This document contains 16 papers on practices in correctional education in Central and Eastern Europe, presented at a conference in Hungary in 1997. The papers center around these four topics: (1) Prison System and Humanization; (2) New Challenges in Prison Life and Prison Education; (3) Nothing Works? Something Works; and (4) Beyond 2000. The following 5 keynote addresses, followed by 11 papers are included: "Prison System and Humanisation" (Ferenc Tari); "New Challenges in Prison Education" (Robert Suvaal); "Effective Correctional Programming" (Friedrich Losel); "Nothing Works? Something Works!" (Andras Csoti); and "Beyond 2000: Perspectives, New Horizons" (William Rentzmann); "Prisoners Are People: Maintaining Social Identities in Prisons" (Anita Wilson); "What's on Demand in Remand?" (Niek Willems); "Prison Education in an Overcrowded Prison" (Steve Gravett); "Liberty through Literacy" (Linda L. LaBoy, Mary-Ann K. Salvatore); "Norwegian Activities in the Baltic States: The Nord-Balt Prison Project" (Asbjorn Langas); "Back to Society: Charting, Evaluating, and Suggesting Measures To Improve Follow-Up Training for Prison Inmates" (Torfinn Langelid); "The Impact of Education on Post Release Success: Research in Progress in Ohio, Maryland, and Minnesota" (Stephen Steurer, David Jenkins); "Classification System in a Hungarian Juvenile Prison" (Attila Hevenyi); and "Education and the Arts in Prison" (Anne Peaker); "Beyond 2000: Perspectives, New Horizons" (Joseph Giordmaina, Anthony Vella); and "Clay and Welfare: Towards Empowering the Offenders" (Markku Salo). Nine appendixes contain conference programs and events, abstracts of papers, general information, information about the European Prison Education Association, a Council of Europe Recommendation on Education in Prison, lists of participants and liaisons, and a photo collage from the conference. (KC)
Report on the 6th EPEA International Conference on Prison Education

PROTECTIVE BARS?

1-5 November 1997, Budapest

Central and East European Information and Documentation Centre
Protective Bars?

Report on the 6th EPEA International Conference on Prison Education

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Hungary
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| Organising Committee   |                                                |
|                        |                                                |
| Chair                  | János Boros                                    |
|                        | Head of Department of International Relations   |
|                        | Hungarian Prison Administration                 |
| Secretary              | László Csetneky                                 |
|                        | Deputy Head of Prison Department                |
|                        | National Police Academy                         |

| Planning group         |                                                |
|                        |                                                |
| Chair                  | János Boros                                    |
|                        | Head of Department of International Relations   |
|                        | Hungarian Prison Administration                 |
| Secretary              | László Csetneky                                 |
|                        | Deputy Head of Prison Department                |
|                        | National Police Academy                         |
| Organisers             |                                                |
|                        | Svenolov Svensson                               |
|                        | Chairperson of EPEA                             |
|                        | Swedish Prison and Probation Administration     |
|                        | Regional Office Gothenburg                      |
|                        | Torfinn Langelid                                |
|                        | Member of EPEA                                  |
|                        | National Education Office                       |
|                        | Hordaland County, Norway                        |
|                        | David Marston                                   |
|                        | Member of EPEA Steering Committee                |
|                        | Kaj Raundrup                                     |
|                        | Member of EPEA Steering Committee                |
|                        | Ministry of Justice, Denmark                     |
|                        | Eszter Szalma                                    |
|                        | Éva Pásztor                                      |
|                        | Klaudia Kovács                                   |
|                        | Anikó Horváth                                    |
|                        | Assistants at the Department of International Relations |
|                        | Hungarian Prison Administration                 |

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6th EPEA Conference, Hungary 1997
Foreword

The 5th EPEA International Conference on Education in Prisons, “Bending Back the Bars” was held in Blagdon, England, 1–4 October 1995. There were three main conference themes that year; “Promoting the growth of the individual in prison through a broad-based curriculum”, “Encouraging Ownership by Staff and Prisoners” and “Building Bridges with the Community”.

At the time of the 5th EPEA conference, contacts had been taken with the National Prison Administration of Hungary. The NPA in Budapest generously agreed in hosting the EPEA conference in 1997 in cooperation with the EPEA. A working group started the conference planning already in Blagdon.

One of the objectives of these conferences is to encourage research and examination of appropriate methods and practical initiatives related to different aspects of prison education, with a view of emphasizing the right to education and reducing recidivism – not as a goal in itself – more as a valuable future consequence. A further wish has been to invite countries of central and eastern Europe to take part in the conference. Therefore it was a special pleasure for us to welcome the representatives of these countries. The 6th EPEA Conference had a total of about 130 participants from 23 countries in Europe, Australia, USA and Israel.

At this sixth EPEA Conference “Protective Bars”, one of our aims was to focus on prison systems and humanisation and look into what part education can take in that development. The title of the conference was meant, in a way, to provoke people and make us think about what different roles the “Wall” or “Bars” can have. Most of us agree in the role of protecting society from criminals by putting them behind bars. This perspective could be right as long as you do not mean it for life and if the “inside perspective” is to prepare for life outside. Our conference title would also like you to think of a different perspective which, in some countries would mean that the walls or bars actually could protect and facilitate development and progression inside, as long as the bars exist. This, however, could be a hazardous perspective and need a very carefully thought through policy. With or without walls we believe in what education can do for us as human beings.

Living in a modern society requires knowledge and skills in many areas, from basic reading and writing to “know-how” about the way the society works. But life also depends on how you are able to act in a democracy, how you act together with your friends, workmates and family and how you can enjoy the pleasures of life. Life, and living in this broad sense ought to be the focus of all education, for children, for adults and naturally also for people inside prisons.
We hope that this conference gave this perspective by focusing on the following topics:

1. Prison System and Humanisation
2. New Challenges in Prison Life and Prison Education
4. Beyond 2000

We have used a questionnaire to ask the participants for papers that relate, as far as possible, to these topics. Excellent contributions have been received from the participants on all topics. The conference-report contains abstracts of these papers.

Each part of the conference began with a short, plenary introduction ("keynote-speech"). This was followed by workshops, where papers related to the theme were presented and discussed. Through this pattern of introductions and work-group discussions, we hoped for an active participation of all present, in all parts of the programme. The choice of workshop was open to the participants but the number of participants in each workshop was limited.

In addition to the formal conference-programme there was an opportunity to enjoy some of the most interesting Hungarian culture. We hope that the conference as a whole gave possibilities to get new energy and professional support for future work in the broad field of prison Education.

The form of this report follows the four themes of the conference. As well as the opening addresses and the keynote speeches, some selected papers are included, linked to each theme. Abstracts of all the other papers are included in the report appendices, as well as participants list and the Council of Europe’s recommendation on Prison education.

We thank all participants and the Hungarian Minister of Justice for their support and contributions, without which there could not have been a 1997 conference!

János Boros
Chair of the Organising Committee

Svenolov Svensson
Chair of the EPEA
It is sure a great pleasure to stand here and welcome all of you, and in a few moments have the 6th EPEA Conference formally open.

The last time I had the honour to open an EPEA conference was in Sigtuna, Sweden in 1993. Then the conference was a fruit of a very pleasant cooperation between people from the central administrations/ministries of justice and education in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. This time three members from that planning committee, Kaj Raundrup (Denmark), Torfinn Langelid (Norway) and myself together with one member of the Blagdon conference organising committee, Dave Marston (England) have had the real pleasure of working and planning together with two persons from our hosting Ministry of Justice in Hungary, János Boros and László Csetneky. They have really done a tremendous work in preparing this conference together with Eszter Szalma, Éva Pásztor, Klaudia Kovács and Anikó Horváth. All of you who have organised conferences know very well how many things there are to be put into this giant 'puzzle'.

It has been a real pleasure working together and we hope that you will find the conference beneficial. By taking part in keynote speeches, workshops/group discussions and meeting friends and foreigners, also over a cup of tea or coffee.

The idea of an organisation gathering people involved in Prison Education all over Europe is a good idea (so thank you, Kevin, Robert, Henning and Asbjorn – just to mention a few of the ‘parents’). The organisation is growing, 'step by step' and sometimes you can have a feeling that things are not developing as fast as they should do. On the other hand, the relatively slow maturation perhaps helps us to find a stable organisation with quality. We will also present a vision of the EPEA in 9–10 years from now. This is done in the General Council Meeting in order to have a common picture of what the EPEA could be if we take the right small steps in a direction we all know and hopefully feel for.

The conference theme is “Protective Bars? – Human Life against Public Opinion.” As some of you know we have had much about the ‘bar’ or ‘walls’ theme. From “How High the Walls”, “Beyond the Walls” and “Bending Back the Bars” to – now in Budapest – “Protective Bars?” To quote Ian Benson from the last conference in Blagdon “almost every theme concerning bars or walls is already covered – except ‘under the bars’ (and there he was talking about some sub-theme during late evenings).
As you all are well aware of it, we have four sub-themes in the conference:

5. Prison System and Humanisation
6. New Challenges in Prison Life and in Prison Education

We try to start broad with ‘Prison Life and Humanisation’ narrowing towards Prison Education and what is really working and finally opening up looking at the next millennium.

Though the recommendations from the Council of Europe are 8 years old I personally think that they are up-to-date and worth fighting for. There is probably no country that does not have to try harder to be in line with the recommendations. Sometimes you can have a feeling that we nowadays are taking steps forwards as well as backwards.

From previous conferences I know that it's very easy to find friends in conferences on Prison Education. Whether we are working in central, east, south, north or west, we seem to have a lot of things in common. The process of learning is perhaps universal –though it happens in different cultures and circumstances.

I am therefore convinced that we all, when the conference very soon will start, will have good, interesting and enjoyable days together. Welcome and thank you for coming and sharing your ideas!
OPENING ADDRESS

Dezső Avarkeszi
Secretary of State
Ministry of Justice
Hungary

First of all I would like to greet you, the leaders of EPEA and the Hungarian Prison Administration. Let me convey the compliments of the Hungarian Minister of Justice, the Patron of the conference, Dr. Pál Vastagh, who unfortunately cannot participate at the conference.

I am very happy that the 6th scientific conference of the European Prison Education Association is held in Hungary, in Budapest. I consider it a great honour that our country can host this conference for the first time among the Central and East-European countries. I think that this choice was made on the basis of three important factors:

First of all — as stated by international organisations and scientific associations — Hungary acquired a fairly good reputation. In Hungary the social and political reforms have started way back in the 80s. Among them the economic reforms have started even earlier and they had made a solid base for joining the Council of Europe in November 1990. In addition, these reforms significantly facilitated the process of social and economic restructuring. The result of these successful reforms was that the Hungarian activities were marked positively and Hungary was invited to be among the first countries to join NATO and the European Union.

The second important factor was that the Hungarian Prison Administration has established significant international relations in the past few years, and since 1994 it has organised several successful conferences in cooperation with the Council of Europe, the PRI (Penal Reform International) and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. In 1995 (again, for the first time in the region) we had the opportunity to organise the 5th Conference of the European Association of Psychology and Law. I would like to mention some themes discussed at these conferences:

- Structural and legal requirements of prisoners’ rehabilitation, 1994;
- New trends in prison design I-II., 1994, 1996;
- Problems of long-sentenced prisoners, 1995;
- Ethnic and religious minorities in prison, 1995;
- The role of social organisations in the rehabilitation of prisoners, 1995;

I think that it is obvious from the above-mentioned facts that the Hungarian punishment enforcement tends more and more to act as an information centre. This aim was launched in 1994, and since then we invite regularly the representatives of 15 Central and Eastern
European countries to Hungary and together with more developed Western European countries we discuss special themes and think over how it could be possible to raise the Eastern European countries to the level required by the Council of Europe. I believe that the previous conferences can represent sufficient guarantee to the international organisations, and I hope that this conference will be as successful as the other ones.

The third factor to mention is that in Hungary there is a comprehensive reform process going on in the field of justice. This process includes the restructuring of the corporate structure of justice, the modernising of the statutes related to criminal law, criminal procedures and punishment enforcement. We hope that as a result of these reforms the system and the rules of the Hungarian jurisdiction will meet better the increased requirements of the Council of Europe. I think that our system on the one hand will reflect those traditions and practical experiment, which made this system a special Hungarian one, on the other hand the Hungarian jurisdiction will be compatible to the systems working in Europe.

The reform of Hungarian jurisdiction, however, is made not only for the sake of joining the European Union. The criminal policy of the Hungarian government is based fundamentally on prevention of crime. The conception for prevention of crime affects the different subsystems of the society, the family policy, education and health care and the jurisdiction as well in a complex way. I will not enter into details but I have to tell you that simultaneously with the increasing of crime the interest and claim of the society for prevention has grown.

For that very reason we consider very important that the first step towards preventing crime has to be made on the level of small local communities and local authorities in order to make use of local efforts. At the same time we also consider very important the recommendations, requirements and directions of the Council of Europe and the European Union, which determine fundamentally the philosophy of prevention of crime and our priorities in this work.

Last but not least, we are in great need for research work to help crime prevention. The educational work done in the prisons is considered as an integral part of crime preventing activity and in our opinion it requires continuous improvement.

In the Hungarian penal system the function of education has been changing historically, in line with the requirements of the particular social system. The attitude of the 60s and 70s, which was based upon education and improvement of all prisoners, has changed a lot. Today it regards education as a service. While in the 60s there were many compelling elements in education, nowadays the main problem is how we can motivate prisoners to take part in education. The prisoners who take part in education projects acquire skills that will facilitate their return to society. In this manner education acts as a means of crime prevention.

This conference is particularly important for us because we hope that as a result of researches we will be given educational and pedagogical models, theoretical conceptions and experiments that can be realised in practice. This could be a great help to improve the work of the Hungarian prison educators. On the other hand they can provide assistance to clarify different theoretical questions and to plan the practical work.

In addition, I hope that the participants of the conference will have a good time in Budapest, which – for us, Hungarians – is one of the most beautiful cities of the world. I hope you will find the sightseeing tour in the afternoon convincing, and I believe that you will also enjoy the boat excursion on the Danube. I wish success to all the participants and I hope that you will have good memories of this conference.
First of all let me greet you on behalf of the Organisation Committee. I’m in the worst position, because all the good ideas have been used up already, so I have to put up with what is left. What I have doubts about is that I am happy to confirm the opinion of the leaders of the Hungarian Prison Administration in saying that we had a great honour when we were informed about the decision of Steering Committee of EPEA two years ago that Hungary was the first country among the former socialist countries to have the right to organise an EPEA conference. This fact was very important for us because Hungary intends to mediate West-European ideology to the Central- and East-European countries. The professional elements of the conference program convincingly reflect this approach. The humanisation of prisons is the most important basic task in East-Europe and, naturally, it is an incessant task in West-Europe as well. There are 3 main elements of this program:

- to improve the physical conditions of prisons
- to provide the human rights for the prisoners
- and instead of the compulsory treatment of each prisoners to establish or apply special programs for the special voluntary group of prisoners.

In the second point we have to face some very special new challenges in prison life. These are the overcrowding of prisons, organised crime, terrorism, the great number of foreigners in prisons, illegal immigrants in prisons, and the problem of ethnic and religious minorities in prisons. The third one is the paradigm changing concerning the role of treatment in prison. We will have two keynote addresses and many lectures in the workshops. And last but not least we should think about our future, what our task is beyond 2000.

In addition to the professional programs we wanted to organise social events, leisure time programmes. Yesterday the reception of the Hungarian Director General was held in the dining room, on Tuesday the closing banquet of the conference will be given by the Minister of Justice, together with a ship excursion. We have organised a sightseeing of Budapest this afternoon and a Hungarian folk music concert for Monday evening. I would like to draw your attention to two important facts. The first one is that the wine you had yesterday was produced in one of the Hungarian Prisons by prisoners. The second one is that Budapest is the most beautiful town in the world for the Hungarians. But from an objective point of view Budapest is only one of the most beautiful towns of the world. The location of Budapest is.
unique, the town is split by the river Danube, one part – Buda – is full of hills and with the Royal Castle, and the Citadel and in the flat Pest part you can find the Houses of Parliament, the Governmental quarter, the Opera House, and the Square of Heroes. Budapest is full of very old buildings, a lot of churches built in various styles – from gothic to baroque In the Organising Committee we had lengthy debates about what could be a memorable souvenir of this city, and we found the solution. We are giving the panorama and the night lights of Budapest from a ship in the middle of the Danube. I hope you can keep this picture in your mind and return to Budapest many times to see it again.

I am very satisfied to report to you that the number of the participants at this conference is 126 from 27 countries.

We have 9 people from USA and one from Australia.

I am particularly glad to have 25 participants from 9 Central and East European countries. I hope there will be a good discussion and good communication between West and East.

An additional piece of information concerning the workshops. The maximum capacity of the workshops is 25 persons. If a workshop is 'overcrowded', you have the possibility to go to another workshop where there are empty places.

If you have some special wishes or opinions you can turn to any of the members of the Organising Committee. The guiding principle is what I have said many times: all the complaints should be given to me, and all praises should be given to my colleagues – the members of the Organising Committee.
Quite recently a television report was broadcast on one of the channels outside Hungary showing an old-new practice, introduced in some of the states and counties of the United States, of offenders ankle-chained together doing community work in public areas. Indeed, the prisoners, female offenders in this specific case, were picking up litter in a city centre in orange-coloured overalls with ‘County Prison’ signs, forced to waddle along together by their ankle-chains. Naturally, it is not this rather debatable correctional practice that is of primary interest here, but the response of the county sheriff to the interviewer’s disapproving question on the lack of humanity displayed: “I am here to punish. What do you take me for? A social worker?”

The reason I bring up this example is that I find it an extreme and singular case, for it is very rare for any correctional system to overtly reject or even to lower the priority of their positive, helpful function. This mission is demonstrated in a wish to improve the offenders’ conditions and their chances for resocialization, or in the concept that even offenders are legal subjects and any efforts to curb their legal rights are to be effectively counterbalanced. We might think that these values and maxims are integral and exclusive attributes of the penal systems in the developed democracies or constitutional states. If we consider the practical implementation of ideas and standards this supposition is, in fact, more or less true.

The humane element has been apparent in the self-imposed image and norms of almost all regimes, even if in rather utopian or ideological forms. In other words, even the totalitarian regimes had the ambition to have a penal system that is not only just but, although severe, also humane. Unfortunately, when it came to practical implementation, these principles, more often than not, proved to be cynical lies. In any case, the important thing at this point is that the humane nature of any penal system cannot be judged solely by the norms, legal regulations or mission statements whose prime concern is to maintain legitimacy.

There are plentiful examples to prove this. Allow me to give three short quotations to support my assertion: the first two are from the old penal charters of two ex-totalitarian states, while the third one is part of a democratic mission statement.

“The objective of the implementation of penalties is not to inflict pain or to diminish human dignity. (Section 1) ... Offenders sentenced to deprivation of liberty have obligations and rights identical to those of other citizens of the Soviet Union ... (Section 8).” (Fundamental rules regulating correctional-educational labour in the Republics of the USSR. Sovyetskaya Yustitsiya, 1969/16)
“3.§. (1) When executing sentences of deprivation of liberty, socialist legality is to be
strictly complied with. Legality and respect for human dignity are unbreakable rules, which
are observed by the socialist society even in the case of those who violate the law. (2) No one
should suffer losses on account of their nationality, race, religion, political views,
identification with any social classes or layers.” (GDR: Law on the execution of punishments
and the resocialization of released offenders. 1968)

“Her Majesty’s Prison Service serves the public by keeping in custody those committed
by the courts. Our duty is to look after them with humanity and to help them lead law abiding
lives in custody and after release.” (Purpose, Vision, Goals and Values, HM Prison Service,
London, 1993)

Consequently, we can assert that a general declaration of human treatment in legal
instruments and other documents of import, in itself, offers only fairly inadequate indications
of the real functioning of any given system.

We can also safely assert that human treatment has always been an important factor not
only for political systems but also in the dimensions of history. To bring an example from
European Christian cultural development let’s just think of the fact that even the most horrible
forms of torture and death were legitimized by claiming they were aimed at saving sinful
souls through which the ruthless regime does a kind of service to the sinner. It is another
question that watching development from our own point of time in history, we
consider the decrease in the brutality of punishments a continuous humanising trend.

This is only a kind of optical disillusion, however, as cruelty can be analysed only within
the framework of a given age and culture, provided we want an undistorted picture of the
social meaning of punishment.

It follows from the above that any discussion on the humanity of penalty execution will
make sense not in general terms but only if we also supply the essential coordinates necessary
to draw conclusions. So what is it that can guarantee or at least initiate the necessary
preconditions for setting up an environment in which the life of offenders can be called
humane on the value scale of the given culture?

Let me highlight three essential factors that can offer such safeguards and conditions. I
would like to examine the standpoints that our prison administration represents in the
framework of these factors.

• The first precondition is a kind of social contract, a consensus based on the confidence of
the citizens that the state will use its penal powers in appropriate proportions.

• The second condition is the existence of a system of indicators that translate the abstract
idea of humanity into practice, thus assigning practical content to theory, preferably in
measurable ways.

• The third component is related to the physical conditions of the prison system. True
enough, in a number of cases progressive development is not a matter of money but it is
also true, and quite pressingly so, that most projects of this kind need substantial
resources.

The basis for the aforementioned consensus is the fact that the prison service fulfils a
social function and, in the long run, it is able to operate independently of or against the will of
society and public opinion only to a limited extent. Professional considerations in many cases
get into conflict with everyday concerns. It is an understandable but also an unfortunate fact that the general public is not happy to see the measures we take to make the life of offenders easier and to get the conditions of custody closer to civil standards. A number of surveys reveal that the overwhelming majority of the general public favours punishment and considers the retaliatory function of punishment to be of primary importance. People are especially sensitive when criminals are granted allowances and services of the kind for which the rest of the citizens have to work. For a person who has never seen prison, it is extremely difficult to accept the arguments according to which the deprivation of liberty is sufficient punishment in itself, or that a prisoner alienated from free life will become much more dangerous after his release than the one who did his time in normalized conditions.

The retaliatory attitude is fostered by the fact that the attention of the public is basically focused on statistically rare, but otherwise major news events. It is not common knowledge that more than twenty thousand offenders were granted temporary leave from their penal establishments and only 2.3 percent of them failed to return in time. The number of serious criminal acts committed by this majority is extremely low. Nevertheless, the public will react only to the cases when a released prisoner commits murder, and puts the blame on the penal system.

It is a commonplace criminological statement that crime indicators and fear from crime do not necessarily correlate. True enough, after the change of the political system the crime rate has jumped to unknown heights (primarily due to the appearance of organized crime) and there appeared crime patterns that were previously known only from action films. The rate of decrease in the subjective sense of security of the public was even more dramatic. This again reflects badly on the penalty execution system, since the general public is under the faulty impression that the harshness of punishments and their retaliatory effect are in direct proportion.

Although it is not mandatory and not necessarily useful for the prison system to respond to every manifestation of the general public, it is unavoidable that it should be able to provide answers to questions and doubts from the arena of politics. In parliamentary democracies, however, politicians cannot act independently of their voters, consequently their attitudes and fixed opinions in many cases reflect the attitudes of the general public. This, among others, has an impact on budgetary bargaining talks, especially when the improvement of the offenders' conditions is on the agenda.

Instead of going on to blame public opinion, however, let me mention a positive process that parallels the above mentioned trends. It is noticeable that the public reaction on some forms of deviancy has undergone changes recently, and a more accepting and understanding attitude take root in the wider layers of society. This does not primarily concern opinions on criminal activity but, in an indirect way, it has an effect on them as well. The essence of the process is that many people have now ceased to look for moral defects and individual lapses as the only causes for criminal activity, they now also take into account social and economic problems. This approach has been known in social sciences, and primarily in criminology, for decades, the novelty is that it now appears to become a tangible segment within public opinion.

We should also mention a special group of society without which the aforementioned consensus cannot be achieved. This group is represented by the prison staff. Members of the prison personnel, although they possess much wider and deeper knowledge about their workplace than outsiders, also live within the society and basically possess the same views, opinions and preconceptions as civilians.
On the other hand, in the recent years they have witnessed the improvement of conditions for offenders held in custody, while their own social conditions kept deteriorating. The inevitable frustration did not help the prison staff internalize and identify with the humanisation efforts of the updated legal regulations.

What measures can be taken in order to help all the decisive groups within society to accept all those efforts and values that come under the heading of humanisation? Although we cannot expect wonders, correct and rational information, PR activity and the professional handling of negative sensations may have a positive impact on the general public. A proof for this is that general public, even if not without opposition, approved of a number of instruments - like the abolition of death penalty or granting temporary leaves from prisons.

As far as the prison personnel is concerned the only possible solution is training. And training should concentrate on changing the thinking patterns of the newly recruited staff so as their often emotional and impulsive actions should be replaced by rational and professional considerations.

As I have already mentioned in the introductory part, the declaration of human approach and the principle of humanisation is not a guarantee in itself, it is much more important to see what kind of content is attached to these concepts, and by whom.

In recent years these efforts crystallized around the issues of human and civic rights, in many cases due to the process of harmonisation, i.e. the adjustment of Hungarian law to international norms. We should note that custody in itself is a suspension or restriction (therefore violation) of these rights, but this is a factor that has to do with the very essence of this kind of punishment, and as such, it is unavoidable.

The programme of safeguarding human rights had a positive effect on everyday life, directly or indirectly, in a number of areas of penalty execution. This can be seen in the expansion of possibilities for personal links, in the increased chances for preserving the offenders’ good name, in the right to appeal to an independent board (of judges), and in the participation in education projects. It is a general rule that the offender shall have rights that are identical with those of a free citizen, unless the special conditions due to the fact of the deprivation of liberty make it impossible.

We should note that the real achievement in these past years was not the declaration of these rights (for as we could see from the quotations I cited no one denied their importance even in the past, at least as far as statements would go) but the fact that these changes appeared in everyday practice in such a way that the public could easily check their implementation. We should not forget, however, that the full implementation of human rights is not possible even in countries with the most favourable conditions, for many of the human rights are conditioned upon economic circumstances.

Therefore, in our practice we should look upon human rights as a list of priorities that should be brought in line as fully as possible with the given standards of free society.

The other area which is closely connected to the process of humanisation has to do with the changes in the field of rehabilitation and education.

Alongside the increased role of human rights another essential factor is the fundamental change in the attitude displayed with regard to offender programmes and offender treatment. In the past decades this activity centred around a pedagogically-minded “educational” approach. Perhaps some of our guests coming from historically luckier regions of the world
will not find it all that evident, but it is undeniable that a number of practical measures, regulations and solutions were established under the flag of “education” that now have a direct impact on the everyday life of offenders, and that this development cannot be separated from the humanisation process of the prison system.

To put it in more pointed words, it was the decade-long activity carried out under the (as we now should say) “politically correct” protective umbrella of education, that made it possible for us not to have to start everything all over again from zero level after the change in the political system when we set to bring our penal system in line with European standards.

At the same time the theoretical and ideological deficits, hidden behind the practical benefit and the gains of political realism, necessitated fundamental changes in approach. One of the negative side-effects was that penal education was closely intertwined with political ideologies. The prison system of a democratic state, however, should be apolitical.

In line with the basic assumptions of official policy, the educational approach defined a paternal relationship between the system and the offender, in which the infantile prisoner stood opposed to the wise and omnipotent power. In my understanding it is exactly this kind of relationship that prevents education (again in its narrow, penal sense) from becoming a really humane sphere of activity. And the reason for it is that the precondition of a normal or, if you like, human interaction is that the other party should be considered a competent, adult and responsible partner.

It is difficult to think of a more humiliating thing than to be treated like an underage and retarded person. Committing a crime is not sufficient reason in itself for such a treatment. True enough, there are persons (and their number tends to be higher among the offender population than outside) who are in fact incapable of communicating properly with society, either for mental reasons or for lack of socialisation. But these are the cases that should be considered special or irregular, and not typical of the overwhelming majority of the prison population.

Consequently, we need appropriate treatment programmes and methods where the concept of responsibility plays a central role in the interest of humanity. This can be supported in two ways.

The first one involves the introduction of a prison regime in which “things do not merely happen” to the offenders but in which offenders are compelled to make decisions that have an impact on their life in prison. In other words, they should feel that their behaviour and attitude influence their own fate. The introduction of differentiated and progressive regimes is an effective way of facilitating this aim. The most significant step in this field, as far as the Hungarian prison system is concerned, was the introduction of what we call mitigated regime, but there have been other local initiatives and experiments as well.

When it comes to rehabilitation programmes we also have to take into account the problem of voluntary involvement, since we are talking about human rights and responsibility here. If we deal with this problem from a purely theoretical point of view, the answer is fairly simple. The prison service offers a menu containing its programmes as part of its services and the offender is offered to take his pick, provided he wants to. When it comes to the question of practical implementation, however, it turns out that no regime can be operated in this manner. This is where the second component of responsibility comes in. It means that the offenders need to be encouraged to be able to choose from among the programmes and treatment options offered, acting against the widely known hospitalisation effect of prisons. This is the essence of positive management.
True enough, this involves some kind of pressure, even if it is nothing like the pressure exerted by the educational approach of the past. It is very important (and this is a positive component) that this pressure should not invoke aversion. We should offer reinforcement, rewards, and allowances instead. It is also important that the offenders should be made to choose from among real alternatives. If, for instance, the choice is between a sentence of six to eight years of imprisonment and a three month long boot camp, then of course there is no real choice and the option of boot camp can practically be considered compulsory.

I referred to physical conditions as the third precondition of humane penalty execution. It is undeniable that the conditions of accommodation and the quality of provision are, in fact, the cardinal points signifying the minimum levels of human treatment. Overcrowding (which presents the actual imprisonment rate as opposed to maximum prison capacity) signal a state which can push aside all efforts at improving human conditions.

From this point of view our country is relatively lucky, since the increase in crime rate has not been followed by an increase in the number of prisoners. Quite the contrary: as a result of the decriminalising approach of penal policy and the wider application of alternative forms of punishment, after a significant drop prison population has been on the same level for a longer period of time. In spite of all this (and this is why this favourable situation is only relative) our penal establishments, especially remand prisons, are crowded.

The technical condition of a penal establishment also has an effect on the quality of accommodation. On the one hand, the architectural peculiarities of our century-old buildings are not compatible with their present-day function and make it extremely difficult to effectively implement the differentiated regimes mentioned earlier. On the other hand, the maintenance of such buildings is expensive and tends to become even more so. This drains away resources from other investments, namely building architecturally up-to-date and effective penal institutions.

The next component cannot be considered a physical component, yet it is closely related to the financial background: what I have in mind is the quality of the prison staff. Similarly to overcrowding, a poorly trained, unmotivated and socially impoverished staff will make the chances for the successful operation of a humane system extremely dubious. This might seem to be an empty phrase but if we take into account that the success of the inner conditions of a humane prison system (the proper definition of human rights, rehabilitation programmes, techniques of positive management) normally depends on the quality of human relations and communication, the human factor is indeed a key component. This is why the improvement of the social conditions for the prison staff, the reduction of fluctuation, training, and the acquisition and retention of people with special skills are issues of high priority – also out of humanitarian considerations.

It might be apparent from the all this that, difficulties notwithstanding, there is no other viable option for the Hungarian Prison Administration than to continue and encourage the processes I told you about. In other words we should continue the process of humanisation within the prison system, not at the level of declarations but down at the level of practice. On the one hand, we are motivated by the firm belief that it is this moral stance that creates our legitimacy and integrity, in fact we are mandated to do it by society. On the other hand, we are also motivated by a professional and rational consideration: we are convinced that criminal behaviour can be much more effectively treated in a normalized and humane environment.
KEYNOTE ADDRESS

New Challenges in Prison Education

Robert Suvaal
Educational Adviser
Ministry of Justice, the Netherlands

Introduction

Prison education can make a difference. I believe this very strongly. But it is far from being an automatism. It makes a difference only if a number of conditions are fulfilled. By the way our North American colleagues speak rather optimistically of correctional education.

About half a year ago I was requested to talk here about “New challenges in prison education”. At that moment this seemed to be a wonderful title for a speech. Later when I started to prepare my talk I was no longer in love with it. The term “challenge” is at second sight rather worn out. It has been used too many times especially at the end of this century and near the beginning of the new one. I would like to talk to you about the most essential issues in prison education. They do not have to be necessarily new ones. What I want to talk about are the mandatory conditions for prison education. What we need is the best possible education for our prisoners.

The conditions and strategies I am going to talk about will in some countries even be necessary to guarantee the survival of prison education. Times have changed. In the 80’s we used to say that prison education was good in itself because we were trying to educate people with an educational deprivation. It had to be a right for prisoners. Sometimes we even spoke of merely educational goals. Reduction of recidivism was not a target for prison education. Our Canadian colleague Stephen Duguid called it the ethical era. Now we are in the era of effectiveness and efficiency. Prison education should deliver substantial and useful results. I come back to this point later.

Although times have changed, maybe most of all in my country, this talk will be focussed most of all on the learners. That is the core of our work. If prison education can make a difference I mean first of all a difference for our students. But of course we have to take into account the requirements of our administrators steered by the politicians. The conditions and strategies I am going to talk about have to do with the learners needs first of all. The ideas I am going to explain are personal. I am not delivering the ideas of the Dutch Prison Service although I have worked in this service for approximately 28 years. So I am a “lifer” there.

My contribution is not only personal it is incomplete too. I made a choice for the three most essential issues. Claiming more of your time here would not be wise from educational view.
The structure of my explanation is the following one:

- My philosophy regarding the starting position of prison education: the place, the role and the range of prison education within the prison regimes.
- My vision regarding the entrances of prison education: different ways of learning.
- Challenge no. 1 (I cannot avoid the term completely) Prison education as part of an integral programme concretised in a routing plan.
- Challenge no. 2: The best possible educational supply (the essential contents, dominant learning styles and learning disabilities), a tailor-made offer.
- Challenge no. 3: Professional development and networking.
- Recommendations linked to these challenges.

The starting position of prison education

In the European report “Education in Prison” (Council of Europe publication; 1989) prison education is described as: “Education in a prison context”. This includes that prison education has essentially educational goals and that prison education cannot be seen as an instrument to tackle recidivism. Our one and only mission is to educate. I still believe in this description but I believe that prison education can contribute to a more integral target which is appropriate for prison programmes. This contribution should be part of an integral approach aimed at the whole development of the client. This is quite different from holding prison education responsible for the reduction of recidivism. But – I repeat – prison education can be very important as part of an integral and developmental approach.

The entrances of prison education: different ways of learning

I think it is useful as a mental warming up to mention the different ways of learning: how do, how can people learn? A good definition of learning is: processes during which people acquire knowledge and skills, but also attitudes, whilst these acquirements have a rather permanent character. Learning is an active process. It is very useful for teachers to know how students are able to learn because our essential role is to facilitate the learning process of the students. We have to know which are the best learning arrangements and conditions. I come back to this subject later in my talk when I cope with personal learning styles. I shall mention the most important ways how people learn in daily life without elaborating on them because this is only an introduction to my further explanation:

- trial and error (learning by the results of experiments)
- modelling (learning by imitation)
- stimulus response learning (learning by incentives)
- drills (learning by repeating, repeating, repeating etc.)
- cognitive learning (learning by means of thinking processes)
- experiential learning (learning with new and old experiences as the red thread)
- social learning (learning from social interactions, e.g. feedback)
We know that in daily life people learn in different ways, using a number of the mentioned ways of learning. It is well-known that we – as teachers – have preferences for some of them but we have to realise that observations make clear that always combinations are used and some are most effective. It proves that any individual has some preferences regarding the way to learn. These have to do with situations, targets, the available time but mainly with personal development (nature and nurture).

**Challenge 1: Prison education as part of an integral programme concretised in a routing plan**

I try to describe briefly what I mean. In my country we use the effective methodology of individual detention routes started after an initial assessment (i.e. an intake and assessment procedure) which delivers the keys for designing a personal and integral (i.e. multidisciplinary) route. In this route plan there is room for the contributions of various disciplines: social work, education, work, training et cetera. These contributions have goals directed at the individual participant but are also aimed at a destination after release in the free society. It would not be good to educate without taking into account the return into society. Maybe you remember this dialogue from "Alice in Wonderland". Alice asks the cat: "Would you tell me please which way I ought to go from here?" The cat answers: "That depends a good deal on where you want to get to.” There is no better quote to emphasize the importance of well chosen goals and objectives. The route plan I mentioned has to be developed in a dialogue with the participant to be sure of his (her) motivation and to guarantee a shared responsibility. The route plan is performed by the prisoner whilst guided by the career officer who acts also as a co-ordinator between the various disciplines. In my country we have started to create an organisational base for the approach of individual route plans. This consists of: 1) different regimes in all penal institutions (standard regime, social reintegration regime, regime for drug addicts, regime for mentally disturbed prisoners, sober regime and extra-security regime); 2) the methodology of organising/planning detention in phases, e.g. remand centre – closed prison – half open prison – open prison, day detention centre or electronic monitoring combined with a work or training programme (and in the near future the so-called penal programme, i.e. a work or training programme outside the prison walls during the last part of the sentence). In some Dutch institutions they work with “individual route contracts” between a penal institution and the prisoner. The consequence of such a “contract” is an mutual obligation to put in enough effort to achieve the planned targets.

I believe very much that making prison education part of an integral individual programme is effective and necessary. Besides it can offer better opportunities for PR and promotion. In most countries all over the world prison education has a rather lonely place within the regimes. I know about the sentence planning approach in some countries. This is somewhat comparable to the Dutch approach.

By the way, my colleague Katinka Mannaerts-Reijnders, present here, wrote an informative article on this methodology for the EPEA Newsletter (the Dutch number, Spring 1997) and my colleague Niek Willems is doing a workshop in this conference about prison education in the different regimes of the remand centre in Rotterdam.
Challenge 2: The best possible supply of prison education
(i.e. tailor-made prison education)

This is the issue of the main requirements for the best possible prison education we can offer. I make a distinction in: 1) contents; 2) learning styles and 3) learning disabilities.

- The contents:

About the contents of prison education I would like to state that our supply principally should be an individual one. This will not be very unexpected after my mention of individual routes. I do not say that education in prison should be individual. No, that would restrict the learning outcomes and it would be too expensive. A dialogue between the teacher and the student has to be the start of the route. This is comparable to the situation between the career officer and the participant of the integral route. Firstly an educational assessment has to be performed. I prefer a strong emphasis on self assessment because of responsibility and motivation. This assessment will reveal the strong(er) and weak(er) points. After this assessment the educational route should be designed in a dialogue between the teacher and the student to plan the educational route. The contents shall not focus only at the weaker points. This would not be practical and not effective, e.g. in terms of motivation. There is a need for terms of reference. Remember Alice and the cat! The terms of reference have to be taken from the requirements in the outside world where most students return to after release. The main issues are self-management (the ability to do things independently) and creating an educational base to get and hold an adequate job. We have to realize that education outside the prison walls has the same terms of reference. This means that e.g. social skills, life skills and cognitive skills can be part of the designed educational route, maybe against the place of subjects like history or French. By the way it would be very useful if we could accept identical definitions for life skills and social skills in Europe and USA. Now this is still rather different.

- The choice of methods:

The second aspect of challenge no. 2 is the choice of methods. As I already said people learn in different ways. We speak of individual learning styles. There are various theories about learning styles. Nearly all these theories start from differences in the activities of the left cerebral hemisphere and those of the right one. The activities of the left hemisphere are especially suitable for learning by means of thinking, analysing and verbalising whilst the right hemisphere offers especially opportunities for global, holistic, visual and creative learning. Traditionally education is very much directed at activities of the left hemisphere. For a big number of persons this is far from a favourable start of learning processes. I am sure that the percentage of this kind of learners is rather big among prisoners. David Kolb (USA) had published interesting ideas about individual learning styles. He describes two main differences in how people learn. They perceive differently and they process differently. In new situations some persons respond primarily by sensing and feeling their way whilst others think things through. These are only accents in perception. No one perceives sensing and feeling completely without thinking. The two kinds of perceiving are complimentary. Both are valuable, both have weaknesses. An other difference exists in how people process experience and information, how they make new things part of themselves. Some people are watchers, others are doers first. Kolb pictures these two dimensions of perceiving and processing in a four-quadrant model (figure). This results in 4 major learning styles: Type 1 =
imaginative learners; type 2 = analytic learners; type 3 = common sense learners; type 4 = dynamic learners. Imaginative learners perceive information concretely and process it reflectively. They integrate experience with the self. Listening and sharing ideas to learn, they are imaginative thinkers who believe in their own experiences. Analytic learners perceive information abstractly and process it reflectively. They devise theories by integrating their observations into what they already know. They learn by thinking through ideas. They need details and are thorough. Common sense learners perceive information abstractly and process it actively. They integrate theory and practice, learning by testing theories and applying common sense. They are pragmatists. If they believe that something works they use it. Dynamic learners perceive information concretely and process it actively. They integrate experience and application, learning by trial and error.

My explanation here cannot be comprehensive because of the time available. It is just my goal to attract your attention to this issue. This is not an opportunity to pay more attention to individual learning styles although I would love to do that. Kolb has formulated characteristics of learning for each of the 4 main types of learners and from there he has mentioned the conditions for the educational supply per main type. We have to realise that we have in our classroom groups different types of learners. We shall have to try to take this into account very seriously. It does not prove to be easy to learn persons to switch to an other learning style. What we can do anyway is to use different methods to offer learning tasks. This means that we have to make use of different educational methods. In my country this is rather well developed in adult basis education. A brief examination to find the individual learning style should be part of the initial assessment I just mentioned.

- Learning disabilities:

The third aspect is the issue of learning disabilities. This subject does not attract enough attention within the EPEA conferences and newsletters. I cannot remember having seen papers or publications within the circuit of the EPEA. Our North American colleagues spend more attention to this issue. In 1996 and 1997 I attended some CEA conferences and it was on the programme there. The expression I heard in both workshops was: “By the time you find out that a young person is dyslexic he could be starting his first sentence”. In the USA I heard the mention of an estimated 30–40% prisoners (inmates, they say on the other side of the big pond) struggling with learning disabilities. The generally accepted approach in the USA is (summarized very briefly here):

- to formulate unambiguous definitions
- to describe characteristics clearly
- to know how to screen and identify
- to use appropriate strategies.

In the workshops I attended I was informed that effective strategies do not necessarily have to be complicated or very expensive. The strategies belong to the domains of: pacing, environment, presentations, materials, self management, social interaction supports. Some examples of these measures are (according to Rutland and Bolson):

- limit clutter in the classroom
- implement visual cues (color code worksheets, highlighters etc.)
- provide frequent short breaks
• use calculators and personal computers
• break tasks in smaller tasks
• frequent feedback
• etc.

The most important thing however is: help the student with learning disabilities to develop self-management strategies.

Of course we try to focus the attention of the prison teachers in the Netherlands to this issue. Next month there is a national conference for prison teachers and learning disabilities is one of the workshops there. I would like to request you all to give more attention to this essential issue.

Challenge 3: Professional excellence (professional development and networking)

The third challenge is the one of professional excellence. The European report “Education in prison” says that in prison we should offer the best possible education. Besides good motivation and attitudes to work with prisoners this includes a solid professional teacher training. But there is also a need for sufficient further training. In my country we have had good experiences with national and regional networking as a structure for professional development. For each group of prison educators (education officers, teachers, librarians, PE instructors and art teachers) we had regional 1-day meetings (2 times a year) and a 2-days conference (once in 2 years). During these meetings further training took place through workshops, lectures, role plays, discussions, simulations, etc. Sometimes for special subjects we invited guest trainers, e.g. for new developments in Dutch as a second language (DSL). The emphasis was very much on practice oriented training. This concept proved to be attractive and motivating. Besides most wheels did not need to be reinvented. See my article about networking in the recent “Dutch” EPEA Newsletter for more details. Networking like this does not exist in all European countries. In these cases there is a good role possible for the EPEA or national associations as in Norway, Italy and Germany.

This role can be fulfilled by newsletters, by meetings and by information technology. I have a rather good international experience in reading prison educational newsletters and visiting conferences. I believe strongly that we do not use the opportunities good enough. What I like in the EPEA conferences is the small format. I like also that most papers are available for everyone, also for the participants that visit an other workshop. I think that some workshops could be more participant active. A workshop should preferably not be “only” a mini-lecture. And let us not forget that here are only 100 of the some thousands of prison educators in Europe. I like the quality of the EPEA Newsletter but it is published only twice a year. It is a very useful vehicle for information but we should have it at least 3 times a year.

Each summer the CEA organizes a big international (but mainly national) conference. The average number of participants is 500–600 but the CEA has about 3000 members. It is not usual to get papers of other workshops than the sessions you visit. This summer I visited for instance some very interesting workshops. Some counted only 5–15 participants. This means that a lot of information gets lost. Recently the CEA started to participate in teleconferences which could be a very good idea for Europe too.
The CEA has a Journal that is published 3 times a year. Recently there were demands to make it more practice oriented. I am curious about the results of the new editors. The CEA publishes also yearbooks with interesting articles on correctional (or prison) education. In both the EPEA and the CEA there have been efforts to work with special interest groups. In the EPEA it was not a success. In the CEA some groups work rather well, most are not a success. This has to do with travel costs, time etc. My experience is: networking is essential but it is not easy to realize. Conclusion: keep it simple and non-expensive. Try to start with national co-ordinators per subject, e.g. ESL, prison libraries, art education. Publish names, addresses, phone numbers, fax numbers and most of all E-mail addresses. Let them communicate international and let them be the sources for national networks.

Most of all I believe in the need for a computerised databank with all interesting articles, papers etc. for colleagues from all continents. Internet provides already the technical possibilities to do this.

**Brief recommendations**

About the embedding, the nestling of prison education:
9. Make in your own country prison education part of an integral approach to help prisoners develop themselves.
10. Use the methodology of individual route plans guided by a career officer.
11. Provide the required organisational conditions.

About the best possible supply of prison education:
12. Provide tailor-made prison education in terms of planning, contents and methods.
13. Identify learning disabilities and use appropriate strategies.

About professional development and networking:
14. Provide, collect and distribute relevant information on prison education worldwide by using meetings, newsletters and information technology in an optimal way.

**References**


The correctional politics of many countries have changed as dramatically as fashion trends during the last 25 years. For example, the United States has moved from optimistic experiments on offender rehabilitation to tough punishment and frequent imprisonment.

Although these waves may be understandable within the broader political, societal and cultural context, they are only loosely related to empirical research and practice. The research world has produced more consistent, step by-step development.

Recent meta-analyses and other research syntheses have examined more than 500 controlled studies. Although the research varies greatly, a fairly consistent picture has been painted of several fundamental topics. However, other areas have been plagued by either inconsistent or minimal study.

This article, therefore, sets out a brief overview of what we know and what we still have yet to learn about effective correctional programming.

**General effectiveness**

All meta-analyses on offender treatment suggest that of fenders who receive some kind of psycho-social treatment tend to do better than those who do not. This conclusion cannot be attributed solely to reliance on selected positive results because various meta-analyses have also included unpublished research reports.

The overall effect of such treatment is relatively small. On average, offender treatment tends to reduce recidivism by approximately 10 percentage points. However, even such a small effect can produce significant cost savings. Further, many recognised and praised medical treatments produce similar results. Methodological studies also suggest that the potential upper limit of such reductions is actually between 30 percentage points and 40 percentage points.

**Type of treatment**

There are remarkable differences in the effectiveness of different types of programming. Intervention based on empirically valid theories of criminal behaviour that ad dress criminogenic needs (the need principle) and ac count for offender learning styles and
characteristics (responsivity) produce greater results. Successful programs also tend to be either behavioural, cognitive behavioural or multimodal.

Unstructured casework, counselling, and psychodynamic, insight-oriented and nondirective approaches tend to have less impact. The same is true of pure punishment, deterrence measures (such as boot camps), or measures with no educational or psychosocial component (such as diversion). Some of these less appropriate programs have even been found to have negative effects.

Program integrity

Various studies suggest that high program integrity can lead to better offender outcomes. However, if the program is inappropriate to begin with, integrity will not improve outcome.

Low program integrity may be caused by things like weak program structure, lack of a manual, insufficient staff training, organisational barriers, staff resistance to proper program implementation, incidents that lead to political changes, unsystematic changes to the program, and lack of a basic philosophy of criminality and treatment.

Of course, any form of programming is largely individual and cannot be completely standardised. It is, however, important to continually monitor areas such as program development, organisational structure, staff selection and training, communication and decision-making rules.

Methodological considerations

A large portion of the variances in treatment outcome can be attributed to methodological variations between studies. One should, therefore, be cautious about generalising the results of a single study.

The criteria used to measure program effects are particularly important. Behavioural and more objective measures of criminality and recidivism tend to produce smaller effect findings than measures of institutional adaptation, attitudes or personality change. Reliable criteria and longer follow-up periods are also associated with smaller effects.

In many studies, measures of intermediate goals (such as personality change) tend to be too unspecific for sound prediction of future criminality. This suggests the need for thorough assessment of offender development before, during and after program participation.

Location

Community-based programming tends to produce greater results than programming delivered in custody. However, some institutional programs have produced positive results.

The negative impact of incarceration depends on personal, situational and organisational characteristics that can be addressed at least partially by programming. Many offenders have hazardous lifestyles, so institutions may be a stabilising influence. However, these arguments should not be misunderstood as a plea for custodial programs. Custody should be a last resort. Systematic risk and dangerousness assessments have proven useful in making placement decisions and should be continually improved.
Offender characteristics

A focus on simple offender variables like age, sex or type of offence does not normally produce particularly strong results. It is more effective to assess high-risk personality disorders (such as psychopathy), specific criminogenic needs, and responsivity. Antisocial cognitive styles, lack of social skill impulsivity, and verbal and neuropsychological problems indicate a risk of persistent offending.

Such characteristics are relevant not only to treatment characteristics, but also to the fit between offender and program. For example, while role-playing and interpersonal skills training may help “ordinary” offenders, they can be counterproductive for primary psychopaths. Learned skills can be misused, which could result in treated offenders recidivating more frequently than untreated offenders.

Risk and program intensity

The risk principle suggests that high-risk offenders need intensive treatment, while low-desk offenders should not receive too-intensive (and costly) programming. However, very high-risk offenders are difficult to change, even through intensive treatment.

The best way to understand the relationship between risk and treatment failure is to imagine the letter ‘u’, where the top of one end of the ‘u’ represents high risk and the top of the other end represents low risk. The fit between risk and service level is most important at the bottom of the ‘u’ – the broad middle range of offender risk.

Program intensity can also be influenced by other factors. For example, psychopathic offenders tend to express less motivation and effort, putting them at risk of receiving less intensive treatment or of dropping out of the program.

Organisational and staff characteristics

Unfortunately, little systematic research has been done on the impact of organisational characteristics such as facility climate, prison regime or relationship with other services. However, institutional features vary widely. A regime that is emotionally and socially responsive, well-structured, norm-oriented and controlling can be important not only to program interaction but also to future non-offending.

The impact of staff characteristics is also rarely investigated. Yet, psychotherapy research indicates that the personal variables of a therapist are very important to effective intervention. Effective treatment requires well-selected, specifically trained, highly motivated and continuously supervised staff. Staff attitudes and competence that do not match the aims and content of a program may not only lower treatment integrity, they may also hinder its effectiveness.

Natural protective factors

Some individuals can cope relatively well without professional help. Cognitive and social competencies, an “easy” temperament, success at school or in hobbies, attachment to a stable reference person, social support from the family, and accepting/responsive or demanding/controlling educational styles can help protect an individual.
Correctional programs do not generally account for such natural protective factors. However, young offender programming and early intervention in at-risk groups have shown that working with young offenders and their families is particularly effective.

Unfortunately, this is much more difficult to accomplish with offenders who are older or in custody. Their natural environment is often heavily disturbed and they frequently lack personal and social factors that could help in decreasing criminality. Depending on the context, some of these factors (such as support from a deviant peer group) could even have a negative effect. Despite these realities, efforts should be made to integrate such natural protectors into programming.

**Relapse prevention**

Various types of programming are relatively successful in the short term, but fail over the long term. However, the positive chances offenders achieved in these programs could be preserved by additional or relapse-prevention programs.

Although the necessity for effective after-care is unquestioned, there is little research on the combination of treatment and relapse-prevention measures. Practical problems such as resource allocation also must be solved.

**Discussion**

Empirical evaluations of correctional programs have more to offer than fashionable crime policy trends. Although many inconsistencies and blind spots remain in the research, there are clearly some concepts that are key to effective correctional programming:

- realistic expectations of results;
- theoretically sound concepts;
- dynamic offender risk assessment that matches the service level;
- appropriate targeting of specific criminogenic needs;
- awareness of the consequences of applying reinforcement;
- teaching self-control, thinking and social skills;
- matching program type, offender and staff; thorough selection, motivation, training and supervision of staff;
- acceptance/reward and structure/control within the institutional regime;
- neutralisation of criminogenic social networks;
- strengthening of "natural" protective factors;
- high program integrity;
- selection and assessment of adequate intermediate treatment goals; assessment and monitoring of offender behavioural change; and
- relapse-prevention and after-care programming.
Nothing Works? Something Works!

András Csóti
Deputy Director-General
Hungarian Prison Administration

The intention of improvement in the field of the history of civil prison affairs, has always been familiar to the discussion related to punishment enforcement. The explanation for this increased interest rests upon two reasons.

The first reason is that this school is characterized by American sociological researches and theories, the lifework of Clemmer, Sykes and Goffman. The concept of "prisonization" by Clemmer, which embraces the unavoidable assimilation of the prison's anti-social, nonconform world, was the first one to give a conceptual frame to the obvious dysfunction. The statement that a prison is the "university" of criminals, and that the group in a closed community has an impact on the individual might sound a commonplace today.

The fact that a prison deprives you not only of freedom but of a number of other things that would be given outside the prison had an effect on Sykes's analysis.

There are serious arguments for the prison being a harmful institution that is dysfunctional from many essential points of view.

The other reason was that sciences related to men (especially psychology but sociology and psychiatry as well) seemed to have such applicable means that would be able to change an individual reliably and with a forecastable result. This positivistic self-confidence resulted in making a sick person from the criminal, as the intervention is like a medical treatment the only difference being in the characteristics of problems. The origin of criminal behaviour is rooted in the personality on which you can affect with transforming the personality and not with penalty. Instead of the dysfunctional and destructive prisons it is much more human and useful to have an institution where the deviant persons are treated by experts of the society and the psyche.

This process has taken place in Hungary on an other ideological basis but with similar conclusions. The theoretical establishment according to which crime is the own feature of the exploiting class society and which disappears with its elimination, gives a suggestion that it is a temporary problem. The phraseology has always contained the struggle for achieving positive changes as the aim of penalty. In a socialist state conviction, cultural and educational effects of our state organs play an important role in the struggle against crime. The task is twofold; separation of the convicted on the one hand and re-educating of them on the other hand.
Education as a keyword reflects the relationship that exists between the authority and the criminal, referring to a parent-child or a teacher-student relationship. Therefore the problem with criminals is their being infantile, their having lack of information or their being immature to understand these problems. But fortunately a father, a teacher, in certain cases the state can intervene, convince, instruct and educate. From a historical point of view the practice of the punishment enforcement under the umbrella of the socialistic dictatorship did not harmonize the aims declared. In the 60's which was named the consolidation period of János Kádár the aims of the paradigm of punishment was changed, the conception moved closer to the reality than the Marxist ideology. Beside the fact that between the twofold aim of penalty and education the latter was more emphasized, in practice the methods of enforcement softened.

As a result of this softening procedure, as subject of educating socialistic people, beside the educator the psychologist appeared, the commissary duties of educators became wider. In line with this view, even if not in an explicit way, it was accepted that crime is not exclusively an ideological-political remnant, and punishment enforcement has to aim not only at the prisoners’ class-consciousness but at their personality as well. At the same time the punishment enforcement's task was hoped not only to change criminals but to be able to fulfil these tasks either with political or with professional methods.

One can see that even if the Hungarian punishment enforcement rested upon another ideological basis and took place in a phase shift, it put the same aims in front of themselves as the mainstream western conceptions of that time. Alongside punitive sanctions correction methods – using certain scientific methods – should be also emphasized.

The treatment included 3 basic elements: the principle of indeterminate sentencing, classification and different kinds of programs. The latter is often referred to as treatment. Systems of punishment enforcement differ from each other regarding the emphasis put on certain components but to be able to see treatment as a complex system all three components have to be present in some forms.

One can analyse to what extent the above mentioned concept of treatment is reflected in the educational concept of the Hungarian punishment enforcement. This comparison does not indicate the necessity of the same procedures in Hungarian prisons. Partly because at the time when it would have been discussed seriously – which was roughly the period after the 11th statutory law of 1979 – practice was represented by the former type of punishment enforcement, even if the concept of treatment has been familiar to experts. Partly because by the time it would have been realized domestically, this stream formed a descending branch.

In our region (under the word “region” we do not only mean the ex-socialist countries but the a historically similar region as well, where the German system of state administration and law had become prevalent) the society was regulated, even overregulated by legal normatives. Law has always had priority in regulating the subsystems of the society. Politics has been an exception to that. Hurts regarding the maxims of a “constitutional state” have always been consequences of the political submission, as power has always found an important element of self-legitimization in law. On the other hand law was not forced to give up its position for the sake of subsystems of the leading society. The indeterminate sentencing is related to this as the court, being a key element of the jurisdictional subsystem, gives over its most important activity, namely sentencing, to the competence of another professional-scientific organ.
Even if the decision related to release remains formally in the hand of the (penal) judge the content establishment of the decision and the possibility of proposals depend upon the prison educator, the psychologist and the head of the institution. (One has to mention that within the concept of treatment psychologists and social workers should have been put in a decisive position, which probably would not have taken place, either.) There was no chance to create a system like this if we consider the historical roots mentioned above. Even though some types of indeterminate sentencing have been established, the solitary confinement, for example, proved to serve a much more punitive function than educating purposes.

During that period the idea of introducing classification occurred several times in several forms. In the first form the idea of a special, always expanding central investigating corporation occurred, the other was represented in the form where regarding the activity emphasis was put on getting acquainted with the inmates, on determining the so-called educational levels and on working out an educational project.

The reason why a special classification institution would not be realized derives from the fact that its establishment would have needed an enormous physical and personal infrastructure. Although during the 70's a number of psychologists started their career at the Prison Administration, the general examination for all inmates would have needed more experts. On the other hand working out an expensive, complicated and differential classification is a useless effort if there is "nowhere" to classify inmates, which means that there are only few treatment programmes. Another factor that limited classification was that the grade of punishment enforcement – as a possible type of regime – is under the authority of the judge.

Regarding the Hungarian and generally the socialistic version/realisation of treatment, personality formation proved to emphasize not primarily therapic (i.e. psychological) but even more pedagogical (i.e. educational) tasks. Further on education for and through work remained a central element comparing it with other methods that played a secondary role. Beyond its ideological reasons they obviously had roots in the structure of the socialistic economy.

The educational concept obviously recognized the contradictions of punishment enforcement that are present between the crime rate and the personality, between production and education for work, the severity of punishment and the improvement of the personality. It is another concern that recognition itself did not cease the contradictions.

Age, criminal factors, penalty period, demand for education differentiated by the personality can be evaluated by efforts harmonizing with the concept of treatment. There was an important achievement in practice, but the condition of the western type treatment programmes should have had professional therapist, counsellors and social workers at disposal. The educating team fulfilling also administrative and security tasks would not have been expected to do such work. The situation was even made more difficult by the culmination of the prison population and the growing number of educational groups.

Initiative organizations became very important among programmes. However, this treatment had an acceptable ideological background, through its community ethos and Makarenko roots a high number of inmate groups could be involved in programmes using relatively slight organizational and financial expenses.
It can be regarded as a significant and effective feature that the punishment enforcement undertook certain cultural and educational functions. Concerning treatment it should have ensured real improvement of life chances and achievement of a competitive position on the labour market. In order that it could be achieved — with special attention paid to the real conditions of the 80’s — minimum a certificate for being a skilled worker or a middle level of qualification would have been needed, within the frame of a flexible national, educational system guaranteeing real chances for adult education. Unfortunately it was not available although it would have been a significant breakthrough for the Prison Administration.

In general, the idea of treatment with a correctional intention has always been present in the improvement projects of the Prison Administration, but for the effective changes a wider range of institutional, financial and personal background would have been necessary.

We do not aim at analysing the concept of treatment’s falling into the background. Still, no doubt that the eclipsing of the political system emphasizing a socialistic and state involvement, the demand of a less expensive and less bureaucratic state, the pushing forward of a neo-classical school of law philosophy concentrating on crime rate penalty, the not improving tendency of recidivism, the humanisation of punishment enforcement and the pushing forward of human rights contributed to this fact.

In the professional-scientific phraseology treatment and re-socialization was replaced by rehabilitation and normalization. Concepts of the medical model eclipsed, crime as pathology and course of treatment is not any more regarded as a key question. Pushing concerns of human rights into the background the compulsory feature of treatment/rehabilitation completely disappears. A form was introduced in which in case of good behaviour and active participation on programmes the inmates could enjoy certain privileges.

One can observe that all essential elements of treatment can be found in the Hungarian punishment enforcement following the change of paradigm that took place in international theory and practice. That means that for the treatment of special inmate groups special programmes are applied. General education of prisoners ceases to exist, inmates participate special treatment programmes on general education only with their own initiatives.

This situation has advantages and disadvantages.

One of the most difficult concerns is to change the attitude according to which prisoners were not regarded as personalities of full value. The opposite of this is declared in the Hungarian rules of law still there are problems in certain situations regarding the adaptability of these methods.

It is a basically essential circumstance that our institutional system is out-of-date. There is a small chance for classification – regarding the separation of groups as well – in prisons with an overcrowding rate of 25%. The primary aim is the classification into security levels and working out a system for watching purposes in accordance with these levels.

70% of prisoners are employed. This rate is also acceptable in an international comparison. Still we did not manage to advance in putting work into serving the function of rehabilitation.

It has always been and still is an important factor for us that the prisoners spend their free time in a useful way. For all who have interest in reading there are libraries in all institutions for their disposal. Despite the limited conditions of the prisons there are special areas for sport activities.
As a sign of opening up to the outside world there are regular programmes organized by mission groups and cultural societies. A high number of inmates of gypsy origin are present in the Hungarian prisons. Public colleges in three institutions are available for them with a wide range of practical information.

The recent establishment of an educational system for the institution can be regarded as an advantageous condition. There was a period when it was only prisons that undertook the education of illiterates.

The introduction of possibilities for volunteers reduced the number of inmates attending the primary school to one third.

I think the procedure following that period can be regarded as a model. It is a widely expected condition for the inmates to make up for their cultural deficiencies but as they do not seem to volunteer, a method has to be found for their stimulation.

Beside regarding school attendance as an advantage in case of rewarding a scholarship system was introduced. As an effect of that, the number of inmates attending the primary school is growing slowly but continuously.

Unfortunately learning has not yet been regarded equal to work but these two employment types are approaching one another in several respects.

As a reaction to the changing position of the labour market, courses have been more and more popular among inmates on which a state-wide accepted profession can be acquired. This is a short, intensive and modular educational system, the application of which is fairly good in prisons.

Last year we organized courses in 34 professions. Training programmes in connection with the labour market and personality formation are also spreading out at the moment.

Professional education is a field on which civil norms can be fulfilled in the most efficient way. In the Hungarian system education is accomplished by outside organizations to order of the institutions and examining the students is also independent from the Prison Administration. In accordance with the above mentioned it is not indicated where the inmate acquired his/her certificate of the profession.

Those in prison are potential unemployed after their release whose education is much less costly and efficient in prison than it would be after their release. Recognizing this situation I believe that the achievement of cooperation between the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Labour regarding the professional education of inmates in prison and the support in their employment after release is of great importance. Concerning this system the Ministry of Labour gives financial support to their own educational organizations that can be used exclusively for prison education purposes.

Instead of force and intervention at any price – for the stimulation of inmates – a method called positive management is spreading out, in which conditions for the prisoners’ own resocialization chances are ensured.

The most convincing evidence for the efficiency of this method is that permission of leave became such a goal for the inmates that they try to keep up its possibility continuously. 3-5% of inmates on leave do not return voluntarily and in time which indicates that inmates in general are able to act with high responsibility.
Conclusion

Just to summarize my lecture I tried to present how the historical situation of treatment has been established in Hungary, how it related to politics and to changes regarding other parts of the criminal justice. We wanted to show you the Hungarian model that – in my view – is also a Central-Eastern European one. I am convinced that this process took place in the same way in other countries of this region.

Treatment was not a real treatment, certain elements were missing, but the humanization of prisons could only be accomplished this way. The more human manner of treatment was intended to be taken to prisons with the help of the "Trojan horse" of the general treatment.

Changes in politics of the 90's influenced the public opinion. Changes of the constitution, the democratization procedure of the political system, spreading out the human rights for freedom on almost all fields of life made possible the humanization and normalization of prisons, assuring of human rights for the inmates without having to apply the general an compulsory treatment further on. The theoretical and practical changes of treatment were similar to the change of paradigm in the western European countries and that of overseas – which emphasizes special treatment for special groups voluntarily. The Hungarian Prison Administration, even with limited financial conditions, started on the same route as the majority of our western European neighbouring countries. I do hope we will achieve the same they did.
It is an honour for me to be given this opportunity to address this conference – and I am so happy to meet old friends again. But frankly, I’m a little concerned about the task I have undertaken: to look forward, beyond 2000, towards new horizons.

It is a very heavy burden to place on a man who is not in this business anymore. I must admit however that I have spent some 25 years dealing with penological matters, among them 15 years as a deputy director general of the Danish Prisons and Probation Administration, and about 10 years attached to the Council of Europe ending up as a Chairman of the Council for Penological Affairs. So it might have been reasonable to ask me to present a historic overview of our achievements. But as that is not the case I will have to face the reality, mainly from a spectator point of view.

Let me disappoint you right away: I do not believe that there are any penological revolutions round the corner. The fact that very soon we will pass the turn of the century does not make me change the prediction. In 10 years time we will be confronted with more or less the same kind of problems as we are right now.

Let me also say from the outset that I am not too happy about the present development in my corner of Europe at least. And I am afraid that the trends I will be referring to in a little while are or will be more or less the same all over Europe.

My intention is to focus on a number of factors, which I think will have substantial impact on the conditions for prisoners and those working with prisoners. Many of them will be seen as obstacles to further development of a humane and effective prison system.

I will then turn to the question what we/you can do about it. And then hopefully end up with a more optimistic view than the one, which will dominate the first part of my intervention.

There are of course numerous factors that will have an impact on prison life and prison activities. I have chosen 7 elements. It could as well have been 10 or 15, but I think that 7 will suffice to make my point. The factors I am going to refer to appear from Figure 1.

* I appreciate very much the valuable assistance I received from Henning Jørgensen and Kaj Raundrup, The Danish Department of Prisons and Probation when preparing this paper.
Figure 1: Factors influencing conditions for inmates

1. Gangs

Gangs are organised groups of criminals who are typically troublesome. Such groups have been known in Denmark for a number of years, but have become real troublesome during the past few years. The most well-known gang in Denmark is The Hells Angels. The main problem with this kind of gang is that they are suppressing the other inmates. They decide for example, who is allowed to take part in educational activities. If they express a wish to follow a specific course with a limited number of participants no other prisoner could dare to apply for that course. The same goes for organised leisure activities. This does not take place openly but very effectively. The traditional answer to these infringements against other inmates is segregation in separate wings without any contact with other inmates. In Denmark we were not very successful by using these means. By various
channels the gangs were still in control of other parts of the prison, and at the same time the sympathy of opinion-makers switched from the authorities to the gang members. A couple of years ago the gang problems escalated in the prisons due to the formation of another gang called “Bandidos”. These two gangs started a veritable war against each other. They quickly nosed out where exactly a prisoner of the other opposite gang was located in the prison, and then from nearby buildings and the like, they attacked members of the opposite gang with anti-tank missiles. They tried to enter closed prisons “over the walls”, and they broke into open prison camps and used hand-grenades and machine-guns against their enemies. Attempts have also been made to bring plastic explosives into the prison inside electric shavers etc. that would explode when plugged in. Naturally these attacks made all other inmates and staff feel very insecure. Police was posted outside the prisons, not to keep prisoners in, but to keep the missiles out! These are protective bars indeed! The necessary precautions in a situation like this have implications for everybody inside the prison. I will revert to that later. We have also seen second generation immigrants gradually forming into gangs. These young people feel that they belong neither to our culture nor to their parents’ culture, and that they are not accepted by our society. They are quite few but the media find them very conspicuous. Above all because right-wing-parties use them as a scary image of a multi-ethnic society. However, the extensive media coverage of these few, so far loosely organised gangs, creates fear in the population, which again results in a poorer acceptance of the immigrants, starting a vicious circle. I will revert to the immigrant problems in connection with the item ethnic unrest.

I am using Danish circumstances as my basis, but I believe that similar circumstances exist in other European countries concerning outlaw motorcycle gangs (so-called bikers) and immigrant gangs. Moreover, some countries have very serious problems with various “mafia-groups”, not least the new member states of the Council of Europe.

All these gangs have affected our prison systems and in my estimate will increasingly affect conditions for the inmates in future. Firstly, they affect conditions directly through the necessary reductions in the degree of liberty that the inmates may have. Restrictions concerning leave, visits, the objects that can be brought into the prisons etc. But secondly and perhaps more seriously in the long-term view one can foresee a change in the judicial policy, provoked by the increased fear in the population. One of the proposals just made by the Minister for Social Affairs in Denmark is that it should be possible to incarcerate young immigrants from the gangs for a fairly long period without any court trial. It is my estimate that the submission of such a proposal could not have been imagined just a couple of years ago except by more extremist small right-wing parties. And these young immigrants without any identity end up in the prison system sooner or later.

2 Ethnic unrest

Many countries have latent conflicts in relation to various minority groups with another ethnic or religious background, be they Aboriginals, Gypsies, Indians, Afro-Americans, Muslims, Catholics, Protestants you name it. These ethnic minority groups often the aboriginal people create problems for the prisons. The prisons have to take into consideration the culture and language of the minority groups, which requires a wider range of offers and especially more training of staff so that they can understand and accept the inmates. The staff
has to have a high degree of empathy and insight to have a good and accepting contact with
the minority groups. And the composition of the staff group should to a reasonable extend
reflect the ethinical and religious composition of the prison population. This has proved to be
very difficult to achieve in many countries including my own.

During the most recent years there has been a great migration of refugees within Europe
and to Europe. Partly because of the local wars in Europe, partly because of the wars and the
distress in the third world: Tamils, Somalis, Vietnamese, just to mentions a few groups. As I
mentioned previously, these groups cause unrest in the population supported by political
parties that require a stop for immigrants, family reunification, social assistance and demand
for expulsion and repatriation etc. Part of these refugees are, or have become residents, but the
criticism painted with wide brushes in the media is also directed against those who should
probably not be called second generation immigrants, but rather second generation residents.
The reaction of some of these second generation residents is a frustration so large that they
join together into gangs where they cultivate their common issue: the frustration. According
to a psychological theory, frustration creates aggression. And the aggression is naturally
directed against the society and the citizens who do not want to accept them. We have
probably only seen the beginning of this “ethnic unrest”. It is my assumption that it will rise
in the years to come. Naturally a sensible integration policy could prevent or lessen this
development, but the proposed solutions now appearing, even from the usually more level-
headed parts of political circles, are a treatment of symptoms; and altogether measures that
will strengthen people’s dissociation from the immigrants, which will in turn increase the
frustration, etc. These groups will become a prison problem. And the prisons are not geared to
solve it.

3 Increase in number of inmates

Increasing crime-rates and increasing number of inmates are well know phenomena in
most countries. The development from 1988 to 1994 has been published in the Council of
Europe publication “Penological Information Bulletin” no.19 and 20.

Those countries who are not members of The Council of Europe in 1988 are not included.
If you study the sheet, you will realise that there are variations, but the majority of countries
have increasing number of inmates that by far exceed the growth in the population. The
average increase is around 15 20% and this development did not stop in 1994! The increase in
the number of inmates is to some degree a consequence of some of the other factors
(mentioned in Figure 1), but it becomes a factor in itself since it affects the conditions of
inmates in a negative direction: Overcrowded cells, withdrawal of recreational rooms more
prisoners per staff member etc. The increase entails increased expenses or poorer conditions
or both.

One of the possible solutions that several countries have resorted to or are considering, is
privatisation. The solution of private prisons may provide the advantage that the government
does not have to invest in new buildings. The interest to be paid on the buildings can then be
paid via operations like in all other commercial enterprises. However, it is doubtful how much
the costs of operating the prisons can be cut, if a reasonable standard is desired. This
particular issue of the standard is, in my view, the difficult problem. How do we ensure that
the standard is reasonable? Of necessity, the operation of the prison company and the
conditions of the inmates must be under very close supervision. One of the ways in which private prisons can survive financially is by maximising earnings, namely by profit on the inmates’ production. This may very well mean that private prisons will be rather selective concerning the inmates that can be placed there. They will be the prisoners most eligible for work and the socially most well-functioning. The state prisons will then have to take care of the residual group, which means a strong concentration of poorly functioning inmates. All experience shows that such an environment is not suited to help the inmate to manage after their release. This situation leads to a risk for further reduction of public funding, which again leads to less staff and more electronic surveillance, which leads to more alienation, which leads to more fear and again to less contact between staff and inmates, more electronic equipment (maybe even education via TV and video etc.) another vicious circle have started.

Table 1: Variation in the Number of Prisoners (Numbers at 1 September)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1988</th>
<th>1994</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>5 862</td>
<td>6 806</td>
<td>+16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>6 490</td>
<td>7 138</td>
<td>+11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>−24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>3 469</td>
<td>3 828</td>
<td>+10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>3 598</td>
<td>2 974</td>
<td>−21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>46 423</td>
<td>53 758</td>
<td>+10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>52 076</td>
<td>67 626*</td>
<td>*5 new Länder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>4 288</td>
<td>6 881</td>
<td>+37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>1 953</td>
<td>2 053</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>+15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>34 675</td>
<td>51 299</td>
<td>+48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>+36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>2 041</td>
<td>2 689</td>
<td>+32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>5 827</td>
<td>8 535</td>
<td>+46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>8 181</td>
<td>10 023</td>
<td>+23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England + Wales</td>
<td>48 595</td>
<td>49 392</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>5 076</td>
<td>5 594</td>
<td>+10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>1 786</td>
<td>1 911</td>
<td>+7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>29 344</td>
<td>41 169</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>4 716</td>
<td>5 780</td>
<td>+23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>4 679</td>
<td>5 627*(93)</td>
<td>+20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>51 810</td>
<td>43 452</td>
<td>−16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4 Concentration

Researchers and prison practitioners generally agree that a prison stay is often harmful to the individual socially and psychologically even if the stay is made as meaningful as possible. Therefore great efforts are made to find alternatives to prison penalty. Probation orders and suspended sentences are given, and many countries have introduced community service orders. A common feature of the alternatives is that they require that the sentenced person is socially well-functioning to a reasonable extent. The consequence is that there will be relatively more inmates with social, psychological and behavioural problems in the prisons, the more the alternatives are used. One of the most recent offers in the range of alternatives is electronic monitoring. An experiment is taking place in Sweden right now, and it is a well-known fact that the big international companies that "have chosen" Sweden as subject for the experiment have great expectations in relation to the rest of Europe, if the experiment turns out to be a success. That is most likely what is going to happen. Personally I am very much looking forward to studying the final evaluating report, but already at this stage I am pretty sure that it will lead to the introduction of this new penal measure in many other European countries. In all circumstances: Like all other alternatives once more the best-functioning inmates are the ones that are kept away from the prisons. Those with accommodation, jobs, family. This will make it more acceptable for the media and politicians to say: "To hell with the rest".

5 Abuse

The scope of drug abuse varies greatly in the Member States of the Council of Europe. Both in society and in the prisons. Actually, if society has a drug-problem, the prisons will probably also have it. Some politicians believe that the drugs can (or must) be kept out. However this is not possible if society wants reasonable conditions for the inmates with visits, leave, etc. The variation in the scope will probably be reduced, meaning that countries without a drug problem will get the problem as wealth and communication increase.

In the more well-to-do countries, the drug problem will probably increase also in the prisons, especially in the marginal groups for example, among ethnic outcasts. The drug problem will continue to be most serious for the weakest inmates perhaps to an even greater extent.

As I mentioned before, the abuse in prisons has caught the interest of the politicians, and the proposed solutions are most frequently stricter rules. This means increased numbers of and more aggressive searches of the body, restrictions on visits perhaps with a glass wall between the inmate and the visitor, fewer leaves and the like. This may not solve the problem, but at least some action is taken.

6 Open borders

It is a banal fact that distances in the world have become smaller as a result of the development in the means of communication and transport. In addition border control within part of Europe (EU) has been reduced as a consequence of the desire for the free movements of goods and persons. Altogether this may mean that crime will become more homogeneous in all the European countries. Some countries, which have previously had mainly non-planned
crime, will experience more and more organised crime if there is a market for it. The consequence for the prisons will be that there will be more professional criminal inmates who consider their stay in prison as a business risk. Their motivation for taking an active part in various forms of treatment will therefore be very poor. Furthermore they may add to the mullet-cultural problems in prisons.

7 Treatment / Imprisonment

One of the consequences of the increase in the number of inmates and harsher public attitudes towards criminals may very well be a move away from treatment to pure and simple imprisonment (Booth camps etc.) The move can be motivated partly in resources required only for the absolutely basic musts: food, heating, housing; partly in the frustration caused by the fact the treatment turns out not to help after all. Despite all good things that one has done, the number of inmates rises and rises. And the philosophy easily becomes: Keep them away from society. “Lock the door and throw away the key” as they say.

Apart from the fact that treatment has a goal that extends beyond release, it also has a goal in the serving itself by making everyday life in the prison meaningful, with contents and bright spots. The environment becomes worse if treatment is removed. No treatment is negative treatment.

So fare so bad! If I am to summarise the trends of these factors that is shown in Figure 1, I will make a distinction between the inmates and the prison environment.

As to the inmates
a) there will be a concentration of poorly functioning inmates
   • because of alternatives to custodial sentences. The well-functioning will be kept away from the prisons;
   • because of private prisons which only want to take the better-functioning inmates;
   • because of increased number of drug addicts who will be recruited especially from the marginal groups.

b) There will be an increase in the number of inmates from minority groups
   • Aboriginal;
   • Immigrants;
   • Gang members

c) There will be an increase in number of professional criminal inmates with no desire to accept offers on treatment.

As to the prison environment
a) There is a risk that relations between inmates will deteriorate because of
   • b) There is a risk ethnic groups in conflict with each other;
   • gangs in conflict with each other;
   • concentration of weak inmates
   • increasing overcrowding.
b) There is a risk for stricter rules for serving sentences because of
   - populist politicisation
   - dissociation of the public from a minority groups;
   - conflicts between the inmates

c) There is a risk for a move from treatment to pure imprisonment
   - because of lack of funds;
   - because of lack of belief in treatment among the public and politicians. (This could happen despite the research-based findings of professor Lösel. Even if professor Lösel could persuade the public to realise that “Something works” the next statement of the public could easily be: “They don’t deserve it”.)

d) There is a risk for poorer physical conditions
   - because of economy and increase in the number of inmates;
   - because of populist politicisation.

What can be done about it?

What can be done to counteract and neutralise these gloomy predictions of mine? The question is meant as a search partly for the general factors that can pull in the opposite direction, partly for what the individual (meaning you) can do.

In my opinion and experience there are four areas which are important to create better conditions for the serving of sentences in prisons:

1. Clear purposes and principles for prison work.
2. Control of prison conditions on a national and not least international level.
3. Openness about prison work.
4. Staff involvement with the inmates.

Re. 1. Clear purposes and principles for prison work

The work of the prisons, their main tasks, clash with each other; on one hand prisons are to execute a custodial sentence (that is, punish) and on the other hand they are to help the inmates to live a crime-free life after their release (that is to support). How do we weight the two tasks? Are they of equal worth? Is the punishment more important? In Denmark we have a politically approved Programme of Principles that gives the two tasks equal priority. That goes for several other countries as far as I know. However, a statement of the main tasks only does not provide the sufficient answer to how the daily tasks and conflicts between punishment and help can be solved. It is necessary to have some principles as guidelines for how to carry out the task. It is important to have purposes and principles for the work some basic values because then we always have something to measure our work against: whether drafting of rules, administration of the rules or the daily contact with the inmates in the ward. This is even more crucial in bad times than in good times. Being a Dane I favour a pragmatic approach to prison work, but a sound pragmatic approach in penal policy is highly dependant on a foundation of values: We must consciously and constantly work on setting priorities for the prison systems and then see to that they are implemented by pragmatics. Actually the Council of Europe has drafted some excellent guidelines, that member states have bound
themselves morally to follow: “The Prison Rules” covering all aspects of prison life as well as more specific rules on i.a. “Prison Education” as you all very well know. These instruments form an excellent foundation for national mission-documents or the like.

Re 2. Control of prison conditions

From the point of view of traditional guarantees and rights of prisoners, we must focus on the need for some form of external supervision or scrutiny of the behaviour of prison authorities. I suppose that it is difficult to imagine a field of society where it would be more important with a formalised supervision of what is going on than the prison services. The most efficient body of that kind might be The European Committee for the Prevention of Torture, CPT. The Committee visits the Member States in turn and after each visit it prepares a report given to the country for comments. It is my impression from my work in the Council of Europe that the countries are very aware of the comments and the criticism of conditions in their country. Although violations of the convention entail no sanctions, the reports have a great impact. Being practitioners and some times overburdened practitioners our first reaction towards such bodies looking us over the shoulder may very well be a feeling of a nuisance or at least scepticism. I wonder however whether such feelings if they still occur will soon turn into a feeling of appreciation because their statements will prove more and more helpful and supportive to our strive to give imprisonment a meaningful content. Some day we might even beg the committee to visit us!

Re 3. Openness

The ultimate control however in my opinion is to make the prison systems transparent and open towards the society. The arrangement of the Prison System and the treatment of prisoners is probably principally the responsibility of the prison authorities and secondarily of the politicians. But in the end it is the responsibility of society at large. And society cannot reasonably bear that responsibility, if it does not have a fairly high degree of insight in what is going on. In the European Rules on Community Sanctions and Measures it is stated that “Justice can not be effectively administered in isolation from the community it seeks to serve. It requires both the acceptances and the respect of the public”. In order to achieve this aim appropriate information about the nature and content of a prison sanction as well as the way in which it is implemented must be disseminated so that the public can understand it and perceive a humane imprisonment as an adequate and credible reaction to criminal behaviour. This means that we must create situations where the media play a major role. This kind of openness where the media can enter the prisons; where the inmates can freely take part in the debate in the media, may very well create problems for management when the result can be read in the media. But in the long run this method produces results by killing myths and showing what actually takes place in the prisons. Many people outside the prisons only know the prisons from second-rate films and the inmates from rather sensational articles on criminal acts and therefore have a rather cartoon-like perception of prisoners.

If the public opinion is to be changed; If we want the public to perceive prisoners as “people” and thereby the more populist influence to be reduced openness is the best means.

Re 4. Staff involvement

The one thing that can really ensure the best possible environment in the prisons despite stricter rules, lack of funds, etc., is staff involvement in the inmates’ lives. There are several
ways promoting this development, but in my opinion the most important one is to give responsibility to the staff for their own daily lives. This means that we have to break down the very hierarchic and patriarchal structure that we have inherited. In other words, we must decentralise and delegate power from central authorities to local authorities, and from local leaders to the individual staff member. When basic staff are to have their field of work and responsibility expanded, the work of other staff groups necessarily changes; their roles change. They now have to guide and supervise the basic staff, as well as take care of more complex and specific problems in their subject areas. All in all staff involvement better relationship between staff and inmates ought to increase the effect of the treatment efforts and create a better life for everybody in the prisons.

What can you do as individual educators?

I will try to ask the question in relation to the four factors that I have mentioned:

(1) Principle

If you have a national programme of principles: Use them as an argumentative basis. And use the international guidelines the recommendations from the Council of Europe. They are not “the law”, but they are guidelines which at least can serve as the bad conscience, and if you do not yet have a national mission statement: go for it!

(2) Control

The control by the CPT and the like can perhaps not be used much by the individual, but maybe you can initiate and actively take part in the subsequent discussions of the report.

(3) Openness

Openness is the responsibility of everybody. Educators are not the only decisive factors, but “many a little makes a mickle”. Therefore, exploit all the possibilities available to open the prisons to the public with all the trouble that this entails. Examples of openness in your field might be: Visits from the outside by other educational institutions, or at least contact with them, leave for the purpose of external education, volunteers in the prison etc. All of these are measures that may change some people’s concept of prisons and inmates. Because it is of paramount importance to realise that public opinion is not a given or static phenomenon. You can and must exercise your influence on it. You are the experts on this field, you are the ones who know what is sensible and what works, you have an obligation to explain to the public what you are doing and why you are doing it.

(4) Staff involvement

Because of their profession, educators are involved in the inmates. Continue to be so, but try to involve the other staff as well. The staff that remain in the wards when the specialist have gone home. Do not claim ownership in the good relationship with the inmates (although it is an obvious human reaction to do so). If the work as a prison officer is only centred around security, then staff cannot be blamed for wanting to perceive the world through security glasses. Only by expanding their fields of work will they take on new attitudes, new glasses. And experience shows that this is correct. In some countries the content of work for prison officers has already changed and also their attitudes. One of the most recent examples is the Cognitive Skills Training Programme which in some countries is mainly run by prison officers. One of the great side effects of the programme is the change in role for the prison
officers that they get a new perspective on their work. And finally, you should of course continue with the teaching that you have done all the time. Because it is important that inmates have a possibility of learning the useful subjects that you teach. But also and from my point of view, not least because it is of paramount importance that a prison stay has a positive content a treatment element.

Figure 2: Factors influencing conditions for inmates

1. Gangs
2. Ethnic Unrest
3. Increase in Number of Inmates
4. Concretion
5. Abuse
6. Open Borders
7. Treatment Imprisonment

CONDITIONS FOR INMATES
Conclusion

Generally there are quite a few negative trends I am afraid, which in themselves could lead to radical changes in the administration of prison sentences. These trends lead to a risk that we lose the achievements that we have struggled for during the past 10-20 years in respect of humanisation and normalisation of prison life. As long as imprisonment remains a major response to crime the development so far does not give rise to any considerations concerning the abolition of prisons those who work in the prison field and not least educators, teachers and the like must do whatever possible to maintain and develop the positive aspects of prison life. If we do not succeed, we will realise, what was said in an official UK-document some years ago, namely that "imprisonment is an expensive way of making bad people worse". Turning the development into a positive direction will become hard work and you might sometimes need to recall the words of Thomas Carlyle: "Work and despair not!" To overcome this challenge you will need each other, you will need an international network such as EPEA, and the support and the inspiration you can get from conferences like this one. Nobody can tell the exact course we are going to follow into the next millennium. What I have tried to do is to point out a few leading lights, which could guide us at our journey towards new horizons. I have found it very exiting and inspiring during this conference to realise that new ideas, new projects are still coming up and not least, to witness your energy and enthusiasm. I am a bit more optimistic now than before I arrived to this conference. And I thank you for that, and wish you all the best of luck.
In this paper 'Prisoners are People – Social Identities in Prisons', I would like to develop two themes which are not only central to my research but fundamental to the concerns of the European Prison Educators Conference 1997 at which this paper is first presented. These themes are literacy and prisoners. I might have said prisoners and literacy because I intend to treat both with equal importance and in the discussion which follows I want to present some traditional, educational and personal perceptions of each in order to re-position and re-assess some conventional theories. In doing so I hope to dispel some myths as to the value that should be placed on certain perceptions of literacy and prisoners and highlight the need to place both within a theoretical framework which addresses issues around social context and personalisation.

I shall construct this paper in the following way:

After giving a brief background to my work and its focus I shall share my observations firstly on what I consider to be traditional perspectives and secondly what I have found to be educational perspectives on prisoners and prison literacy. I shall then go on to present my own thoughts as to what I perceive to be a fresh and alternative perspective developed from my own research and conclude by drawing together salient and relevant points which have implications for future policy and practice.

Background

I have been fortunate to have been allowed free access to Lancaster Farms Young Offenders Institution – an establishment in the North of England. It houses young men between the ages of 15 and 21 and since opening has increased its capacity from 360 to over 500, changing its status from a predominantly remand establishment to a prison which houses both sentenced and remand prisoners, a number of whom require high security accommodation. Prisoners are drawn predominantly from the North of England although changes of policy during 1997 have resulted in prisoners being sent from other disparate areas of England.

Throughout my study I have had access to all parts of the jail and enjoyed the unequivocal help of many staff and prisoners. This has allowed me to undertake an in-depth long-term ethnographic study during which I have acquired a mass of qualitative data including photographic record and material artefacts.
In addition to accessing this particular establishment, I have also visited a considerable number of adult male jails in England and Scotland and have maintained significant links – by visits and personal correspondence – with many prisoners in both systems.

Such broad access has allowed me to observe both the workings of the systems in which prisoners find themselves and also the ways in which they apply, modify and develop their abilities within such particular and culturally-specific environments.

My observations have led me to believe that some widely held traditional views of prisoners and their literacy are confined to quantitative analysis and give little or no regard to any human presence within the institution. They are no more than myths in the light of prison realities observed partially by education departments and more broadly by myself. I shall begin by refuting some traditional myths surrounding theories of Prison, prisoners and Literacy.

**Prison and Prisoners – Traditional myths**

The traditional construction of Prison (and I use the singular capital P intentionally as an indication that this is a view which sees the institution of penal establishments as a singular totality such as described by Goffman (1961) or Wallace (1971) seems to make an assumption that the nomenclature ‘Prison’ can encompass all establishments and all regimes. ‘Prison’ is perceived as a collective term which can be used in an overarching way and applied to phrases such as the ‘Prison Service’, ‘Prison Rules’, ‘going to Prison’ or ‘having a Prison record’. There are no ‘people’ in Prison and even prisoners within it are reduced to representation through purely quantitative information, being de-humanised into statistical data concerned with rates of recidivism, types of offence or abstract reference to the ‘Prison population’.

My view that this traditional institutional perception of Prison is a mythical construction is supported by prisoners as shown in their spontaneous comments quoted below

‘All prisons ARE different, very much so. Even though a jail may be the same category as another, none are alike.’ (Keith. 24/1/97 Albany).

Close study would indicate that inmates at Perth prison would reflect local attitudes and values different in distinct ways from inmates in an Edinburgh or a Glasgow prison just as citizens of those cities have their differences. (Scotland, November 1996).

These opinions are echoed by both staff and many other prisoners.

It would be naive, however to ignore the fact that aspects of Prison do touch the lives of all those who live and work within incarcerative establishments – Prison Rules are universally applied and Prison regimes are uniformly implemented – but I feel that my observations show that the imposition of Prison is something which prisoners do their utmost to minimise. The potential influences of Prison certainly exist but to suggest that it is all-powerful and all encompassing is a myth which I see being constantly dispelled at all levels of existence within the jails.

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2 Wallace, S.E., *Total Institutions* (City: Publisher, 1971).
It is also my understanding that embedded within the notion of abstract Prison autonomy is an equally mythical construction of the archetypal prisoner – a construction which bears little resemblance to anyone I have encountered during the years of my research. Such a myth is lent credibility because the general public have access only to selective information, confined to a reductionist view whereby the entire prison population of any country is compressed and disseminated into statistical information regarding population and rates of recidivism or limited to media coverage of specific and often horrific individual cases.

This autonomous view holds that any prisoner can be seen as much the same as any other. It denies the fact that prisoners are different in institutional terms such as status, category or vulnerability or that they can only be constructed from an incarcerative perspective with no social life before, during or after a jail sentence. For example, I could provide statistical information regarding the number of prisoners aged 17 at Lancaster Farms but such figures would be restricted to matters of prisonhood such as status, length of sentence or previous convictions, giving little indication of personhood such as kinship and familial ties, parenthood, artistic skills or musical talents.

The aim of such institutional categorisation, evaluation and subsequent dehumanisation would seem to be to use it as a means by which to systematically ensure the assessment and management of prisoners as an autonomous mass without reference to social context and I intend to propose that this notion of control through depersonalised autonomy can be mapped successfully onto equivalent traditional theories of Literacy.

Literacy or literacies – traditional approaches.

I have argued elsewhere\(^3\) that Literacy is context-dependent and that it cannot be confined to a view of singularity or be successfully discussed without taking into account the social circumstances or discoursal influences of which it is a part.

Just as Prison fails to acknowledge the diversity of establishments and their occupants so Literacy (again I use the singular as a way of indicating its perception as a discrete unit) when perceived as an agent of control or assessment fails to acknowledge the multiplicity of ‘literacies’ which exist outside the parameters of mere evaluation and this I feel is equally true whether with regard to people in prison or indeed in wider societies.

Too much emphasis is placed on the results of specific and uniform tests aimed to evaluate prisoners’ Literacy. Surveys from many parts of the world set prisoners even further apart from ‘people’ by suggesting that rates of prisoners’ non-literacy are greater than those enjoyed by people in the outside world and judge their entire literacy repertoire and social status on the results of often inappropriate testing mechanisms limited to the assessment of fundamental and functionalist competencies.

I am not suggesting however, that there is no place for Basic Skills, Study Skills or programs of Basic Education in prisons only that assessment invariably operates from a deficit model whereby prisoners are evaluated as much on what they cannot do with regard to particular tests rather than what they can and are achieving in other domains of their social lives.

I shall discuss the extent and variety of prisoners’ existing literacies in the section relating to my own observations but as a counter-argument against the efficacy of using standardised formats to adequately validate a person’s talents I would propose that an equivalent assessment of levels of prisoners’ correspondence, library usage or poetic endeavours would provide somewhat different and startling results to those gained from standardised testing.

Although Literacy and its assessment is designated within the control of the Education departments, I feel that educators are rather more aware than Prison administrators as to the extent to which prisoners use their abilities in order to retain a sense of their identity as people rather than merely as prisoners. For example, during a discussion at a previous EPEA conference on the unacknowledged skills which prisoners bring with them and develop in the jails, my views were endorsed by the Head of Education in one of the Scottish jails who said that in drawing attention to the unrecognised literacy abilities of many prisoners I was articulating what many teachers in the prison system were already aware of.

I would like to move this discussion away from perpetrated institutional myths of Prison and Literacy towards what I see as more realistic perceptions of prisoners and literacies and more humane perspectives.

Prison, Prisoners and their Education Departments

It is my experience that for many education departments Prison often exists as an irritation and frustration designed as a challenge to achievement and it is seen as an institution to work in spite of rather than alongside. In an article on a day in the life of a prison educator in an English jail, Hugh McGahan lists the frustrations of lock-downs, of prisoners’ absences for medical care or visits and the constant frustration of prisoners being moved to other establishments before courses can be completed. I am constantly amazed at the degree of success at local and at national level which is attained in often cramped and frequently under-funded departments.

Retaining an element of personhood by returning the status of prisoners to students is a fundamental attribute of prison Education Departments and this is further illustrated by the fact that many courses are orientated towards ‘person’ skills rather than Prison skills. For while Prison induction programmes are understandably geared towards training a prisoner for Prison, Education departments retain many life-skills courses or courses which are offered to mainstream students. At my main research site for example, Young Offenders have been able to select courses on Parenting skills, First Aid, Cookery or Theatre Studies in addition to the expected choices of literacy and numeracy.

Prisoners choices of educational courses also seems to reflect their concern to develop skills which will be of use to them in their future social environments such as in catering or industrial cleaning and even those who undertake more aesthetic courses relating to art or current affairs seem to be motivated by the need to retain their sense of social identity. Subjects relating to prison identity such as criminology are often motivated through personal circumstances and a need for information about personal judicial injustices.

4 Research and Practice in Adult Literacy Bulletin No. 21 Summer 1993.
Many prisoners seem to see Education Departments as places where they can retain status as a person rather than a prisoner and any frustrations reflect those felt by education staff such as classes being over-subscribed or an inability to continue courses at other establishments. Their criticisms bear more relation to institutional controls than the inability of tutors. Prisoners' strongest criticism and reason for non-attendance at Education classes seems to be tied to traditional perceptions of Literacy and prisoners. Studies have attempted to link offending behaviour to illiteracy, making an overarching assumption that courses should be aimed only towards prisoners who are perceived as having the least skills. Prisoners who are more than capable of undertaking study to a high standard tell me that this makes them feel particularly devalued as literate members of society. Attendance at education classes remains poorly paid and prisoners have to accept lower rates of pay in order to retain their status as a student, recent changes in the Rules means that books relating to distance learning packages for University courses cannot be sent into the jails and prisoners' existing educational expertise cannot be developed.

Literacy and Education Departments

Education departments perceptions of literacy are understandably reflective of institutional conventions. Many departments are reliant upon approval from government agencies for their certification and funding and such agencies are conventionally bound up with traditional views of Literacy as I have described it as an autonomous assessable and ultimately evaluatory instrument. Levels of prisoners' literacy ability is frequently restricted to a short test administered by Education departments on induction into the Prison regime and ability is assessed on the results of this test. Thus prisoners and their perceived ability are doubly compounded by the criteria of two institutions – prison and education – and any attention to notions of personal identity are subsumed by the requirements of evaluative quantification.

At my main research site however, a more integrative approach has been introduced recently into some courses and certain National Vocational Qualifications have required that basic literacy and numeracy be linked to practical skills in order to give a more holistic approach to vocational training but while such efforts are commendable it is also my experience that prisoners are sometimes disinclined to see education or conventional Literacy as a means of retaining their personal identities.

Prisoners have often told me they do not wish to use skills they have learned in prison – such as catering or painting and decorating – as this perpetuates their 'prisoner' identity outside in their social worlds rather than developing their social personhood. Other prisoners, especially Young Offenders often see little point in undertaking vocational courses given that the prospects of employment in Great Britain are somewhat limited at the present time, stating that certification does little to enhance their identity as employee.

6 Rules have been introduced in 1996 regarding volumetric control which stipulates how many items a prisoner may have in his possession.
There is no question that educationalists within the prisons see prisoners more as people than the institution of which they are a part but circumstances and influences both within and outside their establishments prevent them from accessing what I am proposing as the wealth of social, literacy-orientated activities which are incorporated into the day to day lives of most, if not all prisoners in England and Scotland. The marginalisation of prison education departments has a detrimental effect in that education staff can rarely see the whole prison picture and their perceptions are often limited to the experiences of their particular departments. Their perceptions of prisoners is based on only a small part of day to day prison life and there are vast numbers of prisoners whom they never see. The levels of social interaction where prisoners become people which I am suggesting remains outside their experience. The limitations of their knowledge is not therefore a criticism on my part but an acknowledgement that education departments and the imposed Literacy focus they are obliged to adopt disallows them from incorporating the activities which I have observed and to which I would now like to turn.

People in Prison and their Literacies – my observations

I have re-defined the title of this third section as ‘people in prisons and their literacies’ as my observations have led me not only to refute the existence of Prison as described earlier and reinforced my belief – cited here and elsewhere – that is impossible to reduce literacy-related activities to a single autonomous assessable entity called Literacy but that many day to day activities in prison have much more in common with the practices and events undertaken by people and which exist in outside social worlds. I feel that in an effort to retain their personhood, prisoners do everything in their power to remain as ‘people in prison’ by taking and modifying existing social practices and re-appropriating them to make them culturally acceptable within the environment of incarceration.

Before I begin this final discussion however, I feel that it is very necessary for me to declare two things.

Firstly, to state that the views I am expressing here in this section are not only my own. My observations and emerging patterns of events and practices have been enhanced by the generosity of information which has been shared with me and brought to my attention by many people who are working and living with the environment of prisons. Any views I express here have been supported, validated and often re-assessed and are the result of negotiation between myself and a number of people in prison in many jails across Great Britain and I have their full permission to re-state their views. I acknowledge that without them I would have little to discuss.

Secondly, I feel that this is a salient moment to pause and define what it is that I take as my understanding of literacies. It might be more helpful for me to state what it is not – that is that I do not confine my understanding merely to the acts of reading and writing. I do not feel that a newspaper, for example, should be confined in its literacy-significance merely to the act of reading but that it is embedded within the social context in which it is bound up. Literacies and newspaper should be seen as part of a wider discourse, placed within the activities of which they are a part.

This notion may become clearer as I move towards the examples I have chosen in order to illustrate the relevance and importance of literacy-related activities in which people in prison engage in order to retain their social identities.

6th EPEA Conference, Hungary 1997
I have chosen to prioritise three aspects of social life which I see prisoners importing into their prison worlds. These activities, drawn from existing personal experiences, are re-worked and become compatible with the jail environment.

I have become aware of many such activities but I have decided on the decoration of personal space, reading newspapers and writing personal letters as my examples.

**The decoration of personal space**

'I see it like this, at home you do your bedroom how you like it and to me it's the same.' (AP Winson Green 27/11/96).

The 'it' to which this person is referring is the way in which he uses literacy artefacts in order to re-humanise his personal space within his prison environment. The photographs show most strongly, I feel, my somewhat convoluted argument above that literacy is not confined merely to the act of reading and writing but that the use of material text-orientated artefacts can expand existing notions of literacies.

It is significant to note the extent of literacy-related artefacts which are used in the photograph below. Books, posters, certificates, photographs, drawings, magazines and papers are used to personalise space. As my correspondent suggests this activity is reminiscent of bedrooms in homes or on any student campus, they are reflected in the decoration of personal office space and although the artefacts may be different I have noted that this practice is employed by both prisoners and staff in an effort to incorporate some of their social identities as young person, family member or scholar into an alien environment.

**Reading of newspapers**

I borrowed a paper and did the crossword in it. It was only the Daily Star so it only took 20 minutes or so. After I completed the crossword I found myself doodling on top of the paper, writing captions on photographs and writing my signature repeatedly, out of boredom really. Another part of the paper that I read which stands out in my mind was the T.V. pages. This is because since I've been in Prison my mum has had Sky put in and I always look to see what I would probably of been watching it I wasn't in here. Pretty depressing really. (24/1/95?? Diary, M Franklin).

As Mark wrote in his diary, quoted above, reading the newspaper highlights a number of issues surrounding the way that people try to keep their identity. His actions are almost identical to those engaged in by people in the outside world – doing the crossword, embellishing the photographs and reading what is going to be on the television. But while he engages in these activities two points are worthy of note.
The paper was a number of days old and whereas in the outside world it might have been thrown away, recycled or put to some other use, it is not uncommon to find newspapers being read which are a number of days old. As someone wrote to me ‘the date of the newspaper is irrelevant, as all news is old news – so to speak’ (J. B. 15/8/97). The activity of ‘reading the newspaper’ remains very important and as the system allows for only a certain number of people to read a limited supply of papers, one newspaper might be in circulation for a considerable amount of time. Each time it is read, a prisoner is re-enacting his role as a person and one paper may be used for the same purpose by a number of people.

Secondly, it is rather poignant to note that this young man retained the habit of looking to see what was going to be screened on television, even though it was not possible for him to watch the programmes. The activity of ‘looking to see what is going to be on TV’ is common practice in many households and it seems to me that his intention was to retain the memory of a habit he had enjoyed in the outside world and which he intended to retain until his re-emergence into that social environment.

My observations as to the number of newspapers strewn on the ground outside cells is another indication that ‘reading the newspaper’ is a practice from the outside world which people in prison feel strongly should be retained. Newspapers on the ground indicate that they have been ‘swung’ unsuccessful from one window to another in an effort to circulate newspapers between as many prisoners as possible but it should be noted that the act of ‘swinging’ items from one window to another is a punishable offence.

Writing personal letters

Last week I wrote a letter for an illiterate guy to his Mum and I said ‘say this and that’ but he knew what he wanted to say and would not let me rephrase anything, so I wrote it as he spoke it...he wanted to pay me some roll-up tobacco or Rizla or chocolate but I told him to get me an envelope and a carrier bag (as both would not cost him anything – the envelope being prison issue and the bag to put my sewing in.) I did not tell him the reason being this would not cost him anything to acquire – I told him I need them more than tobacco or chocolate (Ronnie, Wormwood Scrubs January 1997).

This event was recounted to me by a man waiting on long-term remand to be called for trial and I feel that it illustrates a number of interesting points regarding both literacy and ‘personhood’.

Firstly, it serves to illustrate my point that although I am making a case for a broader interpretation of what ‘literacy’ might mean, there is no denying the fact that some people in prison have some difficulty in communicating by certain methods – in this case, writing a letter. However, Fingeret (1983) noted the intricate and extended networks of support which are often created by and for people under such circumstances and I have always been struck by the extent and quality of such networks with regard to people in prison and their personal letters.

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7 Swing a line involves ‘acquiring’ a piece of thread – usually from a prison blanket – and using it to swing items from one cell window to another.
As my example indicated, prison letter-writing carries no charge – only an exchange of goods – and in my experience writing letters for other people in prison, unlike many other activities, carries little if any price. Prisoners tell me that such is the case because they would not like to be in such a position themselves and it is my understanding that such transactions do not require the writer to know the correspondent or have any familial ties. Such examples of altruism do not fit with the traditional perception of prisoners created by depersonalised statistics or disproportionate media hype.

Secondly, such an example also illustrates, I feel, prisoners willingness to take a practice that is known but not necessarily used by them in their social worlds outside the jails but which they appropriate given the world in which they find themselves. Personal letter-writing in British society is undertaken predominantly by women but in prison men are willing to take on a role normally occupied by the opposite sex in order to retain some elements of personhood in the prison lives.

Thirdly, personal letters often contain illustrations of prisoners identities other than that of prisoner. Many letters contain poems which are either self-penned or written by other prisoners identifying someone in prison as a creative force and letters such as the example below show the writer as an illustrator rather than as prisoner.
In Conclusion

My observations raise a number of issues which are at odds with some traditional views. Prison is redefined by all those who live within the various establishments and can no longer be constructed purely within traditional theories of total institution. The ethos and regime of any individual establishment is incomparable with any other and each contain humanising and socialising elements which need to be recognised.

Education departments, although they are necessarily concerned with the machinations of the institution and their perception of the jails is filtered through institutional regimes, their awareness of regulatory autonomy is tempered by a willingness to adapt and an attention to the maintenance of the personal identities of their students.

Prisoners – living within this multiplicity of establishments – cannot be labelled as an impersonal archetype and by seeking to retain their personhood must be perceived as social beings capable of social interaction seeking to preserve their social identities. People in prison have not only discarded the notion of being labelled as one prisoner among many but seek to find and maintain various ways in which to preserve their other social identities of father, son, brother, uncle or friend.

Literacy – in its traditional evaluative form – needs to be re-positioned as one of any number of literacies which are used by human beings in prison. It is not the single assessable entity privileged by the autonomous Prison system which plays a considerable and influential role in the way that peoples’ social identities are maintained but the re-appropriation of literacy-related activities which are familiar and integral to existing social systems.

Research which favours a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach should be valued as a means by which to understand the complex and diverse networks of social communication which exist in prisons. Statistics contain no reference to people and serve to compound the de-humanising of prisoners.

Final Comments

I feel that it is noteworthy that men in prison choose to assess their prison environment and make a choice to impose upon it aspects of their outside worlds to the extent that they take on roles and activities which they may not occupy in their outside worlds but do so in prison in order not to lose sight of their non-prison identities.

I feel that it is noteworthy that many of these social activities reflect a considerable and informed application of various pre-existent literacy-oriented practices and abilities.

I feel that it is noteworthy that education departments go some way towards an acknowledgement that prisoners can be students but they are constrained by the broader Prison and I feel that it will take some time before Prison acknowledges that prisoners are people.
Thank you very much for subscribing to this lecture. I named it "what’s on demand in remand", as I will try to depict the life of prisoners and staff in a large, Dutch remand centre.

My name is Niek Willems, and I am head of education and PR at the Rotterdam Remand Centre Noordsingel since 1976.

The penitentiary “Noordsingel” is one of the 39 penal institutions in the Netherlands. The number of 39 is to be increased, since new penitentiaries are being built to overcome the shortage of prison cells in the Netherlands.

“Noordsingel” is a remand center, where prisoners, or rather suspects are awaiting their trial. After their sentence has become final, the inmates are being transferred to a prison in order to do the rest of their time. The average time spent in our institution is approximately six months.

The city of Rotterdam has two remand centres. “Noordsingel” is the largest one; in fact, it is one of the largest penal institutions in the Netherlands, with a capacity of 450 inmates and a staff of 375.

We have an all-male population, varying in age from 18 years up to sometimes very old. The average age however, is about 26 years. Recently we tallied 28 different nationalities, which, as you will understand, is a problem in itself. Think of languages, cultural backgrounds, etc. Our educational department is trying very hard to overcome these problems; I’ll get back to that later.

The staff of 375 consists mainly (185) of prison officers, 150 male and 35 female. Furthermore we have staff members who provide administrative assistance, spiritual guidance, social help, the aforementioned educational department, a logistic team and last but not least, the management group.

The building

The building of our institution is 125 years old; we are not only one of the largest, but also one of the oldest penitentiaries in the Netherlands. It is situated in the middle of an old section of Rotterdam; in fact, it is surrounded by houses. But the building was there long before these houses got there: we claim to have the oldest rights!
If you would be hovering over our detention centre in a balloon or a helicopter, and you would look down, you would look at the shape of a star. Four “points” of the star are the wings where our inmates live, the fifth point is a wing with offices, consulting rooms, meeting rooms and staff chambers.

The disadvantage of such an old building is the lack of room to have all kinds of activities. You can imagine, 125 years ago a prisoner stayed in his cell almost 24 hours per day, and there was hardly need for activity rooms. In the course of the 20th century things changed: rehabilitation programs started to take place, but the extra room to do so was very scarcely created. A lot of improvisation had to be done in order to cope with this problem.

As you will know, the new prison buildings do have the necessary room, as they are built with the modern prison standards in mind.

A few years ago “Noordsingel” was refurbished; almost all of the cells now have a toilet and a water basin, and the entire building was freshly painted.

The regimes

Under the roof of the “Noordsingel” are 5 different regimes situated. I shall try and describe them for you.

1. Standard or basic regime

Every newcomer is being placed on the so-called income wing. Here he gets all the information concerning his stay; he is being observed by the staff, social workers are trying to deal with problems inherent in being placed in a remand centre. Members of the educational department visit the new inmate and try to make him enthusiastic to participate in one, or more, of the educational programs.

After about two weeks the inmate is transferred to the so-called “standard regime”. Only a limited quantity of educational programs is offered here: teachers will teach Dutch for inmates who do not speak our language, a limited sports program. Besides, the inmate is working in a workshop for 4 ½ hours per day. You must know, that in a remand centre in Holland working is obligatory; but if one chooses not to work, the time of 4 ½ hours is spent in a cell, and there are no wages of about 30 guilders per week. On the standard regime the educational activities are not compulsory either.

2. Standard-plus regime

An inmate who is willing to do more than is offered at the standard regime, may be placed on another wing, where there is a standard-plus regime. This means, that in addition to the activities on the standard regime there is a lot more to choose from.

After an intake talk with a staff-member of the A-wing, where the plus regime is situated, the inmate signs a contract in which he states that he is willing participate in at least 4 activities; besides going to the workshop is part of the program and therefore obligatory. If he does not keep his contractual promise, he will be replaced to the basic regime.

The four compulsory activities are: education by the teachers, sports activities, creative education (arts and crafts) and working. Facultative activities are first-aid lessons, traffic lessons (theory only!), and woodwork. There is a well-stocked library available.
It is necessary to speak and understand the Dutch language when choosing for the plus regime. It is, however, not required to speak the language fluently. The necessary knowledge of Dutch is often acquired on the standard regime.

The teachers' activities on A-wing are:
- primary education (plus a few social skills)
- small business course
- training for office assistant

*Note:* In a remand centre the time spent by a prisoner is relatively short; that's why we offer rather short courses so the diplomas or certificates can be gotten while he is still here, so he sees the results of his efforts. It is, however, possible to study a written course, and when the inmate is transferred to a prison, he continues the course there.

The sports activities on A-wing are:
- game sports (soccer, volleyball, basketball, etc.)
- fitness sports.

Woodwork is conducted by prison officers who have knowledge and experience of this activity. They teach the woodwork group various skills like knowledge of materials and tools.

Traffic lessons and first-aid lessons are also conducted by prison officers. These courses are always concluded with examinations, after which the participants get a diploma or certificate.

Arts and crafts lessons are given by two teachers of an outside art school. They are assisted by prison officers who had a special training.

Painting and drawing, sculpturing, etching, linoleum cutting and enamel work are just some of the activities offered by the art teachers. It is astounding to see that someone who never in his life has drawn or painted anything shows a lot of creative skills. By discovering this, the inmate is very often motivated to pick up other activities like a written course.

The arts room is one place where the inmates often say: this is the only place in prison where I don't feel like being in a prison. A good thing to hear ...

The library is one of three libraries in our institution, and has many books in many languages. Inmates may choose up to ten books a week to read. About 93% of the population visits one of the libraries, reading is very popular. Also, poetry is read frequently. The librarians cooperate with the teachers by providing training cassettes with foreign languages for the inmates, and giving out dictionaries, etc. They also have in stock law books, in order to let the inmates prepare themselves for their forthcoming trials.

As we have seen already, working is compulsory on the standard-plus regime on A-wing. The inmates work half a day, not in the weekends. One week they work in the morning and have their activities in the afternoon, and the next week they have the activities in the morning and they work in the afternoon. The quality of the work is somewhat higher on A-wing than it is on the other wings.
3. The First Offender Department

In this regime we aim to place young offenders between 18 and 22 years of age, especially first offenders. We do not want to mix them up with the ‘average’ inmates, because we do not want them to be taught the ‘criminal trade’. They are placed in a pavilion of 24 cells, and they do not get in touch with the rest of the population. The regime is quite tight. Rules and regulations prevail. Social workers and counsellors are working with small groups of about six boys. We just started an experience to let one of the older inmates, who was sentenced many times, voluntarily speak to the small groups in order to discourage them to continue on the criminal path. We have not yet evaluated this experiment, but the young ones surely were impressed!

Of course, the educational department is having their activities for this group, too. The teachers teach them basic skills, since many of the young ones hardly have any schooling at all. Attending school class is part of the compulsory program. The pupils also get homework, and the results are checked thoroughly. The teachers share their classrooms with the library. The librarians provide not only the books to read but they also have a few CD-ROM machines with games, so the young can indulge in a few games once in a while. A welcome activity in a tight schedule!

Arts and crafts lessons are also given by the team of the Rotterdam School of Arts. Sports activities are held every day, except for the weekend, and they are also obligatory. Physical training prevails three times a week and game-sports are given two times a week. On this pavilion we also have a yoga teacher to ease the restless souls of the young ones. This activity makes them feel and sleep better.

4. The Drugfree Department

First, let me explain the following. By calling this department “drugfree”, we admit that on the other departments there are drugs. I can’t deny this. You must know, that about 60% of our population is here because of the phenomenon ‘drugs’. Sell it, commit drugs-related crimes, etc. fill up our prisons more than we had foreseen years ago, and it is the main reason for the cell capacity shortage in the Netherlands. It is very hard for us, not to say impossible, to keep drugs out of our building. Inmates are very inventive, and we are always one step behind. Although our medical department provides drug addicts with a diminishing methadone program, the addicts are very eager to get their ‘stuff’ into the building. We know that much of it is being smuggled in during the weekly visit by family or otherwise; we are not allowed to search the visitors, but we do search the inmate when he returns from the visit. We are talking of small quantities here, so it is hard to trace.

Some of the addicts are willing to do something about their problem while staying with us. They are signing up to the ‘drugfree pavilion’, which accommodates 24 inmates. Before they are accepted, there is an intake by the counsellors of the CAD, a consultation bureau for alcohol and drugs. These counsellors work permanently in our remand centre, they also accompany the addicts while on the drugfree department.

When the inmate and the counsellors agree, a contract is signed, in which the addict states that he is willing to participate in the program, and that he shall not use any drug at all, neither soft or hard. This is checked regularly, at random, by urine controls. If an inmate is found
positive, he has to leave the department, he has to leave the department at once, in order to make room for a more motivated candidate.

We all know, that it takes a lot longer than the approx. six months in our institution for a drug addict to kick the habit; we see to it, that after his time here he is selected for a prison that also has a drugfree department in order to be able to continue what he was started in our place.

If, after these six months, the prisoner is released, he can be placed in an outside therapeutic centre, on a voluntary basis.

Besides the aforementioned activities, the educational department are also doing their work on this department. Teaching, creativity, library and a full sporting program to be compared with the young offenders are being given. Workshops are open three mornings or afternoons (that depends) per week, in order to create enough time to execute the activities. Yoga is also done here.

I must admit that, despite our efforts, in the end not many addicts have kicked the habit. We do see them coming back too often. They very often blame society for not accepting them any more, and they are not always wrong at that. But it is meaningful to carry on for the happy few who do make it.

5. Special Care Unit

This unit accommodates 24 inmates, who have psychiatric problems. These problems can be very severe. That’s why these inhabitants are being treated individually, or in very small groups of no more than 3 people. A psychiatrist and a psychologist visit the unit frequently, and a qualified nurse is added to the staff.

The educational department also works with the inmates on an individual basis.

Teachers try to find out what the inmate wants to learn, if he wants to learn something. Sports activities are also done individually, so are library activities.

There is a qualified art therapist available for individual sessions, she works with soft, warm clay and special colours in order to make the participant at ease.

Ladies and gentlemen, this sums well up the activities by our educational department, as well as the activities of others.

It may be good to know, what an average weekday looks like for the average inmate:

07.00 h waking up time, wash up, breakfast (note: all meals are taken in the cells, except for certain meals on the First Offenders Pavilion)
08.00 h working in the workshops or on special assignments
12.00 h return to the cell for hot meal and an hour of open air (between the walls!)
13.30 h activities start (not only activities as described, but also family visit – one hour per week – cleaning the cell, meeting the lawyer, counsellor, etc)
17.00 h return to the cell for evening bread meal
18.00 h recreation time in recreation rooms (every other evening) or spiritual counselling
20.30 h back to the cell and the end of the program. Cells have televisions and even pay-TV. These can be rented by the inmate, as well as a CD-player and a small refrigerator.
I would like to end my story by giving you fact and figures about the educational department:

- Head of education: 1
- Sports Instructor: 5
- Teacher: 4
- Librarian: 4
- Arts and crafts: 32 hours
- Yoga: 8 hours
- Art therapy: 14 hours

Summing it all up: together with the other disciplines in our Remand Centre, we are trying to make life for the inhabitants as useful as possible. But this does not make us a Hilton Hotel, like so very often heard “on the outside”. We are trying to prepare people (remember when using the words *inmates, inhabitants, prisoners*, etc. that we are talking of HUMAN BEINGS here!) for re-entry into society. A tough job, but in the end, a great one at that!
NEW CHALLENGES IN PRISON LIFE AND PRISON EDUCATION

Prison Education in an Overcrowded Prison

Steve Gravett
United Kingdom

The nature of the national crisis
1. The prison population rose by 40% between 1993–1997 to 60,580.
3. Overcrowding has increased as a result, 11,000 prisoners are sharing cells which were designed for one occupant, this will worsen with 16,000 overcrowded by 1999.
4. The level of purposeful activity has fallen across the service over the past two years, which increases the likelihood of re-offending on release, as Education programmes are cut and more prisoners are locked up in their cells.

These facts were reported to Parliament by the Home Secretary who undertook a Prison Service Audit in July 1997.

The nature of the local challenge
1. The prison roll has risen from 370 in 1995 to 530 in 1997.
2. The number of work, education and training places in the establishment has remained constant at 331.
3. In April 1997 the Management team agreed an action plan to provide an additional 70 work and training places by rationing resources.
4. A part-time Business Studies course was introduced, and two part-time courses in Computer Graphics and Computer-aided Design were started together with a part-time Self-Employment skills class. These provided an additional 36 extra places by means of the Education Contract.
5. Only 10 additional work places were able to be delivered due to work supply problems and objections by the relevant staff associations.
6. A full part-time Education programme was next introduced which provided an additional 45 places, and increased the total numbers on classes to 158.
A positive approach

1. Attendance levels at classes provided by the Education Contractor are 95% with waiting lists and inmates attending evening classes and weekend classes in large numbers.

2. Qualification bonuses are given to everyone who achieves a recognised qualification in addition to their weekly earnings.

3. Sentence Management has been introduced which helps inmates use their time effectively in prison and maximises limited resources. For instance inmates attending part-time education classes also attend the gymnasium on a daily basis and have access to the Library for private study and distance learning.

4. A computer based Risk Predictor assessment has been incorporated into the sentence planning process (nationally), in order to make treatment programmes, to which Education contributes.

5. The Education programme provided meets nationally laid down standards which includes the provision of a core curriculum which offers everyone the opportunity to acquire basic skills. All subjects offered as part of the core curriculum are accredited. The basic skills provided for all include the following:
   - learning to read and write, including those for whom English is a second language,
   - simple mathematics to a level that allows inmates to function in work and in society generally,
   - a basic understanding of computers,
   - social and life skills.

6. An induction interview and needs assessment is carried out on all new receptions to the establishment by the Educational Coordinator, and this forms part of the Sentence Plan.

7. Inmates who exhibit seriously disturbed behaviour and vulnerable inmates are catered for in special classes, currently 27 are involved.

The emphasis is on careful assessment and meeting identified need. The quality of provision is undiminished despite overcrowding reducing the quantity of classes available to inmates.

The international challenge

1. Thoroughly assess all inmates entering your establishment carefully and identify their individual skill deficiencies and needs.

2. Use a multi-disciplinary approach to maximise the use of scarce resources.

3. Monitor service delivery closely and maximise attendance on all classes.

4. Audit quality standards and do not compromise on standards.
NEW CHALLENGES IN PRISON LIFE AND PRISON EDUCATION

Liberty Through Literacy

Linda L. LaBoy
Mary-Ann K. Salvatore

United States

100 years ago, being able to write one’s name (as opposed to making an “X”) was the sign of an “educated” or “literate” individual. Later, reading and writing skills at a fourth or fifth grade level were expected, and were usually sufficient to read a newspaper or other documents encountered in daily life.

Now, without a high school diploma and commensurate academic skills – often including computer knowledge – one is handicapped in the work world. Even the definition of literacy no longer addresses grade levels, but ability to function in modern society. Literate communication in our society involves speaking, listening (and understanding), reading, and writing.

The National Literacy Act of 1991 defines literacy as “… an individual’s ability to read, write, and speak in English, and compute and solve problems necessary to function on the job and in society, to achieve one’s goals, and develop one’s knowledge and potential.”

The National Adult Literacy Survey of 1993 further states that literacy is “… using printed and written information to function in society, to achieve one’s goals, and to develop one’s knowledge and potential.”

For the incarcerated female, having a criminal record is often limiting enough when trying to qualify for employment. Add illiteracy and she is doubly handicapped.

Our focus for this presentation will be the illiterate ESL female. Since we both work in correctional facilities, our examples and methods are drawn from these experiences.

For the adult immigrant, English as a Second Language is truly a means to acclimate to a new life. Their bravery and courage in leaving the environment and establishing a new life in the United States is truly remarkable. Our responsibility as educators is to help these adults realize their dreams.

Traditionally, Latin women are raised to be mothers and homemakers – even in this day and age! It is not unusual to encounter a 30-year-old Latin woman whose education was effectively ended around age ten (third or fourth grade) because she was needed to help care for the younger children and help with household tasks.

In ESL, we often assume that the individual is literate in his or her native language. However, we often encounter the ESL “pre-literate,” an individual whose schooling has been so limited that even simple pencil, and paper tasks seem impossible. There is ongoing debate
in the field as to whether one should first learn literacy skills in her native language before attempting ESL. While this would be a wonderful achievement, time limitations, especially in our setting, make it unrealistic.

To develop ESL pre-literacy skills simply means preparing the learner to learn. Such basic skills as proper pencil grip, creating the shapes that make letters, and knowing where one word ends and the next begins are often assumed, and are just as often not possessed by the pre-literate student. Before a student can copy word’s and learn to read and write them, these basics must be mastered. Language is best learned holistically; we can learn to write what we speak and read what we write.

The purpose of pre-literacy instruction is to develop sight vocabulary and knowledge of basic conversational phrases to allow the beginnings of communication in English. Some survival areas are: filling out job applications and other work-related forms, using a calendar, telling time, taking a bus or other public transportation, shopping in a supermarket.

When teaching adults, we need to remember that their knowledge often far exceeds their ability to read and write. The most effective methods for quick (and esteem building) gains in academic skills utilize the adult vocabulary they already possess. With ESL students, it is important to make lessons a collaborative effort. Although the teacher/tutor designs the lessons and decides on the sequence of skills to be taught, vocabulary selected and materials used should focus on the student’s stated goals (i.e., citizenship, job, etc.).

Another key to opening the door to literacy for an adult learner is to take into consideration the affective domain: feelings, self-esteem, and self-motivation. The ego of a non-reader is often fragile. As the road to literacy is bumpy and full of potholes, the learner’s self-esteem becomes primary as a key to success or weapon of destruction. Giving the learner control of her learning (and thus her life) helps pierce the armor of self-doubt and fear of failure. A collaborative approach enables the learner to express goals, then develop new ones as she achieves the initial ones. Once you have the learner’s permission to begin, the teacher/tutor’s role is to provide structure in which the goals can be met, and to offer words and gestures of praise and encouragement. By “holding the learner’s hand” instead of pushing her ahead, the possibility of success is optimized.

The tools an educator needs to begin the ESL process are simple; we have learned to make do with limited resources in this age of government cutbacks. A pencil, notebook, folder, and a positive attitude are the only essential tools needed to help the learner take responsibility for her own learning.

Textbooks are helpful, also, of course. Choose a book that incorporates a holistic approach with emphasis on “survival” skills. The more congruent the text is with the learner’s stated goals, the more effective it will be, and the more positive the learner will feel about the learning process. If possible, have two texts offering similar skills and allow the learner to choose (another way of including the learner in a collaborative learning experience). Be alert to changes in attitude on the part of the learner and be ready to adapt or find a new textbook or approach if it appears the learner is no longer enjoying the sessions. A current bibliography is attached to assist you in choosing appropriate materials. The teacher/tutor needs an extensive “bag of tricks” or variety of methods and approaches. Someone presenting a similar workshop once said that you do whatever it takes to make the learning happen.
A wonderful resource for the beginning ESL student is the newspaper. Just showing the learner what a newspaper is and contains provides them with a survival resource. A newspaper provides information about jobs and important events, television and buying guides, and coupons for saving money. It can be used in a number of ways: to teach alphabet, survival words, and key conversational phrases, and to generate language experience stories. A newspaper is a resource for community survival and connects the individual to the real world. We have attached some “tried and true” simple methods of teaching reading and writing skills to illiterates.

So often the illiterate feels vulnerable and ashamed; she is indeed open to victimization. The inability to be independent in all facets of life leaves an illiterate feeling helpless and incompetent. With literacy come feelings of empowerment; it is the key to personal and societal success. When we teach an ESL preliterate individual, we help her to climb the first rung of the ladder of success. Literacy for the incarcerated pre-literate female is a guarantee of a better future for herself and her family.
NEW CHALLENGES IN PRISON LIFE AND PRISON EDUCATION

Norwegian activities in the Baltic States:
The Nord-Balt Prison Project

Ashjørn Langås
Norway

The Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are now members of the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe has taken a strong interest towards the Baltic States and has worked out reports about the prison situation in the three countries. Based on these reports and Director General meetings between the North and the Baltic States, as well as meetings between European Director Generals at the Council of Europe, one has obtained information and thorough documentation about the situation. One had therefore a solid foundation in order to build up a relief work.

Work carried out in 1996:

Most of the assistance towards the Baltic states, is given in Latvia. But we have also had some co-operation with Lithuania and Estonia. The work is funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. All has been done according to the list of priority activities set up at the last meeting in the Nord-Balt Prison Project in February 1996.

1. Latvia

- Twin prisons. The work in Latvia started with a study-visit in April. The governors from the three Norwegian prisons Ila, Trondheim and Arendal travelled to see their Latvian twin-prisons: Valmieras, Grivas and Jekabpils. Since then the prisons have been supplied with paint, machines, clothes, blankets, sports equipment, kitchen and sanitary-equipment etc. Large areas in all three prisons have been cleaned and painted, and an inspection trip taken by a representative from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and myself in November, showed remarkable results. Among all the things that have been done, I would especially like to emphasise the new sports-hall in Grivas prison. With assistance from Trondheim prison, the sports-activities in Grivas is now growing.

- Study-visits. The first delegation invited, was the governor and deputy governor from the 3 twin-prisons and two representatives from the prison Administration. With this delegation, we were fortunate enough to have two politicians from the Parliament, according to article 5 in the list of priority activities. The politicians had their own program, including visits to the Parliament. In November we arranged a study-visit for a doctor and a nurse from each of the twin prisons, and a representative from the Ministry. They stayed in Norway for a week, and were given information both on the prison system in general and the prison health care.
**PROTECTIVE BARS?**

- **Transport of goods.** All in all we have sent 8 lorry loads to Latvia during 1996. The transports have been carried out by Arendal prison. Just to mention some of the things we have sent: 1900 blankets, 3000 caps, 1500 sweaters, 2500 gym-sweaters, 2500 shirts, 2500 long underwear, 800 undershirts, 145 gymnastic suits, 20,000 litres of paint, 150 wardrobes, 170 chairs, 16 fully equipped offices etc. etc.

- **Prison Medicine.** As stated in article 12 in the priority list, improvement of the prison medicine field is of vital importance. To provide this, we have established contact with the Norwegian Health authorities. Since 1988, the responsibility for the prison health care in Norway has been under The Ministry of Health and Social Affairs. It is therefore essential to involve them in this work. Three representatives from the health authorities participated in a conference in Jurmala in October. During that time, they travelled to our three twin prisons to visit the prison health care sections. This resulted in a report with the aim to assist the prisons in improving their health care. Three areas were prioritised: (1) To improve the general and personnel hygiene among both staff and inmates, with focus on bathroom, toilet, kitchen and laundry facilities. (2) To improve the conditions for the inmates suffering from tuberculosis. (3) To improve the dental treatment.

- **Solidarity work - Christmas gift tours.** From 12 to 16 December, every prisoner in the three prisons, Grivas, Jekabpils, and Valmieras were given a gift each, containing clothes, food etc. The gifts were handed over personally by members of the prison staff from Norway.

2. **Lithuania**

Since July 1996, two Norwegian psychologists have been working in Vilnius, located in The Lithuanian Prisoners Aid Association, LPAA. LPAA is an association with basic activities to protect human rights. The two Norwegians have worked with the aim of helping LPAA in restoring a probation service in Lithuania, in co-operation with Oslo Probation Service.

3. **Estonia**

The Prison Officer Training College in Oslo have arranged a study visit for three participants from Estonia, as agreed at the Copenhagen meeting, 20-21 April 1995. A representative for the prison College then travelled to Estonia to follow up the work. We hope that the experiences will help us in developing similar projects in Latvia.

**Plans for 1997:**

- **Twin prisons.** The work within the three twin-prisons will continue also in 1997. An especially important area is to develop further activities for the inmates.

- **Prison Medicine.** The work within this field will be an important part of the work in 1997.

- **Dental treatment.** Better equipment for diagnosis and treatment is necessary.

- **Hospital for the inmates with tuberculosis.** According to the Norwegian Health Authorities, the conditions for the inmates suffering for tuberculosis are very poor, especially in Grivas prison. They strongly advice that the inmates are moved to better conditions. On a long-term basis, we hope to establish a prison hospital for all the tuberculosis prisoners. The plans have been discussed with and are approved by the Latvian prison administration.
Further developing of education, work and sports among prisoners. A sports-hall in Valmieras is finished and we have evaluated the sport projects in Grivas. We are now cooperating about a production work in Grivas prison as well as vocational training in Jekabpils.

One of the main goals of the Council of Europe for building up a prison co-operation in the Baltic States is to work against passive attitude, illness and damage effects caused by the serving. This goal can be obtained by moving the inmates out of the cells and putting them in activity. By firstly going in for sports and activities, one has succeeded in carrying out a process which, with comparatively simple resources, increases the activity level of numerous prisoners.

The co-operation between Norway and the Baltic States has established many bonds of friendship, and given the work with the prison a new dimension in both countries. The Council of Europe is very content with Norway's effort and would like to see that more twin prisons were established.

I have myself been in the Baltic states several times during 1996/97. And after what I have seen this year, I am confident that the work that has been done and the process which have been started will succeed.
NOTHING WORKS? SOMETHING WORKS!

Back to Society:
Charting, evaluating and suggesting measures
to improve follow-up training for prison inmates

Torfinn Langelid
Norway

Background

By way of introduction I should like to draw a background sketch against which the following pages should be seen. The National Education Office in Hordaland County is responsible for nationwide coordination and development tasks in prison education in Norway. The tasks are to allocate resources to the individual counties, to supervise and inspect, to gain an overall survey of the situation, to initiate and nurture pedagogical development, and to have a degree of international contact.

The education authorities assumed responsibility for prison training in 1969. Until then the Department of Justice had played the major role in this work. The so-called "import model" was launched in 1970 by Nils Christie. Prison inmates should not lose their right to social services such as education just because they are in prison. Furthermore, the services should be offered by the same organisations as in society as a whole. The other Nordic countries have different models. In Denmark the teachers are employed by prison authorities, and in Sweden the individual prison director defines the institution's requirements and purchases the services from local education authorities.

Prison education is defined as training to lower and upper secondary school level in institutions, for released inmates under supervision, and for other ex-prisoners with a need for education. It is the size of the latter two groups that regulates the resources allocated to the so-called follow-up classes.

In the 1970's we saw an extension of training opportunities in institutions. After a while it became apparent to educators and probation officers that many of those who had begun a programme of training in an institution were not able to continue on being released. The ordinary school system was as closed to them as a prison, since it only accepted new pupils in August and – to a much lesser extent – in January. This gave rise to the idea of establishing small follow-up classes for ex-inmates who wished to continue studies they had begun in an institution.

The situation today

Today training is given in 33 of in all 43 institutions, and there are follow-up classes in eleven places around the country. In 1996 there were 810 places for pupils; 638 in prisons and 172 in follow-up classes. Upper secondary level education accounts for just over half of the
places (51%), while the remaining places are shared almost equally between lower secondary education and other types of courses (practical living skills, computer skills etc). In all 3400 prisoners/ex-inmates took part in some kind of training programme in 1996. This corresponds to the yearly intake in a relatively large county. Most examinations are taken by those serving sentences in one of the national prisons or in follow-up classes. In addition to lower secondary education and some upper secondary courses, prisoners who are in regional prisons usually take courses that are non-vocational, i.e. practical living and computer skills. Prisoners in regional prisons often serve short sentences, and many who are remanded in custody are moved to other prisons when they receive their sentence. The educational situation for inmates can therefore often be unstable, with many interruptions and moves.

All in all 280 teachers work in prisons and in the follow-up classes, 50% full-time, 50% part-time. In 1997 the budget was NOK 76.7 million.

Objectives

The goals for 1997 have been defined as follows:

"In its budget proposal for 1995-96 the Committee of Church, Education and Research emphasised that those serving a prison sentence should be offered schooling after release. It is a goal to improve the inmates' opportunities for education after being released from an institution. Prison training programmes must also aim to increase the number of pupils who take public examinations, as well as providing other types of courses for those who need them." 
(Parliamentary Bill nr 1 the Department of Church, Education and Research 1996-97, page 87)

Reasons for establishing the team

The National Education Office’s decision to establish a special team was based on the emphasis laid by Parliament and the Government on the need to strengthen follow-up work for inmates after release from prison. A major aim is to reduce the number of those who reoffend, and in connection with this the Government has stated

"... it is vital to make it clear that other social institutions such as education, social services, the health service and employment services share a responsibility to offer the services they are bound by law to provide, and thus contribute towards reducing relapse among prisoners."
(Parliamentary Bill 1 the Department of Justice 1994-95, page 66)

Another important reason for establishing the team was that there has been no systematic evaluation of the 10-14 follow-up classes. The establishment and activities of these classes have often been somewhat arbitrary. Teachers working with these classes have sometimes done so in isolation, with little contact with the ordinary school system. However, it must also be said that the work in these classes has helped develop a variety of programmes and given experience which it is important to record and make further use of in order to bring prisoners back to society.

The team’s mandate

The team’s mandate was to
- collect and chart information about follow-up work in prison education,
- evaluate the experiences from these classes and projects,
- suggest ways in which follow-up work in prison education might be improved.
The members of the team were from The Department of Church, Education and Research, the Department of Justice, the Probation Service, the Crime Prevention Council, and follow-up classes. The work was led by the National Education Office, Hordaland County.

The team viewed follow-up work from three angles: a) through interviews and meetings with pupils and teachers, b) through interviews and meetings with representatives of services (prison, education, probation, crime prevention, social, health) and c) by gathering information about follow-up activities via a questionnaire. Before meetings pupils and professionals had received written points to which they were invited to give their reactions and responses.

The points were as follows:
1. Criteria and procedures for pupil intake in follow-up classes
2. The teaching programme to be offered
3. Inter-service co-operation
4. The duration of follow-up work
5. Responsibility for such work
6. Participants' finances
7. Social/pedagogical measures and dwelling/leisure activities in the follow-up period
8. Use of sentence plan
9. Use of individual training programme
10. Reasons for release
11. Classrooms

For each point the respondent was asked to a) describe the situation today and how it functions, b) suggest improvements.

The Crime Prevention Council has provided the services of a researcher who has helped to produce the questionnaire and analysed the material.

But let us first take a brief look at Norway’s prison population. About half the prisoners are aged between 25 and 34, while a quarter are over 35. Over half (60%) have no close family relations and lack a social network. On imprisonment only 30% were in permanent employment. Only 18% of the remainder lived on unemployment benefit. Just under a fifth (17%) had not completed lower secondary education. Twelve percent had graduated from upper secondary school. Almost a quarter (23%) say they have difficulties with reading and writing. Half of all prisoners require help with mathematics. (Fridhov 1991) Probationers show the same tendencies, apart from the fact that they are younger and more of them have completed lower secondary school.

Before we consider the team’s findings and proposals I would like us to present a historical perspective on the prison population in general, and on follow-up work in particular. The Prison Commission of 1841 analysed the current prison population and its need of support after being released. The analysis certainly bears comparison with modern criminological research.

"... Many convicts have on their release from gaol neither shelter nor any other means by which to sustain themselves. They are not commonly regarded as converted criminals, who
have resolved to live a new and better life, and who possess the strength and will to do as they have resolved; there is rather a general suspicion of them, and their company is avoided. Their efforts to obtain gainful employment are obstructed, even their own families uncharitably reject them, and the moneys they have with them from the penal institutions are soon exhausted; wherefore they are compelled to steal or commit other crimes in order to live. They are arrested and convicted, and are accordingly once again admitted to the prisons, of which they only for a brief space had taken leave. To this end, that the corrective aims of imprisonment should not be dissipated but persist, the prisoner must not be abandoned at the critical instant of his release. Care for the released prisoner, and the thereby induced and intended prevention of his return to the criminal path, constitute therefore a necessary condition for the permanent effect of treatment in a penal institution: and similar care should also be accorded prisoners released from preventive detention...” (The Commission for Penal Institutions, 1841, pp. 425–427, underlining by the present author.)

Exactly 140 years later, in 1981, two Norwegian researchers say in their report:

“... Little was done to prepare the prisoners for the situation they would face when they were released. Prisoners were left to their own devices. Education in prison has not part of long-term plan. Neither employment centres, aftercare teams nor schools took part in any systematic effort to create the right conditions on release.” (“Skole bak murene” – The school behind the prison walls – Skaalvik and Stenby, Tapir Press, 1981)

What is the situation today – 15 years after Skaalby/Stenvik’s discouraging conclusions? Before I present our conclusions, I would like to say a few words about how the various services/groups answered. Those employed in follow-up classes gave good feedback (almost 90%), but pupils too showed a reasonably high level of participation (64.3%) The Probation Service and invited prisons had a lower percentage – 50% and 30.8%. The opinions of the latter two must therefore be seen as further comments compared to the answers given by other employees in the follow-up service.

Results

On the basis of the before mentioned material Hage (1996) identifies seven major problem areas, which are:

- Inter-service co-operation
- Pupil financing
- Responsibility for follow-up work
- Leisure and housing
- Sentence planning
- Co-ordination of teaching inside and outside institutions
- Reasons for release

I shall now look more closely at some of these points:
Inter-service work

Opinions about the present situation in this field varied greatly. This variation seems to be connected to whether the co-operation is with internal parties, or with external services in the broadest sense.

There appears to be a degree of *internal co-operation* on the oral level between e.g. the follow-up team and the prison counsellor and school during the sentence period. This becomes more formalised as the time of release approaches. The size of the prison seems to affect the framework and conditions for the co-operation with the follow-up service. Larger institutions apparently find it difficult to include inmate follow-up work in their planning. This is postponed until the time of release approaches.

In general the investigation shows that much valuable time that could have been spent on follow-up work is wasted during imprisonment. It is evident that basic routines for internal co-operation have not been followed, especially in the larger prisons.

By co-operation with *external services* we mean primarily those working with employment, social security, welfare, school psychologists and any medical institutions. In general it appears that the co-operation between these services can at times be even poorer than internal cooperation. However, the investigation also shows that some schools have established successful interservice co-operation, with close contact with relevant professionals and services. The idea is that thorough planning during the prison sentence can make it possible for services involved to collaborate in support of the follow-up measures. First and foremost these include housing, economy, help with addiction – and these measures must be in place on release.

The investigation also reveals that some pupils have had very negative experiences of external inter-service co-operation. These relate to covering expenses, housing, benefit payment etc. In some cases pupils have had their benefits reduced when moving from a passive client situation to a more active attempt to improve their situation through schooling. Many find it unfair to be penalised economically for trying to do something constructive with their lives. Many also feel that employment service regulations give support for too short a period (a half year) to those in a training programme. In this way the pupils become dependent on another service – social security – with the unfortunate and unclear consequences this can have for the financial side of their follow-up activity.

Sentence plans

With regard to follow-up work, the sentence plan should satisfy two needs: It should provide a survey of skills and resources and pinpoint the goals which must be reached in order to bring the prisoner back to society. This is the individual side of the plan. The other has to do with organisation and should be a tool to improve co-ordination and administrative procedures, both within the institution itself and in relation to external services. One must conclude that experience tells us that both use and execution of sentence plans vary widely. Judging by the information gathered in the questionnaires, it would appear that it is in the prison system one finds the least emphasis on inmates’ competence and resource building during imprisonment. There has been some co-operation with institutions that have initiated sentence planning. Other institutions have made sentence plans on paper, apparently without following them in practice. And other institutions are on the starting line but have not as yet actually begun.
It is worth noting that pupils regarded sentence plans as valuable. One explanation for this positive attitude to planning one’s own future may be that the pupils involved in follow-up activities are the most interested and motivated ones, who also see mutually binding plans in a positive light. What they feared most was that the plans would not be adhered to.

Co-ordination between institutional programmes and follow-up classes

In prisoner education programmes co-ordination between what is offered in the institution and what is given after release is of the utmost importance. One of the aims of the questionnaire was to gain insight into this problem.

The investigation revealed that this co-ordination appears to be more effective in the general subjects than in vocational courses. Although few prisons have responded, the conclusion seems to be that follow-up courses generally do not deal with vocational courses. These courses are relatively well developed in prisons, so that here the investigation confirms that there is a real problem for ex-inmates who wish to continue vocational training in follow-up classes.

Responsibility for follow-up work

The investigation also shows that responsibility for follow-up activities can vary a good deal. The main impression is that this responsibility is rather arbitrary, especially when the prisoner has no immediate prospect of being released.

Nor does it appear that responsibility is shared satisfactorily between the support services and the follow-up team in the period after release. This applies to employment, housing, social services and welfare.

The situation may be characterised as follows:

a) In institutions: Planning and preparation appears to be dominated by individual cases with a strong personal focus. There do not appear to be well developed systematic routines, although these do exist to some degree, particularly in smaller institutions.

b) The release phase. Here we see close co-operation between the probation service, the follow-up team, prison and external services such as educational psychologists.

c) After release. The initiative is now left to the follow-up team. There are however examples of close co-operation between services outside the legal sector.

d) After participation in follow-up classes. Apart from a degree of informal contact with follow-up employees, no one has displayed any responsibility for the prisoner in this phase.

It is therefore tempting to conclude that there is a general lack of close co-operation between follow-up measures and the prisons before release, and between follow-up and other services after release.

Proposals made by the team

The teams make a number of demands regarding follow-up work. In their view follow-up and resocialisation must be planned coherently and systematically from the start of the sentence and continue after release until such time as the ex-inmate has once again found his place in society. At the beginning of the sentence there should be a contract between the prisoner and the probation service outlining the various measures to be taken, stating what is
expected of both sides, and what consequences a breach of contract will lead to. A plan of action and measures for the prisoner will in the opinion of the team be a useful tool and make the prisoner an active participant in his own resocialisation at an early stage in the process. A programme of this type will also prevent the prisoner from ending up in a passive client relationship with regard to his own situation, as so often happens with this group.

In order to make follow-up work less random, unsystematic and poorly planned the team believes that the time for starting resocialisation is extremely important – perhaps it ought to begin when the prisoner is in custody, and last for the duration of the sentence. The various measures must also be co-ordinated chronologically. This means that all professionals involved in rehabilitation – both those in the prison service and in “imported” services – must co-operate from the very beginning in planning and executing measures.

The team believes that close co-operation between the various professionals – and between inmates and employees – is of vital importance if the measures are to succeed. Only close and binding co-operation between all parties can secure continuity and progression. This cooperation should be formalised in a committee comprising representatives from the professions involved. In addition to the prisoner and a prison representative, these will primarily be the probation service, and the employment, social and welfare services.

The educational programme in prison should also lay emphasis on social training and practical living skills. Social and moral education should be an essential part of the work with the prisoner at all levels in the process of rehabilitation. We can here refer to the introduction to the curriculum for primary, secondary and adult education, which underlines that all education should place emphasis on these aspects of the individual’s development.

The team believes that it is therefore important to develop differentiated, individual course and education plans, which take sufficient account of the pupil’s qualifications and experience.

The team also underlines the fact that education is only one of a number of elements in a unified programme designed to form the prisoner’s future, and that school plays an important and meaningful role in the vital follow-up work.

Measures

The team discussed various measures for strengthening follow-up work and also mentions several services that ought to play a more active part.

The target group are primarily individuals who have been in contact with or registered by the judicial system, i.e. persons that have received some kind of penal reaction. Emphasis is also laid on the fact that follow-up classes should be seen in a crime prevention perspective, so that young people who in “expert opinion” are in danger of embarking upon a criminal career, may be included in the target group.

Many of the pupils in prison education are vocationally disabled – socially or medically – and are therefore in need of a systematic programme to help them return to normal working life. On 1 January 1994 the Employment Agency was made responsible for vocational rehabilitation. This type of job-seeker is by definition the responsibility of the Employment Agency, see a letter of 9 Jan.1996 from the Department of Municipal Affairs to the Employment Agency, in which it is made clear that persons with a criminal record, and
especially young people, should be given the opportunity to use Agency rehabilitation programmes. In order to involve the Employment Agency more actively in this work, the team proposes that a project be initiated to test ways of integrating ex-prisoners in working life, on the same pattern as in the project “Work with Help” aimed at ordinary workplaces, but with a view to including sheltered workplaces in the future (Blystad & Spjelkavik 1996 and Hernes/Stiles/Bollingmo 1996). Co-operation with the Employment Agency can also be improved by prison education buying special courses and services from the Agency more often than is the case at present.

The Ministry of Justice has proposed that more convicts should serve sentences in open prisons. This can create new challenges for follow-up classes. One of the aims of open prisons is to allow prisoners to attend ordinary schools or adult education courses or gain work experience etc. Teachers involved in prison education would in this case spend more time on counselling and social training. It is again necessary to underline the importance of following up vocational courses in institutions by increasing contact with external education facilities and workplaces. The team points out that courses which were formerly organised by the Employment Agency are now in the hands of county authorities and are either attached to “resource centres” in upper secondary school or to some other branch of county-run education.

The proposal emphasises that the position of both the Employment Agency and of the Probation Service should be strengthened. The Probation Service plays a central role in prisoner rehabilitation. Both because of the tasks they deal with (identifying individual needs, planning programmes, co-ordinating social services etc), and because of the experience and competence they have, the Probation Service ought to play a more active role in following up and rehabilitating convicts.

In order to make the measures as concrete as possible, the team proposes that five projects should be initiated, which can contribute towards renewing and developing work done in this difficult field:

a) A project over a 3-5 year period which tests a model for co-ordinating and improving the efficiency of follow-up measures. This work should begin in the institution and continue after release.

b) A project over a 3-5 year period which tests different ways of integrating former convicts in working life, based on a method developed in the project “Work with Help”, based on ordinary workplaces, but with the ultimate objective of also including sheltered workplaces.

c) A project in connection with a follow-up class which during a 3-5 year period tests the use of sheltered housing and leisure for convicts in the time just after release.

d) Collaboration between the Probation Service and Prison Education over a 3-5 year period aimed at strengthening the educational content and planning of rehabilitation programmes.

e) A project lasting 3-5 years in which convicts from open institutions attend ordinary schools, adult education classes, Employment Agency courses etc. It is especially important to focus on ways of adapting courses in schools to satisfy the special needs of this group of pupils, both in theoretical and in vocational subjects.
Conclusion

The proposal has been sent for comment to a number of organisations with a closing date 1 June 1997. Based on these comments the National Education Office, Hordaland County will send a proposal to the Ministry of Justice and to the Ministry of Church, Education and Research as to how this work should be continued.

The team has in the course of its work focussed on ways of improving follow-up measures; by studying the network in institutions and after release, by underlining the need for better inter-service co-operation, by emphasising the necessity of involving more services more actively in this work, by stressing the importance of continuing vocational programmes after release, by pointing out that follow-up classes alone are not enough, but that schools, employment centres, adult education centres, workplaces etc should be included. Last but not least basic needs such as housing, economy and leisure must not be neglected. Crime costs Norwegian society NOK 31-32 billion a year. In this light one of the most important measures must be to improve aftercare for ex-convicts.

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82. 6th EPEA Conference, Hungary 1997
Nothing Works? Something Works!

The Impact of Education on Post Release Success: Research in Progress in Ohio, Maryland and Minnesota

Stephen Steurer
David Jenkins
United States

Does prison education significantly improve our students' post release opportunities and reduce the probability they will return to prison? These questions have been with us, at least in the United States, since Robert Martinson's article in the Public Interest (Spring, 1974) entitled, "What Works? Questions and Answers About Prison Reform."

Martinson's review of 231 studies of the impact of various treatment programs (counseling, education, training, psychotherapy, intensive supervision, etc.) concluded that the various treatments "... give us very little reason to hope that we have found a sure way of reducing recidivism through rehabilitation." He went on to say that "... it is just possible that our treatment programs are working to some extent, but that our research is so bad that is incapable of telling."

The research conducted since Martinson's major study has been more encouraging. Ryan and Mauldin reviewed 97 studies on the impact of education on recidivism and reported that 85% of these studies reported a positive relationship between educational participation and reduced recidivism. The research reviewed by Ryan and Mauldin was conducted in the 1960's to the 1990's and included studies in 26 U.S. states and the Federal prison system.

Despite the variety of research and the generally positive findings, there remains considerable skepticism among legislators, government officials and the general public that treatment programs substantially reduce the likelihood that prisoners will re-offer once released. In the United States there has been a major shift in political opinion toward harsher criminal penalties as evidenced by the elimination of parole in the Federal and state correctional systems, longer prison sentences, "3 strikes and you're out" legislation, (an analogy drawn from the game of baseball), community notification of sex offenders being released from prison and negative public reaction to prison conditions seen as too generous.

The shift in public opinion has come during a period of governmental downsizing and more restrictive budgets in the United States. In Maryland, correctional education programs were slated for elimination in 1991, and for substantial reduction in 1995. New federal legislation in 1995 prohibited inmates from using federal education grants to attend college while incarcerated. In Maryland, that decision reduced the number of inmates taking full time college programs from approximately 1,000 to 15. In 1997, the State of Georgia eliminated their entire full-time prison education staff replacing them with part-time teachers at 1/4 the original budget. The funding situation remains stagnant at best. Only a few states are
increasing prison education budgets despite increasing prison populations and reliable data on the extent of illiteracy among prisoners in the United States.

In summary, the long term budgetary situation in the Federal as well as state governments coincides with a major shift in public sentiment thus creating a precarious situation for prison education programs in some jurisdictions.

Despite the increasing public support for longer sentences, denial of parole etc., there remains support for rehabilitation programs as an important aspect of incarceration. Recent research in the state of Ohio reported widespread public support for various rehabilitation programs, although support decreased substantially for programs serving chronic offenders. Over half of the respondents supported reduced sentences for prisoners who participate in treatment programs and more respondents selected rehabilitation as the main goal of incarceration than any other goal. One factor in the recognition of prison education's role in reducing crime is the quality of the research (or the lack of any research at all) establishing a linkage between these two variables.

Research on the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs has been of mixed quality thus adding to uncertainty as to the efficacy of these programs. Although a number of studies have rigorous methodologies, a substantially large study group and, most importantly, a control or comparison group, many studies have significant deficiencies. Most typically, these deficiencies include:
Research conducted by persons involved in the delivery or administration of the programs rather than independent outside researchers.
- Lack of a control or comparison group.
- Lack of consistent definition of terms such as recidivism among studies.
- Focus on recidivism not the broader post release experiences of releasees.
- Differing research procedures among studies making replication difficult.
- Small number of cases, especially when the total group is subdivided to control for various factors.
- Concern that results are not generalizable and only valid in the jurisdiction studied.
- Inmate student input on program preferences and quality is generally not available.
- Failure to consider other possible explanations for the observed impact of correctional education.

The International Correctional Education Association, the major professional association of correctional educators in the United States and Canada, proposed a multi-state large scale study of the impact of correctional education to the U.S. Department of Education. The CEA proposal attempted to address the shortcomings of research in this field. The states of Ohio, Minnesota and Maryland agreed to study 1,000 inmates scheduled to be released in the Fall of 1997 using the same research methodologies and instruments. A major literature search was conducted to determine what variables were found to be correlated to post release success. The data collection instruments in the three state study include:
- An inmate survey composed of questions relating to family background, employment, criminal history, educational history and personal motivation.
- Detailed school records while incarcerated covering achievement, attendance, etc.
Extensive electronic and paper prison data as well as recidivism data from local, state and federal records.

Post release data from the paroling authority including adjustment to community living, education and work activities.

Data collection is currently underway in each of the three states. The analysis of the data will allow conclusions to be drawn on the impact of prison education both inside prison (adjustments/behavior) and following release. By utilizing the same methodologies and research methods among the three states it is hoped that conclusions can be drawn which have never been possible previously.

The three states have substantially different inmate populations (urban vs. rural and differing racial composition for example) and policies on treatment programs (voluntary vs. mandatory participation, for example). It is anticipated that the large sample size will allow investigation of the impact of specific types of education programs as well as variation in program impact among various categories of inmates. Finally, and very importantly, the three state study uses releasees who did not participate in school as a built in comparison group, thus addressing a major shortcoming in a number of previous studies. Inmates who participated in or completed an educational program will be compared to inmates who did not participate with controls for age, nature of offence, previous criminal record, sentence length, family factors, etc. The first results of the study will be available in mid-1998 with a two year extension is being considered by the United States Department of Education, which is funding the project.

Beyond answering the most general question, Does correctional education work? i.e., does it reduce the chances that a participant will re-offend, the present research attempts to investigate the more difficult, and interesting, question posed by Duquid, Hawkey and Pawson: What works, for whom and under what conditions? Clearly prison education's impact varies with different subgroups of inmates and is likely to have varying impact with the same groups of inmates at different stages of their incarceration and or in different institutional settings. We hope to find answers to these questions.

References

Classification System in a Hungarian Juvenile Prison

Attila Hevényi

Hungary

I. Basic information on the institution

At the moment our Prison in Tököl is the only one for sentenced young offenders (aged between 14 and 21) in Hungary.

In Hungary the Penal Code states where the sentence will be served. There are 2 types of institutions for juveniles:

- **Prison** is a medium security institute – two-thirds of the 220 inmates are in this category,
- **House of detention** is a minimum security institution – 110 youngsters have a sentence of this type.

Both types of imprisonment are served under one roof in our institute. The crimes committed by these 330 boys are from light stealing to brutal murder. In recent years the rate of aggressive, mentally-disturbed and uneducated juveniles has steadily increased (Tables 1 and 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Rate of murderers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1993 9.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996 12.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997 15%</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Table 2: Breakdown of crimes (1997)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robbery 36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder 15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grievous bodily harm 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. 41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some other data:

- recidivists 40%
- elementary school certificate 40%
- skilled 1-2%

II. Background and reasons of working out a classification-system

The above mentioned 2 types of imprisonment theoretically make it possible for us to differentiate between recidivists and first offenders, between long term sentenced prisoners
and short term ones, etc. This alone, however, does not ensure us the adequate conditions to complete the fundamental tasks of the punishment.

In the previous period (before 1992), as a rule, the workplace of inmates served as a the basis for offender categorisation. At that time it could often occur that inmates with extremely different personality, intellect and behaviour were condemned to live together in the same group, or what is more, in the same cell.

What kind of consequences did this situation carry?
- Violence, torment and sexual perversion were nearly everyday occurrence.
- It was a hard task for our staff to find the adequate treating methods in such mixed groups.

III. Classification-system

1. General groups

In both types of execution all of the new inmates are getting into the Reception Department. During the max. 2 month period our staff-members (prison-educators, psychologists, physicians) carry out the necessary examinations. On the basis of available information a professional team has the competence to determine the adequate group for some prisoners.

The criteria of classification:
- actual personality,
- behaviour during custody and reception-cycle,
- crime committed,
- length of imprisonment.

Figure 1

<table>
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<tr>
<th>HOUSE OF DETENTION</th>
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<tr>
<td>Reception Dept.</td>
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<td>1 month</td>
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- Half-open Group
- Basic Group
- Half-closed group

9 Special appreciation to the staff of the Juvenile Prison in Martin, Slovakia whose practice gave us the idea to work out a similar classification system in our institution.
All things considered the inmates typically get into the Basic-group, in the case of better conditions to the Half-open group and a smaller part of young offenders must start prison-life in the Half-closed group. (Figures 1 and 2). These groups are of course permeable and our final aim is to release them back into society from the more relaxed treatment regimes.

The aspects of evaluation for displacement are as follows:
- change of personality,
- participation in work and/or study,
- relationship with fellows and the staff,
- activity in leisure time programmes.

2. Special groups (Figure 3)

The Penal Code and Prison Rules are ordering us to set up two further groups. The first is the group for Prisoners under mitigated rules. The Prison-Judge has the right to requalify the inmates to this special type of imprisonment. This is an open regime, which carries the entitlement to work and to study outside of prison, to spend the week-ends at home, to wear own clothes etc. The second is the so called Medicative-educative group. The mentally-disturbed prisoners are placed into this group, where a team of special educators, psychiatrists, psychologists and physicians use therapeutic methods.

In addition to the previously mentioned ones we have created 3 further groups, namely the Corrective group for victims, the Group for murderers and the Corrective group for extreme aggressive inmates.

Psychologists play an important role in the treatment of young offenders which is further enhanced by their physical presence in these groups.
3. Differences between the groups in the field of treatment and everyday life

The fundamental rights are guaranteed for all inmates in every group. In the general groups the difference is in the regulation of daily programmes and in the possibility of participating in entertaining events.

By way of illustration the inmates in the *Half-open group* have a chance to go to a theatre in Budapest or to take part on a sport-event outside the walls. On the other hand only some of young offenders in the *Half-closed group* are allowed to attend a rock-concert inside the walls.

Needless to say, in special groups the "victims", the extreme aggressive inmates and the murderers with more than 10 years sentence need special treatment or even therapy.

IV. A brief summary of our results

- the number of disciplinary offences decreased by half,
- the rate of violent acts declined,
- the atmosphere of the prison is much more secure and peaceful.
PROTECTIVE BARS?

NOTHING WORKS? SOMETHING WORKS!

Education and the Arts In Prison

Anne Peaker

United Kingdom

In preparing this paper I have drawn on discussion which took place during a seminar on 'Lifelong Learning and the Arts in Prison' which I arranged earlier this year, and on my own experience: first as an artist working in prison; then as an arts administrator placing other artists to work in a variety of institutions; as a researcher at the Centre for Research in Social Policy at Loughborough University where I had the opportunity to look at creative work being undertaken in a range of prisons; and lastly in my current role as Director of the Unit for the Arts and Offenders. The Unit is the national umbrella body for creative art work with people in prisons, special hospitals and secure units and with people on probation and community service. It is a charitable trust which exists to develop and share good practice with those who have an interest in this field of work, whether as someone working within the criminal justice sector, or as an artist or arts organisation, arts funder or educator.

After considering why prisoners should be provided with opportunities to learn through the arts, I will discuss ways in which this learning may be achieved and set out some of the hurdles which have to be crossed if the work is to be effective.

The Need

The only raw material which every nation has in common is the talent inherent in its people. Woe betide any nation which ignores this, and does not do all in its power to identify, nurture and deploy this talent to best advantage. Prison contains people with talent, which so far in their lives, they either have not used, or have not had the opportunity to use properly. It is the duty of prisons, on behalf of the nation, as well as the individual concerned, to put that right. (Sir David Ramsbotham, GCB CBE, HM Chief Inspector of Prisons.)

Few people would deny that the arts have an important part to play in everyone's education, however, for many of the people who serve a prison sentence an introduction to creative activity can be a real catalyst for change, if not always to total reformation, certainly to a much more satisfying and less destructive life both inside prison and on their release.

Before discussing the particular benefits which can accrue from participation in the arts, we need to take a look at the composition of the prison population. In talking about prisoners we are, as you will know, not dealing with a homogeneous group of people, however approximately half of them in Britain are young (under thirty), and 60% of those under twenty are functionally illiterate, having left school at the age of sixteen or earlier. Many come from
dysfunctional families (about a third have been in care) and have difficulty in relating to others, often they have led a selfish and lonely life and frequently they lack an ability to empathise with their victims. Emotionally immature and lacking in inner resources many suffer from a low self-esteem and boredom which result in a very negative approach to life. This information is drawn from a variety of reports, including those by the Home Office Research Unit, HM Inspectorate of Prisons and the Adult Learning and Basic Skills Unit.

What kind of arts education?

So what do we mean by creative arts in the context of prison and why should they be so important? All prisons in Britain are obliged to provide basic education classes (i.e. literacy and numeracy), they also have a remit as part of their core curriculum to develop social skills. Beyond this most offer courses in computing, some, in particular the training prisons which hold prisoners who are serving a sentence of more than four years, offer a variety of subjects to GCSE, A Level and Open University. The arts fit into these programmes in a number of different ways. However many people cannot, or do not wish to obtain access to education classes.

As a way into education

Currently offenders under the age of 21 years stand an 80% chance of returning to prison within two years of their date of release and both the current and the last Chief Inspector of HM Prisons and Lord Chief Justice Woolf in the report which he produced following riots in Strangeways Prison in 1990, suggest that there is an urgent need for prisoners, especially young offenders, to be better educated.

However, early experiences have resulted in the whole notion of ‘school’ and formal learning being so repugnant to many prisoners that it is difficult for them to obtain the help which they require. First they need to be encouraged to engage in activities through which they can obtain some sense of self worth and achievement. In this the arts have an important part to play, because it is not necessary for a person to be literate or numerate in order to paint or appreciate a picture, to make music or to act in a play, and although there are indeed very real skills to be learnt, it is perfectly possible to create something effective and expressive without first having to engage in years and years of study.

Many of the people I have spoken to after performances and exhibitions have said ‘I never knew I could do anything before I did this’, indeed it has often been their very first experience of receiving praise. Sir David Ramsbotham in his keynote address at the seminar spoke of the Inspectorate’s aborted visit to HMP Holloway, during which

The only constructive activity we saw...was the firing of a ceramic pineapple, by a woman, who had never done anything like this before going into prison, and now had a place at college to go to.

This building of confidence through the arts was echoed by the Michaela Morgan, Writer in Residence in Stocken Prison through the Arts Council of England’s ‘Writers in Prisons Scheme’, who said

One of my functions here is to make people feel able to write, feel able to express themselves, feel able to try what may be a new activity. A valuable by product of the work I do is the building of confidence and self-esteem.
She spoke of one particular man who having grown up in an environment of violence, abuse and neglect and then began to put his thoughts down on paper. He wrote:

There was no longer any light or love left around or within me. I was with the undead of our society, the underclass, surplus to life’s requirements. Due to my near deaths and criminal adventures I became famous or infamous in my neighbourhood. Insane was not a strong enough word for what I had become. My body filled with crack cocaine and heroin, drinking seven days a week....

He started in Michaela’s writing group sitting in the corner, not joining in but typing. Typing with his newly stitched wrists all too visible. He was using writing as part of the healing process. Writing, he said, seemed to serve a sort of catharsis. A purging and making clear...I’ve been told for the first time that I’ve got potential.

Having built up the confidence of these under achievers and established an informal relationship with them through the arts, education staff are often able to encourage them to tackle more formal approaches to learning.

As a vehicle for the development of personal and social skills

Drama has proved to be of particular value in relation to personal development because it offers a means by which: people who do not find it easy to relate to each other can: experience working together as a team, developing trust and empathy; pool their own experience to build composite characters which can be allowed to act out all sorts of situations and explore issues and feelings without overt reference to individual pasts. The study and acting of texts can also offer the possibility of learning how other people handle problems and relationships, at one remove. Witkin (1974) suggests that he looks to see what opportunities he ‘can create through drama for reflection, examination and development in order to facilitate change in the participants’ lives’. Drama is also used quite extensively by companies (like Geese Theatre Company) which specialise in work that helps prisoners to look very specifically at their own offending behaviour and to find a way of coping with their feelings of anger and violence, with drug and alcohol abuse and with sex offending.

As a form of intellectual discipline

Many people who find themselves in prison have had only limited experience of rational thinking, so the creative processes of research which look at cause and effect (what will happen if I do this and why), can encourage them to develop a questioning approach to the world about them and help them not to take things for granted. They may also experiment within a safe environment and to learn to think more laterally. Another benefit is that as a result of understanding the way in which an artist (of any discipline) will set about ‘making’ a work of art they will be helped to appreciate the work of others, and be encouraged to read, look at paintings, listen to music in a more informed way.

The demands which creative work makes both on a group and on the individual to complete a process and to see things through to a satisfactory conclusion, despite any technical difficulties, can be of particular value to people whose lives are characterised by...
‘giving up’ when the going gets tough. However carefully and logically an activity may be planned it is in the nature of things that there will be some unexpected outcomes. For example when glazed tiles which were intended to cover a large sculpture under construction with a group of women prisoners in HMP Styal, did not fire to the right colour, initial despondency was quite quickly turned into an opportunity by Raku Sculptural Arts Projects for discussion about the way forward. After lengthy consideration the group decided that by rearranging the mosaic pieces they could actually achieve an even better effect.

One consequence of imprisonment is that those serving sentences experience both loneliness (removed from friends and families) and long hours of boredom, in some cases confined in their cells for 23 hours out of 24. The Prison Service in Britain seeks to house prisoners near to their own home area and to provide ‘purposeful activity’ for at least twelve hours a day, however, the rapid expansion in the number of those for whom it is responsible and cuts to Prison Service budgets are making this increasingly difficult.

The Governor of HMP Brixton, in praising the art work of his Education Department, is quoted as saying that we ought to be training people to cope with unemployment not employment, because that will be the lot of all too many prisoners. This aspect of the arts cannot be underestimated. In an article in The Times newspaper, painter Maggie Hambling talks of being able to ‘go to one’s work in any condition, any mood, and have a conversation with it’ as one might with an old and trusted friend and others have referred to it as providing a momentary escape from reality, and an excellent way of making time pass quickly.

The arts can satisfy peoples need for a sense of excitement and challenge. As another artist, Brian Eno said, in his speech at the opening of the Koestler Awards Exhibition in 1995, the arts provide people with an opportunity to experiment and to take risks in the safety of their heads, and prisoners often talk about achieving as great a ‘buzz’ from engaging in an activity as they might from brushes with the law.

**As an introduction to a different system of values**

Many of the people who work in prison education departments on a regular basis also practice as professional artists. In addition individuals and companies are sometimes brought in to undertake particular pieces of work, perhaps to introduce a new art form or way of working or to be ‘in residence’ for a specified length of time.

This outside input is seen as valuable on a number of counts. It can bring a ‘breath of fresh air’ to both prisoners and staff, offering a different kind of role model. In an environment where success is usually measured in terms of possessions, the artist with his/her ability to obtain satisfaction and enjoyment from life with, in most cases, only limited spending power, can help people to question their own motivation and find new hope. In addition, since prisons are notoriously macho places, the introduction of people who have demonstrable skills which are not dependent on strength or used in an aggressively competitive way can result in prisoners questioning some of their own assumptions about sexual stereotypes.

Another area in which visiting artists have much to contribute is that of expanding awareness of different races and cultures. Black and Asian prisoners are substantially over represented in prisons and they frequently find themselves located in deeply rural establishments where almost all the staff are white and operating a system designed for white British people.
Artists also have to be self-starters, to create their own work and to be their own task masters. These skills, which are of increasing importance in the worlds of work and leisure, can be observed through working along side the professionals.

As a means by which prisoners may be helped to move back into the community

Many prisoners wish to continue their training in the arts on their release from prison. This may lead them to take up an Access Course and then move on to Further or Higher Education. Some prisons run full-time visual art courses up to Foundation Level or Open College of the Arts.

Others may find opportunities to continue with their interest by seeking voluntary placements with arts organisations. Several have worked with theatre companies and others in community arts and then obtained paid employment. There are two theatre companies in Britain which were set up at the instigation of prisoners and ex-prisoners. Clean Break Theatre Company, established in 1979 by two women from Askham Grange Prison, provides female ex-prisoners with both training in theatre skills and an opportunity to work with a professional theatre company which performs plays about issues relating to the imprisonment of women and thereby obtaining an Actor’s Equity Card.

The Escape Artists Theatre Company, more recently formed by two men when they were in HMP Wayland, exists primarily to offer an opportunity for ex-prisoners to take part in high quality productions and to this end it also provides training. Some of the prisoners who become involved with these two companies then go on to work in the professional theatre, others use the experience to help them through the difficult period immediately after their release. Through the Company they obtain the support and understanding which they need in order to develop the transferable skills and self confidence necessary for a move on to other opportunities.

Others do not wish to become involved with the arts on a professional basis, but they may want to attend adult evening classes, clubs, societies and community arts activities. Through these they can build relationships with the ‘non criminal fraternity’, and find enjoyable and legal ways of spending their time and energies.

Until comparatively recently there was little or no attempt made by the Prison Service to facilitate a prisoner’s move back into the community. Indeed anyone keeping in touch with prisoners after their release was liable to lose their job. Changes in the law which now require those serving sentences over four years to be released into the care of the Probation Service and a Sentence Plan to be devised, should allow for bridges to be built between outside organisations and people whilst they are still in prison. Artists and arts companies could (and indeed a few now do) alert those they work with inside establishments to the opportunities which exist for them on ‘the out’. These may include: providing information about the publishing opportunities open to them through the small presses, pointing them towards the various arts development officers who will know what activities will be on offer in their particular region and by helping them to make contact with appropriate community arts organisations.
Hurdles

It has long been known that the arts have an important part to play in prison, if only as a means by which those incarcerated can retain their sanity and preserve a sense of their own identity, however it was only when the Home Office and the Arts Council of Great Britain jointly commissioned CRSP to undertake a study of the arts in prisons that there was any formal recognition of their value.

The report (Peaker, A. and Vincent, J. 1990) suggests that the benefits which accrue from involvement in creative arts programmes, both to individual prisoners and to the institutions in which they are held, are of a personal/therapeutic, educational, social, recreational or commercial nature. Whilst the researchers found that there was almost universal support for the use of the arts amongst the prisoners, education and custodial staff and management whom they consulted, there were nevertheless many aspects of the work that were found to be difficult. These included: communications, both inside and outside the prisons; funding constraints; the demands of security and good order; and different perceptions of the purpose of imprisonment and of the nature of creative arts activity. There were also substantial difficulties created by the macho ethos of the institutions.

Problems with communications resulted in prisoners sometimes being uncertain about what they were being offered, in prison officers having little idea about the reasons why prisoners should be benefiting from an activity that appeared to be good fun and therefore inappropriate in a penal institution, and in arrangements not happening as planned.

Funding for the activities which take place within prisons has always been idiosyncratic, depending on the extent to which there is enthusiasm for the work at governor level. Since the cuts imposed by The Treasury a year ago which have resulted in a 13.3% reduction in spending over a three year period, this has been accentuated, with arts activities offering an easy target since they are not specifically included in the obligatory ‘core curriculum’. The cuts have also resulted in the administrative time available to the education co-ordinators, so that the process of seeking artists with the required skills, of filling in application forms for grant aid, and the carrying out the induction and support of visiting workers is much more difficult.

The security of the prisoners has to be the prime concern of the prison staff and activities which may involve the use of special equipment, the presence of outsiders who are not familiar with the prison regulations, and the bringing together of prisoners (sometimes with other people from the community), are seen to be potentially risky, especially by the security staff. Once again each prison is a law unto its self in relation to what is acceptable and what is not, a fact which can lead to much frustration and to people sometimes unwittingly breaking the rules.

These practical difficulties can become exacerbated where individual members of custodial staff still hold to the 1970’s perception that people are sent to prison for punishment rather than as punishment. Indeed this concept regained favour amongst the general public towards the end of the last government’s period of office despite the attempts made by the Prison Service Board to maintain a policy of rehabilitation and as a consequence there was additional anxiety shown about any activity which might attract adverse comment from the popular press. Currently, whatever the good intentions, the quality of many prison regimes is being damaged by overcrowding.
One of the biggest challenges encountered by those seeking to develop creative arts programmes has nothing to do with these organisational issues, it is the macho nature of the prison environment with its emphasis on strength and physical activity, which even applies to some extent within women's prisons. Relationships are competitive and aggressive and the mask is seldom allowed to slip to allow the gentler side of people's natures to be seen. Artists find that when introducing any new activity a substantial amount of time has to be spent in developing the confidence of participants to the point at which they will risk looking foolish in front of their peers. Sam Rippon, the drama lecturer in HMP Stocken spoke of the way in which she was at pains to create a "non judgmental atmosphere in which we can play and express ourselves."

Peter Street, writer and photographer currently working with young offenders in HMP Hindley, talks of the need for an artist working with offenders, to keep a cool head and to read the body language in order to understand what is going on within the group.

Whilst the difficulties of working effectively in prisons should not be underestimated, given the support of prison staff and a healthy respect for what may sometimes appear to be incomprehensible rules and regulations, artists have much to contribute. Not least, they bring with them a little bit of the outside world and a vision of life which has not yet been dulled by institutionalisation.

The Prison Service has responded to the issues raised in the report by setting up a Standing Committee on the Arts in Prisons which is currently in the process of preparing a policy document and guidance for Prison Governors on the use of the arts. In a letter to the author the Director of Administration and Services wrote that "the arts...make a vital and vibrant contribution to prison regimes" so, given that the Board's intentions are not thrown too far off course by the present pressures, I am optimistic that the valuable work which has already taken place will be built on to good effect in the future.

Conclusion

The arts have much to offer to people both whilst they are in prison and as a way back into the community after their release. They can provide people with opportunities for personal development and with transferable skills which may help them to find work or to occupy their time should they have spells of unemployment. While there are many different views on the effectiveness of a prison sentence as a deterrent to offending behaviour, there is no doubt that it can provide an opportunity for some underprivileged people to discover their own creative and learning potential for the first time.

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BEYOND 2000

Beyond 2000: Perspectives, New Horizons

Joseph Giordmaina
Anthony Vella
Malta

Introduction

Planning educational programmes for the future is at best a very difficult and complex task. Doing so within a prison system is even more difficult because there is a very important element missing, namely a universal consensus and wide support within the community for educational programmes in prisons. The public perception of prison inmates is still very negative and, compounded with the difficult economical situations most countries seem to be in\(^\text{10}\), prospects for the foreseeable future are not very bright. However, the situation may be considerably improved if we succeed in identifying the main current problems, coming up with possible solutions, and thinking of new horizons within the field.

The general aims of prison education today have always been underpinned by social concerns, so that mainly they followed the ‘opportunities’ model, that is ‘meeting the prisoners’ basic educational and cultural needs in order to correct criminal behaviour. By giving the inmate academic, vocational and social skills he or she can achieve goals in a socially acceptable manner’.\(^\text{11}\) A more recent development in prison education was the adoption of the ‘moral/cognitive’ development model that aims to give the inmate the ability to ‘calculate the real instrumental and social costs of resolving problems with criminal activities and the real option to choose law abiding alternatives’. The programme we devised for our prison fuses the two models together because we believe that not only are they complementary,\(^\text{12}\) but the success of our efforts is greatly enhanced by taking care of both aspects of the inmate. Thus what we have been trying to do is to empower the inmates by helping them to develop their educational standards, and also to change their attitudes towards life. We hope that this will help them conduct themselves as good citizens both inside and outside the prison. We also hope that with such knowledge inmates will eventually have more power to maintain themselves and integrate better once their term is up. We also consider

\(^{10}\) See for example the situation in Latvia in Angelita Kamenska ‘Prison Education through Education’ in European Prison Education Association Newsletter No.13 Autumn 1997 p.15.


education a human right and as a means of transforming the socially inadequate into adequate ones (‘normalisation’). While some rights are forfeited as a result of incarceration, the right to education should be retained because the alternative is a recipe for further social problems. It also seems to be the case that education in prisons helps inmates to cope with their incarceration by making better use of time available, which is practically the whole day.

We can also say that most of our ‘students’ generally have had a bad experience with the ordinary educational system. Inmates seem to view themselves as failures (even as criminals), are predominantly male (Malta male: 250, females 7), of whom a high percentage are drug addicts. Overall, most of them seem to have a low level of education, training and work experience.

On an international level, in general, most educational programmes are trying to develop a sense of responsibility, self respect and self confidence among the inmates. On the informal level the programmes aim at socialising the inmates, both inside and sometimes outside the prisons. Most of these programmes are a preparation for release. On the formal level, it appears that the following areas are being catered for:

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<th>Area</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>Basic Literacy</td>
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<td>Various Languages</td>
<td>Library Services</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>Music</td>
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<td>Further Education</td>
<td>Drawing/Painting/Art</td>
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<td>Creative Activities</td>
<td>Vocational Training</td>
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<td>Cultural Activities</td>
<td>Social Education</td>
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<td>Parenting Education</td>
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<td>Mathematics</td>
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<td>Physical Education</td>
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<td>Drama</td>
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<td>Life-skills</td>
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<td>General Classroom subjects</td>
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<td>Social Education</td>
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<td>Parenting Education</td>
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Special attention is being given to prisoners with special needs, i.e. major difficulties in reading and writing. Participation in educational activities outside the prison is also being encouraged, for example through visits to outside libraries, the staging of plays to the general public, and participation in discussions of a social issue. Some countries are at the stage of offering a continuation of the educational programme after release.

The Future

Some General Considerations:

We perceive the prison as a learning community. But so does the Mafia. So our perception is that prison has to function as communities of learning – learning which is at the same time worthwhile for the inmate and for the community at large. We feel that for education to succeed it has to be developed on three separate ‘sites’: the ‘inside’ community, the ‘outside’ community and thirdly the prison staff, that is, the administration and correctional officers.

This relationship among these three sites is the base for a necessary climate for educational programmes to succeed. Also to this very day, our concept of education has always been of a life-wide and lifelong activity. This ideal will be followed in the next millennium.

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14 For an example of team work see: DomhnallMac Mathuna ‘Physical Education in Ireland’ European Prison Education Association Newsletter No. 9 Winter/Spring 1995.
On the general level we also believe that whoever teaches in a prison has to be well prepared and trained in Adult Education methodology\(^\text{15}\). We do encourage volunteers to work in our prison, but only on the condition that they are teachers and are trained to work with adults. We also encourage prisoners who have the necessary academic background to participate as teachers themselves (for example teaching word-processing). But our full-time facilitators in prison make it a point of training these trainers first.

Now that the programmes have started, we also feel that for the future emphasis has to be made on the quality of education. This includes better training of the adult educators\(^\text{16}\), more staff development, exploring the possibility of integrating more the prison staff and the prisoners themselves, making both responsible for the education of the inmate, and also more importance given to the physical environment of the location where the activity of teaching is to take place. These environments should be conducive to learning, and we encourage the setting up of educational centres in prison.

**Figure 2: The interdependence of different programmes**

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\(^{15}\) On Adult Education training see the recommendations of the Council of Europe Recommendation No. R (89) 12 (1990) on Education in Prison Chapter p. 21.

\(^{16}\) See for example ‘A New Profession Outline’ for the German Prison Teachers’ European Prison Education Association Newsletter No. 11 Autumn 1996 p. 3 ‘Hardly anyone had studied special pedagogical theories and methods to become prepared for the work in prisons’.
Education in prisons has to be wider in scope, developing a more European dimension, for example pointing out common European values (i.e. democracy), more sharing of ideas, team project and also being more sensitive to changes in the labour market and changing job requirements. We have the responsibility to encourage inmates to learn how to learn, rather than the sole acquisition of knowledge. We have to provide guidance and knowledge about new opportunities. Also educational programmes have to be aware and consider what other programmes the inmate is going through, so as to reinforce and integrate the common goals of the prison institution.

The Future and the General Public.

We feel that in the immediate future all educational programmes within corrective facilities have to give more importance to the perception that the general public has on what we are doing or trying to do. At the end of the day, most of our activities need the support of politicians, and we know how politicians are influenced by the general public's opinion. In actual practice, what this means is better public relations, that is promotion of what we are doing and why. We also have to promote a clear policy of the prison: whether it is a site for punishment or a site for correctional activity or both. And if it is both we have to show that these two perspectives are not in conflict, and both are possible at the same time. The following table on the role of prisons might be of some help.

<table>
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<th>Three modes of Judicial Response to Delinquency:</th>
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<td>Retributive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>Means</td>
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<tr>
<td>Objectives</td>
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<td>Victim's position</td>
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<td>Criteria evaluation</td>
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<td>Societal context</td>
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</table>

We believe that any correctional facility has to be presented as a caring site for individuals who have special needs, and who are still part of society, even if for the present time they are not in contact with it. It is an institution that; while implementing the withdrawal of a number of rights, like the right to liberty, at the same time caters for the physical, emotional, intellectual, cultural, social and moral well-being of the inmate.

Some Specific Considerations for the future

a) Assessment and Research

We believe that in the future we have to develop more research that is both qualitative and quantitative in nature. We need to have performance indicators, to convince both ourselves and the general public that what we are doing works, that it is, at the end of the day, a worthwhile activity. We should also encourage research from institutions outside the system in order that all research is viewed at least in being objective. We need more research in what motivates the inmate to want to learn, and whether there is a decrease in recidivism, and whether if the latter is the case, it can be directly attributed to an educational programme. Obviously what we also need for the future is a better system of dissemination of results, and more comparative studies. This can best be done through a European network. We also suggest that a Documentation Centre be created (we would be happy to have this located in the University of Malta) so that those doing research, or starting new programmes would have an idea of where to look, and have available, in one location, all the necessary information.

Concerning the inmates we need more research in developing more reliable means of identification of the inmates needs, in such a way that courses are tailor made, as much as possible to their needs. We also need to have more research on adult’s learning styles, recognising the differences among the inmates. Identification of better teaching resources, teaching styles and technologies is necessary in order to become better teachers.

b) Learning Programmes of the Future

We believe that in the future we have to offer as wide a choice of worthwhile learning experiences as much as possible. This might be possible through better linkages with schools, education departments or divisions, universities and libraries. Libraries may be used as recreation areas, as information resources and as educational tools, irrespective of whether they are in or outside the prison walls. Also educational programmes of the future have to give more emphasis on general skills, rather than just focus on intellectual skills. Some of these skills might include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Confidence building</th>
<th>Communication skills</th>
<th>Personal responsibility</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal and family relationship development</td>
<td>Working in groups/teams – group dynamics</td>
<td>Life skills – problem solving skills</td>
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<td>Technological skills</td>
<td>Job skills</td>
<td>Financial management skills</td>
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<td>Self-development</td>
<td>Stress and anger development</td>
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It is through such skills that the inmate becomes more adaptable to the rapidly changing situations outside the prison, more creative and more technologically versatile. The level of literacy and numeracy of the inmates also has to be raised considerably. More use of teaching through project work is recommended, like for example life-skills through literature.²¹

²⁰ See for example New York State Department of Correctional Services Annual Report of the Academic and Vocational Education Programme (1/1/96 – 12/31/96) by Glenn S. Goord et. al.
²¹ See Robert Suvaal ‘Life skills through Literature’ European Prison Education Association Newsletter No.12 Spring 1997 p.13. Think also about the use of diaries as educational tools e.g. Asbjorn (an inmate/student) ‘Doing Time’ in European Prison Education Association Newsletter No.13 Autumn 1997 pp. 27, 28.

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We firmly believe that education should empower more the prisoner, both for when he is in prison and when he eventually leaves. There is a need for more programmes that develop the reflective abilities of the inmates, programmes which for example discuss the concept of rights, the rights of both the inmates in prison and the general rights of the general public. With such reflective programmes, the prisoner becomes more critical, more reflective and develops the possibility to 'read the world and not the word'.

c) Information and Communication Technology: Teaching tools of the Future?

Teachers working in prisons have to know and make better use of the available 'new' technologies. For example, better use can be made of the World Wide Web (www) to create virtual communities of learning and virtual classrooms22 in order for participants to meet together and discuss topics and share materials.

This potential should be better utilised by both inmates and the international community of educators working in prisons. But we have to be careful that such tools as the Internet are not solely used as information providers, but as knowledge building tools. The World Wide Web can easily be used as a publishing medium, but one must always keep in mind that those who are educationally weak are at a disadvantage in using such tools.

Through better use of multimedia facilities (voice, video, texts) and interactive learning modes we hope to help the inmate to:
- explore more the implications of their ideas and arrive at new insights
- use multi-sensory delivery systems
- promotes active learning and self-expression
- encourages cooperative learning and communication skills
- reinforces motivation

We have to explore more the possible use of video conferencing (distance learning)23 and virtual classrooms. One has to be careful in not falling in the trap of lack of diversity in teaching. This is possible if all education starts coming from the same source.

More and better use of computers in prisons can be made: the computer can easily be used as an application for:
- learning
- communication (for example word-processing)
- database/information

This implies the development of specific skills, like for example, the handling of information and data. The use of these technologies empowers the inmate to manage his or her own learning. But it is important that teachers are aware of these technologies and adapt their teaching strategies accordingly.


23 About some problems of using distance learning in prisons see: Angelita Kamenska ‘Prison Education through Education’ in European Prison Education Association Newsletter No.13 Autumn 1997 p.15.
d) Some Current And Possible Future Problems

One major problem that all countries seem to be going through is economising measure. Less and less money is being provided for educational projects in prisons. The problem is being compounded by the fact that, at least in Malta, there is an increase in the number of inmates in prisons:

One other worrying problem is quality. With the increase in the number of inmates one has to increase the number of teachers so as to maintain an adequate teacher to inmate ratio. Training of such teachers (and volunteers) is expensive and time consuming. One possible solution is the better use of the ‘new’ technologies, but these create problems of their own, like for example cost, availability and security. Also these technologies can never substitute the ‘real’ educator; and we all know that the interaction between educator and inmate is a necessity. And speaking of money, we also need to secure the same economical return to the inmate for attending educational activities at a par with attending for work. We believe that education is at the end of the day an investment for both the inmate and society in general.

One other problem that needs to be addressed is the isolation of the teacher working in prison from the rest of the profession. We know that prison, by its very nature isolates, and this is not healthy, especially for teachers who do not have the opportunity to mix and share with others working in their own field and on a more general level. We feel that it is important that education in prison is viewed as part of the national education programme, and not as an appendix to education in general.

The last point we want to draw our attention to is the ethics involved in the teaching in prisons. We know that this is a problem and that it has to be addressed and tackled soon. We feel that an (maybe European?) Ethical Code for teachers working in prisons should be drawn up.

e) Some Major Questions that need an Answer:

- How different (if at all) should educational programmes in prisons be?
- What kind of differentiation are we to make in providing educational programmes for inmates, e.g. crime, length of sentence, gender, nationality, age, life-histories (drug addicts)?
- Is education being used as a subtle mode of control? Of normalisation? Who gives power to the teachers to ‘normalise’ others? And what is this ‘normalisation’ all about?
- In whose interests does this normalisation work?
- What are the implications (to the prison authorities and the inmates him/herself) of an inmate who becomes more critical and reflective in prison (rather than an alienated one)?

24 See Council of Europe Recommendation No. R (89) 12 on Education in Prison No. 5: Education should have no less status than work within the prison regime and prisoners should not lose out financially or otherwise by taking part in education.
25 See Hans Sjoberg and Rolf Blomberg’s interview of Kevin Warner in European Prison Education Association Newsletter No.12 Spring 1997 pg.15.
26 See Council of Europe Recommendation No. R (89) 12 on Education in Prison No. 2: Education for prisoners should be like education provided for similar age groups in the outside world, and the range of learning opportunities for prisoners should be as wide as possible.
Main Recommendations

As a conclusion to this paper we would also like to make a number of recommendations. These recommendations are not in any order of priority:

1. A code of ethics for teachers working in corrective institutions.
2. Identification of responsibility of the educational programme: shifting the responsibility from the teacher to the inmate and other prison staff.
3. Providing the funds and resources necessary for education, including more investment in information technology equipment.
4. Use available resource to help those mostly in need – positive discrimination.
5. Devise modes of evaluation, assessment and accountability – for both inmate and teachers.
6. Increase teacher to inmate ratio – possibly through the training of volunteers (for example university students) and other inmates.
7. Create more professional development opportunities and support for those working with inmates, through for example links with educational institutions.
8. More use of multiple delivery systems to cater for different learning styles inmates have.
**BEYOND 2000**

Clay and Welfare: Towards Empowering the Offenders

*Markku Salo*

*Finland*

I. Introduction

I would like to start with two true stories or anecdotes from my short experience in prison life. As some of you probably know the Canadian prison administration started a *mission project* – and the Finns did what we are used to do with international affairs: we exported the idea. As usual too, the whole organization of the project came from above, from the central administration. So we thought of organizing a debate in our prison for everybody concerned. However, there was and is a disagreement who belongs to everybody: A Representative of the guardians’ corporation declared that the prisoners should not be included in the debate, because – I quote – “people who have broken the law cannot know much about moral affairs (i.e. about the invisible line between good and evil). That’s why I would consider their participation as immoral.”

At the very same week I was visiting a northern swamp prison, one of those which were built in the 1930’s in order to dry the enormous areas of swamp. It might have been the other way round: They built the prisons and found out that there has to be some work: so, let’s dry the swamps! Most of the prisoners were working during the day but I found two gypsies in their extremely home-made cell. They asked me: Where does this gentleman come from? I come from Kerava. Oh, that’s where everybody comes from – this time meaning by ‘everybody’ the prison population of Finland.

I would like to pose the first argument now in an explicit form: it is very hard or impossible to think of prison education according to this dualistic vision of everybody. The meaning basis of prison education should include everybody – the staff, the prisoners and their relationships to the so called outside world. However, we all know that the Protestant ethics of work concerns everybody in this field. Speaking about prison education I am not referring to study curricula or educational programs, but to something that is nearer to the German concept of ‘Bildung’.

Someone could argue that the whole idea of a common prison education is utopian because there is not any common reality inside prisons. This is not at all the case: there is if not everybody’s but still a highly shared common reality – that of paid work. We may argue to what extent it is valid that ‘Arbeit macht frei’ in modern prison life, but it is unquestionable that ‘Arbeit macht Gefängelse’.
II. Arbeit macht frei oder Bildung durch Wissenschaft

The reason why the prisoner works or participates the prison education can be that he is only committing his sentence and does not see that this activity is linked to his future after the sentence. However, there is a slight difference between these two: Work can be useful for the prison (in economical and political sense) and for the prisoner (in psychological sense) while it is difficult to see why prison education in a traditional sense is useful for the prison otherwise than a form of social order.

But let’s leave aside for a moment both work and prison education and focus on education, ‘Bildung’. According to a recent Ph.D. thesis by a former Finnish prisoner, Mr. Ulvinen there are four educational aspects – or to use his term – educational spheres in prison life. These are:

- the formation of strategy for daily coping. The prisoner creates a motive of purpose to pass his sentence and a motive of meaning to pass it meaningfully. This strategy for daily coping is also the sphere where the prisoner meets the first legislative goal of prison care: the necessity to secure the execution of sentences.

- the formation of strategy for activity to commit oneself to imprisonment. The prisoner chooses the tasks most suitable for him in order to solve the dilemma between the life worlds of imprisonment and freedom. This is the sphere where the prisoner meets the second legislative goal of prison care: the minimization and reduction of the disadvantages of losing one’s freedom.

- the acquirement and establishment of cultural capacity of action inside prison life. However, there are more than one subcultures in prison life and they all have their peculiar conceptions of the interrelationship between “the inside” and “the outside” worlds. Ulvinen maintains this to be the reason why prisoners get an unrealistic vision of their future after the imprisonment. This is the sphere where the prisoner meets the third legislative goal of prison care: the utilization of the prison time and the chances for growing capacity of action for civil world.

- the effect on the release of the structures of meaning which have been formed in prison. This is the sphere where the prisoner puts into a test the realization of the third legislative goal in the context of his release. This means that the prisoner has had to fix himself to the tasks that he has chosen to accomplish during his sentence, but when approaching the release he should be able to tear himself apart from the meaning structures of prison life – he needs acutely a new coping strategy, just like he needed when entering the prison life, but at the same moment he still has to confront the dilemma between the life worlds of imprisonment and freedom.

This analysis shows that we need a broader concept of education, i.e. Bildung, and not to consider prison education as only a totality of educational and rehabilitative programs. It also points to the direction where the classic idea of Bildung durch Wissenschaft is not sufficient. Both – the classic Bildung university and the prison are institutions of the state. Both are states and communities within the state usually with geographically recognizable boundaries. Both can have as their ultimate goal the self realization of the individual. The difference, however lies in the nature of the institutions and in the means of individual self realisation. When realizing its essence the prison becomes a transitory institution for the prisoner –
although this may not be the case for the staff and for all or most – of the prisoners. This means that the essence of any prison institution is not to reproduce itself – as it is with Bildung university. University is more like a library of living and enlivened truth(s), which reproduces itself through individual processes of Bildung. The prison is a place where you have to confront the moral world, the borderline between good and evil; as well as that of right and wrong which you may have at least heard of before. You can not stay in prison for the rest of your life studying these matters – or as a matter of fact you can, but that is considered to be a failure. In university it is thought to be reasonable to search for truth the rest of your life – whether you find it or not.

As I see it, prison is not and should not be an institution grounded on the principle of Bildung durch Wissenschaft but on the principle of Bildung durch ausgelebte Erfahrungen, education through lived experiences. Educational programs based on scientific approaches of – say – psychology, psychotherapy, sociology etc. are not a sound basis of prison education just because the phenomena of good and evil or right and wrong are not scientific, but moral and ethical questions.

To become truthful or to become morally righteous and ethically good may take a lifetime, but it is questionable that prison is a suitable place for this kind of practice. Long-term imprisonment has been argued to correspond with the growth of immoral and unethical action and lead to recidivism. Why is it so? My short prison experience gives me access to only one attempt of answer: it is difficult to build the bridges between the life worlds of prison and civil lives – and this difficulty is shared by everyone – and this time everyone includes the prisoners, the ex-prisoners, the staff of the prisons and the public.

III. Clay and Welfare

It is this difficulty that lies at the base of the necessary transformation of perspective towards prison care and prison education. This change of perspective can only be the consequence from the change of action. The basic idea of the Clay and Welfare project is to create new networks between new partners. I would like to give a short list of the principals of this project and their main socio-structural obstacles until now:

1. Clay and welfare tries to establish a collaborative training project towards self employment and collective employment. Collaboration takes place between prisoners approaching their release, developers of clay technology, trainers of prevailing technology, diverse voluntary grass-root organizations for the support of released people and local support for the housing of disadvantaged persons, students of third sector economies and local social, health and employment agencies.

The main obstacle for collaboration has been the traditional and highly sectorized distribution of resources. By definition collaboration is possible if and only if there is an area for shared responsibility. E.g. if the responsibility for the education and employment of prisoners is in the hands of prison staff and pre- and post-sentence care, education and opportunities of work are under the responsibility of communal services – including the highly non-existent probation care – there is not any chances to break the dualism between prison world and civil world. On the contrary it could be argued with strong reliability that the evident lack of true alternatives for recidivism lies exactly in this lack of shared responsibility and the outmoded practice of delegatory functions between state and communal authorities.

6th EPEA Conference, Hungary 1997
The other major obstacle is the lack of understanding and interest for social economies in Finland. The basic idea of social economy is that you cannot separate making products, delivering services and making profits from the well-being of everybody. This separation is however at the root of classical market economy and classical state socialism either in its real socialistic or Scandinavian welfare socialistic forms. Naturally, we are not going to change this state of affairs, but happily that change is already on its way — and the decline of classical market economy is as near as the change of the millennia.

2. The basic idea of this project is quite simple. It is to create preconditions for some prisoners approaching their release to learn about clay technology and participate in the production and marketing of clay products. The ones who have been thrown outside the labour market are given new and creative chances to become the pioneers for a new kind of technology.

The major obstacle here is the traditional prison culture according to which — from the prisoners’ point of view — there can not be any positive transfer of learning from prison education and from prison work to civil life. From the staff’s side in a post-biblical world the ones who enter the prison should also always be the last ones and never turn out to be the first ones. Pioneering by the prisoners would be a massive insult of public morals. Besides it would be absolutely intolerable, for we would lose sight of the collective revenge whose target the prisoner is and should be. And yet, this is absolutely valid if one is not searching for ways to solidarity.

3. The idea is that the participation for the project starts some months before the release so that the sharp contrast between the life worlds of prison and civil life could be smoothed out as far as possible. The training part occurs during the sentence which is followed by a membership in a cooperative or apprenticeship in a small-scale clay industrial firm or a self entrepreneurial practice.

The major obstacle here has been that the public authorities for employment at the local level have not yet realized that labour market is becoming all the time more varied and multileveled. There is more subsidies available for supported employment than are actually used. E.g. cooperatives are not seen as reliable investment for these subsidies, although they do have means in helping the unemployed to employ themselves permanently. So, the whole policy of unemployment seems more to reproduce and secure mass unemployment than rely on the solutions already discovered. This same can be said of the prevalent policies of prison care.

The reason for this seems to be political, not in a narrow party-political, but in a more profound socio-political sense. In Finland the classical liberalistic thinking has finally got some hold on social policy and privatization and consumerism are on their way to the paradise of the few. The prevalent and still probably dominant Scandinavian state oriented welfare thinking seems to be on the defence but it has lost its energy and ability for renewal. Local, third sector oriented attempts for creating new forms of labour are still a rather recent discovery in our country. These attempts have to struggle for survival and recognition in a climate of power struggle between market oriented liberalism and state oriented socialism. This is however a time period, where liberalism and socialism have very little to offer when it comes to empowering strategies of the disadvantaged. In a national economy with very high level of unemployment there is a necessity to strengthen the diversity of employment through
new forms of self employment, small scale entrepreneurship and workers’ cooperatives. This is not an ideological statement, for in an economy like ours, if you truly want to reduce the level of recidivism, you have to create new forms of labour.

IV. Conclusion

The creation of new forms of labour – what does it basically mean? It does not mean that prison, care and education should continue to discipline prisoners or neo-slaves for labour market in liberalistic sense. Nor does it mean that we as servants of the welfare state construct educational programs and new forms of labour for prisoners in welfare socialistic sense. Our duty is to create preconditions for self-empowering strategies of employment to grow. It is even more important to avoid doing many things that we are used to do than what we do. We should keep our ears more open to prisoners’ proposals and confront those proposals with our reality so that the ones whose reality has been denied would have more means of construction. There is a danger that without new networks empowerment strategies turn into new illegal subcultures or stilt more sophisticated psycho-therapeutic power structures. So, finally prison education has to confront the bars as a cultural form of mentality, to start deconstructing that kind of mentality and reconstruct the future for cultural solidarity. Otherwise an ex-prisoner continues to be a prisoner and everybody continues to come from Keraya. We do need everybody to cultivate a barless culture where there is finally a room for everybody to live.
APPENDIX

Daily Programme of the Conference

1 Nov  SATURDAY

20.00 Welcome cocktail/reception by Ferenc Tari
       Director General of the Hungarian Prison Administration

2 Nov  SUNDAY

        Chair:  János Boros, Hungary

        08.00  Breakfast

        09.30  Plenary session
                Opening Addresses by
                Svenolov Svensson, Chair of EPEA
                Pál Vastagh, Minister of Justice
                János Boros, Chair of Organizing Committee

        Topic 1  Prison System and Humanization
                Keynote lecture by Ferenc Tari
                Director General of the Hungarian Prison Administration

        10.30  Coffee/tea break
11.00  

*Workshops on Topic 1*

*Room 1*  
Public Opinion on Prison  
Ray Dormer, Australia

*Room 2*  
Wherever You Want: A Tool for Cooperation within the Work of Rehabilitation  
Andreas Saehlie, Norway

*Room 3*  
What's on Demand in Remand?  
Niek Willems, the Netherlands

*Room 4*  
Prisoners are People: Maintaining Social Identities in Prisons  
Anita Wilson, United Kingdom

*Room 5*  
Voluntary Counselling as Part of the Social Education in Slovenia  
Irena Kriznik, Slovenia

12.30  
Lunch

14.00  
Sightseeing by bus

19.00  
Dinner and wine tasting in a wine-cellar or concert  
(facultative programme)

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**3 Nov  MONDAY**

*Chair:*  
Paddy Rocks, Northern Ireland

08.00  
Breakfast

09.30  
*Plenary session*

*Topic 2*  
New Challenges in Prison Life and Prison Education  
Keynote lecture by Robert Suvaal  
Educational Adviser, Ministry of Justice, the Netherlands

10.30  
Coffee/tea break
11.00  **Workshops on Topic 2**

*Room 1*  
Norwegian Activities in the Baltic: Nord-Balt Prison Project  
Asbjørn Langås, Norway

*Room 2*  
Learning Strategies: the Student’s Key to Learning  
Kjell Andberg, Norway

*Room 3*  
Prison Education in an Overcrowded Prison  
S. M. Gravett, United Kingdom

*Room 4*  
Making Access to Education in Latvian Prisons Real  
Maris Mednis, Latvia

*Room 5*  
Liberty through Literacy  
Linda L. LaBoy & Mary-Ann K. Salvatore, USA

12.30  Lunch

14.00  **Plenary session**

**Topic 3.1**  
Nothing Works? Something Works!  
Keynote lecture by Prof. Friedrich Lösel  
University of Nürnberg-Erlangen, Germany

15.00  Coffee/tea break

15.30  **Workshops on Topic 3.1**

*Room 1*  
Back to Society  
Torfinn Langelid, Norway

*Room 2*  
Transnational Experiences: Biford Project  
Torril Angeli, France

*Room 3*  
Special Groupwork Named ‘Portrait’  
Legs Boelen, the Netherlands

*Room 4*  
Evaluating the Impact of Education on Post Release Success  
David Jenkins & Stephen Steurer, USA

*Room 5*  
Prison Video  
Dominic Henry, Northern Ireland

19.00  Dinner at Hotel Agro, Hungarian folk music concert
4 Nov  **TUESDAY**

**Chair:** László Csetneky, Hungary

07.00  Breakfast

08.00  EPEA General Council Meeting  
(for the Steering Committee and liaison persons)

10.00  *Plenary session*

**Topic 3.2**  **Nothing works? Something works!**
Keynote lecture by András Csóti  
Deputy Director General of the Hungarian Prison System

10.45  Coffee/tea break

11.15  *Workshops on Topic 3.2*

*Room 1*  **The Development and Use of a Transition Social Skills Assessment Instrument**  
Stan Karcz, USA

*Room 2*  **Classification System in Hungarian Juvenile Prisons**  
Attila Hevényi, Hungary

*Room 3*  **Working out a Plan for Prison Education**  
John Johansen, Norway

*Room 4*  **Education and the Arts in Prison**  
Anne Peaker, United Kingdom

*Room 5*  **Meanings that are Generally Human**  
Edit Árvay Sayko, USA

12.30  Lunch

13.30  Prison visits (option of 3 institutions)

18.15  Departure for the closing reception

19.00  Closing banquet to be held on a boat on the river Danube  
hosted by the Minister of Justice
5 Nov  **WEDNESDAY**

**Chair:** Janine Duprey Kennedy, France

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<td><strong>Beyond 2000: Perspectives, New Horizons</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Clay and Welfare: Towards Empowering the Offenders</strong></td>
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<td>Csaba Konkoly, Hungarian Deputy Minister of Justice</td>
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Public Opinion On Prison

Ray Dormer, Australia

This interactive workshop will focus on an attempt to define the public attitude to prisons. It will consider the contradictions which seem to appear in public comments on prisons, prison sentencing, and prisoners, and will compare the words used by the public to discuss the prison situation and the underlying meaning of the words that are used.

In an area where little significant research exists, they will attempt to determine the factors which condition and inform public attitude in an attempt to better understand the public perception of prisons.

Typical of the questions to consider are:

- How does the public perceive prison?
- What sort of life does the public expect prisoners to have?

This will lead us to such questions as:

- Is the public ready when prisoners leave prison?
- What is the public perception of the purpose of prisons?
Wherever You Want: A Tool for Cooperation within the Work of Rehabilitation

Andreas Saehlie, Norway

There are lots of obstacles on the way back to society for a convicted person. One major obstacle might be society's way of dealing with the process.

- Do the representatives have a mutual goal and understanding about each individual and the specific needs and goals for this individual?
- Do the people involved have the understanding needed to be able to be part of the 'coaching team'?
- Is the process of rehabilitation based on a 'wholistic' analysis of the real situation?
- Long and short term planning.
- Awareness and understanding of own development.
- Building self-esteem.
- Awareness of what is influencing own 'performance'.
- What is my role in this (whoever am I)?

What's on Demand in Remand?

Niek M. Willems, The Netherlands

The lecture depicts life from an educational view at the Rotterdam Detention Centre 'Noordsingel'. It describes the five different regimes under one roof. It also tells of the efforts of the educational department of their institution to meet the required high detention standards. The lecture leaves ample space for discussion.
Prisoners are People: Maintaining Social Identities in Prisons

Anita Wilson, United Kingdom

The paper develops two themes that are fundamental to the concerns of the European Prison Educators Conference 1997 at which this paper is first presented. These themes are literacy and prisoners. In the discussion the author wishes to present some traditional, educational and personal perceptions of each in order to re-position and re-assess some conventional theories. In doing so the author hopes to dispel some myths as to the value that should be placed on certain perceptions of literacy and prisoners and highlight the need to place both within a theoretical framework which addresses issues around social context and personalisation.

Voluntary Counselling as a Part of Social Education in Slovenia

Irena Kriznik, Slovenia

The paper tells about a project started some 13 years ago with the aim of searching for new possibilities and new forms to enable prisoners to integrate more easily into society. The main idea was to offer human support, communication and social training during the serving sentence and after the release. Any prisoner may be allocated a counsellor if they wish and counsellors are volunteers. We really believe that this method is an inexhaustible source for passing on new and unknown experiences, which then opens up the possibility of a different type of life, a new choice of paths.
Norwegian Activities in the Baltic: Nord-Balt Prison Project

Asbjørn Langås, Norway

The topic of this paper is the activity of the Norwegian Prison Administration in the Baltic States. The Norwegian government initiated a program for the aid of the Baltic States. Most of the assistance is given to Latvia, but the other two states, Lithuania and Estonia are also included in this assistance program. The work is funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The author gives an overview of the results and also provides a list of the plans for 1997.

Learning Strategies: the Student's Key to Learning

Kjell Andberg, Norway

This was also the title of a project in the county of Buskerud in Norway (1995–96). It was totally based upon the results from an American national project named CRISS (Creating Independence through Student-owned Strategies) which was initiated and led by professor Carol M. Santa from Montana, USA. It lasted several years (1985-93) on the national level, and the knowledge that was acquired through this work is often referred to as Montana Model.

Through a system of teaching principles and learning-strategies the program gives a major contribution to the understanding of how learning takes place.
Prison Education in an Overcrowded Prison

*S. M. Gravett, United Kingdom*

The author gives a general summary of overcrowding. This summary is made on the basis of a report to the British Parliament by the Home Secretary. Then the author analyses the process which took place in his prison in the period of 1995-97.

Besides presenting the negative consequences of the overcrowded prisons, the author tells about the positive experiences which made them possible to maintain the quantity and quality of educational programs.

Finally, the author gives some advice on how to eliminate the negative impact of overcrowding on education.

Making Access to Education in Latvian Prisons Real

*Maris Mednis, Latvia*

The transition period in the Latvian prison system to implement European Prison Rules was aggravated in 1997. The report about the means and resources submitted to government was the first formal document to declare the need for education in prisons and to propose the allocation of specific funds for this purpose.

Two seminars were organized by LAEA, the Latvian Adult Education Association (funded by The Soros Foundation and The British Council). The EPEA experts participated in both of them.
Liberty through Literacy

*Linda L. LaBoy & Mary-Ann K. Salvatore, USA*

In our days one is practically handicapped in the labour market without a high school diploma and commensurate academic skills – often including computer knowledge. Even the definition of literacy no longer addresses grade levels, but ability to function in modern society.

For the incarcerated female, having a criminal record is often limiting enough when trying to qualify for employment. Add illiteracy and she is doubly handicapped.

The focus for this presentation is the illiterate ESL female. Both of the authors work in correctional facilities, so their examples and methods are drawn from these experiences.

For the adult immigrant, English as a Second Language is truly a means to acclimate to a new life. Their bravery and courage in leaving the environment and establishing a new life in the United States is truly remarkable. It is the responsibility of correctional educators to help these adults realize their dreams.

Back to Society

*Torfinn Langelid, Norway*

To strengthen the follow-up work for inmates after release from prison the National Education Office of Norway set up a special team of investigation. A major aim was to reduce the number of recidivists, and bring prisoners back to society.

The members of the team were from The Department of Church, Education and Research, the Department of Justice, the Probation Service, the Crime Prevention Council, and follow-up classes. The work was led by the National Education Office, Hordaland County.

The author gives a summary of the team’s findings whose assessment of the follow-up work was based on three approaches: a) interviews and meetings with pupils and teachers, b) interviews and meetings with representatives of services (prison, education, probation, crime prevention, social, health) and c) information about follow-up activities via a questionnaire.
Transnational Experiences: Biford Project

*Torril Angeli, France*

This three-year project is funded by the European Social Fund. The partner countries are: Germany, France, Spain and England. Each partner, in the four countries, undertakes a different role, which when combined with the other three, provides a potential model for the development of assessment guidance, training opportunities and post release mechanism and practices for prisoners. The workshop shares the experience of two of the partner countries.

Special Groupwork Named ‘Portrait’

*Legs Boelen, the Netherlands*

A group of maximum 12 persons can take part in this workshop. The participants of this group will observe each other trying to captivate and write down the main characteristics. By the end of the session 12 portraits will be ready.

Evaluating the Impact of Education on Post Release Success

*David Jenkins & Stephen Steurer, USA*

The Correctional Education Association (CEA) has received a grant from the U.S. Department of Education to study the impact of prison education in three states (Maryland, Ohio, Minnesota). The CEA, in consultation with recognised researchers, has developed a study design which corrects a number of research shortcomings in this field of evaluation.

Data collection has begun with an extensive survey of 1,000 soon to be released inmates in each of the 3 states. The survey includes items on the inmate’s background, prior education and employment, participation in education programming while incarcerated, evaluation of his or her educational experience while incarcerated and post-release plans.
Prison Video

*Dominic Henry, Northern Ireland*

The aim of the prison video was to set up a two way means of communication between Prison Management and the prisoners. The idea came from the introduction of in-cell TV for prisoners. As a starter, a working party of prisoners and prison staff was set up to evaluate the project. It was agreed that prisoners would be trained in media techniques. To create as much interest as possible in the prison video project, the pilot project involved as many prisoners as possible. Having created the interest among prisoners, the initiators of the project set about persuading prison staff that this medium of communication would be beneficial both for them and the prisoners.

The Development and Use of a Transition Social Skills Assessment Instrument

*Stan Karcz, USA*

The Transition Social Skills (TSS) Assessment Instrument was designed to look at the key cognitive processing skills a student needs to successfully make a transition form a corrections setting into the community. Key skill areas addressed are: depression, anger management, assertive behaviour, problem solving, thinking error patterns, leisure, dialogue, discrimination, human relations and personal finance and budgeting.

Issues addressed in the paper relate to prisoner and special population norm development. The validity and reliability for the TSS assessment instrument are also discussed.

Finally, a presentation is made about the probable role the use of the TSS as a pre-test and post-test in a mastery learning educational environment.
Classification System in Hungarian Juvenile Prisons

Attila Hevényi, Hungary

The author gives an overview of the criteria and categories of the offender classification system employed in the Tököl juvenile prison in Hungary. The paper sums up the advantages of this system as follows:

- the number of disciplinary offences in the prison decreased by half;
- the number of violent acts committed within the prison significantly declined;
- the atmosphere of the prison became much more secure and peaceful.

Working out a Plan for Prison Education

John Johansen, Norway

- Why to make a plan?
- How to make a plan?
- How to use the plan in the administration of the school?

These are the aspects that the author considers to be of prime concern when it comes to work out plans for prison education.

The resources in prison education are limited all over the world, that is why working out a plan is important for both the prison administration and the prisoners. The author wishes to present his experience on how to make a proper prison education plan and how to use it.
Education and the Arts in Prison

Anne Peaker, United Kingdom

This paper considers the reasons why the arts can play an important part in prison education. It discusses ways in which learning may be achieved and sets out some of the hurdles which have to be crossed for the work to be effective. It suggests that through participation in the arts prisoners may: be given a sense of achievement and self worth which can lead them back into more formal education, be provided with an effective vehicle for the learning of group and interpersonal skills, acquire intellectual discipline, and be introduced to a different system of values.

In order to deliver a successful arts programme the author suggests that there are a number of issues which must be first considered. These relate to: communications, security and good order, differences in the perception of the purpose of imprisonment and the nature of creative activity, the macho ethos of prisons, and the limitations created by a lack of funding, time and space.

Meanings that are Generally Human

Edit Árvay Sayko, USA

At the end of their term in the graphic arts program, a showcase of their skills, each student is to write, design, typeset, illustrate, print and bind his own book. Born to satisfy practical needs, this final project grew into a treasury of rich, multi-faceted learning experience, that works on both the cognitive and the conative domain, and that affords a time of reflection and self-evaluation, as autobiographical writing is strongly encouraged.

The effect was immediate and positive. With very few exceptions the students approached this project thoughtfully and took great pride in the outcome.

The hidden benefits of the book project are the need to write correct paragraphs, to exercise proper grammar, and to learn the use of the computer for typesetting. There were deeply moving moments of reflection and self-realization as stories unfolded.
Cognitive Skills in Theory and Practice

*Svenolov Svensson, Sweden*

The presentation focuses on the need of cognitive skills as a base for more efficiency in different inmate programmes. Some background and theory from the Canadian programme “Reasoning and Rehabilitation Program” and how that program is used in Sweden and the results of it. Results seen from the inmate and from the prison service. The programme is used in Sweden since 1994 and is still in progress and development.

Bridges and Parachutes: Teaching Pre- and Post-Release and Constructing an Effective Transition Program

*Errol Craig Sull, USA*

There was a time when the prison education concerns, needs, problems and overall profile and approaches differed greatly between North America and Europe, and – within Europe – from country to country. These distinctions have grown less noticeable and each country, each continent has much more in common now within its individual correctional education programs.

This presentation will both explore the forces that result in transition programs too often left weakened, offer reality-based approaches and solutions to counter each of these forces, and present generalized and specific information for development of effective transition programs in North America and Europe for prison education now and beyond the year 2000. In addition to lecture, role-playing and audience interaction will take place.
Beyond 2000: Perspectives, New Horizons  
*Joseph Giordmaina & Anthony Vella, Malta*

Through our presentation the authors hope to attain two main goals. The first is to give a main idea of how education in prisons in Malta is developing. The second is to give an idea of how they plan to develop this programme beyond the year 2000.

The authors are convinced that such ideas are of a general nature and can be implemented in a number of prisons in other countries, taking into account the diverse cultural, social and political context.

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Clay and Welfare: Towards Empowering the Offenders  
*Markku Salo, Finland*

This paper presents a project that aims to empower the offenders through education, employment and rehabilitation. This aim is hoped to be achieved by creating new networks between offenders and their organizations, prison staff, communal services (local, social and health services) and citizenship services.

The thesis of this paper maintains that to struggle against recidivism it is necessary:

- to create new jobs in new areas and forms of employment, and
- to create networks of support whose ultimate goal is the self-organization and empowerment of ex-offenders.

The paper intends to put this and these kinds of projects of network relationships into a broader sociological context. It will be argued that the long-term dilemma between state authorities (prisons of the state) and communal services (social and health services, including probation offices) could be resolved by opening up 'a third way', through the discovery of the third sector and its possibilities (social enterprises, workers' cooperatives and volunteer organizations).

Finally this paper will describe and analyse the structural and political barriers – and hopes – for establishing this kind of project and working method.
APPENDIX

Social events

1. **Sightseeing Tour in Budapest, 2 November 14:00**
   Sightseeing by bus. Departure at 14:00 from the parking place of Hotel Agro.
   Well known sights like the Parliament, the Royal Castle, the Fisherman’s bastion, the Heroes’ Square, the Citadel will be shown to our guests.
   (Buses return to the hotel by 18:00)

2. **Wine tasting in a wine-cellar, 2 November 19:00**
   A dinner in the hotel’s wine-cellar in an intimate atmosphere.

3. **Dinner at Hotel Agro with live Hungarian folklore music, 3 November 19:00**
   Famous and typical Hungarian folk music is presented by a live band during dinner on 3 November.

4. **Study visits to one of the following three prisons, 4 November 13:30**
   Bus departure at 13:30 from the parking place of Hotel Agro.
   Please make your choice on the list below. You can only make one choice and note that there is limited space on the visits.
   (Buses return to the hotel by 17:30)

   *Option 1: Budapest Remand Prison*
   The Budapest Remand Prison has a total number of 860 prisoners, 4/5 of which are in pre-trial detention, 1/5 of the inmates is finally sentenced. The remand prison has two real estates, one on the Pest side sharing the building complex with the Capital Court of Justice and the Capital Prosecution. The other one is situated on the Buda side with mainly foreign detainees.
Option 2: Budapest Maximum and Medium Security Prison
This is a national prison mainly for convicted prisoners. The number of prisoners is above 1,600. Approximately 2/3 of them are finally sentenced, 1/3 is in pre-trial detention. The prison has an old and a newly built part. The former has two territories in star-shape, the Limited Company of the prison, as well as the Forensic and Psychiatric Observation Institution are situated here. On the area of the new part you can find the Central Supply Institution together with new buildings of the prison.

Option 3: Training Centre for Prison Staff
The Training Centre was founded by the Minister of Justice on 4 September 1996. The basic function of the Centre is to organise the basic and middle level professional training for prison staff. Using the different training methods approximately an annual 20-25 % (1500-1600) of the total prison staff are trained here.

5. Closing banquet on a ship, 4 November 19:00
A 3-hour ship tour on the river Danube hosted by the Minister of Justice. Cold and warm dinner is served to the guests.
APPENDIX

General Information

Dates: 1-5 November 1997

Place: Hotel Agro
1121 Budapest
Normafa u. 54.
Tel.: 36-1-175-4011
Fax: 36-1-175-6164

Official language: English

Conference Secretariat: János Boros, Ministry of Justice
National Prison Administration
Department of International Relations
1054 Budapest, Steindl Imre u. 8.
Tel.: 36-1-332-0150
Fax: 36-1-111-9878
APPENDIX

The EPEA:
European Prison Education Association

Svenolov Svensson
Chairperson, EPEA

The conference was a reality made by a fruitful co-operation and hard work between the National Prison Administration of Hungary, EPEA Steering Committee and members from the EPEA working in the Ministry of Justice in Denmark, National Education Office in Hordaland, Norway and in the Swedish Prison and Probation Administration-Regional Office in Gothenburg. Most of the hard work has come from our Hungarian friends who has really done a great work. We thank them for all their enthusiasm and spirit in preparing the conference. We would also like to thank the Ministry of Justice in Hungary for their generosity.

Besides the different programme objectives, the 6th EPEA International Conference, focused on how to become an independent organisation for the future. At the General Council Meeting during the conference we presented and discussed a vision of the organisation about 9-10 years ahead. This is not meant to be an exact description of the situation in the year 2006 , more like something to make us think broader and more freely about what could be possible and if so, what we have to do to make it real. Future needs history, so I would like to give you some of the EPEA history. It is told by Kevin Warner, the first Chairperson, at the 5th EPEA International Conference 1995 in Blagdon, England:

The international conference on prison education, held in Oxford in September 1989, was remarkable in several ways. It was one of the first occasions in this part of the world when large numbers of prison educators working “on the ground” come together from many countries. That generated its own excitement, which was further fuelled by the involvement of two dozen or so North Americans via the Correctional Education Association (CEA). The CEA is a strong broadly-based organisation of what we in Europe would call prison educators and it has been in existence now for about half a century. The CEA presented us with a real live model of professional support and development. It was certainly one of the ingredients which brought about the birth of the EPEA.

Another important ingredient was the Council of Europe report, Education in Prison which, at the time of the Oxford conference, was completed and circulating, although not yet formally published. Essentially it advocated an adult education orientation and a wide curriculum for our work in prisons. The report also identified a need for contact across national boundaries: “Those working in a special field of prison education have a great deal in common with each other .....(they) can often share more with each other than with educators from other fields from their own countries. Such sharing can apply as much to identifying and addressing of common problems as to the sharing of more positive experiences.”
So, at Oxford the need and the model came together. In my mind, the spark that set things going was when Pam Bedford, a prison education officer from England, determined not to let the conference finish without something being put in motion. She suggested, over coffee, to Gayle Gassner, then President of CEA, that there should be some linkage between Europe and the CEA. Under the ancient copper beech tree, this idea was explored by a group of five: Pam, Gayle, Henning Jørgensen of Denmark, Asbjørn Langås from Norway and I (Kevin Warner). It was soon realised by all, and perhaps most clearly by Gayle, that a separate European organisation was needed. The EPEA began to emerge. A larger hurried meeting in a garden, again with coffee cups in hand, gave enthusiastic backing to the project.
On behalf of this group, Henning Jørgensen wrote to every prison administration in the Council of Europe countries, seeking the nomination of two liaison persons from each country. One of these liaison persons had to be an educator “in daily contact with prisoners”. Sixteen countries responded.

Progress was slow for two years or so, hampered by language and distance barriers – and perhaps by too much reliance on those of us in the administration! Yet there was never any doubt about the strong interest in the idea. Pam Bedford established the Newsletter and kept driving us forward.

Development was more consistent after the conference in Bergen, the Netherlands, in 1991, where the liaison persons present agreed the following aims for the EPEA:

- To promote education in prison according to the Recommendation No. R (89) 12 of the Committee of Ministers to member States of the Council of Europe (1989)
- To support and assist the professional development of persons involved in education in prison through European co-operation
- To work with related professional organisations
- To support research in the field of education in prison

At Bergen, also, the ad hoc group gave way to a Steering Committee consisting of the liaison persons from seven countries.

The Steering Committee was given the task of moving the EPEA forward, until the next gathering of liaison persons (what we now call the General Council Meeting) at the Nordic EPEA conference, in Sigtuna in 1993, Sweden. A great deal of work was done by that Steering Committee, especially over two weekend-long meetings in England and Scotland. Leaflets were written and translated. A networking system, linking prison educators “on the ground” in different countries was started. A constitution was drafted. Contacts were strengthened.

In particular, a prison education conference in Estonia in 1992 led to involvement from several of the newly independent Baltic countries. The Newsletter continues to develop, edited by Catherine Coakley from Ireland. The number of countries involved rose to 22.

At the Sigtuna conference, the EPEA took several further steps forward. Most importantly, the constitution was adopted, providing us now with a basic framework and touchstone for development. In line with that constitution, the first elections of officers and other members of the steering committee took place. Regular election of officer posts by postal ballot of all members started in 1994. From autumn 1993, formal membership, with a small membership fee was available to all prison educators and those in related area. Local conferences are envisaged together with the development of more formal EPEA structures in each country (with elected officers for that country, etc). The whole emphasis, both of the constitution and the programme of work we have set ourselves, is on linking ordinary prison educators from different countries, so that they can give mutual support and practical help to each other.

It is hoped that the pattern of having an EPEA European prison education conference every two years will continue. Following this 1995 conference it is planned to have one in Hungary in 1997. Any host country or countries would still have to undertake most of the organisation, but it is hoped that, in time, the EPEA can given increasing help in this, especially through drawing on the experiences of past conferences. The Scandinavians offered an especially helpful model in 1993 for the future by showing how well a number of countries can cooperate together in the task.”
So far the situation in 1993-95. Progress of the organisation however, went on based on
the grounds and ideas from the “fathers and mothers” of the “baby”. Robert Suvaal produced
the action plans “Small is beautiful” I and II and the EPEA made, chaired by Kevin Warner,
concrete progress – step by step. Now, some years later, too many of the “ancient” important
persons have left the administration of the organisation but other persons with just as high
ambitions have taken over.

The whole time we have tried to keep the history and basic ideas without loosing the
aspiration to move forward. The strength of the EPEA is still to be a forum for educators
working in prisons / administrations or in related areas all over Europe. The international
conference is held every other year in different countries of Europe. The Newsletter is
regularly produced twice a year (April / October) with editors in different countries. In
between the Newsletter issues we have the Bulletin (June / December) edited by Paddy Rocks
who also in 1997 set up the EPEA home page on the Internet. A Directory of the EPEA-98 is
produced by several members from the Netherlands. The Steering Committee meets over a
weekend twice a year to decide on small as well as strategic questions. During the conference
in 1997 thoughts were presented about a possible future for the organisation in the “Vision
2006 – From small is beautiful to Big is difficult but necessary”, together with an action
plan for 1998.

Due to the constitution we will have a constant revival and “fresh blood” in the admi-
nistration of the EPEA which will ensure us to have development, both in ideas and work.

The Steering Committee for 1998 has consisted of:

Chairperson Svenolov Svensson, Sweden (leaving June 98)
Deputy Chairperson Janine Duprey Kennedy, France (incoming chairperson July-98)
Secretary Paddy Rocks, Northern Ireland
Deputy Secretary James O’Hare, Scotland
Membership Secretary Sonja Kurtén Vartio, Finland (leaving June 98)
Torfinn Langelid (incoming July 98)
Treasurer Dominic Henry, Northern Ireland

Regional representatives:
Northwest Pam Lorenz, Ireland (leaving June 98),
Pam Marston (incoming July 98) and
Torfinn Langelid (leaving and becoming the new Membership
Secretary July 98)
Central Katinka Reijnders, the Netherlands and
Carlo Reuland, Luxembourg
Mediterranean James O’Hare, Scotland (leaving June 98),
Anthony Vella, Malta and
Rosalba Falsanisi, Italy (incoming July 98)

The organisation has by May 1998 412 individual members / associated members and 10
organisational members in Europe, USA, Australia, India and Israel.

6th EPEA Conference, Hungary 1997
EPEA Membership Form

_EPEA affirms the value of your work in prison education and offers opportunities for professional support across Europe_

**EPEA offers**

- support for prison educators with liaison persons in each country
- a regular news Bulletin (2-3 times a year)
- a Newsletter two times a year
- notifications of conferences
- a network of special interest groups
- an opportunity for contacting prison educators outside your country through correspondence, visits etc
- an opportunity to explore issues in prison education

**Prison education includes:**

- basic & academic education
- vocational education & training
- social education
- creative & cultural activities
- physical education and sports
- library facilities
EPEA


The aims of the EPEA are:

- to promote education in prison according to Recommendation No. R (89) 12 of the Committee of Ministers to member states of the Council of Europe (1989)
- to support and assist the professional development of persons involved in prison education through European co-operation
- to work with related professional organisations
- to support research in the field of education in prisons

"education in prison" is defined as education for all persons who are under the supervision of the judiciary whether sentenced or awaiting trial, and whether serving a sentence in prisons or in the community.

"Persons involved" are defined as professionals working in the field of education in prison and in related disciplines.

The EPEA working language is English.

EPEA membership

Special introductory annual subscription

Full membership is open to individuals and organisations involved in the field of prison education and in related disciplines in Europe.

- individual 5 ECUs
- organisational 25 ECUs

Associate membership is open to other interested persons within Europe 5 ECUs outside Europe 10 $ US

In EPEA decision making and elections, full individual members have one vote and organisational members two votes.
Membership-form

Name: .........................................................

job function: .........................................................

(teacher / librarian / administrator / etc)

organisation: .........................................................

place of work: .........................................................

type of membership (please mark one):

□ full

□ associate

□ organisational

I am interested in EPEA networks

please mark one or two

□ adult basic education

□ alternative measures

□ (e.g. training instead of detention)

□ art education

□ computer assisted learning

□ crafts (woodwork, metalwork)

□ drama

□ further / higher education

□ literacy training

□ music

□ physical training and sports

□ pre-release training

□ prison libraries

□ second language

□ sentence planning

□ vocational training

□ other

Languages spoken: .........................................................

I am willing to share ideas by letter □ yes □ no

I am willing to arrange a short (1-2 days) study-visit to my place of work □ yes □ no

Contact address: .........................................................

telephone: .........................................................

fax: .........................................................

I agree to my contact address, telephone and fax numbers being included in the directory for general circulation □ yes □ no

signed ......................................................... date .........................................................

Please send this form and your subscription fee to your liaison person:

According to the EPEA constitution, a register of all members is available to any member on request. The register is a list of each members name, job function, country and type of membership.
APPENDIX

Council of Europe Recommendation No. R (89) 12 on Education in Prison

1. All prisoners shall have access to education, which is envisaged as consisting of classroom subjects, vocational education, creative and cultural activities, physical education and sports, social education and library facilities;
2. Education for prisoners should be like education provided for similar age groups in the outside world, and the range of learning opportunities for prisoners should be as wide as possible;
3. Education in prison shall aim to develop the whole person bearing in mind his or her social, economic and cultural context;
4. All those involved in the administration of the prison system and the management of prisons should facilitate and support education as much as possible;
5. Education should have no less a status than work within the prison regime and prisoners should not lose out financially or otherwise by taking part in education;
6. Every effort should be made to encourage the prisoner to participate actively in all aspects of education;
7. Development programmes should be provided to ensure that prison educators adopt appropriate adult education methods;
8. Special attention should be given to those prisoners with particular difficulties and especially those with reading and writing problems;
9. Vocational education should aim at the wider development of the individual, as well as being sensitive to trends in the labour market;
10. Prisoners should have direct access to well-stocked library at least once per week;
11. Physical education and sports for prisoners should be emphasized and encouraged;
12. Creative and cultural activities should be given a significant role because these activities have particular potential to enable prisoners to develop and express themselves;
13. Social education should include practical elements that enable the prisoner to manage daily life within the prison, with a view to facilitating the return to society;
14. Wherever possible, prisoners should be allowed to participate in education outside prison;
15. Where education has to take place within the prison, the outside community should be involved as fully as possible;
16. Measures should be taken to enable prisoners to continue their education after release;
17. The funds, equipment and teaching staff needed to enable prisoners to receive appropriate education should be made available.
APPENDIX

List of Participants

AUSTRALIA

Ray Dormer
New South Wales Tafe Commission
P.O.Box 3380
Parramatta NSW 2124
Australia
telephone: +61 2 96891571
fax: +61 2 98304522

CROATIA

Damir Zezelj
Ministry of Justice
Petrinjska 12
10000 Zagreb
Croatia
telephone: +385 01 4558655
fax: +385 01 276342

DENMARK

Henning Jørgensen
Ministry of Justice
Klareboderne 1
DK-1115 Copenhagen
Denmark
telephone: +45 33 11 55 00
fax: +45 33 11 53 01

Erik Kleding
Søbysøgaard State Prison
Nr. Søby
DK-5792 Arslev
Denmark
telephone: +45 65 90 11 45
fax: +45 65 90 18 59

Kaj Raundrup
Ministry of Justice
Klareboderne 1
DK-1115 Copenhagen
Denmark
telephone: +45 33 11 55 00
fax: +45 33 11 53 01

William Rentzmann
Civilretnsdirektoratet
Abeløgade 1
DK-2100 Copenhagen
Denmark

Benny Wandborg
Hørsens State Prison
Fussingsvej 8E
DK-8700 Hørsens
Denmark
telephone: +45 79 25 41 80
fax: +45 75 61 62 78
APPENDIX: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

ESTONIA

Peeter Agabus
Vocational School
Magasini 35
Tallin
Estonia
telephone: +372-661-379

Mart Körre
Ministry of Education
23 Sakala St.
EE0 100 Tallin
Estonia
telephone: +372-2 682-202
fax: +372-6311-505

Anne Voolma
Estonian Prison Board
Tartu road 85
EE0 104 Tallin
Estonia
telephone: +372 612 88 72
fax: +372 612 78 08

FINLAND

Klaus Andersin
Pelso Central Prison
FIN-92810 Pelsosue
Finland
telephone: +358 8 8189 111
fax: +358 8 8189 214

Pasi Frilander
Keski Savon aakk
Kontiopuisto 36
FIN-76100 Pieksömöki
Finland
telephone: +358 15 484 788
fax: +358 15 482 926

Pertti Jaakko Keltto
Vasa Provincial Prison
PB 30
FIN-65951 Vasa
Finland
telephone: +358-6-3230476
fax: +358-6-323-0477

Kirsti Kuivajarvi
Ministry of Justice
Box 62
FIN-00811 Helsinki
Finland
telephone: +358 9 759 08403
fax: +358 9 759 08407

Sonja Kurtén-Vartiö
Vasa Provincial Prison
PB 30
FIN-65951 Vasa
Finland
telephone: +358 6 3230476
fax: +358 6 323 0477

Henrik Rönka
Keski Savon aakk
Kontiopuisto 36
FIN-76100 Pieksamaki
Finland
telephone: +358 15 484788
fax: +358 15 482926

Markku Salo
Juvenile Prison
PO. 133
FIN-04201 Kereva
Finland
telephone: +358-9-246908
fax: +358-9-2945930
Rikka Tassi  
Helsinki Central Prison  
Ristikcotie 6  
FIN-00580 Helsinki  
Finland  
telephone: +358 9 772 32025  
fax: +358 9 772 32014  

Aamuvuori Tuula  
Kuopio Prison  
P1 7  
FIN-70101 Kuopio  
Finland  
telephone: +358-017-378366  
fax: +358-017-378-499  

Eeva Virkkunen  
Ministry of Justice  
PL 62  
FIN-00811 Helsinki  
Finland  
telephone: +358 9 759 08402  
fax: +358 9 759 08407  

Janine Duprey Kennedy  
Unité Pedagogique Regionale  
19 Rue Eugene Delacroix  
BP. 16  
67035 Strasbourg cedex 2  
France  
telephone: +33 88 56 8143  
fax: +33 88 28 3065  

Jean-Pierre Laurent  
National Penitentiary Administration  
247 rue Saint Honoré  
75001 Paris  
France  
telephone: +33-1-44-77-67-08  
fax: +33-1-44-77-70-90  

Yves Le Guennec  
12 Rue Isabeau L’Hay Les Roses  
94240 Paris  
France  

Josianne Simondi  
Biford  
Community Ed. Services  
Myton Centre Porter Street Hull  
HU1 2RE  
France  
telephone: +33 1482 320539  
fax: +33 1482 585375  

Dominique Delaporte  
French National Board of Education  
Unité Pedagogique  
Regionale de Paris  
BP 103  
942678 Fresnes  
France  

Martin Drüecke  
Cordulastr. 9  
D-42111 Wuppertal  
Germany  
telephone: +49 202 77 3549  
fax: +49 3078000215
APPENDIX: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Jürgen Hillmer
Hoppenbank e.v. Berufshilfeburo
Karl-Broger str. 21
D-28239 Bremen
Germany
telephone: +49-421-61-31-98
fax: +49-421-61-31-97

Friedrich Lösel
University of Nürnberg-Erlangen
Bismarckstr. 1
D-91054 Erlangen
Germany
telephone: +49-9131-852330
fax: +49-9131-852646

Greece

Sevasti Papamitro Pulou
Ministry of Justice
96 Messogion Av
11527 Athens
Greece
telephone: +30 1 7714541
fax: +30 1 77 95625

Ioannis Stalikas
Ministry of Justice
96 Messogion Av
11527 Athens
Greece
telephone: +30 1 7772811
fax: +30 1 779 5625

Hungary

János Boros
Hungarian Prison Administration
International Department
1054 Budapest
Steindl I. u. 8
Hungary
telephone: +36-1131-7591
fax: +36-1311-9878

László Csetneky
Deputy Head of Department of Prison
Hungarian.Police Academy
1121 Budapest, Pf. 27.
Farkasvölgyi út 12
Hungary
telephone: +36 -1 212-5339
fax: +36- 1 212-5339

András Csóti
Hungarian National Prison Administration
1054 Budapest
Steindl I. u. 8
Hungary
telephone: +36-1131-7591
fax: +36-1311-9878

Ferenc Deák
Hungarian National Prison Administration

István Dobos
Hungarian National Prison Administration

Ferenc Tari
Hungarian National Prison Administration

Imre Fejes
Hungarian National Prison Administration

Róbert Fok
Hungarian National Prison Administration

Zsigmond Gál
Hungarian National Prison Administration

Lajos Garami
Hungarian National Prison Administration

6th EPEA Conference, Hungary 1997
Attila Hevényi
Prison for Young Offenders
2316 Tököl
Ráckhevi út 6
Hungary
telephone: +36-24-489-701
fax: +36-24 379 394

Anikó Horváth
Hungarian National Prison Administration

Ildikó Horváth
Hungarian National Prison Administration

László Huszár
Hungarian National Prison Administration

Klaudia Kovács
Hungarian National Prison Administration

Henrik Németh
Hungarian National Prison Administration

Éva Pásztor
Hungarian National Prison Administration

Eszter Szalma
Hungarian National Prison Administration

Tibor Templom
Hungarian National Prison Administration

IRELAND

Anne Costelloe
City of Dublin Vocational Ed.Unit
Mountjoy Prison
North Circular Road
Dublin 7
Ireland
telephone: +353 806 2833
fax: +353 830 1175

Pam Lorenz
Country Cork Ed.Dept.
Fort Mitchel Prison Ed. Unit
Spike Island COBH Co.
Cork Eise
Ireland
telephone: +353 21378225
fax: +353 21378223

Kevin Warner
Prison Education Service Dept. of Justice
72 St. Stephens Green
Dublin 2
Ireland
telephone: +353.1 6028490
fax: +353 1 676 1799

ISRAEL

Eyal Gover
Prison Administration of Israel
P.O.B. 81
Ramle Histadrut st. 5
Israel
telephone: +972-8-977-6800
fax: +972-8-9210649

Vered Kaufman
Prison Administration of Israel
P.O.B. 81
Ramle Histadrut st. 5
Israel
telephone: +972-8-977-6800
fax: +972-8-9210649
APPENDIX: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Tzipi Virtzer
Prison Administration of Israel
P.O.B. 81
Ramle Histadrut st. 5
Israel
telephone: +972-8-977-6800
fax: +972-8-9210649

Erwin Weiss
Prison Administration of Israel
P.O.B. 81
Ramle Histadrut st. 5
Israel
telephone: +972-8-977-6800
fax: +972-8-9210649

ITALY

Maria Armellino
G.I.S.C.A.
via Ezio 80
04100 Latina
Italy
telephone: +39 773 488 501
fax: +39 773 479 9034

Maria Bonanni
G.I.S.C.A.
V.ia Delle Provincie 160
Roma 00262
Italy
telephone: +39 06 99242832
fax: +39 06 807 8925

Monosi Corrado
G.I.S.C.A.
Via Ezio 80
04 100 Latina
Italy
telephone: +39 773-479034

Maria Angela Del-Negro
G.I.S.C.A.
Via S.Maria dei Battuti
23-32022 Alleghe/BL/
Italy
telephone: +39 437 723 682

Paolo Falco
Largo Luigi Daga 2
00164 Roma
Italy

Rosalba Falsanisi
G.I.S.C.A.
Via E. Simini 10
73100 Lecce
Italy
telephone: +39 832 634306

Alessandra Gosi
G.I.S.C.A.
V.le Titolivio 13
00136 Roma
Italy
telephone: +39 06 35348664
fax: +39 06 807 8925

Assunta Palmieri
G.I.S.C.A.
Via Ezio 80
04100 Latina
Italy
telephone: +39 774 358061

Angiolina Ponziano

Angelo Ruggieri
G.I.S.C.A.
via Ezio 80
04100 Latina
Italy
telephone: +39 773 488 501
fax: +39 773 479 9034
LATVIA

Zanet Batna
Latvian Adult Education Asst.
11 Merkela Str.
Riga LV 1050
Latvia
fax: +371 7 222411

Maris Mednis
Latvian Prison Administration
Stabu jela 89
Riga
LV 1009
Latvia
telephone: +371-7-208-541
fax: +371-7-278-697 or 009
8717-278 697

LUXEMBOURG

Gérard Pierson
Centre Penitenciaire Agricole Givenich
54 Rue de la Libération
L-3511 Ouoeange
Luxembourg
telephone: +352 5160 47
fax: +352 5160 47

Carlo Reuland
Centre Penitentiaire de Luxembourg
P.O.Box 35
L-5201 Sandweiler
Luxembourg
telephone: +352-359621-302
fax: +352-350217

MALTA

Joseph Giordmain A
Department of Foundations in Education
Faculty of Education University of Malta
Msida MSD 06
Malta
telephone: +356-3290-2347
fax: +356-317938

Anthony Vella
Department of Foundations in Education
Faculty of Education, University of Malta
Msida MSD 06
Malta
telephone: +356-3290-2347
fax: +356-317938

THE NETHERLANDS

Willy Adolfs
Ministry of Justice
Wolvenplein 27
3512 CK Utrecht
The Netherlands
Telephone: +31 371-30-234-9507
fax: +31 371-30-234-9538

Legs Boelen
P.I. NIEUW-VOSSEVELD
Postbox 10055
5260 HD Vught
The Netherlands
telephone: +31 073-6582585165
fax: +31 073-6582836

D. Greinert
Stichling Kunstzinnice Rotterdam
Calandstraat 7
3016 CA Rotterdam
The Netherlands
telephone: +31-10 436 1366
fax: +31-10 436 3695

Joke Holdgref E
Ministry of Justice
P.O.Box 30132
Room N566 The Hague
The Netherlands
telephone: +31 703702771
fax: +31 703702910
APPENDIX: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

NORTHERN IRELAND

- **Dominique Henry**
  Prison Service Education Dept.
  HMP Magilligan
  Point Road
  Limavady
  Co Londonderry BT 490LR
  Northern Ireland
  telephone: +44 63311

- **Carmen O’Hagan**
  Prison Service, HQ
  Young Offenders Centre
  Hyde Park Wood Hospital Road
  Belfast BT8 8NA
  Northern Ireland
  telephone: +44 1232 253690

- **Clinton Parker**
  Prison Service, Education Dept.
  HMP MAZE Lisburn
  BT27 5RF
  Northern Ireland
  telephone: +44 1232525145
  fax: +44 1232 525141

- **Paddy Rocks**
  Prison Service, HQ
  Dundonald House
  Belfast BT4 3SU
  Northern Ireland
  telephone: +44 1232525145
  fax: +44 1232 525141

NORWAY

- **Kjell Andberg**
  National Education Office in Buskerud
  Pb.1613
  N-3007 Drammen
  Norway
  telephone: +47 3226 6940
  fax: +47 3289 5235
PROTECTIVE BARS?

Randi Binz  
Grønland Voksenopplaeringssenter  
Postbox 9274, Grønland  
N-0134 Oslo  
Norway  
television: +47 22 67 2488  
fax: +47 22 67 2489

Nils A. Botha  
Klosterskogen Upper Sec. School  
Olai Skullerudvei 20  
N-3730 Skien  
Norway  
television: +47-35594000  
fax: +47 35520580

Maren Büchman  
Department Berg local Prison  
Teie Upper Sec. School  
Box 115, LoftsEik  
N-3109 Tønsberg  
Norway  
television: +47 333 71068  
fax: +47 333 69402

Jarle Ellingsen  
Hønefoss Videregående Skole  
avd. Ringesike kretsfengsel  
Box 40  
N-3533 Tyrstrand  
Norway  
television: +47-3211 3440  
fax: +47 3211 3590

Ingvar Erga  
Time vg. Skole  
Skogly 2  
N-4062 Klepp  
Norway  
television: +47 51 42 30 92  
fax: +47 51 79 90 05

Johan Fløan  
Brundalen Upper Secondary School /  
Trondheim Prison  
Box 3753, Granåsulia  
N-7002 Trondheim  
Norway  
television: +47 74803485  
fax: +47 73884755

Grethe Fodstad  
Ministry of Justice Prison and Prob. Dept.  
Box 8005 dep.  
N-0030 Oslo  
television: +47 22245588  
fax: +47 22242727

Karl Gleditsch  
Grønland Voksenopplaeringssenter  
Postbox 9274, Grønland  
N-0134 Oslo  
Norway  
television: +47 22 672488  
fax: +47 22 67 24 89

Gisle Grahl-Jacobsen  
Strømsø Upper Sec. School / Dep.  
Drammen prison  
Erik Burresensg. 20  
N-3015 Drammen  
Norway  
television: +47 32 81 19 17

Lars Anders Høines  
Kriminalomsorg i Frihet i Sør-Trøndelag  
Postbox 4415  
N-7002 Trondheim  
Norway  
television: +47 738 84730  
fax: +47 738 84760
John Johansen
Oslo Municipal Ed. Office
Box 6127, Etterstadt
N-0602 Oslo
Norway
telephone: +47 22 66 71 57
fax: +47 45 33 11 53 01

Ingunn Kleivan
Rud Upper Sec. School / Dep. Illastate Prison
Box 1, Røa
N-0701 Oslo
telephone: +47 22 67 16 1183
fax: +47 22 67 140585

Asbjørn Langås
Ministry of Justice
Box 8005 Dept.
N-0030 Oslo
Norway
telephone: +47 22245530
fax: +47 22242727

Torfinn Langelid
National Educational Office in Hordaland
Box 614
N-5001 Bergen
Norway
telephone: +47 55237500
fax: +47 55 237510

Leif Lyngstad
Klosterskogen Up. Sec. School / Dep. Skien prison
Box 2720, Kjørbekk
N-3702 Skien
Norway
telephone: +47 35599220
fax: +47 35594000

Gunnar Moen
Klosterskogen vgs. avd. Skien Kretsfengsel
Box 2720
Kjørbekk
N-3702 Skien
Norway
fax: +47-35-59-40 00

Ole Myklebust
Kvadraturen Upper Secondary School
N-4604 Kristiansand
Norway
fax: +47 3807 7301

Christina Renard
Grønland Voksenopplaeringssenter
Postbox 9274, Grønland
N-0134 Oslo
Norway
telephone: +47 22 67 2488
fax: +47 22 67 24 89

Erik Saaheim
Bastoy Landsfengsel
Box 100
N-3191 Horten
Norway
telephone: +47 330 73811
fax: +47 330 73239

Andreas Saehlie
Storhamar Vg. Skole
Falsensgt 12
N-2300 Hamar
Norway
telephone: +47 62 52 2144
fax: +47 62 53 3587
PROTECTIVE BARS?

Per Sneeggen
Brundalen Vidaregående Skole / Trondheim kretsfengsel
Box 3753, Granåsli
N-7002 Trondheim
Norway
telephone: +47 73 82 6075
fax: +47 7382 6080

Eva Styre Solberg
Strømsø vg. Skole / avd. Drammen kretsfengsel
Erik Burreneseng. 20
N-3015 Drammen
Norway
telephone: +47 32 75 35 92

Egil Vinninglan D
Time V.G. Skole
Box 445
N-4341 Bryne
Norway
telephone: +47 51 42 51 82
fax: +47 51 77 88 01

Maj Wenstop
Rud Upper Sec. School / Dep. Ila state prison
Box 1, Røa
N-0701 Oslo
Norway
telephone: +47 22 67 16 1183
fax: +47 22 67 140585

POLAND

Andrzej Majchercz YK
Ministry of Justice
ul. Rakowicka 37/a
PL-02521 Warsaw
Poland
telephone: +48-22-640-83-53
fax: +48-22-640-83-42

RUMANIA

Gheorghe Neagu
Rumanian Prison Administration
72228 Bucuresti Sector 2 Str.
Maria Ghiculeasa 47
Rumania
telephone: +40-1-211-0305
fax: +40-1-211-0305

RUSSIA

Natalia Khutorskaya
Ministry of the Interior Academy of Management
Moscow
Russia
telephone: +7-095-239-6337
fax: +7-095-230-2580

SCOTLAND

Michéle Malone
HM Remand Ins. Longriggend
Longriggend Near Airdrie
Lanarkshire ML6 7TL
Scotland
telephone: +44 1236 830392
fax: +44 1236 830717

James O’Hare
HM Remand Ins. Longriggend
Longriggend Near Airdrie
Scotland
telephone: +44 1236 830392
fax: +44 1236 830717

SLOVAKIA

Maria Gajdosiko VÁ
Ministry of Justice
SK-81304 Bratislava
Chorvatska 3
Slovakia
telephone: +42 1-7-568-3005
fax: +42 1-7-214-987
APPENDIX: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

SLOVENIA

Julijana Gruden
National Prison Administration
Zupanceva 3
6100 Ljubljana
Slovenia
telephone: +386 178 5432
fax: +386 178 5470

Irena Kriznik
Ministry of Justice National Prison Administration
Zupanceva 3
6100 Ljubljana
Slovenia

SWEDEN

Rolf Blomberg
KVA Tidaholm
Box 303
S-522 85 Tidaholm
Sweden
telephone: +46 502 17500
fax: +46 502 17617

Hans Sjöberg
Prison Tidaholm
S-522 85 Tidaholm
Sweden
telephone: +46 502 17500
fax: +46 502 17619

Lis Somander
Swedish Prison and Probation Adm.
S-601 80 Norrköping
Sweden
telephone: +46 11 193893
fax: +46 11 100590

Svenolov Svensson
Swedish Prison and Probation Adm.
Box 5423
S-402 29 Gothenburgh
Sweden
telephone: +46 31 7718418
fax: +46 31 833922

UNITED KINGDOM

Peter Blunt
HM Prison Service
24 Manor Avenue
London SE4 1PD
United Kingdom

Rosemary Clark
HM Prison Wolds
93 Willerby Rd
Hull East Yorkshire
MVS SDZ
United Kingdom
telephone: +44 1430421588
fax: +44 1430 421589

David Y. Evans
Norwick City College
24 Manor Avenue
London SE4 1PD
United Kingdom

Bridgid Everitt
Norwick City College
24 Manor Avenue
London SE4 1PD
United Kingdom

Pauline Gradstone
Clean Break Theatre Co.
37/39 Kings Terrace
London NW1 OJR
United Kingdom
telephone: +44 171 383 3786
fax: +44 171 388 7252
PROTECTIVE BARS?

S.M. Gravett
HMP Camphill
Clissold Road
Newport
Isle of Wight PO30 5PB
United Kingdom
telephone: +44 1983 527 661
fax: +44 1983 520505

Pamela Margeret Marston
HMP Ranby-Clarendon College
Nottingham
52 Main Rd
Shirland
Afreton
Derbyshire DE5 56BB
England
telephone: +44 1773 830 768
fax: +44 1773 830 768

David Marston
HMP Ranby-Clarendon College
Nottingham
52 Main Rd
Shirland
Afreton
Derbyshire DE5 56BB
England
telephone: +44 1773 830 768
fax: +44 358-9-2945930

Susan Mason
HM Prison Wolds
East Yorkshire
19 Scotts Garth Close
Tickton
East-Yorkshire HU 17 92Q
United Kingdom
telephone: +44 1430421588
fax: +44 1773 830 768

Anne Peaker
The Unit for the Arts of Offenders
34 Victoria Rd
Dartmouth Devon TQ4 98A
United Kingdom
telephone: +44 1803 835278
fax: +44 1803832982

Judith Williams
HM Prison Service
24 Manor Avenue
London SE4 1PD
United Kingdom
telephone: +44 1816941493
fax: +44 1816941493

Anita Wilson
Lancaster University
Barland College
Lancaster LA1 4YW
United Kingdom
fax: +44 1824 843 085

Sean Wynne
Prison Education Service
The Prison
Portlaoise
Co. Laois
United Kingdom
telephone: +44 502 20607
fax: +44 502 61967

UNITED STATES

Gayle Brown
Maryland Division of Correction
6776 Resisterstown Road
Baltimore, MD 21215
USA
telephone: +1 410 764 4119
APPENDIX: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

David Jenkins
Maryland Division of Correction
6776 Resisterstown Road
Baltimore, MD 21215
USA
telephone: +1 410 764 4119

Stan Karcz
University of Minnesota
Journal of Correctional Education
242 Burton Hall
Minneapolis MN
USA
telephone: +1 612 624 3846
fax: +1 612 626 9627

Linda LaBoy
New Jersey Dept. of Corrections
36 West Main Street
Clinton, NJ 08809
USA
telephone: +1 908 730 8333
fax: +1 908 713 1003

Mary-Ann Salvatore
New Jersey, Dept. of Corrections
36 West Main Street
Clinton, NJ 08809
USA
telephone: +1 908 730 8333
fax: +1 908 713 1003

Edit Maria Sayko
Maryland State Dept. of Education
7411 Varnum str.
Hyattsville, MD 20784
USA
telephone: +1 301 791 7200
fax: +1 797 7567

Stephen J. Steurer
Correctional Ed. Asst.
4380 Forbes Blvd
Lanham 20706
USA
telephone: +1 301 918 1915
fax: +1 410 730 4881

Erroll Craig Sull
The Correctional Education Co.
433 Franklin str.
Patio Suite
Buffalo 14202
USA
telephone: +1 716 882 3456
fax: +1 716 882 7063

Frank Wilderson
Univ. of Minnesota
242 Burton Hall
Minneapolis MN
USA
telephone: +1 612 624 3846
fax: +1 612 626 9627
APPENDIX

Liaison/Contact Persons EPEA

BELGIUM

Nadine Janssens
Department de Criminologie et de Droit Penal
College de Thomas More
Place Montesquieu
B-1348 Louvain La Neuve
Belgium

DENMARK

Aksel Christensen
Statsfaengslet i Jyderup
Sobaeksparken 136
DK-4450 Jyderup
Denmark

Bjørn Petersen
Statsfaengslet ved Sdr.Omme
DK-7260 Sdr.Omme
Denmark

ENGLAND & WALES

Dave Marston
41 Brookside
Belper
Derbyshire DE561 UR
England

David Poole
Rm 1601 ETAS HM Prison Service
Calthorpe House, Hagley Road
Birmingham B 16 8QR
England

ESTONIA

Made Kirts
Ministry of Culture and Education
EEO I 00, Suur - Karja 23
Tallinn
Republic of Estonia

Mart Korre
State Board of Education
EEO I 00, Sakala 23
Tallinn
Republic of Estonia

FINLAND

Tuula Aamuvuori
Kuopio Provincial Prison
PO Box 7
70101 Kuopio
Finland
APPENDIX: LIAISON/CONTACT PERSONS

Claus Andersin
Pelso Central Prison
92810 Pelsonsuo
Finland

FRANCE

Yves le Guennec
12 Rue Isabeau
94240 L’Hay les Roses
France

Janine Duprey Kennedy
Unite Pedagogique Region
Penitentiaire de Strasbourg
19, rue Eugene Delacroix - BP 16
67035 Strasbourg cedex 2
France

GERMANY

Peter Bierschwale
Trift 14
D - 29221 Celle
Germany

Klaus Dieter Vogel
Nassauische Str. 19
D - 10717 Berlin
Germany

GREECE

Alexandros Athanassopoulos
Ministry of Justice
96 Messogion St.
Athens 115 27
Greece

Helen Koukopoulou
Ministry of Justice
96 Messogion St.
Athens 115 27
Greece

HUNGARY

Laszló Csetneky
Deputy Head of Prison
Hungarian Police Academy
1121 Budapest, Pf. 27.
Farkasvölgyi út 12
Hungary

Attila Hevényi
Prison for Young Offenders
2316 Tököl
Ráckevei út. 6
Hungary

IRELAND

Pam Lorenz
Fort Mitchell Prison
Education Unit
Spike Island
Cobh
Co.Cork
Ireland

Sean Wynne
Portlaoise Prison
Portlaoise
Co. Laoise
Ireland

ITALY

Angelo Ruggieri
ViaE210
80 - 04100
Latina
Italy

LATVIA

Lidija Smimova
Latvian Prison Administration
Ministry of Interior Affairs
Stabu iela 89
Riga LV-1009
PROTECTIVE BARS?

Maris Mednis
Latvian Prison Administration
Ministry of Interior Affairs
Stabu iela 89,
Riga LV- 1009
Latvia

LITHUANIA

Igoris Zareckis
Pravienskia Prison
Kaisiadorys istaiga OC 12/2
oc12/8
Vilnius
Lithuania

Valdemanas Vadoklis
Volano 2/7
2691 Vilnius
Lithuania

LUXEMBOURG

Carlo Reuland
Centre Penitentiaire
Boite Postale 35
L-5201 Sandweiler
Luxembourg

Martine Fuchs
Centre Penitentiaire Agricole
L - 6666
Givenich
Luxembourg.

MALTA

Mark F. Vella
Corradino Correctional Facility
Valletta Road
Paola
Malta

NETHERLAND

Joke Holdtgrefe
DJI
PO Box 30132
2500 GC Den Haag
Netherlands

Katinka Reijnders
P1 Haarlem
PO Box 5301
2000 GH Haarlem
Netherlands

NORTHERN IRELAND

Carmen O'Hagan
Education Dept.
HM YOC
Hydebank Wood
Belfast BT8 8NA
Northern Ireland

George Russell
Education Dept.
HMP Maze
Lisburn
BT27 5SERF
Northern Ireland

NORWAY

Torfinn Langelid
National Education office,
Hordaland County
PO Box 614
5001 Bergen
Norway

Ingunn E. Kleivan
Rud vgs, avd.Ila landsfengsel
PO Box 1, Roa
N-0701 Oslo
Norway
APPENDIX: LIAISON/CONTACT PERSONS

SCOTLAND
Janet Ivol
HMYOI Polmont
Falkirk
Scotland FK2 OAB

James O’Hare
HM Remand Institution
Longriggend
Nr. Aridrie
Scotland NL6 7TL

Hans Sjöberg
Prison of Tidaholm
S-52285 Tidaholm
Sweden

SPANISH
Pilar de las Heras
Prison Edtication Services
C/San Bernardo 62
Madrid - 28015
Spain

Claude Neuhaus
Etablissement de Bellechasse
Case Postale I
CH - 1786 Sugiez
Switzerland

TURKEY
Mr. Yusuf Ogmen
Ministry of Justice
Adalet Bakanligi
06659 Ankara
Turkey

Bulent Dogan
Ministry of Justice
Adalet Bakanligi
06659 Ankara
Turkey

SWEDEN
Rolf Blomberg
Kriminalvårdsanstalten Tidaholm
S-522 85 Tidaholm
Sweden

Pedro Perez Hortiguela
Ministerio de la justicia
C/San Bernardo 45 Dcho. I 15
Madrid - 28015
Spain

Hans Sjöberg
Prison of Tidaholm
S-52285 Tidaholm
Sweden

SWITZERLAND

6th EPEA Conference, Hungary 1997
APPENDIX

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Signature: [Signature]
Printed Name/Position/Title: Svenlov Svensson / Program Coordinator
Organization/Address: Swedish Prison and Probation Administration, Box 2502, S-40317 Gothenburg
Telephone: 0046-31731610, Fax: 0046-31731619, E-mail Address: svenlov.svensson@kvv.se, Date: 07-31-00

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