



BASIC EDUCATION IN PRISONS



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Preface

There are millions of people in prisons and other correctional institutions throughout the world.* Most of them have no higher vocational or other advanced education, and even in countries with a universal right of access to 10 or more years of schooling, a large minority - commonly between 25 and 40 per cent - face difficulties in reading, writing and numeracy and in conducting social transactions. The right to basic education in prisons has been shown to be a prerequisite for achieving the internationally agreed goal of ensuring a basic level of education for all.

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, in its resolution 1990/20 of 24 May 1990, recommended, *inter alia*, that all prisoners should have access to education, including literacy programmes, basic education, vocational training, creative, religious and cultural activities, physical education and sports, social education, higher education and library facilities. In the same resolution, the Council requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations, subject to the availability of extrabudgetary funds, to develop a manual on prison education that would provide the basis necessary for the further development of prison education and would facilitate the exchange of expertise and experience on this aspect of penitentiary practice among Member States.

In 1991, a project to investigate and promote basic education in prisons was launched by the UNESCO Institute for Education (UIE), the specialized centre of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for research and development in the field of adult and continuing education. Since the initiative of UIE coincided with the request made to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the United Nations Secretariat offered its collaboration in the preparation of a joint publication. In the resultant *Manual* some of the ways in which the challenge of fostering prison education can be met are examined and some existing practices in countries throughout the world are reviewed. The *Manual* is offered to decision makers, administrators, educators and non-governmental organizations to assist in planning and conducting education in the special environment of penal establishments.

The co-publishers are particularly indebted to those who have contributed case studies, in particular to the Correctional Education services of the State of Maryland, which took upon itself the task of printing the English edition of this *Manual*. The *Manual* could not have been produced without the collaboration of many other organizations, two of which deserve particular mention: the International Council for Social Welfare and the International Council for Adult Education. In addition, the co-publishers have been greatly assisted in the preparation of Part One of the *Manual* by individuals and institutions that provided written materials, many of which are listed in the references. Practitioners from numerous countries have also given many stimulating ideas through informal discussion. All of these deserve great thanks.

The research leading to the joint publication was coordinated by UIE, under the leadership of Peter Sutton. Within UIE, a major part was played by Bettina Bochynek, who prepared the final project seminar held in January 1994, and by Christa Hategan, Chiara Imperio and Britta Niemann, who analyzed many of the written reports received. Within the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch, Ralph Krech coordinated the project.

Both the United Nations Secretariat and UIE are committed to working towards education for all, recognizing the needs of adults as well as children and young people. They offer their collaboration to all those seeking to raise the value and relevance of education for those in prison.

*According to *Human Rights Watch* ([125], p. xxxi) the total number of persons confined worldwide at some point during any given year is in the tens of millions.

Explanatory notes

In the tables, a hyphen (-) indicates that the item is not applicable.

The following abbreviations are used in this publication:

ACA	American Correctional Association
AIDS	acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
ADEP	<i>Agence nationale pour le développement de l'éducation permanente</i>
ADEPPI	<i>Atelier d'éducation permanente pour personnes incarcérées</i>
APCCA	Asia and Pacific conferences of correctional administrators
CEA	Correctional Education Association
DNFE	Department of Non-formal Education
EPEA	European Prison Education Association
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GED	General Education Development
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
IBA	Individual Guidance Department
ICAE	International Council for Adult Education
IFEPS	International Forum for the Study of Education in Penal Systems
ISPAC	International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council
LOKV	Netherlands Institute for Arts Education
NACRO	National Association for the Care and Rehabilitation of Offenders
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PIW	penitentiary institution workers
PSLE	primary school leaving examination
SKVR	<i>Stichting Kunstzinnige Vorming</i>
SUI	State Use Industries
UIE	Institute for Education of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICRI	United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute

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Part One

BASIC CONCEPTS

I. Project to investigate basic education in prisons

A. Background

In all societies there are, and always have been, groups of people who do not benefit from some of the social, cultural and economic opportunities that others enjoy. Their exclusion may be unconscious or semi-conscious, or it may be an act of deliberate policy. Ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, women and girls, landless labourers and the handicapped are some of the groups that frequently suffer from discrimination as a result of cultural factors, and in many cases they exist in conditions of poverty and physical need.

Prisoners are one of the marginalized groups in society, but in their case they have consciously and intentionally been deprived and placed on the fringe of society because they have committed crimes against persons, property, accepted social values or the dictates of a political regime. However, this does not mean that their temporary incarceration is a sufficient response to the phenomenon of criminality. Eventually, nearly all prisoners become ex-offenders and are released into the society in which they offended. There is, therefore, a recognized case for seeking to protect society against further offences by improving the prisoners' chances of being successfully reintegrated into society. The frequency of recidivism suggests that more might be done, even though evidence for the direct effects of educational or any other programmes may as yet be imprecise.

At a different level, education is now recognized as a basic human need, and as a human right. It can therefore be argued that imprisonment, even if it is viewed as justified punishment, should not bring with it additional deprivation of civil rights, which include education.

In the context of human rights, efforts are being made on a global scale to reach disadvantaged minorities by modifying and expanding the formal educational system, and by strengthening non-formal alternatives for particular groups. Those who suffer the greatest disadvantage are those who cannot read and write: in a world dominated by recorded messages, literacy is regarded, rightly or wrongly, as the most basic skill of all, and fundamental to educational progress. It is thus one of the means of combating exclusion from societal participation. Article 1 of the World Declaration on Education for All, proclaimed by the participants of the World Conference on Education for All, held at Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990 (International Literacy Year) under the sponsorship of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Bank, begins: "Every person - child, youth and adult - shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs" ([133], p. 43).

The concept of lifelong education is also relevant to that of human rights. Ever since the early 1970s, international educational organizations and many educationalists have taken a holistic view of education, seeing each educational activity as part of a lifelong process. From this point of view, there is no reason why the process should be interrupted by imprisonment.

Education is a tool considered essential to personal development and participation in society: not the rote learning of a distillation of received facts, but an education which equips its graduates to go beyond exemplary data to make discoveries for themselves, and to apply basic skills.

It is impossible to separate the educational process from the context in which it occurs. The

coercive environment of prison makes it an especially difficult setting for educational services that are designed to enable people to take decisions and hence to have some control over their own lives. There are serious doubts as to the possibility of effecting changes in behaviour among offenders through education in a prison environment, and increasing awareness of the significance of various types of dependency and social dislocation in the commission of a broad range of offences. If resocialization is to be achieved by effective change, the self-reliance and self-esteem of prisoners have also to be raised. In order to reconcile these functions of imprisonment, modifications in prison policy have been widely advocated.

Against this background of uncertainty about effectiveness and the best means of providing for education in correctional systems, the UNESCO Institute for Education (UIE) launched a project in 1991 to investigate basic education in prisons as part of its role as the specialized UNESCO centre for research into adult and continuing education. The intention has been to arrive at an analysis that would provide evidence of the practice and effectiveness of basic education in prisons, would briefly present elements of sample curricula, summarize some possible structures, and allow an assessment to be made of the progress made throughout the world towards meeting the goals laid down in United Nations resolutions and similar statements on the right of access to education, and on prison education in particular. The present publication sets out to make a practical contribution to the provision of education for all. In this, UIE has been able to draw on its other research activities in basic education, literacy and post-literacy, non-formal and adult education.

B. The concept of basic education

The term "basic education" is sometimes restricted to literacy, numeracy and elements of general education at pre-vocational level. It can often be equated loosely with what is covered for children by primary or elementary education. However, particularly in the adult context, it has much greater reference to social skills and common applications of knowledge in everyday life. Basic education is assumed to be essential for further study or training, for development of each person's potential, and for employment in increasingly complex societies. Article 1 of the World Declaration on Education for All expresses it thus:

"[Basic learning needs] comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy, and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning. The scope of basic learning needs and how they should be met varies with individual countries and cultures, and inevitably changes with the passage of time" ([133], p. 43).

In this project, basic education is understood in these terms, and it can therefore be seen to be of crucial importance for the resocialization of offenders. In the specific context of prison education, there will also be an element of education in values within the framework of what is intended to be correctional treatment and of education leading to changes in attitudes, although this may be indirect.

Such research evidence as there is, and wide anecdotal evidence from practitioners and ex-offenders, support the view that education can aid the process of resocialization (see chap. VI, below). In particular, it can bring vocational training and employment within the grasp of the unskilled, and can enhance the stability and self-esteem of offenders.

Through the project's emphasis on basic education, UIE set out to contribute to the development of the potential of persons suffering disproportionate educational disadvantage. The specific intentions have therefore been to identify strategies of basic education in prison contexts which have been judged effective by practitioners and learners, and to disseminate information as widely as possible on these.

C. Scope of the report

In the conduct of this joint project, the United Nations and UIE collaborated with as many agencies as possible involved in prison education. The present report is the result of that cooperation, but the co-publishers are conscious that there remain many gaps and inadequacies in the coverage which has been achieved.

As in much other international discussion of educational matters, there is a preponderance of West European, North American and, in this case, Australian written sources. Outside these areas, we have relied particularly heavily on information from English-language documents. This is in part a result of the pattern of attendance at recent international conferences on prison education. It is, however, in all probability also a reflection of the real state of research throughout the world into basic education in prisons. This topic is not regarded as a high priority by hard-pressed Governments and research agencies.

The conduct of the project fell into two parts. The first was the collection and analysis of written documentation, and the elaboration of a scheme of inquiry through meetings with many institutions and individual practitioners and researchers, including the International Council for Adult Education. At this point, some 350 copies of an interim report were prepared by UIE and circulated for comment. The interim report was also made available to the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, a functional commission of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, at its second session, for information and observations. Secondly, contributions from the authors represented here were commissioned. This second phase culminated in a seminar held at Hamburg in January 1994, at which the authors met to finalize the present report. The final report was submitted to the Ninth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held 29 April to 8 May 1995 in Cairo, Egypt.

Part one of the report does not contain findings from original research. Rather, it is an attempt to find common elements among many different reports, from both primary and secondary sources, so as to arrive at a coherent view of the status and potential of prison education. Considerable attention has been paid to the views of prison education practitioners and, where possible, to those of inmates.

The chapters by the editor of the *Criminal Justice Newsletter* of the International Council for Adult Education, Bill Cosman, and by Tessa West, of the same organization, form part two: Cosman's analysis suggests that the examples of educational practice given in part three may be unrepresentative of most prison systems. It challenges such systems to admit the inherent contradiction between education and punishment, and to spell out their commitment to the former. West's article focuses on two points: that those working in prisons do not deliberately set out to punish their charges; and that the whole environment can be educative, in the broadest sense, if prison staff act on their responsibility to promote positive attitudes.

The overview gained from parts one and two is complemented in part three by case-studies of prison education in Botswana, China, Costa Rica, Egypt, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Sri Lanka and the United States of America, which do provide an important new set of primary sources.

The case-studies have been chosen to represent various aspects of basic education in prisons, rather than an international comparison using standardized instruments or norms. Within the space available, the intention has been to present examples of existing national systems, to seek inmates' views on what that education should provide, and to give examples of innovative projects. The opening studies from Finland and China present national systems: while Finland is reviewing its provision of basic education in the light of recent assessments of levels of literacy and learning needs among inmates, the Chinese system already enrolls almost all of its inmates in educational programmes aiming at resocialization. The studies from Sri Lanka and Botswana highlight the possibility of involving non-governmental organizations in prison education, and the potential of education in developing countries with few resources. In some cases the studies are based upon the

opinions of inmates sought through interviews. This approach is also taken in the study from Germany, which concentrates on the situation of a growing proportion of the prison population, namely migrants.

The study from the United States finds evidence linking participation in educational programmes with subsequent inmate behaviour (a question already addressed less formally in the study from Botswana). It is followed by reports on two projects with very different backgrounds: the introduction of a social rehabilitation programme in an agricultural prison in Egypt, and the programme of arts education in the Netherlands. These provide examples of a basic education which looks beyond literacy, numeracy and vocational preparation to the building of a balanced personality among offenders, who can thus become truly socialized on release.

The final study reports on the prison education plan launched at the beginning of 1994 in Costa Rica, which is based on the premise that rehabilitative treatment encounters problems and therefore seeks to make provision for an enlarged perspective of basic education.

The remaining chapters in part one draw largely on an interim report prepared by UIE, with the incorporation of the information and comments received.

II. International and regional standards and initiatives in the field of prison education

In recent years, prison education has attracted an increasing amount of interest at the international level. This can be attributed in part to the international community's larger desire to intensify and expand international cooperation in crime prevention and criminal justice issues as a result of a growth in crime. Because of the considerable variations in culture, educational opportunities and prison systems from one country to another, international initiatives have at times encountered considerable difficulties. The common ground shared by prison educators has, however, made improvements possible. For example, the programme structures of the various organizations dealing with prison education have been redesigned in recent years to reflect both social rehabilitation and practical vocational training.

There are two important issues that deserve special attention: the necessity for prison education; and the content of such education.

Since one of the aims of the basic criminal justice system is to promote justice and facilitate the appropriate reintegration of offenders into society, nobody can now deny that prisoners need education; but what should be taught in prison and how to do so is not an easy question to answer. For example, in a society where illiteracy still remains one of the main obstacles for the reintegration of offenders, learning how to read and write may provide offenders with what they need most. However, in a society where illiteracy has already been almost overcome, such education is not cost-effective and may not be necessary for successful integration. Thinking about what should be taught in prison also means thinking about the society to which the offenders belong. In other words, the content of education in prison should be considered and designed in the context of each society and its culture.

Due consideration should be attached to the relationship between basic education and training programmes in prison and their relevance to offenders. These should be considered in relation to the same aim: effective reintegration into society. The starting point, therefore, should be to consider what would be the most effective way to promote reintegration into society. From this point of view, prison education does not necessarily mean academic education only. We need to think about social education. At the same time, training programmes are not only aiming at imparting technical skills or achieving productivity. These programmes may help offenders to adjust themselves to daily life and decide to modify their previous lifestyle, which may have been one of the factors that led them to commit a crime in the first place. In addition, the sale of items produced in training programmes would be of great help in promoting public understanding of prison labour, and thus contribute to the offender's resocialization. Basic education and training programmes have the same purpose, but different modalities.

The primary goals of prison education initiatives on the international level are to exchange ideas and information between prison educators and to overcome the sometimes considerable discrepancies between international norms and guidelines and the actual situation in many parts of the world. To this end, programmes such as that of the United Nations Secretariat, through its Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch, exist to support these exchanges of information and to assist Member States, at their request, in applying existing standards. Such cooperation is seen as one important way of improving prison education programmes throughout the world, paying due attention to the social and cultural conditions in different societies. The recent international prison education initiatives described below have increasingly reflected this pragmatic view.

A. United Nations

The foremost international organization to tackle the global question of prisoner education has been the United Nations. While the very nature of the Organization's mission makes it impossible to advance specific proposals that can be directly implemented by every Member State, it has been an instrument through which many standards and norms in the field have been set. The actions of the United Nations have focused on two particular aspects of education in prison. First, that inmates have a basic human right to an education; and secondly, that this education should focus on the development of the prisoner in all its aspects: mental, physical, social and spiritual.

1. *The human rights framework*

The United Nations human rights framework is primarily enshrined in two documents of relevance to education in prison. The first, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1948 in its resolution 217A (III). In article 26, it is expressly declared, *inter alia*, that "everyone has the right to education". Implicitly, this right not only includes basic, technical, and professional education, but the right to develop one's personality to the fullest extent as well.

The second is the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 2200A (XXI), on 16 December 1966, and in force since 3 January 1976. In articles 13 and 14 of the Covenant, the right of all to education is mentioned specifically. Article 13 is essentially a reiteration of article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, stating that all signatories recognize "the right of everyone to education", and that education shall be directed to "the full development of the human personality". Additionally, in article 15 of the Covenant, the right of everyone to participate in and enjoy a cultural life is recognized. These two internationally recognized human rights documents, signed by many of the Member States of the United Nations, provide a normative framework for later initiatives in the field of prison education.

2. *Standards*

The United Nations has also adopted several sets of standards that are relevant to prisoner education. The most important of these, containing the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners [258], was adopted in 1957 by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 663C (XXIV) and was enlarged upon by the General Assembly in its resolution 45/111, containing the Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners. Rule 77 applies directly to the education and recreation of offenders. Specifically, it states that "provision shall be made for the further education of all prisoners capable of profiting thereby, including religious instruction", and that penal education should be integrated "so far as practicable" with the educational system of each country [263].

Another set of principles, the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (The Beijing Rules) (General Assembly resolution 40/33, annex), establishes standards on the rights of juvenile offenders. In rule 22.1, attention is drawn to the importance of professional education and continuing in-service training of personnel dealing with juvenile cases as an essential element in ensuring a productive penal educational system. In rule 26 on the objectives of institutional treatment, the goals of a juvenile penal education system are clarified. First, it should act to assist juveniles placed in institutions "to assume socially constructive, and productive roles in society". Additionally, a focus on the "wholesome development" of the young offenders is necessary, and appropriate training should be provided to ensure that they do not leave the institution at an "educational disadvantage" when returned to society.

3. *Recent resolutions*

On 24 May 1990, the Economic and Social Council adopted significant new resolutions on prison education (resolution 1990/20) and on education, training and public awareness in the field of crime prevention (resolution 1990/24). In the former, the Council affirmed the right of everyone to education, as enshrined in the previously mentioned human rights agreements, and also recalled rule 77 of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. Key recommendations of the resolutions are, in summary form, that Member States should:

(a) Provide various types of education that would contribute significantly to crime prevention, resocialization of prisoners and reduction of recidivism;

(b) Consider the increased use of alternatives to imprisonment and measures for the social resettlement of prisoners.

In the same resolution, it was also recommended that Member States, in developing education policies, should take into account the following principles:

(a) Education in prison should aim at developing the whole person, bearing in mind the prisoner's social, economic and cultural background;

(b) All prisoners should have access to education, including literacy programmes, basic education, vocational training, creative, religious and cultural activities, physical education and sports, social education, higher education and library facilities;

(c) Every effort should be made to encourage prisoners to participate actively in all aspects of education;

(d) All those involved in prison administration and management should facilitate and support education as much as possible;

(e) Education should be an essential element in the prison regime; disincentives to prisoners who participate in approved formal education programmes should be avoided;

(f) Vocational education should aim at the greater development of the individual and be sensitive to trends in the labour market;

(g) Creative and cultural activities should be given a significant role, since they have a special potential for enabling prisoners to develop and express themselves;

(h) Wherever possible, prisoners should be allowed to participate in education outside the prison;

(i) Where education has to take place within the prison, the outside community should be involved as fully as possible;

(j) The necessary funds, equipment and teaching staff should be made available to enable prisoners to receive appropriate education.

The texts of both resolutions are reproduced in annexes II and III to this *Manual*. This action of the Economic and Social Council was followed, in August-September 1990, by the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. The Congress confirmed the recommendations of the Economic and Social Council.

On 14 December 1990, the United Nations General Assembly, in its resolution 45/111, adopted Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners. Expanding upon the framework laid previously in the Economic and Social Council resolutions, the General Assembly, in that resolution, enlarged upon the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. Among the adopted Principles was No. 6, in which it was stated that all prisoners "shall have the right to take part in cultural activities and education aimed at the full development of the human personality". The Principles also stipulated that all prisoners should be treated with the respect due to their inherent dignity, and that the treatment of prisoners should coincide with a State's other social objectives and its fundamental responsibilities for promoting the well-being and development of all members of society.

On the same date, the General Assembly adopted resolution 45/122, confirming that education should play an important role in crime prevention and criminal justice through education of the public for general awareness, education of the young for crime prevention, education aimed at the total personal development of offenders, and the continuing education of criminal justice personnel. In addition, the Assembly requested the Secretary-General "to explore the possibility of increased use of education in crime prevention and criminal justice with a view to preparing a study on the relationship between crime, education, and development".

This trend is reflected in the recent human development reports (1990-1993) of UNDP, in which a new composite of indicators, the Human Development Index, has been introduced. This includes a human freedom indicator, based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, on the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and other conventions on civil, political and social rights. Further, General Assembly resolution 45/122 requested the Secretary General to bring to the attention of relevant national criminal justice and education authorities the United Nations norms and other selected recommendations with a view to ensuring their more widespread and systematic dissemination in relevant training and educational programmes (see annex I of this present *Manual*).

B. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNESCO, a specialized agency of the United Nations, is another organization that has concerned itself with prison education on an international level. While UNESCO has in the past said little on the specific subject of prisoner education, the fourth International UNESCO Conference on Adult Education adopted a declaration on the right to learn for all, which consists of the following:

- (a) The right to read and write;
- (b) The right to question and analyse;
- (c) The right to imagine and create;
- (d) The right to read about one's own world and to write history;
- (e) The right to have access to educational resources;
- (f) The right to develop individual and collective skills.

As with the human rights articulated by the United Nations, these UNESCO rights are considered fundamental, with the goal of developing the whole personality of the inmate. As far as the education of prisoners is concerned, this means that they should be given access wherever possible to libraries, laboratories, workshops, cultural events and similar educational resources in order to develop themselves to the fullest extent.

C. Regional instruments and perspectives

There are important differences in the manner in which prison education is implemented in different regions and cultures of the world. The goals of and the approaches to prison education vary greatly, not only at a regional level but even between nations with similar economic, cultural and political backgrounds. Nevertheless, several generalizations can be made that cross such barriers. First, reflecting on actions taken on the broader international scale, there are parallel regional instruments that reaffirm education as a basic human right. Secondly, the goals of any prison education programme in practically any nation and culture are to enable those who have only minimal educational achievements, or none at all, to learn through access to teachers and resources so that they can be successfully reintegrated into society. Additionally, the need to establish or improve the educational provision for prisoners in nearly every nation, especially in support structures, facilities and resource allocation, is an issue that crosses regional and cultural boundaries.

1. *Africa*

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, adopted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1981 and in force since 1986, declares, in article 17, that "every individual shall have the right to education", as well as the freedom to "take part in the cultural life of his community". This document has played, and continues to play, a significant role in the protection of the human rights of prisoners in the African States parties to the Charter, although budgetary and other constraints have prevented the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights from operating at full capacity during its relatively short existence. An example of the influence of the Charter is none the less found in the commitment of the Government and Prisons Service of Botswana to the provision of a wide range of literacy, vocational training and secondary education in Botswana (see Frimpong, chapter XIII below).

2. *Latin America*

The American Convention on Human Rights, or Pact of San José, drawing upon the 1948 American Declaration on the Rights and Duties of Man, is a primary human rights instrument in Latin America. While this document does not specifically mention a right to education, its protocol on social and cultural rights, the Protocol of San Salvador, refers in articles 14 and 15 to a right to education. Among their several points, the articles state that education should be directed towards the full development of the human personality and human dignity, enabling one to achieve a decent existence. The Protocol will enter into force after the required 11 States have completed ratification procedures.

3. *Islamic countries*

The Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, signed in August 1990 by the participating States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, contains among its human rights provisions a specific reference to education. In article 9, it is stated that "the quest for knowledge is an obligation and the provision of education is a duty for society and the State". Educational diversity is to be guaranteed and promoted in such a manner that the whole personality of the inmate is to be developed.

4. Asia and the Pacific

With respect to the Asian and Pacific region, mention should be made of the annual conferences of correctional administrators (APCCA) which have given priority consideration to prisoners' rights issues on many occasions, as well as to the national and regional implementation of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. In addition, the Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders has conducted several training and seminar courses devoted to the question of corrections. Again, education as a human right of prisoners and the development of the whole personality have been the basis for most of the regional work conducted in this field.

5. Europe and North America

Education as a human right is enshrined in the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, adopted in 1950. In 1989, the Council of Europe, identifying adult education as a "fundamental factor of equality of educational opportunity and cultural democracy" and citing the UNESCO declaration on the right to learn, issued a report on prison education. The 17 points of Recommendation No. R (89) 12, adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 13 October 1989 (see annex IV of the present *Manual*), reiterate the humanistic principles contained in the United Nations resolutions outlined earlier. Additionally, it is recommended that Governments should adopt policies which recognize the following:

(a) All prisoners should 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 (point 1);

(b) Education for prisoners should be like the education provided for similar age-groups in the outside world (point 2);

(c) 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 (point 5);

(d) Development programmes should be provided to ensure that prison educators adopt appropriate adult education methods (point 7);

(e) Special attention should be given to those prisoners with particular difficulties and especially those with reading and writing problems (point 8).

The Council of Europe Recommendation, reproduced in full in annex IV to this *Manual*, represents the conclusions of a committee of experts. Points 7 and 8 are the ones of particular concern here, but their implementation is contingent on many of the policies implicit in other points.

In the United States, according to a recent federally funded study conducted by the Correctional Education Association (CEA), some state correctional systems, as well as the federal system, now require illiterate inmates to attend basic education programmes for a minimum period of time. No achievement levels are mandated and no penalties are levied for lack of progress. Achievement and progress are often rewarded, however, by positive parole considerations, sentence reduction or eligibility for higher level programmes and, sometimes, higher levels of pay. The trend to mandatory or compulsory education has been noted by the American Bar Association, which has published its own recommendations for model mandatory education legislation.

D. Non-governmental organizations

The contribution of non-governmental organizations to the field of prison education should not be overlooked, particularly when discussing international communication and cooperation on the subject. Such organizations have provided invaluable support by holding seminars and meetings, conducting individual research and studies, and publishing reports and manuals on the subject. This extensive work has contributed in many ways to the success of international initiatives in the field of education in prison, such as congresses on the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders, which are held every five years. The recent activities of some of the non-governmental organizations that have been involved in the prison education field are summarized below.

1. *Correctional Education Association*

CEA has developed and published a set of standards covering juvenile and adult correctional education programmes. The standards were drawn up by the correctional programme administrators and researchers in the early 1980s through a series of meetings and hearings across the United States. These standards have recently been endorsed by the American Correctional Association (ACA), a larger organization with a broader scope.

The standards are used in formal reviews of individual federal and state programmes in Canada and the United States. Programmes that meet minimum norms are accredited by ACA and certified by CEA. This process has had an impact on judicial and legislative actions by government: in legal proceedings, the standards are used as the basis for arguments and legally binding decisions. They also become the basis and rationale for new correctional and educational legislation.

2. *International Council for Adult Education*

Since the education of prisoners is closely related to the general field of adult education, work done by the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) is often of value to prison educators. The views of the ICAE concerning prison education are given by Cosman in chapter VIII of this *Manual* and by West in chapter IX.

3. *International Forum for the Study of Education in Penal Systems*

Founded in 1991, with centres initially in Australia, Canada, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States, the International Forum for the Study of Education in Penal Systems (IFEPS) is one of the few non-governmental organizations devoted entirely to the study of prison education. Recognizing that institutional, national and regional isolation makes cooperation between those interested in the subject difficult, the primary goal of IFEPS is to use education, the community dimension and international activity to overcome such tendencies. To this end the Forum holds meetings, publishes occasional papers and conducts research into the prison education field, inviting practitioners and academics worldwide to participate. In 1992, IFEPS sponsored a seminar as part of the International Symposium on Prison Education, preparatory to the 47th International Conference of the Correctional Education Association.

4. *European Prison Education Association*

Proposed in 1989 and formally established in 1993 as a European counterpart to CEA, the European Prison Education Association (EPEA) deals with the prison education issues particularly affecting the region of Europe. The primary aims of EPEA are:

- (a) To promote education in prison according to Recommendation No. R (89) 12 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe;
- (b) To support and assist the professional development of persons involved in education in prison through European cooperation;

(c) To work with related professional organizations;

(d) To support research in the field of education in prison, including basic, elementary, social, vocational and physical education.

Currently 26 nations, including Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, have nominated liaison persons to EPEA or are otherwise involved in its activities. The transitional objectives of EPEA are to implement fully its constitution, which is expected to be operational by June 1995, to establish a network system for prison educators "on the ground" and to continue publication of its newsletter.

5. International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council

An important contributor to the work of the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the United Nations Secretariat in the field of prison education has been the International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council (ISPAC). ISPAC has proved to be a valuable source of background information for international conferences in the field. In particular, the work of the late Luigi Daga, of the Ministry of Justice of Italy, attracted international attention. Dr. Daga maintained that, while the direct assumption that "treatment equals lower recidivism" cannot be made, education remains an important aspect of making an inmate's sentence more humane. ISPAC is currently preparing materials on prison education to be presented to the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice and the Ninth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, to be held at Cairo in 1995.

E. The United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice programme: future actions

As part of its ongoing contribution to the international field of prison education, the Branch accords priority to the topic in its work programme for the biennium 1994-1995 in several ways. First, as part of the objective to promote consistent, effective and humane criminal justice management, the programme of the Branch will continue to encourage prison education policies that are of most benefit to the welfare of the prisoner while reflecting simultaneously the needs and mechanisms indigenous to each criminal justice system. Additionally, the Branch, by way of technical cooperation and advisory services delivered upon request, helps Governments to apply the current international standards on prison education, with the particular object of overcoming impediments to their implementation. The Branch continues to contribute its resources and experience to the criminal justice field.

The Ninth Congress has included the management and improvement of police and other law enforcement agencies, prosecution, courts and corrections as part of item 5 of its provisional agenda. As in the past, discussion of the human rights of prisoners is likely to be one of the main objectives of the Congress. Focus on the international dimensions of criminal justice, including cooperation and mutual assistance in the sphere of prison education, will also be discussed in several workshops. Prison education stands only to benefit from such international initiatives, with better results for both prisoner and society.

III. The context of prison education

Some form of education is prescribed by law in many penal systems. In an informal survey of 15 countries in Asia and the Pacific conducted within this project (see annex V to this *Manual*), this was found to be the case for the majority. Certain countries, such as Norway (1993) and Sweden (1992) have elaborated legislation specifying the purpose of prison education as a preparation for re-entry into society, and requiring prisons both to provide educational and cultural activities, and to give education the same degree of importance as work.

There is also extensive literature on education in prisons, which is very much concerned with theoretical issues, particularly those related to the purpose of education in correctional institutions, the dehumanizing setting, and the need for an emancipatory approach (for example, [54], [118], [134], [157] and [293]).

That is not to say, however, that education is necessarily seen by all prison authorities as the most significant activity for which they are responsible, or as always serving the same ends. As Neale ([194], pp. 101-114) has observed, there may be a discrepancy between the constraints of prison life, imposed by the need for security, supervision and manageability, and the provision and implications of liberating and development-oriented education. It must be pointed out, however, that if a prison is not safe and does not satisfy the prisoners' daily needs efficiently (in terms of food, visits, medical care etc.), the prisoners will not learn.

A. The role of education in prisons

Educators, prison authorities and other staff do not always agree on the purpose of education in prisons. While some prison authorities and security officers tend to see the educational programme as a peripheral activity, which contributes to the "good order" of the institution since it helps to keep the inmates "meaningfully busy" [54], others, especially educators and "civilian" members of the staff (social workers, psychologists etc.), tend to emphasize the ethical dimension of education as part of the rehabilitative purpose of imprisonment. An obvious but often unspoken element of this purpose is the attempt to influence future behaviour through changes in values and attitudes among offenders. This is implicit in the designation of institutions and systems termed "correctional".

Education is seen as one of the means of furthering resocialization and acquisition of the skills that may help inmates to build a better future for themselves after release. This view may be shared by prisoners who accept that incarceration has purposes beyond punishment, isolation and deterrence and who therefore willingly acquiesce in and take advantage of the reformatory element of imprisonment, notably the vocational education services and advice on employment opportunities. Other offenders reject education as part of an imposed system, from which they feel alienated. Many prisoners may, however, initially participate in education for reasons that are non-educational: getting out of their cells, being with friends or avoiding something worse (work), for example. They may become successful students.

In summary, there can be three main immediate objectives of prison education at the basic level, reflecting differing views of the purpose of a criminal justice system: first, to keep prisoners meaningfully busy; secondly, to improve the quality of life in custody; and thirdly, to achieve something useful (skills, knowledge, understanding, social attitudes and behaviour) that will last beyond prison and may lead to employment or further training. This may or may not reduce the level of re-offending. The last two are part of the wider aims of resocialization and development of human potential. The first, it may be thought, will necessarily be met if the last two are achieved, but they will not necessarily be met if the first takes priority, although training in manual jobs through prison labour can also contribute to changing attitudes and behaviour of inmates.

B. Perceptions of imprisonment

There is in practice a consensus that society has to protect its members from criminal acts, and that those responsible for these acts must be called to account and censured in some way by an organized system of criminal justice. There is a strong tradition in the majority of societies that criminal law must be respected in the interests of social cohesion and peace. That law may be a written code of statutes, or an unwritten code based on common usage and embodied in judgements and commentaries, and it may or may not be sanctioned by religious belief. It is a moral question whether the law is always just, and a case is sometimes made by or on behalf of certain offenders that they have been subjected to unfair treatment. At an international level, it is indeed recognized that arbitrary or wrongful judgements are made by some administrations, and that extralegal punishments are imposed by certain regimes and bodies that are not officially recognized. In this *Manual*, however, it is assumed that prisoners have committed offences and are lawfully incarcerated.

Imprisonment is the most common penalty imposed for criminal offences, which are held to be offences against society as a whole (sometimes embodied impersonally in "the State"). They are distinguished from civil offences arising from disputes between contending parties, and imprisonment has been the principal penalty since the general abandonment of punishment by physical suffering and death. While there is no international agreement on the question of capital punishment, physical suffering is now held internationally to be unacceptably cruel, and the human right of freedom from torture is recognized in United Nations resolutions.

How offenders are treated depends on the prevailing penological philosophy. There are various possible societal reactions to criminal acts which can be broadly categorized as follows: punishment (and sometimes vengeance); education; therapy; compensation or restitution; conciliation; and restoration of the social peace.

The first five were listed thus, for example, in 1986, in a document of the National Institute for Curriculum Development in the Netherlands ([193], p. 26); the last is added from more recent articles ([8], [269] and [270]). The first three normally imply imprisonment.

Most countries have based their criminal justice systems on the notion of rehabilitation and reintegration into society, however imperfect that society may be. Education forms part of the correctional treatment considered necessary to this end.

The rehabilitation or resocialization model has come to be generally accepted for the reason that: "Unless we intend to keep the inmates in jail for ever ... they will always continue to be part of the community in which the opponents also live" ([108], p. 102). Underlying this model is the belief that heredity cannot be the sole determinant of criminal behaviour.

The Mission Statement for prisons in England and Wales drawn up by the Prisons Board in 1988 states that the prison service serves the public by keeping in custody those committed by the Courts, and that its duty is to look after them with humanity and to help them lead law-abiding and useful lives in custody and after release. This is open to wide interpretation, and implementation in accordance with the intentions of the authors is not guaranteed, but two things stand out: the humanity of treatment, and the desired usefulness of the time spent in prison. There is little argument over the contribution of educational and cultural activities to that intention.

C. Alternatives to imprisonment

Although the education of those in prison is the focus of this *Manual*, decisions about the place of education in prison regimes will necessarily be related to the increasing consideration of alternative penalties. In 1990, these were discussed by the heads of penal systems in French-speaking Africa. Professor A. Zakele, of Zaire, then suggested that:

"It would be useful to operate structures inspired by ancient penal laws: comminatory measures such as conditional discharge, reprimand or suspended sentence ... probation (much stricter than a suspended sentence); conciliation and reparation with the aim of reconciling different parties who have to live side by side (as in the case of juvenile mothers); penal indemnification, which allows the offender to be given a positive role, sometimes in a location far removed from his place of origin" ([132], p. 14).

The earlier meeting of heads of penal systems in English-speaking Africa had reached a similar conclusion ([131], p. 13). The participants had emphasized that imprisonment was widely seen in Africa as an alien form of punishment ([131], p. 12), although there was evidence of the pre-colonial use of house arrest or remand detention ([108], p. 85), and it could be assumed that when conciliatory measures were deemed inadequate, severe physical penalties had been imposed ([132], p. 10).

While it is still widely believed that there is a need for some form of punishment in order to respond to the public demand that respect be shown for the law, alternatives are increasingly being developed, with emphasis on providing supervised links between offenders and society outside rather than their total sequestration in closed prisons. (The Swedish Minister of Justice alluded to this trend at the opening of the 4th European Prison Education Conference, held at Sigtuna, Sweden, in June 1993.) And where imprisonment remains, treatment is accepted as a necessary part of rehabilitation.

D. Education and the primacy of security

In all prison systems, the overriding consideration is security, for without it there is the potential for escape, which means that the prison has failed in one of its most important tasks, and there is potential danger for both staff and inmates. Even where prisoners are allowed to attend classes outside, to take part in sporting activities or to work and be trained in outside enterprises, rules are devised that seek to limit the security risk. In extreme cases, a quasi-military view of discipline prevails among security staff, who may be prohibited from talking with inmates. Even in less rigid systems, routine is an entrenched and necessary feature of security.

Offenders can observe the consequences of this situation. They see evidence of the low status accorded to education by prison authorities, who regard it principally as a way of occupying prisoners and ensuring good order. If a security officer is not available to accompany them, inmates may suddenly be denied access to an educational facility. When they are transferred or released, their course can be abruptly interrupted or terminated. If they express interest in a particular activity, the list may be full, or the facilities lacking in the institution where they are placed. Such experiences add to the mistrust of the penal system that naturally exists among those incarcerated within it.

Penal systems none the less differentiate between prisoners according to the degree of security with which it is believed necessary or prudent to guard them. Various categories of institution cater for high, medium and low security. So-called "open" prisons have the lowest level, sometimes even having no fence, and, although remoteness from means of transport can act as a sufficient deterrent to escape in some terrains, a much greater deterrent is a recognition of the need to complete a sentence satisfactorily and so be able to rejoin society legitimately. Those on remand or awaiting sentence tend to be held in more secure accommodation because they have not yet been categorized and staff have no knowledge of their likely behaviour in custody. Many systems enable prisoners to move from higher to lower security establishments as their sentence progresses unless they are still

considered to be a risk or they contravene prison rules. Pressures on accommodation may force deviation from official guidelines, and there are other reasons for prisoners' being moved, such as the desire to separate inmates in order to prevent trouble or following a disturbance, or the meeting of an inmate's wish to be near to family members in times of serious illness. A move might be made at an inmate's request to a prison where a particular training course was offered, but other consequences for educational provisions of the transfer of prisoners will be dealt with in chapter VII below.

E. Alienation

There is no denying that the various actors in the penal system - convicted first offenders, recidivists, those on remand, security officers, educators and other groups of staff - regard its functions and priorities in very different lights. There is a subculture among many, but not all, inmates, particularly among recidivists, which can be described as "macho" with respect to male prisoners and is marked by defiance, bravado and a mixture of solidarity and self-reliance among both sexes, at least in prisons in industrialized countries. Prison educators know this anecdotally from contacts with inmates, and it has on occasion been recorded in research interviews and statements by ex-offenders ([26], [27] and [285]).

To show weakness is to invite derision, bullying and exploitation on the part of fellow inmates, but in prison some inmates find it easier to discuss their inability to read and write than they do in the outside community, because they know they are not alone and so there is less stigma attached to the admission. It is frequent for them to make requests to prison officers, other staff and fellow prisoners for help with correspondence and official documents. Others may develop a relationship of trust with only one companion, sometimes a cell-mate. In the latter case it would be less likely for an offender to admit inadequacies such as illiteracy openly before others, at least in societies where literacy is the norm. In a transient population such as that of many institutions, the removal of that one person who could be relied upon to help with tasks requiring literacy is a common event and can cause the person needing help to withdraw further into a shell of assumed indifference or to seek another person's help. Imprisonment may thus be a lonely experience, and it may not in itself be conducive to the acquisition or strengthening of social skills. The social isolation of the illiterate outside prison may therefore sometimes be exacerbated on the inside, or relieved.

Within institutions, there are additional alienating barriers between learning and other activities: obligatory exercise hours, higher pay for work in some systems and, as has been remarked in *Le journal de l'Alpha* [168], the presence of fellow inmates, including cell-mates, who despise learning and may make it impossible to study in quiet because of the noise of radio or television. Of course many prisoners prefer these activities to education, just as they did in the outside community.

A part of the prison culture is to extract maximum advantage from the rules of the system: if enrolment in education promises a reduction in the length of sentence, a less taxing regime, or any other perceived advantage, such as meeting teachers (especially women teachers), watching interesting videos or playing games on computers, there will be no shortage of applicants. Education may therefore be seen as a diversion that can be exploited within the coercive system to temporary advantage, rather than for its own sake. To engage in education is then a survival technique, but this is not to say that enrolment for non-educational reasons cannot produce beneficial results (see, for example, the story of one ex-offender's change of lifestyle related by Whetstone [285]).

Moreover, the norms of life depicted in correctional social education - expectation of employment, stable social relations, legal means of acquiring enough money to live, modesty in expectations of living standards, the ability to manage a budget, the ability to confront authority without violence, respect for property rights, freedom from threats of violence from others etc. - are often far removed from the experience of prisoners both in and out of prisons, and from the social environments to which they know they will return. These norms of life cannot be obtained through education alone. Some are more likely to be dealt with in daily life in the prison (bullying others, or dealing with bullies and with authority figures) than in classrooms. Some officers and prisoners see

this as "real" education. The latter frequently bring into prison their antipathy to all educational activity, which they regard as alien to their interests and way of life, and a likely cause of further failure and disillusionment.

Cultural differences may cause alienation and lack of mutual comprehension between offenders and those working in the penal system. Perceptions of what constitutes criminality vary, an extreme case being represented by certain close-knit and culturally isolated communities such as Portuguese gypsies, who reportedly consider that "to rob a *gadjé* [non-gypsy] is perfectly acceptable. In fact, stealing is simply a means of subsistence made necessary by their way of life, their reluctance to accept regular work and the unreliable nature of their businesses" ([58], p. 134). On the other hand,

"... among themselves stealing is prohibited. Gypsy law is seen as prevailing over the established laws, and their own rules (always keeping one's word to another gypsy, extreme love for children, marital fidelity, respect for elders, fraternity and solidarity with the group, guarding a girl's virginity before marriage) are strictly obeyed" ([58], p. 134).

There is also the particular problem, which may overlap with other cultural differences, of persons imprisoned in a system of which the working language, and frequently the language of educational instruction, is not their own mother tongue or language of customary use. Usually this means that a totally different language is spoken, but wider questions can be raised about the mutual intelligibility of the languages prisoners speak at home and the official language of the judicial and penal system. According to the report on prisons in French-speaking Belgium by the *Atelier d'éducation permanente pour personnes incarcérées* (ADEPPI), more than half of the prisoners without any school-leaving certificate had an insufficient knowledge of French. This does not correlate with the proportion of foreigners in the sample, who numbered less than a third (29.5 per cent). North Africans in prison showed the highest percentage of illiteracy (36 per cent), but the French came a close second (32 per cent) ([11], p. 4).

F. The negative effects of imprisonment

Prisoners have been deliberately alienated as a result of the criminal acts they committed, and their alienation frequently outlasts their sequestration in prison. In what could until recently be described as "traditional African societies", where the degree of individualism and competitiveness was less than in the West, and where criminality was seen as a matter for social control rather than isolation through imprisonment, it was recently assumed, according to Daga ([69], p. 246), that an ex-offender could easily be reassimilated, but it has since been noted that even in these societies, tolerance is no longer shown by the general population towards the reintegration of ex-offenders, so that their social alienation is likely to increase ([132], p. 11).

The instability of social relationships may be worsened by the separation enforced by imprisonment and the strengthening of "macho" values of violence, so that it is unrealistic to claim that deprivation of liberty can be the only form of punishment associated with imprisonment. Even in systems that seek to promote family contact, some deleterious effect is hardly avoidable if the sentence extends beyond a few months.

The system offers little opportunity for inmates to learn how to take decisions, which is itself one of the essential features of social skill training. All institutions - schools, places of employment, the armed forces, even clubs and associations - relieve their members of certain decisions, but a strict prison regime may carry this to an extreme form, not even allowing an inmate to open a door, to take a walk or to speak to whom he or she wishes without an official instruction to do so. What may be learned instead are the prevailing values of a prison subculture, which sees criminal activity as an acceptable way of life. This is not a new state of affairs for many inmates, but a reinforcement of what they learned as they grew up in their own communities.

Prison can, however, also have some positive aspects, more positive at least than the negativity of the outside community in which the prisoners have grown up. It is important to note that many

of those in prison consider that their community is one of the reasons why they offended, and that they grew up in a "dump". Moreover, life in prisons can be far safer than in the community, and it is likely to be free of alcohol, some drugs, and painful and damaging relationships. Also it sometimes happens that the quality of accommodation and food in prison - however bad these may be - can still be better than those in the community that the prisoners come from.

G. The effectiveness of prison education

Nevertheless, the effects of incarceration are seen by some to be totally negative. Zaffaroni [293], in an address to the heads of penitentiary systems in Latin America, goes so far as to dismiss all claims for the beneficial effects of education, but it can be said with confidence that education can at least palliate some of the harmful effects of imprisonment, and can help inmates to gain self-respect and rebuild their lives after they have been released. Basic education, in particular, can alleviate some of the problems caused by low levels of literacy and verbal ability, and social education may help prisoners to cope better with frustrations deriving from the fact that they are unable to abandon drugs or live at peace with their families.

Research into the medium- and long-term effects of education in penal systems is of major importance for decisions on investment and on the management of such systems. Because penal systems see education to be of low priority in comparison with security and prison work, however, they are unlikely to invest in the longitudinal studies involving other actors that might evaluate the results of educational measures. Even when the will to conduct research into effectiveness does exist, it is difficult to follow up ex-offenders after they have been released in order to assess the long-term relationship between any prison education in which they participated and their subsequent occupational and social circumstances. Not only may it be considered improper to continue to keep records on those who have completed their sentence but any meaningful recording of data would also require the cooperation of a variety of agencies, and preferably of the subjects themselves. In some systems, links between prisons and parole or probation services are at best tenuous, and in many after-care is totally lacking.

Surprisingly little research appears to have been done on even the immediate effects of individual programmes within prisons, although increasing awareness of the desirability of internal efficiency evaluation is widespread. It is also rare for offenders to be involved in determining their learning needs and the success of educational provisions in responding to these.

None the less, such research evidence as there is, and wide anecdotal evidence from practitioners and ex-offenders, support the statement often quoted in British reports that:

"Education has been seen to aid the process of resettlement; it can help the offenders to take a non-offending path. It can do this by providing the basic education and skills which make law-abiding survival more possible; qualifications, both general and vocational, which make the attainment and holding of worthwhile jobs more possible; stability and structure to an individual's life, especially in the crucial first few months after release; a mind-broadening and maturing experience; and perhaps for the first time, prestige, success and self-esteem in the non-criminal world" [188].

More precise evidence of the effects of basic education in prisons is given in chapter V below.

H. Characteristics of the prison population

Persons imprisoned for other than political offences show common characteristics across countries and regions. These are closely interrelated with previous educational experience and present needs, and have implications for prison administrations and educational programmes.

A concise characterization of the prison population in the United States is given by Bellorado [20], subsequently confirmed by a survey of a large cross-section of the prison population of the State of Ohio, in which 1,722 inmates (1,556 males and 166 females) were profiled [171]. From these reports it is seen that the majority of prisoners are male and are disproportionately young, black and unmarried. They have a history of failure in schools and other institutions and a low level of self-esteem. Some 60 per cent are high-school drop-outs, and 6 per cent have had no schooling beyond, at most, kindergarten. (The percentages given in this and the next two paragraphs are taken from Bellorado.) This small minority, which almost totally lacks schooling, has a likelihood of imprisonment more than three times as high as that of the later drop-outs. All display apathy or hostility towards education.

American prisoners lack social skills, may be dependent on drugs and may suffer emotional disturbance. Frequently they come from an unstable home background. Violent offenders are likely to have symptoms of paranoia, to display severe verbal deficiencies and regularly to have exhibited interpersonal difficulties and behavioural problems in school and employment. Despite these typical characteristics, they show great diversity in learning ability, social maturity and levels of functional competence.

Offenders are likely to be poor. Before being imprisoned, 40 per cent of them were unemployed and those in employment tended to earn a wage below the recognized poverty level; 12 per cent of the employed worked only part-time.

Female prisoners are as a rule single mothers under 30 years of age, troubled by physical and/or mental ill health, dependent on drugs and/or alcohol, and convicted of offences for which the motive was acquisition of money.

Two later United States surveys offer further confirmation of this profile. According to Stephens [240], 79 per cent of inmates in New York State prisons had dropped out of school, while Bates et al. [9] give the figure for the State of Georgia as 70-75 per cent.

This summary of the situation in United States prisons is largely typical of other regions, and is confirmed by sample reports from elsewhere.

1. Age and sex

Prisoners are indeed generally young. Of the 44,000 prisoners in France in 1990, 70 per cent were under 30 years old ([3], p. 1). By age groups, those aged 18, 19 and 20 were the most numerous ([3], p. 7). Only 17.6 per cent were over 40 years old [17]. In the French community of Belgium, at about the same time, 61 per cent were under 30, half of these being under 25 years old ([12], p. 2). Japan appears to diverge from this pattern, showing a recent levelling of the three 10-year age cohorts between 21 and 50 ([142], p. 59). In Malaysia and Thailand, however, the spread is much the same as in the European countries mentioned above:

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Malaysia</i>		<i>Thailand</i>
Under 21	3 684		8 145
21-29	11 509	(21-30)	26 577
30-39	8 000	(31-40)	15 701
40-49	1 788	(41-50)	5 995
Over 49	443	(over 50)	1 715

Source: [142], pp. 72 and 85, citing Malaysian and Thai national statistics for 1990 and 1989 respectively.

Prisoners are also generally male. In Australia, for example, the proportion of female prisoners varies from 1.7 per cent in the Northern Territory to 7 per cent in Western Australia (Semmens (1990), p. 8). In Malaysia, 4 per cent were female in 1990 ([142], p. 69).

Despite the differences in the typical spread of offences committed by men and women (see the Belloradio profile described above), there was found to be little variation in their respective levels of literacy in the study made by Black and Rouse [28] in New South Wales. In some developing countries, however, women are likely to have lower levels because their access even to primary school education is limited.

2. Race

As regards race, local conditions will determine the proportions. The most disadvantaged groups are always overrepresented in prisons; for example, gypsies in some Central and Eastern European countries, Afro-Caribbeans in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, Maoris and Samoans in New Zealand, aborigines in Australia. In the United States, attention is regularly drawn to the relatively high number of black prisoners: "Over 41.2 per cent of the offender population is black versus 9.7 per cent of the overall Ohio population" ([171], p. 13). For a long time, in Canada, attention has been paid to the high proportion of indigenous (native American, American Indian) prisoners, up to 40 per cent depending on location ([155], p. 59). In Europe, non-Europeans are overrepresented in the prison population. In Luxembourg, 40 per cent are "foreigners" ([249], p. 3), but their residency status varies greatly. Proximity to an international airport increases the number of aliens in a given prison, particularly if frequent convictions are made for drug-trafficking offences. Elsewhere, there may be demographic peculiarities, such as the relationship between native peoples and whites in parts of Latin America and other areas including, for example, the Russian Federation.

I. Types of offence, length of stay and recidivism

In the preface to the 1989 *Yearbook of Correctional Education*, Duguid [80] describes the harsh realities that prison education has to deal with: in Canada and the United States (1987 figures), 69 per cent of adult offenders had committed crimes against the person, while only 25 per cent had committed crimes against property. In France on the other hand, theft of property was recently the largest category of offence ([107], pp. 22 and 35): theft, 43.1 per cent; violence against the person, 18.6 per cent; offence against morals, 11.0 per cent; disturbance of public order, 2.2 per cent; offence against national security, 2.2 per cent; and others - mostly drug offences, 22.1 per cent. Leach [163] gives a similar rank for Burkina Faso, and 1990 figures from Thailand show a similar picture ([142], p. 87): theft, 45.5 per cent; homicide, 11.7 per cent; sex offences, 3.8 per cent; violence against the person, 2.9 per cent; narcotics, 24.1 per cent; and others, 11.0 per cent.

Some criminal justice systems differentiate between offences against a permanent penal code and those against special laws, notably those concerned with drugs. This makes comparison difficult, but the order of theft, followed by drug-related offences, and then violence, appears to be typical. Offences against laws prohibiting the use, possession, cultivation and sale of drugs have increased worldwide over the last decade. In the Republic of Korea, for example, the number of such offences rose as follows between 1981 and 1990 ([142], p. 29, citing a white paper on crime issued in 1991 by the Government of the Republic of Korea).

<i>Type of drug</i>	<i>1981</i>	<i>1990</i>
Narcotics	96	733
Marijuana	325	752
Psychotropic substances	136	638

The concentration of drug offences in travel and distribution centres is seen, for example, in figures supplied by Theis [249] for Luxembourg, but this does not mean that many other crimes against the person and property are not related to drug dependency. Such a link is acknowledged, for example, in the activities of the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute [264] which, through one of its programmes, seeks to dissuade young people from taking drugs precisely in order to reduce the incidence of theft caused by the need for cash to buy drugs, and of violent crimes committed under the influence of drugs.

There are distinctions between the sexes and between countries in terms of what is considered a punishable crime, since the very definition of what is criminal and what is regarded as immoral, sinful, socially undesirable or merely abnormal is culturally determined. Figures from Sri Lanka [237] list, for example, the following categories of crime among women in custody: prostitution, vagrancy, theft, sale of liquor, illicit sexual activity and pregnancy, and sale of drugs. Senanayake (see chapter XII) alludes also to "unnatural offences" (i.e. homosexual acts) as a cause of imprisonment of male offenders.

Vagrancy would not necessarily be regarded as criminal in all countries, even though prisons have been widely used at various times to house the destitute. Sexual activity, both heterosexual and homosexual, is also subject to widely varying criminal laws: in Papua New Guinea, for instance, local and district courts sentence both women and men for adultery, and a survey conducted in 1986 shows that the rural population regarded this act as a very serious offence [37].

Experience demonstrates that a large proportion of offenders are recidivists. In Germany, approximately half reoffend, with a relatively higher tendency to recidivism among young persons ([274], p. 5), while in France 32 per cent of those following educational courses are recidivists [3].

As regards length of sentence, there is some variation from one country to another. Many systems distinguish formally or informally between long-term and short-term prisoners. Germscheid [114], in a study conducted in Alberta, gives the short-term average length of sentence as 0.48 years; the long-term 3.4 years. Figures from France [17] and Finland [92] are comparable, although the Finnish average is put at 5.5 months (see Kuivajarvi, chapter X below).

In Malaysia, out of a total of 25,424 offenders admitted to prison in 1990, 45.2 per cent were to serve sentences of less than six months, 46.9 per cent had sentences of from six months to under three years, and only 7.4 per cent were sentenced to three years or more ([142], p. 73).

In Dutch prisons, however, as in Finland, the length of stay is as a rule even shorter: 80 per cent serve less than six months, 10 per cent from six to twelve months, and only 10 per cent are sentenced to a year or more ([39], p. 5).

The length of stay in prison has a significant bearing on education. In some systems, education is only available within a given period before release. Elsewhere, it may be impossible for prisoners to complete a course, either because they are discharged or because they are transferred from one institution to another with no chance of continuity. This consideration very clearly affects those on remand, awaiting trial or sentencing. These persons represent a significant proportion of the total number held in prisons, even though it has not yet been determined that all of them are offenders. In the Netherlands, a recent figure suggests that 70 per cent of the prisoners have been sentenced [39], and the 1990 figure for Malaysia is 68 per cent ([142], p. 72), while in France the figure is only 57 per cent [17]. Policy on providing education to remand prisoners varies: in particular, vocational training that involves outside agencies and requires a commitment of resources greater than a classroom and a teacher may be restricted to those convicted and sentenced to a term expected to last as long as the training period [181]. Irrespective of what is offered, remand prisoners are less likely to benefit from education: they are hoping they will not be sentenced and may decline opportunities, they are emotionally unsettled, and they may often be unable to attend classes because of meetings with legal advisers and appearances in court.

J. A self-defining population

It must be stressed that prison populations are to some degree self-defining. The characteristics of inmates do not necessarily correspond to those of the totality of convicted offenders, and there is always speculation that there are many offenders with higher levels of education and social skills who escape the criminal justice system altogether. This point has been forcefully made by Zaffaroni [293], who suggested that the greatest criminals in Latin America were not to be found in the prisons. Even outside the context of recent political developments in that continent, it is a common observation that criminal justice systems are particularly adept at catching and punishing those of low educational attainment, and that the treatment they receive is more severe than that accorded to those who know how to communicate with the system. Comparative figures on the social and educational background of those who receive non-custodial sentences are not kept, still less data on those who are not brought to court, but some attention has been given in the European press [121] to the ability of those with superior education to escape harsh punishment. It is obvious that the characteristics of the typical prison population presented above do not relate to the organizers of major international crimes, such as drug trafficking and fraud.

It can be inferred that criminal activity may not be as disproportionately present among persons of low educational attainment as is sometimes assumed, although it is certainly more detectable. There is in this context no universal agreement on what constitutes criminal behaviour, as remarked earlier in this chapter, and it is possible to surmise that a proportion of those who cannot express their frustrations verbally or through civil redress do so through an act of violence, thus committing an offence. It is, however, more likely that their verbal expression is perfectly comprehensible but socially unacceptable.

A Netherlands social studies syllabus for schools, which deals with issues of criminality ([193], pp. 134-135) points out that only 7 per cent of those arrested in 1983 were eventually committed to prison. Excluding traffic and other minor offences, there were in that year 986,000 recorded crimes, for which 254,000 persons were arrested:

Number of persons arrested by police	254 000	(100 per cent)
Number of persons referred to the investigating magistrate	208 000	(82 per cent)
Number of persons brought to court	80 000	(32 per cent)
Number of persons committed to prison	17 000	(7 per cent)

A part of the reason for the low figure is the availability of various non-custodial sanctions, quite apart from the issue of the greater chance that someone from a disadvantaged background will be arrested. Uche ([254], pp. 77-78) reports that suspended sentences are commonly given to first offenders in Nigeria as well. With problems of overcrowding and a worldwide quest for alternatives to imprisonment, it is therefore likely that persistent offenders of low educational background and poor social skills will form an ever larger proportion of the prison population.

IV. Assessment of learning needs

The very general overview of the characteristics of offenders given in the previous chapter indicates that, as a rule, they have a weak educational background, a history of unstable employment and poor social skills. It can be inferred that the areas of learning needed by many are therefore likely to be literacy, vocational skills and social skills. These are essential elements of basic education, as defined in chapter I above. It was stated there that basic education is essential for further study or training, and for employment, and that in a correctional context it would include values in education leading to changes in attitudes.

Physical activities are frequently omitted from the presumed content of basic education. The lack of any perceived connection between education and physical exercise, which is prevalent in much practice and literature on the subject, is odd, given the conventional acceptance of the triangulation between mental, physical and spiritual health.

In a study from Sri Lanka [237], which reports in detail on the collective assessment of needs in selected correction centres for women, physical activities are indeed shown to be important. Before a basic education programme was designed, informal interviews were conducted with the population directly concerned: a sample of female inmates, prison authorities, instructors, welfare workers and the officers of the relevant welfare organizations, and directors of social services. The needs thus identified were sorted into a list that was used as a survey instrument containing 61 potential needs in four major categories: guidance and counselling needs; literacy needs; vocational needs; and follow-up needs.

Resource persons with extensive experience in women's correction centres further refined the list and gave a weighting to each item. A list of priority needs was thereby identified, and the first 10 were used to develop a framework for an educational programme to meet the needs of the women inmates. The final list can broadly be categorized into physical, moral, cultural and aesthetic, vocational and academic needs.

If education in prisons - or elsewhere - is to be effective, the curriculum cannot in fact be designed without reference to the existing skills and intentions of the learners. There is a particular risk, in the context of education that seeks to change or correct behaviour, that it will be perceived by the learners to be imposed as part of an alien coercive system. Certain groups of prisoners, notably women and long-term prisoners of either sex, may in addition have specific needs.

What is examined in this chapter is, therefore, the evidence from evaluations of inmates' levels of literacy, vocational and social skills, and ways of involving them in establishing their own personal learning needs.

A. Literacy level of offenders

Assessments of offenders as a body indicate that in the industrialized countries of North America and Europe, and in Australia, some 25-40 per cent of the prison inmates are functionally illiterate ([20], [24], [80], [199], and [278]). Of these, some 5 per cent are thought to be totally illiterate.

To look at some figures in more detail, ADEPPI ([12], p. 3), for example, states from its survey of illiteracy among inmates of prisons in the French community of Belgium that: the prisoners have a very low level of education; 29 per cent have no certificate whatsoever; 32 per cent have obtained a primary school certificate; among those with a primary school certificate, 20.2 per cent are still illiterate; only 12 per cent have completed vocational training and, of these, a third are also functionally illiterate; 12 per cent of the prisoners tested are totally or partially illiterate; and 15 per cent of the prisoners are only able to write at the most rudimentary level required for survival. In

sum, approximately one third of the population in prisons in the French community of Belgium is totally or functionally illiterate, and it is suggested that this may be a conservative estimate because of the sampling techniques used (one third of the populations of six prisons were tested).

A study from the United States confirms this picture. A survey of over 40 million adults nationwide, testing literacy performance at five levels, gave the following result: in terms of the five literacy levels, the proportion of prisoners in Level 1 on each scale (31 to 40 per cent) is larger than that of adults in the total population (21 to 23 per cent). Conversely, the percentage of prisoners who demonstrated skills in Levels 4 and 5 (4 to 7 per cent) is far smaller than the proportion of adults in the total population who performed in those levels (18 to 21 per cent) ([192], p. 50).

In France, a superficially worse picture emerges. According to the survey of education in 34 prisons for young offenders conducted by ADEP [3], 85 per cent of the participants have no more than primary schooling; 59 per cent have not completed primary schooling; 59 per cent have problems in arithmetic; and 55 per cent have reading problems. Illiteracy appears to be appreciably higher than in Belgium, but the definitions of illiteracy used are not identical, and there is a gradation from total illiteracy, through functional illiteracy to difficulties with reading, writing and arithmetic. It should also be noted that the French survey was exclusively concerned with young offenders.

At a detention centre for young people serving long sentences in Germany, 30 per cent of inmates are considered to be functionally illiterate, and 50 per cent have no primary school certificate [40].

In Ireland, perhaps a quarter or more have serious problems with reading and writing ([216], p. 11), while in Portugal, illiteracy, defined as "without any certificate or diploma at an elementary school level, or in basic literacy" ([167], p. 1), has been assessed as follows:

	1988	1989	1990
Prison population	7 760	8 359	9 375
Participants	955	1 391	1 425
Illiteracy	20.2 per cent	18.4 per cent	14.9 per cent

Fewer figures on educational levels and illiteracy rates in prisons are available from developing countries. It may, however, be assumed that no less than half of the prison population in many countries is illiterate or has serious literacy deficiencies. Information received from Nigeria [203] suggests that half of the 1,248 inmates of Kaduna prison have no previous education, while others dropped out of primary education. A similar figure is given for Sri Lanka by Dharmadasa [74].

Total prison population	59 452
Illiterates	30 998 (52.14 per cent)
Literate (eighth grade or higher)	28 454 (47.86 per cent)

A prison education project proposal from Colombia states that 63 per cent of the prisoners had dropped out of school before reaching the fourth grade or had never attended school [271].

These figures need to be compared with illiteracy and functional illiteracy rates among the population at large. Estimates in industrialized countries indicate a rate of total illiteracy of between 1 and 5 per cent, but functional illiteracy is frequently put as high as 20 per cent (UIE project figures). The UNESCO estimate for illiteracy in Nigeria in 1990 was 49.3 per cent among the general population, but only 37.7 per cent among men over 15 years of age (UNESCO, 1990). In Colombia, the illiteracy rate among the population aged 10 years and over is put at 12.2 per cent ([126], p. 5), while Dharmadasa [74] provides a comparable figure of 12.8 per cent for Sri Lanka. This is confirmed as the national figure for men by Senanayake (see chapter XII below), who points out significant discrepancies between the urban and rural population, and higher illiteracy among women.

One must be cautious in relation to statistical data, both within countries and in making comparisons between countries. In the first case, prison populations are subject to far closer examination than members of the general population, among whom functional literacy may be underestimated, and who have the opportunity to devise strategies to circumvent or disguise their limitations. Estimates of prisoners' literacy levels may therefore be more accurate, at least in terms of standardized tests of reading age, such as those regularly used in North America. Informal estimates by various categories of penal and judicial staff can be influenced by the difficult and specialized nature of the tasks offenders are called upon to perform, such as completing forms and reading formalized statements before signing them. It has been pointed out [9] that the level of education, and, specifically, performance in literacy tasks, needs to be tested directly by assessors, since the number of years of attendance at school is an unreliable indicator of actual competence, and it may be falsified by respondents.

The Australian national literacy survey [286], which drew on the evaluation designs developed in the United States by Kirsch and Jungeblut [156], used multiple tests to assess performance in a range of different literacy tasks. While Australian prisoners performed least well, in relation to the general population, in identifying issues in continuous prose passages from newspapers, and in quantitative tasks, many adults in the general community were found to have difficulties in these areas as well.

Illiteracy and semi-literacy levels among inmates in countries in all parts of the world are usually considered to be higher than among the adult population in general, and possibly up to twice as high. But a recent Australian report [29] dissents from this view, concluding from research that tested everyday literacy tasks that prisoners have literacy levels not significantly different from those of the general public. In this study, samples were tested in two male facilities (Silverwater low-security prison and the Central Industrial Prison), and one female facility (Mulawa). The findings may accord with a feeling, frequently expressed, that a proportion of prisoners are educational under-achievers, whose frustration with the limitations of their environment is expressed in criminal activity. This would account for the variation in learning ability that is commonly noted among offenders with low educational attainment. Even so, there can be little comfort, for example, in the finding that only half of the prisoner samples could keep a running total in a bank account book and very few prisoners (7 per cent and 13 per cent overall of the Silverwater and Mulawa samples) could cope with more advanced prose passages ([29], p. 12).

Between countries, and even between institutions, the interpretation of norms and the methods of literacy assessment vary, even though the definitions adopted by UNESCO at its general conferences of 1958 and 1978 respectively are generally accepted by UNESCO for its own statistical purposes:

Illiterate: A person is illiterate who cannot with understanding both read and write a short simple statement on his everyday life.

Functionally illiterate: A person is functionally illiterate who cannot engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning of his group and community and also for enabling him to continue to use reading, writing and calculation for his own and the community's development.

Even these standardized definitions allow for wide variation according to the context of the individual, group or community in question. The core elements - reading and writing - are tied to performance norms laid down by those who test the population, and may reflect the attitudes of predominant forces within societies with regard to the determination of developmental needs, the distribution of knowledge, social conventions and economic growth etc. Standards of acceptable performance can range from reading and writing one's name or a brief message learned by rote to the achievement of a particular reading age, completion of a specified number of school grades, or coping with complex daily situations and, as Kirsch and Jungeblut [156] point out, there are no hard lines between literacy, functional literacy and "full" literacy.

It is therefore wise to regard statistics on literacy as situation-specific, although the composite picture of literacy in prisons clearly shows a universal pattern of low achievement and expectations.

B. Occupational status, poverty and social behaviour

Attention is commonly called to low vocational status and histories of irregular employment. The majority of releasees and probationers lack a marketable vocation ([289], p. 6) or even entry-level job skills [53]. Barre ([17], p. 60) reports that 37 per cent of the inmates of prisons in France are unskilled labourers, and that 39 per cent had been unemployed or of no fixed occupation. This is confirmed by ADEP ([3], p. 7): less than a quarter of all the participants in the education programmes surveyed had a job at the time of their arrest; a great number had worked very little or not at all; and 41.5 per cent had never been employed.

This situation is interlinked with social and economic background. It is generally accepted that the majority of prisoners are from an underprivileged social and cultural background [12]. Confirmation is offered by the study of Black and Rouse [28] conducted in New South Wales, with the aid of Wickert [286]. Their report suggests that family background factors might also impede the development of good literacy skills, given the relatively high percentage who indicated the absence of library reference books in the home (59 per cent) and the high percentages (48 per cent, 60 per cent and 72 per cent respectively) who were either never, or not very often, read to as a child ([28], p. 8).

Obvious learning disability and inability to develop social relationships are not infrequently observed. Eggleston ([85], p. 3) suggests from a study conducted in 1984 that between 35 per cent and 42 per cent of the prison population in the United States, juvenile and adult, could be considered educationally handicapped, that is, they display serious emotional problems, disordered speech or other problems that inhibit learning. She compares this figure with an estimate that 28 per cent of the general juvenile population had similar disabilities. This confirms other practitioners' impressions: Viitaniemi-Lahtinen ([273], p. 4) reports, perhaps with some exaggeration on the part of fellow-inmates, that the amateur writer-prisoners in the Riihimäki Central Prison in Finland have told that an average prisoner uses about 20 words, in addition only curses. Other estimates suggest that around 15 per cent of the inmates of United States correctional institutions are at least mildly mentally handicapped and therefore have specific learning disabilities [177].

A study conducted in the United Kingdom [180] examined offenders identified as "angry" by prison staff and found them to be exceptionally aggressive and impulsive in terms of the Special Hospitals Assessment of Personality and Socialization measures, and the Emotional Control Questionnaire.

This does not mean, however, that the level of intelligence and therefore of potential performance is axiomatically inferior to that of the general population. In the 1970s much attention was paid to psychological investigation of criminal tendencies, with inconclusive results. The matter has recently been discussed again in reference to one United States institution, with the conclusion that there is no link between propensity to violent crime and academic achievement [172]. Data from Georgia, United States [288], support the view that inmates have an average intelligence quotient (IQ) of 90-109, while confirming that educational achievement is related to criminal behaviour. In other words, certificated educational attainment is not as closely related to intelligence and potential as educational administrations might wish. A study of 78 inmates in British Columbia [251] suggests that, although erratic schooling and drop-out are the educational background of many inmates, they have a wide range of interests and hobbies, and no shortage of ideas on ways to improve access to education in prison, and its methodology.

The causes of emotional disturbance, social withdrawal and loss of motivation may therefore not be easily defined, but it remains clear that, when combined with a lack of vocational, social and basic educational skills, and a history of irregular employment, they present a major challenge to the prison service.

C. Women in prison

It is usually statistically inaccurate, as well as invidious, to refer to women as a minority, but among offenders this is the case (see chapter III. H above), although women are the fastest growing group of prisoners. However, while it is understandable that prison administrators and educators should have the male majority of the prison population in mind when considering the reform of programmes, the particular needs of women should not be ignored.

Concern is conventionally shown for women who are pregnant or caring for children under two years of age at the time of their arrest or conviction, with the recommendation that a non-custodial or suspended sentence be applied to the maximum extent possible (see, for example, the report of the meeting of heads of penal systems in French-speaking Africa [132]). For women who are imprisoned, some attention has on occasion been given to the appropriateness of their basic vocational education: a seminar held at Rome, in 1987 [136], reported on the enthusiastic reception by inmates of Rebibbia Prison to a course in informatics, which bore some relation to areas of employment open to women. In Nigeria, however, it is suggested that women are given few facilities for vocational training [87]. This appears to be the case elsewhere, too. In Australia, where young children may live with their mothers in prisons, there are now calls for day-care facilities so that the women can have improved access to education [272]. Because of the relatively low numbers of potential female students, it can be more difficult, on grounds of cost, to provide a wide range of courses, but this does not mean, to paraphrase the criticism made by Sandeman [227], that hairdressing is an appropriate universal answer to women's future employment needs.

In many instances, the difficulties of women are the same as those of men, except that there is a greater stigma attached to females who offend. Like men, women who do not speak the language of the institution in which they are imprisoned are in consequence isolated, as Frohn ([109], p. 405) has indicated. The particular difficulty may then lie in the small numbers of women involved, and the reluctance of the authorities to make special provision for them.

It should also be recognized that even higher proportions of women than of men are probably convicted of drug-related offences - this appears to be the case among all ages in Hong Kong and among juveniles in Japan, for example ([142], pp. 50 and 63) - and that a problem-solving approach to their dependency is appropriate. The nature of their resocialization also differs from that of their male counterparts, in that women are usually the targets of violent abuse in their domestic environment, rather than its instigators. Conventional literacy education alone does not suffice to enable women to develop strategies to deal with this situation upon release, as has been indicated by Boudin [35].

D. Long-term imprisonment

In a study of long-term prisoners in France, Canino [44] expresses the view that the loneliness that is peculiar to the situation of those prisoners is often a result of the shock of incarceration more than a consequence of some permanent psychological inadequacy. It is a form of self-defence to cut oneself off from previous friends and close family, and the resultant loneliness cannot necessarily be equated with the situation before conviction. Kempas ([152], p. 1) also calls attention to the particular risks to which long-term prisoners are exposed; he notes that a long-term sentence may result in clumsy written language and that even handwriting can become infantile.

For long-term prisoners, especially those serving life or near-life sentences, it seems that the notion of preparation for vocational activity outside may not always be appropriate. However, as seen above, educational support for persons living a confined existence may be important if their

mental health is to be maintained. Moreover, since even life-sentence prisoners may eventually be released, preparation for vocational activities outside may be an important element of their reintegration into society; but prisoners who will always remain in prison have a particular need for opportunities for personal growth.

E. Assessment of individual students

The general assessments of learning needs referred to above confirm the importance of literacy, vocational and social skills. None the less, learning will not take place unless the student is motivated to learn, to "internalize" what is taught. For the purposes of providing that motivation, the conduct of the initial assessment of a prisoner's educational needs is of considerable significance. This is an individual process, within an educational programme that has to be planned to take into account the anticipated needs of large categories of prisoners.

In countries such as Australia, Canada and the United States, the literacy levels of prisoners are assessed by means of standardized literacy or reading tests, but this is not a general practice in developing countries. The results of tests are used to identify the discrepancy between literacy norms and the individual's level: this is then taken to represent the need. However, there are two other elements in assessing an educational need. These are the relevance of the educational provision to the immediate and prospective situation of the learner, and the learner's motivation. Where these elements are absent, there is no "felt" need to overcome the educational deficiency. Other motivational measures are discussed in the following chapter.

In the context of imprisonment, inmates may not feel they need to acquire or improve their literacy unless the institutional environment makes them aware of their inability to function to their own satisfaction. Within such an environment, according to Black and Rouse [28], immediately perceived needs may be the writing of letters to family, filling in forms to buy personal supplies, applying for prison benefits, or formal requests for legal redress or review.

Vocational needs can also be felt more than literacy and other academic learning needs. Inmates relate vocational skills to income generation, both within the prison and outside, after release. Since it is in general exceptionally difficult for offenders to find jobs, their interests in education and training are frequently weighted towards employability, and many feel that job-specific training or self-employment skills may be particularly useful to them. Providers of education for offenders tend to focus on basic skills and ability to manage relationships as being vital prerequisites for any job-specific training, frequently using vocational or self-employment interests as a vehicle for progress in basic skill areas ([189], p. 5).

Given that literacy is part of a package of basic education and other counselling and rehabilitative services, and in the context of the need for learners to provide their own motivation, informal interviews, in consequence, are an appropriate adjunct to, or replacement for, standardized literacy tests. This is particularly so when standardized treatment is a feature of corrective institutions, in which the personalities and particular circumstances of inmates are for many purposes overlooked.

Interviews are a normal part of the admissions procedure and are frequently used to allocate prisoners to work, education and training. In Nigeria, for example, a member of the Social Welfare Department can offer new inmates a choice of vocational training within the range offered in the establishment [203]. Despite the element of choice, however, this does not necessarily mean that the individual basic education needs of inmates can be met by what is available. The shortage of funds to offer wider educational provision in prisons in the African context is widely known ([131], p. 11).

F. Involving the learner in the assessment of needs

Against a background of alienation and systemic coercion, it is important to involve the individual student in the assessment of learning needs and in a continual assessment of progress, in the interests of maintaining motivation. The intention is that the learners should feel that they, too, "own" the course and take it with them when they move from one institution to another or are released. The importance of this has been recognized in the introduction of joint "sentence planning" between the prison system and the offender in the United Kingdom, which assures some consequentiality in an individual's programme of education, training and work, within the limits of what is available either in the host institution or in an establishment to which the offender might be transferred. The concept is not new: Sandeman [227], for example, had already referred to the desirability of introducing "individual programme planning" in Canadian prisons, especially for women.

A group of commentators on the situation in France (*inter alia* [169], [176], [213] and [223]) complain that prisoners' opinions are rarely sought on the progress even of innovative projects. Consultation on their educational career is frequently limited to an assessment of progress along a predetermined path. None the less, some studies have asked for inmates' opinions on educational provisions. A recent survey of inmates in prisons in Northern Ireland [217] gives an encouraging picture of general satisfaction but, as the author points out, the value of the exercise lay more in the insights provided by individual anonymous comments on provision than on the statistical analysis of satisfaction scales. A more precise finding from in-depth interviews carried out by Black with 18 inmates in New South Wales ([26], pp. 85-88) is that a majority of those with low levels of literacy would prefer, and would willingly accept, one-to-one tuition which preserved confidentiality.

Although inmates may reject education that they perceive to be imposed, the wider importance of learning is seen by at least some of those who are already enrolled. According to Stephens' [240] study of New York State inmates, students in prison recognize the desirability of a high-school equivalency certificate (the General Education Development (GED) in the United States), of personal development, and of vocational re-entry. Inmates' responses are tabulated as follows:

Reasons inmates attend school in prison (N = 182)

To take the GED	115 (63%)
To better myself	139 (76%)
To get a better job when released	102 (56%)
To enrol in college	83 (46%)
To enrol in vocational school	55 (30%)
To impress the parole board	55 (30%)
Other	29 (16%)

Leaving aside the particular need to use education in order to shorten the sentence, it appears likely, as Parsons and Langenbach [205] have remarked, that inmates wish to follow educational and training courses for much the same reasons as the public at large, namely, personal and vocational advancement.

This is not, however, to say that students' assessments always reveal their full needs, and that inmates should determine their learning needs and paths on their own. The point has been made forcefully by Sjöberg [233] that those with little experience of education cannot know what its potential is and that acceptance of all students' demands can be counter-productive. Students may exaggerate their existing competence and underestimate their need for basic skills before they undertake vocational training, and they are unlikely to declare a need to acquire responsible behaviour patterns through affective learning. None the less, unless they are consulted on their eventual goals, offenders in a coercive environment may with some reason reject a path that is laid out for them.

Despite this, there are many prisoners who take up educational opportunities because they are in prison, although they would never do so within their home community.

V. Curricula of basic education in prisons: the challenge of adult education methodology

There is a very wide range of educational provision across the penal systems of different countries. It extends potentially from no educational provision at all to a full programme of vocational and non-vocational basic, secondary and higher education which is easily accessible and backed up by counselling, post-release follow-up and facilities such as libraries, sports and cultural activities. Much of the same statement obviously applies to education for juveniles and adults among the general population. Indeed, it is clear that provision in prisons will have some relationship to education outside, both in curriculum, methods of assessment for certification, overall aims and availability of resources. On the other hand, it has its peculiarities, the most obvious of which are that it may be seen as overtly corrective, that it may be obligatory rather than voluntary, and that its context entails certain restrictions arising from security regulations (such as special arrangements for field visits, limited access to laboratories and restrictions on materials and tools available in classrooms and in cells for private study).

Basic education has been defined in chapters I and IV above as literacy, numeracy, social and pre-vocational skills, but it is impossible to draw a hard line between basic and continuing, vocational or "general" education, whether leading to a qualification or not. Students who need basic education may even be found following courses that demand a high level of reading skill, adopting a range of coping techniques learnt in the world outside to disguise their inability and gradually accepting incidental literacy tuition.

A. Certification

Basic education can lead on to, or form the foundation of, certificated courses that are designed to give inmates the chance to acquire a formal qualification that would put them on a par with those outside who have already obtained these credentials. In the United Kingdom, for example, increasing numbers of students are using their time to study for examinations. These range from basic tests in numeracy, literacy and communications skills through GCSE and A levels and beyond. An increasing number of inmates are taking business management courses" ([255], p. 23). Some countries keep to the principle that certificates do not indicate the fact that they were earned in prison. Such is the case in Finland, according to Andersin [7].

In Japan, those who have a poor educational performance and/or have dropped out before completing the nine years of compulsory schooling can take an examination equivalent to the completion of junior high school studies, besides receiving social education, vocational training and opportunities of education by correspondence in academic subjects [140]. Prison education in Italy is divided into literacy, elementary, secondary and vocational education, the last three of these paralleling closely what is offered in schools and vocational colleges for children and young people [138]. Similar provision is made for adults in the general population. Reference has already been made to the GED certificate created in the United States in order to offer a qualification to adults equivalent to the completion of high school and widely taken up in prison education programmes throughout North America. In prisons, it has replaced the Stanford Achievement Tests, which are still used in schools.

Where basic education aims at a qualification, either immediately or after secondary-level study, the question arises what curriculum should be followed. If there is a national or local adult education curriculum in literacy and basic education, as is the case in many developing countries, this is frequently followed. This is the case in India, Papua New Guinea and Thailand, according to a survey carried out by the Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (see annex V to this *Manual* for summary). Elsewhere, primary school curricula may be used that are not designed for adult learners, as reportedly happens in Brunei Darussalam, Mongolia and the Republic of Korea (see also the Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of

Crime and the Treatment of Offenders survey). School curricula are also used in some industrialized countries: in Spain, for example, according to Diaz et al. [75].

Not all prison curricula, whether designed for adults or not, allow for flexibility of content and method. While it has to be accepted for practical purposes that an examination course must cover the prescribed syllabus, there need not be the same rigidity in basic education. It can be, but is not always, a preparation for more than a first school certificate.

B. Literacy

Reading and writing are frequently offered as an area of learning separate from other subjects, and they are imposed in systems where literacy is obligatory for offenders who are judged to have a low reading age or who fail a standardized test. According to Lawyer [162], there were in 1990 12 prison administrations in the United States, for example, which required attendance at a basic education programme by those whose test scores fell below a standard ranging from sixth to ninth grade, depending on the administration. The duration of compulsory attendance varied also among the 11 states and the federal system from 50 to 120 days. Moreover, it is reported by Williamson [288] that Virginia adopted a "No read, no release" policy in 1986, meaning that success in the literacy test was to be one of the criteria used in deciding eligibility for parole.

Even where participation in literacy tuition is not mandatory, the assessors who examine prisoners on their admission to an institution can, wittingly or unwittingly, give the impression either that it is or that it is not, with the result that offenders may submit to the proposal in the same way that they must submit to much else (see the observations of Black [25]), or be unaware that they have a right to tuition.

Literacy tuition may be confined to prisoners serving longer sentences, if a course for total illiterates is planned to run for more than a few months. This is the case in Botswana (Frimpong, chapter XIII below) and in Sri Lanka, according to Dharmadasa [74], where classes are held in English, Sinhala and Tamil, using voluntary teachers.

There are countries, however, where organized literacy tuition is reported as lacking. For example, data available indicate that there is no known official policy in the area of organized prison education in Nigeria. What exists is an informal apprenticeship system through which inmates acquire skills and which forms part of the daily routine of maintaining the prisons. In some prisons, attempts are being made by prisoners to organize basic and general education for other inmates ([88], p. 7).

Methodology varies. Where materials and methods are borrowed from primary school teaching, they can remind the learner of previous failure. But even if they are specially designed or redesigned for adults, they do not necessarily follow the model favoured in adult community education, where the curriculum is supposed to be constantly renegotiated with the learners. If the acquisition of literacy is seen as a linear progression from unit 1 to unit 20, using computer-aided error correction, there is little room for negotiation. Similarly, a prescribed adult basic education curriculum can be inflexible, especially when it is related closely to the requirements and levels of the equivalent primary school progression.

There is a marked contrast, even in the English-speaking world, between the incorporation of ongoing counselling into a discursive style of basic education, generally observed in Ireland and the United Kingdom, and the separation of counselling and educational functions, observed in many states of the United States, whereby a unit of education is treated as a closed sequence of actions, geared to a need identified during previous assessment and counselling, which can be followed by further units or further counselling. While basic education can be regarded as a prescribed course lasting 90 days in one system, it can be an open-ended entry into broader education in another.

A common question in the context of literacy teaching is that of the target language and the language of instruction. Wielenga and de Jong [287] comment on the attempt in prisons in the

Netherlands to meet the needs of speakers of languages other than Dutch. The intention is to lead non-Dutch speakers from illiteracy to literacy in their mother tongue and Dutch, in the following logical order: speaking and understanding the mother tongue; reading and writing the mother tongue; speaking and understanding the second language; and reading and writing the second language. The inclusion of literacy in the mother tongue is predicated on the assumption, confirmed by research in other contexts, that it accelerates rather than impedes the acquisition of literacy in the targeted second language, even where a second alphabet is needed. Stage two is, however, not realized because of a shortage of teachers in the languages concerned. Instead, stage three has to be begun immediately using conventional second-language teaching adapted to compensate for the absence of written stimuli, namely by resorting to listening, watching and non-verbal reaction until the student can produce verbal actions and reactions.

C. Links between basic education and vocational training

Vocational education is widely seen as a priority by prison administrations as well as inmates, even though its close links with general basic education are rarely stated. Formal vocational training for trades such as those of motor mechanic, baker or electrician usually assumes competence in basic skills already, at least in societies where literacy is regarded as the norm. In the United Republic of Tanzania, for example, education provided to adults in prisons is intended to be similar to the vocational, income-generating education offered in training schools, folk development colleges and other trade schools outside ([173], p. 6). Significant elements in the "Education for Self-Reliance" programme of the United Republic of Tanzania, which embraced those institutions in the 1970s and 1980s, are both literacy and preparation for productive, manual occupations.

It has already been seen that pre-vocational training before release must incorporate literacy and numeracy skills and training in confronting large systems such as State agencies and employers. Moreover, through vocational training, inadequacies in literacy and numeracy will become evident, and social skills will necessarily be developed to a certain degree.

Increasingly, keyboard skills are being seen as a necessary pre-vocational skill. Computers are intensively used in some prison education centres, usually for self-teaching by those already literate but not necessarily highly numerate. Competition for resources may restrict the use of new technologies, but where there are close links between adult education centres inside and outside prisons, the software used to teach literacy and numeracy is applicable and applied. As yet, equipment is usually provided only for pilot or demonstration projects.

1. Basic education, vocational training and prison work

Work itself is seen by some prison administrations as second in importance to security. There can indeed be a link between prison labour and education, on the one hand, and security, on the other. One of the two main justifications for the emphasis on work in the Ohio Plan for Productive Prisons is that meaningful work programmes contribute to a safer, better controlled, positive prison environment and improve the efficiency of institutional operations ([71], p. 4). Under the Ohio Plan, as soon as those inmates who are deemed to need literacy training have completed their course, they are assigned with others to mandatory work programmes within the prison: laundry, furniture-making etc. Exceptions are made for those with special needs for sheltered training, work or education.

This view of work is confirmed by a senior officer of the British prison service: "The essence of prison work is that it is primarily custodial, implying both the care and control of inmates, and it requires a sound management structure to support it" ([82], p. 30).

In France, work ceased to be compulsory in 1987 [181], while in Finland work, general education and vocational training are mandatory [92]. In Japan also, a sentence of imprisonment includes, in the vast majority of cases, an obligation to work during incarceration.* The present widespread international concern to see an integrated programme of education, work and recreational activities indicates, however, that a balance has not generally been achieved. Dubes [77] is highly critical of French vocational training programmes, which, like work, he perceives as serving the needs of the institution rather than the needs of the offender.

A creative approach can be taken. In Nigeria, for example, vocational training is part of the daily routine of maintaining the prison system, and inmates are assigned on entry into prison to master-tradesmen and learn the skills of the trades through the watch-and-do method. Some of the trades available are: carpentry, shoemaking, tailoring, masonry, plumbing, weaving and sewing. Social clubs visit prisons bringing materials and tools to the inmates due to lack of materials in the workshops ([87], p. 117).

The principle behind this system is that the acquisition of vocational skills is the best preparation for release, as is made clear by Uche [254], but it can be argued that here, too, the interests of the institution are served by the work done. Moreover, according to Uche, self-employment is the only way to earn a living on release, since the Government is the largest employer and prohibits ex-offenders from government service.

Countries that formerly had centrally planned socialist economies necessarily took a very different view. According to the Polish Ministry of Justice [292], vocational training in prisons and "resocialization centres" was aimed at resocializing ex-offenders by placing them after they were released in State employment. This did not necessarily mean that the prisoner was consulted on the type of training provided.

One consequence of the lack of consultation and of the maintenance of vocational training courses whose content is determined by the availability of resources or instructors rather than by the outside job market is that inmates may show little interest in what is offered. Uche [254] has undertaken an extensive survey of prisoners' interests in vocational training in two Nigerian states and concludes that existing provisions for shoemaking, mat-weaving, bicycle repairs and other well-established craft skills lag behind prisoners' potential interests in such relatively modern technology as television repairs, motor mechanics, electrical work etc. In France, too, according to interviews conducted by Dubes [77], inmates have no interest in training for low-level jobs such as kitchen porter, general building labourer, plumber's assistant etc. But, of course, the interests of prisoners may be at odds with the real demand of the outside job market. It is, however, usual that in most societies educational and training requirements for most well-paid employment have actually been rising. Therefore, in designing training programmes in prison, a balance should be kept between the real demand of the outside job market and the prisoners' interests, from the standpoint of what the most effective programme would be for their integration into society. Whether work and vocational training are compulsory or not, if offenders regard them merely as part of the coercive system, no useful results may be gained. Communication with offenders not only in prison but also after their release will help to promote their understanding of the purpose and effect of such programmes.

In France, an extensive programme of vocational training is offered at Nantes, leading to nationally recognized qualifications, and out of this formal training a small programme has been developed for 30 out of 450 male prisoners of low educational attainment [170]. The purpose of the training is to help the prisoner to find employment on release, and therefore incorporates job-seeking skills, personal skills and pre-vocational qualifications, as well as literacy.

*Information supplied by Akir Murata at the 48th Annual Conference of the International Correctional Association, held at Chicago, in July 1993.

The integration of basic education and vocational training none the less still offers a largely unexploited potential. In Singapore (see annex V below) and in Sri Lanka ([142], pp. 82-83), education and vocational training are the responsibility of quite separate agencies. This situation is not unusual, although the possibilities of linking the two aspects of education are now becoming recognized, as in the plan for future developments in one Australian state [272]. Not only should vocational skills be acquired, but interview skills and the writing of curricula vitae is to form part of the Victoria basic education curriculum ([272], p. 15). Victoria's prison industries ([272], attachment 1) show a wide range of possibilities for training and the acquisition of general employment skills, although it will be noted that, here too, the needs of prison communities for food, clothing and furniture are partly met by inmate activities. In 1992, 768 out of 2,300 inmates at the 14 youth and adult facilities in Victoria were employed in the following industries (the figures in brackets indicate the number of establishments at which each industry was present):

- Agriculture and animal husbandry (various) (4)
- Cardboard and packaging (2)
- Forestry and conservation (4)
- Furniture-making (various) (3)
- Garment-making and textiles (4)
- Horticulture (5)
- Industrial site redevelopment (1)
- Light engineering (1)
- Logging and saw-milling (1)
- Metal fabrication (excluding furniture) (5)
- Plaster coating (1)
- Printing (1)
- Screen painting (1)
- Storekeeping (industrial) (1)
- Wooden products (excluding furniture) (4)

2. Agricultural training

In societies that remain extensively rural, industrial skills are sometimes replaced by agriculture, even though agricultural practice is difficult to organize with close security and demands larger areas of land than are available to most prisons. There are cases in which offenders are allowed to own and work private farms, travelling to and from them without guards, such as at Kakuri in Nigeria ([88], p. 6), but this is as rare as are unsupervised visits to outside educational courses. There is however, as both Enuke [88] and Uche [254] point out, no link in Nigeria between industrial and agricultural vocational training and basic education, the learning methodology remaining at the level of observation and imitation.

The El Katta Prison Farm Project in Egypt, on the other hand, has taken an existing agricultural prison and has improved the teaching of social skills and literacy to a remarkable degree, but this has required the commitment of exceptional resources on the part of the Government and the involvement of social studies students from a university (El-Augi, chapter XVI below). It is therefore a promising demonstration project which will require long-term investment in order to achieve wider effects.

3. Self-financing

In developing countries in particular, there have been calls for prisons to be self-financed through the sale of goods produced by inmates ([16], p. 64). This presupposes a concentration on production as well as on training and, in Japan at least, where there is an extensive network of production centres and sales outlets, [141] it is possible to cover costs.

Social skills are an essential part of pre-release training, such as that foreseen in the "Fresh Start" programme in the United Kingdom, which is being introduced as teaching staff become available [211]. In this case, there are close links with general vocational skills training.

Occupational knowledge includes a realistic assessment of one's employment chances on the basis of relevant skills and certification, preparing job applications and responding to interviews. It is self-evident that many of these tasks are inseparable from literacy. Basic literacy on its own, however, is not enough, as it needs to be applied in a range of situations in which a background knowledge of the context is the key to understanding (for example, in completing any government form).

There are yet broader interpretations of social skills. In Sweden, they can mean training to cope with housework such as cleaning, cooking, laundry etc. [245]. Depending on the administrative arrangements of the prison, such learning can obviously be integrated into prison work, under appropriate supervision.

Given the large number of persons convicted of drug-related offences, it is to be expected that increasing importance should be given to the topic of substance abuse. It is accorded a prominent place in the plans for many prison education systems, including the one recently adopted by Fiji [91], in which other aspects of health education, notably information on and prevention of the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) also figure largely. A direct approach to questions of personal behaviour may be counter-productive, but such themes can be dealt with both under social skills training and through the various alternative subject areas discussed below in section F.

E. Education designed to change attitudes

Social skills are closely related to the less easily defined issue of changing attitudes and values. Such goals are attainable through any area of learning, since they are closely related to sympathetic and informal methods and frequency of assessing progress and to the personal relationship between students and between student and teacher. In certain cases, however, such as at the anger-control training at Wakefield, United Kingdom [180], behaviour is dealt with directly. Social behaviour, while a necessary part of any group learning activity, may be regarded as a learnable social skill and is closely interwoven into discussion groups.

Duguid [79] has cogently argued that education of prisoners without attitude change may only produce skilled criminals. It is commonly observed that prisons throughout the world provide a setting for much learning of criminal behaviour and for the exchange of information on how to "beat the system". The social context of teaching is therefore extremely important. The Maryland basic education programme, based on the Maryland Adult Performance Program used in adult education centres for the general public, has been devised in units which can be completed independently by students, including those under movement restrictions, while the British model, for example, tends to be looser and to require attendance at an education centre and frequent social interaction with a teacher.

Increasing attention is being paid in prisons to prisoners' offences. Courses are being developed that deal with offending behaviour either directly, such as would be the case for sex offences or car crime, or indirectly, tackling, for example, the inability to control anger or the reasons for heavy drinking patterns. Drug-related programmes are a particularly difficult and important part of this work. Other courses focus on parenting skills, family relationships, community responsibilities, preparing and cooking healthy food, first aid etc. Many of these courses are being planned and delivered by multi-agency groups, involving prison officers, teachers, psychologists, medical staff and voluntary and statutory organizations in the community.

F. Basic education by other means

It is not necessary to label a course "basic education" or "literacy" in order to provide basic skills. As has been remarked in the context of Sri Lanka, living, recreational and informal educational facilities come under one category, as they are linked together and are fundamental in bringing about changes in the behavioural patterns of inmates ([237], p. 45). Leach [163] cites the following subjects that have supplemented formal primary education in prisons in Burkina Faso since 1983: physical activities (neighbourhood football); gardening, both by individuals and in groups; a variety of arts and crafts; music and drama; income generation by selling produce; and discussions with group leaders.

Of particular relevance to the written word are libraries, reading clubs, newsletters, play writing and other means of recording and presenting writing by prisoners. Discussion groups, the visual arts and physical activities also contribute to the development of self-expression and self-confidence.

It has been recognized since the 1970s that reinforcement of literacy is necessary if reading and writing skills are not to be abandoned, and UIE has been working on "post-literacy" over the past two decades.

1. Libraries

Many countries, for example the United Kingdom in 1964 [32], Italy in 1975 [70] and Spain in 1979 [75], have legislation requiring that all prisons have libraries attached to them. Among developing and newly industrialized countries, it is reported that each penal establishment in Indonesia, the Republic of Korea and Sri Lanka, for example, also has a library. Beyond vague references to "regular access", it is, however, left to ministries or local prison authorities to determine timing, frequency and conditions of access, not to mention the scope of the contents.

Libraries can do more than lend a limited range of books. The library at Wheatfield Prison in Dublin holds exhibitions, lectures and discussions, runs a video recording service and publishes a weekly in-house magazine, as well as lending books and cassettes. Prisoners are very involved in the running of the library, under the direction of professional librarians and library officers ([276], p. 12). Terwiel [248] points out the importance of collaboration between prison libraries and public libraries outside, so that there is a regular rotation of stock.

2. Reading clubs, newsletters and prison writing

In 1990, a reading club was opened as an 18-month project in a closed institution for juvenile offenders at Hahnöfersand, near Hamburg. Newspaper articles and extracts from novels and poems were read aloud to participants not only by the inmates but also by the organizer and by students reading applied social science at a college of higher education in the city. The latter were contributing to the project as part of their course, under the direction of the organizer. Approximately 10 per cent of the inmates took part in the club, which emphasized its informal nature by setting up its own coffee machine and insisting on the absence of uniformed security officers. The choice of extracts was open to negotiation. Out of this reading club arose a common desire to write, but a problem was that some of the participants did not know how to write. In these cases students from the college in Hamburg or other inmates discreetly acted as scribes ([41], p. 9).

Such initiatives depend to a great extent on external support, frequently voluntary, but cannot take place without the permission and encouragement of the authorities. In the case of Hahnöfersand, the club has continued to meet after the conclusion of the college project under the guidance of a member of the security staff, who assumed responsibility over a period of time in order to win the confidence of the participants.

A survey of inmates in an unnamed United States jail, conducted in 1990-1991 by Winters [290] found that they felt depressed and isolated, that they were uncomfortable when talking in a group, and that they needed help in overcoming drug and alcohol problems. According to the report, essay-writing helped them to overcome some of these feelings by letting them see, through self-revelation, that they were not anonymous. Moreover, through the introspective discipline of framing thoughts in writing, students are reported to have discovered that they could change their lives, and that "the system" did not lie at the root of all their problems.

Reinforcement of achievement and self-esteem can be provided by the printing of students' writing in internal newssheets, local area prison newsletters (such as *Inside*, printed in and for Dublin prisons, and similar productions in Japan [140] and Germany [241]), or other collections of writing by "new writers". Such literature need not necessarily be of lasting import or high artistic quality, although it sometimes proves to be so: an English-language journal of prisoners' writing and writing about prisons, *Prison Writing*, was launched commercially in 1992 in the United Kingdom, while under the aegis of the Council of Europe an international poetry contest for prison inmates was held in 1989, preceded by national competitions.

3. Theatre and the writing of plays

Illiterates need not be excluded from the writing of plays, any more than they are excluded from reading clubs. Since 1973, at the request of the French Ministry of Culture, a programme has been run for drug addicts, juvenile offenders, the mentally handicapped and adult prisoners, enabling them to express themselves in plays through *Ateliers de création populaire* (popular creativity workshops) [111]. In Fleury-Mérogis prison, Gatti's writing and acting with prisoners is part of the vocational training for stage technicians. It can take several months until a text is written and read in front of everyone. Often the writing is phonetic, and illiterates dictate to those who can manage to write a few more words. From these discussions and confrontations, Gatti writes a play, which the actors modify during rehearsals. In a personal statement of belief, Gatti insists that there is no therapeutic intent in this project, but that the result is none the less a manifest increase in self-esteem and in the chances of successful reintegration into society.

Similar work has been done outside the prison context under the title of "oral history", encouraging communities and individuals to review their past within the framework of wider social issues. Drama productions have resulted from this work after a process of audio-recording and note-taking by writers and performers, and after checking whether the transcriptions embody the essence of the history recounted by the persons interviewed, before being presented to other audiences.* In Sweden, the Gotlands Teater, a theatre group engaged in prison performance and preventive work in schools [208] has been doing the same work, although in this case the play is not performed by the prisoners. The group does, however, give inmates a chance to vent their frustration with their own lifestyles and with the reactions of public authorities and to see these verbal onslaughts given a form that is accepted by the prison administration as a social commentary in the form of drama. In the United Kingdom, the Geese Theatre involves prisoners in its productions and workshops about issues that are very relevant to their lives, such as the honesty of their relationships with their families and their reasons for offending.

The staging and acting by prisoners of plays from the conventional repertoire before outside audiences has also been experimented with, for example in Italy ([138], pp. 78-81).

*One example is the Age Exchange Theatre, which records and produces plays based on the recollections of retired people in the Blackheath area of south-east London.

4. *Visual arts*

Since the beginning of the 1980s, the Arts Council of Ireland has cooperated with the Prison Education Service in operating a series of writers' workshops in prisons and in providing teachers of visual arts. In the opinion of Coakley [49], an art teacher at Cork prison, the technical difficulties of self-expression through visual art are greater than through writing, but the experience of a major arts education programme in prisons in the Netherlands suggests that a large number of staff and inmates can produce results in the various visual and plastic media with which they and their teachers can be satisfied. Kempas [153] stresses the importance of visual stimulation through film for learners with limited verbal skills, even when they are not themselves producing artefacts.

Following a number of pilot projects and independent initiatives, regular art courses were launched throughout the Netherlands in 1984 to train prison security officers to teach art, in a collaboration between the Ministries of Justice and Culture, and the National Institute for Arts Education ([125]; Holdtgreffe (chapter XVII below)). The scheme is part of a larger reform by the Netherlands prison service, which includes the retraining of security staff so that they can work as part of the education teams.

A review conducted in 1989 in the United Kingdom [206] shows extensive coverage by visual and performing arts, and a high level of achievement by inmates in both their own perception and that of teachers, despite difficulties in finding space and materials.

5. *Discussion groups*

An alternative to activities using the written word is offered by discussion based on other stimuli. An example of such a programme in Portugal is given by Leite [167]. The themes covered, using input from outside experts, have so far been health, legal and illegal drugs, the integration of Portugal into the European Community and the Portuguese cultural heritage.

Hartl [124] describes 10 years of experience with four discussion groups using a very different type of input for 12 to 14 male recidivists aged between 21 and 50 in a small prison in the former Czechoslovakia. Group educational sessions with the tutor lasted for 90 minutes once a week. Each meeting had the same structure, starting with relaxation, continuing with discussion and a number of group techniques, and ending with diary-writing. In the El Katta project (El-Augi, chapter XVI), discussion groups were a significant activity organized by the social workers for rehabilitative purposes, while in the Costa Rican Institutional Development Plan (Avila, chapter XVIII), the involvement of learners in discussion is made explicit in the new approach.

At the high-security Central Correctional Institution at Macon, Georgia, with 540 inmates, two discussion groups of 14 and 13 inmates were created, meeting for two hours per week over 12 weeks. The groups were modelled on the "national issues forums", designed to help the general public become more informed about public issues, and they provided opportunities for frank self-expression - to speak one's mind, to have an honest opinion, and to talk without fear of retaliation ([52], p. 14).

Discussion groups not only motivate learning, foster self-expression and teach matters of importance to the basic education of inmates, they also act as a counterbalance to situations in most correctional education classrooms, where students sit in a study cubicle and respond to programmed, instructional materials. This often results in boredom and inertia ([52], pp. 5-6).

As has been indicated above, there are alternative models of education which do not leave learners isolated, so that the formal institution of discussion groups may not be as necessary. Queneutte [213] notes the importance of teacher and group support if even a well-equipped self-education room is established.

The teaching of humanities in prisons is frequently related to the subject-matter treated in discussion groups. The higher education extension programme in humanities developed at Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, Canada, is seen by its designer [78] as contributing extensively to changes in values and attitudes, and while study at that level may not be accessible immediately to those in need of basic education, it has been seen (for example, in the experience of Whetstone [285]) that it can provide a powerful stimulus to those able to read but not yet able to understand complex texts. It has been pointed out that an awareness of the conflict of ideas and values, which a humanities curriculum will make plain, will necessarily lead to a reconsideration by both students and teachers of their perceptions of "life issues" ([184], p. 9).

6. Sports and physical education

Sports and physical education are seldom mentioned in discussion of prison education, even though there are educational elements in the development of sports skills and in the social interaction between team members; it is not uncommon for prison teams to play against teams from the neighbourhood outside.

The lack of reference to sport is probably attributable to the split between security officers and civilian educational staff. Physical training is frequently arranged, supervised and taught by security staff, although volunteers and others are involved. The Ministry of Justice of France, in a comparative study on the provision of physical training in prisons in Europe, noted considerable diversity in staffing [103], but even where educational staff give instruction, sport is rarely seen as an integral part of prison education programmes. The German state of Baden-Württemberg, however, in its guidelines for sports in prisons (*Sportleitplan*), sees sport as a bridge to other activities as well as an activity that is worthwhile in itself [158].

Activities conducted outside prison, obviously limited to a tiny minority of prisoners, such as canoeing, mountain-walking, cycling and skiing, provide possible areas of continued learning after release, and clearly raise self-confidence among those who are illiterate and lacking in formal educational skills. Links have also been established between institutions providing therapy for drug abusers and sports programmes for drug abusers in prisons.

Physical education can also bring about an emotional liberation. Cohen [51] reports on a United Kingdom initiative in which high-security male prisoners assist in giving dance tuition to children with multiple learning difficulties from a nearby school. A preliminary course was held for the group of inmates selected by the chaplaincy to break down the alienated, aggressive body language often used as the only means of communication. The report suggests that strong emotional ties have grown up between the men and the children, and that this work releases deep emotions - prisoners' guilt, reflections on their families, reasons for being in prison - which are worked through later.

G. Learning strategies

In considering appropriate methods of facilitating basic education in prisons, guidance can be provided by research into methods of strengthening literacy learning for other special groups. Key features of successful experiences are flexibility, relevance and involvement. Among the strategies identified by the UNESCO Institute for Education for literacy learning (and more particularly for post-literacy provision) from case studies of practices in 20 developing countries, a number are of particular relevance in institutions, including the use of the following:

- (a) Newspapers, wall newspapers, posters and magazines for neo-literates;
- (b) Supplementary reading material in addition to course books;

(c) Extension literature produced by development agencies such as health departments and agricultural extension services;

(d) Radio, television, video recordings, films etc. (so-called new media);

(e) Correspondence courses;

(f) Libraries and mobile exhibitions ([204], p. 5).

To the above-mentioned may be added, as it becomes available, computer-assisted instruction using literacy software.

Although all those types of material and equipment exist in developed countries [154], even there awareness of their applicability in prisons has not been universal, according to the report of a conference held in the United Kingdom by the Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit (ALBSU) [4].

The intention of all the above-mentioned strategies is to create a literate environment, in which the use of literacy, at first at a simple level, becomes an attainable norm for learners, especially for neo-literates. An essential part is played in this endeavour by the possibility of inmates' continuing their reading, learning and creative activities outside the education centre, library, workshop or other specialist areas. Peaker and Vincent [206], pp. 55-60) call attention to the fact that prisoners can and do keep diaries, write poetry and pursue visual and plastic arts in their own cells, despite the often unsupportive environment.

The following three factors are, according to Wehrens [277], crucial in adult literacy teaching in the prison context: the selection of literacy materials designed for adults rather than children; the opportunity to apply newly acquired or strengthened literacy; and a style which addresses individuals rather than a whole class face-to-face. Since conventional classes have not been a positive experience for those illiterate or semi-literate adults who have attended school, alternative arrangements have proved to be more successful in motivating students and enhancing their learning.

Where developing countries use literacy and basic education programmes which are separate from vocational training, they frequently follow the traditional model of adult education centres or evening schools, which are themselves based on the model of formal education for children. One significant and widespread practice is, however, reported: the involvement of inmates as teachers or tutors. Such an arrangement is found in Botswana, Costa Rica, Egypt and Sri Lanka, according to the authors of the studies included in this *Manual* (see chapters XII, XIII, XVI and XVIII) and in Colombia [56], Mali* and Nigeria [89]. The approach is also highly recommended in studies of experience in developed countries such as the United States ([20], [55] and [241]) and the Netherlands (see chapter XVII). Inmate tutors can relate better than outside teachers to other prisoners, and with appropriate training they can both gain from the experience themselves and be effective.

*Information supplied by N'G. Coulibaly to a conference on Evaluation in Literacy, Post-literacy and Continuing Education, UNESCO Institute for Education, Hamburg, 1990.

H. Good adult education practice

Against a background of alienation and systemic coercion, motivation is crucial to active educational participation and progress. Numerous practitioners call attention to the central position occupied in motivation by a sensation of achievement and of increased self-confidence, both in the context of prison education and in education and training elsewhere. Many prison education curricula see such personal changes therefore as their aim, and adopt appropriate techniques and course structures. A typical summary of a style of learning that reinforces learning in the context of courses presented in learning units is provided by Sedlak and Karcz ([229], p. 4). Their survey of 62 teachers resulted in the following list of principal strategies for obtaining educational objectives in prisons:

- (a) Enable inmates to have positive experiences in order to increase their self-esteem;
- (b) Assist inmates in becoming responsible for their own actions;
- (c) Assist inmates in understanding that education provides them with more choice-making opportunities in their lives;
- (d) Provide multiple grade-level increases during an academic year;
- (e) Use an individualized competency-based instruction format for delivering educational services.

The first strategy, involving positive experiences, can be emphasized in cultural activities such as visual arts education, drama and sports, while the second and third may frequently be implicit rather than explicit, and are also closely associated with team creativity. The last stresses the importance of educational counselling and the negotiation of educational programmes and curricula. In addition, it is commonly remarked that schoolroom situations should be avoided in favour of egalitarian social conduct between adult students and their teacher, as well as conventional adult education seating arrangements such as the horseshoe [44].

The word "inmate" needs only to be replaced by "student" to see that adult education practice should be followed, and none of the foregoing remarks would be out of place in the context of the training of adult education teachers. The point has already been made by the Council of Europe that, as far as possible, educational activities should take place together in a distinct location where an attractive atmosphere can be built up, such that the education centre becomes something of an oasis for the prisoner within the prison, but also a location that is different from school education in many ways - in its atmosphere, organization, methods, subjects and activities offered - as befits a place of adult education ([66], p. 9).

But if such an oasis is established, care must be taken to ensure that it is not accessible only to an elite, whether that elite is self-selected or selected by staff. Education should be available to all who can benefit from it, and prison education departments need to serve the whole prison community, just as schools and colleges should serve their local communities.

1. Ownership of the course

In chapter IV, section F, attention was drawn to the importance of involving students in the assessment of their individual learning needs and progress, so that they should feel that they "own" the course.

In 1988, for example, the Council of Europe reported on a Danish experience of teaching through project work which was problem-oriented, but which differed from conventional workshop training. The tasks involved were similar to vocational instruction (building a wall, making a piece of furniture etc.), and although there was to have been an end-product, the aim was to interest learners in the processes of learning and working. Trainees controlled the projects, discussing their needs, methods of work, production and evaluation ([66], p. 15).

Such involvement is not always achieved. Mangara [173] notes that in certain cases the prison staff itself may be in need of basic education, with the result that it is reluctant to surrender its slim academic authority. The availability of funding, equipment and staff, its range of competence and the limited number of places in any one course restrict the possibility of planning an educational programme. On the other hand, places must be filled, so that the particular pre-vocational training which is recommended may be irrelevant both to the home background of the prisoner, to which he or she will return, and to the circumstances of the institution to which he or she is next transferred.

It has been observed in chapter II that there is a gulf between the value systems and cultures of the learner and the knowledge system to be taught. The gap may be wider even than alienation in cultural values. From research into education outside prisons it is known that teachers and students can have quite different perceptions of a given subject-matter. The example of mathematics may be given, in which, according to Balfanz [15], the methods taught in schools and adult education are not those used with adequate results by many people in their everyday lives.

There is, in mathematics and other school subjects, but also in judicial processes and other less formal verbal exchanges, no precise means of determining whether the hearer truly comprehends what the speaker says. Allusion has already been made to the limited range of vocabulary and expression used by inmates and to their learning difficulties. A whole range of new concepts and vocabulary confronts a learner who abandoned school at the age of 13, while the teacher may fail to see the logic of a student's reasoning or to comprehend learning difficulties. It is suggested by Peaker and Vincent [206] that disruptive inmates are not only verbally frustrated, but are frequently also potentially capable of artistic creativity.

In recognition of the situation, Canino [44] suggests that the teacher should be far less concerned with the cognitive teaching of a subject than with acting as an intermediary between two value systems, and with finding out about the specifics of the learner's methods of perceiving the world. Only if there is no unbridgeable gap between the learner and the matter to be learnt can it be supposed that the learner can truly internalize and "own" what is taught.

2. An individualized approach

It is commonly observed ([20], [134] and [153]) that, as with other adults, no two inmates have equal aptitudes, interests or previous knowledge. To meet individual needs, flexible programmes, at fixed times but without fixed term dates or duration of course, providing for open entry and exit and for dropping out and re-entry without loss of educational progress, can encourage students to learn at their own pace, free of the pressure of keeping up with a class.

This does not mean that group work should be neglected, since it is necessary to foster the social and emotional growth that small groups can bring. Nor does the use of self-learning materials necessarily lead to a lower student-teacher ratio in conventional adult literacy classes.

An individualized approach is based on independent work, with the regular guidance of a teacher or tutor, especially in reading for beginners and the use of technological aids such as computers. One-to-one peer tutoring, involving inmates as tutors, helps in individualizing learning, and is a variation on group work. The methods developed by Laubach, Tutor Volunteers of America, and Frontier College's Student-Centred Individualized Learning Programme are examples of relevant approaches which can be used for instruction of offenders by offenders [55].

I. Motivation by other means

As has been stressed earlier, student motivation is crucial in the context of prison education. While the principal motivating force may be the adoption of an adult learning style, other measures can be built into curricula.

A distinction can be drawn between motivation to take advantage of educational provision, and motivation to continue. Various types of initial incentive to undergo tuition in basic education are offered in the prison context. Attendance can be considered equal to a work assignment, so that inmates receive the same wage for either. Financial rewards can also be given for achievement of a particular level of literacy, as in the case in Italy [137]. Achievement is closely linked to eligibility for vocational training, and can be tied to work release, special privileges, reductions in sentence or release on parole. In Colombia, for instance, the law establishes that for every three days an inmate attends the basic education programme, the sentence is reduced by one day [56]. In certain cases, it is reported that additional comforts may be made available [203], or even that additional food may be provided for those who participate in education [163]. It should be pointed out in this context that there are systems in which the families of inmates are expected to supply their wants, so that an incentive such as the provision of basic needs by the prison service is also of benefit to the families of offenders.

The greatest motivation to continue in education is success. Achievement can be acknowledged through formally advancing from one grade to another and the award of a certificate at the end of a unit or a course. These are strong motivational factors for people who left school without any such evidence of success.

The organizers of the mandatory literacy scheme in United States federal prisons [179] point to success in enabling inmates to reach the required literacy standard within the prescribed time-limit. The scheme originally required that all inmates who were found not to have reached the level of the sixth grade should enrol in an adult basic literacy programme. The minimum level has now been raised to the ninth grade. The attainment of the equivalent to those grades is a prerequisite for promotion to jobs above the most menial level, although it is accepted that not all students enrolled will reach the level of GED (equivalent to completion of high school), and there are exemptions for those whose mother tongue is not English and for those with learning difficulties. The high degree of acceptance of the programme by both staff and inmates has been attributed by McCollum ([179], p. 6) to the connection of literacy achievement with the introduction of computer-aided instruction, on the one hand, and with wages and promotion, on the other. According to the relevant programme statement ([266], p. 8), all supervisors of education, with approval of the warden, should establish a system of appropriate awards (for example, cash awards, certificates) to be given to inmates in recognition of satisfactory progress and completion of a literacy programme. These awards should recognize achievement at various levels in the programme, with emphasis on attainment of functional literacy and secondary education credentials.

However, there is some controversy over whether compulsory testing of student attainment and mandatory literacy learning up to a given level provides internalized motivation. A Canadian study [251] found inmates opposed to the introduction of mandatory basic education on the basis of compulsory assessment, while the use of learning packages that do not relate closely to the lives of learners has also been criticized (for example, by Boudin [35] with much similar comment in general literature on continuing adult education).

VI. The impact of basic education in prisons

There are several distinct ways of approaching the question of effectiveness. The classic evaluation is to compare what is achieved with what was intended. Since education in prisons usually sets out to assist the broad aim of resocialization, effectiveness needs to be judged from several angles in order to make even a tentative assessment of the achievement of that aim. Associated with resocialization are not only employment and occupational advance, but also changes in behaviour and the application of social skills to the consolidation of personal relationships and to negotiations with public authorities and other third parties.

Individual courses, including basic education, also have internal objectives, such as progression from one reading level to another or the passing of an examination at the basic level. However, with the exception of examination pass rates, and sometimes figures for entry into employment on release, evidence of effectiveness is not usually kept, or indeed sought. To do so consistently would require a regular follow-up programme involving formal collaboration with outside agencies.

It has been acknowledged that there are more ways of measuring the effects of education on offenders while they are in prison than formal tests or examinations and that post-release follow-up is necessary in order to achieve a balanced understanding of longer-term effects. A Canadian proposal made in 1981 [218], while calling attention to the need for post-release research, suggests statistical models for a national monitoring service that could be built into existing provisions for prison education, using a range of input, context and performance indicators.

Some years later, Sachs ([225], p. 15) suggested that basic education could be assessed under the following headings:

- (a) Improved literacy and numeracy;
- (b) Development of basic life skills, such as job-finding and recreational skills;
- (c) Provision of vocational training in conjunction with prison industries, ensuring that the skills taught are related to current employment opportunities;
- (d) Provision of a certificated course that teaches skills from the primary and lower secondary curriculum;
- (e) Provision of higher educational opportunities to inmates with an identifiable need and the capacity to complete the course.

Further possibilities of internal assessment are noted later in the present chapter.

Despite the general lack of consistent monitoring of prison education and of post-release social integration which would meet the suggestions outlined above, there is evidence of the beneficial effects of education for offenders. A survey of 220 inmates of Sing Sing prison in New York State by Stephens [240] reveals, for example, that of those who attended education courses (175 out of the 220), 91 per cent agreed that they felt prison school had helped them. Moreover, typical open-ended comments were: "It has showed me there is an alternative". "It gave me the chance to get the education I passed up before", and "with an education, I can now find a good-paying job" ([240], p. 54).

A survey conducted by the Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (see annex V to the present *Manual*) provoked comments from prison staff completing the questionnaires to the effect that education does bring results. For example, the following was noted:

Many inmates have won prizes, including gold medals at national or international vocational skills contests (Republic of Korea).

Many are able to read and continue through the formal education programme upon release. Those who are taught in the fields of carpentry, plumbing, motor mechanics and farming found jobs or started their own small businesses (Papua New Guinea).

Teachers inform whether prisoners benefit from the educational programme. However, these reports are not very reliable (Sri Lanka).

In various forums, practitioners from many other countries have made similar favourable comments on outcomes. Some of these have been alluded to in chapter V, and further examples are contained in the following chapters. More precise indications of positive results of prison education are none the less necessary, as suggested by the comment from Sri Lanka, above, since Governments may not be convinced of the merits of investing in basic education, even if it meets its target of educating inmates. Evidence of reductions in financial and social cost has also to be sought. From a fiscal point of view, if prison education reduces recidivism and raises gross domestic product by the useful and gainful employment of citizens who might otherwise be dependent on social security or welfare payments or a charge on the State through the penal system, then it is cheap. If all it does is raise the educational level of persons who continue to act criminally, it is expensive. Similarly, if effort is expended on educating offenders who reoffend, their victims have grounds for grievance. Researchers have therefore examined the effects of education on patterns of post-release employment and recidivism.

A. The relationship between education, recidivism and unemployment

From the results of small-scale research studies, there are strong indications that education, especially vocational preparation, does have a positive effect on subsequent recidivism and gainful employment, between which there is an inverse relationship. Although there are many social factors involved in such assessments and doubts about the use of a crude recidivism measure as an indicator, and despite the need for wider confirmation, there is evidence of successful reintegration. A selection of these studies is reviewed below.

1. Evidence from Australia

In 1992, research was carried out at Barwon prison into the quantifiable effects of the initiative of the State of Victoria to link prison education, vocational training and prison work programmes [230]. Forty-six male participants were interviewed six months before release and again just prior to release. Six months after release, data on post-release education, training, employment and reoffending were collected. The principal findings were as follows:

(a) First offenders and those with personal contacts with potential employers were more likely to gain employment;

(b) Half of the group intended to seek employment in the jobs they had held previously, discounting training received in prison;

(c) Only six out of 46 persons gained full-time employment (plus one part-time) within six months, but none was involved again with the criminal justice system during that time;

(d) Of the remainder, 21 had no trouble, while 19 had their parole revoked, were deported or extradited, or were awaiting trial for reoffending (just 8 in the last category).

As will be remarked later in the present chapter, the ability to find employment is not determined by vocational preparation alone. The small above-mentioned sample, however, confirms the general belief that possession of a job is a significant factor in avoiding criminal behaviour.

2. Evidence from Botswana

The interviews conducted in Botswana as part of the present project (Frimpong, chapter XIII) indicate that those who succeed in establishing themselves after release have completed basic education, including the acquisition of an employable skill, or have reached an educational level at which they can enter higher education. The corpus of personal experiences amassed is not a statistically valid sample, but it is internally consistent. In the post-release interviews, those who had not advanced through basic education are the persons in renewed difficulty, and it is reasonable to state that others might have returned to illegality if education had not been made available to them.

3. Evidence from Canada

A study of 1,736 offenders who participated in adult basic education in 1988 and were subsequently released were monitored until October 1990, the majority being followed up for over a year. The results indicate that those who had completed basic education had a 10 per cent lower likelihood of reoffending than those who withdrew before completion of their course, and a 5 per cent lower likelihood than those who were released before completion [209]. The authors admit that factors other than education may have influenced both completion and lower recidivism, but allowance was made for that in the statistical comparison. The clear inference is that adult basic education has an influence on behaviour immediately after release, which is the most critical period for social adjustment and avoidance of reoffending. It appears likely that the greatest impact is made on those who have a previous history of marginal employment through want of skills, and who therefore run the highest risk of reoffending.

4. Evidence from China

The recidivism rate in China is unusually low, only 6-8 per cent. Yang (chapter XI) refers to one educational programme that succeeded in reducing the rate still further, to only 1.9 per cent. Although it is not stated over what period that result was achieved, in the light of experience elsewhere that recidivism is highest shortly after release, such an achievement is impressive. Further anecdotal evidence is adduced in the chapter by Yang, who sees low recidivism as connected with the emphasis placed in the Chinese penal system on education, which covers legal, moral and cultural education, as well as the techniques of literacy. Physical labour is also seen as a form of education in discipline and social behaviour, so that it can be argued that the educational component of imprisonment is at the centre of penological practice, and does reform the behaviour of offenders.

5. Evidence from Egypt

As has already been seen, much indirect evidence of individual cases of subsequent occupational and social stability and success has been amassed by practitioners, and a strong connection with education can usually be inferred. El-Augi (chapter XVI), for instance, refers to ex-offenders returning to the El Katta Prison to express gratitude for the social rehabilitation achieved, and the assessments of the El Katta project were positive on the part of inmates, prison staff and a visiting university team.

6. Evidence from France

In the case of certificated vocational training, short-term evidence of effectiveness is easily advanced. For example, of the 10 participants in a computer-aided design course at Fleury-Mérogis prison in France, 6 gained employment in an engineering office, and in the full mechanical engineering course, from 60 to 80 per cent of the participants regularly pass the examination after seven months of training [176].

7. Evidence from the territory of Hong Kong

In the territory of Hong Kong, half-day education and half-day vocational training are compulsory for young offenders in detention centres, to which they are sent for between 1 and 12 months. For one year after release they are under supervision. It is reported in *Asia Crime Report* ([142], p. 46) that the system of detention plus close probationary supervision has had notable success in helping young offenders aged 14 to 20 and young adults aged 21 to 24 to avoid reoffending:

A total of 8,589 young offenders were released since the inception of detention centres in 1972. Of the 8,177 who completed the statutory supervision period, 7,698 had not been reconvicted during the period, a success rate of 94.1 per cent. Since the detention programme was extended to young adults in 1977, 805 have passed through it. Of the 739 who completed the statutory supervision period of one year, 704 had not been reconvicted during the period, a success rate of 95.3 per cent.

8. Evidence from the United Kingdom

The National Association for the Care and Rehabilitation of Offenders (NACRO) makes the point that basic education in prison can form the foundation for continuing education and training after release, while admitting that no systematic research has been conducted into the relationship between prison education and subsequent resettlement or recidivism [42]. However, evidence is put forward relating to those offenders and ex-offenders to whom the organization has recently made charitable grants to enable them to pursue education and training. They are mostly persistent offenders who have committed serious offences, and the results obtained are as follows ([42], p. 1):

Year	Total grants	Ex-prisoners	Multiple offenders	Serious offenders	Successful completion	Reconviction
1989-1990	70	62%	60%	53%	74%	3%
1988-1989	90	48%	54%	45%	77%	5%

Some general evidence of the effectiveness of continuing education is provided by such figures, although it is not known how many of the offenders in question began their educational rehabilitation with basic education in prison.

9. Evidence from the United States

At the Oxford international conference on prison education held in 1989, Jenkins presented a survey of evidence accumulated so far in the United States. The studies, based on what he judged to be rigorous methodology, gave the following picture, to which updated information has been added.

New York State study of 1981. Data were collected on nearly 300 former inmates who had pursued college courses. Three quarters were found to be employed ([143], p. 7). A similar study conducted 10 years later gave similar results (Jenkins, Pendry and Steurer, chapter XV).

Illinois study of 1988. In a 12-month follow-up study of randomly selected adult releasees, the relationship between employment and participation in vocational training or secondary level education during imprisonment was considered. The results showed a positive correlation ([143], pp. 6 and 19).

Maryland State Use Industries studies of 1988 and 1989. Inmates who had worked for the State industries were followed up over a three-year period. Recidivism rates of from 17.9 to 22.4 per cent were found after one year, and 41.9 to 51 per cent over three years ([143], pp. 8 and 19). Maryland State Use Industries have followed up their "graduates" after release for a decade, with consistently positive results. The 1992 survey showed a substantial reduction in recidivism among inmates who had followed one year or more of apprenticeship or on-the-job training (Jenkins, Pendry and Steurer, chapter XV).

Figgie Corporation study of 1988. Adults imprisoned for crimes against property were interviewed. They rated unemployment central to their criminal activity, and employment training as the most important rehabilitation measure ([143], p. 7).

United States Federal Bureau of Prisons Recidivism study of 1993. The results of a very complex analysis of recidivism among inmates of federal prisons released in 1987 was completed in 1993 [123]. The most significant finding for the purpose of justifying education is that those who had completed an educational course showed a slightly reduced recidivism rate of 35.5 per cent, as against 44.1 per cent for others. That finding is qualified by relationships based on prior education, age, race, drug and alcohol dependency and the previous profile of offences.

The Correctional Education Association, as part of the UNESCO Institute of Education project, has carried out a survey inquiring into the post-release behaviour of 112 offenders who had followed a range of educational courses. Information obtained from the relevant staff of the Division of Parole and Probation indicates initially satisfactory results with respect to higher rates of employment and lower recidivism among those who had followed educational courses (Jenkins, Pendry and Steurer, chapter XV).

Recognition has recently been given in the State of Illinois to the importance of after-care in helping offenders to gain employment immediately after release. A pilot programme of pre-release counselling and post-release follow-up by a coordinator, reported by Denton [72], contained training in self-evaluation of motivation, values and goals. Of the 45 men who participated, 7 were still incarcerated at the time of reporting; of the remaining 38, 28 had found employment, and none of the latter had reoffended within the first year of operation of the programme.

Additional information from United States investigations is given in the study by Jenkins, Pendry and Steurer in chapter XV.

B. The internal objectives of basic education measured through examinations and tests

Since basic education alone does not guarantee employment, it is not entirely susceptible to the type of evaluation presented above, which is related to rates of employment and recidivism. It is not known how many of the graduates of vocational training courses who become employed and resocialized first took part in basic education. But it is clear that basic education is an indispensable part of prison education and prevocational training for those with the lowest educational attainment who cannot enter directly into a course which presupposes skills that they do not yet possess.

Improved literacy and numeracy can be demonstrated in the statistics of examination results and reading tests. The project in the State of Maryland, United States, whereby inmates taught each other literacy, was assessed in order to estimate the efficiency of that methodology, but the results also argue for the general effectiveness of basic education in terms of its own objectives. It has been reported that, on average, students in a literacy laboratory gain about three months in reading skills for every one month of instruction, as measured by the Test of Adult Basic Education.

In Northern Ireland, the more able students engaged in basic education are encouraged to sit communication skills and numeracy examinations. The pass rate for the academic year 1988/89 was high: 120 out of 143 ([242], p. 14).

In certain countries, adult education courses and examinations are closely tied to the formal education system, for both prison inmates and the general population. According to a press release [14], approximately one quarter of all inmates in penal institutions in the German *Land* of Baden-Württemberg were engaged in some form of remedial "second chance" education in 1990 with the aim of gaining certificates which they would normally have obtained at the end of one or the other stage of formal schooling. Among the 1,700 participants, 315 gained some form of school-leaving certificate, including 153 with a lower secondary-level certificate (*Hauptschulabschluss*), 133 with a vocational school certificate (*Berufsschulabschluss*), 21 with a technical school certificate (*Realschulabschluss*) and eight with a higher secondary-level certificate (*Abitur*). A further 2,963 inmates followed a vocational training course, 419 being awarded a certificate.

In other countries, such as the United States, reliance is placed on special tests developed for adults. The GED test is intended to be the equivalent of a high-school leaving certificate, and places emphasis on basic education skills of literacy and numeracy. The assumption behind both GED and second-chance school certificates is that a high-school diploma is the basic requirement for almost all entry-level jobs. Persons below this level often encounter serious difficulty both in obtaining employment and in carrying out day-to-day responsibilities ([266], p. 1). If that belief is accepted, certification of the attainment of a basic level of competence is axiomatically evidence of the beneficial effects of education. Where such basic education is obligatory, it can be considered both effective and efficient if what is judged an adequate number of participants reaches the desired level, and if they are granted promotion to a higher grade of study or prison employment.

Such results can only be demonstrated where suitable examinations and tests exist, and then only for students who reach the relevant level. In France, more than 60 per cent of the participants in education leave prison without any proper recognition, 42 per cent with no certificate at all, and 20 per cent with a certificate of attendance only ([3], p. 16).

C. Alternative methods of judging achievement in basic education

An alternative, informal way of recognizing achievement lies in arts programmes, which may be associated with basic education. Reference has been made to the publication of prisoners' writing and to exhibitions of visual arts. The city of Hamburg, Germany, for example, has set up in its streets sculptures made by its prison inmates, and Yang (chapter XI) alludes to exhibitions held at Shanghai and Beijing. Gatti [111], reporting on the writing and performance of plays, sees success when the assessors of the competence of the trainee stage technicians sit in the front row as a passive audience, to be addressed with confidence by the prisoners. The fact that such artistic achievements can be made shows that inmates, even illiterates, can express themselves when enabled to do so.

Evaluation of all educational endeavours is widely demanded. The range of possible indicators is being expanded appreciably beyond examination results. In the United Kingdom, a document has recently been prepared by the Prison Service for use in the evaluation of all prison education and library programmes [256]. It owes much to the evaluation culture of commercial enterprises, as it essentially asks whether a service meets the objectives laid down in contracts between the Prison Service and providers of education, both public and private.

D. The effects of education on behaviour in prison

It is possible to see the effect of prison education on behaviour during the sentence. It may not be an exact guide to subsequent actions, but it is of value within the institution. Statistical evidence can be accumulated through frequency of disciplinary reports or hearings. The training course conducted on anger control in one prison in the United Kingdom [180] gave the following results, showing clearly the reduction in the number of times students were reported to the prison governor for disciplinary offences, based on the participation of 18 students in the course: three months before the course there were 21 reports to the prison governor, three months after there were 11.

Not surprisingly, it has also been demonstrated by a United States investigation [266] that inmates engaged in prison work or training show "better institutional adjustment", in other words, they have a lower level of misconduct reports than those of similar educational and social background but who were not so engaged. It is confirmed by Costa ([63], p. 10) that education can be as useful a means of occupying inmates in the interests of good order as prison work. In one prison in Portugal, the Prison Director has stated that the inmates who attend school are elements that contribute to stabilization inside prison.

Questionnaires completed by social workers and inmates in the assessment of the El Katta social rehabilitation project consistently showed remarkable improvements in behaviour, literacy and participation in group activities (El-Augi, chapter XVI). Agricultural production also rose.

Practitioners know of numerous cases of improved socialization in prison. The evidence generally remains at the level of subjective impressions, but there are other possible methods of recording achievement. Those methods are integrated into the following suggested composite list of indicators relevant to basic education, which incorporates the proposals of Sachs [225]:

- (a) Education attendance rates;
- (b) Test and examination results;
- (c) Individual records of education and training courses begun and completed;
- (d) Frequency of individual disciplinary reports;

(e) Levels of personal activity, including participation in sports and in cultural and religious activities, requests for information on vocational training and job opportunities, frequency of library visits etc.

(f) *Patterns of individual activity during free association between inmates;*

(g) Preservation of individual contact with the family.

In other words, social reports can be regarded as a valid measure of some of the effects of education, even though the relationship between a given course and a change in behaviour is not linear.

Such uncertainty does not weaken the argument in favour of appropriate educational provision. Although it may be impossible to prove that education causes or reinforces improved social behaviour, there is no cogent argument that any other element of the penal system is more likely to achieve the desired result. It is true, however, that many of the majority of prisoners who behave well in prison take no part in educational programmes, and that some of those who do may behave badly at times. Even so, it must be counter-productive to deny education to a prisoner who, in reassessing his or her situation and needs because of a change brought about by other stimuli, requests it.

Elements of the above list of indicators may be subjective, but no more so than school and college reports or testimonials and references of employers, by which individual careers among the general population are to some degree influenced. They may be regarded as qualitative rather than quantitative measures of educational outcomes, but that does not mean that they are any less valid. Indeed, in the debate on educational evaluation outside the prison context, there is a view which sees qualitative or naturalistic measures as a necessary complement to the quantitative.

Subjectivity can be reduced by the involvement of the prisoners. There is no reason why at least certain measures of behaviour, such as levels of personal activity, should not be assessed jointly. Hartl ([124], p. 1) reports that evaluation of the discussion groups in the former Czechoslovakia, which gave positive results, made use of the following:

(a) Statements of the participants themselves;

(b) Analysis of all written materials and diaries of the participants;

(c) Recordings of group sessions;

(d) Sociometric techniques;

(e) Attitude scales;

(f) Questionnaires addressed to staff;

(g) Observations by the group leader, his or her co-workers and staff.

The above-mentioned techniques might be added to the previous composite list.

E. Distorting factors

There are manifold influences on the effects of education which cannot be controlled by educationists, in prisons any more than anywhere else. The effects of education can be limited by other elements of the penal system that pursue different aims and deliberately or unintentionally prevent offenders from following a coherent course of study.

Successful reintegration cannot, however, be guaranteed by education, since the social environment and labour market conditions, among other factors, will always have a significant influence on recidivism.

1. Personal factors in change of lifestyle

There is no exact measure of the part played by educational activities in the conscious or unconscious decision of an offender to change his or her way of life. The uncertainty is increased by numerous anecdotal reports of the importance of particular individuals and of religious conversion leading to changes in lifestyle. It is remarkable how often practitioners, offenders and ex-offenders comment on the influence of individual personalities on the behaviour, motivation and educational progress of inmates. Such persons may be educators, but may also be fellow inmates or members of other groups of prison staff.

2. Social environment

When a person is released from custody, he or she enters into or returns to a specific social environment. If that environment is marked by violence, cupidity, irregularity of employment, unstable personal relations and mistrust of written information and education, then the newly educated prisoner must either reject the values of the education received, introduce new values into the environment and thereby change it, or abandon that environment and push into a new one without family or friends. Both of the latter options require great tenacity and strength of character, as well as supportive through-care and outside contacts.

If the environment is less harsh, the broader cultural values associated with the educational materials used in prison may yet be at variance with those outside, leading to unexpected instability in relationships.

Only where family members are supportive, where drugs are avoided, and where an adequate income and housing are secured - usually through employment - is there a realistic chance of socialization. The term "resocialization" is itself a misleading aim, if it means a return to the situation before imprisonment.

3. Unemployment

There are uncertainties over the reliability of employment as an indicator of the effects of education. As demonstrated earlier, ex-offenders typically have limited educational and vocational skills, and hence poor chances of gaining employment, rendered worse by the stigma of imprisonment and its effects on the personality. Moreover, finding and keeping a job is only a neutral indicator under conditions of full employment, as the likelihood of becoming and remaining employed after release are dependent not only on education and vocational training, but also on the conditions of the labour market. In that context, the constant rise in qualifications demanded for relatively routine employment and the diminution in the number of manual jobs available places an increasing burden on the unskilled.

When unskilled workers are least in demand, the effect of basic or pre-vocational education will hardly be noticeable in terms of employment. And when prisons only have the facilities or the staff to offer pre-vocational or full vocational training for jobs in dying industries, the effect on the employment chances of ex-offenders may be negative rather than positive. Finally, whatever the

legal position regarding discrimination, employers themselves will frequently place ex-offenders at the bottom of a list of applicants, unless some support service offers reassurance and encouragement.

In job creation schemes for those who remain unemployed for a certain length of time, including many ex-offenders, recruitment is not only determined by previous standards of education, but also by the financial security of many of the schemes themselves. Funds are usually granted for a limited period of one or two years, after which there is no guarantee of employment for graduates, even in the skills practised during the job creation experience. It is not surprising that offenders look with disfavour on training for what they know are low-paid or unavailable jobs.

A lack of realism among some offenders and ex-offenders also affects their employment behaviour. Armed with the first continuous experience of education and the first certificate which they have ever possessed, they sometimes think that they are qualified for jobs that demand much higher qualifications. They thus fail to respond to the market. Job counselling clearly has to form part of vocational preparation, which must include attention to the need for reliability, punctuality, conformity to requirements of the employer etc., as well as specific work skills.

Personal contacts with potential employers are of major importance for ex-offenders, and the chances of employment for more serious offenders are much reduced [230].

4. Recidivism

The evidence cited above links employment and behavioural change with greater chances of avoiding recidivism for a number of prisoners, which renders a prison education service worthwhile.

It must be admitted, however, that people cannot be restored or renovated in the same way as objects, and that unemployment is not a direct cause of criminal activity. If it were, there would be far worse crowding in prisons. It is also probable, to judge from the experiences of educators and others involved in criminal justice systems, that there is a proportion of offenders who are not susceptible to rehabilitation, and a larger number among whom any change is fragile and very dependent on circumstances. Hamm [122] compares the overcoming of criminal activity to escaping from drug abuse and makes the point that no one expects all drug users to be able to free themselves at the first attempt. If an offender has indeed committed a crime which is related to drug use and remains dependent on drugs, then it is reasonable to surmise that the chances of reoffending are proportionately greater.

But there are other factors which reduce the reliability of recidivism as an indicator of the effectiveness of education. In the first place, there is no standard measurement of recidivism. In some cases, offences committed previously in a different province or state are not taken into account. In others, offences of varying types are expunged from the record after certain periods of time, particularly in the case of juveniles. Certain systems rely on warnings for first offences rather than formal convictions, and there is no agreement on the length of time after release (which is not the same as the end of the sentence, as a part may be spent under parole supervision) over which recidivism should be measured.

Secondly, it is widely observed that prisons not only teach what the system intends, they also teach criminality and alienation from the social system. Internal arrangements can to a certain extent palliate such developments, by separating remand from convicted prisoners and first offenders from recidivists and by limiting the number of inmates in a cell to that for which it was designed. But if any socialization is to be achieved, some free association must be allowed.

Thirdly, life chances can on balance be reduced by the total effect of imprisonment, rather than increased by the educational element of that experience, and some commentators insist that such is necessarily the case (Cosman, chapter VIII of this *Manual*, and [293]). The chances of employment, an uninterrupted relationship with a partner, security of housing and emotional equanimity are indeed impoverished by imprisonment. The best that education can do is to counteract some of those effects, but it would be unreasonable to blame prison education for failing to overcome the consequences of deprivation of liberty that society has imposed. If society really intends imprisonment to be more punitive than educative, then the rhetoric of most systems about rehabilitation is hypocrisy.

Fourthly, there is the increased likelihood of being arrested again after one or more previous convictions. In theory that need not affect the chances of conviction, but it is reasonable to deduce from anecdotal evidence that it is easier to solve a case when a crime has been committed by someone known to the police than when the perpetrator is unknown. Beyond that point comes speculation over guilt and innocence, which does not lie within the purview of the present report.

Very large social and moral questions are raised by such concerns, and attempts to answer them fall outside the immediate question of the provision for basic education. They have none the less to be borne in mind when looking for the effects of that education.

VII. Administrative models for the provision of prison education and the training of staff

If it is purposeless to enforce imprisonment without basic education for those who have not reached a level at which they can function adequately in society, then arrangements have to be made for its delivery. There are already widely differing models, but all have certain common requirements.

A. Providers of education in prisons

It is usual for all prison facilities to be run by government. This may be at central, provincial or local level, depending on the division of powers between the centre and the regions of a State. There are instances of prisons being managed by private companies under contract to government, notably in France, the United Kingdom and the United States, but it is too early to tell whether that trend will grow substantially, and the involvement of private companies does not always extend to the programmes within the prison system.

The various patterns of provision may be summarized as follows:

- (a) Control by a State-wide authority that employs educational staff and allocates them to prisons;
- (b) Control by the local prison administration, employing educational staff directly;
- (c) Intervention by a separate State-wide educational agency, under contract to provide teachers and to draw up an educational programme;
- (d) Intervention by a separate local educational agency, under contract to provide teachers and to draw up an educational programme;
- (e) Intervention by a local college under an agreement;
- (f) Specific contracts for individual projects awarded to outside agencies, including voluntary agencies;
- (g) Admission of one or more voluntary agencies that draw up a programme;
- (h) Facilities provided by the local prison administration for self-help among prisoners;
- (i) No provision.

Supervision of teaching will not necessarily be provided by the employing agency. An education officer answering to the prison administration may award local contracts and be responsible within the prison system for satisfactory performance. Links with educators outside the prison service (especially in further, adult, or continuing education) may be formally provided, informally and irregularly maintained, or non-existent. There may also be distinctions between education for remand prisoners and convicted persons, and between young offenders and adults, notably when offenders are under the permitted school-leaving age and subject to school curricula.

Facilities for teaching vary from total absence to showplace project sites, well equipped with furniture, computers and audiovisual aids, art and craft materials and reading matter. Similarly, the methods of informing prisoners of education available may vary from the informal to the formal, and initial assessment, induction and orientation are undertaken by a variety of staff. It may be accomplished in a single interview or over a period of a week or several months.

B. Routine arrangements for educational provision

There are many groups of people working in prisons: administrators, clerical staff, prison officers, social workers, psychologists, medical staff, chaplains, caterers, building maintenance staff, teachers and instructional officers. They are not all employed by the same organization, and some of them are volunteers. In addition, links with the community involve staff from employment agencies, the probation service and voluntary organizations. Other outsiders who come into prisons to work are inspectors, teachers, entertainers and researchers.

To arrange anything therefore requires the cooperation of a large number of actors, and it is easy to understand why systemic resistance to change can be strong. On the other hand, the stability of the system, and the constant presence of the inmates, should enable some education to be offered to all within the time available.

It may be impossible for prisoners to complete a course, either because they are discharged or because they are transferred from one institution to another. Of particular importance is therefore the ability of the system to allow students to continue with a course when they are transferred. This is relatively easy to arrange in the case of a standard educational package, such as the 120 hours of basic education to GED level in the United States federal system. It is more difficult if the student is following a particular vocational programme that requires facilities not available at every site, or is enrolled in a unique course, usually at a higher level, offered by an outside provider. However, through joint planning of education and training during imprisonment between the offender and the various branches of the service, an accommodation can be reached. A decision whether or not to transfer a prisoner because he has served a fixed percentage of a sentence should be made with due regard to the point reached in an educational course being followed, taking into account the motivation and possible resocialization of the person concerned.

Rules can indeed be applied arbitrarily or interpreted finely, both for and against the interests of the offender. In the context of outside vocational training, Leplâtre [170] gives the example that no rule permits a prisoner to attend an outside examination centre to sit a vocational examination. However, the penal code does allow for the movement of a prisoner when accompanied by a security officer. Thus it can be done.

1. Remand prisoners

Continuity between establishments very clearly affects those on remand, awaiting trial or sentencing. These persons represent a significant proportion of the total number held in prisons, as has been seen in chapter III of the present report. Policy on providing education to remand prisoners varies. In particular, vocational training which involves outside agencies and requires a commitment of resources greater than a classroom and a teacher may be restricted to those convicted to a term anticipated to last as long as the training. This is the case in France, according to Meuret [181]. A modular course structure appears especially necessary for remand prisoners.

C. Teaching staff

Not all prison education staff are government employees, still less employees of the justice department responsible for security. The identity of their employer depends on the structure of the delivery system. In some cases, as is evident from the foregoing summary, they are employed by the local or national education authority, in others directly by a college, a private or non-governmental agency or a separate prison education authority which is under contract to provide education. Some are permanent, full-time employees, but many are part-time or on fixed-term contracts tied to the duration of a given course. Volunteers are also used, drawn usually from outside, but in certain cases from within prisons, from among both staff and inmates.

Exceptionally, the division between prison security staff and education staff is broken down by the training of security officers to act as teachers or assistant teachers. It is usual for uniformed security staff to instruct in sports and physical education, but rare for them to teach computing or arts, as in the Netherlands experience (Holdtgreffe, chapter XVII). Practitioners from other systems suggest that there could be resistance to the involvement of security officers in educational and cultural activities. Regrettably, such resistance may come from those teachers who short-sightedly believe that prison officers are unable to contribute more than a security function to prison life. The security staff in the Netherlands were trained over an extended period, and a gradual approach to any change of role is clearly indicated if it is to be accepted by potential students and by security staff.

The training and qualifications of other educational staff varies widely, from specialist training to none. The concept of a general training for prison staff who then specialize in security, social work or education has some adherents, but there is a continuing debate between practitioners as to whether it is preferable for teachers to be members of the prison service or of an education service. It is thought that they may have greater independence of professional judgement if their allegiance is to an organization of which the sole purpose is education. Eggleston [86] makes a strong case that special training is necessary, regardless of the affiliation of the teachers. She suggests that correctional educators need to have a general knowledge of administration of correctional education, special education, vocational education and secondary education, together with a specialism in at least one of those fields. It may be remarked that such a spread goes beyond the training of either schoolteachers or general adult educators. It is possible to go some way towards resolving the issue of whether it is preferable for teachers to be members of the prison service by using the criteria of Gehring [113] to ask who has control over the curriculum, the educational budget, the supervision of educational staff and the initial assessment and allocation of students.

Regardless of their contractual status, educators are in practice often unable to take binding decisions in educational matters, but must defer to prison administrations. Fundamental decisions on the role and provision of education within prisons rest with national Governments, while the local administration (that is, the head of the institution) frequently has discretion on arrangements to enable education to take place. Because of the involvement of more than one agency, conflicts of interest can and do arise.

D. Training of non-educational prison staff

If there is to be a coherent attempt to change internalized values, and consequently behaviour, and to allow an inmate to progress from a low level of education and social skills, one of the necessary tasks for penal regimes is the reconsideration of the roles of the various categories of staff in prisons.

In the Netherlands, newly recruited prison staff receive 13 weeks of basic training in their first two years of service and a further 12 weeks over the next two years (Holdtgreffe, chapter XVIII). That includes group dynamics and a specialization in either sports, arts or education, as mentioned above.

A similar trend is observed in Scandinavia. Prison officers in Denmark, while retaining their security role, are being trained to act as liaison persons between inmates and work supervisors, educators, trainers, sports and hobbies instructors, and social workers [146]. In the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a distinction was made between external, armed security guards patrolling the walls of prisons and those inside in the corridors, who had a greater degree of contact with inmates. Such a division is no bar to the type of changes in role seen in Denmark and the Netherlands, at least for those inside.

It is not only security staff who may need further training. In one Norwegian experience described by Jacobsen [139], it has been recognized that educators and workshop supervisors also need to cooperate to a greater degree than has traditionally been the case.

If the aims of prison education differ from those of other sections of the penal system, a counter-productive conflict of interests will obtain. Zaffaroni [293] has forcefully pointed out that all those who are in contact with prisoners have an influence on their subsequent attitudes and behaviour. It therefore appears advisable for each system to have a clear statement of the educational purpose of imprisonment, which staff should hold as important as the security function of imprisonment. Cosman (see chapter VIII of this *Manual*) sees a revolution in the philosophy of imprisonment to be necessary in that context, and West (see chapter IX of this *Manual*) considers that prison officers can be important, positive agents in the lives of prisoners. Although the functions of certain roles may change in consequence, it is important to retain a clear delineation of responsibility in recognition of the fundamentally different tasks of the various categories of staff.

E. Collaboration with outside agencies

Non-governmental, research and teaching agencies can act as partners to prison services. A few examples will demonstrate the range of activities.

The Belgian *Atelier d'éducation permanente pour personnes incarcérées* (ADEPPI) (lifelong education workshop for prisoners), a non-governmental organization founded in 1981 by a group of social workers, has been recognized by the Ministry of Justice of the French community in Belgium, and receives State subsidies in order to carry out educational programmes in seven prisons. Its teachers are accorded the same professional status as those employed directly by the State.

The National Association for the Care and Rehabilitation of Offenders (NACRO), a non-governmental organization in the United Kingdom, works closely with prison educators and other voluntary agencies and seeks to bridge the gap faced by prisoners on release between the systematic order of prison and the uncertainties of life outside. A major part of its work is to ensure the continuation of education and training begun in prisons, through its local network of contact points for releasees.

Reference has already been made to the involvement in prison education programmes of a German higher education college and Nigerian social clubs. The voluntary Nigerian Association for Prisoners' Welfare also supports religious education and family visits, but does not concern itself with ex-offenders ([254], p. 145). At Nantes prison, in France, a gymnasium was built entirely by prisoners under the direction of a member of the charitable voluntary organization, the Compagnons du Tour de France [170].

In Burkina Faso, volunteers have been engaged in education in one prison since 1957, both nationals of Burkina Faso and foreigners. From 1983, according to Leach [163], the Mennonite Central Committee, a development agency run by the Mennonite churches of the United States and Canada, provided full-time volunteers for three-year periods, and when the salaried Burkina Faso teacher left in 1986, the programme was carried forward by inmates acting as leaders.

The Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit of the United Kingdom firmly recommended in 1985 the involvement of more voluntary teachers in prisons, both full-time and part-time [4]. Voluntary prison visitors are involved in counselling and social education in Japanese prisons [140].

Involvement of outsiders is not always easy, as they may have no experience of prison routine, and may become frustrated with what they see as unnecessary obstructions. On the other hand, they can relieve pressure on prison staff, and can reduce the tension among inmates born of boredom and purposelessness. Reference has been made in chapter V to a Portuguese initiative to bring in outside speakers, while in Ireland many prison education units hold activity weeks centred

on particular themes such as health, to which statutory and voluntary agencies contribute visiting staff and display materials.

Activities in which volunteers were engaged in Italian prisons in 1990/91 included educational support, cultural and handicraft instruction, lectures, theatrical and musical performances, sports, religious activities and library assistance [135].

The potential areas of collaboration are yet wider. A check-list of possible links with outside agencies is presented below. It is adapted from a list prepared by the United Kingdom prison service [256]:

- (a) Ex-offenders' and voluntary resocialization agencies;
- (b) Probation and parole service;
- (c) Local health authorities (for material on sex education, AIDS, drugs etc.);
- (d) Extension departments of higher education colleges and universities;
- (e) Other adult education, vocational education and continuing education centres and colleges;
- (f) Non-formal education agencies (also for juveniles);
- (g) Regional arts groups (for visiting performances and exhibitions);
- (h) Museums;
- (i) Libraries;
- (j) Local press and publishers;
- (k) Specialist help groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous and similar groups for gamblers and drug-dependent persons;
- (l) Religious organizations;
- (m) State and private employment agencies;
- (n) Local and national charitable voluntary associations;
- (o) International donor agencies;
- (p) Local and more distant specialist employers, firms and industries;
- (q) Prison staff training agencies outside the prison system;
- (r) Professional associations of prison educators and of educators of adults and juveniles among the general population;
- (s) Sports clubs and associations.

To the above list may be added individual volunteers not attached to any organization. Despite such a wide potential field of cooperation, in the 34 juvenile establishments surveyed in France by ADEP, the researchers conclude that barely half had established a true partnership, and that prisons remained largely closed to representatives of the outside world. They ask whether it would pose

real organizational problems to open them up, or rather symbolic problems of encroachment on "territory" ([3], p. 12).

1. Prisoners enrolled in courses outside

The majority of prison systems look warily on the notion of granting prisoners leave to attend courses at institutions outside. Generally, such permission is limited to vocational training or employment in colleges and enterprises with which the prison has a formal agreement. However, in Scandinavia, selected prisoners may attend a wider range of courses. The Finnish Ministry of Justice [92] reports that in 1990, 190 inmates studied in outside institutions, as follows: 112 in vocational training; 31 in vocational school; 11 in high school or university; and 29 in upper secondary or other education.

In Denmark, prisoners may attend courses even at local adult education centres, travelling to and fro by public transport. Such an arrangement is available to selected basic education students as well as to those pursuing a course for which facilities are difficult to arrange inside.*

The issue is dealt with in a totally different way in parts of the United States. In a partnership between the Los Angeles County jails and a local school district, the prisons try to replicate outside working conditions for vocational training purposes, rather than sending trainees out [200].

F. Through-care

The importance of continuity between education within the prison system, and education as part of social reintegration after release, can hardly be overstated. Leach [163], for example, complains of a high recidivism rate, and attributes this to "the disregard of the state for the successful rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners both previous to and upon release" ([163], p. 111).

Such criticism could be levelled at the majority of countries, both developed and developing. With respect to Norway, Langelid ([160], p. 2) suggests the following:

- (a) A prison sentence increases problems;
- (b) The period of release is the most difficult time. "The sentence starts when I walk out through the main gate," say many prisoners;
- (c) Many have particularly pressing problems in terms of personal finance, a place to live in, education and employment, and acceptance as a member of a safe and secure community.

To support his contention, Langelid quotes from a Norwegian report, dated 1841, which makes the same points, and in presenting a report on a scheme to allow education in prison to lead directly into higher secondary education or employment outside, he calls attention to the continuing general neglect of through-care links. Without it, Zaffaroni [293] may well be right in his contention that all imprisonment is deleterious, although it would be an oversimplification to suggest that prison education can achieve nothing.

According to the ADEP report [3], there is no official support system for ex-offenders from juvenile institutions in France, although some educators work voluntarily to extend their role to releasees. An agency was, however, established in the Paris area as a pilot project for adult ex-offenders in 1988. It involved collaboration between probation staff and social workers, and

*Information supplied by H. Jørgensen to the Euroalpha Conference on Basic Education in Prisons, held at Dublin in May 1991.

addressed itself primarily to ex-offenders with no home. By the end of 1988, 85 per cent of the ex-offenders who had visited the agency had been resettled [98].

In a number of countries and areas, non-governmental associations exist to provide aid to prisoners. Those in Hong Kong and Sri Lanka are mentioned in replies to the survey of the Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (see annex V to the present report), for example. However, they do not necessarily offer after-care contacts and post-release support to offenders and ex-offenders. According to Yuguan (chapter XI), such support is provided in China by local authority agencies, which carry responsibility for assisting ex-offenders to find work.

The importance of follow-up is becoming more widely recognized. In California, each vocational student in prison is assigned a "job developer", who becomes the case manager of the inmate. After release, the job developer may continue to visit the ex-offender and to attend job interviews with him or her [200].

Such through-care naturally requires the consent of the (ex-)offender. All basic education for offenders is fragile, and links with providers in the community have to be handled sensitively, as is confirmed by the experience of a day centre which acts as an alternative to prison in the United Kingdom for offenders aged 17 to 25 ([38], p. 10):

"Almost all [offenders] have a total lack of confidence in their educational ability and often, even a lack of personal self-belief This could well be the main reason why our clients do not seek help from the educational facilities available in the community. It is not that they are unaware of their problems, but that in fact, they are too aware. They ... are extremely embarrassed at the thought of revealing their inadequacies to a total stranger and, in any case, would probably see the schemes running in the community as some kind of extension of school and have no desire to repeat the experience."

With the development of non-custodial, community-based alternatives to imprisonment, including halfway houses for those nearing the end of a sentence, it is to be expected that the role of probation and after-care services will become yet more important.

It is the probation service that generally provides supervisory after-care where it is available, not the social welfare or educational service within the prison system. Non-governmental agencies can play a role, without the supervisory function. In the Philippines, a church organization is active inside prisons, and encourages ex-offenders to remain in contact after release, thereby providing a form of after-care.* Links between governmental services inside and outside prison are, however, not always well established, and pressures on both are such that it is often unrealistic to expect collaboration without a managerial initiative to restructure responsibilities. The importance of links between prison systems, probation services and private initiatives to assist ex-offenders on and after release is widely recognized, but it is also admitted, for example, by the German Association of Probation Officers [294] that such relationships can be marked by lack of cooperation and even a sense of competition.

*The organization is mentioned in the survey of the Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. Additional information has been supplied direct to UIE.

G. Funding and costs

Because of the number of actors involved in prison education, true total costs are never known, although each relevant element of the service may allocate a specific budget to education. Certain costs, such as classrooms and workshops and heating, are not usually borne by the education service, as they would be in an outside educational establishment. Furniture, transport to outside facilities, postage and telephones etc., may or may not be a charge on the education budget. What therefore has to be directly funded for basic education by a prison education service is essentially the following:

- (a) Teaching staff salaries (the major item) and in-service training;
- (b) Supervisory and administrative staff and recurrent administrative costs (of an inside or outside agency);
- (c) Durable equipment (electronic aids, reprographic facilities, art equipment etc.);
- (d) Printed materials (semi-durable);
- (e) Consumable materials (paper, art materials etc.);
- (f) Recurrent costs of reprography;
- (g) Payments to outside bodies (examination fees etc.).

For special thematic projects, additional costs may be incurred, such as drama materials, additional transport and video rental. Negotiations with outside agencies and prison authorities may result in donations.

Associated with basic education in prisons are also the costs of libraries (staff, stock and administrative materials) and the training of education staff and of assistant teachers (volunteers, security officers and others). Such costs may be borne wholly or partly by other budgets, through public library services, initial education training at colleges and the participation of national or local in-service training or training agencies for specialized subjects.

There is also the matter of opportunity costs. That is, production is lost if a prisoner normally employed in prison work devotes the same time to education. That can be expressed either as the net value of goods not produced, or as the costs of replacement labour (for example, in the laundry).

But in reality few prisons have more work available than they can carry out. There are usually more than enough prisoners to achieve the given task, whether it involves industrial, agricultural or unskilled labour.

In some systems, there is also a cost to the prisoner through lost wages, although the principle that that should not occur has been proclaimed in declarations of the United Nations and the Council of Europe. Equally, it is a principle that education for prisoners should be free

What might be called opportunity costs also occur when staff normally on teaching duties need time to negotiate with outside agencies, to conduct evaluations and extended interviews, or to take further training.

1. Levels of funding

The total amount spent on education, rehabilitation and training in local, state and federal prisons in the United States by 1982 was, according to Bellorado [20], just over 20 per cent of the

prisons budget. By comparison, inmates of Ghanaian prisons had no education or training ([108], p. 88).

Since then, efforts have been made. In 1985 the National Institute of Corrections, an institution of the United States Department of Justice, made an unanticipated grant of \$30,000, for example, to the Maryland Department of Correctional Education to develop a programme for "special confinement offenders" [182]. In the United Kingdom, the funds paid to local education authorities for the provision of education in prisons rose from £15.544 million in 1987/88 to £21.224 million in 1989/90 ([21], p. 7), although that has not resulted in an increase in the number of prisoners who became students. In France, the budget for education and training has risen, but the emphasis remains on vocational training. The contributions by the *Délégation à la formation professionnelle* (vocational training agency) rose from F10 million in 1980 to F30 million in 1990 [267]. The French prisons department has reported that it spent F61.6 million in 1989 on vocational training, of which the principal items were F25.2 million for outside training and F24.7 million to pay trainees [76].

While real increases in funding have been registered in some countries, the size of the prison population has also grown, and in certain places, as Enuke [87] points out, there is still no prison service funding for education as distinct from vocational training.

2. Funding strategies

The two main elements in the development of a provision for education, and specifically basic education, in prisons are the will to do so and the means. Both sometimes appear unattainable, but they can be achieved.

Without the will, and the direction given by a strong government policy, prison administrations at all levels are unlikely to make facilities available for education. Policy measures that cost little in themselves, but which can promote the will, include the following:

- (a) Recognition of participation in education as equivalent to work, where work is compulsory;
- (b) A review of the training and roles of prison security staff, so that they may gradually become involved in education;
- (c) Circulation and repeated citation of international declarations of intent;
- (d) Specific inclusion of offenders in policy statements relating to the provision of basic education for all citizens;
- (e) Establishment at national and regional level of joint working parties from justice and education departments;
- (f) Inclusion of education in the remit of national and international criminology research institutes;
- (g) Regular inclusion in prison statistics of assessments of literacy levels and of participation in educational and cultural activities as well as vocational training;
- (h) Admission into penal institutions of outside researchers;
- (i) Separation of remand prisoners, first offenders and recidivists, in recognition of the fact that prisoners learn from each other, even where little or no education programme exists;
- (j) Eventual establishment at prison level of a management structure which gives clear representation and rights of joint decision to professional education staff.

The teaching of basic education itself cannot avoid some expenditure of money as well as goodwill and time (see, for example, the case reported by El-Augi, chapter XVI). To introduce a service equalling that available to the general public, both of school age and adult, may none the less be an initial aim.

A number of strategies have been adopted to provide teaching staff without the full cost falling on prison service budgets. Those mentioned so far in the present report may be summarized as follows:

- (a) Cooperating with other State agencies;
- (b) Cooperating with voluntary agencies;
- (c) Incorporating individual voluntary teachers into a prison service programme;
- (d) Enabling prisoners to act as teachers or assistant teachers;
- (e) Relying on prisoners acting as teachers;
- (f) Accepting donations of materials and equipment.

To the above may be added an initiative in Finland. A provincial prison made contact with a university department of education, whose staff and students reacted enthusiastically to a proposed experiment. Student teachers are now engaged in the prison under the guidance of the university staff, and are paid by the hour for instruction given which exceeds their course requirements. The hours of obligatory teaching practice are at no cost to the prison system.

H. Provision of adequate facilities

Complaints are frequently made about the lack of adequate facilities for prison education in countries at all stages of economic development ([86], pp. 6ff and [108], pp. 407-408). Not only does prison education need staff, as a minimum it also requires space and materials.

1. Accommodation

Before a system can introduce mandatory education or training - or work for that matter - it has to provide space for inmates to pursue those occupations. Basic education does not require workshops, but without quiet conditions, learning will be unlikely to occur. It should be remarked here that the degree of privacy required by students varies from culture to culture, but suitable space will always be needed.

Security is a consideration. Although damage to persons and property in education facilities is usually less than that in some other parts of prisons, theft occurs frequently. Additionally, although it is often the case that one or two female teachers may be alone in an education block with dozens of male prisoners quite safely, a substantial number of incidents have occurred involving staff members who have fallen in love with prisoners, which has led to a lowering of trust in the educational service as well as to security compromises. Perhaps the self-control usually exercised in educational settings is attributable to the fact that education is one of the things that prisoners value, and that they may be permitted to pursue it by and for themselves, setting their own standards, which are usually socially acceptable. It therefore serves more goals than the direct acquisition of literacy or other skills, and is not an obviously disruptive activity, even in the eyes of unsympathetic officers.

2. Furniture, equipment and materials

Materials for basic education are cheap compared to much vocational equipment. However, there are problems associated with the use of donated materials. A report from Hong Kong describes a typical situation [110]:

"... teaching materials, textbooks, classrooms, desks, chairs and the other necessities essential to any good programme were in very short supply and usually came second-hand from outside schools as and when they procured new supplies and furniture One problem that this brings ... is the task of seating adult students at desks built for a more junior age group."

It should be added that children's textbooks have contents unsuitable for adults.

At the other extreme are what are frequently seen as showcase centres. In France, the Loos prison has a multimedia centre for vocational training consisting of three rooms with eight networked computer workstations, a documentation centre containing trade journals and vocational guidance material, and a variety of self-learning packages [213]. Specifically for basic education, the communications workshop and resource centre at Wakefield prison, in the United Kingdom, is equipped with an advanced computer suitable for design work, video playback screens with headphones for individual work, computers for word-processing and computer-aided instruction, and a library and documentation centre [5].

In addition to serving the educational needs of their local prison population of inmates and staff, such centres can fulfil the useful functions of demonstrating what is possible, enabling teachers from other institutions to be trained in using elements of the equipment that can be provided elsewhere, and serving as a local or regional resource centre for the production of digests of information on adult teaching materials. In many cases, showcase centres are funded jointly with outside agencies, and it is unreasonable to expect these to provide similar facilities throughout a prison system. To put it another way, the same amount of money spread over 20 or more institutions would produce little impact.

3. Equality with adult education outside

What may realistically be achieved is a universal commitment to provide education as well as training and an improvement in existing facilities in proportion to the national education budget. To meet the special needs of prisoners with low educational attainment, support from agencies outside the prison service can be actively sought.

An argument frequently advanced is that any person who did not complete basic education at school should have the chance to do so, and indeed needs to do so, in adulthood. The majority of such persons dropped out of school, and so in practice ceased to be a charge on the system. It would therefore require the commitment of at least the same per capita sum to the education of the illiterate or semi-literate adult in or out of prison as that devoted to a child. The application of a different methodology and the difference in maturity of the learner improve the likelihood that the investment will be productive.

Part Two

VIEWS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR ADULT EDUCATION

VIII. Education in prison

Bill Cosman

A. The interests of the Council

The fundamental purpose of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), according to its charter, is to contribute to the development of individuals, communities and societies through various forms of adult education. By adult education is meant "the entire body of organized educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic and cultural development". *

ICAE has a fundamental interest in the promotion of adult education directed to the full development of the human personality, to international understanding and world peace, to economic, social and cultural development, and to respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and for the inherent dignity and value of the individual, which are the basis of all human rights, including the right to education.

Crime is, on the one hand, a derangement and waste of human life, and, on the other, a threat to humanity. The principle of the inherent dignity and value of the individual implies a concern and a responsibility for the criminal, no matter what. The aims of development and social solidarity also have educational implications for criminal justice systems. The following are five of the 13 principles affirmed by the United Nations General Assembly in the annex to its resolution 46/152 of 18 December 1991 for a strengthened United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice programme:

"We recognize that the world is experiencing very important changes resulting in a political climate conducive to democracy, to international cooperation, to more widespread enjoyment of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to the realization of the aspirations of all nations to economic development and social welfare. Notwithstanding these developments, the world today is still beset by violence and other forms of serious crime. These phenomena, wherever they occur, constitute a threat to the maintenance of the rule of law;

"We believe that justice based on the rule of law is the pillar on which civilized society rests. We seek to improve its quality. A humane and efficient criminal justice system can be an instrument of equity, constructive social change and social justice, protecting basic values and peoples' inalienable rights. Every individual should enjoy the protection of the law against violation, a process in which the criminal justice system plays an essential role;

*Recommendation of 26 November 1976 on the development of adult education, adopted at the nineteenth session of the General Conference of UNESCO, held at Nairobi.

"We have in mind the fact that the lowering of the world crime rate is related to, among other factors, the improvement of the social conditions of the population. The developed countries and the developing countries are experiencing difficult situations in this respect. Nevertheless, the specific problems encountered by the developing countries justify priority being given to dealing with the situation confronting these countries;

"We believe that rising crime is impairing the process of development and the general well-being of humanity and is causing general disquiet within our societies. If this situation continues, progress and development will be the ultimate victims of crime;

"We also recognize that democracy and a better quality of life can flourish only in a context of peace and security for all. Crime poses a threat to stability and to a safe environment. Crime prevention and criminal justice, with due regard to the observance of human rights, is thus a direct contribution to the maintenance of peace and security."

The ICAE interest in prison education thus derives from the contribution that adult education can make within the framework of criminal justice to individual personal development, to economic, social and cultural development, to human rights, fraternity and peace.

Education in prisons is a disappointing story. It does not even exist in some parts of the world, and where it does exist, it tends, with notable exceptions, to be limited in range and poor in quality.

In Canada, for example, nine distinguished educators not long ago investigated the state of education in Canadian prisons and found it so inadequate that they made 105 recommendations for its improvement [201]. In the United States, about the same time, several professional educators [60] carried out an evaluation under the auspices of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice and identified 20 problems as major obstacles to the development of effective prison education programmes. It identified the three most crucial problems as administrative short-sightedness, indifference and neglect.

Since the 1970s there has been some progress, evidenced by increasing interest in the field of criminal justice on the part of the education profession, research on educational applications in that field, national and international seminars, conferences, the new European prison education standards etc. None the less, accounts of education in prisons the world over are still generally similar to those cited above.

Yet most prisoners are undereducated; most in fact are illiterate; most are young. Their intelligence does not differ significantly from that of outside populations. Most prisoners are able to learn and can be motivated to learn.

Roby Kidd [155], founder and original Secretary-General of ICAE, expressed a new perspective at the National Conference on Prison Education held at Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. He recognized not only that education is one of the essential and paramount functions of prisons but, more profoundly, that the criminal justice culture is in fact an educative one requiring a major shift in paradigm. That insight was further developed by Morin and Ferland [186]. During the period 1985-1990, in cooperation with other non-governmental organizations, with the active support of a number of national Governments, with the assistance of many individuals, and in consultation with the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the United Nations Office at Vienna, ICAE worked to disseminate that point of view. An important step forward was taken in 1990 when the United Nations moved to develop the role and practice of education in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice by prescribing an adequate basis for it in public policy. To achieve that end, the

General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council have adopted three resolutions* which provide, among other things, a direction and a normative basis for the practice of education in prisons, a basis that may tend, as time goes by, to become increasingly reflected in the laws and policies of States.

There is very considerable potential for education of good quality in prisons, there is a great need for prison education, and there are important benefits to be gained. That there are real possibilities of success is illustrated by the exceptional cases of programmes that have, in fact, been shown to meet the needs of inmates. There are two obstacles, however, to the successful implementation of education programmes in prisons generally: the stereotype in thought and feeling and criminal law that punishment is the pre-eminent way of responding to crime; and a certain confusion about education aimed at the development of the human personality.

B. The purposes of prisons

The purposes of legal punishment can be divided into two groups, according to whether their underlying goal is the protection of society against crime, or retribution. The first group can be subdivided into individual crime prevention and general crime prevention. Individual prevention is thought to be achieved through the rehabilitation, deterrence or incapacitation of the offender. General prevention is thought to be achieved through deterrent or other effects of punishment on others. The second group, which has the underlying goal of retribution, and which is a mixture of vengeance and scapegoating, can also be subdivided into two, depending on how the degree of punishment is determined, whether based mainly on the harmfulness of the offence or on the moral guilt of the offender.

In practice, legal punishment is defended on both grounds, that of the protection of society, and that of retribution, even though the first cannot be supported by empirical evidence, but only by an appeal to an unfounded common sense belief in its general effectiveness, and the second cannot be based on any enlightened system of moral thought, but only on anger and the emotional desire for revenge. "Centuries can pass," writes René Girard [117], "before men realize that there is no real difference between their principle of justice and the concept of revenge".

1. Protection of society against crime

(a) Individual crime prevention

Rehabilitation. None of the four traditional rehabilitative methodologies of prisons, neither education, work, moral training nor discipline, has proved generally effective. In the past 30 years, a considerable number of empirical studies have failed to show that any of those four approaches, singly or in combination, have been particularly successful. Some of the possible reasons for that state of affairs are given below in section C. Above all, not only do rehabilitative programmes not rehabilitate; they may even tend to be destructive, to debilitate: prisons are in fact "schools of crime".

Rehabilitation in the sense of developing a human being as an individual having an inherent human dignity and value is not an established goal in most penal systems, and when personal rehabilitation is discussed outside the context of educational theory, its *raison d'être* is usually taken to be prevention or economy or both.

*Assembly resolutions 45/111 and 45/122, of 14 December 1990, on basic principles for the treatment of prisoners and on criminal justice education, respectively, and Council resolution 1990/20, of 24 May 1990, on prison education.

Deterrence. Empirical studies have shown also that prison has very little deterrent effect on the individual offender, partly because of the rejection experienced in being confined in prison, and because some of the results of that rejection are a hostility and a deep distrust and a counter-rejection of the prison system, its staff and all its works. Such conditions are hardly conducive to any positive response on the part of the prisoner.

Incapacitation. The third way of achieving individual crime prevention is thought to be by incapacitation - the reduction of an offender's "capacity" to commit crimes by the imposition of a prison sentence, thereby removing the offender from social circulation. That too, however, has proved to be ineffective, because dangerous behaviour cannot ordinarily be predicted reliably [48]. Moreover, such a course is open to the ethical objection that it assumes guilt and sentences people for future offences not yet committed. It is based on a kind of prophecy, an anticipatory biography of crime before the fact. *

(b) General crime prevention

The protection of society against crime is sought also by general prevention, that is, by the deterrent or other effects of punishment on people other than offenders, namely, potential offenders. Here, although the research results are not so clear, there is no evidence that expected punishment has more than a marginal deterrent effect on youthful criminal behaviour. And although there is some indication of a general deterrent effect in the case of some types of trivial crimes, there is no evidence of such an effect on the performance of serious crimes [147]. Moreover, punishment of offenders does not function as a denunciatory or moral influence on potential offenders. The intended "message" simply does not get through to those who are likely to commit crimes. Although it seems to have an effect on people who are unlikely to commit crimes, it does not seem to influence those who need it. General crime prevention, like incapacitation, is also open to an ethical question: Is it right to punish someone in order to prevent quite different people from committing similar acts?

So that all the preventive purposes of legal punishment fall short, although they may continue to legitimize it in the public sphere.

2. Retribution

The protection of society, however, is not the only goal of legal punishment. There is also the goal of inflicting suffering, "doing justice", "balancing the scales", "getting even", meting out "just deserts" or penalties that "fit the crime", in a word: vengeance.

Most criminal law is punitive, reflecting a strange belief in it as a kind of penal magic, as if violence could produce non-violence, as if reconciliation could be its aim and effect. Justice as retribution reflects also the human instinct for violence which has been recognized since antiquity, and which scapegoating rituals and the great religions of the world have tried to control. Retribution is sought by means of a violent response to an earlier violence and reveals little difference between the violent act that the violence of justice is supposed to punish and the violence of justice itself. As a response to and reprisal against violence, justice as retribution is symmetrical with vengeance, however legal and "due-processed" it may be.

Endlessly, societies discourse about the right to punish, the subtle degrees of punishment, its denunciatory benefits, its proportionality to harm and guilt, which can never be finally adjusted; in vain they compare the desired effects with the results achieved. The fact is that no one has ever successfully justified the infliction of punishment on another person as a good, as a cause of well-being. Punishment, however legal, writes Morin ([185], p. 224), "does not go beyond evil ... but

*That does not militate against restraining individuals who are demonstrably violent and dangerous.

actually implies that one who surrenders to it surrenders to evil, contaminates and is contaminated, is himself diminished and diminishes others. If only punishment used its power to raise up the criminal. But it cannot" And, writes Foucault ([95], p. 48), "in the execution of the most ordinary penalty, in the most punctilious respect of legal forms, reign the active forces of revenge".

That it is difficult to eliminate the notions of retribution and punishment from moral thinking illustrates the power of habituation in human thought and feeling. The fact of their existence, however, does not justify their perpetuation. Vengeance does not produce non-vengeance. Punishment does not result in reconciliation and peace. Yet, despite all human experience of violence, and despite the greatest spiritual insights, societies continue to respond, in their judicial systems, to the primordial and mimetic urges of anger and revenge.

Societies remain perplexed about the significance of their punitive prescriptions. For their prescriptions are ineffective as a means of protecting society against crime; and as a means of retribution they neither deter nor serve any other purpose except the appeasement of anger and the satisfaction of vengeful emotion by the infliction of retaliatory pain, which serves only to perpetuate and even escalate the cycle of violence.

C. Problems of education in prisons

Education being recognized as one of the rehabilitative methodologies of prisons, why is it not more successful? As education is primarily concerned with human development, it might be expected to have a special relevance in prisons. Yet, with few exceptions, it has not been effective. According to most studies, from scientific investigations to informal first-hand observations by professional educators, prison education programmes tend to be both inadequate and of inferior quality, for the following reasons: the incompatibility of education with punishment, with prison regimes and with the prison culture; and the educational philosophy usually adopted.

1. Education and punishment

Neither in theory nor in practice is it possible to reconcile the overriding retributive purpose of prisons with the purpose of education as human development. Those aims are not only incompatible; they are contradictory, like trying to walk and stand still at the same time. Punishment is the infliction of suffering. It produces hatred and violence. Education is the nurture of growth and fulfilment and creation, the development of the human person in all his or her human dimensions. It is extremely difficult for education to flourish in a milieu characterized by punishment. Punishment is in fact anti-educational.

2. Education and the prison regime

Prisons are usually authoritarian, bureaucratic organizations preoccupied by considerations of security and inclined to recognize their punitive goal as dominant. A result is that prison education does not usually have the support and care it needs in order to succeed. Consequently, most prison education, although it should be a fundamental concern, is in practice rarely more than a marginal and mediocre activity at best. The manifestations are obvious: low expectations, poor educational achievement, weak curricula, small enrolments, and so on.

3. Education and the prison culture

The existence of a prison culture in both large and small penal institutions is well known. Studies indicate that it arises from the various pains of imprisonment which the prisoner experiences. Mathiesen ([178], p. 43) reports as follows:

"The basic deprivation of liberty itself, the deprivation of goods and services, the deprivation of heterosexual relations, the deprivation of autonomy, and the deprivation of security in relation to other inmates, are so painful that they create a need for a defence. That defensive need is met through the establishment of the prisoners' community with its particular norms and values. Life in the prisoners' community does not remove the pain, but at least it alleviates or moderates it. A common culture protects against the pressures from the environment."

Studies indicate also that police, courts and prisons generate or intensify a sense of rejection on the part of prisoners as members of society. The prisoners' reply to the rejection is to reject those who rejected them.

Those conditions work against the success of any rehabilitative programme, including education.

4. Educational philosophy

There is much confusion about the nature and role of education in prisons. It is most often seen as a tool of incarceration technology, for example, as a way of keeping prisoners busy, of "killing time", of facilitating control, of preserving institutional tranquillity. Such a twisted interpretation of education reflects nothing whatever of the prisoner as a human being requiring human development.

Prison education also tends to be thought of as a preparation for employment, as a matter of training in certain skills. That aim determines the nature of most education available to prisoners. The skill training involved, however, contributes very little to the full development of the human personality, the aim of education emphasized in the International Bill of Human Rights.

Moreover, education in prisons is often limited to elementary levels, for example, literacy training and basic life skills. Such programmes, however necessary, do not go very far along the road of human development. In fact, they operate at a relatively underdeveloped stage of human life, where intelligence functions mainly as an instrument of human adaptation and survival.

But what should education in prisons be? It is not enough to say what it should not be. Education in prisons means the activity of forming or developing or assisting in the formation or development of individual persons, particularly in their intellectual and affective aspects. That is the aim. There is a great need, however, for a new formulation of what the content of such education should be in detail. What does the United Nations goal of education directed to the full development of the human personality mean? And, how is it to be achieved?

D. Prolegomena to a philosophy of prison education *

By education in the following remarks is meant organized education, that is, deliberate, specialized programmes for achieving certain results in the development of persons. What is not meant is the kind of development everyone gets from the weather, the landscape, the economic system, social customs and tradition and similar widely prevailing facts. What is not meant either is the kind of training that is appropriate to acquiring skill in operating business machines, cutting pulpwood or running a bulldozer. These are straightforward activities in which no one presumes to be achieving the full development of the human personality, and there is ordinarily little question about them.

*The present section reflects some of the unpublished epistemological views of C. A. Baxter.

Whatever may be part of education, or incidental to it, it is predominantly an exercise in reason, and it usually means an exercise in analytic and technical power. In literature, for example, although assuming the possibility of aesthetic experience on the part of the student, teaching is almost exclusively concerned with analytic details. The underlying concept of reason that is assumed, whether in calculus, chemistry, history or poetry, is some self-evident and autonomous power of the human mind, the activities of which constitute a world that somehow exists independently and authoritatively in itself. The concept of reason as a special and exclusive activity of the mind is combined with the notion of a world of purely rational detail, however vacuous and detached from qualitative experience. Lost sight of is the world of objective quality and value as the initiating field, the vital content and decisive judge of all rational operations.

Moreover, in modern times the nature of man has come to be thought of as essentially isolated and subjective. As a result of psychologizing and the breakdown of previous cultural and philosophical traditions, those who seek knowledge have no authoritative social traditions about the importance of knowledge or what knowledge counts most. Knowledge is pursued as an autonomous medium of activity, and education ends up with the so-called divorce between knowledge and values. Knowledge has become neutral content; value and dynamic processes lie outside it.

The present-day concept of reason has been influenced partly by certain ideas of the seventeenth century. One such idea was that knowledge is a composition from sensations, subject to the rules of sequence and other principles of content. That excluded qualitative experience, the vital and moving in experience, and placed it outside the development of insight, outside reason, remote and very tentative.

Another influence was the fact that in the seventeenth century the material of mathematics became sufficiently varied and capable of analysis within itself, with the result that people lost interest in tracing the place of such knowledge in any general structure of experience. The growing sciences of the time also relied heavily on mathematics, and thus tended to increase and share in the mystery and authority of that type of reasoning. Finally, René Descartes not only made those sciences autonomous, but he also made mind itself a pure field of content and individual action. That too divorced reason from qualitative experience, and, by being overrated through the prestige of science and mathematics, led to the view that reason could flourish not only without sense, but also without the discipline of social tradition. Thus the superstition of pure rational power, of self-contained learning, was given theoretical formulation, and western educational tradition has grown up within that idea, and has never transcended it.

Consequently, there is confusion about the acquisition of values; there are appeals to the criterion of utility; and there is subordination of reason to interest. Modern education thus oversimplifies the vital and qualitative, and to the prison student, as to others, it offers not bread but a stone. A restatement of rational experience seems necessary. The following are some elements of a different approach:

(a) Reason, according to the ideal of mathematics, according to the fashion of independent operations and methodological procedures, is an illusion, if the purpose is significance and not just a social game. Nothing remote, abstract or merely social can be the full measure of mind. Enlightenment, logic, discourse, method, rest on the practical subordination of mind to content, or the power of the given in experience to possess and qualify the human mind. Vitality and direction lie in the full qualitative power of the objects from which they derive;

(b) Sense experience is not the ultimate simplicity from which to begin and to which to return. The given in experience is not simple, and the complex is neither hidden nor a mere work of the mind. The objects of experience are always much more complex and concrete forms of possession than mechanical, atomistic impressions. Quality of sensation is always characteristically rich and variously inviting, and thus experience offers real objects of one kind or another which may vary all the way from a sunrise to a chemical compound to a boulder;

(c) The values of life are given by immediately intervening experiences of various kinds. Values are not created: they are found. They are not found, however, when they are remote and impossible to reach in a world which is neutral and attenuated, or when they are thought of as functions of the self or social system and not to be trusted. If, however, human life and reason are seen as a living union with the world, and if education emphasizes the wealth of character that every object leads to, then there can be genuine delight rather than barren anxiety in knowledge, when it is based on the wealth of life and promise that ordinary things have for those who wait upon them;

(d) With regard to the kind of mental activity which is pre-eminent in the acquisition of knowledge, because reason and value prevail mainly through the inclusive, sustaining engagements that provide guidance, the best education not only cannot be pseudo-intellectual, it cannot be casual, in any way wanton, nor can it fulfil some subjective urge except incidentally. Learning involves having a will based finally not on individual interest or social accident, as much as they may temporarily count, but on the dominant content of what a given experience provides. No one will learn much until he or she conceives himself or herself as subject to the objective authority of the world's dominant realities. In brief, education is through and through a process of disciplines. Sureness of insight and objectivity come not from some subjective interest or mythical detachment, but from the power of the object; and the first and last duty of educators and students is to wait upon its distinctive qualities and be faithful to it;

(e) Prison schools, and also schools for juvenile delinquents, should function as communities. An association of abstract selves, however, each one functioning for private interest or a remote good, simulating attachment but claiming an exalted but spurious detachment, is no community. Community is something only for those who are committed to what is mutually and authoritatively real. It is the object, great or small, with its varieties of presence, which underwrites community, and those who do not submit to it and thus share in its sustaining power cannot have effective community. Community is a resultant, flowing from what people mutually acknowledge as transcending and transforming their immediate egos and appetites. It is the vastness and wealth of character in real objects and events that give community not only to an immediate circle but also to mankind generally.

The practice of education, directed to the full development of the human personality, is very exacting. Usually, attempts to educate people are carried out against a background of universal stimuli which include a social tradition that supplements the educational effort. In the case of people with little allegiance to the law, however, a discordant or meagre social tradition often prevails, so that more depends on education than ordinarily. It is therefore especially important in the context of prison education to review some of the prevailing assumptions underlying education in order to reveal any ill-conceived and incongruous perspectives which may produce mistaken emphases in programmes and distort their general organization. One such assumption creating confusion and even paralysis in the field of education is the accepted concept of reason. There is a compelling need, evident clearly in the field of criminal justice, to rethink the notion of rational experience and how it best develops. This is not to reject reason, but to reenvision its content and method. For the universe of character and value transcends rationalistic detail, and to reason properly human experience cannot be far removed from its primary objects. Human thinking is neither well motivated nor sustained by ethereal entities remote from everyday realities which can be described and shared, and which give rise to human understanding.

Human knowledge consists essentially in the differentiations made within an unbounded condition. Primary knowledge is of particulars which form an ultimate and motivating realm. All other cognitive activities are subordinate and according to the discipline afforded by the various differentiations made, and to which, either in memory or by observation, it is possible to return again and again for enlightenment. They are not just impressions, special excitations, isolated qualities, or indeterminate correlates of ethereal abstractions. They endure in time; they extend experience; they have roles in the world which, with other things, they form; and they are not remote or alien but of distinctive human interest.

Since the seventeenth century, in western civilization at least, the world has gradually come to be viewed as an alien realm and human life in it as discrete, largely disregarding the absorbing relationships involved, and as psychologized, an egoistic phenomenon to be understood by a combination of physical science methods and such introspective procedures as may be agreed upon and practised. After almost four centuries of psychologizing, subjectivity in the arts, ethics, logical studies and diagnoses of mental troubles is not even questioned. The historic and progressive psychologizing of human existence, interests and activities can, however, be challenged. Experience does not have to be viewed either as an array of psychological states or as a precognitive introduction to the realm in which humans exist. The traditional dichotomy between human knowledge and realities which are external and alien has been misleading. Human beings are not motivated and guided by some mysterious and hidden condition behind the apparent, but by particular experiences which are manifestations of an unlimited one, and which are wondrous and captivating.

IX. Doing things differently: a holistic approach to prison education

Tessa West*

The purpose of the present chapter is to give a practitioner's view of the whole prison environment, in order to assist in the planning and conduct of education in that special setting. It explores the idea of basic education defined not only as the acquisition of skills, but also as the ability to make good sense of the world and to operate better in it, and it suggests that the concerted effort of all prison officers as well as teachers is needed to achieve that end. With the involvement of custodial staff, prisoners can gain a sense of community which they may not experience elsewhere.

There is much evidence to suggest, as is said earlier in the present report, that those who plan education in prisons - education providers and prison managers - have differing aims. So do other groups, such as Governments, judges and magistrates, victims, the public and the offenders themselves. Those different aims are not necessarily far apart, but it is useful to find a statement which unites them all. The following is suggested:

The aim of education in prison is to help ex-prisoners to thrive in the world without recourse to crime.

The above may appear to be more of a statement of the aim of imprisonment rather than of education alone. That is intentional, since as the usual concept of imprisonment implies a suspension or absence of progress (an implication that will be challenged below) and the concept of education always implies change, the focus of what happens in prisons should be on promoting positive change.

The above statement specifies the intention to change from what was to what might be. The assumption that if men and women thrive, they are less likely to commit offences, is not unreasonable, even though it clearly does not hold true for everyone.

A. Prison as a place of learning

The essence of what is understood by educational achievement is change for the better. The whole purpose of engaging in educational activity is that skills, knowledge and understanding are increased. In fact, if any activity achieves that result - whether designated as formal education or not - it is acknowledged that learning takes place. Prisons are places where that can occur.

Obviously, prisons have two other major purposes: removing offenders from society for a specified period, and ensuring that they, staff and visitors are safe. The tasks of education, containment and safe custody are not incompatible, even if they appear contradictory. None of them, interestingly, can be identified as punishment. Indeed, it is a challenging exercise to walk around prisons and try to spot punishment taking place, for staff largely spend their time in maintaining the custodial and organizational function (by supervising visits or the serving of meals, for example, or operating electronic gates), in ensuring safety (by searching cells, counselling prisoners at risk of harming themselves etc.), in supervising work or in educating prisoners.

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The three tasks of prisons outlined above can be likened to those of families. Parents exercise varying degrees of control over their children and keep them safe, but they also encourage and support their growth in the expectation that they will leave home and enter the world at large. The argument over whether imprisonment implies reducing adults to the status of children is here less important than the fact that most prison managers and educators are obliged to work within certain constraints. They cannot, for example, let all the prisoners out to go shopping, or permit them access to alcohol, because those decisions are not within their remit.

What they can do, however, is to encourage and support the growth of those within their care. That is not something that is done only by those in authority over others, such as parents or teachers, for it is what any community tries to do for its members, and what any person does for those about whom he or she cares. Wanting prisoners to thrive without recourse to crime is a useful guide in decision-making about the nature and range of opportunities for the promotion of growth and development.

B. Education for all

Many offenders agree with the educative aim discussed above, just as many agree that prisons should exist, should contain people during their sentence and should ensure safety. Others state that people who offend (including themselves) should be punished. Others want to thrive in the world, even if that means committing offences, but of course they do not want the inconvenience and pain of getting caught.

There is no prison where every inmate is determined to abandon crime, but in all prisons there are some who are. They are the men and women most likely to seek and take advantage of conventional educational programmes. They are hopeful, even confident, that they can make life better through their own efforts. That group needs to be provided with high-quality, varied, certificated courses and classes at a range of levels. Those people have some autonomy and can arrange things to their advantage by behaving responsibly and courteously when they choose to do so. That may be for all of the time, or it may not.

But what about the large number of prisoners who express a complete lack of interest in attending classes because they attach no value to education?

The Economic and Social Council, in its resolution 1990/20 of 24 May 1990 (see annex II of the present *Manual*), recommends that Member States should take into account the following principle: All those involved in prison administration and management should facilitate and support education as much as possible. The way forward is not only to contain prison education on a little island which serves only those who select themselves or are selected by staff, but rather to make the whole prison environment educational in the broadest sense. The system should educate all prisoners, not just those who choose to study formally.

None the less, in some developed countries, some prisoners have abandoned any idea of gaining qualifications or working because, given their particular circumstances, they know that they can obtain financial support from the State which exceeds what they could earn. That is an issue that lies outside the control of prison managers and educators, but must be acknowledged if the aim of helping all prisoners is to be achieved.

C. Educating the whole person

In the present report there are also several references to the desirability of developing "education for the whole person", as recommended by both the United Nations and the Council of Europe (see annexes II and III). It can be inferred that any system which only educates the parts of a person that fall under conventional subject areas cannot be doing enough. That is obviously especially important if what is missed by such a conventional approach is those parts which lead people to commit offences.

Moreover, almost all of the offenders in prisons in industrialized countries have already been to school and have experienced failure. Their progress has been interrupted or prevented by much more significant life issues outside school. Family dysfunction, poverty, lack of adequate housing etc. impeded learning when they were children and does so even more when they are adults, especially with the added features of imprisonment and drug and alcohol abuse making their own particular contributions to disrupting life and reducing choices even further.

Even the men and women who are well motivated, and will, in academic terms at least, profit from the formal educational opportunities offered in prison, are capable of bullying, vandalizing and threatenir.g staff. After all, at home the behaviour of many of the same people is full of similar contradictions. A man who buys flowers for his mother on Mother's Day may also assault his wife, and someone who redecorates his son's bedroom also buys and sells stolen cars. Prisoners, like anyone else, are capable of exhibiting attitudes and behaviours which range from prosocial to antisocial, but in their case the latter is so far out on the scale that it is criminal.

It is not suggested, therefore, that a prison should be turned into a college for a population of students who have not chosen freely to attend (which could be construed as a denial of adulthood). In any case, even if all prisoners wanted to study, which would be very surprising, given their experience of educational failure and the perceived irrelevance of education to much of their lives, there would not be enough room, or teachers, or books, or examination fees, or computers, or whatever resources were needed.

What is intended is a far broader concept of prison as a place of education of the whole person. And the staff needed for such a broad concept of education for all prisoners is already there: the prison officers.

D. The relationship between prison officers and prisoners

Prison officers (custodial staff) are ideally placed to promote learning because they are there all the time. Returning to the analogy of the family, the quality of parenting is reduced if a parent only sees a child for short periods. Officers are the most significant people interacting with prisoners, and the quality of their relationships cannot be underestimated. Since they may work for months at a time in one part of the prison, they can provide a stability to the lives of prisoners. Within the framework of their daily responsibilities, they can enable prisoners to exercise their "right to question and analyse", and "to develop individual and collective skills", as stated by the fourth UNESCO Conference on Adult Education as part of the "right to learn".

Prison officers are often stereotyped as uneducated and brutish, and as necessarily having a negative impact on inmates, just as prisoners are often seen as vulnerable (by some reformers) or evil (by some of the public). The received and persisting negative image of prison staff is odd, since it is also suggested that offenders, given the chance, will turn their lives around. What is proposed here is that prison officers should be enabled, through a small investment of energy and resources, to maximize their positive impact on prisoners. That will also be to their own advantage, for it is essential that they too thrive in what is a most difficult, unpopular job.

In reality, prison officers know more about the "whole" prisoner than anyone else except specialists such as probation officers and psychiatrists, who do not usually see any prisoner more than once a week, and who never enter many prisons. The fact that many offenders have created victims sometimes seems to be forgotten in discussions about prisons. Prison officers are more likely than teachers to know which inmates have committed what offences in the past, and to be aware of who is committing offences within the prison. They will know, for example, who is suspected of stealing radios or clothes or telephone cards. When they know these things and witness the assaults and threats by which they are achieved, they find it difficult to see all prisoners as vulnerable.

Officers are the gatekeepers to jobs for prisoners, appointments with doctors and dentists, influential reports, telephone calls, mail, clean shirts, food, television and much more. They deal with prisoners who have been beaten up and with those who did the beating. They give good and bad news, and deal with the consequences which can, in the case of bad news, range from sulking and swearing to suicide or rage. If officers look on their work as being permeated with an educative function, their positive influence will extend to almost all prisoners, and to those antisocial behaviours which often receive either no attention or a disciplinary response.

E. The educational role of prison officers

What is suggested here is not that officers become teachers, but that they work in such a way that prisoners learn from them.

It is easy to help people to learn when all is going well, when the teacher and the taught see progress. Observing such progress made by students who have experienced little success in many areas of their lives is an exciting and regular feature of daily life in many prison classrooms. Learning will increase self-esteem and provide qualifications, both of which may help the prisoner to thrive.

If learning, whether academic, vocational or creative, can be complemented by learning everywhere else in the prison, there may be a chance of influencing the way prisoners choose to live their lives. In order for that to happen, it is essential that officers and teachers recognize and support each other's contribution.

Some people who are sent to prison have a wide experience of life before or outside prison; others have led very limited lives. Their experiences may be very different from those of teachers and prison officers, but they are real for those who have lived them. They may have learned that life is painful and unfair, that you cannot get what you want, that you cannot trust people, that people cannot trust you, that drugs relieve the pain temporarily, and so on. Such truths - for they are truths from a prisoner's point of view - cannot be changed by teachers in classrooms. It is rare for prisoners to be in classrooms for more than a few hours a day, and even though their time in them is productive and enjoyable, it is seldom that it can counteract the much stronger and deeply embedded learning that predates (and will postdate) prison. Teachers do not often touch on the selfishness, the greed, the need for instant gratification, the unwillingness to cooperate, the unreasonable demands, the justification of extreme anger, and so on, that officers witness, and which are important factors in bringing people back to prison again and again.

Life gives people two simultaneous messages: "Be satisfied with what you have, because it is all you have"; and "Improve yourself and your future - keep striving". If people are economically or psychologically fragile, they may accept their lot, or they may refuse to do so, depending on their attitude. Offenders attempt to alter the status quo: they do not like someone, so they hit him; they want a car, so they steal one; they do not like the way they feel, so they take drugs. Viewed from that perspective, crime can seem a radical and creative response to life's challenge. It is an attempt to leapfrog over the effort that would otherwise be needed to solve the problem. However, not everyone in a similar situation chooses to offend. Women, for instance, whose economic situation

is worse than that experienced by men, do so less often and less seriously. No one forces prisoners to offend. They choose to do so.

Prison officers have the opportunity to educate principally in two ways, both of which could be defined as parental: they can be good, steady role models, and they can challenge prisoners about their behaviour in non-confrontational ways. There is almost always room for choice of action and reaction, and it is the task of prison staff to draw attention to the alternative, less damaging routes of behaviour that are available. They can do that by talking and behaving in ways which demonstrate maturity, responsibility, unselfishness, sensitivity to others and concern for the common good: all the things that are considered the hallmarks of sound social interaction.

They are ideally situated to talk with prisoners and to listen to them. Some prisoners who never go near education departments will pour out their problems to officers. Officers can play a vital role by asking questions that enable the prisoner to state what he or she really cares about, what he or she really wants, and how that might be achieved. The frequently stated desire to continue to offend, or even to offend at a more serious level, is often retracted when a prisoner feels free to express her or his deeper feelings. The fact that prisoners may not have a good vocabulary is no barrier at all to such important self-expression.

Officers can also work in teams directly addressing offending behaviour. There is a growing number of programmes focusing on drug and alcohol abuse, anger control and sex offending. Those programmes are often run (in the United Kingdom) by interdisciplinary teams whose membership is drawn from among prison officers, teachers, probation officers, psychologists and community organizations.

F. Conclusion - achieving a sense of community

Neither teachers nor officers can heal some of the lives that prisoners have left and to which they will return. They cannot rerun disturbed childhoods, create jobs or housing, persuade people to give up drugs, reduce the effect of a criminal record, or make families whole.

Nor can prisoners always be relied on to behave sensibly and logically once they claim personal responsibility for their actions in prison. Few offenders, indeed, few non-offenders, behave sensibly and logically all the time. A prisoner who hits his wife may complain when she stops sending him money and threaten to hit her again unless she does. That is not sensible. A woman who is hit by a man who also takes her money may continue to tell him that she loves him. That is not logical. But nor is continuing to smoke when one knows it is damaging one's body, or driving over the speed limit when one knows that one may be caught or cause injury to others. No one can rely on the hope that sensible behaviour will always win through.

However, most offenders know what is right and what is not. The fact that people commit offences does not mean that they are unaware of what they are doing. What happens is that "I want" overrides "I ought". That is the essence of what has to change.

What is needed in order to live together in harmony is to feel and to understand that no one of us can truly thrive unless everyone else does so too, and that means that everyone must balance the logical and emotional forces that drive his or her actions, and make choices that do not hurt other people. When such an ethos is created - and it exists now in some prisons - the dialogue between staff members, between staff and prisoners, and between prisoners themselves improves, and a group identity is built up. Prisoners and staff can work together on significant issues, such as ensuring that property is respected, cooperating with local organizations, addressing antisocial behaviour, and improving the way meals are served. It is worth investing time and energy to establish such a community where all, except for the few who cannot be reached, can thrive.

All in all, even given the combined efforts of all prison staff, the prospect that all ex-prisoners will choose to exercise what they have learnt, given the pressures they face on release, so that they thrive without recourse to crime, cannot be described as likely. But, most importantly, some things work for some people: not all ex-offenders return to prison. Whether that is directly because of what happens to them in prison is hard to determine. It is a fact that many offenders "grow out" of offending, and that is another argument for making sure that prison is a place where becoming mature is a real possibility.

What is certainly achievable, however, is to have prisoners thrive in custody. The prison is its own world, and it has considerably less injustice in simple terms than the outside world: everyone has a bed, food, a similar income and a similar way of life. The fact that it is only a temporary world for both staff and inmates does not reduce its value or lessen the need for life to go on within it. Even if it is not "real" life, they are "really" living it. If life within prisons can be organized so that prisoners thrive there and help each other to thrive, something will have been achieved that, sadly, they may not experience elsewhere during their lives.

To that end, it is proposed that the skills of prison officers should be valued, developed and used to promote a community ethos within prisons. Their contribution, added to the work of teachers and other specialists, can reach every prisoner and help them to make sense of their world and to make better choices within it. Some prisoners may not wish, or will not be able, to apply what they learn in prison to their lives when they return home, but it is certain that most prisoners could become thriving members of a positive prison community. Admittedly, both planners and prisoners want more than that, but what is suggested here is an achievable, valid aim which can boost staff morale and expertise and give prisoners a better start to the next, crucial part of their lives.

Part Three

CASE-STUDIES

Introduction

It has been seen in part one that prisons and other correctional institutions by the nature of their coercive environment form a very difficult background for education. None the less, attempts are being made to provide education that meets the needs of inmates. In part two, the intention is not only to give examples of good practice, nor to attempt a comprehensive survey of prison education in the different world regions. Rather, the case-studies have been chosen to represent various aspects of the provision of basic education in prisons.

The chapters in part two have been arranged so as to proceed from examples of existing national systems, including an examination of ways of enabling education to be offered where resources are scarce, to the seeking of the views of inmates on what that education should provide, and finally to examples of innovative projects. However, that is not to say that each world system is like that of Finland or China, and needs to be replaced by that of Costa Rica. Conditions vary widely between countries and cultures, and the report limits itself to illustrating a range of current practices and proposals. No recommendations have been formed on the basis of the case-studies included or other evidence received, beyond that of the need to reconsider the nature and purpose of education in prisons, particularly at the basic level, and to take appropriate action. If the examples cited here, and the overview contained in part one, give some indication of possible ways to proceed, the report will have served its purpose.

The opening studies from Finland and China present national systems: while Finland is reviewing its provision of basic education in the light of recent assessments of levels of literacy and learning needs among inmates, the Chinese system already enrolls almost all of its inmates in educational programmes aiming at resocialization. The following studies from Sri Lanka and Botswana highlight the possibility of involving non-governmental organizations in prison education, and the potential of education in developing countries with few resources. In each case, the studies are based upon the opinions of inmates sought through interviews. Such an approach is also taken in the study from Germany, which concentrates on the situation of a growing proportion of the prison population, namely migrants.

The study from the United States finds evidence linking participation in educational programmes with subsequent inmate behaviour (a question already addressed less formally in the study from Botswana). It is followed by reports on two projects with very different backgrounds: the introduction of a social rehabilitation programme in an agricultural prison in Egypt; and the programme of arts education in the Netherlands. They provide examples of a basic education which looks beyond literacy, numeracy and vocational preparation to the building of a balanced personality among offenders, who can thus become truly socialized on release.

The final study reports on the prison education plan launched at the beginning of 1994 in Costa Rica, which is based on the premise that rehabilitative treatment has failed, and therefore seeks to make provision for an enlarged perspective of basic education.

X. Basic education in Finnish prisons

Kirsti Kuivajärvi

A. The system of basic education in Finland

Three milestones can be detected in the development of Finnish education policies in the twentieth century [164]. Compulsory school education, introduced in the 1920s and preceded by expanding education, can be regarded as the first. Another objective of wider scope than compulsory school education was attained in Finnish educational policy with the gradual introduction of the comprehensive school system in the 1970s. The principle of continuous education constitutes the third milestone. The principle was adopted as a foundation for the entire educational system and established itself in the 1980s as adult education expanded. That period was characterized by the most rapid growth so far in developing education in Finland.

The Finnish education system consists of the comprehensive and upper secondary schools, institutes for vocational and professional training and the universities. There are no actual pre-primary schools in Finland, although some instruction of that kind is given in day-care centres, which operate under the jurisdiction of the social welfare administration. Adults can attend high schools and centres for adult education and open universities.

The nine-year comprehensive school education is compulsory for the entire age group from 7 to 16, including the disabled, with special facilities provided for pupils who cannot cope in ordinary instruction. Children with adjustment problems resulting from emotional disorders or other factors and consequently in need of special education are also eligible. It is estimated that only about 1 per cent of the age group fail to receive a comprehensive school-leaving certificate. The comprehensive schools are run by the local authorities.

The special and remedial instruction in comprehensive schools has attended to the needs of pupils with literacy problems. Instruction is given by trained special teachers in cooperation with class teachers and Finnish language teachers. Literacy training has been arranged for adults in study groups in some civic colleges and in adult high-school courses [83].

Access to education has steadily improved in Finland, and the level of education has risen during the past few decades. The number of diplomas and certificates issued is a sign of the higher level of education and knowledge. The number of those who have completed upper secondary, vocational or university studies has doubled in 20 years. Over 80 per cent of young people in Finland have undertaken or are undertaking secondary-level studies, in fact a higher percentage than in the other Nordic countries, and one of the highest in the world. Adult education and adult vocational education are also increasingly offered. Regional differences in the level of education have diminished [164].

Few comparative studies exist on learning results. The most notable study was the one conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in 1990/91 on the reading ability of children and youth. That global study demonstrated that Finnish children aged 9 and 14 years were the best readers among the national cohorts tested at those ages. The study on mathematics skills conducted by IEA at the beginning of the 1980s showed that Finnish children in the seventh form had average skills, while the skills of students in upper secondary school were well above the average [164].

Adult literacy difficulties

The expansion of education available to the general public and the high level of education have not totally succeeded in eradicating literacy difficulties among adults in Finland, as will be seen in the following section on the prison population. Adult literacy difficulties present a complex set of questions involving a variety of problems in basic literacy and mathematics skills. Literacy difficulties have recently been given some attention in Finland.

In 1991, the Ministry of Education set up a working group on the nature and extent of adult literacy difficulties in Finland. The working group was also supposed to develop methods for better detection of such difficulties and to draft a proposal for establishing an educational programme for adults confronted by them. The memorandum by the working group reported only a small group of adults suffering from what was diagnosed as acute dyslexia. Deficiencies in literacy may, however, also be diagnosed in cases involving a person with normal intellectual and sensory capabilities, but with literacy skills not corresponding to his or her learning ability. The ability of a person to study and work as well as to participate in social and political activity is negatively affected by such deficiencies. They are, as a rule, accompanied by feelings of inferiority and shame that also influence the private life of the afflicted person. Some individuals suffering from deficiencies in literacy may lose motivation and drop out of school. For some it has been a constant struggle to try to secure a place of study or work ([202], pp. 36-39).

The working group memorandum refers to findings in studies on the occurrence of literacy difficulties. To give an example, a working group within the National Board of Vocational Education surveyed the occurrence of literacy disorders among vocational college entrants (N = 1,546) in 1983. It was estimated in the survey that 11 per cent of the students needed remedial literacy training. Another study [148] set out to survey the literacy difficulties among adult students. The results indicated that some students had difficulties in reading comprehension in particular, and therefore were without adequate skills in the current labour market. Over 20 per cent of all students were found to be deficient in their reading skills. The study points out that the adult students of today lack the skills required for a comprehensive and efficient ability to read, skills that pupils instructed with modern methods are usually able to acquire in school. Such a situation makes special demands on adult education.

The above-mentioned findings agree with the results of a recent dissertation [165]. Lehtonen found that there were considerable differences in the reading skills of those who had finished comprehensive school. According to the study, deficient reading skills negatively affected the studies of 15 per cent of the pupils surveyed. Almost half of the demonstrated success with studies was attributable to the level of reading skills. It was also found that positive first learning experiences with reading were of prime-importance for the further development of the reading skills of a pupil and future success in his or her studies.

B. Educational needs of prisoners

1. The prison population in Finland

There are about 3,500 prisoners in Finland, which has a total population of approximately five million. Prisoners are accommodated in 20 closed and 15 open institutions (the latter consisting of three open prisons and 12 labour colonies). Approximately 9,000 offenders are committed annually to correctional treatment institutions.

Most prisoners are between 25 and 39 years of age (see table 1). The average age is about 33. First-time inmates make up about one fourth of the prison population. Of the prison population, 3.5 per cent are female.

Table 1. Age distribution of prison population as of 1 October 1992

<i>Age</i>	<i>Number of prisoners</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
15-20	125	4
21-24	470	16
25-29	643	21
30-39	1 020	34
40-	766	25
Total	3 024	100

The structure of the prison population in 1992 indicates that most inmates have been imprisoned primarily for a violent offence. Property offences come a close second. About one fifth of prisoners have been convicted of drunken driving. Only 4 per cent have been imprisoned for a drug-related principal offence.

About one half of prisoners (53 per cent) spend three months or less in prison, while only 4.3 per cent serve their sentence for more than two years. Inmates stay in prison for 5.5 months on average [268].

2. General information on the formal educational qualifications of prisoners

The educational background of inmates entering prison has to date not always been examined. However, plans are being worked out to adopt such an approach. At the moment, two studies issued by the Department of Prison Administration can be referred to.

The basis of the first research [150] was an inquiry carried out in 1988, the results of which were compared with those of an earlier labour force study (1987). In that research, 575 randomly selected male inmates participated.

Seven per cent of the participating prisoners had not finished comprehensive school or other corresponding basic education. Out of the very young inmates, that is, those aged 15 to 20, every third lacked basic education. Only about 2 per cent of the prisoners had taken the matriculation examination while in upper secondary school, the corresponding figure for the entire labour force being about 20 per cent.

No vocational training had been received by 40 per cent of the inmates, 30 per cent had taken a (usually short) vocational training course, 29 per cent had a vocational school certificate, and 1 per cent a university degree.

A quarter of the inmates had received education while in prison. Most often the education had consisted of a vocational course.

The study included a survey of the activities the prisoners wished to participate in during their imprisonment. Over a third of the inmates (37 per cent) wished to study while in prison. In one fifth of the answers, no desired field of education was specified. Instead, the prisoners expressed a wish for vocational education resulting in a certified qualification. Among the fields of education specified, mechanical, metal and construction engineering were the most popular. A small number

of the inmates (5 per cent) wished to conduct comprehensive school studies, and a further 15 per cent other general studies such as upper secondary-level, language and computer studies.

The findings of the survey warranted the conclusion that the level of general education among inmates was quite low. The pattern of education among the prison population was thus different from that of the general population. One out of ten persons in the general population of working age had undertaken university studies or the equivalent, whereas the corresponding ratio in the prison population was one out of a hundred. Over half of the general population (57 per cent) had been educated beyond the basic level, while only 28 per cent of the prisoners had received such education. However, the slight improvement in the level of education of inmates during the past two decades was probably attributable to the comprehensive school reform in Finland in the 1970s. Some improvement was noticed also in the level of vocational education.

In 1990, an inquiry complementing the above study was made into the educational background of 70 female prisoners [127]. Of the female prisoners, 17 per cent had not completed any basic education. About 40 per cent of the participants had finished a vocational course of some kind, most often a course in textile or office work. Only 10 per cent of female prisoners had a vocational qualification, while 46 per cent had had no vocational training. One woman had a university degree. Thirty per cent of the participants had received education while serving their sentence, and half of such education had consisted in vocational courses. A larger proportion, 48 per cent, wished to study while in prison.

3. Studies on the need of prisoners for literacy training and other basic education

The need of prisoners for basic education may arise from insufficient exposure to education or from difficulties in learning. The two studies discussed below provide much of the available information on the need of prisoners for literacy training and basic education.

A study on the deficiencies in basic literacy and mathematical skills of inmates aged 18 to 20 was carried out in 1987 [166]. It was assumed in the study that only a person with adequate literacy and mathematical skills is able to acquire further knowledge through systematic education or self-study. The study also compared the skills of the prisoners studied with those of persons with comprehensive school education.

Prisoners aged 18 to 20 were chosen to participate, since they were beyond the compulsory school-leaving age and had had the opportunity to complete their comprehensive school studies. The number of participants was 51 (50 men and 1 woman). The tests were carried out in five closed institutions and took either one day or two half-days to complete. Eight different types of test were employed: five tests to measure literacy and mathematical skills and three ability tests.

The study indicated no large deficiencies in the reading skills of prisoners aged 18 to 20. Only a little over 10 per cent of the participants had greater or smaller deficiencies in their skills. Minor deficiencies in writing skills were observed in about half of the persons studied. The mistakes tended to be concentrated in certain areas (such as the size of initial letters and compound words), and would be easily corrected with exercise. No severe writing disabilities were observed.

The mathematical skills of the persons studied were the most deficient. About 60 per cent of the prisoners aged 18 to 21 were deemed to need further training. On the other hand, the participants showed good results in the ability tests, in which half of them attained average or higher levels.

One third of the participants had not yet finished comprehensive school. One fourth of the participants were undertaking studies in prison at the time of the study, most of them taking comprehensive school courses [166].

Another study on the literacy difficulties of prisoners was completed in 1992 in the Teacher Training Institution at the University of Helsinki as a contribution to the nationwide research project on adult literacy difficulties. The study [1] set out to document the extent and nature of literacy difficulties among the prison population. The research was carried out in four central prisons, where all prisoners receiving instruction participated, along with a random selection of 10 per cent of other prisoners. The total of participants was 88 prisoners.

Most of the participants (60 per cent) were 21 to 30 years of age; 17 per cent had not finished comprehensive school. At the time of the study, about one third of the participants were undertaking comprehensive school studies, 18 per cent were studying for the matriculation examination, and 25 per cent were taking courses in vocational education or preparatory courses for vocational education. No studies were reported for 23 per cent of the participating prisoners. Special instruction had been given to 27 per cent of the participants. Of the 9,841 prisoners admitted in 1992 to penal institutions, 1,937 (that is, 20 per cent) studied while in prison. The figures reveal that the proportion of prisoners studying was considerably higher in the group studied than in the prison population as a whole.

All subjects had attained the level of mechanical reading, and almost everyone answered the questions to which a clear answer was provided in the text. Subjects with deficiencies in literacy found it difficult to answer questions that required assembling the answer using scattered pieces of relevant information hidden in the text. Creating original ideas and expressing them in writing was even more problematic for them.

In the short compositions, literacy difficulties were evident, as were the lack of practice in writing and a limited active vocabulary. As for reading habits, 88 per cent of the participants said they often read the newspaper, whereas only one out of three reported frequent reading of fiction.

C. Legislation on prison education

Formal education in prisons is carried out according to the general laws concerning basic, vocational and other education in Finland. The legislation on enforcement of sentences contains provisions relating to educational arrangements for inmates.

The general scope of the enforcement of sentences has been laid down in the Correctional Treatment Decree, which provides that the sentence should be enforced so that it does not needlessly hinder, but instead promotes, the adjustment of the prisoner to society. The harmful effects due to the loss of liberty are to be prevented as far as possible. The conditions in the penal institutions should be arranged so that they correspond as much as possible to living conditions in society in general.

The provisions on the education of prisoners are contained in two decrees, the Enforcement of Sentences Decree and the Correctional Treatment Decree. The legislation provides as follows:

(a) Prisoners are obliged to work during their sentence. If a prisoner pursues studies in prison that can be regarded as useful to him after release, the governor may release him or her entirely or in part from work;

(b) Suitable vocational training and other training considered necessary should be arranged in the penal institution;

(c) Vocational training should enhance the vocational skills of prisoners and promote their placement in work and further training;

(d) The certificate may not indicate that the person has studied in prison;

(e) The progress of a prisoner in his or her studies should be monitored, and the prisoner should receive all possible support and counselling;

(f) If the prisoner released from work for the purpose of studying neglects his or her studies, the release may be revoked for a limited time or until further notice.

Separate provisions apply to studying in educational establishments outside prison. A prisoner may be granted permission to attend school outside prison (educational release) if the prisoner is considered reliable and is likely to adhere to the conditions of the release and if the studies outside the penal institution can be supervised.

The Finnish authorities are currently preparing a revision of the legal provisions concerning the enforcement of sentences. It is proposed in the draft legislation that the current obligation to work be replaced by a general obligation to participate in activities arranged in the institution. That would give the obligation and right to participate in education and rehabilitative activities the same status as the former obligation to work.

Libraries and free-time activities

According to the Correctional Treatment Decree, libraries should be supplied with educational books and other literature, as well newspapers and magazines. Prisoners should be assisted in the use of library services as far as possible. Efforts should be made to give prisoners the opportunity to borrow books from public libraries. The Decree also contains provisions pertaining to the activities of prisoners during their free time. They stipulate that functions such as courses, lectures and discussions should be arranged and the possibility given to prisoners to engage in free-time activities suitable for institutional conditions. Prisoners are to be guided and assisted in their activities. Private persons and associations from outside the penal institution may be permitted to organize free-time activities in the institution. Prisoners should be given the opportunity to take part in planning and organizing such activities.

D. Basic education in prisons

In the present report the concept of basic education mainly refers to courses in literacy and numeracy and instruction in formal educational qualifications for those who have not reached the level of a secondary school-leaving certificate.

Scope of basic education

The inmates usually study during working hours as an alternative to work. The fundamental principle in arranging basic education in prisons is that the prisons do not have teachers of their own, but instead the education is arranged by outside educational establishments. Thus, the basic education given in prisons corresponds to similar education within the general educational system. A student always receives a certificate from the educational establishment without it being disclosed that he or she received the education in prison.

In 1992, as noted above, there were 1,937 inmates (20 per cent of the total of 9,851 committals during the year) studying full or part time in penal institutions or in educational establishments outside prison. A total of 418 prisoners (that is, 4 per cent) participated in basic education in 1992 (see table 2 below). Most of them (60 per cent) were studying full time, which is typical of inmates, and 20 per cent were pursuing self-studies.

Table 2. Inmates participating in elementary or comprehensive schooling in prisons, 1990-1992

<i>Type of schooling</i>	<i>Number of participants</i>		
	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1992</i>
Elementary	89	87	104
Comprehensive	319	338	314
Total	408	425	418

In 1992, 27 inmates completed comprehensive school. Many inmates also finished numerous comprehensive school courses in a variety of subjects. A survey completed in March 1993 showed that 60 per cent of prisoners taking comprehensive school courses did so to improve their grades in different subjects.

Systematic basic and upper secondary education is arranged in seven prisons by the local upper secondary schools for adults. Those schools arrange basic and upper secondary education for both adult and juvenile inmates. The school must obtain a permit from the Ministry of Education to arrange education in prison, as teaching arrangements in prisons are somewhat different from those outside. The upper secondary schools for adults may, for example, give classes in prison also during summer, and exceed the standard limit of school days allowed per academic year. Basic education may be arranged so that a student can finish the basic level in the minimum time of one year. The students are, however, required to demonstrate the skills and knowledge associated with the basic level, even though the amount of instruction is reduced.

When organizing comprehensive schooling for prisoners over the school-leaving age, upper secondary school instruction has proved to be an excellent solution. The principal advantage lies in the fact that the teaching is organized by local institutes for adult education, with teachers being hired from outside the prisons.

In addition to the arrangements outlined above, which apply to seven prisons, inmates in other prisons can study comprehensive school subjects and obtain certified qualifications. The necessary visiting teachers and study advisers are hired by the prison. The certificates are granted by the local comprehensive schools or upper secondary schools for adults.

2. Elementary education for Romanies (Gypsies)

In 1992, there were 10 prisons arranging literacy teaching for Romanies, the instruction being combined with classes in Romany language and culture. The prisons providing systematic elementary education for Romanies gave over 1,800 hours of primary instruction in 1992. The prisons have striven to bring in a Romany teacher for those groups, although some prisons have had problems in finding such a teacher.

3. Other forms of basic education

In addition to the above-mentioned forms of basic education, many different kinds of course preparing the students to enter the labour market or for a specific course of study can be regarded as a form of basic education. Such courses usually include training in civic skills and social studies and basic everyday skills, such as washing and ironing clothes and cooking, coping with a drug or alcohol problem, and planning one's life. In 1992, seven prisons arranged 16 such preparatory courses, each lasting anywhere from 2 to 17 weeks (six weeks on average), with a total of 127 participants.

4. Funding basic education in prisons

The basic education in prisons arranged by local upper secondary schools for adults is funded according to the same principles - partial State funding and partial funding by municipalities - as other education provided by such schools. The new legislation on State funding introduced at the beginning of 1993 entails that the prison administration also has to participate in funding prison education.

In those prisons where the education is not arranged by the local upper secondary school for adults, the prisons employ temporary teachers and study advisers. The students take their examinations in local comprehensive schools or upper secondary schools for adults.

Elementary education for Romanies is arranged by prison or by civic colleges supported by educational authorities with a special grant. Additional elementary teaching is given by the prisons' own study advisers or provided by temporary study advisers hired by the persons and paid according to the hours taught.

5. Instruction, teaching methods and materials

The size of study groups in basic education varies from prison to prison according to the number of inmates studying in the prison and whether systematic instruction is given by the local upper secondary school for adults. In the seven prisons where the instruction is provided by the local upper secondary school for adults, the size of the groups varies between 4 and 12 students, with seven to eight students as a rule. Other prisons have only a few inmates in comprehensive schooling at a given time. In effect those inmates receive individual instruction. The students are taught by a part-time teacher or the study adviser of the prison. In elementary teaching (instruction in reading, writing and numeracy) the groups have a maximum of five students taught by one teacher.

In response to inquiries into the teaching methods and study materials, the prisons reported that the methods of teaching basic education were those normally used by upper secondary schools for adults. In addition, the prisons emphasized that the teaching methods were chosen to a great extent according to individual needs and study plans. If the student studies mostly on his or her own, individual remedial instruction gains in importance. It was also noticed that adult students may have learning difficulties in group instruction.

Comprehensive schooling for prisoners uses the same textbooks and other materials as upper secondary schools for adults normally do, with the teacher or the school making the selection. The widest selection of textbooks specifically designed for adults is available in foreign languages and chemistry. In other subjects, comprehensive school textbooks may be used. Other material used as needed includes additional materials provided by teachers, information sheets, newspapers, dictionaries from the library, language tapes and instructional videos.

For elementary education there is a special study book designed for teaching adult Romanies. The book, although used as reading material, contains information relative to civic training. Some prisons also use material intended for adult literacy training or a study book on elementary mathematics for adults. Comprehensive school textbooks are frequently used as applicable, in particular mathematics textbooks and exercise books in writing patterns. Material designed for remedial instruction in comprehensive schools or intended for teaching Finnish to foreigners may also be used. The teachers usually supplement the material with information sheets on Romany language and culture. Sometimes the inmates are given materials, information sheets and newsletters drafted by the teacher. According to the responses to the inquiries, the prisons held somewhat different opinions on the suitability of comprehensive school materials for elementary prison education. Some prisons regarded the materials as suitable, especially if books were selected to meet the special needs of prisoners. The comprehensive school study books were considered easy enough to read. On the other hand, some prisons again regarded comprehensive school books,

especially the ABC books (reading primers), as too childish for adult students and the topics alien to prison life.

Suggestions by prisons on developing the arrangements for basic education indicate that there is a need for a more practical and innovative approach in teaching. On the one hand, that has to do with the problem of motivating prisoners (especially those who have dropped out of comprehensive school) and, on the other, with the demanding syllabus. Many of the so-called demanding subjects, such as foreign languages, mathematics, chemistry and physics, are considered to be quite hard to grasp for those prisoners who have been instructed in special classes or in community homes (reform schools). In other words, there is a pressing need for special and remedial instruction and for improvement in such forms of instruction. It is also important to improve study materials, e.g. materials for literacy instruction of adults.

6. Integration of basic with other forms of education

As noted above, basic education in Finnish prisons is mainly provided separately. Instruction takes place during working hours and is given by outside educational establishments. The educational establishments examine the prisoners and issue the certificates. Such an arrangement ensures that the qualifications attained are entirely comparable with those available in other educational establishments, which means that prisoners once released may continue their studies in other schools.

Some prisons have occasionally provided limited comprehensive schooling within a vocational training programme. Basic vocational training leading to a qualification includes certain general subjects such as Finnish and Swedish, mathematics and foreign language and computer training as a matter of course. Such education, however, is not necessarily a part of comprehensive education and not referred to here.

Preparatory courses for entering the labour market or education may contain instruction in mathematics, Finnish, computers and other comprehensive school studies. Integration of basic with other forms of education is limited, however.

7. Compensation for students

As a rule, prisoners who are studying, that is, in basic education, receive compensation according to the same terms as working inmates. In closed prisons the pay for work is divided into five classes. The same division of compensation into five classes applies also to inmates studying. Basic education is usually provided only in closed prisons.

The financial benefits of prisoners in open prisons, where the inmates are paid normal wages, are considerably higher than in closed prisons. The compensation to students in vocational training in open prisons is about equal to the lowest salary in an open prison.

Prisoners pursuing their studies outside prison are entitled to almost the same social benefits as the general population, and they pay for the education as do other students in the educational establishment in question.

8. Library services for prisoners

All penal institutions have a library with fiction and non-fiction available. Information materials from labour offices and other public sources is also available. In addition to prison libraries, public libraries offer their services in many locations by establishing a mobile library within the prison library, forwarding prisoners books through the services of the prison library or including the prison in the rounds of the library bus. At least 14 prisons and several labour colonies are visited by a library bus.

The size of prison library collections varies a great deal depending, for example, on whether the prison can use the services of the local public library or library bus. The total number of volumes in prison libraries in 1992 was 80,500. Many prisons also lend tapes. Several prison libraries are used as reading rooms during opening hours, or there is a separate reading room in which to read books and newspapers.

E. Conclusions

Prison education in Finland has experienced a period of rapid growth in recent years. The current policy has striven to increase the number of educational services by enabling the prisons to develop their educational programmes. A greater number and variety of programmes is now being offered, especially in vocational training for inmates. Attention has been given to basic education as well.

Future legislative reforms are likely to replace the work obligation of prisoners with an obligation to participate in the activities offered by the prison. The reform sets out to offer more activities that meet the individual needs of prisoners and suit their abilities. That goal understandably involves implications for the extent and variety of educational services in prisons.

The level of basic education among the prison population in Finland is relatively high. Few inmates are illiterate, and 90 per cent of inmates have satisfied the comprehensive school education requirement of nine years. While serving the sentence, prisoners have the opportunity to finish comprehensive school or improve the grades received in the comprehensive school-leaving certificate. Elementary education for Romanies has a long tradition in the system of basic education in Finnish prisons. Efforts have always been made to combine the literacy training for Romanies with instruction in the Romany language and culture.

Basic and upper secondary school education for the inmates in Finnish prisons is arranged by outside educational establishments. The prisons do not have teachers of their own. The fundamental principle of Finnish prison education is thus different from that of many other countries in that respect. Should the standard arrangement be impractical because there are few students or because education needs to be provided only sporadically, the prison will hire a temporary instructor or the study adviser of the prison will teach the courses.

Prisons already arrange several types of recreational activities, such as exercise, discussion groups, library services, music, arts and crafts, that give prisoners the opportunity for self-development. There are plans to develop such activities and basic education in the near future by launching programmes in which the inmates can develop their personality and improve their social skills and abilities in basic education.

XI. Basic education in prisons in China

Yang Yuguan

Education in prisons is of great importance to criminal correction. The fundamental task of prisons is to reform offenders. In China, most offenders are young: 45.74 per cent of prisoners are under 25 years of age. Many prisoners also have very little education, 14.32 per cent of prisoners being illiterate or quasi-illiterate, and 37.92 per cent having only elementary education ([275], p. 190).

Therefore, an important part of the task of prisons is to help prisoners to become better educated and to acquire more legal, moral and cultural knowledge, as well as to develop working skills. In order to meet those objectives, Chinese prisons are run as a type of special school, creating a criminal reform system with Chinese characteristics.

Since 1981, the Government of China has included prison education in its national educational programme. Where conditions permit, prisons are required to set up special educational institutions to form a complete system for the formal and institutionalized legal, moral, cultural and technical education of prisoners.

A. Brief introduction to the educational system in China

With the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, a new educational system was set up. Before that, 80 per cent of the Chinese population were illiterate. During the last 45 years, 990,000 schools at all levels have been established in China. According to statistics, in 1992 the number of students enrolled was 203,808,000, which means that 97.9 per cent of Chinese children were attending school ([46], p. 96).

Various forms of education are currently available for students, mainly primary, secondary, vocational, higher and adult education. The information given below is taken from *China 1993* [46].

1. Primary education

Primary education is universally offered to all children over six years of age and is compulsory. A six-year programme is offered in a full-time primary school. The curriculum includes the Chinese language (foreign language courses are available in some schools), mathematics, history, geography, music and physical training. In 1992 there were 122,010,000 pupils at school.

2. Secondary education

Secondary education includes ordinary middle-school education and vocational secondary education. The ordinary middle school is composed of junior and senior high school, each with a length of study of three years. The courses offered in the ordinary middle school include Chinese literature, mathematics, foreign languages, politics, history, geography, physics, chemistry, biology, physical culture, music, arts, physiology and work skills. Students who are outstanding in moral, intellectual and physical development will advance to schools of a higher level without examination. In 1992, the junior and senior high-school students at the ordinary middle schools numbered 40,659,000 and 7,049,000, respectively.

3. Vocational education

Vocational education offers a special secondary, technical and vocational curriculum, the length of schooling ranging from two to three years or from three to four years. The special secondary schools and technical schools offer courses in engineering, agriculture, forestry, medicine, finance and economics, teacher training, physical culture, arts, political science and law, culture, tourism, cooking and industrial art. Technical schools mainly train mid-level technical workers. In 1992, there were 6,828,000 students in all kinds of vocational secondary schools (including 1,556,000 students in the technical schools).

4. Higher education

China has initiated a multi-level higher educational system comprising all disciplines. Institutions of higher learning in China include universities and institutes or colleges for professional training. The length of study for regular undergraduates in institutions of higher learning is four years; for some majors the period is five years. Colleges for professional training require three years, a few two years. Well-known institutions of higher learning include Beijing University, Qinghua University and Fudan University. In 1992, there were 2,184,000 students in institutions of higher learning.

Universities and colleges conduct nationally unified entrance examinations. Students are selected on the basis of their test results, physical condition and personal choice. Currently, in principle, the State is still responsible for providing jobs for college graduates. The State has implemented a policy whereby work units and schools meet to coordinate supply and demand and formulate a practicable plan for employing recent graduates. Work units may select their own employees, while graduates, in turn, may choose their employers.

5. Adult education

Adult education is flourishing in China with the establishment of a great number of radio and television universities, workers' colleges, farmers' colleges, correspondence colleges, evening universities, vocational secondary schools, technical schools, literacy classes, classes at primary-school level and technical classes. People taking adult education courses do so to improve their professional and vocational skills, to expand their knowledge of social and cultural affairs or to prepare for new careers.

B. Forms of basic education in prisons

1. Legal and moral education

The legal and moral education in prisons emphasizes that prisoners have to repent of having committed a crime by admitting their guilt and recognizing the impact of their crime on the victims, society and the offenders themselves. They should abide by the law, improve moral values and better their outlook on life. The purpose is to help prisoners to know, to abide by, and to accept the law, and to improve their moral standards.

Legal education for prisoners mainly consists of learning the Constitution of China, criminal law, criminal procedural law, general provisions of the civil law, the Code of Civil Law Procedures etc. That enables them to learn the basic rights and obligations of a citizen, the legal consequences of committing a crime and the basic contents of the criminal law, the criminal justice system and the basic civil laws. On that basis, they should be able to draw a clear distinction between legal and illegal actions or criminal and non-criminal acts, and become fully aware of the danger and legal consequences of criminal actions, so that they may accept correction and obey the laws.

Education in morality and outlook on life focuses on issues which are closely related to the immediate interests of prisoners, such as their ideals, conscience, pleasures and future, making them understand proper social morality so that they can clearly distinguish honour from humiliation, civilized behaviour from uncivilized, noble from base actions and beauty from ugliness. Simultaneously, individual and specific education is provided to suit individual cases and coordinate with the lessons learned from their criminal activities. That has proven effective in reforming the minds of offenders.

2. Cultural and vocational education

Eliminating illiteracy and popularizing secondary education (equivalent to middle-school education) are the main objectives of cultural education in prisons. Prisoners with a higher educational level are encouraged to attend correspondence colleges, part-time colleges or television colleges offered by society.

Inmates are divided into different grades and classes in accordance with their educational levels as they declared them in their registration forms. Inmates whose educational level is below the junior secondary school level are generally required to attend classes.

The prison school also has a teacher's office and a teaching programme. Prisoners study approximately two hours a day or 12 hours a week. Teaching staff are especially selected for the school, and some are chosen from among the well-educated prisoners. Prisoners who have attended classes and passed the tests given by the local educational department will be given educational certificates equivalent to those issued by educational institutions in the society at large.

Vocational education consists of technical training courses at various levels and in various subjects on the basis of the overall needs of production in prison and employment outside. Vocational education is a major part of the educational programmes for prisoners in China. Teaching materials and various forms of reference material are provided free for the prisoners. Teachers are generally selected from among engineers, technicians and agricultural experts within prisons, supplemented by technicians and teachers from schools or other institutions in society. Taking into account the social needs and personal interests of released prisoners, short, practical and immediately useful programmes are the main focus of vocational and technical training. Through courses in subjects such as home appliance repair, tailoring and sewing, cooking, hairdressing, home poultry raising, carpentry, bricklaying, electricity and the repair of agricultural implements, inmates acquire one or more skills during their imprisonment, in preparation for finding employment after their release.

3. Behaviour training

In China, the training programme for prisoners includes not only training in production skills, but in good behaviour also. It is believed in China that repeated bad behaviour may eventually lead to pernicious psychological development and the commission of crime. Correctional institutions in China therefore regard behaviour training as an important means of correcting the bad habits of prisoners and of helping them to form a habit of good behaviour. Prisons exert strict discipline and rules. Prisoners are under control when they engage in labour, studies and daily life so as to curb their bad behaviour, to help them to get rid of those bad habits, and to form good ones. As time goes by, it is intended that their bad behaviour should be gradually removed and that good behaviour should eventually take over.

According to the law of China, prisoners who adopt one or more of the following good behavioural patterns can receive recognition as models of good behaviour and be given a merit record or material rewards:

- (a) Abiding by disciplinary rules in prison;
- (b) Caring about the collective;
- (c) Repenting of having committed a crime and being amenable to laws;
- (d) Participating actively and earnestly in political, cultural and technical studies;
- (e) Respecting the teaching staff and achieving good marks in their studies;
- (f) Taking an active part in labour activities, following the rules of operations, taking good care of public property and making economical use of raw materials;
- (g) Overfilling production quotas.

Those who make positive efforts in their correction and show repentance through actions, as well as those who have made inventions or major technical innovations in the production system, can have their prison terms commuted or be released on parole by the judicial departments. Moreover, prisoners who have invented technical innovations in the production system should be given a bonus or technical subsidies according to the regulations of the State.

In order to guide offenders and help them to adopt good behaviour in their daily life, the State requires all prison staff and teachers to be morally sound and to behave well. The prison staff members in charge of juvenile delinquents are required to work especially hard on education, using the sincere, patient and painstaking manner of parents with children, doctors with patients, and teachers with students [275].

4. Other educational activities

Besides education in class, there are many other educational activities, for instance, seminars, discussions and visits outside the prison. Also, prison staff members may invite people to make speeches in prisons, make agreements with relevant entities and prisoners' relatives on assistance for the education of some prisoners, and arrange for prisoners to sit various examinations outside, such as the examinations of correspondence universities and self-learning universities.

All prisons have libraries and reading rooms for inmates with books on politics, culture, literature, and science and technology, as well as a variety of newspapers and magazines. Prisoners may also order newspapers and periodical publications at their own expense. Prisons often offer eligible prisoners the opportunity to engage in activities such as artistic creation, news writing, reading, lecturing and essay-writing competitions.

Many prisons provide prisoners with special teachers, facilities, tools and materials, so as to offer calligraphy, painting and other art classes for entertainment. Some prisons also invite teachers from society at large to give lectures at the prison. For instance, Shanghai Municipal Prison has organized an exhibition every year since 1983, featuring 200 to 300 art objects created by prisoners. In autumn 1990, a museum in Beijing offered an arts and crafts exhibition, which was well received by the public, where over 700 objects done by prisoners in calligraphy, seal cutting, sketching, oil painting, traditional Chinese painting, gouache, clay sculpture, stone carving, jade carving, wood carving, root carving, silk, embroidery, weaving, and paper cutting were displayed. The costs of these programmes were met by the prison authorities.

Many prisons have performing troupes made up of prisoners who set up performances, produced by the inmates themselves.

As part of the effort to educate and reform offenders as well as to enliven their daily lives, the prisons of China publish three newspapers, the *Reform-through-Labour News*, the *Blackboard News* and the *Wall News*. The prison authorities are responsible for giving guidance on the contents of the newspapers; prisoners themselves do the writing, editing, copying and printing. At present, the *Reform-through-Labour News* has a circulation of 224,000 within the prisons. The prison newspapers, which are interesting and full of information, have been praised by prisoners as "good teachers and helpful friends on the road to reform" ([47], p. 20).

C. Teaching materials

Teaching materials for prisoners include political, cultural and technical materials.

Political materials include basic and current materials. Basic political materials refer to the materials on fundamental principles of the Chinese political system, laws, morality, correctional policies and measures. Those materials are compiled by the national correctional administration or provincial correctional administrations.

Cultural materials vary to meet the different needs of different prisoners. For those prisoners whose cultural level is below the middle-school level, fundamental school textbooks compiled by the State Education Department are used. For those prisoners whose cultural level is below the senior high-school level but higher than middle school, higher-level textbooks compiled by the State Education Department are used. Those whose cultural level is higher than senior high school may study by self-learning methods. They may select study materials compiled by the State Education Department on relevant subjects. Juvenile offenders in juvenile correctional institutions may use middle or fundamental school textbooks.

Technical materials are selected with a view to ensuring that their users become useful and productive members of society. They are the main teaching materials of community technical schools and worker schools, though some have been compiled by technical sections of prisons.

D. Administration of prison education

The correctional administration department establishes special agencies in charge of prison education. They can be classified into various categories in accordance with the different levels of the correctional department.

At the central level, there is a section in charge of prison education in the Reform-Through-Labour Bureau of the Ministry of Justice. The function of the education section at the central level is to make policies and guidelines on prison education, to coordinate with other government departments and to guide and inspect the situation of prison education nationally.

At the provincial level, an education section has been set up in the correction bureau. The main functions of the section are to make prison education plans; to examine, to inspect and to guide their implementation; to coordinate with the labour department and the education department; and to deal with the issues arising in prison education in the province.

Education subsections are set up in each prison. Their functions are to carry out the education plan, to arrange curricula which take into account the real conditions in the prison, and to instruct the groups in charge of different courses. The course groups, under the guidance of the education section and subsection, make arrangements for teachers, plan time for lectures, and prepare examinations and tests on the basis of the education plan.

There are many regulations on prison education, such as the Guidelines on Prison Administration and the Note on Strengthening Cultural and Technical Education in Prisons. In accordance with those regulations, a series of systems has been set up to ensure that prison education be done in the right way, including the prison teaching personnel system and the administration of the prison educational system. The detailed measures relating to the prison educational administration are as follows:

- (a) There should be one or more leading staff members appointed to be in charge of education in each prison;**
- (b) Among teachers, there should be some professional teachers;**
- (c) Prisoners may be selected as cultural and technical teachers in prison;**
- (d) Teachers should prepare their lectures;**
- (e) Education and research should focus on the actual situation of prisoners;**
- (f) Prison staff should know the educational progress of prisoners by inspecting classes and attending discussions of prisoners;**
- (g) Prison staff should arrange for prisoners to visit other classes and assess the learning progress of prisoners;**
- (h) There should be discipline in both giving and attending lectures as well as order in the classroom;**
- (i) There should be tests to decide whether a prisoner goes up a grade or fails to do so;**
- (j) There should be rewards and punishment for prisoners in relation to their study etc. [212].**

E. Labour education and links with the system outside the prison

In order for prisoners to be employed after they are released, prison education has attached great importance to technical training. There are various labour skill tests arranged in prisons. Prisoners who pass the tests can gain certificates which are recognized in society.

1. Tests and certificates

Correctional administrations provide inmates with technical tests and grant them the relevant certificates. According to the Guideline of Correctional Administrative Management and the Notes on Improving Prisoners' Cultural and Technical Education, two kinds of technical test are available for prisoners: the technical-level test and the technical-rank promotion test. Prisoners having worked in prison for more than two years may sit the technical-level test. Successful examinees may obtain a certificate. Prisoners having received technical certificates in society or in prison previously can then sit the promotion test.

There is a testing centre in correctional administrative organs in each province. The centre is in charge of technical tests, for example designing testing papers, and inspecting tests at provincial level.

Vocational education is a major part of the educational programme for prisoners in China. According to statistics, over 561,000 prisoners took part in training courses for various skills in 1991 ([47], p. 17). By 1993, a total of 741,000 technical training course certificates for various levels of technical proficiency had been issued to prisoners ([275], p. 192).

Such technical training and testing have had a good effect on job arrangements for prisoners after they are released and returned to society. A survey monitoring 720 ex-inmates who had gained their technical level certificates indicated that 96 per cent of them had been assigned jobs by the local authorities shortly after their release ([47], p. 18). Some had returned to the former units; some had been employed by enterprises as technical experts; some others, being engaged in household, industrial and sideline production, building or other service trades, had become law-abiding self-employed labourers, thus making their contribution to national construction. Such results are highly appreciated by society, which is of the view that prison has become "a special channel to provide qualified labourers for the society" ([275], p. 192).

2. Employment and resettlement education

The Government of China pays a great deal of attention to making sure that inmates receive pre-release education. Prisoners who have served nearly all of their sentence are sent to the release team, which then takes charge of the prisoner and the pre-release education. They serve the rest of their term in the release team. The release team makes an overall review of the performance of prisoners during their reform in prison, and, in accordance with each one's actual situation, provides supplementary education as needed to consolidate the achievements of the reform. Leading staff members of the local administrative organs, taxation authorities, and industrial and commercial as well as labour and employment departments are invited to speak to the prisoners. They systematically explain recent social developments, current laws and policies, employment trends etc., and teach the prisoners how to abide by laws and to behave properly, the best ways to handle practical problems which they are likely to have, and how to deal with situations in daily life, such as living alone or with their family members, handling marriage relations and looking for employment.

Prisons often invite model reformed prisoners who have turned their life around to talk about their own experience. That plays a very positive role in building up the confidence of prisoners in reform. If conditions allow, prison authorities may arrange for prisoners who have shown good behaviour to have study visits to the places or enterprises they are interested in, or to grant special leave for them to live with their families during holidays. That allows them to see how society is progressing and to feel that they are still members of society and should return to it as soon as possible in order to participate in the modernization drive of the country. Prisoners released after having served their sentences are mainly returned to where they used to live before they were imprisoned or where their families live. Those who were in school when arrested are allowed to return to school or go to school at a higher level.

In order to consolidate the successful rehabilitation of the released and prevent them from committing a crime again, local governments coordinate the efforts of the relevant departments, of society at large, and of their relatives, in order to provide continuous assistance for their education. For those who have a job, the employing units should contact the trade unions and the youth league to set up an assistance group to help them. Those who are not employed can get help from neighbourhood committees and relevant departments. Township or village authorities are responsible for, among other things, a continuous education of the released who settle in their areas. Advisers, for example, are designated for them. Those who conduct themselves well are promptly commended and are encouraged to make further progress; those who have made mistakes are given sincere criticisms and assistance to correct them. Those who might commit crime again are warned of the severe consequences of crime, which hurts the victims, society and themselves.

F. Effects of prison education

In the reform of prisoners, China operates on the principle that education is very important. The competent correctional authority attaches great importance to physical labour in addition to legal, moral, cultural and technical education in order to encourage prisoners to think in terms of conscientious reform, to give up the idea of obtaining personal gain through criminal means, to learn respect for other people and society in general, and to obtain the work skills needed for later employment so that they may become law-abiding citizens. From the central correctional administrative authority to local prisons, there are many research institutes or research entities specializing in issues relating to the correction of prisoners, including prison education. Statistics such as those given below have shown that as a result of the implementation of the above-mentioned principles, China has met with great success in criminal reform.

The number of inmates with lower than primary school education has dropped from 65 to 5.3 per cent, and the number of those who have a junior secondary education or above has increased substantially. According to the criminal law of China, persons who commit a crime and are imprisoned within three years after release, and those who commit the crime of counter-revolution at any time after they have served sentences for counter-revolutionary activities shall be regarded as recidivists ([47], p. 17). According to a random survey taken in several large cities, the settlement rate of released prisoners at Beijing between 1983 and 1990 averaged 83.4 per cent, peaking at 90.2 per cent in 1988. The average settlement rate at Shanghai was 79 per cent between 1982 and 1986, and at Tianjin 85 per cent in recent years ([47], p. 32).

Over the past 40 years, China has gained a great deal of valuable experience in reforming offenders through labour. Many prisoners have rid themselves of their bad habits through prison reform, formulated a better outlook on life, and learned to respect other people and society and to maintain self-control and abide by the law. Many have had their sentence reduced or been released on parole for outstanding behaviour during the prison term. Some who have returned to society after serving their sentence have become engineers, factory directors and managers. A few have even become model workers.

There was once a youth from the city of Shenyang who was sentenced to a prison term because of his involvement in a gang theft. While serving his sentence, he positively accepted reform and actively participated in the classes organized by the prison. After he was released from prison he passed his college entrance examination and later was even admitted as a postgraduate at Harbin Industrial University, where he obtained a degree of Master of Arts.

Another prisoner at Guizhou prison who took legal and moral education seriously overcame his bad habits during imprisonment. Since completing his sentence he has become a well-behaved and law-abiding person. He worked hard and won the trust of the masses who elected him as the head of a model village, deputy to the township People's Congress and member of the County Committee of the Political Consultative Conference.

The facts have shown that prison education can reduce the rate of recidivism and consequently the crime rate. The rate of recidivism in China is among the lowest in the world. For many years, it has been between 6 and 8 per cent. The incidence of crime among the population of China is about 2 per 1,000 inhabitants per year, which is among the lowest in the world ([47], p. 3).

In conclusion, prison education has played a positive part in the correction of prisoners and in social stability in China. It is an indispensable part of national education and one of the basic rights of prisoners. It is also among the useful measures taken by the prison authorities to help prisoners reform themselves.

XII. Basic education in Sri Lankan prisons

D. S. Senanayake

A. Education and levels of literacy

It is inherent in Sri Lankan traditional thought that formal education is the birthright of every citizen, and throughout its long history literacy and education have received high recognition and acceptance among the general population. In ancient times, the centres for the provision of learning, namely the "pirivenas" conducted by the Buddhist clergy, received state patronage and popular support of the citizenry. The constitution of Sri Lanka has as one of its goals "the complete eradication of illiteracy and assurance to all persons of the right to universal and equal access to education at all levels". The introduction of the universal franchise in 1931 promoted the extension of educational opportunities to the masses as a political priority. The report of the Special Committee on Education [234] recommended an education system where "every individual must have equal opportunity so that, provided he has the necessary innate ability, he can lift himself from the humblest to the highest position in the social, economic and political life of the nation". The Special Committee strengthened its objective by the proposal that "education in a democratic society should be free at all stages - from the primary school to university". Those proposals have been implemented in gradual stages by subsequent Governments resulting in a national literacy rate that was 57.8 per cent in 1946, rising to 86.5 per cent in 1981 [235].

National census and other surveys in Sri Lanka have reported relatively high literacy rates for a developing country with low per capita national income. In the case of the Adult Literacy Survey done in 1990 by the National Association for Total Education, relatively reliable measures in the form of a basic practical exercise in reading and writing was administered to each member in the target group. The survey covered a sample of 14,002 persons aged 15 years and over in eight districts of Sri Lanka. It was found that literacy rates were 90.0 per cent among the urban population (92.6 per cent among men and 87.3 per cent among women), 81.9 per cent in rural areas (85.5 per cent among men and 78.3 per cent among women), and 67.5 per cent among those employed on estates (79.6 per cent among men and 54.7 per cent among women). The overall rate was 83.0 per cent. In the same survey, it was found that the majority of illiterates had never been to school, and none had an education beyond the fourth grade. The survey findings therefore indicated that a period of education longer than four years was required to achieve functional literacy.

B. The scope and methodology of the study

The present study envisaged investigation in one or more prisons of learning needs, educational activities and demonstrable effects, together with the practical conditions needed to provide basic education, such as its possible integration with vocational education.

A research team was established with the full cooperation of *Samodaya Seva* (Services),* which commenced in 1984 as a specialized service of *Lanka Jatika Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya*, a development-oriented non-governmental organization that caters for the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents and those convicted of minor offences who are directed to it through several magistrates' courts.

Discussions were organized with the Deputy Commissioner of Prisons, the Assistant Superintendent of Prisons, the Welfare Officer at Welikada Prison, the Commissioner of Probation and Child Care Services (Western Province) and the former Commissioner of Prisons, in order to plan the preliminaries of the study.

Two sets of questionnaires were prepared, one for use during the interviews with the selected sample of inmates, and the other to collect the relevant information on the selected prisons and correctional institutions.

The questionnaire for the target group sought to obtain the socio-economic and family background, literacy and educational levels, special talents, technical or vocational skills, reasons for detention and certain relevant personal attributes.

The questionnaire directed to the institutions sought information on the number of inmates by sex, the nature of literacy programmes and vocational courses and the number of participants in them, aesthetic education facilities available, instructors and their sources of training, materials used, funding, library facilities, any external vocational training centres used, religious instruction and observances, cultural events, progress evaluation of different programmes, follow-up or after-care services and any factors that inhibit the smooth working of the programmes.

The questionnaires were closely scrutinized by the authorities to see whether the information sought infringed upon the rights of the inmates, and where anonymity was sought it was allowed. There was no desire on the part of the authorities to suppress information revealing any shortcomings in the system. In their view, a case-study of such a nature could lead to some improvement in the basic education system, and the exercise received every possible assistance from the authorities.

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The results of the analysis of responses recorded through the questionnaires is presented below.

Selection of sample

Under the Department of Prisons there are 10 prisons, seven work camps, six remand prisons, three open prison camps, two correctional centres for juvenile offenders, one training school for juvenile offenders and one work release centre [237]. Welikada prison is by far the largest institution, housing over a third of all convicted offenders and approximately a quarter of all remand prisoners.

The research team finally decided that a fairly representative sample from the entire prison population could be obtained from those at Welikada prison alone, considering the high percentage of the convicted prisoners housed there. A 10 per cent random sample from the 650 inmates serving a sentence of two or more years was finally earmarked for the survey.

However, since the study concerned basic education, it was considered useful to extend the survey to cover detention homes falling within the purview of the Department of Prisons and three certified schools managed by the Department of Probation and Child Care Services. In total, a sample of 103 out of 933 inmates in seven different institutions was included in the survey.

C. Profile of offenders

1. Analysis of the type of offences

Among the convicts in the sample, 29.2 per cent had been convicted of murder and homicide, 10.7 per cent of drug abuse and illicit sale of dangerous drugs, 8.7 per cent of theft and 1.94 per cent of prostitution and unnatural offences. The 23.3 per cent of the convicts convicted of vagrancy and incorrigible behaviour were in the certified schools or detention homes.

The Administration Report of the Sri Lanka Commissioner of Prisons [237] for the year 1990 states that the national figure for the percentage of convictions for narcotic drug offences was 47.1 per cent, and it was the leading offence. In 1981, the same offence was committed by only 5.3 per cent, showing a remarkable increase during the nine-year period. Narcotic drug and excise offences (including illicit liquor) accounted for 70.3 per cent of the total convictions during 1991, as compared to 63.0 per cent during 1990. The necessity to strengthen preventive education against drug abuse and alcohol in the country needs no further elaboration.

2. Age and education

At the certified schools and detention homes, the age group from 16 to 25 years contained all but three of the inmates in the sample, while at Welikada prison alone 10 per cent were aged from 16 to 25, 25 per cent from 26 to 35, 18 per cent from 36 to 45 and only 5 per cent from 46 to 55, with none older.

As regards the level of education, measured by school attendance, 13.6 per cent of the total sample had no schooling, while 15.5 per cent recorded only a semblance of schooling between the first and third grades. Those who had reached seventh grade or above were 46.6 per cent of the sample.

3. Race, religion and civil status

The Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims in the sample were 79.9 per cent, 13.6 per cent and 6.8 per cent, respectively, which corresponds closely with the ethnic distribution in the country.

The religious composition was 72.8 per cent Buddhist, 8.7 per cent Hindu, 10.7 per cent Christian (Protestant and Catholic), and 5.8 per cent Muslim.

In respect of civil status, 59.2 per cent were unmarried, 33 per cent legally married and 4.9 per cent had been living together.

4. Previous employment and monthly income

A variety of employment was indicated in the sample survey, trade and cultivation covering 24.3 per cent. Employment requiring some skill (for example, mason, carpenter, driver, technician) totalled 14.4 per cent. The monthly income of over Rs. 2,000/= (US\$ 40), considered just above the poverty level, was earned by 25.2 per cent, but declared incomes cannot be regarded as accurate.

5. Environment and family background

The majority in the sample, 63.1 per cent, were from villages, 28.2 per cent from towns and 4.9 per cent from the slums; 24.3 per cent had lived with relatives, 8.7 per cent in boarding houses, 13.6 per cent as house-servants (domestics) and only 9.7 per cent in their own homes. A sizeable proportion, 39.8 per cent, did not wish to divulge details concerning their residence. However, 82.5 per cent declared that they had a place to go and live in after release.

In 46.6 per cent of the cases, inmates stated that both of their parents were or had been living together, indicating some degree of stability in the family, and a further 43.7 per cent had at least one parent still living. The number of family members was five or less in the case of 46.6 per cent, while 24.3 per cent had eight or more members.

The ability to read and write of mother, father and other family members, as declared by the inmates in the sample, is rated at 76.6 per cent, 63.1 per cent and 76.6 per cent, respectively. It is difficult to state whether it is a functional literacy level that is indicated.

D. Educational and vocational training courses provided to the inmates of prisons and correctional institutions

1. Literacy classes

Organized classes in Sinhala are held regularly at Welikada prison, the three certified schools at Rammutugala, Makola and Hikkaduwa, and two of the detention homes at Kottawa and Baddegama. Generally the classes are held for three hours a day, three times a week, and the average attendance in a class is 40. At Welikada prison separate literacy classes are held for males and females conducted by volunteer teachers selected by the Department of Education, and the currently given classes began in 1987 on the initiative of the Non-formal Education Division of the Ministry of Education, at the request of the prison authorities.

Out of the 54 women attending class, 18 were long-term prisoners. Forty of them had never been to school and were totally illiterate. They stated that they were keen to learn as they felt that illiteracy and poverty were some of contributory factors in their plight. The teacher reported that the ability to read name boards and write a short letter or telegram was achieved quite soon because of their enthusiasm.

Literacy classes in the English language are also conducted at Welikada prison, organized by the Prisoners' Welfare Association. It has often been a difficult task to find qualified instructors in English, and volunteers from among prison inmates have helped out. The last such volunteer, who happened to be an army officer serving a 20-year prison sentence, and had a very good knowledge of English, was conducting the class single-handed for a number of years. Some of his students

achieved success in public examinations, and in appreciation of his devoted teaching service the prison beneficiaries collected a contribution from their service earnings to give a gift when he completed his sentence and bade farewell. He refused the monetary gift at the farewell function, but accepted as a token a wooden carving of Jesus Christ on the cross with the following caption: "Those who serve humanity serve God."

2. Communication - a prisoners' monthly journal

The tenth anniversary of *Communication*, the regular monthly publication claimed as the first such journal ever published by the prisoners anywhere in the world, was celebrated recently, as reported in its July 1993 issue number 113.

The contents of the journal consist of verses, feature articles and readers' opinions indicating the views of prisoners on diverse matters, including prison life. They often express regret for the actions which led them into prison. The journal promotes the right of self-expression and brings consolation to many of its readers. The editorial board includes prison officials, and a Norwegian publisher has provided the necessary funding. A circulation of about 750 copies is reported.

3. Vocational skills training

The inmates who have an aptitude for such trades as carpentry, masonry, metalwork, tailoring, bakery work, weaving, hairdressing and bridal dressing are provided with the necessary training. Skills training is also provided in brush making, mat weaving, coir rope weaving, furniture polishing etc. However, all the training provides only self-enrichment, since it does not generally lead to any systematic qualification for employment. It merely involves hard labour during the sentence, and often does not sufficiently equip its participants for skilled employment on release.

The prisoners who follow the vocational and craft skills programmes are not provided with any certification comparable with that of formal or non-formal education provided outside.

Among the staff of the Department of Prisons there are vocationally trained instructors in some fields, and besides their services use is often made of prisoners who already possess relevant skills to impart training to others who wish to acquire them.

In the certified schools and detention homes, there are instructors in masonry, carpentry, wood carving, metalwork, garment making, lace making, home gardening, artificial flower making etc., and some of them are foreign (Japanese) volunteers generally attached to a particular institution for a period of two years.

There is a special project funded by the World Bank and managed by the Institute for Construction Training and Development functioning since 1991 at the certified school for girls at Rammutugala, where 20 and 30 inmates respectively follow the courses in carpentry and garment making. A training achievement record, indicating the quality of work, keenness, behaviour and initiative evaluated on a four-point scale, is maintained in respect of each trainee. Those who diligently follow the garment-making course have the opportunity of further training on the Juki machines. They acquire sufficient skill to seek employment in the garment industry after release.

The table below presents an analysis of the different vocational skills training activities provided in both the prisons and the correctional institutions in the sample surveyed.

Of the 103 inmates interviewed, over half made a plea for the provision of additional training, 24.3 per cent desiring further facilities for craft and technical training, 19.4 per cent for aesthetic

**Vocational training courses provided to the inmates of prisons
and correctional institutions**

Course	Number of participants at each institute						
	Welikada Prison	Certified school Rammutugala	Certified school Makola	Certified school Hikkaduwa	Detention home Rammutugala	Detention home Kottawa	Detention home Beddagama
	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F
Bakery work	30/	-	-	-	-	-	-
Laundry	22/	-	-	6/	-	-	-
Printing	28/	-	-	-	-	-	-
Metalwork	105/	-	-	10/	-	-	-
Carpentry	136/	120	16/	-	-	-	-
Garment- making	98/	130	-	-	18	-	41
Motor mechanics	5/	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brush making	118/	-	-	-	-	-	-
Soap-making	23/	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mat-weaving	37/	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rope coir weaving	11/	-	-	-	-	-	-
Masonry	18/	-	20/	-	-	-	-
Furniture polishing	10/	-	-	-	-	-	-
Canework	8/	-	-	-	15	-	-
Animal husbandry	-	14	-	-	-	-	-
Agriculture and home gardening	-	150	-	-	-	25/	-
Plumbing	6/	-	-	-	-	-	-
Electrician	4/	-	-	4/	-	-	-
House wiring	-	-	15/	-	-	-	-
Welding	-	-	10/	-	-	-	-
Lace-making	-	-	-	-	14	-	15
Artificial- flower- making	-	-	-	-	-	-	18

Note: Data based on information provided by the institutions. Some inmates follow more than one course.

studies and 11.7 per cent requesting literacy development. Limitations in funding may prevent those requests being met. Some 35 per cent had no comment on the need for any further provision, and 9.7 per cent expressed satisfaction.

E. Links with the outside community

1. Contact at school level

In the certified school for boys at Makola, two courses in house wiring and welding also admit 10 girls from the neighbourhood (non-inmates) on an experimental basis. At the same time, five of the inmates are sent to neighbouring schools for their secondary education. Similar provision is available at the certified school in Hikkaduwa. Besides the inmates following the metalwork and electrician's training courses, nine outsiders of the same age-group are following the metalwork, and 24 the electrician's training courses. Such mixing with outsiders helps in the rehabilitation of the inmates as well as in their finding employment on release.

2. Links with the Sarvodaya Women's Front

The authorities at the detention home at Baddegama have also developed a close link with the Development Training Centre of the Sarvodaya Women's Front situated at Heenatigala in close proximity to it, in order to provide integrated training to selected groups of female inmates. The scheme has been operational since 1991, and each batch has to follow the course for six months in residence at Heenatigala, followed by a further six months on probation while in employment. The selection is based on criteria such as the following: under 25 years of age; unmarried; without parents; limited to three occurrences of recidivism; able to read and write; preference being given to those who have passed the fifth grade; in good physical and mental condition; and fairly good in discipline while at the detention home. Those who have an aptitude or inclination for garment making, cookery, hairdressing or home gardening are given preference. Girls from certified schools are also admitted to the training, and no distinction is shown for caste, race or creed in the selection. Besides the main subjects, training is given in health education, literacy, oriental dancing and some handicrafts.

On completion of the six months of residential training, an evaluation is done, at which an official of the Department of Probation and Child-Care Services is present. Those who have completed the training course have shown noticeable changes in their attitude towards society. Of a total of 28 trained so far, 25 are in self-employment or are wage-earning. The total cost of the six-month training has been estimated at Rs. 8,000/= (US\$ 180) per person, inclusive of the salaries of trainers.

The probation officer in charge of the detention home at Baddegama, with over 25 years of service, commended the training experiment as one of the very few he has seen to be successful. It seems to offer a feasible model for replication between other certified schools and bona fide non-governmental organizations with the relevant background and experience.

3. The rehabilitation experience

A large number of insurgents, mainly youth, were housed in several special remand prisons pending investigation into their criminal activities. The degree of involvement of some of them was minimal. A department under a special commissioner for rehabilitation was created. The inmates were provided with a variety of training programmes, educational, vocational and spiritual, during their long period on remand. Excepting those who were charged in courts for various offences, the

inmates were released in batches to selected temples, as the majority were Buddhists, to spend the final three months before release. During that three-month period they had to perform organized community service, besides other counselling and spiritual activities. Their progress after release was closely monitored by trained officers, many of whom were involved in the counselling aspects.

F. Library and recreational facilities in prison

Library facilities are provided and the habit of reading is encouraged. The Colombo Municipal Council Mobile Library Service supplements the existing facility at Welikada. Newspapers and periodicals are also made available.

Two UNESCO clubs function at Welikada and Bogambara prisons, their officers being chosen from among the inmates. The gifts of television and radio sets received are made use of by the membership, who play a useful role in the organization of religious, social and cultural activities within the prisons and even blood donations and alms givings.

G. Aesthetic education

At Welikada prison, opportunities are provided for those having the interest and talent necessary to pursue studies in art, oriental dancing and drama. Similarly, limited facilities are available at some of the certified schools, and a few inmates in each avail themselves of the opportunities.

Welikada prison has a Kandyan dancing troupe (consisting of 20 members). They have performed on several State occasions and in private functions. Apart from the appreciation gained, some income has accrued to the Department of Prisons through the performances.

Selected works of art (drawings), by inmates of prisons and certified schools have been displayed at various art exhibitions organized around different themes. During the annual Wesak festival, when illuminated murals depicting some aspects in "Jataka" stories (Buddha in his previous births) are put up for display in different parts of the city of Colombo, a popular mural that draws crowds is the one erected near the Welikada prison by the inmates themselves. Several months of team effort are required for the annual display, for which the prison authorities provide encouragement and support.

H. Religious education and practices within prison

The moral, mental and spiritual development of the inmates is an aspect which receives much recognition and support both from the authorities and several voluntary and religious organizations outside.

Dhamma Sermons (Buddhist), Full Moon Poya day Buddhist activities (Sil campaigns, religious offerings), alms givings, Christian services, Sunday classes and meditation practice classes are among the diverse programmes conducted for spiritual development. The places of religious worship of all denominations are available and maintained within Welikada prison. The sermons delivered by priests or laymen of repute are often attended by inmates professing different faiths, thereby promoting religious harmony among them.

The authorities admit voluntary helpers to conduct Dhamma classes for Buddhist prisoners, enabling some of them to appear successfully at certain public examinations conducted by the Young Men's Buddhist Association. Similar provision is available for prisoners of other religious faiths also.

Such religious activities provide continuity with previous practices of inmates. According to information gathered, 85.4 per cent of them had regularly been to their respective places of worship: including temples, churches, and mosques. Therefore, the provision of facilities for some of the practices to be continued even to some degree within the prison would have a therapeutic effect on them and facilitate rehabilitation.

That is in accordance with the Prison Reforms Committee Report of 1981, which states that "the regime of the institution should seek to minimize any difference between prison life and life at liberty which tend to lessen the responsibility of prisoners or the respect due to their dignity as human beings".

I. The implementation of basic and vocational education in Sri Lankan prisons

1. Inhibiting factors

The overcrowding in prisons caused by the admission of a large number of remand prisoners severely affects many of the planned programmes within prisons. Its extent can be imagined when the daily average of convicted prisoners was 4,195 compared to the corresponding average of 6,287 remandees during the period from 1982 to 1991 [238].

The proportion of offenders sentenced for periods of less than six months or one year was 27.38 per cent and 51.52 per cent, respectively, during the period from 1987 to 1991 [238]. Even a literacy class systematically planned cannot achieve much within six months, and a skills and vocational training programme would be still less effective.

The lack of financial means of the prisoners has been a contributory factor to imprisonment. Imprisonment of those who are in default of payment of fines for sometimes relatively minor offences has affected a percentage of prisoners that has risen from 24.54 per cent to 83.8 per cent during the period from 1983 to 1991, and their sentences have been for short periods of six months or less. The figures quoted for types of offence committed refer to the offence for which the original fine was imposed.

The following comments of the Sri Lankan Commissioner of Prisons [237] in his report for the year 1990 are noteworthy: "The general trend in the world today is community-based treatment. That is, using the community and its resources for rehabilitation. This gives the community the responsibility to look after and help its offenders to be law-abiding citizens. However, Sri Lanka has not fallen in line with this trend. This is very evident by the large number of fine defaulters sentenced to prison. In recent years over 80 per cent of those admitted to prison as convicted prisoners have been fine defaulters. This is a feature and a trend that is not observed in any other part of the world. Penologists the world over are advocating that imprisonment should be the last measure to be resorted to when all other measures have failed. Sadly the system in Sri Lanka seems to prefer imprisonment to other measures. This is also seen from the large numbers admitted to prison as remand prisoners."

2. The legal framework

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by General Assembly resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966, came into force on 3 January 1976, and Sri Lanka ratified that instrument on 28 May 1980. Article 10 of the Covenant lays down the rights of prisoners as follows:

- "1. All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person.
- "2. (a) Accused persons shall, save in exceptional circumstances, be segregated from convicted persons and shall be subject to separate treatment appropriate to their status as unconvicted persons;

(b) Accused juvenile persons shall be separated from adults and brought as speedily as possible for adjudication.
- "3. The penitentiary system shall comprise treatment of prisoners, the essential aim of which shall be their reformation and social rehabilitation. Juvenile offenders shall be segregated from adults and be accorded treatment appropriate to their age and legal status."

3. Progress in implementing prison education

In spite of the adverse conditions prevalent in Sri Lankan prisons, some progress has been made during the past few years in the directions foreseen in the Covenant.

Education in prisons is not required by law and prisoners do not have legal rights in that respect. However, the process of rehabilitation to bring the prisoner back into normal society after release requires some training in basic literacy and some vocational skills, and authorities in each prison do provide such facilities. The Prisoner's Welfare Association is one agency which assists the authorities in those matters.

J. Conclusions

1. Literacy

A needs assessment survey, at least in the main prisons, could be made periodically and suitable courses in functional literacy drawn up. The non-formal division of the Ministry of Education could take the initiative, with the active support from some non-governmental organizations involved in that field.

Regular in-service training courses are needed for literacy instructors, both regular prison staff and voluntary workers, in order to update their knowledge and to enable the preparation of teaching materials. Some financial inducement to them to meet at least the escalating travel expenses is highly desirable. Remuneration on a monthly basis, reckoning the total hours of work, would be most helpful in recruiting competent staff.

Motivation needs to be provided to inmates by not restricting their attendance in classes to their leisure hours, and by targeting some achievement level that could be reached through an external examination. Some sort of certification of achievement would be a great incentive, particularly to those who have had no prior schooling.

2. Vocational training

There are several agencies that handle vocational training in Sri Lanka. The Technical Colleges coming under the Ministry of Higher Education, the National Industrial and Apprenticeship Training Authority, the Training Centres of the Department of Labour and several non-governmental agencies provide courses leading to craft and technician levels. Some of those training institutes are located within easy access of some of the prisons.

It would therefore be worthwhile pursuing the feasibility of making use of the staff and equipment available to enable at least some selected prisoners to begin or further their skills in particular areas of their choice, if they possess the talent and the inclination to do so. It may even be possible to provide some basic equipment to some prison workshops to facilitate training according to the set syllabus of a particular certificate or diploma. If the period of sentence ends before completion of the course, such persons may be induced to complete the course outside.

With regard to training in skills and for reinsertion into society, there are several non-governmental organizations capable of providing their services, again to selected types of prisoners. The example cited in section 2 above, the Development Training Centre of the Sarvodaya Women's Front, provides a model. That could be considered as an extension of the work release scheme currently in vogue.

3. Community service

The experience of release into community service described in section 3 may be put to good use in the rehabilitation of selected prisoners who are among the fine defaulters who comprise 80 per cent of the inmates, thus reducing congestion. Similar programmes, if any, in other countries may provide guidance in the formulation of such a scheme.

4. Follow-up and after-care

A selected sample of about 100 inmates who follow literacy classes and different skills and vocational training programmes in prison could be identified, for the purpose of continuing the research study into their progress after release, for a period of about one year. Such a study would reveal the effectiveness of any training received while in prison, and help in the modification of the existing programmes.

XIII. Prison education in Botswana

Kwame Frimpong

An attempt is made below to survey the practice of prison education in Botswana, subject to the availability of the relevant data.* The original intention had been to cover as many African countries as possible, but the absence of the relevant material made that task difficult. References to a few other African countries were, however, possible on the basis of limited information at the author's disposal. There has not been any previous study of the subject undertaken in Botswana.

A. Legal framework

Mandatory prison education does not appear to enjoy statutory provision in other African countries, although it does in Swaziland.** If the provision were to be followed to the letter then the Director would be obliged to ensure that the prisoners have access to education while they are in prison, even though in practice that may not always be the case.

Generally, prison education is laid down in most legislation establishing prison services on the continent as part of general rehabilitation programmes. The laws governing prisons contain provisions which enable an inmate to acquire education while in prison, but there is usually no mandatory requirement for such education to be imposed on the inmates, nor the possibility for them to insist on it as a right. Further, some of the rehabilitation programmes require some elements of literacy which make it necessary, if not compelling, for an inmate to have some basic education to enable him or her to pursue such programmes. At another level, prison education may be tied to the general national literacy programme. Thus, the prison authorities may try to assist illiterate inmates in gaining access to basic education.

In Botswana, however, the Prisons Act ([33] provides in section 89 for the educational and vocational needs of the inmate. Subsection 1 reads as follows:

"The training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be directed towards encouraging and assisting them to lead good and useful lives."

It is, however, subsection 2 of the same section 89 which specifically addresses the issue of education in the institutions in the following terms:

*In addition to data made available to the author, information was also taken from the Botswana Prisons Act and its Regulations ([33], Cap. 21:03) and from Botswana Prisons Annual Reports, 1981-1992 [34].

**Regulation 53 of the Swaziland Prisons Regulations of 1965, as amended, provides as follows:

- "1. The Director shall:
 - (a) Take such steps as he considers practicable to arrange for educational classes for the prisoners, paying particular attention to the education of illiterate prisoners;
 - (b) Permit prisoners in their leisure time to study by means of such courses of instruction as he may approve and arrange.
- "2. Where possible, the Director shall make arrangements for a prison library from which the officer in charge shall permit prisoners to draw books under such conditions as the Director may specify ..."

"Every prisoner able to profit from whatever educational and vocational facilities are provided at any prison shall be encouraged to do so."

It can be deduced from the above wording that the inmate is merely expected to benefit from educational or vocational facilities. The role of the Prisons Service is to encourage an inmate to avail himself or herself of the educational and vocational facilities where they exist in the prisons. Provided those facilities exist, an inmate has a right to receive ideas and information (under section 12 (l), Constitution of Botswana, 30 September 1966, as amended), and to have an education while in prison. To enable inmates to gain access to education, as will be discussed later, the Prisons Service has extended its efforts beyond the confines of the prison walls.

Prison education is also provided in Botswana as part of the National Literacy Programme organized by the Department of Non-Formal Education (DNFE) to eradicate illiteracy in the country. That is further supported by section 89 (3) of the Prisons Act. To some extent it can be argued that in the case of the education of illiterate inmates, the Act appears to signal some form of compulsion on the part of the prison administration. It does not, however, spell it out clearly, as it simply expects the service to pay special attention to the education of those inmates. Section 89 (3) reads as follows:

"Special attention shall be given to the education of illiterate prisoners and, where the officer in charge considers it necessary to do so, they shall be taught during the hours normally allocated to work."

B. The Botswana education system

The Botswana educational system is based on a three-tier structure consisting of primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The primary level involves a nine-year programme within which the medium of instruction is Setswana (the local language) and English. The whole programme is publicly sponsored. There are some private primary schools which are designed to assist the large expatriate community. Classes in those schools run for six to seven years, the medium of instruction is English, and they are hence classified as English medium schools.

At the secondary level there are two stages. The first stage consists of a two-year junior secondary school, which leads to the award of a Junior Certificate. That is to be changed to a three-year programme. Those who successfully complete the Junior Certificate continue to the senior secondary school for three years, leading to the award of the General Certificate of Education (GCE) Ordinary Level or the Cambridge Certificate. Secondary education is also publicly run. There is, however, one private secondary school which takes students for the sixth-form (or upper high school) programme and leads to the award of the GCE Advanced Level.

Botswana has one University with a current enrolment of around 3,500 students, including part-time students who take evening courses. It has a specialized programme organized by the Faculty of Social Sciences in conjunction with the Institute of Adult Education. The University is currently undergoing a massive expansion programme in which enrolment is expected to reach 6,500 by 1996 under National Development Plan VII.

Admission to the University is based on the Cambridge or GCE Ordinary Level results. Therefore, Advanced Level results are not necessary for entry into the University. Those who go through that programme are foreigners who require it for admission into universities in their countries. A few local people also do the Advanced Level with a view to entering universities outside Botswana, especially in the United Kingdom.

The University runs certificate programmes of one to two years in duration and diploma programmes for two years. The evening programmes referred to above lead to the award of certificates and diplomas only. The University does not yet offer degree programmes on a part-time

basis. As part of its expansion programme, it is expected that the Centre for Continuing Education, which has replaced the Institute of Adult Education, will provide such a service. Degree courses are basically of four years' duration, except for law, which lasts five years. A few programmes leading to a Masters degree have been introduced by some departments.

C. The emphasis on basic education

Since 1980, the Government of Botswana has embarked upon a policy of eradicating or reducing substantially the level of illiteracy in the country. Under National Development Plan III of 1973 to 1978, it was estimated that there were as many as 250,000 illiterate men, women and young people in Botswana. That was considered very high, as the entire population was estimated to be about 600,000. It was with that problem in mind that the DNFE was established in 1978. Non-formal education was defined in National Development Plan V as "any organized learning outside the structure of the formal education system that is consciously aimed at meeting specific learning needs of particular sub-groups, be they children, youths or adults".

The need for non-formal education in Botswana was paramount because from the government point of view there were some citizens who had missed formal schooling and needed to be given a fairer start in life; who had not been able to complete their formal schooling and needed help at secondary level; and who as adults would always need to be provided with continuing education, that is, to be given a chance to learn new skills and adopt fresh ideas.

In order to address the needs of those people DNFE was given the responsibility of:

- (a) Extending the possibilities and opportunities for all Batswana (citizens of Botswana) to learn;
- (b) Giving Batswana the necessary knowledge and ability to deal with the social and physical environment in which they lived;
- (c) Giving Batswana a range of educational experiences that would enable them to discover on their own and hence develop additional talents and skills which would assist them throughout their lives.

The education offered by DNFE is seen as an integral part of the general educational policy being pursued by the central Government. In both National Development Plans V and VI, the general objectives for education within the wider context had been laid down as follows:

- (a) To increase educational opportunities and to reduce inequalities of educational opportunities, so far as resources permit;
- (b) To contribute to the balanced economic development of the country by seeking to satisfy manpower requirements for all sectors, emphasizing particularly the needs of rural development and employment generation;
- (c) To promote personal qualities, such as respect for national ideals, self-reliance and concern for other people, and to encourage full development of individual talents.

The literacy programme under DNFE is run by the Informal Programmes Section, which is mainly concerned with the development and distribution of literacy in the country. The programme is focused on the educational needs of those who have not had a chance to go to school or to acquire certain necessary skills, and the majority of such persons live in the rural areas.

The programme has been justified on the ground that there is the need for large-scale functional literacy in Botswana, the attainment of which was stressed in National Development Plan III:

"The successful promotion of development, especially in the rural context, rests heavily upon the ability of the people to communicate. The high illiteracy rate in Botswana makes it difficult to disseminate information and general educational materials, and it hinders the transmission of feedback by those experiencing development. In a large country with a scattered population, the dissemination of information cannot be by word of mouth alone ... Since literacy is a tool for improving the success of development programmes by improving communication abilities and by enabling people to receive economically useful information, it is clear that literacy programmes should be closely integrated with other elements of a widely-based rural development programme."

Initially it was hoped that an annual enrolment of 50,000 would be achieved, but that has not been possible. In the late 1980s, the target number was dropped to 30,000. It is, however, significant to note that the programme, to a large extent, has been successful in terms of the number of illiterates who have had some exposure to education. The exact figures for the current period are not available, but when it was reviewed in 1986 it was estimated that 178,000 people had been exposed to the literacy programme.

D. The nature of prison education in Botswana

There are two types of prison education in Botswana. One is that in which the inmates go through programmes to upgrade their level of academic qualification. That may lead to the completion of the primary school leaving examination (PSLE) or the Junior Certificate, which is awarded after two years of high school education. For those who were unable to complete high school, opportunities exist to continue their education while in prison for the award of the Cambridge Certificate or the GCE at both ordinary and advanced levels (usually taken at the conclusion of secondary and higher secondary education). There are some cases where inmates pursue courses leading to the award of the Teacher Training Certificate, but that is not very common, as there are not many female inmates compared with their male counterparts, and teaching is a course mostly pursued by female students. In a few instances, some inmates have been able to take university courses while still in prison, but that has been limited to certificate and diploma courses, as the degree programmes are offered on a full-time basis only.

In all programmes that lead to the award of certificates, diplomas and degrees, the inmates concerned take correspondence courses organized by the Prisons Department and DNFE. It is therefore essential for a formal link to exist between the Prisons Department and the education offered outside prison for the award of the appropriate certificates. The Department of Prisons itself does not award any certificate to its inmates for the successful completion of any educational programme. The link is provided through DNFE.

It is worth noting that DNFE awards certificates in respect of the academic programmes. Besides that, certificates for the vocational programmes come from a different department, namely the Madirelo Trade and Testing Centre (formerly Botswana Testing Centre), although the Testing Centre merely certifies that the inmate has formally undergone training in a particular vocation, and strictly speaking does not award a certificate of competence.

It must, however, be stressed that as a general policy it is not every inmate who has the opportunity to pursue an education while in prison. That will depend on the availability of a viable programme. The difficulty that an inmate faces in relation to his or her access to education is more pronounced in the rural areas, where the facilities for mounting such programmes normally do not exist. Thus the inmates in urban centres, especially in the capital, Gaborone, have an advantage over their counterparts in the rural areas.

If it turns out that opportunities for formal education do not exist, the option for the inmate is to be transferred to an institution where he or she may be able to get the required education. However, considering the overcrowding in the prisons and the general policy of segregating the

inmates among the institutions best suited to their backgrounds, behaviour and training, the chances of being transferred are poor in practice.

The Prisons Service tends to pay more attention to basic education, which is aimed at assisting the prisoners without any formal education. That is the second type of prison education through which inmates are assisted to overcome their illiteracy. It is part of the national literacy campaign, as pointed out above. It is to that group of inmates that section 89 (3) of the Prisons Act is addressed. Apart from its national objective, such an effort to eradicate illiteracy may also assist the inmate in coping with some of the vocational training that might be offered in the prisons, since it can be better learned if the recipient has some basic education. Building and carpentry, for instance, require some basic skills in literacy and numeracy.

Education becomes even more important at the end of the vocational training as tests are conducted in order for certificates to be awarded. But that is not the case with some other vocational training such as brickmaking, blacksmithing, pottery and gardening. Prison education may exist with or without the availability of vocational training.

E. The provision of resources

The teaching of the inmates in Botswana is offered by trained officers and also by other inmates with teaching qualifications. No outside volunteers are involved. By comparison, in a well-established system such as that in South Africa, specialized prison staff provide the teaching.

The Prisons Department relies on its own budget allocation for the funding of the parts of prison education for which it is directly responsible. In other areas, DNFE provides the funding, especially in the supply of books and other relevant material.

The books for primary levels one to five are supplied by DNFE, while the Prisons Department provides textbooks for inmates who are taking correspondence courses towards the Junior Certificate, GCE and other higher-level courses. Literacy materials are used where the inmates are working on literacy programmes. The materials are produced by the DNFE staff, who are assisted by adult educators who work in the prisons. If the inmates are preparing for regular programmes such as primary education, the Junior Certificate or GCE, then they rely on the basic school textbooks which are used throughout the country. The textbooks, however, tend to be more easily available in the urban centres than in the rural areas.

F. Basic education in other African prison systems

Basic education in prisons in Ghana tends to be focused to a large extent on the vocational needs of the inmates. That seems to be the product of the regulations governing prisons,* which emphasize the vocational and rehabilitation needs of the inmates. Facilities do exist, although not in satisfactory condition, for some inmates to acquire basic education. In that sense it appears that only conscientious and ambitious inmates, who are desirous to learn, may avail themselves of the opportunities. Some books are provided by the prisons service in some of the libraries attached to the prisons, and teaching is offered by trained staff.

In South Africa, basic education is geared mainly towards the interests of juvenile offenders, and is therefore offered primarily up to the level of standard 1, with the aim that all should attain that level. Thus, to some extent, there is an element of literacy training in such an objective. That

*Under the Ghana Prisons Service Decree [115]. See also Ghana Prisons Service Annual Reports, 1989 and 1990: Public Relations and Criminal Records Departments, Ghana Prisons Headquarters, Accra.

is especially the case where the inmate needs basic education in order to prepare for a particular type of vocational training, which explains why the programme is free for all participants. It is run in cooperation with the Department of Education and Training and the Department of Education and Culture under a scheme which offers all adults in the general population who have not had any formal education the opportunity of free basic education up to the standard 4 level.

In some limited instances, where facilities exist, inmates may be able to continue to enjoy free education up to standard 10 level. Any education beyond standard 10 or matriculation is paid for by the inmate (that is, usually by the family of the inmate). Such programmes are usually conducted through correspondence courses with recognized institutions such as the University of South Africa.

G. Inmates' views of prison education in Botswana

Interviews were conducted with 11 male prisoners and three female prisoners who were randomly selected by the prison authorities. A synopsis of what transpired is provided below. No names are used in the presentations. It is important to note that the inmates were not asked directly whether they would have opted for a different educational programme if such an opportunity had existed. The responses are, therefore, limited to their evaluation of the courses they were pursuing. The cases are as follows:

(a) A male of 22 years entered prison with only standard 4 education. He has been able to continue with his education while in prison and has reached standard 5. He is now learning tailoring. He believes that the continuation of his education has helped him a great deal in the tailoring, and also thinks that he has benefited from both the education and the vocational training in tailoring;

(b) A 19-year-old male had reached standard 4 before coming to prison. He has so far not had any education in prison and no vocational training. His problem is that he is a short-term inmate, so that there is no point in giving him both education and vocational training, as he will not complete any of the programmes before he is released;

(c) A male of 21 who speaks fluent English came to prison with a solid educational background. He holds a diploma in motor vehicle technology, and is pursuing a correspondence course in mechanics in South Africa. In addition to the correspondence course, he is learning painting in prison. He finds the painting useful as it keeps him busy within the prison walls, and there is no course for him to pursue in the prison;

(d) A male of 22 who sat the Cambridge examination in 1989 is pursuing a correspondence course in engineering drawing. He has had only three months of the programme and within that relatively short time he thinks it is very useful. He is not yet involved in any direct vocational training;

(e) A 23-year-old male who attended high school up to the second form has not been involved in any educational training, but is willing to study up to Cambridge level, as he has now come to realize the value of education. But as he was imprisoned for a short period and is due to be released soon, he has not taken a course in prison. He intends to contact DNFE after his release with a view to furthering his education up to Cambridge level. He is learning carpentry, but has not been able to go far enough because of his short sentence. He intends to continue after his release, and hopes to achieve accreditation from Madirelo Trade and Testing Centre;

(f) A male inmate of unspecified age had not had any education at all before coming to prison, and has not had any while in prison. He is, however, learning carpentry, which he finds enormously beneficial to him. He thinks he can learn carpentry sufficiently well without education. It is confirmed that he is doing well. However, he cannot be tested for a certificate, as he lacks the theoretical training. That contradicts the position adopted by the Prisons Department that basic

education is a requirement for vocational training in carpentry. Presumably its need is limited to the testing requirement;

(g) A male of 24 who had reached standard 7 before coming to prison has not had any formal education or vocational training while in prison as he has been there for less than six months and is due to be released soon;

(h) A 21-year-old male who speaks no English, although he had reached standard 7 before being imprisoned, has been in prison for eight months and is not receiving any education. Neither is he receiving any vocational training. He is, however, in a section where he assists with the training of dogs for the purpose of preventing escape;

(i) A male aged 21 who reached standard 7 but does not speak English is serving a 10-month sentence. He has not had any educational or vocational training while in prison. He is, however, involved in some gardening activities;

(j) A male aged 22 who has not had any formal education and does not speak English is imprisoned for 10 months, and has not been exposed to any form of education while in prison. He is, however, learning blacksmithing, which he believes does not require any educational background. He is interested in getting some form of education;*

(k) A male aged 20 who speaks very little English, and has had formal education up to standard 5, has not had any educational training in prison, as he is a short-termer. He is training to become a builder. He believes that his standard 5 educational background is not adequate for training as a builder, and therefore wants to further his education even after his release;

(l) A female aged 24 and serving four years has already spent two years and nine months in prison. She preferred to speak through an interpreter, although she could have tried to speak English, as she completed standard 7 before going to prison. She is studying for the Junior Certificate, and believes that the education programme is good and will be beneficial to her in the future. She is also involved in a vocational training course in sewing and knitting. It is her view that the Junior Certificate is essential for her vocational training;

(m) A 26-year-old female who speaks English and has already completed two years, of her five-year sentence, reached standard 7 before coming to prison. She has reached the second form, and is therefore due to complete the Junior Certificate. She wishes to pursue her academic training and will continue beyond the Junior Certificate. For her vocational training she is learning knitting and horticulture. She believes that the Junior Certificate programme is helping her in learning knitting;

(n) A female aged 25 and sentenced to three years has already been in prison for two years. She was at standard 7 when committed. She has completed the standard 7 school leaving examination while in prison, and does not think that there is much opportunity in prison for academic training. She is learning sewing as a vocational training.

Of the 14 inmates who were interviewed, six were involved in basic education (including all three women), while eight were not enrolled in any course. Among the eight were inmates who were serving short terms, and who are therefore normally excluded from educational programmes. If that is taken into consideration, then the number of inmates who were engaged in education programmes is reasonably high.

*No inmate with a sentence shorter than six months is enrolled in a course, so that case (h) is a borderline case. There was no obvious explanation for the lack of exposure to education of cases (i) and (j).

H. Effects of prison education

As was noted earlier, there has been no previous study on prison education in Botswana. To determine the effects of prison education, interviews were also held with some of the staff within the Botswana Prisons Department who are involved in the basic education programme, as well as some personnel from DNFE who liaise with the prison authorities in providing some of the basic education needs in the prisons. It was through those interviews that some of the preceding information was obtained.

Some 23 ex-offenders who had been exposed to prison education were also traced with the help of the social workers within the Prisons Department, and interviews were held with them in order to determine whether the education had had any impact on their lives, particularly in terms of the practical use of the education and training they acquired in prison. For obvious reasons, no names are used in the following case-studies.

(a) Mr. "A" was imprisoned on 4 December 1986 and released on 15 January 1993. He is now self-employed, and is running a medium-sized retail shop. He completed standard 7 and made considerable progress towards the Junior Certificate. It is evident that he did not make any direct use of the prison education as the trading he is engaged in does not require any special educational background. Further, he did not practice the welding he learnt in jail. He is, however, successful in his trading business. It cannot be stated with certainty whether the prison education has had any impact on him. Presumably, the ability to settle down and lead a normal life can be attributed to general reformation and rehabilitation programmes in prison, which include the education and training he acquired there. It can also be argued that the ability to run a business, which requires a great deal of discipline and accounting skills, may be indirectly linked to the general education he obtained in prison;

(b) Mr. "B" was imprisoned between 19 June 1987 and 18 October 1991. At the time of his imprisonment his educational background was up to standard 5. He managed to complete standard 7 while in prison, and also learned a trade as an auto mechanic. A few months after his release he managed to obtain employment with one of the leading motor companies in the country where he is employed to this day;

(c) Ms. "X" went to prison on 24 August 1986 and was released on 24 August 1992. In prison she went through a basic education course, as she was illiterate at the time of her conviction. In addition, she took lessons in sewing, and her case after release is a success story. She now runs a sewing business of her own, and hopes to expand and employ a few hands in the future. Currently she is assisted by a former colleague;

(d) Mr. "C" works with a reputable financial institution in the country. He was originally convicted as a juvenile offender, imprisoned on 20 December 1981, and released on 24 April 1987. While in prison he completed his PSLE and started a correspondence course in accounting, which he completed after his release. The resultant qualification in accounting has placed him in employment with a major financial institution;

(e) The case of Mr. "D" is a sad story. He never benefited from either basic education or any form of training in prison. Semi-literate, he was imprisoned on 19 August 1981, and released on 18 April 1986. He did not progress with education in prison, although he learned something in connection with welding. After his release he spent only six months out of prison and was back in prison for another two years. He is currently back again serving another term of three years;

(f) The case of Ms. "Y" is another success story. She was imprisoned between 29 May 1984 and 28 May 1987. She completed her PSLE while in prison and after her release she continued to secondary school to take the Cambridge Certificate, which she passed. She is now employed by a radio station in the country;

(g) Mr. "E" works with an educational institution. He went to prison in 1982 as a juvenile and was released in 1987. While in prison he completed his PSLE and started a correspondence course towards the Cambridge GCE ordinary level. After his release he continued his secondary school education and passed the GCE. His success has helped him to secure his current employment with an educational institution;

(h) Ms. "Z" does not have a success story to offer. She was initially imprisoned in 1982, and released in 1986. She tried unsuccessfully to complete the PSLE. She, however, learned some elementary rules of sewing. She returned to prison in 1988. At the time of her second sentence she was pregnant, so that the possibility of any serious educational training was out of the question. She was released in 1991, but is so far unemployed. She is trying to start a small trading venture, but lacks the necessary capital, and with an extra mouth to feed, there is a danger of returning to prison;

(i) Mr. "F" went to jail on 24 June 1982, and was released on 23 June 1986. He was illiterate at the time of his imprisonment, but he managed to acquire some basic education. Further, he learned welding, and has set up his own welding business, which is providing him with sufficient income to take care of himself and his family of three. He believes that imprisonment served a useful purpose, as he knew no trade when he was convicted. That raises a very controversial problem in the country. Particularly in the rural areas, there is resentment over the fact that ex-offenders are able to find employment because of the skills they have acquired in prison, while law-abiding citizens remain unemployed;

(j) Mr. "G" served five years in prison between 1982 and 1987. At the time of his imprisonment he was in a teacher training college. In prison he took a correspondence course towards the award of a GCE, which he completed after his release. He subsequently entered the university with his GCE qualifications and is now employed as a teacher in one of the secondary schools in the country;

(k) Mr. "H" was imprisoned on 3 September 1983 and released on 20 September 1988. Illiterate when imprisoned, he was enrolled in the literacy programme, which helped to equip him with some basic educational background. That helped him a great deal in his carpentry training. Since his release he has been running a small carpentry business, which provides him with sufficient income to maintain himself and his family of four;

(l) Mr. "I" spent three years in prison, between 1989 and 1992. He completed his PSLE in prison and had training in tailoring. He is, however, unemployed. He blames this on the fact that he has not had anyone to help him purchase a sewing machine. He, however, admits that he had not had enough training in tailoring to enable him to stand on his own feet. He claims that the education he had in prison, coupled with his previous educational background, made his tailoring training a bit easier;

(m) Mr. "J" spent three years in prison between 1987 and 1990. In prison he acquired only a limited basic education, at best up to standard 3. That could not help him in any way in terms of employment opportunities. Further, his attempt to learn tailoring did not go far enough. Since his release he has not found any employment. He lives with his senior brother in a rural area where he assists in tending the cattle;

(n) Ms. "XX" is learning to become a seamstress. In prison she learned some dressmaking. She was imprisoned on 26 May 1988, and released on 20 August 1992. While in prison she managed to complete standard 7 and passed the PSLE. After her release she started extra lessons in dressmaking from a private person through the assistance of a social worker. She believes that she has advanced considerably and that she is now capable of starting a small dressmaking business on her own;

(o) Ms. "XY" assists in teaching at a nursery school. She went to prison in 1987 and was released in 1990. She had completed the PSLE before being convicted. While in prison she took a correspondence course, but was unable to advance far towards the GCE. After her release she tried unsuccessfully to continue with her studies. She was subsequently assisted by a social worker to obtain employment as an assistant teacher in a nursery school. Her educational background is far advanced for the nursery school, but she believes it is better than idling about. In any case, since she does not possess a GCE, she does not see any prospect of getting another job;

(p) Mr. "K" runs a bottle shop (that is, a liquor shop). He left prison after four years (1986-1990). He claims to have acquired some basic education in prison, which is helping him with his accounts. He underwent training in welding in prison, but did not find an employer in that field. In the end he started a small retail shop in 1991 and subsequently expanded it to sell liquor;

(q) Ms. "XZ" is unemployed and lives in a rural area. She was in prison for two years, from 1989 to 1991. She was working with a financial institution when she was sentenced. She attempted a correspondence course in accounting, but the period of her incarceration was too short for her to make any meaningful progress. Similarly, she could not acquire any different skill in prison, although she took a course in knitting. Even if she wants to practise it, she cannot do so now as she is nursing a baby of six months. She hopes to be able to do something in dressmaking in the future;

(r) Ms. "XXX" had passed the PSLE and was a nursing assistant when she was imprisoned for a term of three years. In prison she started a correspondence course for the Junior Certificate, but was unable to complete it. After her release she continued with her studies and completed the Junior Certificate in two years. She is planning to enter a university in the future, after she has completed the GCE. In the meantime, she works part time as a sales person in a small retail shop. Although she learned gardening, she does not want it to be her profession;

(s) Mr. "L" is now studying computer science at a private institution. He went to prison in 1990, and was released in 1992. He was preparing for the Junior Certificate examination when he was imprisoned. He completed it in prison, and after his release he spent one year trying to find a job. As he was not successful, he decided to improve his qualifications. That led to his enrolment in the computer science programme;

(t) Mr. "M" is a teacher at one of the Brigade Institutions in the country. The Brigades were set up to provide vocational training for those who are unable to make any further progress with their academic training. He was imprisoned between 1982 and 1989. During that period he managed to complete the Junior Certificate, and started a correspondence course towards the GCE. After his release he decided to enter a teacher training college, which he completed in 1992. He has since found employment with the Brigade;

(u) Mr. "N" was released from prison in March 1993, after having spent two years and seven months in jail. He studied for the Junior Certificate, but was unable to complete it. He has not been able to continue since his release. Neither has he been able to find any employment, since his release is very recent. Further, the vocational training in auto mechanics which he pursued did not go far enough for him to obtain employment in that field;

(v) Ms. "XXY" sells flowers to companies and churches in the capital. She was released from prison in 1991 after three years. She was illiterate at the time of her imprisonment, and took vocational training in gardening. She also took a keen interest in the literacy programme. She is pursuing her gardening career with enthusiasm;

(w) Mr. "O" went to prison after he had completed his GCE. In prison he pursued a correspondence course for GCE advanced level. He spent three years in prison, between 1989 and 1992. He was registered for the advanced-level examination, which he sat in May and June of 1993, passing in two subjects. He plans to enter the university during the 1994/95 academic year.

The foregoing examples give a clear picture that in most cases prison education has helped the inmates in their future social life. They can, however, be misleading, in the sense that the material is drawn mainly from success stories, to which access was provided by the social workers of the Prisons Department. There are others, particularly those who did not take part in education, who are still roaming the streets, either because society has rejected them, or because they have no skills to enable them to find employment. That is the surest way to recidivism.

I. Conclusions

Prison education as practised in one African country has been examined above. A few references to practices in other African countries were attempted. While prison education is taken seriously by the Botswana Prisons Service, the study reveals some shortcomings which need to be addressed. For example, those serving short terms could still be given some form of education, even if they are not expected to complete their programmes in prison. In such cases, they should be encouraged and where appropriate assisted to continue with their programmes after their release. The majority of the inmates interviewed expressed the belief that education would help them to develop their interests, to acquire usable skills, and to establish themselves after release.

In the field of vocational training, it appears from the study that most of the ex-offenders interviewed had succeeded in putting to practical use the vocational skills they learned while in prison. But as was pointed out, the picture may not be as satisfactory as it appears because of the nature of the sample made available.

XIV. The German-learning needs of non-Germans in prisons in North Rhine-Westphalia

Martin Drüeke and Manfred Prinz

Within the framework of the Basic Education in Prisons project of the UNESCO Institute for Education, a group of students from the "German for Foreigners" department of the German Faculty of the University of Düsseldorf set out to explore the situation of foreign inmates in German prisons and their views on their educational needs. Those very committed students wrote questionnaires, visited prisons, and spoke with teachers, students, prison security officers, psychologists and others. Little by little, the conversations became more important and the questionnaires gradually slipped into the background. They heard about literature projects and the personal problems of the prisoners, and they learned of highly motivated teachers and equally enthusiastic pupils. Material and information from the Ministry of Justice of North Rhine-Westphalia was also analysed.

Those inmates initially selected for interview were participants in courses of German as a foreign language. Teachers and agencies organizing the courses were also questioned.

The project of the University of Düsseldorf also dealt with many of the problems of German prisoners, with particular emphasis on the situation of female inmates and the production of prison literature. A full report on the investigation of those matters by the groups of students is available elsewhere [241].

The present report, however, limits itself to the language-learning needs of non-Germans.

A. The prison system in North Rhine-Westphalia

Germany is a federal republic with 16 federal states, called Länder. Education and justice are the responsibility of the Länder, and can be quite different in each Land. The present report is therefore restricted to North Rhine-Westphalia.

Before discussing the special situation of foreigners in German prisons, the following figures describing the general situation with regard to the prison population in North Rhine-Westphalia should be noted:

- (a) On 31 March 1992, there were 15,305 individuals in prison, of whom 508 were women and 32 per cent of the total were foreigners;
- (b) Of the total of 15,305, a third were in prison on remand;
- (c) A third of all prisoners were juveniles between 14 and 21 years of age;
- (d) Fifty-nine per cent of the men, 61 per cent of the women, and 94 per cent of the young juveniles had learned no trade or profession.

B. Education in prison

In the official declaration of the Land Ministry of Justice, education is the most important part of resocialization. That argument is based on the fact that most of the prisoners have low educational attainments, 48 per cent of them not having obtained a school-leaving certificate. That situation is confirmed by the low figure given above for vocational qualifications.

In order to strengthen the self-confidence and personality of inmates, to enable them to deal more easily with conflict situations, and to help to ensure that they can find and keep a job after release, education and training leading to school and vocational examinations can be made up in prison and the relevant qualifications obtained. In 1991, 1,431 inmates obtained qualifications equivalent to a school-leaving certificate, 2,426 male and 199 female inmates obtained trade or professional qualifications, and 102 took part in literacy classes. There are staff teachers in prisons for basic education. They also organize the education provided by other social, church or public organizations, or by local adult education colleges in the fields of vocational and social training and drug and alcohol problems.

C. German for non-Germans in prison

The German classes for non-Germans in North Rhine-Westphalia are given by the *Internationaler Bund für Sozialarbeit* (International Federation for Social Work), based at Wuppertal. It is an independent State-supported organization that promotes social and educational measures for disadvantaged young people, foreigners and newly arrived ethnic Germans.

Each year, that organization educates around 1,000 inmates, perhaps two thirds of whom are remand prisoners. That figure represents approximately a third of all foreign prisoners in North Rhine-Westphalia.

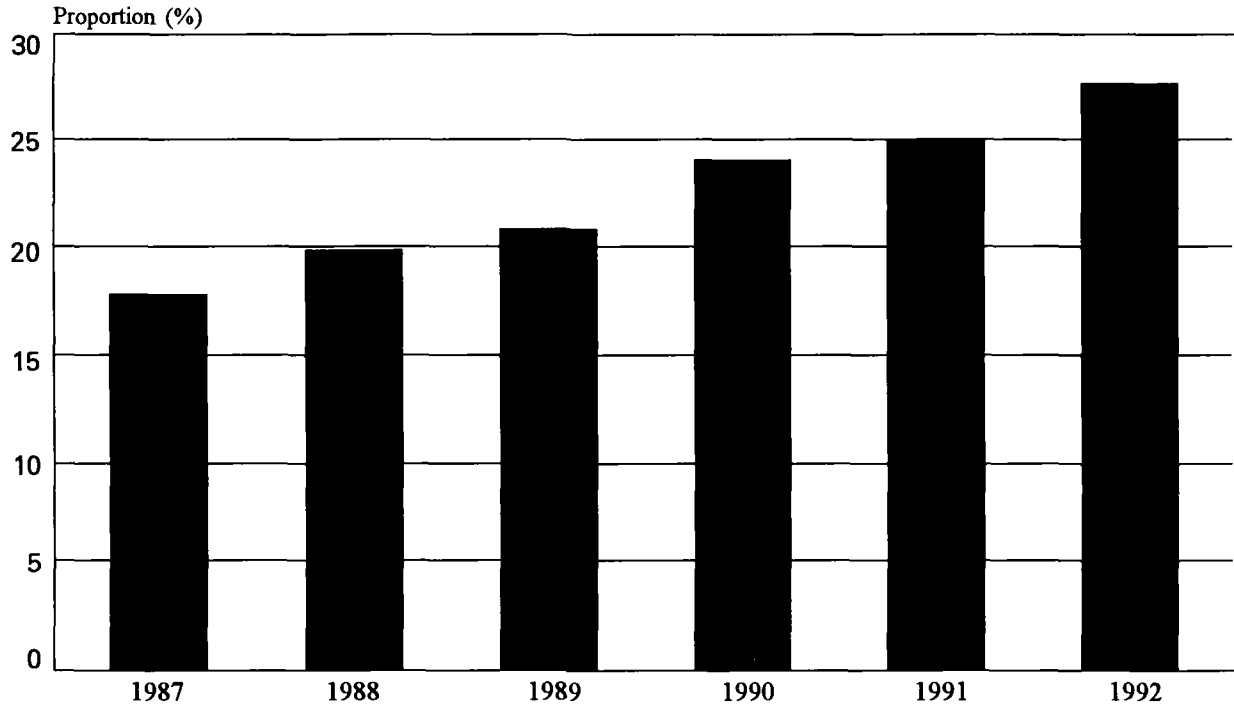
The German classes are divided into three levels. Before taking part in a class, the student has to take a test to establish the appropriate level. Each course lasts around three months. After reaching the third level (for beginners, therefore, after some 40 weeks), students are able to take examinations in the German language or to enter training leading to a vocational qualification.

D. The proportion of foreigners among the prison population

German classes are very necessary when one considers that the percentage of foreign prisoners is ever increasing. In 1987, 17.7 per cent of all suspects were foreigners, while in 1992 the proportion had risen to 27.7 per cent, including members of foreign armed forces (see figure I). The largest numbers came from Turkey, followed (as a group) by Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Slovenia (shown in Ministry figures as "former Yugoslavia" - see figure II). According to Ministry records, over half of all foreign prisoners are foreign workers from countries of the European Community or from traditional German "guest-worker" countries (Morocco, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Tunisia, Turkey, and the "former Yugoslavia"). The other half come mainly, and particularly in recent years, from eastern and south-eastern Europe and from central and western Africa.

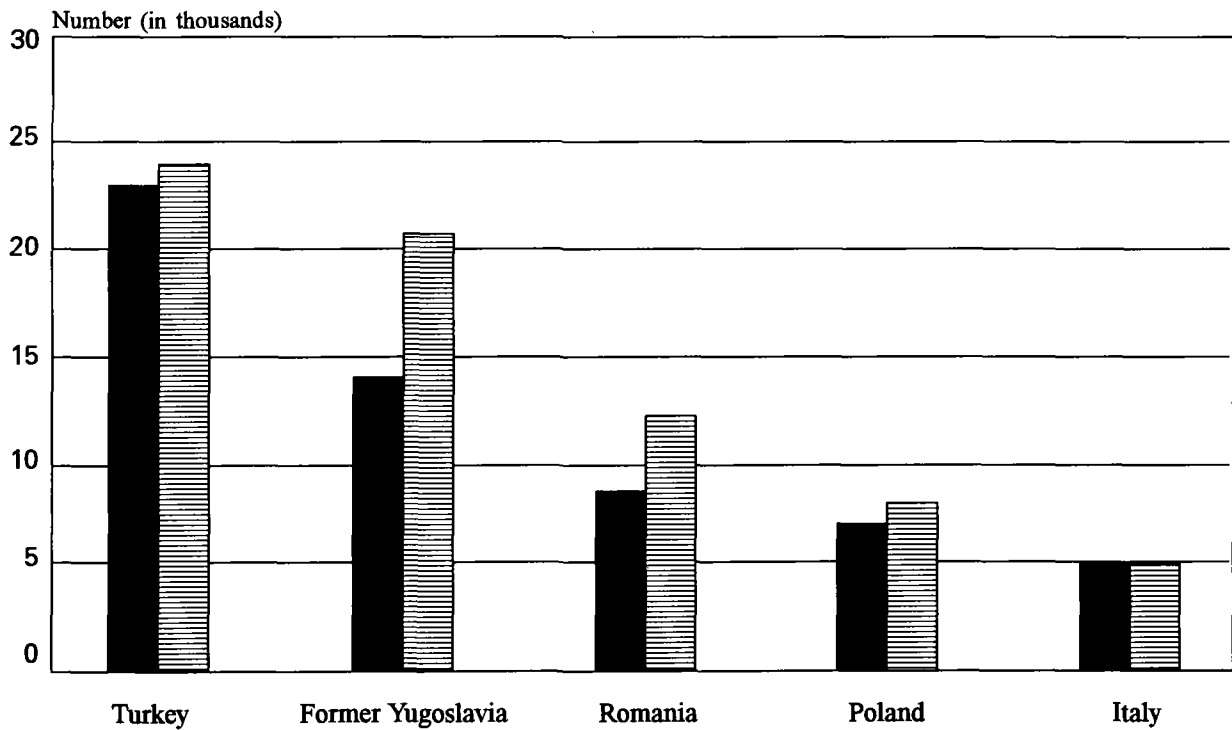
The majority of foreign suspects are formally charged and held in prison. That means that the percentage of foreigners actually in prison is higher than their proportion among suspects. Here too, there has been an increase in recent years (see figure III). As of 31 January 1993, 38 per cent of prison inmates were foreigners.

Figure I. Proportion of foreigners among suspects



Source: Ministry of the Interior of North Rhine-Westphalia.

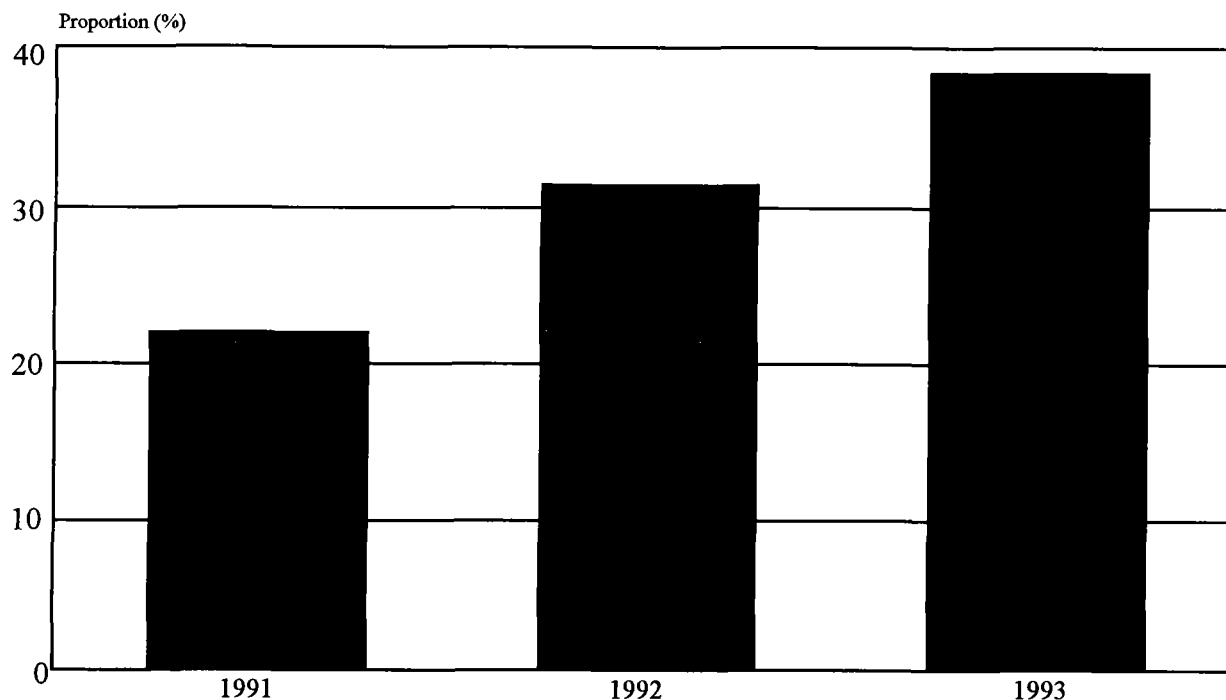
Figure II. Distribution of foreign suspects by nationality



Source: Ministry of the Interior of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Key: ■ 1990 ▨ 1992

Figure III. Proportion of foreign inmates in the penal institutions of North Rhine-Westphalia

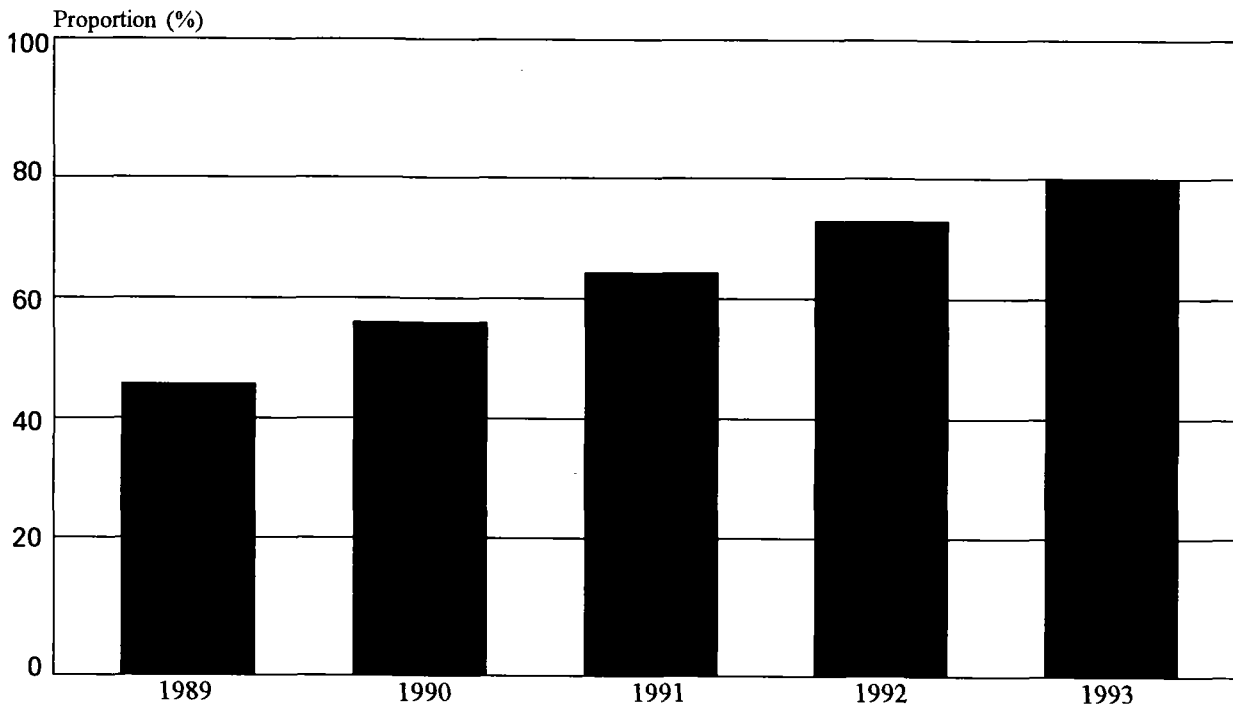


Source: Rheinland Prison, as of 1 January 1993.

However, there should be a differentiation between remand prisoners and those already convicted, and between juveniles and adults. Of those in prison on remand, 50 per cent were non-Germans in 1993. The percentage of foreigners among juveniles on remand is even higher. In institutions serving major cities, the figure exceeds 60 per cent; with over 80 per cent of foreigners, Düsseldorf has the most dramatic situation (see figure IV).

Amongst convicted prisoners, a third are foreigners. However, in those prisons where inmates in a higher security category are kept (so-called category C prisons), the percentage is lower, at 15.6 per cent. It is reasonable to conclude that because of an allegedly higher risk of suspects fleeing, the percentage of remand prisoners who are foreigners is considerably higher than among convicted prisoners. That does not directly concern the authors as educationists. The question arises, however, as to whether they will be deported. The quota of foreigners is high, and they must be seen as human beings with a right to education.

Figure IV. Proportion of foreign inmates in the Juvenile Detention Centre of Düsseldorf Prison



Source: Düsseldorf Prison

E. Findings from interviews in prisons

In order to receive as much input as possible, the research group made contact with nearly all the 40 penal establishments in the Land. On account of the difficult situation of the foreign inmates, it was far from easy to obtain valid and systematic answers to questions about their perceptions of learning needs and the available provision. From the data obtained during visits, the composite picture described below could none the less be drawn up.

1. The situation of visiting teachers

It is difficult to find the necessary teaching staff because many prospective teachers imagine prisons to be full of violence, drugs and highly armed guards. That is not true. Admittedly, working in a prison is not easy, and high demands are made on teaching staff. The physical conditions are relatively unattractive, particularly in older prisons. The classrooms are often in a desolate condition. There are no cassette recorders, no overhead projectors, only a blackboard. In some prisons, teachers are not allowed to have their own keys. They therefore have to rely on security officers to let them in and out. The atmosphere (no flowers, no pictures, only steel, concrete and bars) is psychologically very strenuous, particularly at the beginning. The special challenge for teachers is that they are not only there as teachers, but often have also to be conversation partners, social workers or simply people who listen. Because of their deficient knowledge of German, foreign inmates cannot talk with the psychologist, the social worker or the chaplain.

2. The situation of the non-German inmates

The psychological pressures on inmate students are very high, especially in remand prisons. The insecurity of not knowing what punishment awaits them drives many to desperation. Many students are very concerned about their next appearance before the court, or about their families at home.

Many young inmates have a history of living in children's homes, either because of missing parents or on account of past offences. That brings the corresponding effects, such as a readiness to lie and to steal and problems related to drugs and institutional subcultures. Students must therefore first learn socially acceptable behaviour. Their experience in school was mostly one of failure. Nevertheless, their motivation in German classes is mostly quite high. In many prisons there are long waiting lists, sometimes of up to two months. It is only in prison that many recognize that they have no hope of finding work in Germany without a good command of the German language. The realization that it is the absence of qualifications that has caused them to be behind bars then occurs to most of them. The pressure of spending 21 hours a day alone in an eight-square-metre cell also certainly contributes to such reflections.

There are indeed some foreign inmates who have completed vocational training in their home country, but whose qualifications are not recognized in Germany, and who are therefore unable to practise their trade or profession.

The situation of foreign inmates is more difficult than that of Germans. They are strangers in the country, with the consequent difficulties of adaptation, rendered more problematic in the prison environment. Very often their families are still in their native countries, so that their isolation is increased by the absence of visits from family members.

For foreigners, knowledge of German is a prerequisite for survival in prison, because only those who can make themselves understood can join in day-to-day life. Even for such simple issues as obtaining a bar of soap or writing paper, or for more important matters such as organizing a meeting with a social worker, it is necessary to fill out a form.

F. The importance of learning German

The declared goal of imprisonment is to hinder or reduce the possibility of an ex-offender relapsing into criminality, by enabling him or her to develop vocational and social skills required for resocialization. That is why prisons in North Rhine-Westphalia, as elsewhere, offer so many opportunities for inmates to educate themselves. However, non-German speakers must obviously learn enough German to enable them to participate. This will mean a delay before they can enjoy the full range of opportunities available to German speakers.

It is therefore reasonable to conclude that for the foreseeable future there will be a considerable need for teaching the German language to those for whom it is not the mother tongue or a language of customary use.

XV. A post-release follow-up of correctional education programmes in Maryland, United States of America (completers released in 1990-1991)

David Jenkins, Jennifer Pendry and Stephen J. Steurer

One important element in the evaluation of correctional education programmes is the impact of those programmes on the post-release experiences of incarcerated students. Frequently, programme evaluation is limited to programme participation variables. Raymond Bell of Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in a presentation to the Correctional Education Leadership Forum at Washington D.C. on 27 February 1989, concluded that evaluation efforts in correctional education remain sporadic and of dubious quality. Bell's conclusion echoes those of Mark Rowh [224], who described the evaluation of research in prison-based vocational education as a virtual vacuum. Post-release evaluation, including data on return to prison, is certainly not the only criterion for programme success, as correctional education programmes have important functions in the orderly and safe operation of correctional facilities.

Programme evaluation in correctional education has taken an increasing importance in the early 1990s as nearly all levels of government in the United States and throughout the world have been faced with increasing financial pressure leading to the downsizing or elimination of treatment programmes for prisoners. Increasingly, programme administrators are coming to realize that they must be able to demonstrate that correctional education programmes have an impact on the post-release success of inmates in obtaining employment and not reverting to crime. A number of recent studies on the effect of correctional education programmes in the United States are reviewed in the following section.

A. Previous research

Nearly all reviews of previous research in correctional education began with the article by Robert Martinson entitled "What Works? Questions and Answers About Prison Reform" [175]. Martinson's answer to that question, based on a review of reports published from 1945 to 1967, was that "... with few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitation efforts that have been reported so far have no appreciable effect on recidivism". His conclusions have frequently been associated with the shift from a treatment and rehabilitation orientation in corrections to a just deserts and justice orientation, at least in the United States.

Since the landmark article by Martinson, a number of studies have been conducted that suggest that correctional education programmes have, indeed, a positive impact on the post-release performances of inmates in the areas of employment and reversion to criminal activity. In the United States, studies have come from the Federal Bureau of Prisons and various State programmes reflecting the federal system of government in the United States, where both the national Government and the individual states operate criminal justice systems.

In 1988, the Illinois Council on Vocational Education of the Illinois Department of Correction funded a 12-month follow-up of randomly selected releasees. The study of 760 releasees included the following four groups [130]:

- (a) Those who completed academic education programmes only;
- (b) Those who completed vocational programmes only;
- (c) Those with both academic and vocational completion;
- (d) A control group.

The study found a positive association with programme completion and post-release employment. Releasees who completed academic or vocational education programmes did better than the control group, and inmates who completed both vocational and secondary school education had greater chance of securing employment and avoiding criminal behaviour.

In New York State, 300 inmate participants in a post-secondary education programme were evaluated in terms of their post-release experiences. Post-release employment histories, criminal records, earnings and education participation data were collected. Participation in the prison college programme was determined to be positively related to post-release success in obtaining employment and lower recidivism rates [291].

In 1992, the Federal Bureau of Prisons released a major evaluation on the impact of industrial and vocational skill training on various instructional and post-release measures of success [228]. That major study involving 7,000 inmates concluded that inmates participating in the programme did significantly better than a matched group of inmates who had not participated in the training. Specifically, inmates in the study group were shown to have significantly better performance in the following areas: institutional adjustment; employment during their halfway house stay prior to release; adjustment on community supervision; and employment in the community upon release.

The above-mentioned findings were most encouraging because of the size of the study group, the availability of a comparison group and the methodological rigour of the study. A recent study in Alabama focused on the impact of academic and technical education on the return rates (recidivism) of inmates who completed courses during the study period from 1987 to 1991. The study reported dramatic differences in the recidivism rates of inmates completing the course (5 per cent) versus the general population of releasees in Alabama (35 per cent). The Alabama study also reported dramatic, and unexplained, variations in the recidivism rates associated with the individual technical school programmes, ranging from zero to 25 per cent recidivism. The zero recidivism rate was for a technical school with only 10 releasees, although schools with over 500 releasees were reported to have recidivism rates of only 1 per cent. Further studies are certainly needed to explain those variations among similar educational programmes.

In Maryland, several studies have evaluated the post-release success of releasees in terms of securing employment, successful community supervision and return to prison. Those studies have included academic and vocational completers as well as inmates who were trained in prison industries programmes. The 1989 study of Jenkins and Mumford obtained data from parole agents on the success of educational completers in obtaining employment after release from prison as well as success on parole. They concluded that completers of high school equivalency and skill training programmes were significantly more likely to secure employment than completers of an adult basic education programme. Completers of post-secondary education programmes (two- or four-year degree-granting programmes) were the most likely to obtain employment; however, the number of cases was quite small (N = 11) [145].

A follow-up of inmates who completed one year or more of industries training (apprentices and on-the-job training) was conducted in 1992 by State Use Industries (SUI), the Maryland prison industries department. SUI determined that their releasees were earning hourly wages significantly higher (\$5.47 per hour) than the federal minimum wage (\$3.65 per hour). Inmates with one year of training were also less likely to recidivate than the general population of releasees, although that population can serve only as a very generalized comparison group since it includes inmates who completed other skill training programmes and who may have gained training or work experience prior to their imprisonment. Overall, completers of industries training were 25 per cent less likely to return to prison than the general population of releasees.

B. Methodology

Attempts to follow up releasees from prison to evaluate their post-release success have taken a number of forms. Generally, mail surveys seeking information directly from the inmates have been plagued by very low return rates which suggest that the results are not valid. Other studies have relied on data bank matching. In Florida, the effectiveness of correctional vocational education programmes was evaluated by matching the social security number of the releasee with various statewide data banks on employment and school enrolment. The data bank matching methodology yielded information on a variety of employment and training issues. A major concern in the data bank matching methodology is reliance on social security numbers to link the files, because an inmate may either use bogus or multiple social security numbers or simply fail to remember his or her social security number. Other studies have used various incentives to encourage inmates to participate in face-to-face interviews. Generally, inmates are difficult to contact because of a lack of stable residence and a desire to disassociate themselves from the experience of their imprisonment.

The present study relied on the same methodology as a number of previous studies conducted in Maryland by SUI and correctional education staff, based on a post-release telephone survey of the supervising parole agent. This methodology avoided the difficulties of a mail survey and maximized the collection of data. Nearly all inmates released from Maryland prisons are supervised by agents of the Division of Parole and Probation for approximately one year.

In Maryland, 46 per cent of all persons released from prison return to prison within three years. The first year is the most significant time for reoffending, with 19.7 per cent of the releasees returning to prison - that represents 43 per cent of the three-year return rate. By the end of the second year, 78 per cent of those who will be reincarcerated within the three years have returned to prison. The three-year follow-up is typical of United States studies, instead of the five years which is more typical in European countries.

In most cases, agents are aware of the employment status of releasees and, of course, their success as parolees. Although the intensity of community supervision of parolees varies with the nature of the offence and the criminal record of the releasee, for most inmates parole supervision includes the following:

- (a) Three contacts with the supervising agent per month;
- (b) One visit by the parole agent to the home of the parolee every two months;
- (c) Monitoring of the participation of the parolee in any special conditions of his or her parole (required drug and/or alcohol treatment, counselling or other therapies);
- (d) Verification of employment;
- (e) Periodic check of the computerized criminal justice record system by the parole agent to monitor arrest and other indicators of criminal activity.

Correctional education programmes throughout the state provided the names of inmates who had completed one or more major programmes (adult basic education, general equivalency diploma, vocational skill training or college) during the period 1989 to 1990. The Research and Statistics Office of the Secretary, Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services, ran those names against the current locator file to determine who had been released from prison and to identify the supervising parole agent. Those releasees (N = 169) became the subject of the study. Inmates who had left the state, who were released by court order, or who were released as a result of expiration of their sentence were excluded because of difficulties in tracking their post-release experience. Data were obtained on 120 releasees.

Telephone surveys were conducted by the authors of the present chapter. Data were obtained on 120 releasees, although data were not uniformly available on some variables. When the case of the parolee had been closed and the agent was unable to provide the requested data, the case-closing data report filed by the supervising agent was used. Although those reports lacked detailed information on post-release employment, they did provide information on the employment status at release, the percentage of time employed and whether the parole supervision ended satisfactorily.

Finally, a number of demographic and criminal justice variables were obtained on each completed from his or her automated file. Those variables included age, sex, race, sentence length and type of offence. Inmates in the study group were generally similar to inmates in the general population. Table 1 below compares the study group to the general population on demographic and criminal justice variables.

Table 1. Comparison of educational completers with the general inmate population

<i>Item</i>	<i>Average age</i>	<i>Race (percentage of minorities)^a</i>	<i>Percentage of females</i>	<i>Average sentence (months)</i>	<i>Violent offenders^b (percentage)</i>
Study group (N = 120)	30	59	3	116	52
General prison population (N = 19,014)	31	76	4.5	136	47

^aPrimarily African-American.

^bViolent offenders as defined in 643B of the *Annotated Code of Maryland*. Some offence categories are potentially violent acts which did not result in actual violence (such as daytime housebreaking or burglary).

Educational completers in the study group were very similar to the general prison population in key measures of their criminal behaviour - the average length of their sentence and the violent nature of their offence. In terms of demographics, the subjects of the research were essentially the same age as the members of the general population (30 as compared with 31 years of age). Females were somewhat underrepresented in the study group (3 per cent) in comparison to females in the general population (4.5 per cent). The only major difference between the study group and the general population was in terms of race, with 59 per cent of the study group and 76 per cent of the general population being members of minority groups. Correctional enrolments, however, seem to closely resemble the general prison population in terms of race. The study group was selected on the basis of completion of a milestone educational programme rather than enrolment in correctional education programmes, and that may account for the difference.

C. Findings

The central finding of the study is that educational attainment while in prison does make a difference to adult offenders when they return to their communities. Despite the publicity given to especially long sentences, the average inmate of the Division of Correction returns to the community in approximately 40 months. The mission of correctional education is to prepare the inmate for

successful community reintegration, of which employment is a core element.

Inmates are released from prison in a variety of ways, including the following:

(a) Parole - release from prison to a community supervisor by the parole commission based on a review of the inmate's criminal history, current offence and progress;

(b) Mandatory release - release from prison prior to the completion of the entire sentence of the inmate based on reduction of sentence, credits for good behaviour and participation in work or education programmes;

(c) Expiration of sentence - release from prison when the inmate has served the entire sentence imposed by the court for his or her offence;

(d) Commutation of the sentence by a judge resulting in release from prison regardless of the amount of time served.

Generally, inmates who are released by the expiration of their sentence have the worst institutional adjustment records and return to prison more frequently than the other release categories.

Educational attainment while in prison is positively related to success in obtaining employment, the type of employment obtained, hourly wages earned and successful completion of community supervision. Table 2 below illustrates the relationship of programme completion and employment status, as reported by the supervising agents.

The higher the level of educational attainment while in prison, the more likely the releasee was to have obtained employment upon release. Those findings are similar to the ones obtained in Alabama, Arkansas and Illinois, as well as previous follow-up studies in Maryland. Additional research is needed to select a control group of releasees who did not complete educational programmes, but who are similar to the educational completers in other respects. The success of the college graduates is especially noticeable. The results must be seen, however, in light of the small number of cases (N = 9) compared to the number of completers in the other programmes. Despite the small number of college graduates in the study, the results are similar to those obtained previously both in Maryland and other states.

Table 3 illustrates the relationship between the correctional education programme completed and the hourly wages earned, as reported by the parole agents.

Table 2. Correctional education programme completion and employment as reported by parole agents

Programme completed	Percentage of those working or having worked	Percentage of those not having yet worked
Adult basic education (below secondary level)	70 (23 cases)	30 (10 cases)
General equivalency diploma (equivalent to adult high school)	77 (23 cases)	23 (7 cases)
Competency-based skill training (six months) ^a	78 (31 cases)	23 (9 cases)
Post-secondary education leading to AA ^b (two-year) or BA ^c (four-year) college degree	100 (9 cases)	

^aThe programmes are not entirely sequential because skill training programmes do not always require a general equivalency diploma.

^bAssociate of Arts.

^cBachelor of Arts.

Table 3. Correctional education programme completion and hourly wages as reported by parole agents^a

Programme completed	Under \$5 per hour	Over \$5 per hour
Adult basic education	13% (2 cases)	88% (14 cases)
General equivalency diploma	7% (1 case)	93% (14 cases)
Competency-based skill training (six months)	17% (2 cases)	83% (10 cases)
Post-secondary education leading to an AA or BA ^b		100% (4 cases)

^aThe United States minimum wage at the time of the study was \$3.65 per hour.

^bSee table 2.

Inmates who complete a high school equivalency or college programme are more likely to earn a higher hourly wage than inmates who complete an adult basic education or vocational programme, although the differences are not striking. The salaries reflect the earnings of recently released inmates, and, for many, the job they enter after release from prison may well be their first. The financial benefits of training and additional education may become more pronounced after a longer period of time. In addition, the inmates were released during a deep and persistent recession in the United States which tended to flatten out salaries.

In terms of successful adjustment on parole or under mandatory supervision, the impact of educational attainment is less pronounced, as illustrated by table 4.

Table 4. Correctional education programme completion and current parole status

<i>Programme completed</i>	<i>Satisfactory^a (percentage)</i>	<i>Unsatisfactory^b (percentage)</i>
Adult basic education	71 (20 cases)	29 (8 cases)
General equivalency diploma	64 (14 cases)	36 (8 cases)
Competency-based skill training (six months)	68 (25 cases)	32 (12 cases)
Post-secondary education leading to AA or BA ^c	100 (8 cases)	

^aParole currently satisfactory or closed satisfactorily.

^bParole unsatisfactory or closed unsatisfactorily, warrant issued for arrest, technical parole violation, rearrested, or reincarcerated.

^cSee table 2.

All college graduates were reported as adjusting satisfactorily to parole at the time of the survey or had completed their period of supervision satisfactorily. Among the other educational completers, the differences were marginal. Again, a comparison group of non-completers is needed to make a definite statement on the impact of education. Although direct comparisons are not possible, the case-closing report of parole agents on the status of releasees as they ended their period of supervision may provide some limited basis for comparison. For fiscal year 1992, the case-closing reports indicated that among all releasees, 14 per cent had committed a new offence, while only 7 per cent of the study group were reported to have committed a new offence.

In addition to the attempts to assess the impact of educational attainment of the post-release success on inmates, the correlation of the outcome variables (obtaining employment, earnings and type of work) to demographic variables of the study group is informative. Information on the impact of gender is not valid because of the very small number of females included in the study. Future studies should stratify the study group to include a sufficient number of females.

In terms of race, the differences are major and disturbing. Educational completers belonging to minority groups are substantially less likely to have obtained employment, as illustrated by table 5.

Table 5. Ethnic group and employment status

Ethnic group	Percentage of those currently working or having worked	Percentage of those not having worked
Minority	73 (46 cases)	27 (17 cases)
White	92 (44 cases)	8 (4 cases)

Members of minority groups are reported to have earned lower hourly wages, as illustrated by table 6.

Table 6. Ethnic group and wages as reported by parole agents

Ethnic group	Percentage of those with wages under \$5 per hour	Percentage of those with wages of \$5 per hour and over
Minority	25 (5 cases)	75 (15 cases)
White		100 (27 cases)

Members of minority groups are also reported to be employed in lower-skilled jobs after their release from prison, as illustrated by table 7.

Table 7. Ethnic group and type of employment

Ethnic group	Percentage of those in unskilled or service jobs	Percentage of those in skilled trades	Percentage of those in sales or clerical work
Minority	41 (15 cases)	51 (19 cases)	8 (3 cases)
White	19 (7 cases)	73 (27 cases)	8 (3 cases)

Finally, members of minority groups are nearly three times as likely to have never worked since their release from prison as whites in the study (21 per cent as compared with 8 per cent). Minority inmates carry both the stigma of incarceration and minority status. There may also be significant differences between white and minority releasees in terms of previous work history and educational attainment prior to being incarcerated.

In terms of age, younger releasees are much less likely to work, earn lower wages and are less likely to perform satisfactorily under supervision. The relationship between age and employment is illustrated in table 8.

Table 8. Educational completers and employment status as reported by parole agents

Age at release	Percentage of those working or having worked	Percentage of those not having worked
21 and under	58 (7 cases)	42 (5 cases)
22-27	73 (33 cases)	27 (12 cases)
28-33	77 (23 cases)	23 (7 cases)
34-39	79 (11 cases)	21 (3 cases)
40 and over	94 (16 cases)	6 (1 case)

D. Conclusions

Educational attainment while in prison appears, in fact, to make a difference in the lives of incarcerated persons when they return to the community. Those differences are evident in the employment arena. It should be noted that most of the educational completers received no specialist assistance in securing employment upon release, although some of them may have completed a short course on employment readiness skills.

Inmates are released from prison in Maryland in different ways. Approximately 38 per cent are annually released to a pre-release or halfway house unit where they are held in the least restrictive environment. Inmates in pre-release reside in unfenced units in dormitory housing. They participate in work outside the unit, frequently for private employers earning civilian wages. They also are likely to have unsupervised home visits of varying length and may go to job interviews. The remainder of the inmates are released from a secure facility where they are not permitted to work in the community or to leave the institution. Decisions as to who can be granted pre-release security status are made using an objective instrument which considers the criminal history, nature of the offence, institutional adjustment, prior escapes etc.

The present research is limited by the size of the study group and the lack of a control or comparison group. In terms of the study group, the relatively small number of cases precluded the subdividing of the group to control the various factors. For example, did differences between races hold up when controlled for gender?

In terms of a control or comparison group, the findings cannot be conclusively attributed to the impact of educational participation without a group of releasees who had not completed educational programmes while incarcerated (or had come to prison with the credentials in the first place). The availability of a control or comparison group in the Bureau of Prisons study of industries training programmes contributes substantially to the credibility of that study. The use in the present study of the case-closing report of the parole agents provided a very generalized basis for comparison of the post-release employment success and parole supervision of the study group. Despite the shortcomings of the present study, it does represent a commitment to the position that the post-release success of inmates in obtaining employment and maintaining a crime-free life is essential to the evaluation of any correctional education programme. Post-release evaluation provides important data for programme modifications and improvement.

XVI. The El Katta open prison project in Egypt

Mustafa El-Augi

A. Background to the project

The El Katta open prison experience in basic education is the expression of national and international cooperation in the field of crime prevention and the treatment of offenders. It represents the materialization of action-oriented research findings in crime prevention policy by both academic and administrative authorities.

The El Katta project goes back to 1983, when the Police Academy at Cairo and the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) at Rome jointly undertook a research project on crime in Egypt, focusing on the extent of the crime problem in that country and on prison policy and practice. Through an assessment of the existing situation and system, the intention was to establish a baseline for the assessment of changes, and to provide advice and assistance to the Ministry of the Interior in respect to the penitentiary system, so that measures could be identified for improving treatment through training and income-generating activities, for preventing recidivism, and for returning offenders to structures of economic development [265].

That initial investigation led to the following findings:

- (a) Egyptian prisons are overcrowded, the number of prisoners exceeding their official capacity by 30 per cent;
- (b) There are, none the less, large differences between prisons, several being severely overcrowded, while others hold fewer prisoners than their capacity;
- (c) The majority of convicted inmates are under 30 years of age, illiterate and have worked as unskilled labourers;
- (d) Most sentences are shorter than three years;
- (e) Nearly 40 per cent of inmates are deserters from the military service;
- (f) Much is needed to improve basic education and social rehabilitation.

On the basis of those findings, the report of UNICRI and the Police Academy recommended, *inter alia*, that:

- (a) Rehabilitation treatment should focus on combating illiteracy by emphasizing academic basic education, vocational training and social life skills;
- (b) Social service work is an essential element for the rehabilitation of offenders;
- (c) The development of productive activities in prisons is essential.

The above-mentioned recommendations found their application in the El Katta open prison, which was chosen by the Ministry of the Interior of Egypt as a pilot project. After several consultations and meetings between representatives of the Ministry of the Interior and UNICRI, a letter of agreement was signed on 22 February 1989. Subsequently, a master plan was drawn up setting out in detail the components of the agricultural and social rehabilitation schemes.

The financing of the project was shared by the Government of Egypt and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

B. The provision of prison education under Egyptian law and the structure of prisons

Education is provided in accordance with Egyptian law 396 of 1956, article 28 et seq., and with article 15 of Minister of the Interior decision 79 of 1961. It should be made available to all prisoners, according to their age, sentence and previous level of education, but is not compulsory.

The Director General of the central prison administration, with the help of the social department, decides on the education programmes. The Minister of the Interior, on the recommendation of the Director General, appoints the teachers, who perform their duties under the supervision of the prison director and the senior social work officer of each prison.

Each prison contains various units with particular responsibilities under the direct supervision of the Director in such fields as administration, financial control, security, inmates' employment and social work including education. The importance of the various components depends on many factors, including geographical location and the security status and age of the prisoners.

C. The situation of the El Katta prison

El Katta is an agricultural prison extending over 600 hectares, situated 50 kilometres west of Cairo. The soil is sandy but can be reclaimed. The region, irrigated by a canal drawing water from a tributary of the Nile, has private orchards with orange and mango trees and vineyards, an example of how humans, armed with goodwill and faith in their energy, can transform a desert into productive land. Three hundred hectares of the prison land are already planted with orange trees, olives, vines and vegetables.

The 250 male inmates of the prison are accommodated in four recently restored barracks, which still do not meet acceptable standards. New premises are to be constructed in the near future.

The inmates, most of whom are deserters from the armed forces, serve sentences of from six months to three years. Work is compulsory.

D. The social rehabilitation scheme

The development of a social rehabilitation scheme came under the responsibility of UNICRI. After being appointed as project coordinator, the author of the present report went to the site in October 1989, examined the whole situation, evaluated the available means and the capacities of the personnel, and came to the conclusion that a social rehabilitation scheme had to be drawn up, and a team of social workers formed and trained in appropriate techniques.

1. The conception of the social rehabilitation scheme

Noticeable from the beginning was a narrow concept of basic education on the part of the prison administration, which saw it as consisting of the basic school teaching of reading and writing, in addition to some sports and cultural activities. The concept needed to be broadened so as to encompass the development of the personality of the prisoner and his or her vocational capacities and abilities and social integration. Such a concept had been unknown.

In order to determine the content of the broader concept of basic education, the international rules and recommendations of the United Nations and the Council of Europe were used as terms of reference.

Basic education was defined as a broad scheme of social rehabilitation including literacy education, vocational training and personality development. Rule 77 of the European Prison Rules

(Council of Europe recommendation (87) 3 of 12 February 1987) was taken as a model. The rule provides that a complete programme of education should be put into effect in each penal institution, offering to all prisoners the possibility of cultivating at least some of their interests. Achievement of the objectives of the programme should help their social reintegration, sustain their morale, improve their behaviour and help them in protecting their dignity. Use was also made of Council of Europe recommendation R (89) 12, of 13 October 1989, on education in prisons, which sets out in 17 points the conception of education in penal institutions, including personality development, social rehabilitation and reintegration, literacy and cultural education, vocational training and leisure and sports activities (see annex IV to the present *Manual*). During the implementation of the project, that broad conception was endorsed by the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control at its eleventh session, held at Vienna from 5 to 16 February 1990 (E/AC/57/1990/L.5/Rev.1).

2. Elaboration of the El Katta social rehabilitation and basic education scheme

On the basis of the broad conception of basic education agreed upon by both UNICRI and the Egyptian prison administration, a scheme of social rehabilitation for the El Katta prison was worked out during 1989. Its aims were defined as follows:

- (a) To develop the human personality through reinforcement and improvement of individual capacities and potential, and through self-realization, strengthening of self-confidence, openness and conformity with the social and moral norms governing civil life;
- (b) To help modify individual behaviour in so far as such a change is needed in order to achieve conformity with acceptable social norms and to pave the way for social integration, since the acceptance of positive social norms is one aspect of the socialization process;
- (c) To develop the individual's social role through the training of inmates, and to enable them to assume a constructive role in prison and develop normal social relations with the outside world;
- (d) To develop the individual's sense of responsibility towards himself or herself and others, and to foster self-awareness and sound judgement;
- (e) To implement intensive courses of literacy education and of further school education for prisoners with educational experience;
- (f) To implement vocational training courses in agricultural techniques and related mechanical and electrical skills;
- (g) To organize sports and cultural activities with a social rehabilitation dimension.

3. Recruitment of the social workers

With the help of the prison administration, seven social workers already engaged in prison administration and having at least ten years of experience in social work in prisons were recruited. They were led by two senior social workers. A preliminary three-week intensive course familiarized them with the project, focusing especially on the new concept of social work and social rehabilitation.

4. Guidelines for the implementation of the social rehabilitation scheme

A set of guidelines were drawn up for the social workers who were to implement the scheme. The aims were stated as above, and a number of general and specific tasks and relevant factors were set out. They may be summarized as follows:

- (a) Training in organization of time, money and personal relationships;
- (b) Development of the capability to deal with everyday situations in prison and outside;

- (c) Development of communication skills;
- (d) Detection of causes of individual delinquency by applying individual or group therapy;
- (e) Detection of any pathological conditions, provision of treatment and practice of preventive medicine;
- (f) Prevention of the development of psychoses, especially those related to isolation, feelings of guilt and perceived inadequacies, and of intellectual atrophy;
- (g) Provision of appropriate basic education, vocational training and productive activities;
- (h) Provision of civic education and moral, religious and social guidance;
- (i) Development of talents through organized leisure activities;
- (j) Development of a group spirit through sports and general services to others;
- (k) Enhancement of the trust among inmates and between them and the administration and social workers;
- (l) Provision of personal assistance by the social workers in solving problems and resolving conflicts;
- (m) Maintenance of close family ties.

The means of achieving those objectives were also elaborated. They involved the following elements:

- (a) The provision of humane living conditions in prison;
- (b) Active rather than passive participation of inmates in the rehabilitation process, ensured by:
 - (i) The social worker's making sure that the inmates understand the objectives of the scheme;
 - (ii) Acceptance of the proposed programme by the inmates and discussion of modifications;
 - (iii) Assumption of specific responsibilities by inmates, such as preparation of food for the group;
 - (iv) Participation of inmates in the evaluation of progress;
 - (v) Participation of inmates in the management of day-to-day life and in the organization of social and cultural activities;
 - (vi) Inmates taking responsibility for teaching or training others;
 - (vii) Continued practice in prison by inmates of their previous occupation, where practicable;
 - (viii) Participation of inmates in writing and compiling internal newsletters;
 - (ix) Psychological preparation for release;

- (c) Selection of compatible group members, a maximum of 35 per group, by a commission on the basis of the personal records of inmates;
- (d) Continuity of membership within each group, with the provision for transfer on the grounds of incompatibility;
- (e) Differential treatment of group members according to their capacity for group leadership and special needs;
- (f) Establishment of a weekly programme of group activities, to be approved by the prison director;
- (g) Special treatment, and separation where necessary, of those with medical, psychiatric and psychological problems;
- (h) Special programmes for younger offenders;
- (i) Establishment of a system of individual and group rewards;
- (j) Special attention to the recruitment and selection of social workers, who must be able to understand inmates and to diagnose needs;
- (k) Keeping release in mind as the target of rehabilitation;
- (l) Importance of in-built record-keeping and evaluation of the progress of social rehabilitation;
- (m) Periodic retraining of the social workers.

E. The pilot project

Before implementing the entire scheme of social rehabilitation, there was a need to test the capabilities of the social workers in performing their duties, to evaluate their understanding and assimilation of the new concepts, and to determine the response of inmates to the scheme. For that purpose, a group of 35 inmates was chosen, some of whom were serving longer sentences of two or three years. They were briefed on the aims and objectives of the scheme. Parallel groups were formed as a control and engaged in only sporadic social activities. A last group was entirely left out of the scheme in order to test the desire of its members to join.

A social rehabilitation plan was worked out to include: discussion groups twice a week, based on the techniques of group dynamics; literacy classes; sports activities; religious guidance; and cultural or leisure activities.

A period of three months, from October 1989 to January 1990, was set to test the implementation of the scheme, by the end of which an evaluation of the results took place using what was called a cross-evaluation approach involving the social workers themselves, the inmates, the prison administration and the project coordinator.

1. Evaluation of the pilot project

A qualitative evaluation questionnaire was given to each social worker addressing questions such as the following:

- (a) Describe your group's psychological and social situation when you took charge of it: the inmates' attitudes, behaviour, response, morale, comments, solidarity, selfishness, cooperation etc.;

- (b) How did you explain the objectives of the rehabilitation scheme: the vocabulary used, explanations, hopes, examples, questions raised by inmates, their understanding, wishes, approval and disapproval;
- (c) How did you proceed in implementing the plan: timing, location, gathering the inmates, steering action etc.;
- (d) At what time did you record your observations and comments;
- (e) What facts and findings particularly caught your attention;
- (f) How did you see the acceptance or rejection of your plan;
- (g) How did you assess the success or failure of your plan: attitude at work, group discussions, social events, leisure time, sports activities, other indicators etc.;
- (h) What are your suggestions for the continuation of the plan? Do you think it should be modified? How?

The social workers reported on the basis of their observations recorded in daily and weekly reports. The director and field operations assistants also regularly reported their observations to the project coordinator, who discussed and examined with them the outcomes and the further adaptation of the scheme to local needs. The comments of inmates were also assessed.

The results of the evaluation of the inputs were encouraging. With respect to the pilot group fully engaged in the scheme, progress was reported in prisoners' behaviour, self-respect, regularity in attending group activities and teaching, quality and quantity of work, and enthusiasm for continuing the scheme on a larger scale.

The parallel groups, including the one entirely left out, requested integration into the scheme. In the latter case, three of the group members expressed their dissatisfaction to the prison director and senior social workers, revealing their readiness to accept the social rehabilitation scheme, their understanding of its objectives, and their realization of what they might gain from it.

2. Adjustment following the pilot project's results

On the basis of the observations and reports of the social workers, the following steps were taken:

(a) A new intensive training course on group dynamics lasting one month was organized for the social workers by the Faculty of Social Work of Halwan University at Cairo. The presentation of the course, led by the Dean, Vice-Dean and two professors who had specialized in group dynamics, alternated between the university and the prison. Demonstrations were given by the professors at the prison;

(b) The Faculty of Social Work was subsequently invited to appoint a professor, a monitor and six students to organize and participate in training sessions in the prison. Those students, who were near to graduation, were to take over some of the duties of the social workers who showed weaknesses in performing their duties or who wanted to leave the scheme;

(c) Sports and cultural equipment were provided for the scheme;

(d) Extra allowances were paid to the social workers;

(e) Living conditions were improved in the prison by a relaxation of regulations, which led to the dormitories becoming cleaner, greater participation in cultural and social activities, greater freedom of expression for inmates, improved quality of the food cooked by inmates, solidarity in carrying out community work, and a greater group spirit in place of earlier selfishness;

(f) The security staff - unarmed soldiers with no direct contact with inmates but who sometimes voluntarily shared in the agricultural work - were briefed on the objectives of the scheme. Their contribution was emphasized.

F. The next stage: implementing the entire social rehabilitation scheme

The social rehabilitation scheme was implemented throughout the prison in November 1990. The inmates were divided into groups, each comprising 35 members, under the leadership of a social worker.

A personal record was established for each inmate, continuing his or her history, situation in prison, educational and vocational capabilities, individual and group behaviour, aspirations and future plans etc. After being briefed on the purpose of making the record, inmates were invited to give the personal details they wished to reveal, being permitted to abstain from giving what they deemed to be private concerns.

The social workers were requested to keep a register in which to record all available information about their group's performance, attitudes, participation, progress, work output etc. A weekly social rehabilitation programme was drawn up and put into action with the approval of the director. Personal and team evaluation became a regular duty. In the light of the results, modification and adaptation of the programme took place.

Religious teaching continued to be provided once a week by outside sheikhs and priests.

1. The element of social work

The components of the programme were the same as those of the pilot project. However, the social work was completed on three complementary levels. The first level consisted in the presence of the social worker among the prisoners while doing their work. Informal conversations, assessments, guidance and comments thereby occurred between the social worker and the inmates.

The second level consisted in organizing group discussions on themes suggested by the social worker or raised by the inmates. Those discussions were conducted in accordance with the techniques of group dynamics, focusing on the development of the inmate's personality, self-confidence in expressing his or her opinions and discussing them with peers, accepting the views of others, submitting to the discipline and decisions of the group, performing group duties in the interest of all members, accepting and assuming responsibilities within the group, organizing social, cultural and sports events, reinforcing his or her role among peers - in other words, stressing participation in the life of the group and in social rehabilitation.

The third level consisted in private consultations provided by the social worker to inmates seeking help and advice in order to solve personal, family or work-related problems.

2. Literacy

As for the eradication of illiteracy, an intensive programme was created, conducted by teachers trained in the special methods of adult education, by the social workers themselves and by some educated inmates. The latter were satisfied to assume a role that rehabilitated them in their own view as well as in that of other inmates.

Literacy was seen as an integral part of the scheme, and was not taught in the same way as reading and writing in school, despite the need to use school books provided by the prison administration because of the lack of suitable adult materials. No difficulties were encountered with the books, however.

Literacy courses were scheduled on the basis of the availability of groups. The agricultural working hours continued to be respected, so that a flexible timetable for literacy and cultural activities was developed. For instance, the irrigation team performed its duties early in the morning and late in the afternoon, being available for literacy classes between 10 a.m. and 12 noon, and between 2 and 4 p.m.

Of the 250 inmates, approximately 200 (80 per cent) were allocated to a literacy course. Many of them had admitted their illiteracy during the compilation of the personal records. The initial rate of attendance of those allocated was 85 per cent; the remainder either lacked confidence in their ability to learn, or did not believe in the usefulness of learning, or were satisfied with their level of literacy. With time, and with the progress of their peers, they abandoned their reluctance and came to follow the lessons with more or less enthusiasm. That attitude is reflected in the answers of inmates to the subsequent evaluation questionnaire, as discussed below.

3. Sports and cultural activities

Leisure time was filled with sports and cultural activities. The administrative personnel lost their earlier suspicions and actively participated. Some officers even chose to spend their weekends among the inmates conducting such activities, an initiative that had a remarkable effect on the morale of the inmates.

G. Assessment of the effects of the social rehabilitation scheme

The first large-scale assessment of the effects of the scheme was carried out in May 1991, after it had been running for six months. During those six months, periodic evaluations and adjustments had been made under the supervision of the project coordinator.

The large-scale assessment was undertaken by the social workers, the prison administration, the project coordinator and the inmates. The evaluation by social workers and staff was made on the basis of observation and personal analysis, while questionnaires were distributed to inmates. As in the pilot project, the results were compiled and cross-checked by the project coordinator in order to achieve an overview and make a composite report.

1. Assessment by the staff

As for the quality and quantity of agricultural work, the director of production said that there had been an increase in production, due to better regularity in irrigation and care given to the plantations. The inmates no longer considered their work as a compulsory duty, but as an expression of their own skills and prestige. Competition among the groups was also a stimulant to all inmates to raise the production and quality of crops in the plantations.

2. Assessment by the inmates

The answers of inmates to the questionnaires distributed were recorded by the social workers and by the students fulfilling the same functions. Inmates were advised that they could abstain from answering any or all questions, and that their answers would remain anonymous.

The results reflected their satisfaction with the social rehabilitation scheme. They felt that a noticeable change was taking place in the psychological atmosphere of the prison and in their own attitudes and behaviour. Also, they felt that progress had occurred through the literacy courses in

their abilities to read and write. Equally, they noticed an improvement in their personal hygiene, appearance, cleanliness, discipline and social relations with other inmates, as well as a reinforcement of their family ties.

The results were sufficiently satisfactory to allow the social rehabilitation scheme to continue in the direction foreseen. The positive evaluations by inmates were confirmed by the staff, who noted a general relaxation of tension and increased understanding within the prison community.

3. Assessment by the university staff

The team was composed of a professor from the Faculty of Social Work of the University of Halwan, a monitor and six students who were assigned to El Katta for three months in 1991. Their concept was to organize demonstrations in group dynamics, to assess the performance of the social workers and to provide them with guidance, to watch and assess the progress of the scheme, to integrate the training of the student members of the team, and to prepare a final report.

Their conclusions may be summarized as follows:

- (a) The university team first had to win the confidence of the prison staff in order to perform their duties without administrative obstacles;
- (b) A mutual understanding between the faculty team and the social workers led to cooperation stimulated by the desire to acquire more knowledge on behalf of the latter;
- (c) As for the inmates, the team remarked that steady progress was made in the various components of social rehabilitation. More active participation took place in the group discussions. Individual behaviour was deemed satisfactory. A certain dignity appeared to be a feature accompanying the performance of duties. The inmates became more communicative with others. Literacy education progressed in conformity with the scheduled programme.

H. Outcomes of the project for other penal institutions

The central prison administration of the Ministry of the Interior disseminated reports of the progress of the El Katta project to the other prisons, with the result that staff from elsewhere requested permission to pay information visits to El Katta, to implement similar social rehabilitation schemes in their prisons, and to be trained in the new techniques. The central prison administration promised to take such steps in the near future.

The involvement of university staff and students was profitable both for them and for the central prison administration. On the basis of the experience of the professor concerned, and of the project coordinator, the Faculty of Social Work of Halwan University created a centre for social rehabilitation in penal institutions and a specialized diploma in that field.

For its part, the prison administration undertook to appoint the newly graduated students as social workers in Egyptian penal institutions. There were, in fact, 300 vacancies to fill. Since the job market is very tight and graduates face enormous difficulties in finding a job in the prison administration or in the private or public sector, that initiative therefore resulted incidentally in new job opportunities.

I. Follow-up of the project

The social rehabilitation scheme began as a project of limited duration in October 1989, but the scheme itself continues. Following the final assessment by the project team in May 1991, a halt was made in further extension until the project's components were fully assessed and integrated by the local and central prison authorities.

However, in July 1992 the Director of El Katta prison informed the author of the present report by letter that the social rehabilitation scheme was satisfactorily progressing. The social workers were continuing to follow the project guidelines, and a hall had been built to house social and cultural activities, while the construction of other new premises was still under consideration. The Director expressed his satisfaction with the performance of the literacy programme, while inmates who were already literate or had become so were following higher-grade classes. It is understood that the Director of the prison has been in correspondence with the Ministry of the Interior to request renewed support for the project from UNICRI.

J. Indications of long-term effects of social rehabilitation

The author is not aware of any studies having been conducted to follow up ex-inmates after release from the El Katta prison. However, there are several indications of a positive outcome.

During the 36 months of the experience, no prisoner attempted to escape. While those from remote regions were not seen again after release, some from homes nearer to El Katta who could afford the journey returned to report on their new situation or to bring presents to former fellow inmates.

K. Conclusions

It was clearly observed that basic education, in the broad concept of social rehabilitation, can have a positive effect on prisoners. The experience of the project suggests that intensive, short-term programmes of three to six months can be considered beneficial when developed and implemented by experienced staff and competent technicians.

There is an advantage to such short-term programmes in that they act as an incentive to activate the various components of an education plan. It should be noted that no social rehabilitation and basic education scheme can continue indefinitely with the same participants. The cycle of repetition will therefore depend on the length of sentences served by inmates in a given institution and the speed of their progress.

XVII. Education through arts in penitentiary institutions in the Netherlands

Joke Holdtgrefe

In the Netherlands, which has a population of over 15 million, approximately 8,000 inmates, distributed over 43 institutions, are serving sentences in remand homes and prisons.

Most of the institutions for long-term inmates have worked with artists and teachers for many years, as was the case in other countries. What makes the situation in the Netherlands unique, however, is the fact that since 1984, prison officers have been trained to supervise inmates during activities of all kinds. Arts education is one of those activities.

A. Prison reform

In 1943, in the midst of the Second World War, the United Kingdom art critic, Sir Herbert Read, wrote in his book *Education through Art* that education can be nothing else than the development of one's individual and social awareness [215]. Consequently, education is a unification of two processes: on the one hand, personal development, and, on the other, the welfare of society. Read was of the opinion that especially the aesthetic sensibility of human beings could support that growing awareness. As a result, his book is a passionate plea for arts education.

That implicit idea forms the basis of arts education as it is now taking place in prisons in the Netherlands. Arts education is also directly rooted in the Second World War, since an entirely different type of inmate from the traditional criminal became acquainted with the phenomenon called prison under the German occupation. The first initiative for arts education originated from the circles of resistance fighters and hostages, so-called political prisoners, after the war. During the 1950s their dedication to practical reform of the prison system resulted in more open prison gates. Occasionally, artists and craftsmen, as well as those who work in the field of sociocultural education, were given the opportunity to work with inmates in order to execute projects in the arts and crafts.

Those experiments, for example working with textiles, leather and wood, were by no means laid down in any national policy, and, consequently, continued to depend on the efforts of idealistic individuals. Often, more attention was paid to occupational therapy and supervision than to the development and encouragement of creative skills. However, during the 1950s and 1960s a gradual change took place, resulting in arts education as it is now known.

In retrospect, it was no surprise that such a breakthrough took place around 1970. The time was ripe, so to speak. A number of places independently started their own activities in the field of visual arts. It is difficult to determine where exactly the first initiative was taken. For example, in his spare time, a prison officer at Arnhem organized a course in modelling and drawing for prison officers, for which the help of professional artists was requested after some time. A group of well-known Netherlands artists was asked to supervise the production of a large wall painting made by inmates.

The project was financed by the Prins Bernard Foundation, and more projects of that kind were started at a later stage. Art projects were also set up by prison officials at a number of remand homes throughout the country. Encouraged by the experiences of their colleagues, art teachers were invited to work with inmates at a growing number of remand homes, mainly subsidized by the Ministry of Culture.

In a number of cases the artists and teachers were employed by the Ministry of Justice. In the Netherlands about 2,000 artists and teachers are employed by about 140 Creativity Centres (see appendix to the present chapter). Close cooperation between a number of those Centres and prisons is increasing. Creativity Centres at Amsterdam and Rotterdam have played an important role in the activities undertaken.

In 1975, a project was started at Rotterdam. Initiated by a humanistic counsellor, an arts education project for inmates between 18 and 23 years of age was set up by the *Stichting Kunstzinnige Vorming* at Rotterdam (SKVR), or Arts Education Foundation. The author of the present survey has been closely involved with the project since 1977. Initially most prison officers at Rotterdam looked askance at this project. Their task had always been, and still is, to maintain order and safety. They felt that teachers should not be as involved with and as trusting of prisoners as they were. They even suggested that the teachers should wear uniforms. The teachers had to learn to work within the specific work environment in which they were sometimes regarded as provocative. But regular consultations between officers and teachers limited mutual criticism and reduced communication difficulties.

It was clear to the supervising teachers that it would not be very useful to discuss specific details of Egyptian art or Beethoven's Third Symphony with the inmates. Neither would practising a classical dance lead to much enthusiasm. The contents of the programme adopted were therefore geared to the experiences and the world of the inmates. In addition, use was made of a "thematic working method".

B. Thematic working method

A course-based working method involves the teaching of technical skills and the development of imagery capacities by paying attention to the elements and principles of design (form and shape, colour and two-dimensional space, surface treatment, three-dimensional space and construction and plasticity). When the thematic working method is involved, the theme is of paramount importance, and is examined by using different means of expression. The major advantage of the thematic working method is that the objective of arts education can be achieved within a relatively short period of time. Another advantage of the method is that, in addition to working with expressive means, it is possible to involve other disciplines of arts education (for example, music, drama, audiovisual arts and literature).

The elements of the thematic approach are outlined below.

The first phase. The teacher chooses a suitable theme of work for the inmates. Then the fact-finding phase follows. In a group discussion, the selected theme is further explained and a discussion regarding social and cultural aspects can take place, followed by choosing a subject. The phase is concluded by allowing the persons involved to collect information with regard to the chosen subject, for example at the prison library.

Take, for example, the subject of "contrasts". The teacher will make an inventory of what the inmates associate with the word contrast. They might say: young - old; beautiful - ugly; captive free; black - white; rich - poor etc. The contrast rich - poor could be taken as a subject for discussion with the inmates. Questions such as the following could be asked: How is it possible that wealth is divided up in such an unequal way? Is it policy or economics? Has it anything to do with the colour of your skin, your education etc.? The inmates will listen to each other's arguments and react to them.

The second phase. The next phase involves working on the theme in an expressive manner. In doing so, attention is focused on what can be expressed by dealing with the chosen subject and on which means of expression can be applied, including an examination of the equipment and tools required. During the production of the works of art, it is the responsibility of the teacher to make

suggestions regarding design and the tools and equipment to be used.

With regard to the example, the teacher now asks the inmates to translate their thoughts on the subject rich - poor in an expressive way. That may be in a poem, a drawing, a painting, a clay model or anything else.

The third phase. The last phase involves the group evaluation of the works of art. First, the sociocultural aspects are discussed. The focus is on the relationship between the individual or collective works of art and the theme. Next, the imagery aspect is dealt with by discussing the works of art in the light of criteria such as design and technical skills. Finally, an attempt is made to find an answer to the following question: To what extent did working with expressive means contribute to the individual's personal development and sociocultural awareness?

The thematic working method is very useful for: making existing prejudices a subject of discussion, appreciating the points of view of other individuals, listening to others, learning to express oneself, developing creativity and becoming more observant.

C. An experiment

In 1981 an experiment was begun which 13 years later, at the time of writing, may be regarded as epoch-making.

What happened? Improved communication between the teachers and supervisors from SKVR and the prison officers resulted in better understanding and greater appreciation of the project. Next, after the teachers had interviewed the prison officers, it became evident that a large minority (about one third of them) were interested in a more or less independent role in arts education. For that purpose, SKVR developed a special course of training in arts education for prison officers. The prison officers were enthusiastic, worked very hard during the training, and were surprised by their own capabilities. As a result of that basic training course, prison officers were able to conduct an arts education programme independently, with the support of a consultant.

Nevertheless, most of the projects carried out at the remand homes during the 1970s had a spontaneous nature. The initiative was not taken by the Ministry of Justice, but by the management or the executive staff of the institutions themselves.

Most of the projects had to deal with problems relating to the release of prison officers from their other duties and the resulting financial implications. Consequently, serious talks with the Ministry of Justice were required.

To meet the demand for such projects, a meeting between the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs was arranged. The main purpose of the meeting was to control the establishment and execution of the projects and, if possible, to integrate them into the existing policy framework. It was decided during the meeting to continue the experiment with such educational projects and in-service training.

In 1981, two training courses for executive staff members were organized, both subsidized by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and the Ministry of Justice. At the remand home at Rotterdam, three groups of prison officers followed the above-mentioned course organized by SKVR. At the remand home Het Schouw at Amsterdam, a group followed the course organized by the foundation, the *Stichting de Werkschuit*. At Rotterdam, the initiative was taken by SKVR itself, and at Amsterdam the course was set up at the request of the two ministries. At an intermediate stage, the training courses were evaluated by the Research Group of Social Psychology at the University of Leiden.

Also during 1981, the Ministry of Justice promulgated a bill in which, with a view to the humanization of detention, the position of prison officers was given a new meaning. In addition to

their current security functions, the prison officers were assigned a rehabilitation task.

An important condition for the execution of that new task was the adaptation of the training programme, for which the Central Training Institute of the Ministry of Justice was responsible. The new job specification went hand in hand with a change of name; in future, prison officers will be called penitentiary institution workers, PIWs.

New staff who joined the Prison Service after 1984 received basic training during their first two years of service (13 weeks). During the third and fourth year of service, a follow-up training course was to be organized, consisting of group dynamics, instructions on how to deal with behaviourally disturbed inmates etc. Next they could choose between sports, arts and education, as part of the training programme (making a total of 12 weeks).

D. Official recognition

With regard to the subject of art education, which is now officially recognized, the help of the Netherlands Institute for Arts Education (LOKV) at Utrecht was requested in 1983 (see appendix to the present chapter). A LOKV staff member was appointed national coordinator of the course and coordinator of the teachers and counsellors at the nine centres for arts education that participated in the project.

LOKV developed a curriculum framework for a 120-hour course in arts education, which included the recommendations made by the Research Group of Social Psychology. A syllabus was developed for the PIWs who attended the course, which was meant to be a course and reference book.

Nine arts education centres, spread all over the Netherlands, were approached by LOKV with the request to participate in the PIW Arts Education Project. Each one of them was to be responsible for organizing a 120-hour course for the PIWs in their region. For that purpose they entered into a contract with LOKV and the Central Training Institute of the Ministry of Justice, which finances the course. The prison officers who had been employed for some time and could not participate in the new training programme were offered the opportunity to take 100 hours of training on a voluntary basis to enable them to gain a position in the new organization. Initially, the courses were given to only 84 prison officers, but interest in the courses proved to be overwhelming. After the first batch were trained, another group of veterans was given their 100 hours of training. At the time of writing, more than 400 veteran prison officers had been trained.

In 1984, the first training of PIWs started, involving the 120-hour course. Given the tasks and duties of PIWs, it was essential to include a number of restrictions. A PIW obviously cannot be expected to turn into an all-round teacher of arts education within the relatively limited duration of the course. To achieve such a result, the PIW would need to have a background in arts education and sufficient pedagogical and social skills, and should be able to work in an arts discipline as a starting-point.

E. Aims of the course

The main objective of the course is to train PIWs and to enable them to programme and execute arts education independently. Attention is therefore paid to the following:

(a) Teaching knowledge of and basic skills in the field of arts education, including teaching skills;

(b) Gaining more in-depth knowledge about the above-mentioned items by means of workshops, especially about teaching as a whole, and learning how to apply certain techniques in practice;

(c) Learning to execute and programme arts education activities for inmates independently, limiting the task of the teacher of arts education to quality control and counselling.

When establishing the curriculum framework, the conclusions from the report concerning the development of a "regime activities programme", drawn up for the institutions by the Ministry of Justice in 1983, were taken into account. In that report the two major conclusions with regard to arts education were as follows:

(a) By assigning a prison officer to supervise several regime activities (sports, education, arts education), the relationship with the inmates may be improved;

(b) Social and technical skills will form part of the training.

The arts education course is meant to establish a link with the social skills that the PIWs acquired during earlier training courses. Within the framework of the general objectives, drawn up by LOKV and the Central Training Institute, such results can only be achieved when professional supervision is involved. Expertise requires a close relationship between PIWs and the teacher during the training course and a form of consultancy afterwards.

The objectives of the course can basically be divided into social and artistic aims. Experience has shown that for the target group the thematic working method is the most suitable way to work. However, there are some stages in the learning process that are partly or entirely lost within a thematic working method, so that course-based learning situations have to be set up in addition to, before, during and after working on the theme.

If required, elementary aspects of imagery and techniques may be discussed in the group. In addition to working with themes and the required teaching skills, it is essential to pay attention to techniques and the knowledge of imagery during the first part of the course, in order to enable PIWs to apply them.

Affinity with creative methods of working and the motivation to take a course are required from PIWs in order for them to participate in the arts education course.

F. Course programme

The course basically consists of one third of two-dimensional work, one third of three-dimensional work and one third of teaching methodology. In the introduction of the thematic and course-based working methods, the methodology of teaching plays a central role.

Another item of teaching methodology that is integrated into the classes concerns major methodological developments that are important for the transfer of knowledge and skills to the inmates, such as: initial situation; objectives of the classes; group discussion; adding course-based elements to the classes; observation; and evaluation.

A final examination is held by the teacher together with an observer. The observer may be a teacher of one of the other training courses or the national coordinator of LOKV. As part of the examination, the student has to present his or her own works of art and workbook in the form of an exhibition. During the oral examination, which takes about 30 minutes, the student is tested with regard to the following skills: technique; imagery; social competence; ability to evoke enthusiasm; organization; teaching; and others. A record has to be made of the test. After the examination is completed successfully, the PIW receives a certificate as the conclusion of the entire

training. PIWs who complete their training successfully are allowed to teach inmates. Some of the remarks made by PIWs during the course include the following:

(a) "Unfortunately, I have not become an artist, but my interest, motivation and knowledge have increased very much";

(b) "My problem was that I could put nothing decent on paper and I thought, I am going to make a fool of myself. The first time we immediately started with drawing, but at the same time some techniques were explained as well as the meaning and purpose of the horizon. This put an entirely different perspective on things";

(c) "At the beginning I thought: I will never be able to do this. But gradually I learnt to paint, draw and to model out of clay. I enjoy pen drawing most of all, which I often do at home now";

(d) "Our teacher managed to teach us quite a lot in a very relaxed fashion. If you look at the works of art that were produced at the beginning of the course, then you notice that most of them have clearly improved. People were sometimes surprised at their own capacities";

(e) "As a PIW you do not have to be extremely good at drawing or painting. You have to be good, however, at motivating and enthusing the inmates as well as explaining techniques and giving demonstrations";

(f) "At the beginning of the course, I did not feel like starting anything new with the inmates such as linocuts or thematic work. I thought: they only want to do glass engraving anyway. As a result of the course, I have discovered a number of things I really would like to work on with a group of inmates. I think it will be very nice to work that way. I am looking forward to it";

(g) "Owing to the training I have had I feel quite capable of teaching arts education successfully, of course, after having prepared myself".

In practice, it turned out that the 120-hour course formed a relatively small foundation for the PIWs to execute their task properly. This problem was also acknowledged by the management of the Central Training Institute of the Ministry of Justice. To meet requirements of the PIWs, it was decided in 1987 to offer 80 counselling hours annually to each institution, financed from the budget of the Ministry of Justice.

The counsellors, who are also teachers involved in training courses, supervise and give advice. The execution of tasks is determined in close consultation with the institution. It could take place, for example, one single morning every fortnight, or for an entire day each month, a day that could be used to organize a workshop in which PIWs gain more insight into a particular technique. The workshop could also deal with the transfer of knowledge, teaching methodology or preparation of a theme.

To coordinate and support the work done by the counsellors and to link it with the Ministry of Justice and the Central Training Institute, a LOKV staff member was appointed on 1 November 1988 as national coordinator of the PIW project, which is fully financed by the Ministry of Justice. LOKV settles the account with the Ministry and the centres. For 1994, a total amount of DFL 470,000 was allocated to the project.

G. Developments at the institutions

Arts education at the penitentiary institutions is supervised by the Department of Sociocultural Education, which oversees the work of staff in the areas of sports, libraries, education and recreation. With regard to sports, education and libraries, professional staff have been appointed by the institutions. The teachers involved in the various disciplines of sociocultural education regularly work together on thematic projects. In 1990 a four-month national thematic project entitled "Across the borders" was executed at 65 per cent of the institutions. The thematic working method is also a means of achieving coherency in apparently different types of sociocultural educational activities at an institution.

According to the legislative situation, inmates are to have access to sports, libraries, fresh air and education. They do not have legal rights concerning education through arts. That being so, what has been achieved so far is very positive.

Arts education has acquired a structural position within the field of sociocultural education. At several institutions, a workroom has been refurbished to make it suitable for arts education. In new construction projects the space needed for arts education has been included in the list of requirements.

There is room in which inmates can draw, paint and work with clay or wood. At some institutions, silk-screen printing has been made possible. At 95 per cent of the institutions (prisons and remand homes), suitable facilities for arts education are available, with special equipment and tools, and arts education as an activity is offered by either professionals or PIWs.

Ten years ago hardly any works of art made by inmates could be seen in the institutions. Most now have works by inmates on their walls (up to the boardroom), and there are wall paintings in corridors, recreation rooms, exercise spaces and visiting rooms. There is even a garden of statues. Both inmates and staff handle the pieces with care; there is no vandalism.

For two years an exhibition of works by inmates and PIWs travelled through the Netherlands, visiting most penitentiary institutions, the Ministry of Justice, the Central Training Institute and the Teacher Training Institute. Everywhere the exhibition was enthusiastically welcomed, and it inspired other institutions to emulate its success.

H. Behaviourally disturbed inmates

From the annual reports of the counsellors on the institutions in which they are working, it becomes evident that arts education is an excellent activity for the growing number of behaviourally disturbed inmates. In one of the reports, an artist/teacher who works independently with inmates in the Individual Guidance Department (IBA) at the prison at Grave wrote the following:

"The IBA is a department where inmates who cannot or can hardly maintain themselves within a 'regular' regime 'are doing time'. They may have a disruptive influence on it, or even get lost in it. A strongly individualized approach would be very helpful to stabilize or improve the condition of this type of inmate, who requires specific facilities for special care. Behavioural disturbances occur frequently among these inmates, and one has to tread carefully when one approaches them. You have to try to win their confidence. This is a difficult thing because often these inmates are very vulnerable and (rather) isolate themselves. In the past, many inmates at the IBA were often the butt for teasing and ridiculing by fellow-inmates. They often lack self-confidence. This problem can be approached in a beneficial way by means of the visual arts.

'I can't do it', is an expression frequently heard. During the arts activities you can show that lots of things are possible. Technique is only a means of imagining views or emotions and therefore not always required.

The most important thing is to 'get them going' and acquaint them with various materials/techniques in an inquiring and experimenting manner. For example, what can be done, what cannot be done, how can different materials be combined, what do I eventually want to go on with?

In prison, just like 'outside', there are all kinds of laws and rules people have to adhere to. The teacher tries especially to get across to them that within their work they can forget about these laws and rules. They can feel free and determine all by themselves what something should and may look like without any form of pedantry in their immediate environment. When there is 'freedom' there is understanding. Without it there is only restriction/limitation.

The teacher wants to stimulate an individual way of working as much as possible, so that one's personal character is maintained in the work (through one's own handwriting), and, especially, so that one can learn to be afraid but still dare to do a lot. Only by being brave and by doing things will you be able to improve yourself. Consequently, it is often just a matter of imposing a certain mentality. If it sparks their interest, their self-confidence will grow and a way to express themselves will originate, together with a very useful means of passing the time for those people who often have trouble expressing themselves verbally. Of course, we should not treat the value of the inmates' means of expression as a therapy, but just as a creative step forward, away from the restrictions of prison, and some relief from the (often) isolated way these people live. Their work often has a great power of expression and genuine artistic value with its specific characteristics, views, conduct, possibilities and limitations. This makes every single human being unique, the way he really is."

Arts education can change the situation for the better for that group of inmates, and it supports them in their emotional development in an acceptable non-threatening manner, so that they are able to integrate better with the entire prison population. That will also have a favourable effect on prison control. Supervision of the inmates, however, has to be carried out by professionals. For that purpose, several institutions in the Netherlands hire artists/teachers. PIWs, after all, lack the specific expertise required for such work.

I. How PIWs function

By now, the institutions have enough trained PIWs to be able to supply an arts education to the inmates. That applies to approximately 25 institutions.

Where arts education still does not occupy a recognized position within the regime activities, the absence of the necessary preconditions is often blamed. One of the consequences is that knowledge and experience are scattered, automatically resulting in reduced motivation to offer arts education to the inmates.

From information provided by the institutions, it has become evident that one of the central objectives - improvement of the relationship between prison officers and inmates - is now being achieved. It has a strong hold over the social and work climate of both inmates and staff. As a result, the previously antagonistic attitude of PIWs towards inmates has diminished noticeably.

Arts education is an activity often requiring teamwork, thus developing the way the inmates interact, which may result in more positive social behaviour. During the activities they become acquainted with each other's cultures, as a result of which they learn to have more mutual respect, and any existing prejudices already start to decrease at the institution. The various levels of

education and backgrounds are no longer important; people help and learn from each other. Creativity and skills are exchanged. The effects have been observed at institutions with a structural arts education programme. It will also provide a positive contribution to prison control.

Arts education is not limited by language, so that inmates of various nationalities who do not have a (sufficient) command of the Dutch language can still work together. At the institutions for aliens that have arts education as a structural part of the programme, many of the inmates participate.

Arts education intensifies the inmates' feelings of self-esteem. If people have always been told that they cannot do anything right and are useless, but then see their own works of art framed and hanging on the wall, they will be proud, and motivated to continue to discover themselves. They may be stimulated to further educate themselves even after some years have elapsed.

In evaluations, inmates often say that during the arts education activities they forget they are inside. They always want to take their works of art to give them to their visitors or to send them home. One inmate, for example, once said: "I am sending it to my mum. She always told me I could do nothing right. I wonder what she will say now."

Sometimes inmates lodge an official complaint when they are transferred to an institution that has insufficient facilities for arts education or none at all. In order for institutions to offer arts education, its educational, integrating and stabilizing effects have to be given strong emphasis, and several preconditions that enable PIWs to perform well have to be taken into account, in particular the following:

- (a) The institution should have a range of regime activities;
- (b) There should be sufficient quality, with regard to the staff as well as to the equipment and the premises;
- (c) PIWs should have sufficient technical expertise acquired by means of special training;
- (d) PIWs should be given the opportunity to follow further training to develop their initial expertise;
- (e) PIWs should be supervised by professionals;
- (f) PIWs should be involved in work meetings;
- (g) PIWs should be motivated regarding the activity they supervise;
- (h) Continuity of performance is required;
- (i) There must be sufficient preparation time for the PIWs.

The institutions that meet the above-mentioned conditions often employ a counsellor and teacher for several hours at their own expense. This demonstrates their commitment.

J. Conclusions

Arts education in prisons in the Netherlands is a unique project that could only have been accomplished with the help of enthusiastic people, including qualified artists and teachers, prison officers and, especially, the policy makers at the Ministry of Justice. Without their support, the project would not have been possible.

Appendix

Creativity centres and arts courses for prison officers

Creativity centres are institutions for arts education outside school. At the time of writing there were almost 100 creativity centres throughout the Netherlands. The centres offer courses in visual arts and, to a lesser extent, in audiovisual techniques, drama and dance. Music is taught at special music schools. During the courses, attention is mainly focused on studio art, but occasionally classes in history of arts and arts criticism take place. In addition, many of the creativity centres have a supporting function, that is, they train and give advice to primary school teachers, volunteers in community centres etc.

Registration is open to all for most courses. However, there are also courses and projects for special target groups such as the unemployed and the handicapped. Every week about 140,000 people visit a creativity centre. Women outnumber men, and the socio-economic background of the majority is middle class and higher. Children used to be the most important group of participants, but currently the majority consists of adults. Courses and projects are supervised by artists/teachers.

To teach at a creativity centre, training in an arts subject at a teachers' college is required. Graduates of academies of arts have to attend an additional training course for teachers. Geographically spread over the country are training courses in educational theory and teaching methods linked to academies of arts and coordinated by LOKV at Utrecht. Teaching at a creativity centre is often a part-time job which basically consists of a few lessons a week. Many teachers are also professional artists, without this being an official requirement. The term artist/teacher is therefore used.

The majority of the creativity centres are private foundations. However, about two thirds of their budget is subsidized by the local authorities, which in turn are partly reimbursed by the special national government fund for sociocultural education. Consequently, the creativity centres form part of the sociocultural facilities of the local authorities.

In the case described in the present report, the Ministry of Justice funded the arts courses coordinated by the author.

Netherlands Institute for Arts Education

Arts and education is the field of work of LOKV, the national development and knowledge centre for arts education. The goal is to learn about, from and by means of arts.

LOKV staff members are involved in all the arts: film, photography, video, visual arts, dance, drama, music and literature. They also concern themselves with theory, practice, policy-making, innovation and service delivery in relation to leisure activities as well as education.

They develop teaching materials and learning packages, organize festivals, workshops and in-service courses, give advice on publishing articles and doing research, and select and programme professional arts productions for children and young people. The institute has a comprehensive information and documentation centre.

LOKV is working to improve the quality of arts education in the Netherlands. It has made innovations, and seeks to achieve coherency between arts education, amateur arts and professional arts, thereby contributing to the improvement of arts and participation in culture. It also functions as the coordinating organization for international contacts in the field of arts and education in the Netherlands.

XVIII. The institutional development plan for the penal system of Costa Rica

Dora Iris Avila Matamoros

In May 1990, the Ministry of Justice of Costa Rica commissioned a thorough review of penal policy from the General Directorate of Social Adaptation and the Penal System, involving all interested parties, including senior staff of the prisons service, technical staff, administrators, security officers and inmates. The *Plan de Desarrollo Institucional* (Institutional Development Plan) which resulted three years later concerns not only education, but also work, drug dependency, domestic and sexual violence, conditions of living together under restriction, health and judicial and other matters. The principles of the Plan and its educational component are presented below.

A. Need for a new plan

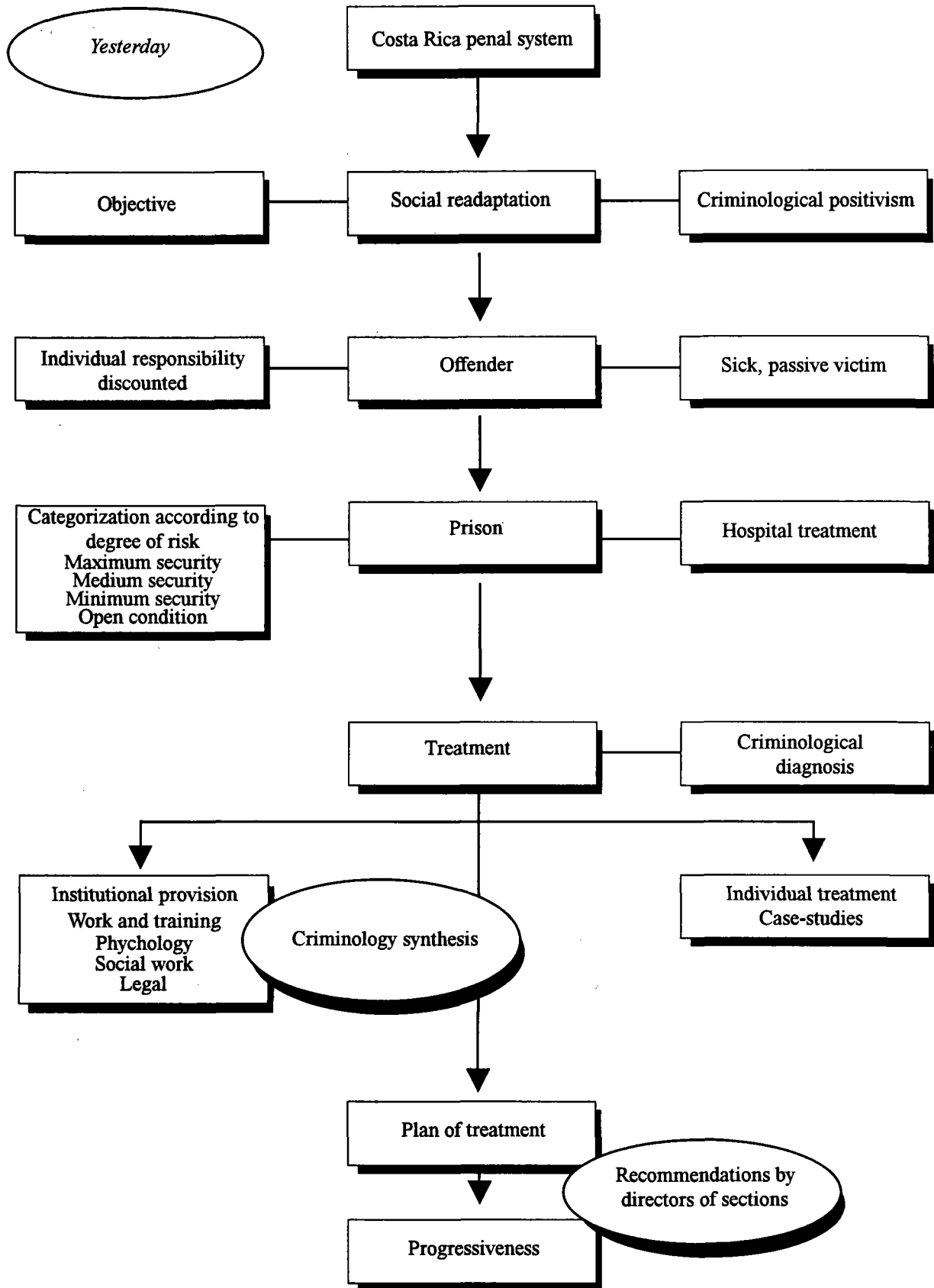
The Ministry recognized that the objective of rehabilitation had failed to be achieved by the actions of the penal system over the previous two decades. After an exhaustive analysis of evidence drawn from many sources, the causes of the inefficiency of the system were seen to be the following ([64], pp. 3-4):

- (a) Lack of recognition that crime has its roots in social problems as much as in the individual offender, so that imprisonment in itself cannot provide a solution;
- (b) Maintenance of a conception of prisons that worsens individual problems and reproduces social violence against the basic rights of the individual;
- (c) Exacerbation of the social problems of prisoners as a result of their displacement from society;
- (d) Insistence on the pathological aspects of offending, rather than on the potential of the offender, leading to inmates' being seen as passive subjects;
- (e) The contradictory nature of the different objectives of the treatment of offenders, leading to apathy, weariness and a bureaucratic, dehumanizing approach in institutions.

It was concluded that a fundamental change in both the underlying philosophy and in the administrative measures taken to implement policy were necessary. The previous system had been based on the principle of social readaptation, as is illustrated in figure I. The offender was seen as having no individual responsibility, but as being a sick and passive subject to be treated.

With respect to education, the existing provision did not meet the needs of inmates, because it was similar to the educational system that had failed them outside prison as a result of social and economic barriers. Inmates have generally had poor educational results, and traditional education had not given them the opportunity to be critical, thinking and creative.

Figure 1. The old penal system



B. The Institutional Development Plan

The Institutional Development Plan was published in December 1993, and implemented from January 1994. The penal system is therefore passing through a phase of adjustment of existing arrangements. The Plan as a whole builds on the existing provision, including education, vocational training and the availability of probation and supervised liberty as sanctions, but makes a number of significant innovations in the purpose and nature of penal sentences.

The concept of treatment is replaced by that of attention to individual inmates, which can be compared with sentence planning in other systems. Social readaptation is replaced by prevention, with the recognition that prevention can only be achieved if the offender comes to accept social rights and obligations. This concentration on the role of the host society leads to the concept of deinstitutionalization. That is, only those who are a security risk, who have committed particularly serious offences, or who have refused to cooperate in their sentence should be detained in a closed prison. Others should serve semi-institutional sentences that encourage contact between inmates and the society outside. The allocation to the institutional or semi-institutional level of confinement is a part of the assessment of the offender by the team of relevant professionals on admission to the penal system.

Wherever possible, offenders should serve sentences through restriction of liberty in the community. Supervisors are to seek the opinions of the community on the progress of the offender, from such persons and sources as ministers of religion, the family, neighbours, employers and community organizations.

Every six months the inmate has the right to be evaluated by a board to determine whether he or she is eligible for transfer to another level of confinement. The aim is to release each inmate from full institutionalization at least three months before the final discharge date, and an evaluation is also to be held at that point in the sentence.

An overview of the Plan is given in figure II.

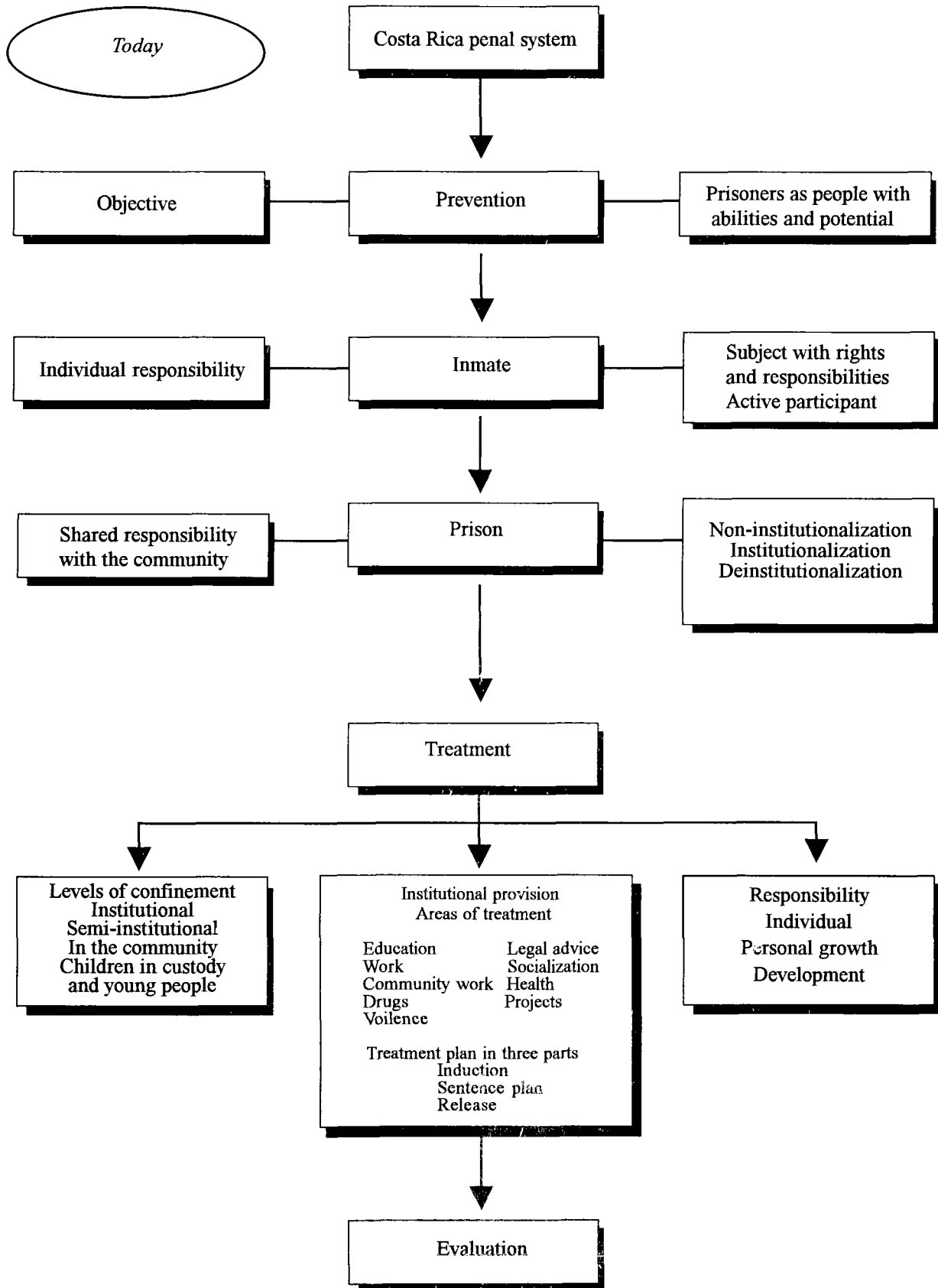
C. Educational element of the Plan

Besides the learning of skills for future employment, education is being offered to enable those inmates who wish to do so to conclude their studies at primary and secondary levels, as well as to undertake advanced studies at university level. The constitutional right to formal education is thereby assured. There are also personal development courses designed to increase the self-esteem of the inmate.

The teachers in the penal system decided as part of the total review of the system to change educational plans in order to provide real and practical answers to the educational needs of the inmates. The objective was to develop a plan that would provide knowledge and competence in relation to their social, cultural and economic world. Input came from the following sources:

- (a) Basic educational needs of the inmates;
- (b) The experience of teachers in prison;
- (c) The adult education curriculum of the Ministry of Education;

Figure II. The new penal system



- (d) Contributions of institutions, voluntary groups, universities etc.;
- (e) The ministries of justice, education, and culture, youth and sports;
- (f) The Institutional Development Plan.

Parallel to the review of education in prisons, the Ministry of Education had been revising the adult education curriculum and materials for the general public. As a consequence of the re-examination of general adult education and of the specific situation in prisons, education is now provided in two programmes: the regular and the optional.

1. The regular educational programme

The regular programme is to function at three levels, the first including basic reading and writing. At each level, there are three areas: the academic and vocational; living in a community; and personal development. The last two are a particular innovation, building on work previously accomplished. There is also a new approach in the first area.

Academic and vocational area

The learning of basic academic and vocational skills is promoted in order to raise the self-esteem of inmates and to better orient them for their future reintegration in employment and the community. Examples of courses are as follows:

- (a) Practical applications of mathematics;
- (b) How does my body function;
- (c) My community and my family as products of Costa Rican life.

Social-productive area

The aim is to allow the assimilation of theory and practice and of the necessary attitudes and skills in such matters as occupational health, home economics, and family and social health.

Personal development area

An effort is made to improve the personal development and prospects for social integration of the inmates, focusing on aspects such as the nature and limitations of their capabilities and respect for others. Examples of courses are as follows:

- (a) Designing my life project;
- (b) Understanding rights and rules;
- (c) Problem-solving without violence;
- (d) Self-education;
- (e) Human relations and self-esteem;
- (f) Taking care of my body.

2. The optional programme

The optional programme is an alternative for all those inmates who, for one reason or another, cannot realize their expectations or interests in the regular programme. The person is emphasized in the learning experience, especially through the social-productive area. The aim is to enable the inmate to form relationships and to communicate with others.

3. The involvement of outsiders

In line with the aim of involving the community, it is important to incorporate non-governmental organizations, private enterprises and community assistance groups, thus enriching the resources for learning and providing alternative places in which to learn and work. Assistant teachers within prisons are also drawn from outside bodies.

4. Implications for the training of non-educational staff

Before the publication of the Plan, the Ministry of Justice, together with the Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, at San José, had started training large numbers of prison staff in a holistic approach to education, domestic and sexual violence and health, including prevention of acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) and drug dependency. Domestic and sexual violence had also been the theme of radio programmes.

The Ministry of Justice has accepted that it is also necessary to upgrade the job of prison officer, through financial rewards, the right to more frequent recreational and training leave, regular meetings of all staff in an institution and the right to compete for research leave.

D. Example of "La Reforma"

The largest prison in Costa Rica is "La Reforma", with 1,200 inmates. Approximately 800 inmates annually attend some form of education. They are served by 11 qualified teachers who recruit and train another 20 or more assistants drawn from among inmates and non-governmental, voluntary organizations. Materials developed by the Ministry of Education for general adult education are used.

A full team of professionals determines the educational and other needs of the inmate on admission, whereas previously there was reliance on a simple interview. Continuous research is conducted to refine the educational curriculum in order to meet the needs of inmates present at any one time. The courses currently offered include the following:

- (a) What does the Institutional Development Plan mean;
- (b) Conversational English;
- (c) Small businesses;
- (d) Why punishment;
- (e) Film forum;
- (f) Work within the prison;
- (g) First aid;
- (h) Vegetable gardening;
- (i) Drugs: problem or solution;

(j) Penal rights.

E. Conclusions

The Institutional Development Plan and its educational element are geared far more closely than the previous system to the expressed needs of the inmates. Educational provision relates to the world of the inmate, at his or her level of understanding, and he or she will assume a new role as protagonist in the learning process.

At the same time, while the educational programme differs greatly from the formal education provided in Costa Rican schools, it still contains the basic skills of literacy and numeracy, which are requirements for further learning.

Part Four

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

From the numerous reports received, from the case-studies and other contributions commissioned for the project, and from the seminar held in January 1994 to prepare a final draft of the present *Manual*, it is possible to make a number of inferences about the potential of prison education to assist in the resocialization of offenders. Certainly it appears that education is the most helpful activity engaged in during imprisonment, which can otherwise have a negative effect on the social relationships and behaviour of inmates after release. In the case of those with a low level of previous education in particular, the provision of basic education equivalent to that offered outside is a necessity if there is to be any serious attempt at encouraging such persons to find regular employment after release.

The previous education experiences that offenders bring to prison, their social and family background, their employment history, their moral standpoint and their religious or other world-views, cannot be wished away. Nor can educators determine the environment into which ex-prisoners are released, the job market or the social ties that form major elements of that environment. Education in prison can, however, provide learners with means of confronting their past and future experiences and attitudes.

XIX. Conclusions and implications for action

A. Measures for effective prison education

There is alienation and misunderstanding between many inmates and the criminal justice and penal systems, of which education is a part. Against that background, it may be suggested that several factors under the control of correctional systems are prerequisite to the achievement of the immediate objectives and resocializing aims of prison education. Those factors include motivational measures, continuity, range of activities and administrative arrangements. Action can be taken in all of those fields.

1. Motivational measures

Motivation is crucial to active educational participation and progress. Numerous practitioners point out the central position occupied in motivation by a sensation of achievement and of increased self-confidence, both in the context of prison education and in education and training elsewhere.

Motivating measures include the following:

- (a) Recognition of advancement from one level of achievement to the next;
- (b) Equality of treatment, in terms of pay and other benefits, between education, training and work;
- (c) Involvement of students in the assessment of their individual learning needs, and in continual assessment of their progress;
- (d) Consistency and regularity of access to education;

(e) Opportunities for additional recognition of progress through exhibitions and printing of work done by students.

2. Continuity of educational provision

The importance of continuity between institutions when prisoners are transferred, and of articulation between the prison system and external educational providers as part of social reinsertion after release, can hardly be overstated. Breaks in educational progression within the prison system, which are frequently caused by moves from one establishment to another, and by release before completion of a course, are counter-productive.

3. Range of activities

Not only formal tuition in reading, writing and arithmetic can form the entry point to education. Initiatives other than this type of tuition can encourage, reinforce and even teach literacy and basic education.

The crucial importance of encouraging some form of non-verbal self-expression has been remarked. One example is the Art-in-Prisons project in the Netherlands described in the present *Manual*. In commenting on the interim report on the UIE project, the International Council for Adult Education insisted on the importance of the development of the whole personality, as had the Council of Europe and the United Nations in their relevant recommendations.

Sports, discussions, music and new areas of work and vocational training can equally provide incentives. Moreover, it is untenable to suppose that people who failed at school will succeed the second time around if they are offered what they were offered the first time.

4. Administrative arrangements

The status of educators within prison systems and their relationship to other actors are important. Educators are in practice often unable to take binding decisions in educational matters, but must defer to prison administrations. If that is to remain the case, the priorities of each side need to be understood by the other.

The commitment of adequate time, equipment, goodwill and money is crucial to the success of education in systems of which the first priority is security. However, certain administrative measures can both minimize the cost of educational innovations and break down barriers between sectors of the criminal justice system, and between the system and society outside. Such measures could include the following:

(a) The roles of staff can be changed by administrative decisions, in consultation with those affected. Teamwork can replace the strict divisions between the different branches of personnel working in prisons;

(b) Initial training and retraining of security staff can be arranged so that they take a global view of the treatment of offenders, and participate in educational activities;

(c) Links with outside partners can be increased, so that additional paid and voluntary helpers become available;

(d) Inmates can be trained to act as tutors, providing them with motivation and experience of professional activity, and supplementing fully paid staff where resources are short.

There is a major role for the probation service in ensuring follow-up for those released, thus providing through-care. This has implications for staffing costs, but links with existing probation services can be built upon without significant structural changes. Non-governmental voluntary initiatives such as associations of and for ex-offenders can also have an extensive influence on

graduates. This is not to say that schools can be blamed for criminality. Far from it: they, like prison education services, are subject to the influence of the prevailing moral climate, and of the social structures surrounding their students. The socializing aims of prison education are none the less similar to those of the entire education system, and each can learn from the other.

Other matters of immediate relevance are urban planning, health and housing, as well as attitudes to gender equality and relations between the sexes, not to mention media images and laws governing the carrying of offensive weapons. Full employment is frequently seen as an effective counter to criminality, and hence employment and fiscal policies have also to be considered. Indeed, all of the open questions listed in the introduction to the present report have to be addressed. All social policy influences, and in turn is affected by, perceptions of what criminal behaviour is, of the functions of imprisonment, and of the treatment of offenders.

Annex I

GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 45/122 OF 14 DECEMBER 1990

45/122. Criminal Justice education

The General Assembly,

Aware, that one of the main objectives of the United Nations in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice is the continued promotion of a more effective administration of justice, the strengthening of international co-operation in the fight against transnational crime, the observance of human rights and the pursuance of the highest standards of fairness, efficiency, humanity and professional conduct,

Recalling in this context its resolution 44/72 of 8 December 1989 in which it expressed the hope that the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders would make a major contribution to the solution of problems related to crime prevention and criminal justice,

Noting the views expressed at previous congresses concerning the need for collaboration between criminal justice agencies and educational authorities in the development of crime prevention programmes,

Recognizing that existing approaches to crime prevention and control have not always proved effective,

Calling attention to its resolution 42/104 of 7 December 1987, by which it proclaimed the year 1990 as International Literacy Year, the aim of which is the eradication of illiteracy in the world, and its resolution 44/127 of 15 December 1989,

Bearing in mind its resolution 44/61 of 8 December 1989 on the development of public information activities in the field of human rights,

Convinced that the development of public information activities in the field of criminal justice should include the creation and implementation of mechanisms to enable Member States, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and professional criminal justice associations to be familiar with ongoing criminal justice and crime prevention activities in the work of the United Nations,

Mindful, that the Eighth Congress, in its resolution 5 of 5 September 1990 on the consolidation of the role of national correspondents in the crime prevention and criminal justice field, resolution 14 of 6 September 1990 on social aspects of crime prevention and criminal justice in the context of development, resolution 19 of 7 September 1990 on management of criminal justice and development of sentencing policies, and resolution 4 of 5 September 1990 on international co-operation and mutual assistance through training programmes and exchange of expertise, * as well as in its resolution on the computerization of criminal justice, recommended to the General Assembly for adoption, ** made several recommendations for strengthening education activities in the criminal justice field, which included better dissemination of information on those activities among interested member States and other parties,

Mindful also that education has a potential role to play in ameliorating the conditions that give rise to crime and to the consequences of criminality,

*See A/CONF.144/28, chap. I, sect..B.

**See General Assembly resolution 45/109.

Determined that education should play an important rôle in crime prevention and criminal justice through such means as education for the general awareness of the public, education of the young for crime prevention, education aimed at the total personal development of prisoners and other offenders and continuing education of the criminal justice personnel,

Aware that comprehensive approaches are required for a lasting and systematic impact on criminal justice education with a view to attaining higher standards of fairness, efficiency and professional conduct of criminal justice personnel,

1. *Endorses* the initiatives made by the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in the above-mentioned resolutions, which aim at strengthening national and international efforts in criminal justice education, including the enhancement of the rôle of criminal justice education in the activities of member States, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and national correspondents in the field of crime prevention and control;

2. *Invites* Member States to review existing education practices in respect of both offenders and personnel in crime prevention and criminal justice;

3. *Also invites* Member States to involve educational experts, as appropriate, in crime prevention and criminal justice and to encourage related educational research and publications;

4. *Further invites* Member States to advise criminal justice staff periodically through their professional associations, journals or other publications and records, on United Nations developments relevant to their area of work;

5. *Invites* all Member States to include in their educational curricula materials relevant to a comprehensive understanding of criminal justice and crime prevention issues, and encourages all those responsible for criminal law and criminal justice reforms, training in law and its enforcement, the armed forces, medicine, diplomacy and other relevant fields to include appropriate criminal justice and crime prevention components in their programmes;

6. *Also invites* Member States to encourage collaboration between criminal justice agencies and educational authorities in the development of crime prevention programmes and to encourage educational authorities to give increased attention to ethical and socialization programmes in their curricula and to other relevant measures referred to in the inventory of comprehensive crime prevention measures submitted to the Eighth Congress;*

7. *Request* the Secretary-General to explore the possibility of increased use of education in crime prevention and criminal justice with a view to preparing a study on the relationship between crime, education and development and of presenting first results in a progress report to be submitted to the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control at its twelfth session;

8. *Also requests* the Secretary-General, through the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat in co-operation with other offices and national correspondents in the field of crime prevention and control, to continue to develop and maintain a list of criminal justice journals and relevant public media programmes, with a view to the dissemination of information on United Nations activities in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice for educational purposes;

9. *Further requests* the Secretary-General to bring to the attention of relevant national criminal justice and educational authorities the United Nations standards, norms and other selected recommendations with a view to ensuring their more widespread and systematic dissemination in relevant training and educational programmes;

*See A/CONF.144/9.

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to develop technical co-operation programmes, including interregional advisory services, with a view to enhancing the role of education in the operation of crime prevention and criminal justice, taking into account the interdisciplinary nature of such co-operation programmes;

11. *Recommends* that the Secretary-General should establish, subject to the availability of extrabudgetary funds, electronic data bases within the United Nations Criminal Justice Network, which should include information on the network of national correspondents in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice and information on educational and training programmes in the criminal justice field, with a view to disseminating information to the international criminal justice community more effectively;

12. *Invites* the relevant intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to contribute substantively, logistically and financially to the development of educational programmes within the United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice programme and to the establishing of the above-mentioned data bases;

13. *Urges* the United Nations institutes for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders to include educational issues in their research and training programmes;

14. *Requests* the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, as the preparatory body for the Ninth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, to keep the matter under review;

15. *Recommends* that the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control and preparatory meetings to the Ninth Congress further consider the role of education with a view to facilitating educational approaches in crime prevention and criminal justice.

*68th plenary meeting
14 December 1990*

Annex II

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1990/20 OF 24 MAY 1990

1990/20. Prison education

The Economic and Social Council,

Affirming the right of everyone to education, as enshrined in article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights¹ and in articles 13 to 15 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights,²

Recalling rule 77 of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners,³ which states, *inter alia*, that provision shall be made for the further education of all prisoners capable of profiting thereby, that the education of illiterates and young prisoners shall be compulsory and that the education of prisoners shall be integrated with the educational system of the country so far as practicable,

Recalling also rule 22.1 of the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (The Beijing Rules),⁴ which states that professional education, in-service training, refresher courses and other appropriate modes of instruction shall be utilized to establish and maintain the necessary professional competence of all personnel dealing with juvenile cases, and rule 26, which stresses the role of education and vocational training for all juveniles in custody,

Bearing in mind the long-standing concern of the United Nations about the humanization of criminal justice and the protection of human rights and about the importance of education in the development of the individual and the community,

Bearing in mind also that human dignity is an inherent, inviolable quality of every human being and a precondition for education aiming at the development of the whole person,

Bearing in mind further that 1990, the year in which the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders is to be held, is also International Literacy Year,⁵ the objectives of which are directly relevant to the individual needs of prisoners,

Noting with appreciation the significant efforts made by the United Nations, in preparing for the Eighth Congress, to give more recognition to prison education,⁶

1. *Recommends* that Member States, appropriate institutions, educational counselling services and other organizations should promote prison education, *inter alia*, by:

¹General Assembly resolution 217 A (III).

²See General Assembly resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex.

³See *Human Rights: A Compilation of International Instruments* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.88.XIV.1), sect. G.

⁴General Assembly resolution 40/33, annex.

⁵See General Assembly resolution 42/104.

⁶See A/CONF.144/IPM.4 and 5 and Corr.1 and A/CONF.144/RPM.1 and Corr.1, 3 and Corr.1 and 2, 4 and Corr.1 and 5 and Corr.1.

(a) Providing penal institutions with educators and accompanying services and raising the educational level of prison personnel;

(b) Developing professional selection procedures and staff training and supplying the necessary resources and equipment;

(c) Encouraging the provision and expansion of educational programmes for offenders in and outside prisons;

(d) Developing education suitable to the needs and abilities of prisoners and in conformity with the demands of society;

2. *Also recommends* that Member States should:

(a) Provide various types of education that would contribute significantly to crime prevention, resocialization of prisoners and reduction of recidivism, such as literacy education, vocational training, continuing education for updating knowledge, higher education and other programmes that promote the human development of prisoners;

(b) Consider the increased use of alternatives to imprisonment and measures for the social resettlement of prisoners with a view to facilitating their education and reintegration into society;

3. *Further recommends* that Member States, in developing educational policies, should take into account the following principles:

(a) Education in prisons should aim at developing the whole person, bearing in mind the prisoner's social, economic and cultural background;

(b) All prisoners should have access to education, including literacy programmes, basic education, vocational training, creative, religious and cultural activities, physical education and sports, social education, higher education and library facilities;

(c) Every effort should be made to encourage prisoners to participate actively in all aspects of education;

(d) All those involved in prison administration and management should facilitate and support education as much as possible;

(e) Education should be an essential element in the prison régime; disincentives to prisoners who participate in approved formal educational programmes should be avoided;

(f) Vocational education should aim at the greater development of the individual and be sensitive to trends in the labour market;

(g) Creative and cultural activities should be given a significant role since they have a special potential for enabling prisoners to develop and express themselves;

(h) Wherever possible, prisoners should be allowed to participate in education outside the prison;

(i) Where education has to take place within the prison, the outside community should be involved as fully as possible;

(j) The necessary funds, equipment and teaching staff should be made available to enable prisoners to receive appropriate education;

4. *Urges* the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and its International Bureau of Education, in co-operation with the regional commissions, the regional and interregional institutes for crime prevention and criminal justice, other specialized agencies and other entities within the United Nations system, other intergovernmental organizations concerned and non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, to become actively involved in this process;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General, subject to the availability of extrabudgetary funds:

(a) To develop a set of guidelines and a manual on prison education that would provide the basis necessary for the further development of prison education and would facilitate the exchange of expertise and experience on this aspect of penitentiary practice among Member States;

(b) To convene an international expert meeting on prison education, with a view to formulating action-oriented strategies in this area, with the co-operation of the regional and interregional institutes for crime prevention and criminal justice, the specialized agencies, other intergovernmental organizations concerned and non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council;

6. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to inform the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, at its twelfth session, of the results of his endeavours in this area;

7. *Invites* the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders and the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, at its twelfth session, to consider the question of prison education.

*13th plenary meeting
24 May 1990*

Annex III

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1990/24 OF 24 MAY 1990

1990/24. Education, training and public awareness in the field of crime prevention

The Economic and Social Council,

Recalling that in the Milan Plan of Action,¹ adopted by the Seventh United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, the Secretary-General was requested to review, in consultation with the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, the functioning and programme of work of the United Nations regional and interregional institutes for crime prevention and criminal justice, in order to establish priorities and to ensure the continuing relevance and responsiveness of the United Nations to emerging needs,

Convinced that the continuous review and establishment of priorities should be, first of all, related to the ongoing training of criminal justice staff, sensitizing them to contemporary priorities and providing relevant in-service instruction,

Convinced also that, in order to be fully effective, standard-setting activities should include measures for their practical application for professionals in the field,

Recognizing the need for priority to be accorded to more effective crime prevention,

Reaffirming the leadership role of the United Nations in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice,

1. *Recommends* the establishment of a comprehensive programme of work so that the United Nations may deal in a practical and operational way, in the context of its policy, standard-setting and clearing-house functions and its central co-ordination role, with the contemporary problems of the international community in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice; the programme should include:

- (a) Design of programmes for curriculum development and preparation of training material and manuals;
- (b) Promotion of collaborative academic work and publications;
- (c) Provision of technical advisory services to Member States and organizations, at their request;
- (d) Development of data bases on different aspects of education, training and public awareness;
- (e) Production of audio-visual material and other training aids;

¹See *Seventh United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Milan 26 August-6 September 1985: report prepared by the Secretariat (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.IV.1), chap. I, sect. A.*

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- (e) Production of audio-visual material and other training aids;

¹See *Seventh United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Milan 26 August-6 September 1985: report prepared by the Secretariat (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.IV.1)*, chap. I, sect. A.

(f) Promotion of international ~~co-operation~~ in respect of training and educational programmes, including the provision of scholarships, fellowships and study tours;

(g) Close collaboration with research centres and academic institutions, as well as with the private sector;

2. *Request* the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to put those recommendations into effect.

*13th plenary meeting
24 May 1990*

Annex IV

**RECOMMENDATION No. R (89) 12 OF THE COMMITTEE OF MINISTERS
TO MEMBER STATES OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE ON EDUCATION IN PRISON**

(Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 13 October 1989
at the 429th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies)

The Committee of Ministers, under the terms of Article 15.b of the Statute of the Council of Europe,

Considering that the right to education is fundamental;

Considering the importance of education in the development of the individual and the community;

Realising in particular that a high proportion of prisoners have had very little successful educational experience, and therefore now have many educational needs;

Considering that education in prison helps to humanise prisons and to improve the conditions of detention;

Considering that education in prisons is an important way of facilitating the return of the prisoner to the community;

Recognising that in the practical application of certain rights or measures, in accordance with the following recommendations, distinctions may be justified between convicted prisoners and prisoners remanded in custody;

Having regard to Recommendation No. R (87) 3 on the European Prison Rules and Recommendation No. R (81) 17 on adult education policy,

Recommends the governments of member states to implement policies which recognise the following:

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 the 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 or 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 a well-stocked library at least once a week;
11. Physical education and sports for prisoners should be emphasised 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 his 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.

Annex V

RESULTS OF AN INFORMAL SURVEY OF BASIC EDUCATION IN PRISONS
IN THE ASIAN REGION

Takashi Watanabe

Asia and Far East Institute for the
Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders
1993

In the context of the project, which led to the production of the present *Manual*, the Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders conducted an informal questionnaire survey of basic education in prisons among participants in one of its training seminars. The answers and comments of participants are summarized below.

Question 1. Who makes prison education policy, appoints and oversees teachers?

<i>Country or area</i>	<i>Answer</i>
Brunei	Prison Department, with the assistance of the Ministry of Education
Hong Kong	There is a separate Education Section in the Correctional Service headquarters which makes and reviews the education policy and oversees teachers
India	Not available
Indonesia	Ministry of Education
Japan	The main policy is decided by the Ministry of Justice, and regional correctional headquarters or wardens appoint and oversee the teachers
Malaysia	Prison Administrator at headquarters level
Mongolia	Correctional Board of Mongolia, which belongs to the Ministry of Justice
Papua New Guinea	Department of Welfare and Rehabilitation; Department of Training and Education
Republic of Korea	Ministry of Justice
Singapore	Ministry of Education
Sri Lanka	The policy is determined by the Ministry of Justice, the appointments are made by the Department of Education
Thailand	Department of Corrections

Question 2. Is education in prisons required by law?

<i>Country or area</i>	<i>Answer</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Brunei	No	
Hong Kong	Yes	Required for young offenders
India	Not	Basic primary education is essential for prisoners available
Indonesia	Yes	Education is one of the main components of rehabilitation programmes
Japan	Yes	Prison Law, article 30 et seq.
Malaysia	Yes	Prison Rules, 1953, section 153(1)(2)(3)
Mongolia	Yes	Prisoners are provided only with primary education. Their rights are fixed in the Correctional Labour Law
Papua New Guinea	Yes	Required by the national education policy
Republic of Korea	Yes	The head of the prison may enforce the necessary education and training programme for inmates
Singapore	Yes	Stipulated in the Prison Act and in the Prison Standing Orders
Sri Lanka	No	
Thailand	Yes	

Question 3. (a) Who teaches?

(b) Do inmates teach each other?

<i>Country or area</i>	<i>Answer to (a)</i>	<i>Answer to (b)</i>
Brunei	Qualified teachers from the Ministry of Education	No
Hong Kong	Teachers employed by the correctional services	No
India	1. Teachers 2. Through correspondence courses 3. Offenders	Yes
Indonesia	Teachers seconded from the Ministry of Education	Yes
Japan	Qualified teachers employed as prison personnel	No
Malaysia	Qualified teachers seconded from the Ministry of Education	Officially, no
Mongolia	Correctional officers in charge of education (educationists)	Officially, no

Papua New Guinea	Through correspondence materials provided by provincial teachers	Yes, but informal
Republic of Korea	Correctional officers	No
Singapore	Teachers seconded from the Ministry of Education	No
Sri Lanka	Not available	Yes
Thailand	Teachers from the Non-formal Education Department	No

Question 4. Are there any links with the formal and non-formal education system outside?

What is the comparability of qualifications?

<i>Country or area</i>	<i>Answer</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Brunei	Yes	The subjects taught follow those of the formal education system, where the prisoners are able to sit for public examinations.
Hong Kong	Yes	Young offenders are prepared to take part in outside examinations, both overseas and local.
India	Yes	The offender can get a university degree if he succeeds in the examination held by the university or school, as the case may be. Offenders receive qualifications as any "normal" citizen.
Indonesia	Yes	Prison education is part of the national education policy, and the prisons cooperate with social organizations.
Japan	Yes	Selected prisoners can enter the correspondence course of the public high school or junior high school. With regard to vocational training, prisoners are given official qualifications and licences identical to those granted in the outside community.
Malaysia	Yes	The syllabuses are the same as outside, only the time-frame is different. However, all examinations are taken inside the prison.
Mongolia	Yes	The basic education programmes are conducted in accordance with the rules, regulations and curricula issued by the Ministry of Education. The qualifications (in vocational training) are approximately equivalent to those offered in an ordinary situation, but are mostly for unskilled jobs in mining, forestry etc.
Papua New Guinea	Yes	Prison officials are trained as literacy instructors, and there is close coordination with the distance education programme of the Department of Education. The programmes are equal to that of a formal education programme.
Republic of Korea	Yes	
Singapore	No	General Cambridge Certificate at "ordinary" or "normal" levels; Vocational Institute Training Certificate or Construction Industry Training Certificate
Sri Lanka	Yes	Teachers from the Non-formal Education Division of the Depart-

ment of Education conduct courses for offenders. Offenders take public examinations.

Thailand Yes

Question 5. Is basic education provided separately, or is it an integrated part of vocational training?

<i>Country or area</i>	<i>Answer</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Brunei	Separate	
Hong Kong	Separate	Young offenders are required to attend half-day educational classes and half-day vocational training, while adult offenders can participate in educational studies on a voluntary basis.
India	Separate	
Indonesia	Separate	
Japan	Separate	In addition, vocational training also includes basic education.
Malaysia	Separate	
Mongolia	Separate	As there is a compulsory secondary education system by law (eight years), illiteracy rates are very low.
Papua New Guinea	Separate	Directly monitored and coordinated by the Training Unit of the Division of Welfare and Rehabilitation.
Republic of Korea	Separate	Correctional education and vocational education are provided.
Singapore	Separate	Prison education is under the purview of the Prison Education Unit. As for prison vocational training, the Singapore Corporation of Rehabilitative Enterprise is responsible for it.
Sri Lanka	Separate	Consideration is being given to treating basic education as part of an integrated programme.
Thailand	Separate	

C. Possibilities of integrating basic with vocational and other forms of education and links with the educational system outside

Basic education in the prisons of five of the Arab States is provided separately from vocational training, while in the other five States basic education is linked with vocational training. There are courses in basic education including vocational training in agriculture, carpentry, printing etc.

Basic education in the prisons of nine of the Arab States is linked with the formal educational system outside. They follow exactly the programme of formal basic education implemented by the State, teach the same subjects, hold the same general examinations, and grant the same certificates. The formal elementary certificate is granted by prisons in nine of the States, the intermediate and secondary education certificate by prisons in eight.

D. Practicability of providing prison education within limited means and physical conditions and facilities needed

Basic education in the prisons of six of the Arab States is funded by the prison administration, and in the other four by the Ministry of Education.

Formal school books are used for basic education in the prisons of nine of the States; only one selected the books used for basic education in prisons. Libraries are available to inmates in the prisons of nine States.

The teachers involved in basic education in prisons are recruited and appointed in five of the Arab States by the formal education authorities; in the other five States they are appointed by the prison administrations. The teachers involved in basic education in prisons in eight of the States are appointed according to the formal educational system and regulations; in the other two they are appointed according to a special system.

In eight of the Arab States the inmates teach each other. In seven States, inmates are taught by volunteers who are trained by trainers from the prison administrations and also from outside the prison.

In seven States, the inmates show a keen interest in basic education while in the other three they show only moderate interest. In seven States, inmates are allowed to benefit from correspondence education programmes. In nine States, the inmates are provided free of charge books and other educational materials needed for their prison education.

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