

# Education Quarterly Reviews

**Papaioannou, Vasiliki, and Anagnou, Evaggelos. (2019), Present and Future Benefits for Adult Inmate Trainees in Greek Prisons. In: *Education Quarterly Reviews*, Vol.2, No.2, 357-372.**

ISSN 2621-5799

DOI: 10.31014/aior.1993.02.02.68

The online version of this article can be found at:  
<https://www.asianinstituteofresearch.org/>

Published by:  
The Asian Institute of Research

The *Education Quarterly Reviews* is an Open Access publication. It may be read, copied, and distributed free of charge according to the conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license.

The Asian Institute of Research *Education Quarterly Reviews* is a peer-reviewed International Journal. The journal covers scholarly articles in the fields of education, linguistics, literature, educational theory, research, and methodologies, curriculum, elementary and secondary education, higher education, foreign language education, teaching and learning, teacher education, education of special groups, and other fields of study related to education. As the journal is Open Access, it ensures high visibility and the increase of citations for all research articles published. The *Education Quarterly Reviews* aims to facilitate scholarly work on recent theoretical and practical aspects of Education.



ASIAN INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH  
Connecting Scholars Worldwide

# Present and Future Benefits for Adult Inmate Trainees in Greek Prisons

Vasiliki Papaioannou<sup>1</sup>, Evaggelos Anagnostou<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Hellenic Open University, Patra, Greece

Corresponding Author: Vasiliki Papaioannou, Hellenic Open University, Patra, Greece. Postal address: Tmolou 35, Vyrion, Greece. ZC 16233. Tel: 00306906216026. E-mail: vanpap2008@gmail.com

## Abstract

Correctional education aims at challenging the illiteracy, which often leads to delinquency and recidivism. In Greece, little interest had been shown regarding the education of adult inmates, but with the establishment of Second Chance Schools (SCS) inside prisons, a more systematic and integrated effort was made for the overall development of trainees. Many studies have been conducted regarding the work that SCS provides. For this reason, a systematic review of the relevant bibliography and a compilation of the findings of the studies realized between 2006-2018, regarding the benefits of inmates participating in the educational programs, was considered appropriate. The results demonstrate that there are benefits at the personal, educational, and social levels during confinement. After release, the expected benefits are analogous, with the addition of the expectations of the trainees' expectations for social reintegration and professional rehabilitation.

**Keywords:** Correctional Education, Benefits, Personal Development, Professional Rehabilitation, Social Integration

## 1. Introduction

Most inmates have a low educational level, which makes it difficult for them to reintegrate into society. Surveys conducted in many countries demonstrate the above finding (Vacca, 2004; Theophilou, 2004; Spinelli, 2009). In Greece, it was found in a survey conducted in 1983 by the National Center for Social Research that 69% of respondents had not completed basic education (Varvatakos, 2010). In addition to lower levels of education, detainees are often deprived of professional skills and stable employment, which is a major challenge for people returning from prison to local communities. Furthermore, the stigma of conviction is a major barrier to post-release employment.

This research aims to thoroughly review the relevant scientific literature and carry out a systematic review in order to synthesize the findings from multiple studies on the effectiveness of prison education programs in Greece, as recorded by detainees participants in them. In order to prepare the systematic review, we first conducted a comprehensive literature search for published and unpublished studies between 10/1/2018 and 20/12/2018. Altogether from our search, twenty four (24) investigations arose on this particular issue.

## 2. The characteristics and educational background of inmates

Inmates have particular characteristics associated with pre-confinement situations and their current state, resulting in them "playing" roles that are necessary to meet their needs and adopt specific behaviors and attitudes such as violence, isolation, inactivity (Gassouka, n.d.).

Due to the problems they faced prior to their imprisonment (unemployment, poverty, low educational level, etc.) and those faced during imprisonment (institutionalization, de-socialization, lack of human contact, sexual relations, work, communication failure, as Gassouka [n.d.] reports), detainees adopt a bad image about themselves and about their potential to cope with their problems and set goals, resulting in their lack of self-confidence and self-esteem. At the same time, due to the traumatic experience of confinement, inmates have difficulty creating a meaningful relationship with the trainer, whom they may doubt as to their methods and effectiveness. All the above elements affect their decision to take part in an educational program.

The low educational level creates a vicious circle of deficiencies, professional and personal development, and is partly related to delinquency. It is a reality independent of time and place, which is confirmed by all the surveys that have dealt with this subject and by the official statistics of each country. Most inmates are found not to have completed basic education and do not have professional qualifications (Vacca, 2004; Theophilou, 2004).

In a research in 136 prisons in England and Wales, it was found that 80% of detainees had writing skills equivalent to those of an 11-year-old or even younger, and 50% had reading skills similar to 11-year-old or younger (Spinelli, 2009).

In Greece, the official statistics of the Hellenic Statistical Authority confirm that: For 2007, 31% of the detainees had finished Primary School, 5% knew reading and writing, while 14% were illiterate, meaning that 50% had not even received basic education. For 2006, 15% of the detainees were illiterate, and 60% were elementary education graduates. The corresponding percentages for previous years of convicts with non-existent or elementary education in relation to the total are 72.6% (2005), 78% (2001), 78% (2000), 73% (1999) and 75.4% (1998) (Varvatakos, 2010).

## 3. Educational programs in prisons

A variety of training programs implemented within prisons serve their targeting since whatever training the inmates choose, the benefits are many both for the period of his imprisonment and for the subsequent course of their lives away from prison. Throughout the world, whether developed or developing, opportunities are offered to educate inmates hoping for a reversal of their pathogenic situation.

### 3.1 SCS in Greek prisons

In November 1995, the White Paper of the European Commission referred to the proposal for the implementation of the "Second Chance School" program (SCS). Altogether, 11 SCS are currently operating in Greek prisons. The choice of the Greek State to establish SCS in prisons, in line with the corresponding European Action Plan, clearly shows the need to provide holistic education to inmates, aiming at the overall development of trainees and their fullest participation in the economic, social and cultural world, and their more effective participation in the workplace. They are an institution of social justice and offer a second opportunity to the inmates to make a fresh start, change their way of thinking and action, and make a new course in their lives by adopting the right choices.

The training provided in the SCS is systematic and continuous and leads to the acquisition of a degree equivalent to the Gymnasium certificate. The total duration of the course is 18 months, namely two training years. The curriculum is designed to follow "... pedagogical approaches that focus on learners' individual needs, interests and abilities" (MR 1861/2014, article 3.3.b).

The cornerstone of the education offered is a multilingual network aiming at the acquisition of modern knowledge, skills and attitudes that will help learners in social, economic integration and development and includes Greek and English linguistic literacy, numerical, informational, environmental, scientific, social and aesthetic Literacy (Hondolidou, 2003).

#### **4. The value of education in prison**

Prison training is seen as one of the means to promote re-socialization so that inmates can build a better future for themselves after release, improving their quality of life and acquiring something useful (skills, knowledge, understanding, social attitudes and behaviors) that will go beyond prison and can lead to employment or further training. As Muñoz (2009) points out, prisons should be an environment for those held to allow positive change and human development.

The value attributed to education in a free society, as in prison, is strong. For example, Welch (1996) argues that prison education programs continue to draw citizens' support because, in essence, education itself is positively valued in our society. These educational and professional programs do not only focus on developing practical skills, but also respond to the idea that every person has the right to be educated. Many detainees believe that taking part in prison education has a second chance in education and life. Lejins (1971) writes:

Since education is a good indication of the likelihood of a person's success in modern society, it seems necessary to improve prison training programs in order for inmates to acquire the academic skills necessary to have a realistic second chance to become creative members of life of the community. (p.26)

In addition, education helps to instill the feeling among trainee inmates that they remain part of the wider community and reminds them, as reported by Eikeland, Manger and Asbjørnsen (2009, p. 11), that they will be members of society after their release and, since alienation from society is a crime factor, the democratic and inclusive nature of education is vital. Because by acquiring skills and re-thinking their place in society, these people can become active in their local economies and communities, from which former detainees can be found blocked, and overcome the stigma of their criminal engagement.

According to Putnam (2000), education and vocational training help to develop social capital. Also, through the participation in educational programs, the inmates strengthen their self-esteem, improve their social skills (Parker, 1990) and feel content because they are given the opportunity to highlight the positive aspects of their personality (Kett, 1995).

Although we cannot claim that education in prison can cure all the suffering of crime and criminals, it is very important for both the individual and the community. Inmates who participate in an educational program during their imprisonment set the foundations for a normal life after their release and at the same time have many benefits during their imprisonment as their participation in a training program removes many of the "suffering of the imprisonment."

##### *4.1 Benefits during confinement*

The benefits accruing to inmates by virtue of the training provided to them in prison are indeed many. The feeling of boredom and loneliness is diminishing, and inmates are a strong learning community, resulting in them feeling less marginalized as they realize that they fully retain the right of education, like any free citizen. Also, as reported by Grizou, Mpanos, Rogdaki, Tsolakopoulou (2008), the ample time available to inmates, a time of inactivity, is an anxiety factor for the inmates, which in turn creates emotional tensions that make it hard for human interaction. By participating in an educational program, "dead time" turns into a pleasant break from the recurring prison routine, reduces the unbearable boredom that the inmates feel every day and prevents intellectual degeneration as well as the (self) destructive moments that the boredom implies (Varvatakos, 2010). The detainees themselves, according to a survey conducted in prisons in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Sweden, and Norway, saw that by participating in educational programs they could "spend time doing something sensible

and useful" (Eikeland et al., 2009). On the other hand, day-to-day schooling works as a simulation of the transition to a free life. Detainees experience this positively and negatively. Positively because school within the prison, even for a few hours, is a small oasis of freedom and negatively because it strengthens the feeling of imprisonment (Grizou et al., 2008). But that's how they perceive more strongly the value of freedom.

At the same time, the sense of diversity experienced by inmates, as they are treated as inferior beings, is transformed, thanks to education, into a difference that separates them from the rest of inmates and unleashes them from the prison subculture.

#### *4.2 Benefits after confinement*

According to the bibliography, the debate about whether or not the prison education is beneficial divides the scholars. Numerous surveys have been conducted, particularly in America, on the usefulness of prison education. The majority of these demonstrate the strong link between education and reduction of recidivism while increasing the possibility of social and professional reintegration. Of course, there are also skeptics who argue that in many cases, prison education produces nothing more than "better educated criminals" (Gaes, 2008).

##### *4.2.1 Education and recidivism*

The relationship of education in prison and the reduction of recidivism has been studied by many scholars. Some consider that education achieves its purpose (Anderson, 1981, 1991; Matisoff, 1974; Porporino and Robinson 1992, as cited in Ubah, 2005), while others believe it does not work (Kettering, 1965 ; Martinson, 1974; Sullivan , 1990, 1992 ; Schumacker et al., 1990 as cited in Ubah, 2005). The key question is how education can cope with recidivism. Responses can be several: The person builds a more moral character, acquires self-esteem, feel that they are opening up a new perspective in life by redirecting their actions, acquires new interests and know-how that can act as a credential in society and the labor market.

Surveys in the United States have shown that recidivism rates are significantly higher for those who have not completed high school studies (Harrer, 1994) and an analysis of 60 different studies concluded that those inmates who did not have a degree of the High School and participated in a training program in prisons had lower rates of relapse (Flanagan, 1994). Esperian (2010) reports statistics from the "Congressional Leaders" 1; Education Newsletter (2010), such as study by Steurer, Smith, and Tracy (1997) in Maryland, Minnesota and Ohio showing recidivism rates of 3.4%, a study in Colorado (2007) that show recidivism rates of 5% and the results of a survey conducted in Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Texas, Utah and Virginia in 2002 where it was found that educational programs helped reduce recidivism from 49% to 20%. In a recent meta-analysis of the effectiveness of prisons training to reduce recidivism carried out by Rand Corporation (2013), the main finding was that prison training reduces recidivism after release and is cost-effective. In addition, the study found that prison training can increase the chances of employment after liberation.

Of course, there are other empirical criminological researches (Baumann, 1984, pp. 31-36, as cited in Papathanasiou, 2010) investigating the impact of school and vocational education on recidivism, which state that only vocational education reduces recidivism (12-15%), while the impact of school education is negligible in reducing recidivism. The interpretation of this differentiation consists in the fact that vocational training can more easily secure a job, which in turn ensures a decent standard of living, freedom from the prisoner's position and a smoother social reintegration.

##### *4.2.2 Education and professional rehabilitation*

Access to education and employment has been reported by many studies as two of the most important aspects contributing to the successful reintegration of ex-offenders into society. Through education, they acquire knowledge and skills, necessary to claim a job in the labor market. It is proved that ex offenders have a high risk of unemployment and there is a correlation between unemployment and recidivism (Farrington, Gallagher, Morley, St. Ledger and West, 1986; Finn, 1998; May 1999; Motiuk, 1996).

The Rand Corporation (2013) survey also shows a positive correlation between prison education and post-release employment. In particular, post-release employment was found to be 13% higher among detainees

participating in academic or vocational training programs than among those who had not participated. The findings of this study are in line with those of the Wilson, Gallagher, and MacKenzie (2000), which also found improved chances of employment after release for those who had participated in correctional education.

The Rand Corporation (2013) study also investigated the relationship between vocational training versus academic education in prison and post-release employment, and the results show that VET programs have a greater impact than academic programs on a person's probability of obtaining employment after release.

#### 4.2.3 Education and personal development

Participating in educational programs can be a source of optimism for detainees, awaken them and release creativity, which, as Piche points out (2008, p. 10), is therapeutic and capable of helping to rehabilitate. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982), approaching adult education holistically, identify as its essential function the help it provides adult learners to increase their skills and successfully negotiate transitions into their social roles (worker, parent, prisoner, etc.).

Therefore, education offers inmates opportunities for personal development, and the ability to change their perceptions of themselves and others, perceptions that determine their attitudes and behavior. In addition, "it may be the first ray of hope that they can escape the cycles of poverty and violence that dominated their lives" (Erisman and Contardo, 2005, p. 316). Strengthening self-confidence and self-esteem are counted towards the positive assessment of education in personal development. It is established on the basis of the literature that the release of prison education from serving the purposes of sentencing is in the right direction and it is up to the judgment and the needs of each prisoner to choose a training program for vocational training or general education.

### 5. Methodology oh the research

The present work is a systematic review in the field of prison education. Initially, a search for sources of the material collection was conducted. Since this systematic review concerns the training of adult inmates in Greece, we searched in national databases and search engines, article references, abstracts of papers in conference proceedings, databases of doctoral and postgraduate dissertations. More specifically, Google Scholar, online libraries of Greek universities - including the Hellenic Open University - and the National Documentation Center were used. In cases where the material was not available electronically with open access, the file was searched for in the libraries' premises, or the full text order service was used wherever possible. Also, articles published in scientific journals, such as "Adult Education," the "Aretha" Scientific Yearbook, or on scientific websites such as the Adult Education Network of Crete have been searched for. Finally, there was a personal communication with a researcher to locate research that could not be retrieved in any other way.

The systematic review was conducted between 10th January 2018 and 20th December 2018. The search resulted in 50 titles in Greek (4 doctoral theses, 42 postgraduate dissertations, and 4 articles). At the initial screening, 47 of them were identified as potentially relevant, requiring a full text review in order to select the review studies. After being studied systematically, the researches which converged on the research question were selected. Thus, we resulted in 24 studies, in which students' perceptions of the value of education addressed to inmates were investigated. 22 of these are postgraduate diploma theses, and 2 are articles.

Key elements of the identity of the analyzed researches are illustrated in the following Table:

Table 1. The identity of the researches

Author	Time	Place	Sample	Methodology
Papadaki	2006	Women's Prison of Korydallos	10 M	Qualitative
Vergidis, Asimaki, Tzintzidis	2007		37 (18M-19F)	Quantitative

Gravalou	2010	Larissa SCS	32 M (22/10)	Quantitative and Qualitative
Papathanasiou, N.	2010	Judicial Prison of Diavata	52 M	Quantitative
Petsas	2010	Korydallos SCS	10 M	Quantitative
Iliopoulou	2011	Domokos SCS and Eleonas SCS	16 (8 M – 8 F)	Qualitative
Kouimtzi	2011	3 <sup>rd</sup> SCS of Thessaloniki	11 M	Qualitative
Orlis	2013	Diavata SCS and Korydallos SCS	57 (55 M – 2F)	Qualitative
Panteleri	2014	Diavata SCS	10 M	Qualitative
Papathanasiou, H.	2014	Larissa SCS	83 M(80/3)	Quantitative and Qualitative
Papaioannou	2015	Korydallos SCS	18 M	Qualitative
Chrysikopoulou	2015	Women’s Prison of Elaiona	20 F	Quantitative
Sakka	2015	Korydallos SCS	7 M	Qualitative
Korella	2016	Grevena SCS	14 F	Qualitative
Mousiou	2016	Korydallos SCS	72 M	Qualitative
Mparmpakos	2016	Korydallos SCS and Grevena SCS	32 M (16+16)	Qualitative
Stouri	2016	Korydallos SCS	28 M	Qualitative
Touloumi	2016	Eleonas SCS	15 F	Qualitative
Vergopoulou	2017	Eleonas SCS	20 F	Qualitative
Kofini	2017	3 <sup>rd</sup> SCS of Thessaloniki	10 M	Qualitative
Mplioumi	2017	Larissa SCS	2 M	Qualitative
Drillia	2018	Korydallos SCS	77 M (60/17)	Quantitative and qualitative
Papadionysiou	2018	Eleonas SCS	9 F	Qualitative
Stergiou	2018	Judicial Prison of Chania	10 M	Qualitative

Note: M= Men, F= Female.

As shown in Table 1, out of a total of twenty two surveys, one is of 2006, and one is of 2007, three of 2010, two of 2011, one of 2013, two of 2014, three of 2015, five of 2016, three of 2017 and three of 2018. The total sample of trainees in the systematic review is 652 inmates, of which 545 are men and 107 are women. Of the twenty four surveys, the seventeen were developed with qualitative methodology, the four with quantitative, while the three with mixed (quantitative and qualitative).

On the basis of the above methodological approaches, as listed in Table 1, they were grouped together. The surveys in which the research tool used was a questionnaire with closed-ended questions were classified as quantitative. If a questionnaire with open questions was used, they were classified as qualitative. Specifically, the analysis of the data for quantitative approach surveys was as follows: Responses were entered as a whole on a spreadsheet of the Microsoft Office Excel 2007 software.

For qualitative surveys, content analysis was selected as a data processing method. We chose to make the following distinction in qualitative surveys: a) purely qualitative, b) quantified qualitative.

## 6. Results

### 6.1 Benefits of attendance of educational programs during confinement

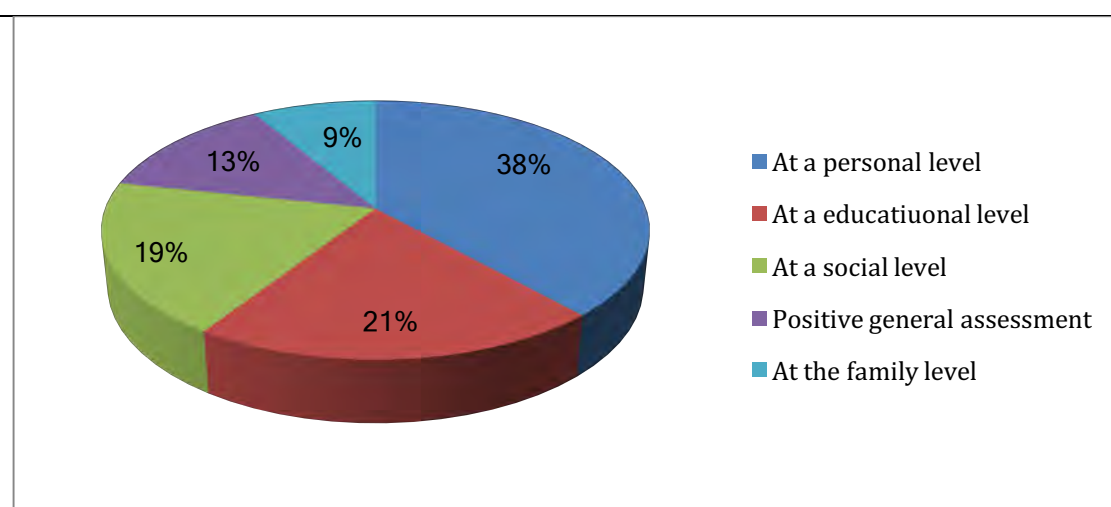
The following procedure was followed in the recording of the results: Initially, the individual results of the quantitative surveys are presented, then the results of the quantified qualitative and, finally, of the purely qualitative ones.

### 6.1.1 Results of quantitative surveys

The total of quantitative surveys in which the benefits were investigated are 7: (Vergidis, Asimaki, Tzintzidis, 2007; Gravalou, 2010; Papathanasiou N., 2010; Petsas, 2010; Papathanasiou I., 2014; Hrysikopoulou, 2015; Drillia, 2018) and the total sample of trainees in these surveys is 291 inmates. Following are the results (Table 2 and Graph 1).

Table 2: Benefits of attendance of educational programs during imprisonment (Results of quantitative surveys)

CATEGORIES/SUBCATEGORIES	NUMBER OF TRAINEES
<b>1. AT A PERSONAL LEVEL</b>	
1.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPPORT AND PERSONAL IMPROVEMENT	97 (93 M και 4 F)
1.2 ETHICAL EMPOWERING	25
1.3 IMPROVEMENT OF QUALITY OF LIFE	23
1.4 WIDENING OF HORIZONS	23
1.5 ESCAPE FROM IMPRISONMENT SUFFERING	19 (18 M και 1 F)
1.6 USEFUL EXPERIENCES	7 (3 M και 4 F)
<b>2. AT AN EDUCATIONAL LEVEL</b>	
2.1 KNOWLEDGE	56 (33 M και 23 F)
2.2 SKILLS	25
2.2 CERTIFICATE ACQUISITION	19 (15 M και 4 F)
<b>3. AT A SOCIAL LEVEL</b>	
3.1 EASIER PROBLEM SOLVING	39 (1 F)
3.2 SELECTIVITY IN COMPANIONSHIP	34
3.3 IMPROVEMENT INTRAPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS	18
3.4 CONTACT WITH PEOPLE OUTSIDE PRISON	1Γ
<b>4. POSITIVE GENERAL ASSESSMENT</b>	63 (56 M KAI 7 F)
<b>5. AT THE FAMILY LEVEL (IMPROVEMENT OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS )</b>	50
N=291 (252 M και 39 F) (Note that some trainees reported more than one category/subcategory)	



Graph 2: Benefits of attendance of educational programs during imprisonment (Results of quantitative surveys)

The greatest benefit that the inmate trainees consider they get from their participation in educational programs concerns their personal improvement and development in the percentage of 38%. More specifically, they



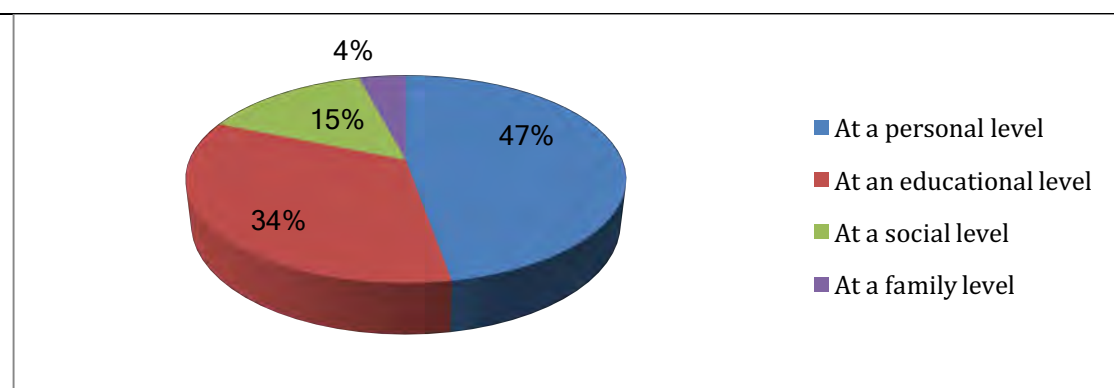
mention that they have been psychologically supported, have obtained useful experiences, have acquired the ability to solve the rising problems more easily, have become more selective in companionship, have been ethically empowered, have opened new horizons in their life and have improved its quality, escaping at the same time the suffering of imprisonment. The benefit in the field of education is recorded at 21%, with a predominant focus on the acquisition of the High School degree and the acquired basic and new knowledge of Greek, Maths, IT and English. The improvement in both the social and the family field (19% and 9%, respectively) is obvious. The inmates report that they solve their problems more easily, have improved their interpersonal relationships, and have come into contact with the outside world due to daily contact with their educators. A rate of 13% positively assesses the education without specific references.

#### 6.1.2 Results of quantified quantitative surveys

The total of quantified quantitative surveys in which the benefits were investigated are 9 (Kouimtzi, 2011; Orlics, 2013; Panteleri, 2014; Papathanasiou I., 2014; Papaioannou, 2015; Mpampakos, 2016; Vergopoulou, 2017; Mplioumi, 2017; Papadonysiou, 2018) and the total sample in these surveys is 162 trainees. Following are the results (Table 3 and Graph 2).

Table 3: Benefits of attendance of educational programs during imprisonment (quantified quantitative surveys)

CATEGORIES/SUBCATEGORIES	NUMBER OF TRAINEES
<b>1. AT A PERSONAL LEVEL</b>	
1.1 PERSONAL IMPROVEMENT	76 (55 M και 21 F)
1.2 ESCAPE FROM THE SUFFERING OF IMPRISONMENT	48 (39 M και 9 F)
1.3 PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPPORT	34 (24 M και 10 F)
1.4 POSITIVE EXPECTATIONS FOR FUTURE	2
1.5 CREATIVITY	1
1.6 CONFIDENCE	1
<b>2. AT AN EDUCATIONAL LEVEL</b>	
2.1 KNOWLEDGE ACQUISITION	112 (98 M και 14F)
2.2 DEGREE ACQUISITION	4
<b>3. AT A SOCIAL LEVEL</b>	
3.1 IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH OTHER INMATES	20
3.2 ACQUISITION OF SOCIAL SKILLS	19 (16 M και 3 F)
3.3 ADOPTION OF DIFFERENT BEHAVIOR IN THE SCHOOL	9
3.4 ACQUISITION OF TEAM SPIRIT	2
<b>4. AT THE FAMILY LEVEL (IMPROVEMENT OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS )</b>	14
<b>N=162 (148 M και 31 F)</b> (Note that some trainees reported more than one category/subcategory)	



Graph 3: Benefits of attendance of educational programs during imprisonment (Results of quantified quantitative surveys)

From the composition of the answers result in the following: in the majority, the inmate's trainees (47%) state that they have benefited mainly on a personal level. The answers concerning the personal improvement vary: plenty of references for the satisfaction of deeper inner needs, different perspectives towards life, self-confidence, self-awareness, moral empowerment, behavioral improvement, change of thinking, expression of their creative nature. Personal benefits also include escape from the suffering of imprisonment: the trainees report the use of "dead" time, employing the mind in a positive way, curbing of sick feelings and the sense that the school within the suffocating prison environment is an oasis of freedom. There are also many references for the psychological support that they receive from participating in educational programs, resulting in feeling more calmer and more peaceful, more optimistic while developing positive expectations for their future. The benefits gained in the cognitive field are reported by 34% of inmate trainees. The learning the Greek, Maths, foreign language (English) and IT fills them with confidence, and this knowledge extends and becomes emancipation as they see their spiritual horizons broaden. They also realize that they have more active participation in the lessons, they can express their opinions more comfortably and finally gain respect from everyone, which strengthens their self-image. In addition, they consider the acquisition of the High School degree as a benefit, as they hope it will be useful in the future. In the social field, 15% of the inmates realize that behavior improves due to self-improvement, and this has a positive effect on their relationships with the other inmates, they become more social, more cooperative, they adopt the rules of social life, preparing for adaptation in society after their release. Finally, a small percentage of 4% of the trainees reports that there is an improvement in their relationships with their families, which works supportively at the psychological level in the difficult phase of imprisonment.

#### 6.1.3. Results of qualitative surveys

The total of qualitative surveys in which the benefits were investigated are 8 (Papadaki, 2006; Gravalou, 2010; Iliopoulou, 2011; Korella, 2016; Touloumi, 2016; Kofini (2017), Drillia (2018); Stergiou (2018) and the total sample of trainees in these surveys is 102 trainees (73 M and 29 F). Following are the results (Table 4).

Table 4. Benefits of attendance of educational programs during imprisonment (results of qualitative surveys)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>At a personal level</b>	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Escape from the suffering of imprisonment	√	√	√	√	√	√		√
Positive thinking		√						
Acquisition of critical judgment		√			√			
Taking on initiatives		√						
Feeling of freedom		√						
Personal change			√			√		√
Psychological support			√	√	√		√	
Self-awareness					√			
Confidence / Self-esteem					√			
Positive expectations for the future						√		
<b>At a social level</b>			•	•	•		•	•
School as a form of social reintegration			√	√	√		√	√
Correct choice of people		√			√		√	
<b>At an educational level</b>	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Knowledge acquisition	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Degree acquisition		√						
Contact with culture					√			

Note: Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 correspond to the surveys in the order mentioned above.

In these surveys dominate the personal benefit of correctional education, as well. In seven of the eight studies, the positive opinions of the inmate trainees are recorded, focusing mainly on escaping from the suffering of

imprisonment, while there are important references to psychological support, to their ability to choose the right people to socialize, positive thinking and acquisition of critical judgment. Taking on initiatives, feeling of freedom, personal change, self-awareness, confidence/self-esteem, positive expectations for the future are also some of the benefits of training in prison from the trainees' angle. In addition, the trainees consider the benefit at the educational level is most important, due to the acquired knowledge, the degree acquisition, and the possibility to get in touch with culture. The social sector also shows improvement, as the majority of trainees in these surveys report that education is a vehicle for their social reintegration.

### 6.2 Expected benefits of attending educational programs after release

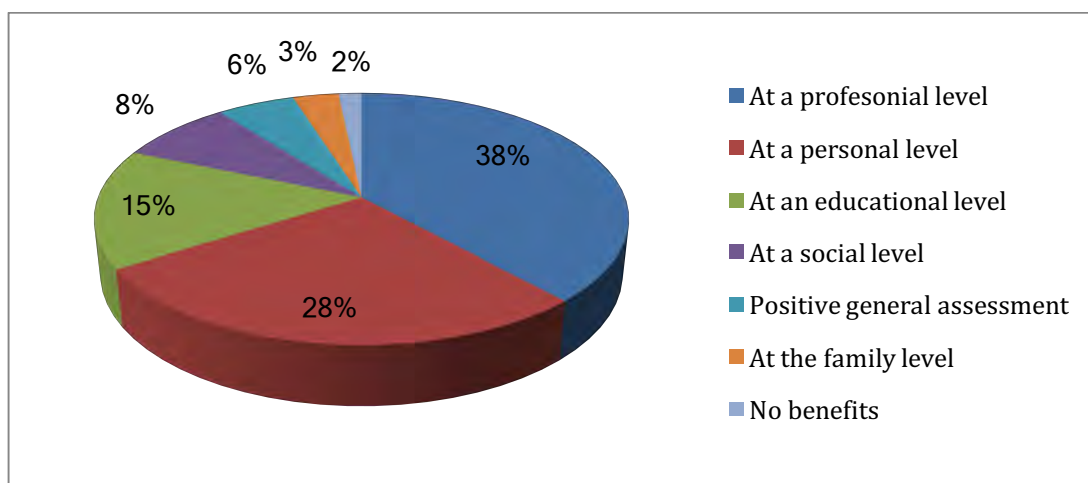
The inmate trainees believe that the benefits of the training will accompany them outside of prison, as well. In this way, they develop positive expectations for their future, which they perceive as a normal life where they will seek the best for themselves, either at the personal, professional, or social level.

#### 6.2.1 Results of quantitative surveys

The total of quantitative surveys in which the benefits were investigated are 7: (Vergidis et al. 2007; Gravalou, 2010; Papathanasiou N., 2010; Petsas, 2010; Papathanasiou I., 2014; Hrysiopoulou, 2015; Drillia, 2018) and the total sample of trainees in these surveys is 281 inmates. Following are the results (Table 5 and Graph 3).

Table 5: Expected benefits of attending educational programs after release (Results of quantitative surveys)

<b>CATEGORIES / SUBCATEGORIES</b>	<b>NUMBER OF TRAINEES</b>
<b>1. AT PROFESSIONAL LEVEL / NEW PERSPECTIVES</b>	<b>117 (105 M και 12 F)</b>
<b>2. AT PERSONAL LEVEL</b>	
2.1 AVOIDANCE OF ILLEGAL CONDUCT	<b>43</b>
2.2. LIFE IMPROVEMENT	<b>42(1 F)</b>
<b>3. AT EDUCATIONAL LEVEL (Continuing Studies)</b>	<b>53 (49 M και 4 F)</b>
<b>4. AT SOCIAL LEVEL</b>	
4.1 BETTER ADAPTATION IN THE COUNTRY (FOR FOREIGNERS)	<b>19 (17 M και 2 F)</b>
4.2 SOCIAL REINTEGRATION	<b>6 (3 M και 3 F)</b>
<b>5. POSITIVE GENERAL ASSESSMENT</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>6. AT THE FAMILY LEVEL</b>	
6.1 HELPING CHILDREN WITH HOMEWORK	<b>8</b>
6.2 BETTER PARENTING	<b>1 F</b>
6.3 FAMILY SUPPORT IN GENERAL	<b>1</b>
<b>7. NO BENEFITS</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>N=291 (252 M και 39 F) (Note that some trainees reported more than one category/ subcategory)</b>	



Graph3: Expected benefits of attending educational programs after release  
(Results of quantitative surveys)

Inmate trainees in a very large percentage (38%) transmute the benefits they consider to have acquired from their participation in educational programs to expectations of professional rehabilitation after their release. Also, there are many (28%) that believe that the personal improvement they perceive in prison not recidivism will be the basis upon which they will rely after their release in order to avoid delinquent acts and. At the same time, they hope to improve their personal life in an attempt to eliminate the prisoner's stigma. A figure of 15%, which is indeed an interesting element, wishes to continue their studies. Also, 8 out of 100 inmates believe that social reintegration will be easier, while foreigners (whose proportion is quite large in Greek prisons) believe that their adaptation to the country will be easier. Finally, 4% believe that they will transmute the benefits of their education to the family environment, either as support for children with the homework as an attempt of correct parenting or as support for the family in general. However, 2% of trainees feel they will not benefit from their release. The negative answer was given by trainees aged over 40.

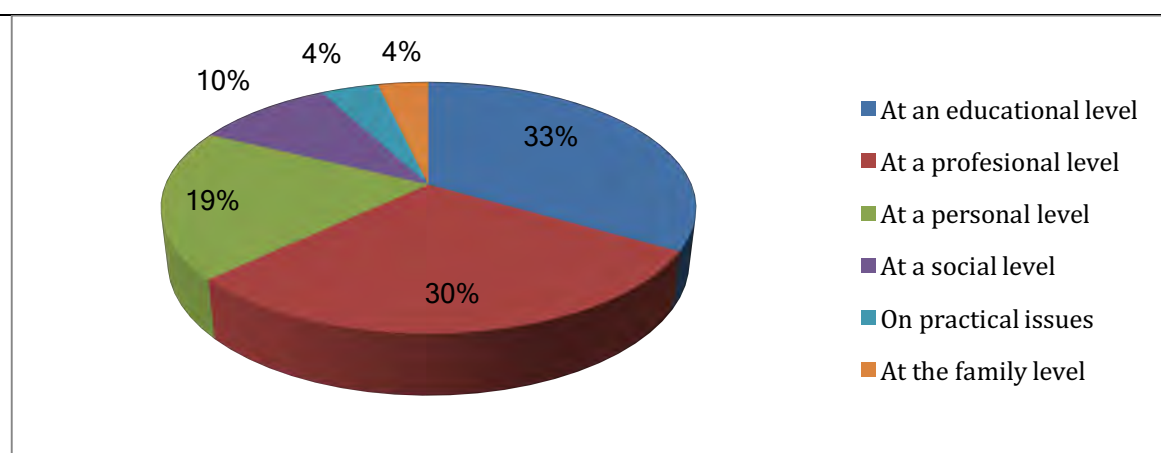
#### 6.2.2 Results of quantitative, qualitative surveys

The total of quantified quantitative surveys in which the expected benefits were investigated are 10 (Kouimtzi, 2011; Orliis, 2013; Panteleri, 2014; Papathanasiou, 2014; Papaioannou, 2015; Sakka, 2015; Mparmpakos, 2016; Vergopoulou, 2017; Mplioumi, 2017; Papadionysiou, 2018) and the total sample of trainees in these surveys is 169 trainees. Following are the results (Table 6 and Graph 4).

Table 6: Expected benefits of attending educational programs after release (Results of quantitative, qualitative surveys)

CATEGORIES / SUBCATEGORIES	NUMBER OF TRAINEES
<b>1. AT A EDUCATIONAL LEVEL (Continuing Studies)</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>2. AT A PROFESSIONAL LEVEL / NEW PERSPECTIVES</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>3. AT A PERSONAL LEVEL</b>	
3.1 LIFE IMPROVEMENT	32
3.2. POSITIVE POSITION ADOPTION	5
<b>4. AT SOCIAL LEVEL (Social reintegration)</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>5. ON PRACTICAL ISSUES</b>	
5.1 OBTAINING A DRIVING LICENSE	4
5.2 RESIDENCE PERMIT	4
<b>6. AT THE FAMILY LEVEL</b>	
6.1 EXAMPLE OF MISSING FOR CHILDREN	5
6.2 GOOD RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE FAMILY	1

CATEGORIES / SUBCATEGORIES	NUMBER OF TRAINEES
6.3 SUPPORT OF CHILDREN	1
N=171 (140 M και 31 F) (Note that some trainees reported more than one category/subcategory)	



Graph 4: Expected benefits of attending educational programs after release  
(Results of quantitative, qualitative surveys)

Expectations at the level of education compete on an equal footing with those at the professional level. It is an extremely interesting finding that trainee prisoners spontaneously report in their interviews their desire to continue their studies at 33%. The professional sector also employs trainees, who, 30%, believe that the knowledge and skills they have acquired from attending the training programs will be transformed into improvement or employment after their release. Personal improvement is not only a benefit for their present but also for the future, as personal change and a positive attitude towards life are believing that they will keep them away from delinquency and empower them at every step of their free life (19%). In addition, 10% of trainees believe that their social reintegration will be easier. And the expected benefits continue as trainees also report on practical issues (4%), such as driving license and residence permit (for foreigners). The same percentage of trainees (4%) thinks there will be a benefit in family relationships (family support, proper education, and support for children).

#### 6.2.3 Results of qualitative surveys

The total of qualitative surveys in which the expected benefits were investigated are 7 (Gravalou, 2010; Iliopoulou, 2011; Korella, 2016; Touloumi, 2016; Kofini, 2017), Drillia, 2018); Stergiou, 2018) and the total sample of trainees in these surveys is 92 trainees (63 M and 29 F). Following are the results (Table 7).

Table 7. Expected benefits of attending educational programs after release (results of qualitative surveys)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>At a professional level</b>		•	•			•	•
<i>Professional rehabilitation</i>		√	√			√	√
<b>At an educational level</b>	•	•		•	•		
<i>Continuing Studies</i>	√	√		√	√		
<b>At a personal level</b>			•		•		•
<i>Correction</i>			√		√		√
<b>At a social level</b>		•			•		•
<i>Social reintegration</i>		√			√		√
<b>At the family level</b>		•	•				•
<i>Support of children</i>		√					√
<i>Improvement of family relationships</i>			√				

*Note:* Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 correspond to the surveys in the order mentioned above.

These surveys confirm the findings of other surveys: the majority of the trainee inmates report their ability and desire to continue their studies as a main benefit and professional rehabilitation is thought to be achieved through the attendance of the training program. Correction that will remove them from delinquency, social reintegration, and improved family relationships with particular emphasis on their children are included in the reports of trainee inmates.

## 7. Discussion – Conclusions

The results obtained from all surveys (whether quantitative or qualitative) are in full harmony with each other. At the same time, they are also supported by the relevant references. Regarding the benefits during the confinement, the following main conclusions were reached: **Personal Improvement:** Trainee inmates find that they are changing due to the attendance of the training program. A multipurpose matrix weaved with, psychological support, moral empowerment, escape from the embarrassment of suffering, has been built in the prison school and opens up new horizons. The positive and constructive experiences of trainees and the knowledge that choices determine life are transformed into adopting a healthy attitude towards life. Developing the ability to come in contact with themselves, to understand and to evaluate positively or negatively their different aspects and to adapt them leads to a deeper knowledge of themselves and is indissolubly linked to the appreciation of themselves. Thus, as stated by Dimitrouli (2016), the transformational dimension of the education provided in prison is highlighted, which "involves the exploration, understanding, and alternative view of previous dysfunctional assumptions."

**Knowledge and skills:** The knowledge and skills gained from their participation in educational programs run through all the reports of trainee inmates. The literacy taught corresponds to the development of basic skills or functional skills. The trainee inmates know that as they attempt to change, the knowledge and new skills they acquire are suitable for their new way of life. All their knowledge, skills, and experience are now defined as "human capital" (Fokiali, n.d. as cited in Dimitrouli, 2016).

**Social benefit:** Social interaction with the right people is seen as a benefit by many trainees, as they obviously perceive that bad relationships have been a cause of their delinquency, so seeking contact with healthy standards is important to them for the additional reason that it acts as an antidote to contact with the prison subculture. In addition, the improvement of relations with their retainers, the fact that they can manage and resolve the problems that arise within the interpersonal relationships, working together in a social interaction (Makryniotis, 2001, p.45) active self, able to intervene by changing the social conditions and the structure of interaction (Dimitrouli, 2016) to their advantage.

Regarding the expected benefits after the imprisonment, the following main conclusions were reached:

**New perspectives in the professional field:** Trainee inmates directly associate the knowledge and skills they acquire from their training with their professional rehabilitation. They know that even after release, they will be accompanied by the prisoner's mark. They also know that this is a hindrance to finding a job. Who wants a former prisoner in his job? However, trainees hope to have a second chance to improve their working life conditions by completing their studies at the prison school. They appear to be empowered mainly by the power given by the knowledge of knowledge. The findings of the present surveys on the expected benefits in the professional field are in line with those of many real-life investigations after release. An example is the study by Wilson, Gallagher, and MacKenzie (2000), which found improved post-prison employment probability of inmates participating in correctional education.

**Continuing studies:** It is indeed a surprising finding that the "difficult" task of joining real life involves the decision to continue and complete studies and is linked to the vision of vocational rehabilitation. We do not know how many will realize their dream. However, they see their studies as the key to success, to unleash from the "vicious circle" of life. It is their chance to prove they are capable, and they can achieve a great goal, feel

equal to others, negotiate fear and insecurity for the future. They have structured the perspective of their lives based on their studies (Dimitrouli, 2016).

**Social reintegration:** According to the 2009 Epanodos (Legal Representative for the training and rehabilitation of inmates and the released) Report, the released inmates face family, social, reintegration and prejudice problems from the community. Education is directly linked to social reintegration. Trainee inmates advocate this view. Removing from delinquent behavior is the foundation of social reintegration. This is what the trainees know, and after seeing their personal change and the adoption of a new attitude of life and behaviors acceptable to the community, they expect their social reintegration to be easier. Education gives them opportunities to use and acquire social capital (Farrall, 2004, as reported in Farrall et al., 2010).

This systematic review has attempted to obtain a more holistic picture of the benefits of adult inmates trained in Greece in their participation in educational programs. The methodological limitation is that we have looked at surveys that have been developed in Greece and are in databases. We believe, however, that it is a useful contribution to future adult inmate researchers, as well as a better understanding of the field so that the relevant education policy can be more effectively defined. Of particular interest is research into the contribution of inmates to educational programs in their reintegration after their release.

## References

- Commission of the European Communities (1995). *Teaching and Learning. Towards the Learning Society*. White Paper of Education and Training. Brussels. Publication Office of European Union.
- Darkenwald, G. G. & Merriam, S. B. (1982). *Adult Education. Foundations of practice*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Dimitrouli, K., (2016). *Exploring the perceptions of released inmates for the role of education, during and after their persecution, to their initial change and social reintegration. The case of the released inmates supported by the Epanodos*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Drillia, U. (2108). *Second Chance Schools trainees in prisons: Case study: Expectations, Barriers, Transformations. Based on trainees - prisoners view from prison of Korydallos area*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Eikeland, O.-J., Manger, T. & Asbjørnsen, A. (2009). *Education in Nordic Prisons. Prisoners' educational background, preferences and motivation*. Copenhagen: Nordic Council of Ministers. Retrieved from <http://www.norden.org/en/publications/publications/2009-508>.
- Erisman, W. & Contardo J. (2005). *Learning to Reduce Recidivism: A 50-State Analysis of Postsecondary Correctional Education Policy*. The Institute for Higher Education Policy.
- Esperian, J. (2010). The Effect of Prison Education Programs on Recidivism. *The Journal of Correctional Education* 61 (4), pp.316-334
- Farrall, A., Bottoms, S., & Shapland, J. (2010). Social Structures and Desistance from Crime. *European Journal of Criminology*, 7 (6), 546–570. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370810376574>
- Farrington, D, Gallagher, B, Morley, L, St. Ledger, R & West, D. (1986). Unemployment, school leaving and crime. *British Journal of Criminology*, 26, pp. 335-356. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.bjc.a047626>
- Finn, P. (1998). Job Placement for Offenders in Relation to Recidivism. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*. 28(1/2), pp. 89–106. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J076v28n01\\_06](http://dx.doi.org/10.1300/J076v28n01_06)
- Flanagan, T. (1994). *Prison Education Research Project Final Report*. Criminal Justice Center, Sam Houston State University.
- Gaes, G. (2008). *The Impact of Prison Education Programs on Post-Release Outcomes*. Reentry Roundtable on Education.
- Gassuka, M. (n.d.). *Educational techniques for inmates and released inmates. Educators' Training Program - Educational Program for the Theoretical Training Trainers, Volume II*. Athens: EkePis. (In Greek)
- Gravalou, A. (2010). *Investigating the views of adult trainee inmates on the teaching techniques applied at Second Chance School in Judicial Prisons of Larissa*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University. (In Greek).
- Grizou, M., Mpanos, V., Rogdaki, A., Tsolakopoulou, I., (2008). *Correctional education - The Greek version of a European idea*. Dialogue for the 8th Educational Conference of OLME. Retrieved from <http://dialogos-8osynedrio-olme.com/2008/05/blog-post06.html> (In Greek).

- Harer, M. (1994). *Recidivism Among Federal Prisoners Released in 1987*. Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Prisons.
- Hiliopoulou, V. (2011). *Motives for participation and attitudes of trainees in SCS Central Greece prisons*. Master's Thesis. Library Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Hondolidou, E. (2003). The concept of literacy in Second Chance Schools. In: Vekris, L. - Hondolidou, E. (eds.) *Study Specifications for Second Chance Schools*. Athens: YPEPTH, GSGE, IDEKE, pp. 35-46 (In Greek).
- Hrysiokopoulou, E. (2015). *The implementation and use of participatory-active adult education training techniques in Second Chance Schools. Views of trainees attending the SCS of Eleonas women's prison in Thiva*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Kett, M. (1995). *Survey of prisoners' attitudes to education*. Wheatfield Place of Detention. Unpublished report.
- Kofini, E. (2017). *Facing the social exclusion of prisoners through their participation in Second Chance Schools*. Master's Thesis. Library Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Korella, A. (2016). *Motives for participation and perceptions of trainees in the 1st SCS (Prison) of Grevena*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Kouimtzi, K. (2011). *Investigation of motivation, intentions and trainees-inmates expectations within the General Detention Center of Thessaloniki - 3rd Second Chance School of Thessaloniki*. Master's Thesis. Library Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Lejins, P. P. (1971). *Sourcebook on Prison Education: Past, Present, and Future*. Springfield Ill., Thomas
- Makriniotis, D. (2001). Social stigmatization of the self and the body. In K. Livieratos (Ed.), D. Makrinioti (trans.), *Position: notes on the managing a damaged identity*, pp 9-58. Athens: Publications Alexandria (In Greek).
- May, C. (1999). *Explaining reconviction following a community sentence: the role of social factors*. Home Office Research Study No. 192. London: Home Office.
- Motiuk, L. (1996). *Targeting employment patterns to reduce offender risk and need*. Forum on Corrections Research, 8(1).
- Mparmpakos, A. (2016). *Educational Needs and Barriers to Learning in Second Chance Schools (SCS) of Correctional Centers of Larissa and Grevena*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Mplioumi, T. (2017). *Lyceum education for vulnerable social groups: The case of detainees in the judicial prison in Larissa*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Muñoz, V. (2009) *The Right to education of persons in detention*. Report of the special rapporteur on the right to education, Human Rights. Council, UN.
- Orlis, S. (2013). *The needs for career counseling of vulnerable social groups: the case of SCS trainees in Diavata and Korydallos Correctional Centers*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Panteleri, A. (2014). *The views of vulnerable social groups on their education programs: The case of Second Chance School in Diavata Prison*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Papadaki, V. (2006). *Study on the education, training and employment of prisoners in the context of their social reintegration. The case of the Central Prisoner of Korydallos*. Master's Thesis. Library Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Papaioannou, V. (2015). *The views of inmates in Korydallos prison for their education at the Second Chance School*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Parker, E.A. (1990). The Social-Psychological Impact of a College Education on the Prison Inmate. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 41(3), pp. 140-146.
- Papadionysiou, D. (2018). *Investigating views of trainee women inmates for their education at the Second Chance School at Eleona prison in Thiva*. Master's Thesis. Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Papathanasiou, I. (2015). *Investigating views of trainee inmates on attendance at the Second Chance School. A Case Study: The Second Chance School of the Prison of Larissa*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Papathanasiou, N. (2010). *Correctional education. The example of the Second Chance School Diavata Thessaloniki*. Master's Thesis. Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (In Greek).
- Petsas G. (2010). Inmates Training: The Second Chance School in Korydallos prison. *Adult Education*, V.34, pp. 31-41. (In Greek).
- Piche, J. (2008). Barriers to Knowledge Inside: Education in Prisons and Education on Prisons. *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons*, Vol. 17, No. 1.
- Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon and Schuster. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1145/358916.361990>
- Rand Corporation (2013). *Evaluating the Effectiveness of Correctional Education: A Meta-Analysis of Programs That Provide Education to Incarcerated Adults*. Retrieved from [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR266.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR266.html)



- Rigoutsou, H. (2005). *Inmates Councelling*. Athens: IDEKE. Ministry of Education, EPEAEK 2, Measure 1.1. Act 1.1.2., Act 1.1.2V. Retrieved from <http://repository.edulll.gr/132> (In Greek).
- Sakka, V. D. (2015). *The Right to Prison Training: Case Study in the Close Prison in Patra*. Master's Thesis. Athens: University of Athens, School of Education, Department of Early Childhood Education & University College London, Institute of Education. Joint program postgraduate studies "Education and Human Rights" (In Greek).
- Spinelli, K. (2009). The inter-institutional training counteracts the risk factors for recidivism? Proceedings of the conference presentation on: *The education in prisons: Rehabilitation Lever*. Athens 05/09/2009. Retrieved from <http://www.epea.org/epeahellas> (In Greek).
- Stergiou, A. (2018). *The expansion of the training needs of the persons in custody (prisoners). The case of the Detention Center of Chania*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Stouri, V. (2016). *Career counseling for adult prisoners*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Theophilou, P. (2004). *The professional preparation and integration of people at risk of social exclusion: young ex-prisoners*. Unpublished Master's Thesis. Athens: Panteion University (In Greek).
- Touloumi, A. (2016). *Education in prison: learning motives, barriers and the role of adult trainer in prisons. The case of inmates in SCS at Eleonas women's prison in Thiva*. Master's Thesis. Library Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Ubah, C. (2005). An Examination of Academic, Policy and Social Considerations of Correctional Education and Offender Recidivism: Lessons for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Criminology, 2, No2 *Justice Policy Journal*. Retrieved from [http://www.antonioacasella.eu/nume/Ubah\\_2005.pdf](http://www.antonioacasella.eu/nume/Ubah_2005.pdf)
- Vacca, J. S. (2004). Educated Prisoners are less likely to Return to Prison. *The Journal of Correctional Education*, 55(4) pp. 297-305.
- Varvatakos, N. (2010). Correctional education. Magazine *As if... a prisoner*. March-April - May 2010, pp. 4-6 (In Greek).
- Vergidis, D., Asimaki, A., Tzintzidis, A. (2007). *Correctional education. The Second Chance School of Korydallos Prison*. Arethas Scientific Yearbook, Volume IV, 61-93. Patras: University of Patras, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Primary Education, pp. 61-89 (In Greek).
- Vergopoulou, P. (2017). *Correctional education. Inmates' hope for a new start. The case of inmates at Eleonas prison in Thiva*. Master's Thesis. Patras: Hellenic Open University (In Greek).
- Welch, M. (1996). *Corrections: A Critical Approach*. New York: The McGraw- Hall.
- Wilson, D. B., Gallagher, C. A., & MacKenzie, D. L. (2000). A meta-analysis of corrections-based education, vocation and work programs for adult offenders. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 37(4), pp. 347-368. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0022427800037004001>