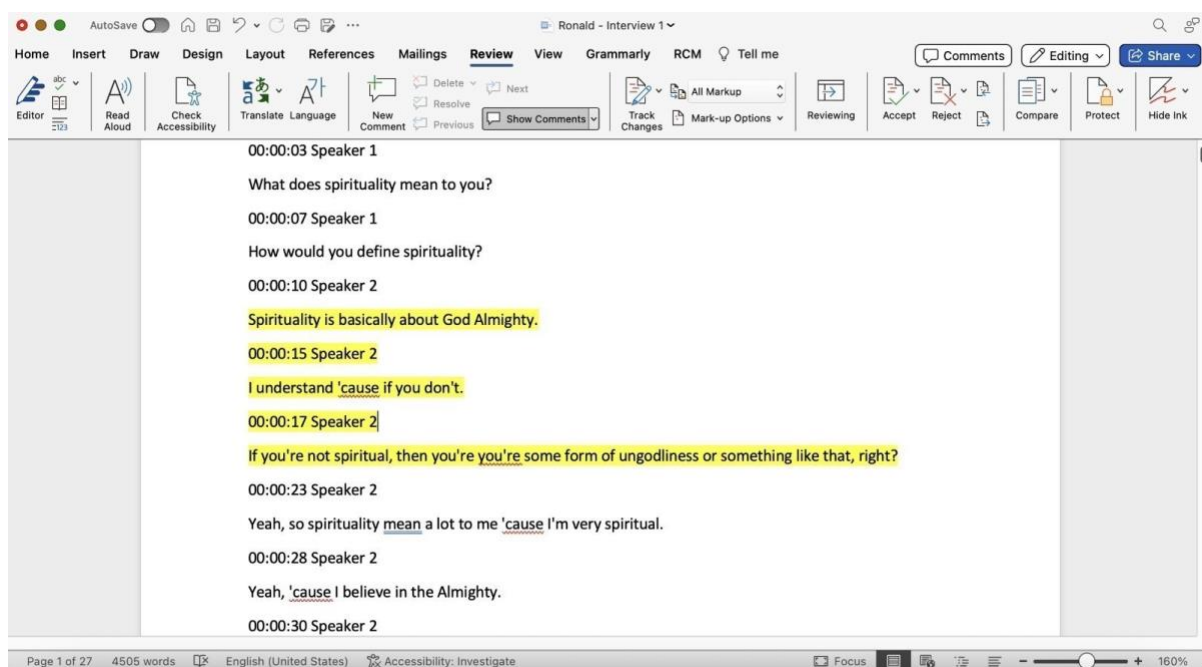
Henry	41-50	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	 Pocket Bible
Ronald	26-30	Caribbean	Double	2	Christian	 Pocket Bible
Gerald	26-30	Caribbean	Double	1	Christian	N/A
Steven	26-30	Caribbean	Double	1	Non-spiritual	N/A
Renee	Redacted	Redacted	Double	1	Spiritual with Christian beliefs	N/A
Monique	Redacted	Redacted	Double	2	Spiritual with Christian beliefs	<i>The Purpose Driven Life</i> by Rick Warren
Latecia	Redacted	Redacted	Single	1	Spiritual with Christian beliefs	 Prison owned hymnal

Patricia	Redacted	Redacted	Single	1 (incomplete)	Catholic	N/A
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Provided by HMP Fairbanks on 2nd August 2022 and HMP Northward on 9th of September 2022.

*Seriousness of offence cannot be included since this is judged on a contextual basis to the specific offence in Cayman’s jurisdiction (CJ 2015). Female participants are not included to protect anonymity – this is due to the significantly smaller population of HMP Fairbanks, increasing the risk of breaching anonymity by providing small amounts of demographic data. Spiritual status is informed by admissions during interview. The term “Christian” is used broadly to encompass branches within Christianity as a whole – specifics are avoided to protect anonymity. Specific nationality is excluded to protect participant anonymity.

Screenshot 1: Example of coding



Screenshot 2: Example of coding

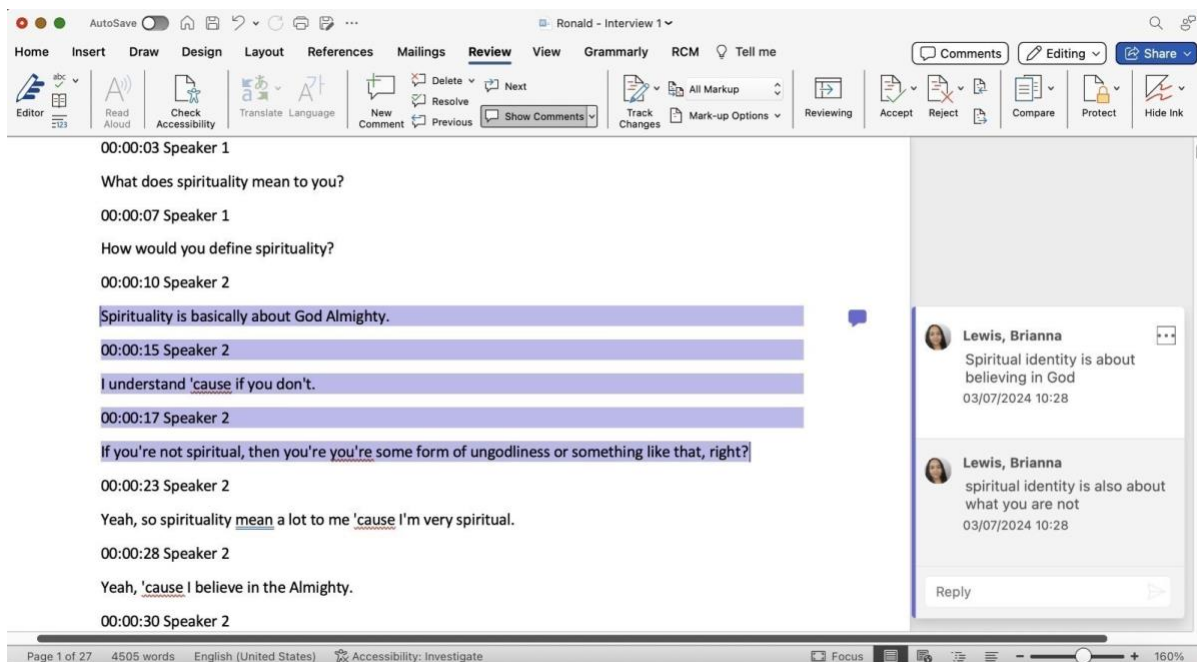


Figure 1: Map of themes and subthemes

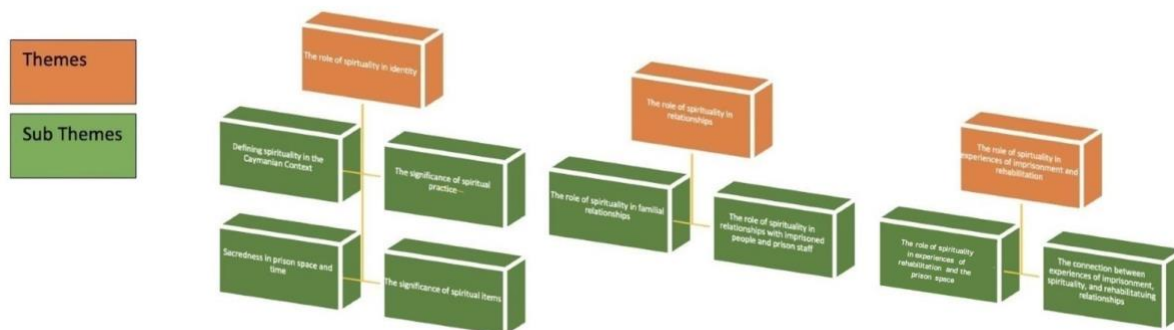
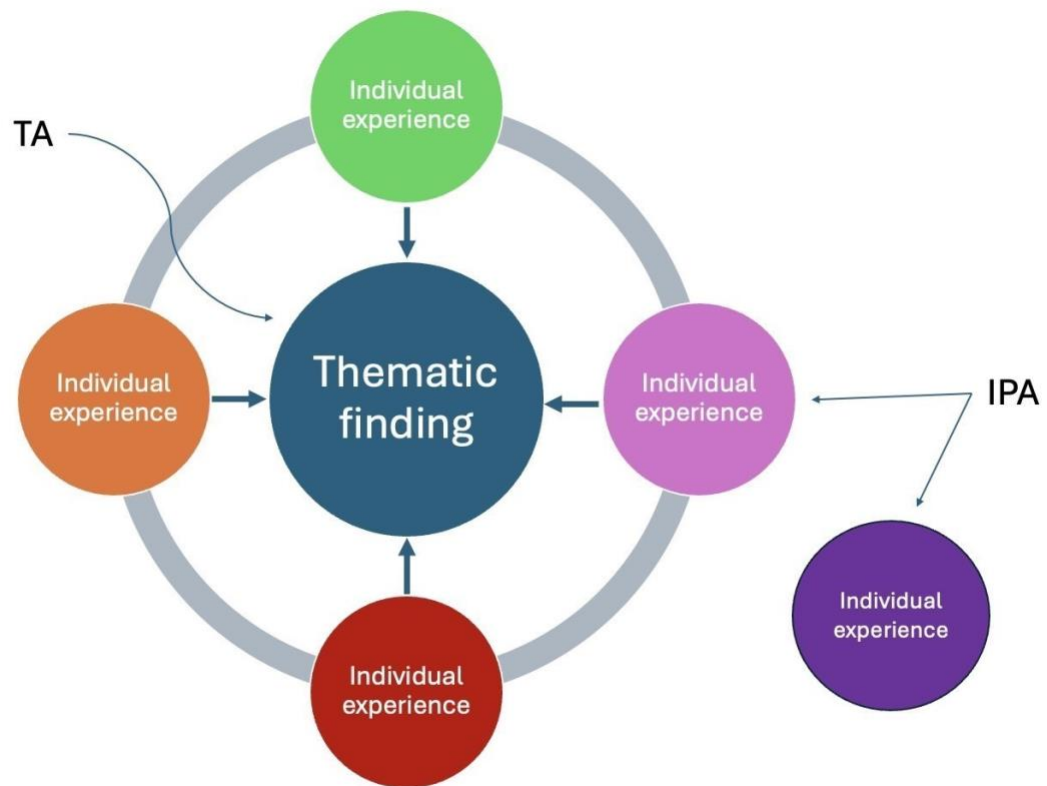


Figure 2: Use of TA and IPA in data analysis



Form 1: Participant information sheet and consent form - interview one

‘The Role of Spirituality in Cayman Prisons’: Interview 1

Information for participants

Thank you for taking interest in this project that you are being invited to participate in. This project seeks to explore the role of spirituality for people in prison in Cayman and is being conducted as my PhD research project (thesis). This information sheet is to help you understand the purpose of this study and what it means to participate. Please take some time to fully read and understand this form.

Project purpose

The goal of this project is to explore spirituality in prisons in Cayman. This project will look into what spirituality means to people in prisons in Cayman, how it is used and the impact it may have. The objectives of this study are to:

- Gain an in-depth understanding of spirituality in the lives of incarcerated people in Cayman
- Explore how spirituality is understood, experienced, and expressed for incarcerated people in Cayman
- Understand how spirituality affects relationships with other incarcerated people, prison staff and outside relationships
- Explore and reflect upon modern understandings of the role of spirituality in prisons across geographical areas
- Develop and use networks and professional connections in the Cayman prison system

The information gained from this project will be anonymised and be published publicly with the aim to shed light on the role of spirituality in prisons. There is a possibility that following the submission of my thesis, an anonymised report for the prison will be produced as well as creative events organised, based on the thesis’ findings. Supervisors of this project are Dr Irene Zempi and Dr Michael Keenan, whose contact details are listed below.

Why you have been invited to participate

This project aims to understand spirituality through the perspectives of people who are currently incarcerated in Cayman. It also seeks to explore any potential impact it may have in the experience of imprisonment, as well as personal life narrative and people’s relationships inside and outside of prison. Taking part in this research is voluntary and will in no way lead to favourable treatment or impact your sentence or time of release.

What does it mean to participate in this project?

This project involves two interviews. The first interview will examine what spirituality means to you, how you understand it and express it, what role it has had in your life narrative and prison experience, and relationships inside and outside of prison. After the first interview, you will be invited to take part in a second interview, which will allow you to bring a spiritual item of your choice with you in order to discuss what it means to you.

You will be able to ask questions for each interview. Both interviews will be audio-recorded. All data collected during the project will be secured securely and in line with the NTU data

management policy. Data will be anonymised in the thesis and then achieved after the project is complete.

If you would like more information about the project, you can ask me, the primary researcher (Brianna Lewis). You can do this by leaving a letter with the member of prison staff below to be passed on to me.

Rights as a participant

- You can withdraw consent for your information to be used up to two weeks after each interview. Details on how to withdraw consent can be found below.
- You will remain anonymous in any materials using the data you have given. If being referred to, a pseudonym will be allocated.
- You can refuse to answer any question asked of you.
- You have the right to ask questions about the project or data you have given, which should be answered to your satisfaction.
- If you feel distressed as a result of participating in this project, I have provided a list of support services below. You can leave or stop the interview at any point without giving a reason.
- If you disclose any information about harm to yourself or others, this will have to be passed on to prison contacts.
- If you disclose information about previously unknown offences, this will have to be passed on to prison contacts.
- You will be able to have a copy of the final thesis upon request, details on how to contact me will be at the bottom of this paper.

How to withdraw consent:

If you would like to withdraw consent, you can contact the primary researcher through the contact details listed below. You do not need to give a reason for wanting to withdraw. You can also leave a letter (indicating that you would like to withdraw consent) with the member of staff listed (indicated in the letter that you would like to withdraw consent) which will be passed on to me. Staff will be authorised to view the letter for safety purposes. This must be done within two weeks of your interview.

If you choose to participate in the second interview:

For the second interview, you will be invited to bring a spiritual object to discuss. This can be whatever you choose (even a pair of shoes!), as long as it is in line with prison guidelines as it will be checked by a member of staff for safety and appropriateness (if you wouldn't want to be caught with it, don't bring it). You will be invited to have a picture taken by me of your spiritual item in the second interview (with your consent). Please note that you do not have to bring a spiritual object if you would like to participate in the second interview and are still very much invited to participate and continue to speak or explore on the topic of spirituality and what it means to you.

Thank you for taking interest in this project.

Dear Participant,

'The Role of Spirituality in Cayman Prisons'

If you are happy to take part in this project, please read and tick the statements below where appropriate.

I have been given, read and understood the project information sheet. Detailing what the project, 'The Role of Spirituality in Cayman Prisons' is about.	
I have been allowed to ask questions about the project.	
I understand that participation is voluntary.	
I understand that I can withdraw consent up to two weeks post-interview.	
I understand that I do not have to give any reason as to why I wish to withdraw consent.	
I understand and agree to my interview being audio-recorded.	
I understand that data, which will be made anonymous, obtained during this study may be included in material published from this research.	
I understand that the raw identifiable data I give will be destroyed on acceptance of the final thesis, and anonymised data will be retained until the final thesis which will then be archived.	
I understand that if I disclose any risk of harm to myself or others, this will be reported to prison authorities.	
I understand that if I disclose any information about previously unknown offences, this will be disclosed to prison authorities.	

Full name.....

Signed.....

Date.....

If you have any questions, please contact Brianna Lewis in the Rehabilitation centre at Northward prison or the Reception area at Fairbanks Prison. If not available, please contact Brianna through the intermediary contact listed below, who will pass on your message.

Support Services

Dr Larissa Johnson

Email: larissa.johnson@gov.ky

Telephone: +1 345-947-3000

Address: Rehabilitation Centre, HMCIPS Northward, Northward.

Prison Chaplain

Address: Prison Chapel, HMCIPS Northward, Northward.

Research Contacts

Primary Researcher: Brianna Lewis

Address: Rehabilitation Centre, HMCIPS Northward, Northward, Bodden Town

Address: Nottingham Trent University, 50 Shakespeare Street, Nottingham

Intermediary contact for Northward and Fairbanks Prison: Dr Larissa Johnson

Email: larissa.johnson@gov.ky

Telephone: +1 345-947-3000

Address: Rehabilitation centre, HMCIPS Northward, Northward, Bodden Town

Supervisors

Dr Irene Zempi

Telephone: +44 (0)115 848 4155

Email: irene.zempi@ntu.ac.uk



Address: Nottingham Trent University, 50 Shakespeare Street, Nottingham

Dr Michael Keenan

Telephone: +44 (0)115 848 5509

Email: michael.keenan@ntu.ac.uk

Address: Nottingham Trent University, 50 Shakespeare Street, Nottingham

Form 2: Participant information sheet and consent form - interview two

'The Role of Spirituality in Cayman Prisons': Interview 2

Information for participants

Thank you for taking interest in this project that you are being invited to participate in. This project seeks to explore the role of spirituality for people in prison in Cayman and is being conducted as my PhD research project (thesis). This information sheet is to help you understand the purpose of this study and what it means to participate. Please take time to fully read and understand this form.

Project purpose

The goal of this project is to explore spirituality in prisons in Cayman. This project will look into what spirituality means to people in prisons in Cayman, how it is used and the impact it may have. The objectives of this study are to:

- Gain an in-depth understanding of spirituality in the lives of incarcerated people in Cayman
- Explore how spirituality is understood, experienced, and expressed for incarcerated people in Cayman
- Understand how spirituality affects relationships with other incarcerated people, prison staff and outside relationships
- Explore and reflect upon modern understandings of the role of spirituality in prisons across geographical areas
- Develop and use networks and professional connections in the Cayman prison system

The information gained from this project will be anonymised and be published publicly with the aim to shed light on the role of spirituality in prisons. There is a possibility that following the submission of my thesis, an anonymised report for the prison will be produced as well as creative events organised, based on the thesis' findings. Supervisors of this project are Dr Irene Zempi and Dr Michael Keenan, whose contact details are listed below.

Why you have been invited to participate

As in the first interview, this interview will explore the topic of spirituality and what it means to you. Since you were invited to bring a spiritual item, this interview will be more around what you have brought (or have not brought) and what it means to you. This discussion will allow you to explain more about what spirituality means to you, with or without an item on hand or in mind. Taking part in this research is voluntary and will in no way lead to favourable treatment or impact your sentence or time of release.

What does it mean to participate in this interview?

This interview will be around the spiritual item you have brought (or spirituality in general if you have not brought an item), and/or a continuation of the discussion around spirituality from the first interview. The item you bring, if you choose to bring one, could be a picture, poetry, art, writing, music, or anything else you choose. Items will be checked by a member of staff before the interview for appropriateness and safety precautions (If you wouldn't want to be caught with it, don't bring it). You will be asked permission for a picture to be taken of your spiritual item to which you can decline. Pictures will be taken for use in data analysis and in

the final thesis. Please note, there is a chance you may be identified as a participant of this research project if the item you bring could be identified as yours, you choose to allow pictures to be taken and these are used in the final thesis.

You will be able to ask questions for each interview. Both interviews will be audio-recorded. All data collected during the project will be secured securely and in line with the NTU data management policy. Data will be anonymised in the thesis and then archived after the project is complete. If you would like more information about the project, you can ask me, the primary researcher (Brianna Lewis). You can do this by leaving a letter with the member of prison staff below to be passed on to me.

Rights as a participant

- You can withdraw consent for your information to be used up to two weeks after each interview. Details on how to withdraw consent can be found below.
- You will remain anonymous in any materials using the data you have given. If being referred to, a pseudonym will be allocated.
- You can refuse to answer any question asked of you.
- You have the right to ask questions about the project or data you have given, which should be answered to your satisfaction.
- If you feel distressed as a result of participating in this project, I have provided a list of support services below. You can leave or stop the interview at any point without giving a reason.
- If you disclose any information about harm to yourself or others, this will have to be passed on to prison contacts.
- If you disclose information about previously unknown offences, this will have to be passed on to prison contacts.
- You will be able to have a copy of the final thesis upon request, details on how to contact me will be at the bottom of this paper.

How to withdraw consent:

If you would like to withdraw consent, you can contact the primary researcher through the contact details listed below. You do not need to give a reason for wanting to withdraw. You can also leave a letter (indicating that you would like to withdraw consent) with the member of staff listed (indicated in the letter that you would like to withdraw consent) which will be passed on to me. Staff will be authorised to view the letter for safety purposes. This must be done within two weeks of your interview.

Thank you for taking interest in this project.

Dear participant,

‘The Role of Spirituality in Cayman Prisons’

If you are happy to take part in this project, please read and tick the statements below where appropriate:

I have been given, read and understood the project information sheet. Detailing what the project, ‘The Role of Spirituality in Cayman Prisons’ is about.	
I have been allowed to ask questions about the project.	
I understand that participation is voluntary.	
I understand that I can withdraw consent up to two weeks post-interview.	
I understand that I do not have to give any reason as to why I wish to withdraw consent.	
I understand and agree to my interview being audio-recorded.	
I understand that data, which will be made anonymous, obtained during this study may be included in material published from this research.	
I understand that the raw identifiable data I give will be destroyed on acceptance of the final thesis, and anonymised data will be retained until the final thesis which will then be anonymised and archived.	
I understand that if I disclose any risk of harm to myself or others, this will be reported to prison authorities.	
I understand that if I disclose any information about previously unknown offences, this will be disclosed to prison authorities.	

Spiritual Object

I consent to having photos taken by the researcher of my spiritual object	
---	--

Full name.....

Signed.....

Date.....

If you have any questions, please contact Brianna Lewis in the Rehabilitation centre at Northward prison or the Reception area at Fairbanks Prison. If not available, please contact Brianna through the intermediary contact listed below, who will pass on your message.

Support Services

Dr Larissa Johnson

Email: larissa.johnson@gov.ky

Telephone: +1 345-947-3000

Address: Rehabilitation Centre, HMCIPS Northward, Northward.

Prison Chaplain

Address: Prison Chapel, HMCIPS Northward, Northward.

Research Contacts

Primary Researcher: Brianna Lewis

Address: Rehabilitation Centre, HMCIPS Northward, Northward, Bodden Town

Address: Nottingham Trent University, 50 Shakespeare Street, Nottingham

Intermediary contact for Northward and Fairbanks Prison: Dr Larissa Johnson

Email: larissa.johnson@gov.ky

Telephone: To be confirmed

Address: Rehabilitation centre, HMCIPS Northward, Northward, Bodden Town

Director of Studies: Dr Irene Zempi

Telephone: +44 (0)115 848 4155

Email: Irene.zempi@ntu.ac.uk

Address: Nottingham Trent University, 50 Shakespeare Street, Nottingham

Co-Supervisor: Dr Michael Keenan

Telephone: +44 (0)115 848 5509

Email: Michael.keenan@ntu.ac.uk

Address: Nottingham Trent University, 50 Shakespeare Street, Nottingham

Form 3: Participant debrief form



Debrief Form

'The Role of Spirituality in Cayman Prisons'

Dear Participant,

Thank you for taking part in this project. Your participation is very important to this project and will help gain further understanding of the role of spirituality for people in prison in Cayman.

Your participation in this project remains voluntary and will in no way lead to favourable treatment or impact your sentence or time of release. You have the right to withdraw consent up to two weeks after taking part in the project without giving any reason. Your name and anything that could identify you will remain anonymous in any publicised report or materials published from this project.

If you have any questions about the research being conducted or you would like a copy of the final thesis, please contact me (Brianna Lewis), my supervisors (Dr Irene Zempi and Dr Michael Keenan), or the intermediary prison contact (details below) who pass on your message to me (Brianna Lewis).

I hope you enjoyed taking part in this project but if you have experienced any distress, please contact one of the recommended support services listed below. You can also speak with a loved one, a friend or a staff member if you feel that this would be more helpful to you.

Thank you again for participating in this study.

Brianna Lewis
PhD Student, Nottingham Trent University

Support Services

Dr Larissa Johnson

Email: larissa.johnson@gov.ky

Telephone: +1 345-947-3000

Address: Rehabilitation Centre, HMCIPS Northward, Northward.

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Address: Nottingham Trent University, 50 Shakespeare Street, Nottingham

Interview Schedule 1

Interview Schedule 1

Explore how spirituality is understood, experienced and expressed for incarcerated people in Cayman, and gain an in-depth understanding of spirituality in the life narrative of incarcerated people in Cayman

- What does the word spirituality mean to you? How would you define spirituality?
- Would you consider yourself a spiritual person? Or a religious person? Why?
- When did you first learn about spirituality?
- How spiritual would you consider yourself to be?
- How important is spirituality to you? - what is most important to you about spirituality? i.e., what does it do for you?
- How do you practise spirituality while in prison?
- How have your beliefs, experiences or understanding of spirituality changed since you have been in prison?
- How do you feel your experience of spirituality outside prison compares to inside prison?
- Do you use any spiritual or religious resources available in the prison? If so, which ones do you use and how do you use them?
- Has anyone ever encouraged/influenced you to become spiritual or religious from the outside community or elsewhere?
- Do you feel that spirituality has had any impact on your life? And if so, in what way?
 - Do you feel that spirituality has impacted your experience of prison?

Understand how spirituality fits into inter-relational aspects among other incarcerated people, prison staff and outside relationships

- What effect, if any, has spirituality had on your relationships? How does it affect your relationship with staff; family; friends; fellow inmates?
- If so, how does spirituality affect how you interact with people?
- In what way does spirituality affect how you manage or overcome challenges? These could be general life or daily challenges within or outside prison

Interview Schedule 2

Interview Schedule 2

Explore how spirituality is understood, experienced and expressed for incarcerated people in Cayman

- Could you describe the spiritual item you have brought today or, describe something which has spiritual meaning to you? / Why have you not brought a spiritual item with you today?
- Why have you chosen this item/whatever form they have chosen to bring or describe it in? (drawing, description etc)/ Is there anything in the physical world that you feel is spiritual to you? How would you describe it?
- What does this item mean to you? How does it make you feel?
- How do you use this item/space/piece in your practice of spirituality?
- Are there any other items, places, people or things that have spiritual meaning to you, anything that you may not be able to access in prison? Why?

Gain an in-depth understanding of spirituality in the life narrative of incarcerated people in Cayman

- In your view, is spirituality something internal, or something that can be connected to through physical objects, ceremonies, rituals, places, or people? Why?
- Do you feel that you experience spirituality in the same way as other people, or is it unique to you?

Understand how spirituality fits into inter-relational aspects among other incarcerated people, prison staff and outside relationships

- Is this object something that you openly share with other people? Why/why not?
- How does sharing this item in this interview and speaking about it make you feel?
- Are there any spiritual objects, spaces or places that you share with other people? How does this make you feel (alone time/sharing a spiritual space with others)?
- Have you ever shared spiritual experiences with another person while in prison and/or outside? i.e., Have you had a spiritual experience with another person? What was it? How did it make you think or feel about spirituality, life, or that person?

CALL FOR PARTICIPANTS

Role of Spirituality in Cayman Prisons

WHAT THE PROJECT IS ABOUT:

This research project is a part of a PhD project aimed at exploring the role of spirituality for incarcerated people in Cayman. Participants will be invited to partake in two interviews (on separate days) with the researcher (Brianna Lewis) to talk about spirituality and what it means to you. Each interview will be around an hour long and you will be invited to bring a spiritual item to discuss during the second interview.

Who can sign up:

Participation is open to anyone over the age of 18 incarcerated in Cayman. You do not have to identify with any religion or as spiritual to participate in this project. Everyone is welcome!

HOW TO REGISTER:

If you would like more information about the project or to register for participation, please contact one of the people below directly or leave a letter at the rehabilitation centre. I will then contact you through your wing manager to confirm an interview time and date.

Researcher: Brianna Lewis, PhD Student

Email: n0700392@my.ntu.ac.uk

Address: Rehabilitation Centre, Northward Prison, Northward.

Intermediary contact: Dr Larissa Johnson

Email: larissa.johnson@gov.ky

Telephone: +1 345-947-3000

Address: Rehabilitation Centre, HMP Northward, Bodden Town.

Role of Spirituality in Cayman Prisons
Brianna Lewis (PhD candidate)

Chance to talk about spirituality and what it means to you!

Bring an item which has spiritual meaning to you! (optional)

Identification with any religion or spiritual affiliation is not necessary to take part.

Everyone is welcome!

Sign up

The Role of Spirituality in Cayman Prisons

Thank you to everyone who signed up and took part in the project, 'The Role of Spirituality in Cayman Prisons'.

Due to more people signing up than anticipated and the number of participants needing to be seen, not everyone will be able to be seen for this project. I apologise if you signed up for the project but were not seen.

If you would like to talk about spirituality with someone, you can contact Chaplain Bentley who would be able to discuss this with you personally.

Researcher: Brianna Lewis

Address: Rehabilitation Centre, HMP Northward.

Appendix D

Figure 1: The suppression and emergence of attributes depending on environment

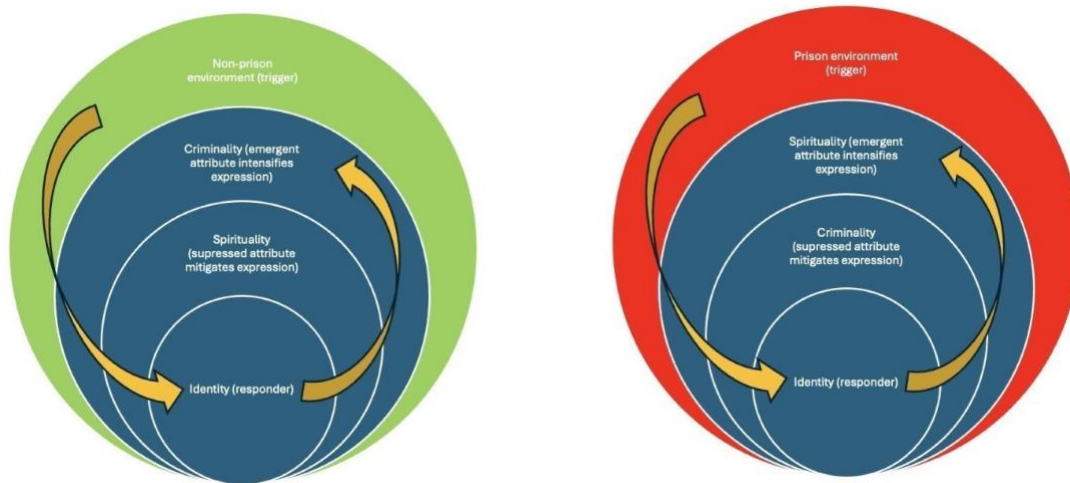
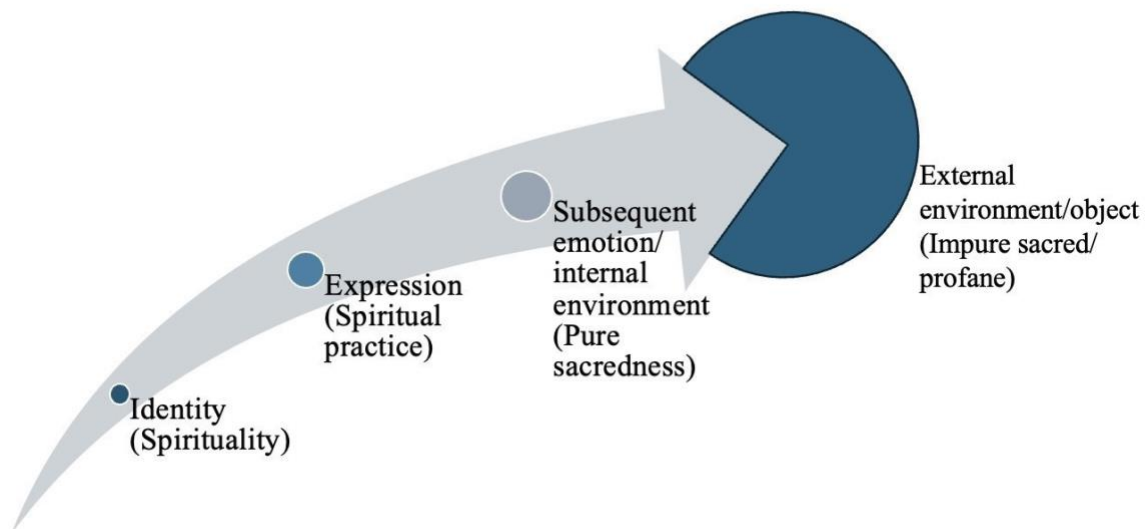


Figure 2: The transmutation of space and items from impure sacred or profane to pure sacred through spirituality



Appendix E

Figure 1: The role of spirituality in relationships

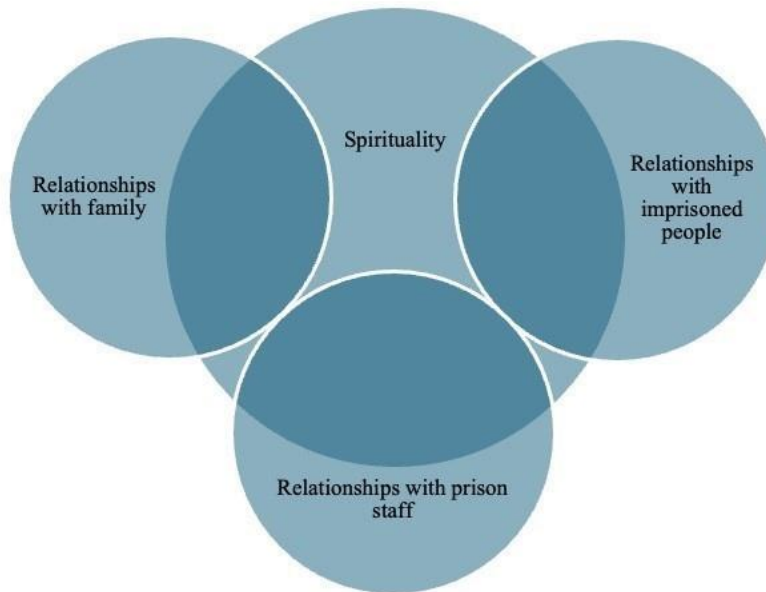
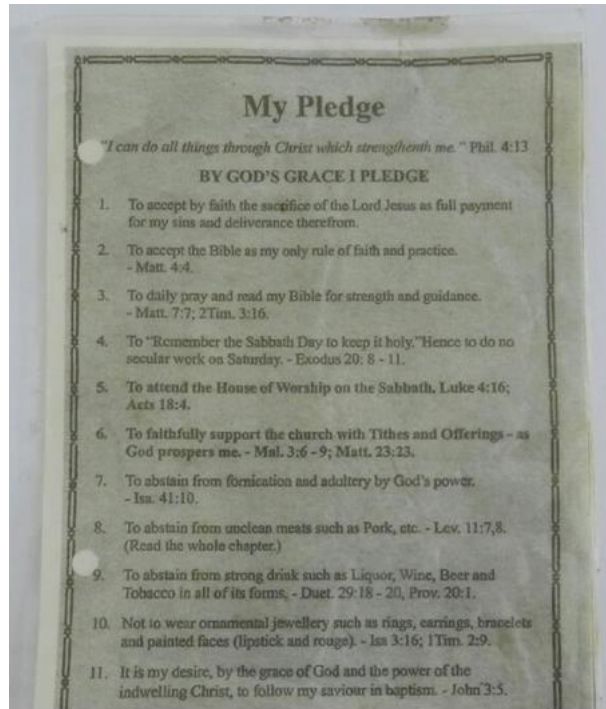


Image 1: Simon's cross



Image 1: Dan's Pledge



Appendix G

Figure 1: The suppression and emergence of attributes depending on the environment

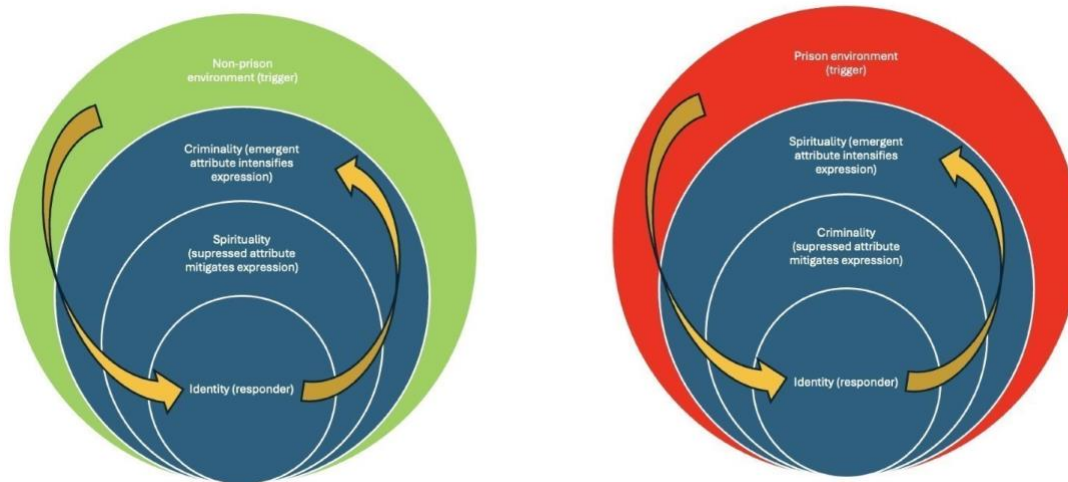


Figure 2: The transmutation of space and items from impure sacred or profane to pure sacred through spirituality

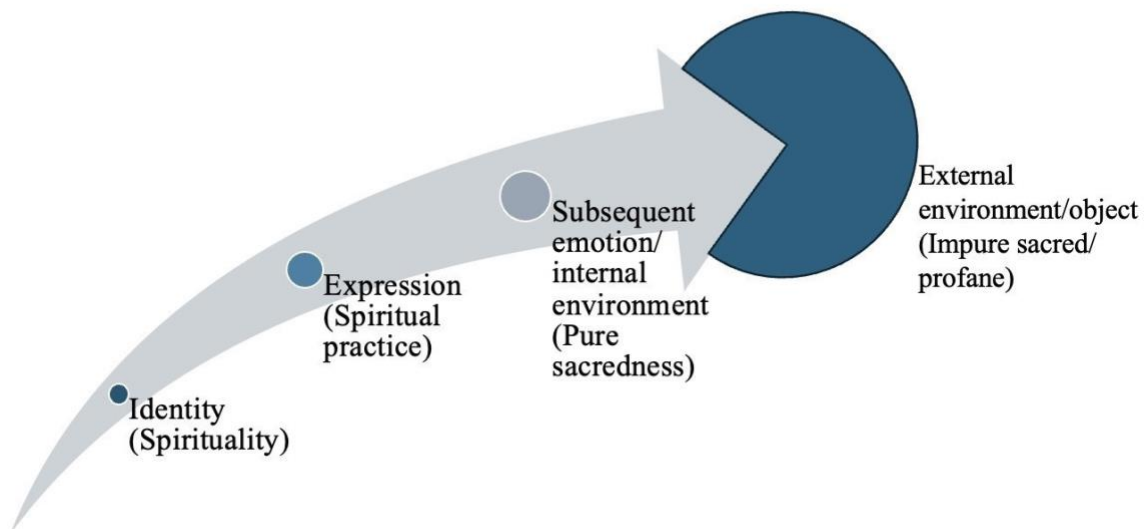


Figure 3: The role of spirituality in relationships

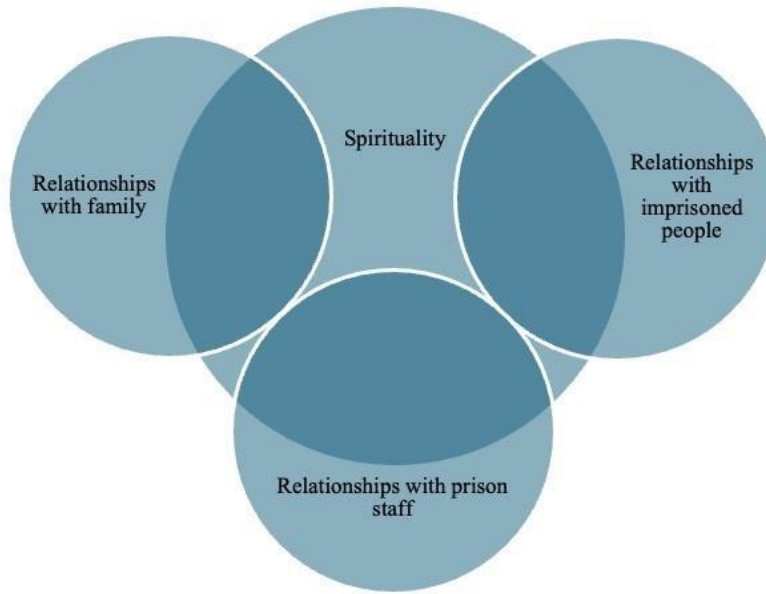
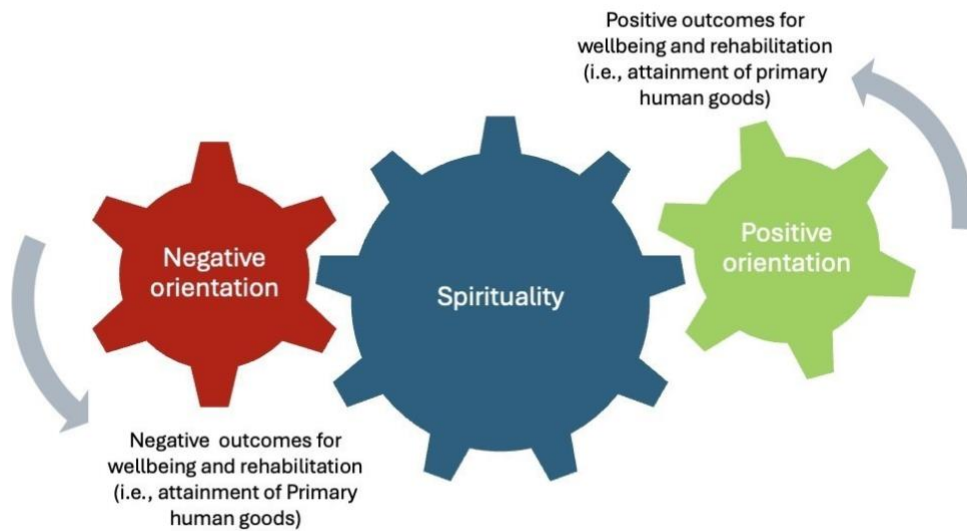


Figure 4: The role of spirituality in wellbeing and rehabilitation



Glossary

ANT – Actor-network theory

ATP – Angel Tree programme

CAN – Cayman actor-network

ERU – Early Release Unit

FMP - Field Ministers programme

GLM – Good lives model

HRU – High risk unit

IPT – Identity performance theory

NDC - National Drug Council [Cayman Islands]

PAN – Prison actor-network

PFI – Prison Fellowship International

RNR – Risk-need-responsivity

SIT – Social identity theory

STP – Sycamore Tree programme

TPJ – The Prisoner’s Journey programme