

'THE CINDERELLA SERVICE': TEACHING IN PRISONS AND YOUNG
OFFENDER INSTITUTIONS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

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ABSTRACT

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Education in prisons has been described as the 'Cinderella Service' in comparison to other educational contexts. It has only rarely been studied as an educational or criminological issue, with the result that there is limited published research on prison education in the UK. This research into prison education takes a teaching and learning perspective, with a focus on the uniqueness of teaching within a prison context. This study considers if, and how, teachers are prepared for working with prisoners with a diverse range of learning needs within the constraints of a prison environment.

The empirical research was based on an interpretive, phenomenological approach which sought to find out the viewpoints and experiences of Heads of Offender Learning from college lead providers, education managers and teachers in prisons and an Ofsted Inspector of Education in prisons. In addition to questionnaires and interviews, observations of teaching sessions provided further insight into the realities of teaching in a prison context. Aspects of critical theory underpinned the approach to champion the cause of prison-based teachers who are largely marginalised by the wider educational community.

Findings indicate that although there are many aspects that are beyond the control of teachers in prisons, particularly related to the prison regime, there are some that can be developed by education departments. These include more comprehensive knowledge of prisons, the nature of prisoners as learners, the pastoral role and the development of creative, personalised, collaborative approaches to teaching and learning within meaningful contexts. The thesis provides an overview of current practice and raises issues about the role of teachers in prisons, the training and support they are given, and the implications for future policy and practice.

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LIST OF CONTENTS

FIGURES	vii
GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS	ix
CHAPTER ONE	
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER TWO	
EDUCATION IN PRISONS: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	
Introduction	11
Section 2.1: History of Education in Prisons	13
Section 2.2: The Purpose of Education in Prisons	28
Section 2.3: Teaching in Prisons	43
Section 2.4: Barriers to Learning in Prisons	65
Conclusion	70
CHAPTER THREE	
METHODOLOGY	
Introduction	73
Section 3.1: Previous Studies of Education in Prisons	74
Section 3.2: Development of the Research Design	85
Section 3.3: The Research Paradigm	96
Section 3.4: Research Methods	109
Section 3.5: Approaches to the Analysis of Findings	134
Conclusion	141

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONTEXT: MANAGEMENT, TEACHERS AND THE PRISON ENVIRONMENT

Introduction	143
Section 4.1: Management of Education in Prisons	144
Section 4.2: The Teaching Workforce	160
Section 4.3: The Prison Environment	177
Conclusion	199

CHAPTER FIVE

LEARNING AND TEACHING IN THE PRISON ENVIRONMENT

Introduction	203
Section 5.1: Induction	204
Section 5.2: The Nature of Prisoners as Learners	207
Section 5.3: Skills of Teachers in Prisons	221
Section 5.4: The Curriculum	226
Section 5.5: Teaching Methods	235
Section 5.6: Professional Development Opportunities for Teachers in Prisons	244
Conclusion	252

CHAPTER SIX

TEACHERS IN PRISONS: THEIR NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction	255
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Section 6.1: What Affects the Role of Teachers in Prisons?	257
Section 6.2: What are the Experiences and Perceptions of Teachers Working in Prisons?	261
Section 6.3: What are the Similarities and Differences between Teaching in Prisons and Teaching in Mainstream?	263
Section 6.4: What are the Training Needs of Teachers in Prisons?	268
Section 6.5: Recommendations for the Content of Education and Training for Prison-Based Teachers	270
Final Thoughts	278
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX 1: Questionnaire	280
APPENDIX 2: Example of Completed Observation	283
REFERENCE LIST	288

FIGURES

Fig. 2.1 The Aims of Education	36
Fig. 2.2 The Aims of Education in Prisons	36
Fig. 3.1 The Development of the Research Design	94
Fig. 3.2 Model of the Research Paradigm	104
Fig. 3.3 Questions to Heads of Offender Learning	114
Fig. 3.4 Potential Stalling Points in the Chain of Communication	121
Fig. 3.5 Overview of Methods and Sample	132
Fig. 3.6 Meaning Units and Themes from Teacher Interviews	137
Fig. 3.7 Summary of Themes	139
Fig. 3.8 Analysis of Data Sources linked to Research Questions	140
Fig. 3.9 Summary of Names Used in the Empirical Research	140
Fig. 4.1 Qualifications from the Questionnaire Sample	166
Fig. 4.2 Previous Teaching Experience from Questionnaire Sample	166
Fig. 4.3 Age Range of Respondents	167
Fig. 4.4 Length of Time Teaching in Prisons	168
Fig. 4.5 Interviews with LPs on Staffing	171
Fig. 4.6 Reasons for Taking a Teaching Post in a Prison	174
Fig. 4.7 Theory of Acculturation	182
Fig. 5.1 Language Used by Teachers	209
Fig. 5.2 Examples of Language Use in Context	210
Fig. 5.3 Skills Needed by Teachers in Prisons	221
Fig. 5.4 Subjects Offered	230
Fig. 5.5 Observation of Basic Skills Teaching in a Bricklaying Workshop	233

Fig. 5.6 Lesson Plan: Prison S	237
Fig. 5.7 CPD Training Completed by Questionnaire Respondents	246
Fig. 5.8 Interest in Training from the Questionnaire Responses	247
Fig. 6.1 The Training Needs of Teachers in Prisons	269
Fig. 6.2 Suggested Programme of Study for Prison-Based Teachers	276

GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

Acronym	Clarification
ALI	Adult Learning Inspectorate
ATLS	Associate Teacher in Learning and Skills
BIS	Department for Business, Innovation and Skills
CfBT	Centre for British Teachers
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
DES	Department of Education and Science
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DIUS	Department of Innovation, Universities and Skills
DWP	Department of Work and Pensions
EPEA	European Prison Education Association
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
FE	Further Education
FENTO	Further Education National Training Organisation
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HE	Higher Education
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate
HMPS	Her Majesty's Prison Service
HOLS	Head of Learning and Skills
ICT	Information, Communications and Technology
IfL	Institute for Learning

Acronym	Clarification
ILP	Individual Learning Plan
IT	Information Technology
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
KPT	Key Performance Target
LLUK	Lifelong Learning UK
LONCETT	London Centre for Excellence in Teacher Training
LP	Head of Offender Learning from Lead Provider Institution
LSC	Learning and Skills Council
NIACE	National Institute of Adult Continuing Education
NATFHE	National Association for Teachers in Further and Higher Education
NFER	National Foundation for Educational Research
NOMS	National Offender Management Service
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education
OLASS	Offender Learning and Skills Service
OLSU	Offender Learning and Skills Unit
PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate in Education
PTLLS	Preparing to Teach in the Lifelong Learning Sector
QCA	Qualification and Curriculum Authority
QCF	Qualifications and Credit Framework
QIA	Quality Improvement Agency
QTLS	Qualified Teacher in Learning and Skills
QTS	Qualified Teacher Status

Acronym	Clarification
RER	Real Educational Research Ltd
RSA	Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce
SEN	Special Educational Needs
TES	Times Educational Supplement
TDA	Training and Development Agency
UCL	University College London
UCU	University and College Union
VAK	Visual, Auditory and Kinaesthetic
YOI	Youth Offender Institution

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The following case study inspired this research and for this reason provides the opening to the thesis.

As a child, Darren had been considered academically able and had done well at primary school with favourable reports from his teachers. He was brought up by his mother and had a younger sister. His father had left the family when Darren was about three years old. When Darren was 11, his mother married Colin with whom Darren formed a positive and close relationship. Two years later the marriage had broken down and Colin left. This affected Darren badly; he became withdrawn and developed nervous facial twitches. By the age of 14, Darren's behaviour was reported as a problem by the school and he was excluded at lunchtimes. He became anti-social, was rarely at home and displayed a lack of interest in school. By the age of 16, Darren was addicted to heroin which was a shock to the family who, although concerned about his behaviour, were unaware that he was taking drugs.

Darren received a prison sentence at the age of 19 for crimes related to attempting to finance his heroin addiction. Darren's problems had a devastating effect on the family and when he received his prison sentence, there was a sense of relief. The family saw it as an opportunity for him to overcome his [heroin] addiction and it was hoped it would provide him with the opportunity to develop new interests and skills which would motivate him to continue with these interests and adopt a different lifestyle when he was released. Darren's uncle, a teacher in Further Education, visited him in prison and was concerned when he learned that Darren did not appear to be involved in any educational or

vocational courses. In fact Darren was delighted that he had a job picking up litter from the grounds. When he was asked why he didn't want to be involved in education, he replied that picking up litter paid more than education.

Darren is now 29 and has been in and out of prison during the last ten years. In all of this time he has never undertaken any education courses in prison.

From the perspective of a former primary school teacher, in-service teacher training tutor and current university tutor in teacher education, the apparent disregard for education by prisons, exemplified by Darren's experience, was disturbing. This prompted an investigation into the principles and practice of education in prisons to discover if the seemingly low status of education in comparison with other less challenging activities, demonstrated by the case study, was a commonly held approach across the prison sector. The initial literature search proved challenging as there were very few publications which referred to education in prisons within the criminological or educational literature. It appeared that education in prisons fell between the two disciplines, with the result that it tended to be neglected or regarded as a marginal interest within both, and as such lacked an academic identity. However, education in prisons is clearly relevant to both disciplines. In relation to criminology, education relates to two of the Criminal Justice Act's five purposes for sentencing: the reform and rehabilitation of offenders and the reduction of crime (2003:paragraph 142). In terms of education, the context, curriculum, teachers, teaching, learners and learning are all central to the discipline. These themes, both within criminology and education, will be explored throughout the thesis.

After much searching it became apparent that there are small but significant groups who champion the work of educators in prisons and the potential of education for changing prisoners' lives. These include the Prisoners' Education Trust; the Prison Reform Trust; the Howard League for Penal Reform, and the European Prison Education Association (EPEA). For a time, there was also the Forum on Prisoner Education, which was active in organising conferences, providing monthly news letters to anyone who chose to subscribe and releasing publications which are referred to in this thesis. Unfortunately this is no longer in existence (the reasons for its demise were never explained to members). The Journal of Correctional Education is an American publication which also focuses specifically on education in prisons and for those serving sentences in the community. There is no equivalent journal in the UK. This again raises the question of why there is limited academic interest in researching education in prisons in the UK and why it is left mainly to pressure groups to raise issues and fund small scale research projects. The fact that these trusts, forums, associations and journals exist, demonstrates that those involved in education in prisons view their work as a specialist area, although in mainstream domains it is barely recognised by either the wider educational or the criminological community.

This is a thesis on education in prisons written from the perspective of an educator. However, given the neglect of prison education within this discipline, and the wealth of criminological work on the purpose, nature and context of prisons, it draws on some work from this field to explain how the prison environment shapes and constrains educational practice in prison. It is essential

that the context of the prison is fully understood in order to recognise its impact on teaching and learning.

The potential transformative power of education, based on philosophies of Plato (1997), Aristotle (Lawton and Gordon, 2002), Locke (1996) and Freire (1993) is particularly pertinent to desistance theory in criminology. Desistance theory is an umbrella term for a group of relatively recent studies that attempt to explain what influences offenders' desistance from crime (Giordano, Cernkovich and Rudolph, 2002). One of the main contributory factors to desistance is thought to be the interaction between individual choice and wider social forces (Vennard and Hedderman, 2009). Maruna (1999) emphasised the importance of a narrative framework in which to understand the thinking and beliefs of offenders. Desistance narratives, as opposed to continued offending narratives, were shown to demonstrate how the offenders felt more in control of their lives. The empowering potential of education (Freire, 1993) could contribute to those feelings of control and autonomy. Maruna (1999) also stressed the notion that narrative theorists believe that individuals continually restructure their belief system and understanding in response to new experiences. This links to a key concept in education that 'narrative is central to the operation of the human mind' (Grainger, 1997:34) or, in the often quoted words of Hardy (1977:13), 'narrative is the primary act of mind'. There is potential for an inter-disciplinary study between educationalists and criminologists on the transformative nature of education in relation to desistance theory. It could also assist with the development of educational approaches that would support the rehabilitation of prisoners. One of the key aims of this study is to examine the profile of teaching in prisons against a backdrop of current teaching policy and practice and to set

out a programme of training for teachers in prisons which will better equip them to do their jobs in the prison context and raise their professional status.

Education in prisons has undergone many changes in the last ten years. Until 2001, education in prisons was managed by the Prison Service. The responsibility was then moved to the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) which recognised that the current system was unsatisfactory. After the move to the DfES, the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) was given responsibility for funding, planning and delivery of education in prisons in 2004 and was fully in charge by 2006. This thesis is concerned with how much this re-structuring and shift of responsibility brought about real change and developments. It also raises questions about why, with the move of responsibility to the education department, prison education is not discussed among educators and why, given the practical reality of education in prison, there is so little analysis, critique and theorising. This thesis aims to investigate these themes through an examination of the nature of education and the purpose and practice of education in prisons. The primary focus for this thesis is on basic level education (with reasons and justifications explained later in the thesis) but this does not exclude the significance of further and higher education in prisons which are referred to where relevant.

Although evidence from other research is limited in quantity and scope, there have been a small number of significant studies that have been published over the last eight years. Work on this thesis began in 2005, four years after responsibility for education in prisons moved from the Home Office to the DfES with the creation of the Offenders Learning and Skills Unit (OLSU). During those four years, studies by Bayliss (2003, 2006), Braggins and Talbot (2003,

2005), the All-Parliamentary Report (2004) and Select Committee Report (2005) indicated concerns about education in prisons. During the next five years further studies on education in prisons were published by the Quality Improvement Agency (QIA) under the authorship of Real Educational Research Ltd (RER, 2007), Prisoners' Education Trust (2009), Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce (RSA, 2010) and Simonot and McDonald (2010). The positive effect teachers can have on prisoners' lives is exemplified by two of the studies which centred specifically on prisoners' views on education (Braggins and Talbot, 2003 and Prisoners' Education Trust, 2009). Each highlighted the impact teachers have on raising prisoners' motivation, self-esteem and success. Yet over the entire 10 years only two papers, RER, (2007) and Simonot and McDonald (2010), focused specifically on teachers and their training needs. Despite concerns about the quality and effectiveness of education in prisons raised by studies as long ago as 2003 and 2004 (Bayliss and All-Parliamentary Report respectively), it is only in the last three years that the training needs of teachers in prisons have been the focus of research in prisons. This suggests that the role of teachers is now beginning to be recognised as crucial to the success of the prison education system.

At present there are very few teacher education courses in the UK which are specifically designed for teachers in prisons, with Strode College in Devon being a notable exception. This highlights the fact that teachers in prisons are a marginalised group, with their specific needs largely unknown or unrecognised by the educational community. For this reason the focus of this thesis is on teachers in prisons, finding out about their experiences and considering their needs and aspirations. The main intention of this thesis is to add a new

dimension to the small but growing research into education in prisons to include the views of teachers and observations of teaching practice. A heartfelt, albeit ambitious, aspiration is that findings from this thesis may contribute to the development of teacher education courses for teachers in prisons to cater for their needs so that they, in turn, can cater more effectively for the educational needs of prisoners to contribute to their rehabilitation back into society and help them to desist from further crime. This has the potential to raise the teachers' professional status and the status of education in prisons to show its transformative power in supporting the 'reform and rehabilitation of offenders' (Criminal Justice Act, 2003: paragraph 142). This thesis recognises that this is no small undertaking and emphasises the need for a more systematic approach to ensure teacher education takes account of the unique context of prisons and related issues when providing education and training for teachers in prisons.

The current Further Education minister, John Hayes, launched a review of 'offender learning' which was to be published in December 2010 (Mourant, 2010) but as yet (March 2011) is still not available. The fact that such a review was deemed necessary indicates that there are issues with the current system. How this will impact on the development of education in prisons remains to be seen, but while this fresh focus on policy is welcome, any changes introduced will inevitably take time to affect the day to day practice of education in prisons if, indeed, the review extends that far. As this thesis asserts, current practice is an area in urgent need of attention. Whatever policy changes may take place, the teachers in prisons have to adapt to these and continue to work with prisoners to develop their knowledge, skills, understanding and self-esteem with the aim to turn their lives around away from crime.

To investigate the work and training needs of teachers in prisons, the four main research questions addressed in this thesis are:

1. What affects the role of teachers in prisons?
2. What are the experiences and perceptions of teachers working in prisons?
3. What are the similarities and differences between teaching in prison and other educational settings, both compulsory and post-compulsory?
4. What are the training needs of teachers working in prisons?

The answers to these questions are explored throughout this thesis. Chapter Two reviews the literature and considers issues related to education in prisons. The purpose of prisons is defined alongside the purpose of education in prisons, taking account of political and criminological influences. The development of education in prisons is charted with comparisons to the developments in mainstream education. Philosophical influences are discussed alongside political trends which have shaped the development of education over time. Chapter Three outlines the methodology and fieldwork. Recent research studies are discussed and evaluated in terms of their focus and methods showing how the development of this thesis is contributing to and building on current knowledge in the field. The enforced changes to the research design are evaluated and the underpinning philosophical and theoretical approaches of phenomenology and critical theory are placed within the context of this study. Chapters Four and Five analyse and discuss the research findings using the key themes that emerged from the fieldwork. Chapter Four focuses on the management of education and the issues raised by external bodies jointly

managing, with the prison hierarchy, those who teach there and the challenges created by this system of dual management. This leads on to a discussion of issues related to the recruitment of teachers with an exploration of the motivating factors which attract teachers to education in prisons. The final section of this chapter reflects on the impact of the prison environment on teachers and teaching, focusing on the 'culture of control' of the prison regime, the teaching spaces and restrictions related to resources. Issues that are directly related to teaching and learning are explored in Chapter Five. These include the induction process, the curriculum in prisons, the unique nature of prisoners as learners, the knowledge and skills needed by teachers, the observed teaching methods and teachers' training needs. The final chapter, Chapter Six, provides the conclusion to this thesis. The four key research questions are revisited, highlighting the main issues raised by the findings. A consideration of teachers' needs and aspirations, drawing on all the evidence, leads to recommendations for future practice in teacher education specifically tailored for those who teach in prisons.

A note on terminology

For the purpose of this thesis it is important to clarify the use of the terminology. While the glossary explains the acronyms used within this research, it is essential to clarify the definitions of some of the key words used throughout the thesis. 'Education' is used to mean formal education in classes or workshops which are taught by members of staff employed by the lead provider of education rather than by the prison service. Other forms of education and training exist in prisons, such as vocational training and informal

education, and although these are acknowledged as important they do not form part of the research for this thesis. 'Teachers' refers to teaching staff employed by the lead provider rather than trainers and instructors employed by the Prison Service. 'Mainstream' denotes institutions that have provision for education as their central purpose. The term includes both compulsory and post-compulsory education and refers to schools, colleges and universities.

Although a number of different words can be used to describe those serving a prison sentence, including the current trend of using the term 'offenders', this thesis refers to them as 'prisoners'. This is because the one thing they all have in common is incarceration in a prison and as such, all are prisoners. The word 'offenders' includes people serving sentences in the community and focuses on the past crime rather than their current state of being. From an educational perspective it would be preferable to use the term 'learners' but as prisoners are discussed in more general terms when they are not in education classes, 'learners' is too restrictive. When reviewing the literature the term 'offenders' is used occasionally if this is the term used in the referenced publication. This is because the publication may be referring to those serving their sentences in the community as well as those serving their sentence in a secure institution.

Finally, the term 'basic skills' is used to mean literacy and numeracy skills sufficient for use in everyday life. While recognising that other terms such as 'key skills' and 'functional skills' are now used in adult learning (which may include communication skills and Information Communication Technology), the term 'basic skills' was used by the participants in the research and is therefore adopted throughout this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATION IN PRISONS: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The Criminal Justice Act (2003: paragraph 142) cited five clear purposes for sentencing:

- the punishment of offenders;
- the reduction of crime (including its reduction by deterrence);
- the reform and rehabilitation of offenders;
- the protection of the public;
- the making of reparation by offenders to persons affected by their offences.

The effects of sentencing do not necessarily match these purposes (Hedderman, 2007) but it could be argued that education might support the achievement of two of these aims: the reduction in crime and the reform and rehabilitation of offenders. Education is already recognised as a means for equipping offenders to work instead of offending (HM Prison Service, Department for Education and Skills, Youth Justice Board, National Probation Service, Learning and Skills Council and JobCentrePlus, 2004) but it is also possible that if prisoners are reformed and rehabilitated through education this could lead to a reduction in crime. Despite the potential importance of education in meeting these aims, the Green Paper (DfES/DWP, 2005:29), on reducing reoffending through skills and employment, referred to education in prisons as the 'Cinderella Service'. Reflecting the same concerns, Bayliss (2003:157), writing about his research on prison education, claimed it was 'the most

overlooked area' within education. As stated in Chapter One, there have been some significant changes in policy and management since 2001, which will be discussed in this chapter, but as both publications by Bayliss (2003) and DfES/DWP (2005) were two and four years after this period respectively, it raises questions about the impact of these changes in practice.

This chapter examines developments in prison education from the premise that education has the potential to contribute to two of the purposes for sentencing and therefore has a major part to play in criminal justice and the success of its systems. Although prison education formally sits within the post-compulsory sector, compulsory sector policies and practices are also relevant because of the characteristics of those in prison. The Green Paper (DfES/DWP, 2005:13) stated that 37% of offenders have a reading level of under 11 years of age (Level 1)¹ compared with 16% of the general population. More recently, the National Skills Forum (2010) reported that 48% of offenders have literacy skills (reading and writing) at or below Level 1 and 65% have numeracy skills at or below Level 1. This suggests that nearly half of the 85,000 prisoners in England and Wales² are functioning at a primary child's developmental level in reading and writing and nearly two thirds at the same level in numeracy. Other prisoners will be functioning at a much higher level, some to degree standard. Education in prisons, therefore, has to cater for prisoners with educational needs spanning across all sectors of education.

The Green Paper, (DfES/DWP, 2005:13) also stated that 49% of offenders have been excluded from school compared with 1% of the general population.

¹ Basic skills are national levels. Level 1 is what is expected from an eleven year old. Level 2 is GCSE level.

² Figure from the Ministry of Justice Prison Population and Accommodation Briefing for 18 February 2011 http://www.hmprisonservice.gov.uk/assets/documents/10004C5C18022011_web_report.doc

The Howard League (2005) found that three quarters of 18 to 20 year old offenders had been suspended, excluded or had voluntarily stopped attending school. Rather than post-compulsory education in prisons building on learning developed in compulsory education, as in most FE and HE contexts (other than adult literacy and numeracy), it has to take account of the gaps in half or more of the prisoners' school education. It also has to find ways of re-engaging prisoners who have a negative approach to education reflecting difficulties during their school life. In addition to this, education in prisons has to have breadth to meet the needs of prisoners who were successful at school and college and wish to move onto higher level qualifications such as A levels or degree level study, associated with further and higher education.

In order to understand why prison education is organised along current lines and why the term 'Cinderella Service' may be justified, this chapter is divided into four main sections. The first Section, 2.1, charts the development of prison education alongside significant developments in mainstream education. Section 2.2 examines the purpose of education in prisons and the purpose of education in the broader context to investigate the similarities and differences. Section 2.3 considers issues related to teaching, including training and approaches to pedagogy. Comparisons are made with mainstream education to reflect on the way that some of the influential theoretical perspectives can be applied to teaching in prisons. Finally, Section 2.4 reviews some of the potential barriers to learning in prisons which will have a direct impact on teaching.

2.1 HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN PRISONS

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the development of

education in prisons from the eighteenth century to present day. To put this into context, parallels are drawn with the development of education in the mainstream sector. Although there are some similarities, it is only in the last decade that education in prisons has come under the remit of the Department of Education (and its predecessors). Prior to this, the Prison Service was responsible for funding and managing educational provision. For this reason the overview is divided into two sub-sections: the first charting key developments up to the end of the twentieth century and the second evaluating changes in policy and practice from the start of the twenty-first century.

2.1.1 Education in Prisons: the Eighteenth Century to the End of the Twentieth Century

In the last two centuries, education in prisons is barely mentioned in any of the academic literature on penal history. Prior to the late eighteenth century, the conditions in prisons were impoverished and resulted in starvation and disease. There were, however, some influential prison reformers who believed in a more humane form of punishment to encourage reform. At that time, John Howard of Bedford (1726 - 1790), who became an important and influential prison reformer, believed that prisoners would not change their ways unless they were given a reasonable standard of living. He advocated Christian teaching, regular attendance at chapel and a solitary existence. This generated the belief that through hard work, religion and solitary reflection, prisoners would become reformed (Jewkes and Johnston, 2006). Howard's ideas were partly implemented when the first penitentiaries were built in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and although the regimes were far stricter than Howard's proposals, the prisons were clean and prisoners had separate cells. Foucault, in his work on the birth of the prison, outlined how punishment changed from barbaric public

torture and execution in the mid-eighteenth century to a highly regimented prison system less than a century later and a 'new age for penal justice' (Foucault, 1977:7). The influence of religion on prison reforms and the education of prisoners mirrored the mainstream education sector where church control of education for the privileged had been in place since the twelfth century (Gillard, 2007).

Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845), a Quaker, worked to improve the lives of women in prison. In 1817, Elizabeth Fry and a group of other Quakers formed the Association for the Improvement of the Female Prisoners in Newgate (Zedner, 1991). They set up a school to teach mothers and their children to read and provided them all with Bibles. The Association also provided evidence to the House of Commons about conditions in British prisons. This influenced Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850), the then Home Secretary, to reform prison conditions in 1823 with the Parliamentary Gaol Act, which required instruction in reading and writing in all prisons. In 1835, the Prisons Act stated that gaols where numbers exceeded fifty had to appoint school masters. This focus on reading and writing in prisons to promote the literacy skills of prisoners was a reflection of the focus of education in society. Within the history of education, Simon (1966) noted that the most significant changes happen in education during periods of rapid social change, mirroring aspects of social, economic and intellectual history. The Industrial Revolution saw an expansion in education. West (1975) asserted that at that time in history there was an 'educational' revolution as well as an 'industrial' one. The most compelling reason was that the new industrial society needed literate workers. The 'literacy revolution' that began in 1790 had reached full strength in the 1830s and 1840s (West, 1975). The relevance of education and literacy standards to the success of industry and the economy was illustrated by Disraeli's statement in 1874 when he linked the education of the people with the fate of the country (Ball,

1985). However, what constituted literate at that time would not be accepted as such today. Sanderson (1999) highlighted the fact that despite Britain having achieved virtually total literacy in its workforce at that time, the measurement of being able to sign one's own name was somewhat simplistic and no measure of literacy by current standards.

The Report of the Gladstone Committee in 1895 reflected a change in attitudes within government towards the purpose of imprisonment, from viewing imprisonment as primarily punishment to considering its rehabilitative potential. 'We start', said the Committee, 'from the principle that prison treatment should have as its primary and concurrent objects, deterrence and reformation' (Prison Service HQ Library, 1982:3). The Committee recommended that unproductive labour should be abolished. They also recommended that efforts should be made to extend educational facilities and make books more widely available. By the 1920s, the Victorian prison uniform with its wide arrows, the silence rule and punitive labour were abolished. Despite these efforts, prison education was a very low priority and consequently both the amount and range of education offered, and the quality of provision, were severely lacking (Emsley, 2002). In contrast, there were significant developments in mainstream education. The new mindset which highlighted the importance of the development of an educated workforce contributed to the major education acts of 1870 and 1902, which began the move towards a more centralised approach. Prior to this, there was clear differentiation between social classes and education, with only the fee-paying upper and middle classes receiving education beyond elementary level (McCulloch, 1994). In 1870, School Boards were introduced. Their remit included examining elementary provision and providing places for those unable to access education in voluntary schools. In 1902, secondary education was greatly expanded and School

Boards were replaced with Local Education Authorities (LEAs). These two acts marked the beginnings of central government policy in relation to education (Aldrich, 2002).

The end of the First World War saw the introduction of the Education Act of 1918. The war had prompted a re-evaluation of the education system. There was also an acknowledgement that education was not only about teaching skills for work but also about developing citizenship. This was illustrated in 1918, by Fisher³, when introducing the Education Act:

I notice that a new way of thinking about education has sprung up among many of the more reflective members of our industrial army. They do not want education only in order that they may become better technical workmen...they want it because they know that in the treasures of the mind they can find an aid to good citizenship.

(Quoted in Field and Hakin, 1971:5)

The contribution of education to the development of citizenship was also beginning to be recognised in prisons. The Criminal Justice Act in 1948 began the gradual shift away from severe Victorian methods to put more emphasis on rehabilitation. Corporal punishment was abolished and corrective training was provided. Attendance centres were created where people convicted of petty offences were required to attend to participate in a variety of activities (Emsley, 2002). This also resulted in a reduction in the number of prisoners. However, by the 1970s the use of imprisonment increased in response to rising crime rates. This led to a higher prison population, overcrowding leading to worsening conditions, and a general disillusionment in the perceived penal progress of the previous three decades (Hudson, 2002). It also resulted in fewer opportunities for time in education and workshops (National Archives, undated).

³ Herbert Fisher was president of the Board of Education between 1916 and 1922.

The 1970s was also a decade of disillusionment in mainstream education which resulted from a highly influential report on primary education, chaired by Lady Plowden (DES, 1967). This was commissioned in 1963 by the then Minister of Education, Sir Edward Boyle, to consider all aspects of primary education, including transition to secondary school. The ethos of 'child-centred' education promoted in this report dominated teacher training in the 1970s, providing the underpinning philosophy for classroom application. Its impact could be seen in primary and secondary schools across the country. The Black Papers of 1969 (Chitty, 2004) were highly critical of the progressive, child-centred learning of Plowden and of comprehensive schools and this resulted in a growing unease about the perceived lack of a curriculum that would teach children the necessary knowledge and skills for adulthood. In 1988, the Education Act introduced the National Curriculum which was a clear move away from the child directed philosophy of Plowden and was seen by many critics of the Plowden approach to be a positive step (Alexander, Rose and Woodhead, 1992; Aubrey, 1994). For the first time, central government was stipulating the content of the curriculum on a statutory basis. This was an historical landmark in compulsory education in England and Wales (although it was both controversial and contested).

Despite significant developments in education in schools in the 1980s, education in prisons remained relatively unchanged and a low priority. Until 1991, education was funded by the Home Office and delivered mainly by Local Authority adult education institutions and FE colleges. Some aspects of provision were also delivered by trained prison staff, known as instructors, who were mainly responsible for physical education. In 1991, a tendering process

was introduced with colleges bidding for contracts, not only those within close proximity to the prisons, but covering a much wider geographical area. From 1993, prison education was contracted out on a five yearly basis to a variety of further education colleges and external providers. However, prison education budgets were decided by the prison governor and finance could easily be moved away from education into other areas. As education budgets were not ring-fenced, decisions made about funding may have been unrelated to educational issues and needs, and there were large cuts in provision and the loss of many full-time prison tutors (Select Committee, 2005).

The principles underpinning education in prisons at this time were outlined in the introduction of the HM Service Prison Order (2000:3):

The purpose of education within prison is to address the offending behaviour of inmates, by improving employability and thus reduce the likelihood of re-offending upon release...

It then briefly described the key components of educational provision, including a basic skills screening test in literacy and numeracy, a core curriculum with key and basic skills with a focus on literacy, language, numeracy and life skills and an individual progress file for every prisoner. Many of the statements throughout the document are prefaced with the phrases: 'where circumstances reasonably permit' or 'wherever possible'. It is also difficult to get a sense of any underlying philosophy or commitment to education apart, perhaps, from a commitment to improve basic skills for prisoners assessed at Level 1 or below. The quote from the introduction suggests a link between education and the reduction of the likelihood of re-offending but presents a somewhat simplistic model of how these may be connected. The report's rhetoric does not reflect the potential

significance of the broader value of education within prisons in terms of developing citizenship which was reflected in the Criminal Justice Act of 1948.

2.1.2 Education in Prisons: the Twenty-First Century

In 2001, a significant change came into effect with responsibility for prison education moving from the Home Office to the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) which included the creation of the Prisoners' Learning and Skills Unit (PLSU) to oversee education in prisons. This followed the transfer of responsibility for health services in prisons to the Department of Health which was deemed a huge success (Select Committee Report, 2005). The move to the DfES represented a landmark in the development of prison education, putting the responsibility in the same department as all other educational establishments. It suggested a shift in thinking about the importance of education in prisons and a realisation that it needed to be led by a department which would focus on policies, procedures and decisions related specifically to educational aims, rather than purely crime reductive ones and competing with the broader remit of the prison service. The key issue was whether this shift in responsibility led to such a change of perspective or a change in practice, which at that time lacked coherence across prisons and consistency in quality (Braggins and Talbot, 2003; Select Committee Report, 2005; DfES/DWP, 2005).

An important development in relation to this was that in 2004 the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) was given responsibility for the funding, planning and delivery of prison education, assuming full responsibility by 2006. This followed some fundamental changes to Further Education a few years earlier which resulted from the White Paper 'Learning to Succeed', which suggested the

restructuring of FE. These changes came about in 2001, which included the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) becoming responsible for funding for post-16 schools, colleges, adult and community learning, but not HE (Robson, 2006). As education in prisons is part of the FE sector, it is not surprising that the LSC also began implementing changes in prisons after this became its responsibility in 2004.

The PLSU was changed in April 2004, becoming the 'Offenders' Learning and Skills Unit (OLSU), with the new responsibility to include learning and skills for all offenders, focusing not only on prisons, but also community service and probation. This was in response to the Carter Review (Carter, 2003) which sought to reduce duplication and increase coherence in the supervision of offenders. Focusing on the management of offenders rather than the management of different systems was seen to be the way forward. To this end, the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) was created, with a single Chief Executive overseeing the prison and probation services' delivery of 'end to end' management of offenders from conviction, throughout the sentencing period, to the final stage of being integrated back into the community (Home Office, 2004a; DfES, 2003b). Regional Offender Managers would work across the two services, using evidence about how to reduce recidivism to inform decisions, rather than leaving it to the services themselves to make separate decisions about what to deliver (Carter, 2003).

One of the first acts of the OLSU was to publish the 'Offenders' Learning Journey' (HM Prison Service *et al.*, 2004) which aimed to set out the requirements of learning and skills provision for offenders, describing the policy environment and describing how the offenders' learning and skills provision

would contribute to achieving the government's objectives for criminal justice.

The first part of its mission statement asserted:

That offenders, in prisons and supervised in the community, according to need, should have access to learning and skills which enables them to gain the skills and qualifications they need to hold down a job and have a positive role in society. (p5)

Although this included the notion of the importance of having a positive role in society, this is surprisingly similar to the mission statement of 2000, raising questions about how far moving responsibility to the Department of Education led to broader educational values playing any part in prison education. It asserted that prison education should be comparable to mainstream provision, but did not reflect the rhetoric of the aims of the government's Five Year Strategy for Learners (DfES, 2004e) which explicitly acknowledged the broader benefits of education:

Skills and learning are not just about economic goals. They are also about the pleasure of learning for its own sake, the dignity of self-improvement and the achievement of personal potential...research shows that such learning has a positive impact in many different ways; on the individual and their sense of purpose, motivation...on society and on the individual's involvement in the wider community. They help people build the confidence to come back to learning (DfES, 2004e:86).

The 'Offenders' Learning Journey' does not focus on the wider benefits of education, but more on measurable targets and specific skills. An explicit statement of this nature would have provided more evidence of an holistic vision of education, more comparable to that of the mainstream with which it is striving to be equal.

In 2005, the Green Paper 'Reducing Re-Offending through Skills and Employment' was published (DfES/DWP, 2005) swiftly followed by 'Reducing Re-Offending through Skills and Employment: The Next Steps' (DfES/DWP,

2006). The key issues related to: skills for employment; the setting up of an Employers' Alliance to make links with businesses that are prepared to employ ex-offenders; a 'skills passport' showing skills and credits gained; and 'employability contracts' for offenders. This aim, to forge partnerships with employers, was a positive move for offenders disheartened by the fact that their criminal record would be a barrier to gaining employment once released from prison (Braggins & Talbot, 2003). However, for this strategy to be successful, there needed to be recognition of other aspects that contribute to successful employment and desistance from crime as espoused by Vennard and Hedderman (2009:229): '...in seeking to move offenders into work it is important to match the intervention to individual circumstances and level of motivation, and to address the full range of their needs.' Assertions made in both government documents (DfES/DWP, 2005; DfES/DWP, 2006) suggested a personalised approach, such as tailoring learning to individual needs, better planning and assessment, coherence between different settings, wider curriculum choice, and the identification of offender learners as a priority group. However, Vennard and Hedderman's concerns about the full range of needs, including levels of motivation, were not explicitly expressed.

Perhaps the biggest changes ever to be seen in the management and organisation of educational provision in prisons began in 2005. The LSC established the Offender Learning and Skills Service (OLASS) to manage the contracts and monitor the delivery of the new service. The OLSU remained in place to oversee policy. OLASS was organised to run on a regional basis in the nine LSC regions. Colleges and private companies were invited to bid to be 'lead providers' of education in prisons. The new service began in three pilot

development regions in August 2005 with the remaining six regions beginning the new service twelve months later. As it was regional, there were different models, for example the North-East and North-West regions selected a geographic model, whereas the South-West divided the curriculum into four different types and used a different contractor for each (Forum on Prisoner Education, 2005). In 2006, there were 19 lead providers, of which 13 were FE colleges and the remaining six were private companies, consultancies and one charity.

Although the proposed changes to prison education were felt to be long overdue (Select Committee Report, 2005), the pace of change led to feelings of insecurity for those working within the system. The Report stated that 'recent reforms...have caused a great deal of uncertainty and instability for staff' (2005:paragraph 10). Taylor, the then director of the Forum on Prison Education (TES, 2005), noted concerns about the quality of the new service given that it had been set up so quickly, referring to the lack of experience that the LSC had in prison education. It could be argued that given the previous lack of interest in prison education, it would be difficult to find any one body which did have relevant expertise in the area. The same article referred to a manager in one pilot area, two months after the introduction of the new system, who felt that the prison department was in turmoil and messages from the LSC were confused, despite the initial aim of OLASS to bring coherence to the system.

The provider contracts were to last for only three years and the re-tendering process began again in 2008 (OLASS 3) with the new contracts beginning in August 2009 for a period of three years, which could be extended to five years based on an annual review and availability of funds (UCU, 2010a).

A memorandum submitted to Parliament by the Association of Colleges (2006) stated their concerns about the short length of time each contract lasted and the resources absorbed by the bidding process. The UCU (2006) also highlighted the 'instability and uncertainty for education managers and staff' (2006:111) that each round of contracting created. It would appear that it was not only the pace of change that caused suspicion and uncertainty but also the lack of stability created by the short-term contracts and bidding process.

The centralisation of education can create tension between professional empowerment and institutional power. It has been claimed that central governments ignore educational evidence, have misguided policies and interfere with professional integrity (Burgess-Macey and Rose, 1997). This results in confusion and a suspicion about the political agenda underpinning the approach, leading to opinions verging on paranoia, such as those espoused by Taylor suggesting, somewhat controversially, that the 'government may be setting OLASS up to fail' (Taylor, 2005:9). Taylor did not go on to justify his opinion with any evidence, but his remarks reflected the lack of confidence in the new system.

Concerns about the increasing politicisation of education are also evident in mainstream education. The perceived lack of acknowledgement of educational research is perhaps why teachers are often suspicious of educational changes proposed by the government and why teaching unions have called for boycotts on a variety of government initiatives when they are seen to be totally at odds with good educational practice. In 2002, and again in 2010, teachers were asked to boycott all national tests for seven, 11 and 14 year olds to indicate the detrimental effect of testing and the associated league

tables on both teaching and learning (BBC, 2010b). This is one of the key differences between mainstream education and education in prisons; educators, researchers and academics in mainstream education are vociferous in their viewpoints and philosophies and will challenge government interventions if they are in disagreement with them. This was exemplified recently when the then Labour government commissioned a review of primary education in 2008 (Rose, 2009) which ran in parallel with an independent review of primary education known as the Cambridge Review (Alexander, 2009). The independent review authors claimed that they had a wider collection of evidence and more thorough and rigorous research than the government commissioned report (Alexander, 2009) and they challenged its findings. Prison educators are a minority group and as such are in a weaker position to challenge or question policy decisions.

Despite the new system for the provision of education in prisons only being in place for four years with new contracts awarded in 2009, a review of offender learning was announced in August 2010 by John Hayes, the Secretary of State for Further Education, Skills and Lifelong Learning. This began with a call for evidence from interested parties involved in offender learning (BIS/Ministry of Justice, 2010). The main purpose of the review, as stated in its introduction, was to measure progress against the policy framework set out in the next steps document (DfES/DWP, 2006). It also stated that it was taking account of the findings from the Green Paper's Report (Ministry of Justice, 2010a) on breaking the cycle of re-offending through effective sentencing, punishment and rehabilitation. Somewhat surprisingly, despite one focus being rehabilitation, the 2010 Green Paper's approach 'will be geared primarily to

providing skills to perform work effectively' with a focus on training rather than education (Ministry of Justice, 2010a:15) which does not recognise the wider benefits of education to promote individual development and citizenship.

Education is mainly referred to in terms of early intervention with schools and families to prevent the start of offending behaviour rather than education in prisons. However, in the call for evidence, there is some recognition of a more holistic view of education than one based solely on vocational skills. Of the 37 questions posed, two of the initial over-arching questions related to how well offenders enjoy and achieve in their learning and how well their learning would help them to achieve social and economic well-being.

The fact that a review is underway suggests that the current system needs improving. It could also be because the major changes in 2005 were made under the Labour government which was replaced in May 2010 by the new Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government with aims to create their own systems and policies. This penchant for change under the new government is reflected in other areas of education. The education secretary, Michael Gove, rejected Labour's proposed school reforms and outlined his views about the direction of education: giving schools autonomy with more becoming academies; a sustained focus on core traditional subjects; and rigorous external assessment and a refinement of tests (Gove, 2010). As with education in prisons, a review of the primary and secondary curriculum was announced in January 2011.

Education Acts and government funded reports have in turn authorised and influenced the development of education throughout the latter half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. Despite these

developments, further education has been called the 'Cinderella Service' (Randle and Brady, 1997; Huddleston and Unwin, 2002; Gleeson, Davies and Wheeler, 2005; Avis and Bathmaker, 2007; Evans, 2009) mainly due to the lack of interest by policy makers, researchers and educationalists in comparison to the attention given to schools and universities. This low status is not new. During most of the nineteenth century, further education was considered 'notably backward in most areas of scientific and technical education by comparison with other major states in northern Europe' (Green, 1995:123). The fact that prison education has been referred to as the 'Cinderella Service' of FE, as stated in the introduction of this chapter, only serves to highlight the need for research into its policy and practice to investigate the quality and fitness for purpose. This raises a central question: What is the purpose of education in prisons? The answer to this question will impact on practice and on the measurement and evaluation of its effectiveness. It could be argued that the purpose of education in prisons should not be any different to the purpose of education in any other setting although others may argue that prisoners are a unique group with specific needs. The next section considers this question with reference to the government's stance, academic research and influences on educational philosophy.

2.2 THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION IN PRISONS

The introduction to this chapter highlighted the potential of education to support the reduction in crime and the rehabilitation of offenders, which are two of the five purposes for sentencing. This section considers the ways in which education can contribute to these aims, evaluating the government's position on

the purpose of education in prisons and the viewpoints of academics, educationalists and findings from research. Desistance from crime is undoubtedly a key objective but the ways this can be achieved is under debate. The following discussion focuses on some of the main arguments contributing to this debate.

2.2.1 Training for Employment

The government's focus on education in prisons is the reduction of recidivism. The importance of education and training is cited in their National Action Plan for reducing re-offending, in which the introduction of NOMS is central to the initiative (Home Office, 2004b). The government's premise is that education leads to employment and employment leads to a reduction in offending (Select Committee Report, 2005; Ministry of Justice, 2010b). Offending can be linked to unemployment, as findings show that 66% of prisoners are unemployed at the time of imprisonment, which is around 13 times the national unemployment rate (Niven and Stewart, 2005), and employment is deemed to reduce the risk of re-offending by between 33% and 50% (Simon and Corbett, 1996). Having a job brings with it the stability and satisfaction that accompanies being in employment (Harper and Chitty, 2004). Additional factors such as income are also likely to be perceived as an advantage over being unemployed. These personal feelings are vitally important in terms of a motivated and successful workforce, but can only ever be anecdotal and cannot form sound statistical evidence because of all the other variables that contribute to a person's thoughts, feelings and attitudes.

Although training for employment is clearly an important aim of education in prisons, there are various studies that suggest education can have a positive

impact on reducing recidivism through the wider benefits of learning and the development of the person as a whole, not just in terms of qualifications for employment (All-Party Parliamentary Report, 2004; Select Committee Report, 2005; Duguid, 2000; Reuss, 2000; Pawson, 2000). Opinions and views gathered as evidence for the Select Committee Report (2005), from a variety of sources⁴, highlighted a more holistic approach to the benefits of education than those emphasised in government documents. The opinions cited included: the Forum on Prisoner Education who believed education holds the key to living without crime by improving self-esteem and providing new opportunities; the Chief Executive of UNLOCK⁵ who believed education is probably the most important thing we have in prisons; and John Brennan, Chief Executive of the Association of Colleges, who believed education equips people to cope on release by raising confidence and increasing personal aspirations. These views link to the desistance narratives that indicate the importance of prisoners feeling more in control of their lives (Maruna, 1999). Despite these viewpoints, the most recent Green Paper (Ministry of Justice, 2010a) cited the purpose of education in prisons only in terms of skills for employment.

One of the difficulties in promoting a more holistic approach is that the rehabilitative benefits of education are hard to prove, as stated by Pawson:

The cause of offender education needs the support of hard evidence because, otherwise, practitioners have to fall back on anecdote – and anecdote, quite simply, is insufficient (2000:64).

Reuss (2000) discussed the potential that the learning process has on influencing behaviour post-release. It could be argued that education can only

⁴During the course of the inquiry evidence was collected from over thirty different sources, including the DfES, Ofsted, LSC, prison associations, the Home Office, charities, pressure groups, colleges and universities, one Young Offender Institution and four prisons in the UK, and visits to Finland, Norway and Canada in October 2004 and January 2005.

⁵ National Association of Reformed Offenders.

ever be discussed in terms of potential as there are too many other variables which could impact upon a person's behaviour. Indeed, the Social Exclusion Unit's (2002) conclusions that prisoners who do not attend education programmes are three times more likely to re-offend, was criticised by the Select Committee's Report on Education and Skills (2005) because they cannot exclude other factors influencing a person's behaviour. Due to differences in prisoners' backgrounds and circumstances, it would appear virtually impossible to prove any one factor could impact significantly upon recidivism in general terms. The difficulty in measuring the impact of education will continue to cause problems in terms of reliability and validity of evidence. Perhaps the focus should be shifted to acknowledge the potential positive impact of education on all individuals and the importance of ensuring it is high quality to maximise its potential.

The introduction of the Respect Action Plan (Home Office/Respect Task Force, 2006) emphasised the drive to show the public the government's commitment to the reduction of anti-social behaviour and the associated crime. There are different public perceptions related to punishment for crimes committed in society and one of those is the notion of being 'soft' on criminals. Reuss (2000), when researching prisoner education, noted the potential for criticism from people who believe there is no place for education in prisons; that prison should be a punishment and therefore any activity which might be enjoyed by criminals should not be available. This attitude reinforces the perceived justification to link education with recidivism to show how it benefits the wider society in utilitarian terms rather than benefiting the prisoner.

Trying to prove the link between education and the reduction of recidivism perhaps detracts from the premise that, in a civilised society, education 'is the right thing to do' (Coyle in Select Committee Report, 2005: paragraph 20). This view does not attempt to justify education for any purpose other than its own sake. Throughout the Select Committee Report there is a dichotomy; on the one hand there is an assertion that education in prisons must be viewed differently and not be seen purely as a way to reduce re-offending, on the other hand, the report states: 'We urge the Government to give priority to undertake the necessary research to demonstrate the impact of education and training on recidivism' (paragraph 34). This highlights the perception that there is a need for hard evidence to show that education reduces crime in order for it to be seen as acceptable by society to invest in education in prisons. However, any research would need to be rigorous to avoid Pawson's warning of reliance on anecdote (2000).

The focus on employment is also reflected in the changes in mainstream education. The oil crisis and subsequent recession in 1971-73 resulted in less money being available for education which, in turn, had an effect on the accountability demanded of schools (Gillard, 2007). The dichotomy between education to create a skilled workforce and education to create autonomous individuals, between traditional and progressive education, created a politically driven authoritarian rationale (Mence, 1999). In 1976, the then Prime Minister, James Callaghan, launched the 'Great Debate' about education in his speech at Ruskin College, Oxford (Callaghan, 2001). The central argument was based on the premise that education should be a preparation for work and that Britain's work-force was not competing successfully in world markets. The focus

on the purpose of education to produce an economically viable workforce was one reason that led to a total overhaul of the education system in 1988.

Confused messages about the purpose of education are evident in government rhetoric. The Green Paper, 'The Learning Age', (DFEE, 1998), set out its vision:

Our vision of a learning age is about more than employment. The development of a culture of learning will help to build a united society, assist in the creation of personal independence, and encourage our creativity and innovation (paragraph 8).

It went on to say, learning: 'stimulates enquiring minds and nourishes our souls' (paragraph 10). Although somewhat steeped in purple prose, it indicated a commitment to seeing learning as enriching in its own right and not just about employment. In contrast, the Learning and Skills Council's main aim, in fact the reason for its very existence judging from the first sentence on its website is: 'to make England better skilled and more competitive' (LSC, 2005:webpage). This is similar to Callaghan's vision in 1976. Nourishment of souls is not mentioned. It would appear that the government's 'vision' in the Green Paper did not really match with its choice of agency to oversee the development of lifelong learning. The 'Foster Report' (Foster, 2005) on further education, recommended that colleges should concentrate on supplying skills that are useful to the economy and that there should be a national learning model that spans schools, further and higher education. This implies that education is solely about preparing for an economically productive life (Carr, 2003), and that the economic needs of the state, rather than the individual and society, are at the forefront of policy and practice in education. This view seems to be favoured by politicians, rather than educationalists, as argued by Sylva (1987:3): 'Education is about nurturing

the moral, aesthetic and creative aspects ... not about “getting the country somewhere”.

2.2.2 Educational Philosophy

In relation to the emphasis on education for employment rather than broader educational aims, Lea (2003:12) presented a debate both criticising and defending the ‘vocational creed’. The defence of a vocational⁶ approach to education is based on a neo-liberalist ideal in which the success of Britain as a competitive force in industry is seen as paramount. Looking back at the key changes in FE education, these were all prompted by concerns about the lack of competitiveness of Britain’s workforce in comparison to Europe and the USA. The criticisms of a vocational approach could be attributed to a liberalist or Marxist ideal (Lea, 2003) which is based on a philosophical stance, including humanistic and cognitive aims of education, which are not reflected in developments in education in prisons or FE more broadly. Rogers (2002:4) questioned the aims of educational policy for adults, stating that ‘contemporary adult education is led by instrumental concerns rather than empowerment, social transformation or personal fulfilment’. He argued that adult learning tends to reflect, rather than challenge, the dominant concepts of society. In addition to economic, personal and social benefits of education there is also a moral purpose espoused in the National Curriculum: ‘Education should reaffirm our commitment to the virtues of truth, justice, honesty, trust and sense of duty’ (DfEE/QCA, 1999:10).

This view is underpinned by many of the traditional philosophies that have informed the development of educational thought, from the early Greek

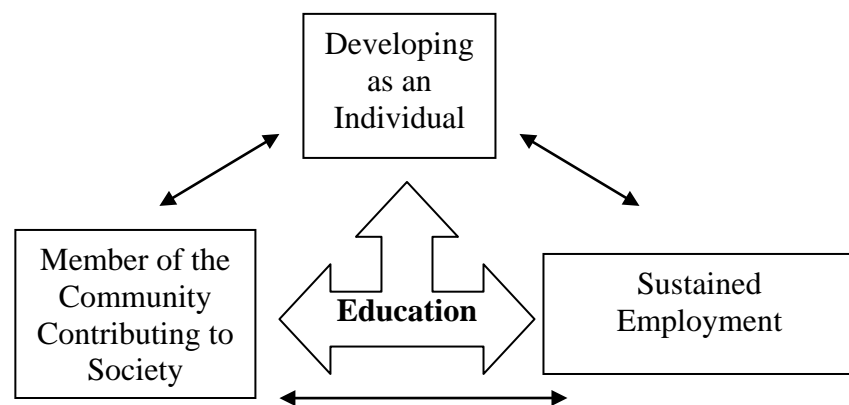
⁶ Vocational is being used in this context to mean skills related to employment rather than vocational as a ‘calling’ which originated from Christianity.

philosophers of Plato and Aristotle, the eighteenth century works of Locke and Rousseau and the twentieth century works of Dewey and Freire. The idea of citizenship and education awakening the capacity to govern oneself is shared by Plato (1997), Aristotle (Lawton and Gordon, 2002), Locke (1996) and Freire (1993) and has resonance with current educational thinking. This has particular relevance for prisoners in both recognising their potential for learning and acknowledging the value of education in supporting rehabilitation into society. Plato, Rousseau and Dewey all recognised the potential of education as preparation for work (Curren, 2007) with: Plato's three levels of society and associated preparation for work at each level (Plato, 1997); Rousseau's assertion that every man should learn a trade and the true value of work (Rousseau, 1979); and Dewey's notion of education to provide transferable, practical and social skills (Dewey, 1916). These values can be recognised today with different types of education, such as vocational and academic; the development of a work ethic; and the holistic nature of education to promote a range of skills to widen opportunities.

Although there are differences in each philosophy, primarily because they were formed in different time periods with the associated societal issues, there are commonalities. The key ideas from the most influential philosophies can be summarised into the following themes: education has both individual and social aims that are reconciled in a democracy; education prepares the individual for life, including work; and education gives people freedom to govern themselves and understand they have some autonomy in how they choose to live their lives (Curren, 2007). Chitty (2002:2) examined concepts of schooling using three broad headings which could be attributed to the key themes from the

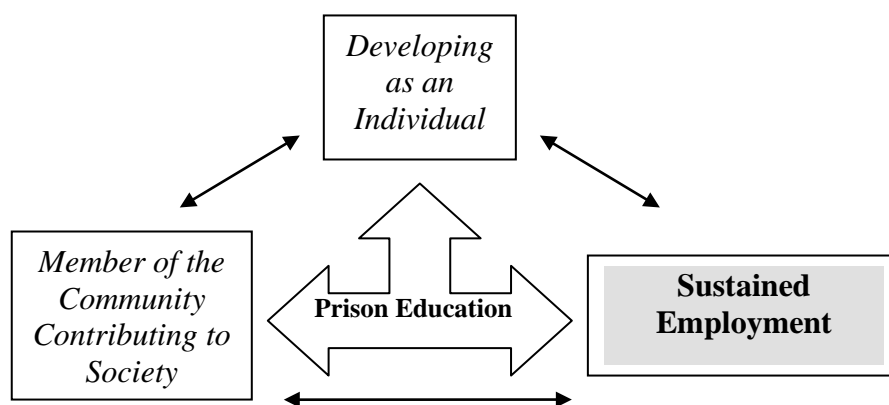
philosophies: 'as individual fulfilment; as preparation for the world of work; as an essential element of social progress and social change'. These three broad aims are represented in Fig.2.1 to show the interrelationship between all three purposes of education.

Fig. 2.1 The Aims of Education



Individuals develop interests and attitudes; these in turn will provide the motivation and self-esteem to gain meaningful employment; well-rounded individuals, making a success of their lives, will help to shape their communities and will be able to develop successful and sustained personal and social relationships.

Fig.2.2 The Aims of Education in Prisons



The purpose of education in prisons would appear to be the same (Fig. 2.2), although the government's agenda focuses on sustained employment (Ministry of Justice, 2010a). The government's focus on developing skills for trades, such as plumbing, and the partnerships with businesses such as the National Grid and Toyota (DfES/DWP, 2005) in prisons, has the potential to benefit some prisoners and these are welcome initiatives; but not all offenders want to be plumbers or mechanics. A prison educator at HMP Pentonville questioned the 2005 Green Paper's emphasis on vocational skills at the expense of other skills, stating: 'someone who aspires to be a journalist has no motivation to study plumbing' (Prado-Marin, 2006:41) and will therefore not be motivated to take a course which holds little relevance or interest. This links back to Vennard and Hedderman's (2009) assertion that interventions, in this case education, should be matched to individuals, their circumstances and levels of motivation.

2.2.3 Motivation and engagement

The Green Paper (DfES/DWP, 2005) acknowledged the need to motivate and engage offenders. Various research (Duguid, 2000; MacGuinness, 2000; Bayliss, 2003) highlighted the value of education in raising self-esteem and motivation. Creative and expressive arts may not be directly associated with the skills needed for employment within a trade, but the broader benefits are recognised within education. Although focusing predominantly on skills for work, the Green Paper (DfES/DWP, 2005) also made a brief reference to the wider benefits of education, stating:

Other activities, for example music, drama and the arts, can also be a powerful means of engaging disaffected individuals with learning, bolstering self-esteem and broadening horizons (DfES/DWP, 2005:40).

There are a number of arts organisations that visit prisons to provide workshops for offenders. Evidence suggests that the interest from the outside world in itself raises self-esteem, suggesting to offenders that they are valued (Davis, 2005). The Geese Theatre Company base their work on learning theories with an emphasis on cognitive-behavioural theory, related to understanding problems in terms of the relationship between thoughts, feelings and behaviour, leading to skills acquisition and empowerment (Baim, Brookes and Mountford, 2002). Other initiatives, perhaps not so influenced by specific psychological theories, but still concerned with personal, social and emotional development, include Rap workshops to develop self-esteem, team-working and communication skills (Davis, 2005), music workshops (Wilson, Caulfield, and Atherton, 2009) and art and artists in prison, involving prisoners working with an artist in residence and then displaying their own work out of the prison context (Brown, 2002).

Sometimes the publicity accompanying these initiatives can prompt the media and the public to question the appropriateness of this type of activity during a prison sentence intended to be a punishment. However, the purpose, beyond creativity and expression, is to promote a range of skills which are difficult to measure, such as self-esteem, confidence, motivation, collaborative working and communication. These are skills that would support prisoners in seeking and securing employment on release from prison. The link between these types of activities and employment are not as explicit as a vocational qualification and therefore there is some resistance to them. During a House of Lords debate, Lord Ramsbotham, chairman of the Koestler Trust⁷ and former

⁷ 'The Koestler Trust is a prison arts charity. Its aim is to promote the arts in prisons by encouraging creativity and the acquisition of new skills. Its activities range across a series of special arts projects in prisons, and centres on the Koestler Awards Scheme...a competition which encourages and rewards a variety of creative endeavours.' www.KoestlerTrust.org.uk [accessed 5/03/06].

Chief Inspector of Prisons, raised concerns about a letter he had received from the DfES suggesting the outcomes from the Trust are not 'sufficiently in tune with the outcomes in the government's Green Paper on re-offending' (House of Lords, 2006). Lord Ramsbotham responded to the assertion that the arts do not deliver hard outcomes in terms of re-offending, by stating that they provide the means by which offenders can become engaged in education. This interchange suggests the government is reluctant to emphasise anything other than skills for employment, because this is the only means to gather hard evidence to show a reduction in recidivism. It also emphasises the concern that prisoners should not be seen to be given activities which they might enjoy without justifying it in terms of the benefits to society.

2.2.4 Basic skills

Several studies have noted the link between the poorly educated and crime and unemployment (Vennard and Hedderman, 1998; MacGuinness, 2000; Youth Justice Board Review, 2001). The statistics related to exclusion from school and offending behaviour were outlined at the beginning of this chapter and show a significant correlation. Clearly, mainstream education was not successful in motivating those young people who opted out of school and consequently this has had a negative impact on their learning. Focusing on the development of basic skills with these prisoners is undoubtedly beneficial to their needs.

To support the development of basic skills, the Shannon Trust established a reading programme in prisons, called 'Toe by Toe' (CfBT/DfES/OLSU, 2005). This has a different model of delivery to most education programmes because it is delivered by offenders to offenders. An

offender mentor is trained to deliver the programme, working on an individual level with offenders who have difficulty with reading. The programme was awarded the Longford Prize in 2004, due to its success and the wider benefits of offenders moving on to education programmes once they have mastered reading. One of the difficulties with the scheme is the fact that mentors may be transferred and that training is not systematic. However, the notion of peer teaching is one that could be developed more widely and has the potential to have a positive impact on education in prisons.

The new core curriculum in prisons (BIS/Ministry of Justice, 2010) has four main components which represent 80% of the curriculum:

- Functional Skills (Literacy, Numeracy and ICT)
- Employability Skills
- English for speakers of other languages (ESOL)
- Approved vocational qualifications by the Qualifications and Credit Framework (QCF)

The remaining 20% is for all other educational provision. At present it is clear that the priority in prisons is basic skills and skills for trades and it is undeniable that these are both important. However, in order to meet the needs of all prisoners and potentially reduce recidivism across the whole prison population, more consideration could be given to offenders who wish to pursue a different course and there should be greater awareness of the benefits of higher education for the more able.

The main thrust of the research on prison education tends to be about basic skills linked to unemployment. The All-Party Parliamentary Report (2004) criticised the emphasis on basic skills in prisons and suggested this may be

detrimental to the more able prisoners. Assessments on entry to prison test basic skills and the Key Performance Targets (KPTs) within prison education are related to basic skills. As the report states: 'The whole thing is driven by basic skills' (p6). However, the emphasis on basic skills is not balanced with the educational needs of *all* offenders. The Select Committee Report (2005) also commented on the over-emphasis on basic skills to the detriment of more able prisoners, and on the absence of a wider curriculum, such as art and drama, which can be the first step to engagement and motivation. Wilson (2000:9) urged prison educators to 'transform the power of education ... beyond basic skills'.

It is apparent that the needs of learners in a prison context vary considerably and therefore a 'one-size fits all approach cannot work' (Braggins & Talbot, 2003:7). The Green Paper (DfES/DWP, 2005:6) highlighted one of its aims as 'better quality learning, tailored to individual needs, and a more joined up delivery'. Initial assessment is one area that has been wholly unsuccessful in prisons. Clearly, if learners' individual needs are to be addressed, then assessment is at the centre of this approach. Assessment for learning (DfES, 2004b) is central to teaching and learning in the compulsory sector, and using assessment to plan a suitable programme of learning should be fundamental in all educational contexts. The All-Party Parliamentary Report (2004) found assessment in prisons to be unsatisfactory. The report stated that offenders were assessed each time they went to a new prison, on their first day, and therefore all offenders who were transferred repeated the same test. The assessment only tested basic skills, because key performance targets focused on basic skills levels, and there was little correlation between the assessment

and the full range of learning needs. Braggins and Talbot (2003) interviewed prisoners who had taken the same test over six times and noted their concerns about the lack of transfer of educational records. The Green Paper (DfES/DWP, 2005:18) stated that: 'Inspections tell us that the learning and skills service on offer is too often unresponsive to individual needs'. The NOMS approach, with one person, the offender manager, taking responsibility throughout aimed to alleviate this problem. However, unless the assessments are broadened to test more than basic skills and unless they are used appropriately to inform the planning of the programme of learning, they will be of little practical benefit.

If all prisoners were at the same educational level and all needed skills for trades, then the government's focus could be more fully justified. Although in the minority, there are prisoners who have good literacy and numeracy skills. There are prisoners who were employed when they committed an offence. Prisoners who already have or receive training in vocational skills also need the confidence, motivation, self-esteem, independence and sense of responsibility to both seek a job on release and remain in employment. It cannot be assumed that attaining good basic skills and learning skills for a trade will stop all offending behaviour and therefore educational provision based on this model is likely to have limited success. This thesis is not arguing against teaching basic skills for those who need them or against training in vocational skills to support employment, but argues for a wider and more holistic view of education to acknowledge the needs of prisoners beyond basic and vocational skills and to acknowledge the rehabilitative potential of education to support the development of the individual and the citizen.

Sections 2.1 and 2.2 provided an overview of the development of policy in education in prisons related to the perceived purpose of education in prisons. The next section focuses on how these have affected practice, with specific reference to teachers in prisons.

2.3 TEACHING IN PRISONS

While reforms in prison education have been substantial, they have focused on systems, administration and management. These are certainly mechanisms for delivery, but what has not been put in place is a focus on the actual content of and approaches to education, at tutor and student level.

If education in prisons is to be successful it needs to be staffed by a high quality workforce. The Green Paper (DfES/DWP, 2005) referred several times to the 'quality of learning'. It went on to say: 'To be successful, learners need good teachers' (p28). Views from prisoners also highlight the need for effective teachers. Braggin's and Talbot's study (2003) focused on prisoners' views about their educational experiences in prison. The study took place over six months, incorporating 12 prisons and listening to adult prisoners and young offenders between the ages of 18 and 21. In total, the report drew on the views expressed by 153 prisoners, closely reflecting the prison population breakdown in term of percentages of women, young offenders, adult men and black and ethnic minority groups. The questionnaire used as part of the research did not ask a specific question about teachers or the quality of teaching, although it did refer to 'relationships' with educational staff. Yet when looking at the responses to other questions, it is clear that teachers and teaching had a significant impact on offenders' views about education, both negative and positive. On the

negative side, prisoners felt that they were the lowest on the list for high quality teaching staff and some felt that teaching staff were patronising and needed to learn how to teach adults. On the positive side, prisoners cited specific tutors as the motivating factor in their learning; they also recognised the importance of a good tutor, noting that they learned other transferable skills from tutors, such as tolerance, in addition to the subject content of the course, which would help them in their relationships with family and friends. During the research period, the need for more and better teaching staff was regularly mentioned and Braggins and Talbot (2003:69) stated: 'Throughout our study we heard much about the central importance of prison education staff.' As the central importance of education staff has been identified by prisoners, this raises the issue of the need for more specific research to be conducted on teachers and teaching in prisons; an area which, at that time, had not been investigated in any systematic way.

Evidence from Ofsted suggests that the quality of teaching in prisons has shown significant improvement over the last eight years. 78% of prisons failed their quality of learning and skills inspections by the Adult Learning Inspectorate (ALI) in 2002-3 and 55% failed in 2004-5. The Green Paper of 2005 welcomed the fall in failure rate, but at that time, with over half still failing, this demonstrated that significant improvements still needed to be made. These statistics raise serious questions about the quality of education in prisons at that time and would be deemed totally unacceptable within the school system. Any system that had a failure rate of over 50% is likely to be seen to be a failing system overall and in need of radical change. More recently, there has been a rise in successful inspections although this does not appear to be related to any

interventions to raise standards. One difference is that inspections are now completed by Ofsted, the same inspection body as schools. By 2009/10, Ofsted reported that 31 out of 33 adult prisons and young offender institutions inspected were satisfactory or better (Ofsted, 2010b). In the same year 63% of colleges inspected were judged at least good or outstanding (Ofsted, 2010b). This apparent difference between standards in FE and standards of education in prisons provides evidence for why education in prisons might still be viewed as the Cinderella Service.

2.3.1 Teacher Training

In the compulsory sector of education there is a strong tradition of teacher training. The nineteenth century saw the beginnings of systematic training of teachers with the foundation of the National Society in 1811 and the opening of Battersea Training College in 1840 (Jeffreys, 1971). The Elementary Education Act of 1870, which introduced a national system of elementary education, resulted in a large increase in the school population which also increased the need for teachers. This led to the first day training colleges for teachers being introduced in 1890. Teacher training developed steadily during the first half of the twentieth century and gained momentum in the 1960s, particularly with the recommendations from the Robbins Report that there should be a development of a graduate teaching profession (Burton and Bartlett, 2006). The child-centred approach of Plowden dominated teacher training in the 1970s and 1980s and there was an emphasis on the study of sociology, psychology and philosophy. The Education Reform Act of 1988, with the advent of the National Curriculum, changed the focus of teacher training from philosophy and psychology to curriculum content. As a result of this, trainees' subject knowledge became

more of an issue (Hargreaves, 2000) than had been the case previously and trainee teachers had to meet a set of competencies introduced by the DfEE in 1998. These were subsequently replaced by the Training Development Agency (TDA) standards in 2007 which were more streamlined and had less emphasis on subject knowledge (TDA, 2008). These reflected the introduction of the 'Excellence and Enjoyment' teaching and training materials (DfES, 2004a,b,c,d) which focused on a more holistic, less subject segregated, approach to the curriculum. The TDA standards emphasised the focus on a nationally recognised and regulated system of assessing trainee teachers.

In contrast to the constant development of teacher training in the compulsory sector, adult educators in FE tended to learn on the job as there was no requirement for any training prior to teaching (Jarvis and Chadwick, 1991). As teachers in prisons work within the remit of FE, they adhere to the requirements in FE teacher training. Many FE teachers enter the profession on a part-time basis and come from a diverse range of backgrounds (Jarvis and Chadwick, 1991; Huddelston and Unwin, 2002). The majority also begin by being committed to another profession and then move on to teaching their subject (Robson, 2006). Up until 1999 there were no statutory requirements for teachers in FE to have a teaching qualification because there was general acceptance that teachers would have the necessary expertise in their subjects to be able to teach them (Skills Committee, 2008). FE colleges generally encouraged teachers to gain professional teaching qualifications whilst in employment, such as those offered by City and Guilds, but there was no actual requirement (Ofsted, 2003). Unlike compulsory schooling, teaching in FE was not a graduate profession. In 1999, the Further Education National Training

Organisation (FENTO) (Further Education Development Agency, 1999) was introduced to take responsibility for developments, quality assurance and national standards in FE. This was the first attempt to specify teaching standards for teachers in FE (Robson, 2006) and from September 2001 all new FE staff had to possess a recognised teaching qualification based on the FENTO standards. From this point onwards there were several policy changes in FE.

In the same year, Ofsted became responsible for the inspection of FE teacher training. In 2002, the government paper 'Success for All' was critical of the sector's lack of investment and emphasis on its workforce's professional development and training (DfES, 2002) and the Standards Unit was set up to improve the quality of teaching (Skills Committee, 2008). The same year (2002) also saw the establishment of the Institute for Learning (IfL) which has since become the recognised professional body for teachers in FE. A report by Ofsted (Ofsted, 2003) was critical of the training systems for FE teachers already in place when it took over responsibility and this also contributed to the significant reforms to teaching qualifications in the FE sector.

As a result of a review of initial teacher training for the learning and skills sector (DfES, 2004f; DfES, 2005) new professional standards for teachers in the FE sector, including teachers in prisons, were finalised in 2007. These included a requirement to complete the Preparing to Teach in the Lifelong Learning Sector (PTLLS) award and registering with the IfL. Two teacher roles were distinguished: full teacher role expected to achieve the diploma in Qualified Teacher in Learning and Skills (QTLS) and associate teacher role expected to achieve the Certificate in Teaching in the Lifelong Learning Sector

(ATLS). The associate teacher role carries fewer teaching responsibilities. The qualifications required vary depending on the commencement of teaching in FE. If this was before 2001 there is no requirement to gain any of the qualifications although it is encouraged (LLUK, 2007). All full-time teachers in FE, regardless of when they started to teach in FE, are required to complete a minimum of 30 hours of Continuing Professional Development (CPD) per year, which is pro-rata for part-time teachers. Despite these developments, the quality of teacher training for FE still lags behind teacher training for the compulsory sector in terms of Ofsted grading. Ofsted (2010b) graded 93% (N=86) of training for the compulsory sector as good or outstanding and 74% (N=26) of the FE sector as good or outstanding. The biggest difference was in the percentage graded outstanding, with 41% in the compulsory sector and just four per cent in the FE sector.

One of the desired outcomes of the new professional qualifications for teachers in FE was to increase the professionalisation of the workforce (Rammell, 2006). However, Lea (2003) argued that professionalisation is not the same as professionalism, with the former enhancing professional status through membership of professional organisations (such as IfL) and the latter more concerned with continuous professional development that 'encourages critical exploration of the professional value base within the sector' (p84). It could also be argued that professionalism is related to the way the workforce is perceived and valued by others. Educators in prisons are marginalised by their own profession. A report on the BBC News website (Sellgren, 2006) stated that NATFHE (National Association for Teachers in Further and Higher Education) were concerned about the poor pay and job insecurity in prisons leading to a

high turnover in staff. The report went on to state that many teachers in prisons are on part-time contracts and so lose out on training and development opportunities, are paid less than if they were teaching in FE colleges and have fewer holidays. Based on this, the NATFHE website (NATFHE, 2006) claimed teachers in prison had less support and respect than other teachers and that prison education is the 'unsung part' of post compulsory education. This is yet another implicit reference to education in prisons being a Cinderella Service. Despite more recent changes to align pay and conditions for teachers in prisons with conditions for teachers in the mainstream FE sector, there is still disparity (Rathbone, 2009; BBC, 2010a). The quality of teaching and learning is at the centre of education in all sectors and unless this is given appropriate priority, education in prisons will have little impact on the target to reduce recidivism through education and skills. At present, there is insufficient provision for initial teacher training and appropriate preparation for teaching in prisons.

Initial teacher training courses do not traditionally cover prison education, although there is one college in England, Strode College, affiliated to Plymouth University, that received DfES funding to provide a specialised, accredited module for staff working with offenders in custody or the community (Bayliss, 2006). This module was at Master's level and included the history, nature and role of education in prisons and concepts of curriculum, teacher professionalism, responsibilities and needs of the students (Bayliss, 2006). This is an isolated case or a 'unique venture' as Bayliss described it (2006:110), and it is clear from the limited research into teaching in prisons and the implications for high quality practice, that this is an area in need of urgent review.

2.3.2 Theoretical Influences on Pedagogy

Teacher training for the compulsory sector is, in part, informed by learning theories. The 1960s and 1970s saw a rise in more theoretical influences on educational debates. Holt (1969) researched the reasons why so many children failed to reach their full potential for learning and concluded that they were bored and afraid due to the teachers being too controlling and unable to get into the child's head to see things from a child's point of view. Holt was writing at a time when Plowden was published and his views were criticised for the same reasons. It is difficult to disagree, however, with the premise that people cannot learn if they are afraid. Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1968) places security, belonging and self-esteem towards the base of the pyramid as fundamental to learning. This is especially significant for prisoners who are locked away from family and friends and therefore are likely to lack a sense of belonging and security. Many prisoners also have low self-esteem. These issues will be discussed in Chapter Five but have particular resonance in terms of Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

At this time there was also a focus on cognition and an interest in how children learn, led by the work of developmental psychologists, particularly Piaget (1929; 1959). Piaget's findings have since been extensively tested and critiqued (Vygotsky, 1962; Bryant, 1974; Donaldson, 1978; Egan, 1999; Berk, 2003; Carr, 2003). The critiques particularly focused on Piaget's assertions about the ages that children develop cognitively and his set stages of development which have been found to be inaccurate. The main theory that emerged from Piaget's work, which still has resonance in contemporary educational thought, was constructivism which involves children constructing

their own meaning from experiences and learning. This was further developed by Vygotsky (1962) who also introduced the zone of proximal development (ZPD) which identifies the difference between levels of current development and the potential for development that can be achieved through interactions with expert others (Vygotsky and Cole, 1978). While learning theories were initially dominated by Piaget and Vygotsky, others have emerged and become more prominent over time.

The importance of cognition and the value of interaction with others to learning have been widely acknowledged (Vygotsky, 1962; Bruner, 1974; Mercer, 1992; Wenger, 1998; Wells, 1999; Alexander, 2004b) and this underpins the theory of social constructivism. This theory places the emphasis on the co-construction of knowledge in which all participants learn with and from each other. Bruner (1974) referred to the notion of scaffolding learning by supporting pupils with timely interventions and support strategies, such as questioning, which would gradually decrease in direct correspondence to progress by the learner (Bartlett, Burton and Peim, 2001). Vygotsky's and Bruner's social constructivist theories have had a direct influence on more current educational emphasis on the role of social interaction in teaching and learning, as expressed by Mercer (1992), Wells (1999) and most recently, Alexander (2004b) who has written extensively on the importance of a dialogic approach to teaching. This approach has the potential to generate and develop critical thinking, as espoused by Freire (1993). Prison culture may not encourage reciprocal discourse between prisoners and staff which may be a barrier to adopting these teaching approaches in prisons, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

With particular reference to adult learning, Lave and Wenger (1991) also championed the advantages of learning through social interaction. Their concept of Communities of Practice emphasised the social nature of learning where people work together and share information and experiences to learn from each other and develop skills, knowledge, understanding and attitudes. These include the development of relationships; the collective process of negotiation; an understanding of accountability; perseverance; involvement in meaningful discourse; and identities as members of a group. Put succinctly, Wenger (1998:73) outlined the three dimensions that constitute a community of practice as 'mutual engagement, a joint enterprise and a shared repertoire'. These skills have particular relevance for prisoners who are disengaged, isolated and find working with others challenging. Lave and Wenger (1991) also promoted the theory of situated learning or situated cognition (Bartlett *et al.*, 2001) which emphasises the significance of the context to learning. This theory is based on the premise that context-bound learning is the most effective and promotes the idea of learning in real-life situations rather than in an abstract way in the classroom. This has clear implications for teaching in prisons and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

Understanding the needs of the learner should directly impact upon pedagogy. However, the 'needs of the learner' can become rather a glib phrase. It is easy to say, but more difficult to define in practical terms. Noddings (2005) provided two distinct definitions: inferred needs, decided by educators and policy makers, and expressed needs, decided by the learner. Both can be problematic. The inferred needs might not be appropriate; the expressed needs might be momentary desires. It is necessary to take account of both and this in

turn has implications for the way in which teachers help to develop attitudes and dispositions which will help learners to be able to identify their individual needs. This is directly relevant in prisons where there is a diverse range of learners with distinct needs, and for teachers trying to meet these needs when working within a system which has clearly defined inferred needs dictated by the government.

The dilemma for all teachers, but particularly teachers in prisons, is how to meet the needs of each individual learner within a classroom of learners. The DfES (2004a) promoted personalised learning with the emphasis on working in groups and learning from interactions with others, as opposed to more solitary individualised learning. Personalised learning aims to respond to individual need, but in a group situation by utilising the group context and working with others; this is an important distinction from individualised learning, but still has implications for pedagogy. Personalised learning aims to create an environment in which learners are valued and respected within an 'incorporative classroom' (Pollard, 1997), which allows them to fully participate in reciprocal dialogue (Alexander, 2004b). This clearly has resonance with principles of Communities of Practice. Although the approaches discussed have different names, personalised learning, social constructivism, Communities of Practice, they are essentially underpinned by the same premise that the individual learns through interactions with others. This fundamental approach to learning is promoted by different theorists, albeit using different terms, related to both child and adult learning environments.

Current trends that appear to be influencing education are learning styles and multiple intelligences. An emphasis on catering for visual, auditory and

kinaesthetic learning styles (VAK) has become popular since the advent of the 'accelerated learning' initiative (Smith, 1999). Although popular in schools and FE colleges, this approach has been heavily criticised for trivialising the complexity of learning and for minimal research evidence (Coffield, Mosely, Hall and Ecclestone, 2004; Abrams, 2005; Sharp, Bowker and Byrne, 2008). Gardner (1983) introduced the concept of multiple intelligences but subsequently became concerned about the way his work had been misunderstood and misapplied in schools (Gardener, 1995). He asserted the need to approach a subject from different perspectives, utilising the intellectual power that enables learners to have different entry points to learning depending on their strengths, rather than 'going through the motions' of promoting a certain learning style at a superficial level based on the VAK model. Robson (2006) was particularly critical of the way the theory of learning styles was promoted in FE to the detriment of other more significant theories such as situated cognition and social constructivism, arguing: 'The preoccupation with individual learning styles in further education has tended to obscure the importance of context to learning and the importance of social interaction' (p18). Bartlett *et al.* (2001) warned that learning styles should not be interpreted too simplistically with the misguided assumption that individuals have one, fixed learning style and instead should provide the incentive for a diverse range of teaching approaches and resources to maximise learning for all students.

2.3.3 Pedagogy and Andragogy

Robson (2006) expressed concerns that literature about teaching tends to be related to schools while far less is known and written about teaching in post-compulsory education. She asserted that there is no coherent pedagogy of

teaching and learning in this sector. This may be due to the fact that it is only recently that teachers in post-compulsory education have had to complete a teaching qualification. For compulsory education, training providers have needed to draw on theory to provide academic rigour to undergraduate and graduate courses. Historically, as there has not been a requirement for teachers in FE and HE to study for a teaching qualification there has not been an academic need for research and literature on teaching adults. This raises questions about what a pedagogical model for post-compulsory education would look like and if, indeed, there is any difference between pedagogy for children and pedagogy for adults. This section of the chapter critically analyses the work of Malcolm Knowles (1984) who asserted that there was a difference in the teaching approaches used for teaching adults to those used when teaching children. Although Knowles' work was conducted in America over thirty years ago, his ideas about andragogy are still being debated in the post-compulsory sector and have influenced thinking on the teaching of adults (Huddleston and Unwin, 2002).

Malcolm Knowles began using the term 'andragogy', meaning the art and science of helping adults to learn, in the 1960s (Knowles, 1984). Although he did not invent the word, his usage caught the widespread attention of adult educators across Europe and the United States (Heimestra and Sisco, 1990). Knowles believed that teaching adults had unique features that differed significantly from teaching children. This was mainly based on the premise that adults and children are different as learners and therefore the teaching of adults demands a different approach to the teaching of children. He based his theory on the notion that teaching children involves transmission of knowledge by the

teacher to the child, with the child in a passive role controlled by the teacher. He defined pedagogy by linking back to the roots of the word, translating it to *paed* meaning 'child' and *agogos* meaning 'leader of'. Hence Knowles believed that the child is led by the teacher.

Initially Knowles believed that pedagogy and andragogy were dichotomous but he then moved from seeing the two as totally separate to using the two models depending on the needs of the learner, whether adult or child. Even from this more liberal perspective, Knowles still provided a contrasting model of pedagogy and andragogy when seen in their purest form. The comparative tables below are based on a model produced by Knowles in which he makes five 'assumptions about learners' and compares these in terms of pedagogy and andragogy (1984:8). Each of the five key 'assumptions' have been summarised and will be analysed in turn.

Pedagogy	Andragogy
<p>1. Learners are dependent on the teacher who makes all the decisions about what should be learnt, how and when it is learnt and whether it has been learnt. The learner is submissive.</p>	<p>1. Learners are self-directing and take responsibility for themselves. Teachers may have to devise strategies to move dependent learners to self-directed learners.</p>

This pedagogical model assumes the child is an empty vessel waiting to be filled using a didactic teaching approach. Knowles suggested that when an

adult is coming to a new subject of which they have little or no knowledge, this pedagogical approach would be relevant. Rogers (2002:55) interpreted this as:

taught, that is, as if they were largely or completely ignorant of the subject being studied, without relevant experience, unable to be relied upon to control their own learning, having little or nothing to contribute to the learning process.

This assumption of how children are taught and learn is based on an outdated view of pedagogy. It harks back to a time when large classes of children sat in rows, facing an authoritarian teacher and learning mainly by rote. Although the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1988 reverted back to a more subject-based approach, the concept of learning through enquiry and first-hand experience is still an important part of modern pedagogy based on philosophical values and theoretical beliefs (Rousseau, 1979; Dewey, 1916; Piaget, 1959; Vygotsky, 1962). The key aspects of learning (DfES, 2004a) do not equate with the submissive, dependent learner espoused by Knowles in his version of pedagogy.

The perceived need for an andragogical model suggests that adult education had initially adopted an old-fashioned pedagogical approach which Knowles was keen to change. Jarvis and Chackwick (1991) noted that it used to be thought that only subject knowledge was necessary when teaching adults and knowledge about teaching and learning was not considered. Cochran (1997) discussed the importance of subject knowledge and pedagogical knowledge which leads to pedagogical content knowledge (knowing how best to teach a particular subject). What is apparent in much of the literature about andragogy or more broadly, teaching adults, is the importance of facilitating learning through a problem solving approach; for students to be active not passive; for the students to have ownership of their learning through the

development of a collaborative process and, most importantly, to be learner-centred (Knowles, 1984; Rogers, 2002; Hillier, 2002; Huddleston & Unwin, 2002). This is remarkably similar to the modern pedagogical approach outlined in respect of the social constructivist approach. Despite Robson's (2006) claims that there is little consensus about the nature of post-compulsory pedagogy, the principles of teaching remain the same regardless of the age of the learner.

Pedagogy	Andragogy
<p>2. Learners enter the educational activity with little experience that is of value as a resource to learning. It is the experience of the teacher that is key. Therefore the backbone of pedagogical methodology is transmission techniques.</p>	<p>2. Adults come with a wide volume and different quality of experience: Adults are rich sources of learning for one another. Techniques include group discussion, problem solving projects, simulation exercises, etc. making use of learner experiences. Adults have a greater self identity due to experience.</p>

This second assumption leads to the general notion of 'childhood' and 'adulthood', how they differ and when the former becomes the latter. Corder (2002) defined characteristics of adults as above the age of compulsory education, having experience of work, having family and financial responsibilities, independent and able to make judgements about the world in which they live. Some of these would not apply to all adults, particularly some prisoners who have little or no experience of work and have been unable to meet family, financial and personal responsibilities; and some could also apply

to children. The transition from child to adult varies in different cultures, although in general there is a distinction between childhood and adulthood and the belief that they are different in every culture. Rogers (2002) echoed the UNESCO definition of adulthood which states that adulthood begins whenever the society in which a person lives decides that person is an adult. When considering the differences in the UK about when it is legal to leave school, vote, buy alcohol, get married, drive and other aspects of life in which age restrictions are set, it perhaps is not quite as clear cut. This thesis defines teaching adults as teaching in post-compulsory education, although that in itself is not straightforward. Government funding stops for most people at the age of 19, so between the ages of 16 and 19, post-compulsory education is funded. Using this as a guide, perhaps the age of 19 is when a child becomes an adult in the UK for educational purposes. Every Child Matters (DfES, 2003c) covered the age range from 0 to 19 years, which again highlights the age of 19 as a key transitional point. In contrast, the term 'young offenders' is used for 18-20 year olds, after which they become adult offenders (21+). What can be deduced is that there is no definitive answer to the question of when childhood becomes adulthood and that is not even taking account of personal attributes such as maturity, self-awareness, life experiences and attitudes.

What is certain is that whether child or adult, everyone has experience. Adults have more life experience because they have lived longer, but that does not mean that it is any more valuable or important than childhood experiences; it is just different. Knowles (1984) claimed that children define themselves by where they live, which school they go to and other external sources to derive their self-identity, whereas adults define themselves by the experiences they

have had and this is where they derive their self-identity. However, he does not provide any evidence for this and it runs contrary to the wealth of research into children's developing sense of self in the early years (David, Gooch, Powell and Abbot, 2003); children develop the idea of themselves as an individual from birth. It is somewhat arrogant to suggest that children's experiences are not valid in terms of their learning and self-identity. Teachers should always value learners' prior experiences so that educational opportunities are meaningful and appropriate, allowing learners to build on what they already know and have active involvement in the learning experience. This forms the basis of the constructivist theory of learning (Piaget, 1959). The techniques that Knowles suggested underpin the andragogical approach, such as problem-solving and group discussion, also underpin social constructivist theory and modern pedagogy.

The emphasis is on the learner taking increasing responsibility for his/her own learning. Experiences are central to the learning process, not of little educational value as suggested by Knowles' pedagogical model. Even in the early years of learning, Bruce (2005) stated that a key principle in early learning is starting with what children can do rather than what they cannot do; in other words, valuing children's prior experiences and using these as a starting point for learning. This has clear implications for teachers in prisons who are working within a system which has ineffective transfer of a prisoner's educational records to inform them about prior learning and educational experiences. It also highlights the challenges faced by teachers in supporting prisoners who have negative prior experiences of education in the school context.

Pedagogy	Andragogy
<p>3. Readiness to learn: Learners are told when they are ready to learn and what they have to learn to advance to the next level.</p>	<p>3. Readiness to learn depends on when they experience a need to know or do something in order to perform more effectively in some aspect of their lives.</p>

Tennant (1988) questioned what relevance this has to the process of learning and whether or not there are any implications at all for differences between adults and children. Knowles (1984:11) believed that ‘there are things we can do to induce’ adults to learn such as ‘engaging them in career planning’ rather than waiting for their readiness. This same argument could apply to children by providing them with a clear purpose for learning and so ‘induce’ the readiness. Clearly one of the main differences is that one is compulsory and the other is not. There is an assumption, however, that in post-compulsory education the adults choose to learn and are ready to learn, which might not be the case.

Welfare benefits may be linked to compulsory basic skills education (Trusting and Barton, 2006); specific qualifications may be required to do a particular job, for example, the requirement to achieve QTLS (Qualified Teacher Learning and Skills) for all teachers in FE; compulsory in-service training such as the statutory continuing professional development requirement (CPD) for all teachers in FE (DfES, 2004f). Although some adults may welcome these opportunities, others may feel resentful and have a negative attitude towards learning. The attitudes of teachers in prisons to CPD opportunities will be discussed in Chapter Five. Prisoners’ readiness to learn will be dependent on their attitudes to education,

their motivation and whether or not the educational provision offered meets their needs.

Pedagogy	Andragogy
<p>4. Orientation to learning: Students have a subject-centred orientation with prescribed content. The curriculum is organised according to content units.</p>	<p>4. Orientation to learning: Adults enter education with a life-centred or problem solving orientation to learning. They learn in order to perform a task, solve a problem or live in a more satisfying way. The curriculum is organised around life situations and a need to know.</p>

The implication of this assumption is that children learn a subject for the sake of learning and adults enter education with the need to learn for a clear purpose linked to the application of the learning in their lives. Smith (1999) suggested that this does not bear any relation to the age of learners but does have implications for effective teaching methods. Blondy (2007:125) also questioned this premise by expressing the view that adults may choose to learn something new purely for the ‘joy of learning’ and may not be considering its application in life. The National Curriculum is organised into different subjects but the way these are taught is dependent on the teacher, such as relating learning to meaningful situations or choosing a cross-curricular approach. National qualifications which adults may choose to study, such as ‘A’ levels, are likely to be organised into content units with a clear subject orientation. It would appear to be the nature of the course/activity and the teaching methods used that

define the learning orientation rather than the learner. This has clear implications for the way basic skills could be approached in prisons to ensure activities relate to meaningful situations for prisoners.

Pedagogy	Andragogy
<p>5. Motivation to Learn: The learner is motivated to learn by external pressures such as parents, teachers and competition for grades.</p>	<p>5. Motivation to Learn: The learner may have some external motivations such as a better job or increase in salary but the strongest motivations are internal and are related to self-esteem, self-confidence and self actualisation.</p>

Motivation is important for learning and can stem from a wide range of factors. Pollard (1997) suggested that the most commonly identified types of motivation are intrinsic, collective and extrinsic and ‘the teacher can influence the kinds of motivation children may develop...by the way in which activities are set up and encouraged’ (1997:138). Although extrinsic motivation often forms part of the school’s approach, such as rewards and sanctions based on behaviourist theories, modern pedagogy encourages intrinsic motivation through self development. Highly motivated pupils should be ‘the holy grail as far as teachers are concerned’ (Bartlett et al, 2001:118). Knowles’ use of the term ‘self-actualisation’ is derived from Maslow’s hierarchy of human needs (Maslow, 1968) which is one of the most identifiable theories of motivation. Maslow believed that until basic human needs were met, the higher order needs of self-esteem and self-actualisation (the highest) could not be met. Motivation is so

complex and personal that it is difficult to make generalisations about differences between children and adults. If a child is interested and excited by a learning opportunity, the motivation will be intrinsic; an adult may need an external pressure to feel motivated to complete a course.

Rewards and sanctions are often used as behaviour management techniques in school and this is one area that may not be as prevalent or necessary in adult education, but this is not specifically related to learning. That is not to say that there are no behaviour management issues in adult education. Armitage, Bryant, Dunnill, Hammersley, Hayes, Hudson, and Lawes (1999) and Huddleston and Unwin (2002) discussed challenging behaviour and disruptive students which can be related to previous negative experiences in compulsory education or pressures in their lives outside college. This is significant for teachers in prison who may be teaching prisoners who have had previous negative educational experiences. These issues are discussed in Chapter Five.

When adults or children are in the learning environment, a variety of factors could affect their motivation. However one distinct difference is that children have to attend school and although some adults may have to participate in education as part of their job or as a requirement for welfare benefits, others choose to do so. Although the motivation for learning once in an educational context varies from individual to individual, whether child or adult, the initial trigger to attend adult education voluntarily applies more specifically to adults than children. The motivational factors involved in this decision are also likely to vary but they are essential for that first move back into learning. This is particularly applicable to prisoners, especially for those with negative school experiences, and the prison's ethos in terms of the value placed on education.

Knowles' set of five assumptions which form the model of learning has resulted in debates about the possible uniqueness of teaching adults (Merriam, 2001; Blondy, 2007). There have been suggestions that the model could be based on a continuum, with the pedagogical assumptions at one end and andragogical assumptions at the other end, regardless of the age of the learner (Merriam, 2001). In this respect, the continuum moves from teacher-directed learning at one end of the spectrum to learner-directed at the other. The analysis of the assumptions does not give credence to this view.

It would appear that most of the writers on andragogy are adult educators without experience of teaching children. The views and experiences of educators who have taught both children and adults would provide more validity to the arguments. The evidence suggests that in terms of teaching and learning, there is little difference between pedagogy and andragogy. The same philosophical and theoretical perspectives can underpin teaching and learning in all contexts, including prisons.

2.4 BARRIERS TO LEARNING IN PRISONS

In this section, some of the main barriers to learning in prisons are explored, considering both the issues related to prisoners' experiences prior to conviction and issues within the prison system that affect education.

2.4.1 The Background of Prisoners

There is a range of explanations about what causes offending to begin, continue or cease (Laub and Sampson, 2003; LeBel, Burnett, Maruna, and Bushway, 2008; Soothill, Fitzpatrick and Francis, 2009). Government policy in relation to reducing reoffending has been most influenced by those writing from

a 'What Works?' perspective (McGuire, 1995), leading to the national reoffending reduction plan to identify a number of factors which must be addressed in order to reduce reoffending (Home Office, 2004b). Among the contributory factors such work identifies are substance abuse, poor housing and broken relationships (McGuire, 1995; Home Office, 2004b; DfES/DWP, 2005). The Respect Action Plan (Home Office/Respect Task Force, 2006) stated five main factors that contribute to anti-social behaviour: poor parenting skills, often with one parent with criminal convictions; poor behaviour in schools, coupled with truancy and exclusion; living in deprived areas; individual factors such as drug and alcohol abuse; and early involvement in anti-social behaviour.

The Howard League for Penal Reform's 'Out for Good' two year research project involved interviewing 61 young men through the prison system and on to release (Howard League, 2005). They interviewed each person three times: once after the first few weeks of imprisonment; secondly, two months later; and finally after release. The report found that 53% of 18-20 year olds in prison said that alcohol abuse was one of the reasons they got into trouble and 43% cited drugs as the problem. It would be positive if a prison sentence could break rather than perpetuate this cycle, but the figures for re-conviction suggest this is not the case as half of all prisoners are reconvicted within a year of release (Ministry of Justice, 2010b) and around one in five crimes is committed by a former prisoner (DfES/DWP, 2005).

The culture of education is not, therefore, going to be one that attracts offenders once in the prison system. The links between education and school are likely to deter offenders from wanting to participate in educational programmes. The All-Party Parliamentary Report (2004) stated that offenders

shunned classroom provision, particularly those in the 18 to 20 age bracket. Perhaps those closest to school age have the strongest negative feelings towards education. Certainly this has implications for the way education is delivered in prisons and is perhaps why the Green Paper (DfES/DWP, 2005) referred to the development of the 'Learning Campus' relating more to university style adult education, than schools. Pawson (2000) was involved in a research team in Canada, led by Duguid, that created a university style campus for offenders in an effort to mirror the provision provided in universities to promote the notion of lifelong learning and the power of adult education. There were clear benefits, including the continuity of provision and the measure of choice. However, a university style campus would feel totally irrelevant to some prisoners and deter them from taking part in educational provision, particularly if they left education very early. Thomas (2001) highlighted the fact that socio-cultural groups who do not traditionally enter post-compulsory education do not see its relevance and feel it is outside their experience. He recommended familiarising people with learning practice by providing a curriculum that is relevant and of value to them. The learning culture in prisons clearly needs to take account of the previous educational experiences of offenders and the social and cultural factors involved, and use this knowledge to attract participation.

2.4.2 Issues in Prison

The unemployment status and deprived living conditions of many prisoners prior to sentencing may well affect their choice of activity in prison in terms of pay. The Select Committee Report (2005) and the All-Party Parliamentary Report (2004) both raised the issue of low level of pay for

education in comparison with work in prison. This also has implications for foreign nationals, with considerations such as the cost of telephone calls home (Braggins and Talbot, 2003). A letter to 'The Times' from directors of various prison education pressure groups and charities, such as the Forum on Prisoner Education, Howard League for Penal Reform, Unlock, Prisoners' Education Trust and the Prison Reform Trust (Taylor, Crook, Cummines, Linklater, Mackney, Maxlow-Tomlinson, Ramsbotham, Lyon, 2006) noted that two years on, only four of the Select Committee Report's 26 recommendations had been met. They commented on the concentration on basic skills and lack of provision for more able prisoners and the higher remuneration for menial tasks such as 'packing teabags'. Although there is an attempt to provide more parity in remuneration for work and education, they still do not appear to be comparable in all prisons. This relates back to the case study that was the stimulus for this thesis and suggests that Darren's experience was the norm rather than the exception.

Another potential disincentive is the attitude of prison officers. The All-Party Parliamentary Report (2004) found that many prisoners thought that prison staff viewed education as a low priority. Braggins and Talbot (2003) also found that many prisoners thought prison staff had negative attitudes towards education and that some even deliberately sabotaged educational opportunities, such as being late or slow to escort them to classes. They also felt hostility from the staff towards those with basic skills needs and those who 'posed an intellectual threat' (2003:63). Wilson and Reuss (2000:173) expressed the view that 'security staff might see education as a risk' and the Select Committee (2005:3) recommended that more investment is put into

training 'to encourage a more positive attitude amongst prison officers towards the role that education has to play in prisons'. However, it would be wrong to suggest that all prison officers have a negative approach. Braggins and Talbot (2003) also cited prisoners who identified specific officers who were particularly encouraging. Evidence from a report on the role of prison officers in supporting education (Braggins and Talbot, 2005) would concur with the Select Committee's recommendation, highlighting the fact that many prison officers would like to play a more active role in prison education but feel they have not had sufficient training. The Green Paper (DfES/DWP, 2005) recommended that the prison and probation workforce should work alongside the education workforce. This would clearly be beneficial to offenders' learning, but needs appropriate funding to ensure it happens in practice.

Braggins and Talbot (2003) and the Select Committee (2005) highlighted the timetabling of education as a potential issue. Education classes often coincide with gym time and participation in education would mean missing out on gym sessions, a provision highly prized by offenders (Braggins and Talbot, 2003). Many prisoners would also like to study part-time to enable them to work. The Green Paper (DfES/DWP, 2005) suggested there should be more flexibility in the prison day and in the delivery of education, such as short education sessions in the workplace, evening classes to ensure offenders do not miss out on other activities, and involving education in other activities, such as learning numeracy skills in the gym or kitchen. This final point is known as a cross-curricular approach in education and is promoted in Excellence and Enjoyment (DfES, 2004a). It is deemed to be highly successful in motivating and engaging learners and may well be a more appropriate means in

developing basic skills than traditional classroom based sessions which could be de-motivating and potentially humiliating to those who feel embarrassed about their lack of skills. Bayliss (2003) also questioned the teaching methods he observed, suggesting a move towards education being integrated in all prison activities. This approach also relates to Lave and Wenger's (1991) situated learning theory and Communities of Practice. Education in a relevant and real context might motivate more reluctant learners and provide them with transferable skills.

CONCLUSION

The overview of the history of education in prisons indicates that there are parallels with some of the developments in the history of mainstream education, such as the early influence of the church, the later focus on literacy skills and skills for employment. However, it does lag behind in some key areas; notably the training of teachers and a holistic view of education based on educational philosophy and theory. This chapter identified three purposes of education and their interrelationship: developing as an individual, becoming a positive member of the community and gaining meaningful employment. Government intervention puts the needs of the state/economy at the forefront of reforms in all sectors of education, but evidence from other sectors suggests the teachers providing educational opportunities have been trained using fundamental principles based on broader values. These include philosophical beliefs about the intrinsic value of education to holistic development based on philosophers such as Aristotle, Rousseau and Dewey and learning theories which impact on practice such as constructivism and social constructivism.

This lack of a coherent pedagogy in the prison context is also reflected in FE, which itself has been labelled as the Cinderella Service of education. This could be because there are differences of opinion about whether the principles of teaching children (of which there is much written) can be applied to adults. The pedagogy/andragogy debate presented in this chapter highlights some of the key arguments, but this thesis strongly asserts that the key principles underlying effective teaching apply to any learner of any age. Adopting this paradigm would allow more in-depth study of pedagogical issues in an adult learning context, including prisons. As half of prisoners are working at primary school developmental levels in literacy, teaching strategies used in schools are also particularly pertinent as long as they are presented in an adult context.

The apparent lack of funding and professional development for those providing education in prisons, the teachers, suggests they are not given sufficient priority. The value offenders place on the quality of teaching has been highlighted in this chapter and there are undoubtedly some very talented and dedicated teachers working in prisons who are driven by educational principles. Their work is constrained by the barriers to learning in prisons, including the nature of prisoners, attitudes of some prison personnel and the prison regime. However, despite recent, more successful Ofsted inspections, these still compare unfavourably to Ofsted inspections in FE which raises fundamental concerns about the quality of teaching and learning across the prison sector. This in turn raises questions about how these issues can be addressed. If the government wants prison education to be comparable with the mainstream sector, it needs to invest in those at the 'chalkface' who are providing the

education, in addition to investing in administration and management to ensure the rhetoric is reflected in the practice.

This chapter has provided a review of the literature on recent policy and practice with reference to relevant research studies. Chapter Three details the way the research design for this thesis was first formulated and significantly adapted as a result of external constraints. The methodology and the methods used are discussed and show how this thesis was both informed by, and extends, previous research conducted on education in prisons.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins by revisiting the four key research questions:

5. What affects the role of teachers in prisons?
6. What are the experiences and perceptions of teachers working in prisons?
7. What are the similarities and differences between teaching in prison and other educational settings, both compulsory and post-compulsory?
8. What are the training needs of teachers working in prisons?

The empirical research was designed to find the most effective ways to answer these questions to add to the small but important body of knowledge gathered by other relevant research studies.

The focus on teachers and teaching is a relatively unexplored area of education in prisons. This is evidenced in the first section of this chapter which outlines the foci of other research studies and their methods for data collection. The purpose of this section is to demonstrate how the development of the research for this thesis builds on the work of others and poses new questions to provide insights into the specific area of teaching in prisons. Section 3.2 presents the story of the development of the research design. The initial ideas for data collection were substantially changed as a result of external barriers. This section charts the resulting modifications which helped to transform the original research design into a new, more tightly focused approach. Section 3.3

outlines the philosophical influences on the development of the research paradigm and methodology. It refers to the methodological structures and operations (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007) used in this research, acknowledging the interpretations of different researchers according to their own disciplines and purposes whilst defining the stance adopted for the purposes of this thesis. Section 3.4 provides details of the methods and research instruments used for data collection. It also acknowledges the limitations of these methods and considers ethical issues. The final Section, 3.5, summarises the approach to data analysis, with an explanation of the coding procedure and resulting themes.

3.1 PREVIOUS RESEARCH STUDIES IN EDUCATION IN PRISONS

In this section, previous empirical work is reviewed which produced results that had some relevance to one or more of the key research questions addressed in this thesis. Most of the research reviewed is from the United Kingdom, although Pawson's and Duguid's research project in Canada (Duguid, 2000; Pawson, 2000) is included due to its influence on subsequent research in England (Reuss, 2000). A brief summary of each study is included to provide an overview of the main research question each addressed, methods used and a brief summary of each study's findings. The purpose of this summary is not to provide a detailed analysis of their research and methods but to focus specifically on the research questions and methodology within the context of this study to establish their relevance and how the shortcomings and strengths of their approaches have been considered in the development of the methodology for this thesis. Eight studies focused on the views of offenders,

one on the views of prison officers, one on the views of prison education coordinators and three researched views from a range of perspectives.

MacGuinness (2000) examined the influential factors that prompted prisoners to take part in educational programmes, particularly focusing on those with long term sentences. The research took place in one maximum security prison and questionnaires were sent to all prisoners (number not stated) in education to find out why they had chosen to enrol on the programmes. There was a 64% return rate. Nine prisoners participated in semi-formal interviews to probe more deeply into the issues of a group of male prisoners. The findings indicated that several factors directly or indirectly influenced participation in education. These included: catching up with education missed during schooling; more comfortable than college outside prison due to feeling they had something in common with peers; keeping themselves occupied to avoid frustration; meeting targets; improve future employment; to survive prison; and to show evidence of addressing offending behaviour.

The research by Reuss (2000) was also conducted in one maximum security prison over a period of five years. The focus was on whether, during imprisonment, higher education courses could lead to a change in offending behaviour. The project took the form of classroom ethnography, documenting classroom talk and analysing the learning experience. The findings concluded that a course in higher education has the potential to influence or direct post-release behaviour. It could bring about change or transformation because the process of learning could become 'embedded in their conscience' (p44). It was acknowledged that the complexity of a prisoner's life means it could only ever be seen as potential to change, not actual change.

Like Reuss (2000) and McGuiness (2000), Irwin's research (2008) took place in one maximum security male prison but in Northern Ireland. The main aim was to 'illuminate successful pedagogic techniques for working with incarcerated prisoners' (Irwin, 2008:514). Unstructured interviews were carried out with 23 offenders serving lengthy sentences of over eight years. The findings indicated that successful techniques seemed to be embedding basic skills learning into a range of vocational workshops outside the classroom; the development of a social learning space; use of technology; wing based learning; prison officer involvement; tutor-learner interaction and learner-to-learner interaction in a social space in which to mediate learning.

Waller's research (2000) focused on one prison but this study focused on the extent of integration and exclusion of ethnic minority prisoners in the education department, with racism being perceived a significant cause of disjunction. The sample was composed of black prisoners, born in England, who had attended at least 100 hours of education in prison. The actual number in the sample is not explicitly stated, although the wording in the findings suggests four were interviewed. The only method used was semi-structured interviews. The findings suggested that the impact of racism was a significant cause of disjunction in ethnic minority prisoners. However, education in prison was shown to support integration in a number of ways including: normalisation in a supportive environment; a positive change in self-perception; socialisation; increased understanding of the world; and personal fulfilment.

Another small scale research study conducted in one prison was by Ingleby (2006) who, while working in a Category D prison, wanted to evaluate the quality of the education department's provision in the prison and if it was

meeting offenders' needs. Questionnaires were sent to 50 offenders undertaking education programmes. The response rate was 70% (N=35). Follow-up interviews were then conducted with five offenders. The criteria for selecting those for interview included offenders who showed an interest in the study. The main criticisms of the education department were to do with issues beyond the teachers' control, such as the government's focus on basic skills and imposed targets leading prisoners to believe that there is no interest in learners beyond Level 2; the difference in pay between work and education; and the lack of resources.

A much larger study was conducted in British Columbia, Canada by Pawson (2000) and Duguid (2000). This was evaluation research to try to answer the question: Does education in prison work? The question was changed to 'why it might work, and then for whom and in what circumstances' (Pawson, 2000:67). The basic idea was to see if the educational programme reduced recidivism or contributed to a reduction in recidivism. This evaluative research took place in four federal prisons. The sample was 654 prisoners who were registered on a higher education programme for two semesters or more. Step one asked teachers to identify what type of men were likely to be changed by the course. Step two identified sub-groups. Step three looked at the actual return rates to prison of the groups under scrutiny. The yardstick for comparison was a reconviction prediction scale known as SIR (Statistical Information on Recidivism)⁸ scale in Canada, with the criteria for success based on a particular group of students performing better than the SIR scale predictions. The SIR predicted that 58% of the total group of 654 prisoners would not return to prison

⁸ From the information included by Pawson (2000) it seems the SIR scale uses similar factors (types of offence, number of offences, etc.) to those used in the Offender Group Conviction Scale (OGRS) in England and Wales but also includes marital status.

within three years of release. The actual rate was 75% - a relative improvement of 30%. Reasons for the success were attributed to: longevity and continuity of provision; linkages between courses and teachers across prisons; an element of choice; allowing low achievers to develop slowly; the use of specialist, non-prison, teaching staff; and the award of a high status qualification.

A large scale study was conducted in England by Braggins and Talbot (2003). This research was funded by the Prison Reform Trust to find out about offenders' views of education in prisons. 12 male and female prisons were visited over a six month period. Results were broken down by gender, age classification (adult/young offender), ethnicity and security category. The methods used were an initial questionnaire, with some follow-up semi-structured group discussions. The findings were presented as recommendations which suggested that: opportunities for education should be provided for all prisoners; targets for education and training should be agreed with individual prisoners; rates of pay for education should be comparable with other work. To maximise opportunities for learning best practice should include: self study groups, distance learning, peer education; prisoner officer supported cell study; and barriers to learning should be identified and eliminated.

Another large scale study in England was jointly conducted by the Prisoners' Education Trust, Inside Time and RBE Consultancy Ltd (2009). The report was commissioned by the Prisoners' Education Trust Offender Learning Matters project, working with Inside Time, the newspaper for prisoners. The aim was to explore prisoners' experiences of education and learning in prison, considering their educational achievements before entering prison and their aspirations for life after. A survey was sent to all prisons in the *Inside Time*

newspaper. Over 46,000 copies of each monthly issue are distributed to all establishments throughout the UK prison estate. The survey contained 36 questions related to prisoners' experiences and perceptions of education and responses were filled out voluntarily. There were 468 responses. The positive findings included prisoners finding education courses useful and worthwhile; the opportunities to train for employment; the raising of self esteem; support from teachers. Negative responses included not being allowed to start a course; no courses available at the appropriate level; poor advice and guidance; limited resources; no quiet places to study; and distance learning hampered by not having access to the Internet or word processors.

Although the majority of studies are concerned with the views of offenders, there have been a few studies that have considered the perspectives of those working with prisoners. Braggins and Talbot's study (2005) was funded by the Esmee Fairbairn Foundation,⁹ focusing on prison officers' views about prison education and their role. It aimed to build on the previous study conducted two years earlier, focusing on prisoners' views, as outlined above. 12 prisons were visited over a six month period, with a representative spread in terms of geography, gender, age group and security level. Group interviews were conducted with 77 prison officers, across the range of 12 prisons. Their findings indicated that officers thought that prisoner education was important, although they had different priorities from learning and skills professionals. They felt they had a role to play and would like opportunities to do more although they did not think that they were given either enough time or

⁹ The Esmee Fairbairn Association funds the charitable activities of organisations whose interests are in the cultural life of the UK, education and learning with the aim of enabling disadvantaged people to participate more fully in society (Esmee Fairbairn, 2009).

enough training to do their existing job description properly without taking on extra responsibilities.

Flynn and Price (1995) sought the views of Education Coordinators and they also included one advisor and one head of policy in their sample. A survey was conducted, funded by the Prison Reform Trust, 'to give a flavour of what prison education is achieving' (Flynn and Price, 1995:iii). A questionnaire was sent to all prison coordinators with some follow up meetings. 71% of the questionnaires were returned. Meetings were then held with 13 education coordinators, one education advisor, one manager and one Head of Policy from a further education union. However, the results cited all related to the responses from the survey and did not distinguish between results from the two methods. The findings indicated a lack of consistency concerning the management of vocational training and its relationship with education. Although 85% of education coordinators thought education had a role in challenging offender behaviour, there was a lack of consistency in arts activities due to difference of opinion about purpose in education and considerable variance in the quality of education provided in prisons. The difference in pay between work and education was also cited as a problem.

Bayliss (2003) conducted one of the few studies that considered a range of perspectives including those from policy makers, inspectors, managers, teachers and offenders. Bayliss (2003:158) was 'curious to discover how prison education was managed and the environment in which teaching and learning occurred'. Although this was the impetus for the research, the discussion of the research findings focused on the link between education and recidivism. Visits to seven prisons and observed lessons (number of lessons not stated). Semi-

formal interviews with a member of the Prisoner Learning and Skills Unit (PLSU), an Adult Learning Inspector, prison education managers (number not stated), teachers in prisons (number not stated), a prison education contractor from an FE college, an ex-offender and an inmate serving a life sentence. The findings suggested that prison education had to address deficiencies in basic skills but should have multiple layers to address life skills; employment skills; personal development and personal fulfilment. The variation in attitudes of prison officers to education was noted, as was the over-emphasis on key performance targets narrowing the curriculum. There was also an emphasis on the importance of encouraging a culture of lifelong learning.

The first research study to focus specifically on teachers was published by Real Educational Research Ltd (RER, 2007). Their research study considered a range of perspectives from policy makers, inspectors, researchers, managers, teachers and offenders. The Quality Improvement Agency commissioned RER to research the workforce development needs of staff working with offender assessment, learning and training, considering the potential of the revised teaching qualifications to meet those needs. The methods used were interviews and focus groups with a range of practice, policy and research stakeholders. This resulted in 54 interviews and five focus groups with 27 practitioners and 15 prisoners. The research included nine different prisons and YOIs, both male and female, and four probation areas. The research concluded that three factors should be incorporated systematically into units contextualised to offender settings – policy on learning and skills in criminal justice; the criminal justice environment; and offenders' profiles, attitudes and behaviours.

Research by Simonot and McDonald (2010) was published towards the completion of this thesis and therefore did not inform the development of the research design or subsequent empirical research. However, the study provided a useful basis for comparisons with the findings from this thesis which are discussed in Chapters Four and Five. Like Bayliss (2003), they considered a range of perspectives from teachers, prison officers employed as instructors, Head of Learning and Skills, education managers and one prisoner. The research was conducted by the London Centre for Excellence in Teacher Training (LONCETT) which aimed to investigate if the Preparing to Teach in the Lifelong Learning Sector (PTLLS) award was appropriate for those engaged in offender learning. Four London prisons were used, including one female prison. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 13 teachers, 15 HMP officers employed as instructors, HOLS (number not stated), education managers (number not stated) and one prisoner. The same 15 HMP officers and 10 of the teachers also completed questionnaires. All were completing the PTLLS award. The focus was on the differences in training needs between teachers and instructors, with particular reference to PTLLS. The research concluded that training for teachers in prison-based settings should include a range of factors such as knowing prison security procedures and procedures regarding self-harm; behaviour management; coping with emotional load; working with vulnerable learners; support with producing teaching and learning resources; learner-centred teaching techniques and flexible planning; and teaching in a workshop setting.

Due to the limited number of studies that have been conducted, the research cited above was not a selected choice from a far wider range, but

constitutes an overview of the available, most relevant and recently published research focusing specifically on education in prisons. Although all of the researchers are interested in prison education, many are from a social sciences (Pawson, 2000; Reuss, 2000) or criminology background (Hughes, 2006; Wilson, 2000; MacGuinness, 2000, Braggins and Talbot, 2003; 2005). Three of the studies were conducted by researchers with a background in education in prisons: Ingleby (2006) taught in prison in England, Irwin (2008) taught in a prison in Northern Ireland and Duguid (2000) taught and administered education in prisons in Canada. Bayliss (2003), perhaps the most closely associated with education in other contexts as a lecturer in higher education, was interested in the continuing professional development (CPD) of educators in prisons. Simonot and McDonald's study (2010) was also related to CPD of educators in prisons and included trainers employed by the Prison Service. In most of the other cases, it was their work and research in prisons that prompted the investigation, rather than their work and research in education within a broader context. This thesis adds to this body of work in that it is approached from a broad educational perspective, including both compulsory and post-compulsory education, informed by 16 years as a school teacher and 11 years as a teacher educator in higher education.

In their introduction, Braggins and Talbot (2003) stated that prisoners' voices are rarely heard, with few studies eliciting prisoners' views. While this is true in absolute terms, in relative terms it is the perspectives of the educators and teachers which have been neglected, particularly in relation to the quality of teaching. Only three studies, Bayliss (2003), RER¹⁰ (2007) and Simonot and

¹⁰ Caroline Hudson from RER led the research advisory group with members from Quality Improvement Agency, Department of Education and Skills, Learning and Skills Council and Lifelong Learning.

McDonald (2010) included teachers in their samples. Braggins and Talbot (2003; 2005) conducted commissioned research to provide an overview of the views of prisoners and of prison officers in two separate studies; the views of teachers were not considered. Ingelby's research (2006) focused on the quality of the education department's provision but there was only one specific question related to the quality of teaching with more references to resources, variety and availability of courses. Although Flynn and Price (1995) focused their research on education coordinators, teachers and teaching were not referred to in questionnaires. The only time teaching was mentioned was when asking about barriers to learning and 'lack of space in which to teach' was provided as an option (Flynn and Price, 1995:48).

Irwin's article (2008) cited a methodology which was solely based on hearing the views of offenders but also detailed the 'difficulties and successes' (2008:512) of teaching in a maximum security prison from a personal, practitioner viewpoint. The key issues are discussed from the author's perspective as a practitioner. In this respect, it provides a teacher's viewpoint as an autobiographical account. Irwin (2008:514) stated that: 'the viewpoint of those working daily in this environment has never fully been used to drive the educational debate forward'. It is the intention of this thesis to examine the perspectives of those teachers working daily in the prison environment in an attempt to begin to address this concern.

Returning to the research questions presented in this thesis, the other research studies cited do not address any of these questions directly. Ingelby (2006) and Bayliss (2003) were interested in the quality of educational provision and Irwin (2008) in teaching techniques. While these issues are relevant to this

thesis, the role of the teacher in the prison context in comparison to other educational settings is not addressed explicitly. The RER study (2007) was an evaluation of the new post-16 teaching qualifications¹¹ and how these would meet the needs of prison educators, which was also the focus of the study by Simonot and McDonald (2010). This thesis, however, seeks to go beyond the remit of the new qualifications and explore training needs more broadly. It uses perspectives from the educators, both providers and teachers, with a focus on teachers, teaching, and training for teaching in prisons, as an attempt to delve into an area which has previously been significantly overlooked. None of the studies cited included explicit comparisons between mainstream education and education in prisons which is a fundamental aspect of this thesis.

3.2 DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

This section describes how the research was designed and conducted in practice. When conducting research in prisons there are numerous obstacles to overcome beyond the usual ethical considerations present in any research study. Understandably, security is a key issue in prisons and permission for access can be a long and complicated process. The design of this research project evolved over time, primarily due to problems of access. This section chronicles the story of the research journey, outlining the extent of these obstacles and the continual refinement of the research design to accommodate the difficulties, ensure the research questions could be fully addressed and provide the rationale for the final research design.

¹¹ From September 2007, all new entrants to teaching in further education must register with the Institute for Learning and take the relevant qualification: Diploma for full time teaching role and Certificate for associate teacher role (LLUK, 2007).

3.2.1 Initial Challenges

The original plan was to address the four main questions cited at the beginning of this chapter at both national and local level. In order to gain a general sense of how prison educators believe prison education is operating, a national survey with teachers in prisons was planned. This was intended to provide basic information about experience and training. It was also anticipated that some responses to this survey might lead to additional themes being identified which could be explored during in-depth interviews with education staff. These were planned to be conducted in seven to ten prisons with staff employed by the prison service and staff employed by contracted providers.

In order to undertake large scale research in prisons in several geographical areas, permission is required centrally from Her Majesty's Prison Service (HMPS). This was applied for, outlining the remit of the project, and was rejected. The first reason for rejection was a statement that the research was not deemed to be useful. This response was difficult to understand as there is very limited published material on prison education but the key reports on education in prisons (Select Committee Report, 2005; DfES/DWP, 2005:29) expressed a need for further research in this area. This central response again highlights the low status of education within the prison service. The second reason for refusal was that sufficient research had been done in this area, citing one report which had not been published at that time (RER, 2007) and which still, as of 2011, only seems to be in draft form. It is ironic that this draft report (RER, 2007) features several recommendations with four points detailing areas for future research. Two of these are:

- *A survey should be conducted of staff involved in offender assessment, learning and training (12.4.2).*
- *Detailed qualitative research, including direct observations of practice, should be conducted on the extent to and ways which staff involved in offender assessment, learning and training incorporate into their planning, practice and reflection on practice, relevant aspects of the criminal justice context (12.4.4).*

It would appear that the clear recommendation for further research had been overlooked when citing this document. It also questions the value of commissioned research when the findings and, more importantly, recommendations from the findings, are apparently not taken into account.

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) discussed the growing impact of political influences on educational research. They suggested that educational research is becoming steered towards evaluative research focusing on the effectiveness of policies and government initiatives with others setting the research agenda rather than 'open-ended, pure research' (Cohen *et al.*, 2000:38) driven by the researcher's interests and with the potential to 'contribute[s] something original to the substantive field and extend[s] the frontiers of knowledge...' (Cohen *et al.*, 2000:38). The response from HMPS would suggest that they do not recognise this as a legitimate goal or that there is a broader public interest to be served by such research, indicated by the comment that the research was not deemed to be 'useful'. Although evaluation is a valuable aspect of research with a clear purpose, as demonstrated by Pawson (2000) and Duguid (2000), if the agenda is political it severely limits the scope of research by imposing restrictive criteria. This viewpoint is also

supported by Raynor (2008:84) who referred to the 'Home Office near monopoly' of research in prisons and the probation service. This central power over the research could be seen as an illustration of Foucault's philosophy of modern power (Foucault, 1977) in which the domination of systems and structures within the prison system control and put barriers in the way of research.

The lack of an academic research culture within the prison system presents distinct challenges for the prospective researcher. Bosworth, Campbell, Demby, Ferranti and Santos (2005:253) wrote about the challenges of doing prison research in the United States, and stated '... it is becoming increasingly difficult to study life in penal institutions because of restrictive institutional review board committees and the widespread reluctance to allow researchers access'. Wilson (2003) also commented on the difficulties of conducting his research in prisons, stating that the Prison Service, both centrally and at institutional level, 'had been adept and active in attempting to prevent this research from taking place' (p412). Irwin (2008) argued that the difficulties in obtaining access to research in prisons have resulted in the dearth of rigorous academic work and rarity of qualitative, independent research in prisons. She was only able to conduct her research because she was working in a prison which allowed her to carry out the academic study. Carter (1996:117) wrote about 'the closed world of the total institution', referring to Goffman (1961), when he discussed his ethnographical research on the occupational culture of prison officers. Perhaps the most pertinent to this thesis is an article written by Gill (2009) that cited a PhD student who had to abandon her studies into mental health services in six UK prisons because of the over-

regulation and 'quagmire of red tape' (p11) which puts the future of research in prisons at risk. From the research discussed in the previous section, it appears that most research is either commissioned or carried out as an ethnographic study by researchers already working in the prison; access is particularly problematic for any research that is external and independent.

The reason why there are so many barriers to research in prisons can only be speculated. Security is obviously a serious consideration but once appropriate clearance has been obtained and procedures followed, the research should be able to progress. Individual prisons would also need to agree to participate, although this is no different to gaining consent to conduct research in any organisation where access and acceptance need permission from official and significant figures (Cohen *et al.*, 2000). However, the apparent unwillingness to support academic research in prisons is a concern and is counter to the research culture in educational settings. The difficulties and challenges experienced only served to further highlight the need for this research to be undertaken and therefore the research design had to be reconsidered.

3.2.2 Lead Providers

As the Prison Service had been unhelpful in supporting the research, it was decided that the best way forward would be through the lead providers and their employees. The intention was for the lead providers to identify education departments in prisons who would be willing to complete the questionnaires that had been intended for use in the national survey and to participate in both interviews and observations. As the research was now going to be at a micro level, in terms of it being local rather than national, it was also anticipated that a

few teachers would agree to be part of a more in-depth case study which would involve several interviews, maintaining log books and one or more observations of their teaching over a period of a few months. This research project was aiming to use the multiple or collective case study (Stake, 2005) or cross-case analysis (Richards, 2005) to study more than one teacher to highlight common issues and central themes.

At the time there were 21 lead providers and five were selected which provided a sample size of just under a quarter. The intention was to interview the Heads of Offender Learning at the lead providers and also ask them for links with education departments and teachers in prisons. The sample selected included the largest lead provider in the country (A), the second largest, which had also done substantial work with its validating University on offender learning (B) and three others, on the basis of opportunity, which were easily accessible (C, D, E). Of the 140 prisons and YOIs in England, these five lead providers were responsible for education in 63 prisons.¹² The initial contacts were very promising with B, C, D and E agreeing to contact education departments in prisons to ask them to fill in the questionnaires and the three easily accessible providers (C, D and E) agreeing to ask for teachers interested in participating in a case study. Unfortunately the request did not achieve the intended outcomes. A few questionnaires were returned and these are discussed. None of the Heads of Offender Learning provided any contacts with teachers despite repeated requests. This is understandable as they have considerable workloads with no reason to support an independent doctoral research study, but it was disappointing as initially it seemed a viable prospect.

¹² The choice of sample, interviews with the Heads of Offender Learning, development of the questionnaire and issues related to distribution will be discussed in Section 3.4.

At this point it seemed that the research study might have to refocus the research questions to be aimed solely at the lead providers which would alter the main aims of the study. The other more drastic alternative was to abandon the research altogether as the basic premise for the research was to find out the views of teachers and give them a voice, and provide more insight into education in prisons by including teachers as the main respondents in the research sample. The feasibility of the research project (Rubin and Rubin, 2005) was in question due to apparently insurmountable problems with access. Before deciding on one of those two undesirable options, some final strategies were deployed.

3.2.3 The Final Push

A final attempt was made to contact teachers willing to be involved in research through use of the Internet. This is referred to as volunteer sampling, an approach often used in health research (Cottrell and McKenzie, 2005). A request was posted on University of Leicester's Department of Criminology website asking anyone who worked as a teacher in a prison, or who knew of anyone who worked as a teacher in a prison, and who would be willing to be involved, to get in touch. There was no response. A similar plea was placed on the Times Educational Supplement's Further Education Forum. This was deemed the most appropriate place as most teachers in prisons are from further education. Rodham and Gavin (2006) noted how use of the Internet can be invaluable for finding research participants, particularly specific online forums which provide researchers with participants who are already linked with the research topic. It was hoped that teachers in prisons would access and use this forum. There was evidence that this was the case as previously there had been

a short thread with three entries about teaching resources for use in prisons. There were four responses: one just asked for resources for teaching in prisons as he had just started work there but three said they would be willing to be involved. This again was very promising. An email was sent to each of the respondents outlining the research and asking if they would be prepared to be involved. Two responded to the email saying they would. Unfortunately, that was the last contact from either of them. Subsequent emails to them did not get a response. There could be any number of reasons why there was no further contact but it did bring the research project back to a standstill.

The problem of access was finally and unexpectedly resolved by two different people who had heard about the research through other contacts and were keen to be involved. One was the Chair of the Governing Body of a private Category 'C' training prison for males and one was a Magistrate who had contacts with a state Category 'C' training prison for males. When these two sources were approached they arranged for contact to be made with the education departments where permission to carry out the research was granted and interviews and observations were agreed. At this point, the research design was changed and clarified. Instead of attempting case studies, due to lack of time and awareness of previous difficulties, arrangements were made to:

- Interview the education managers in both the private and state prison
- Interview a sample of teachers from each prison, depending on availability on the date of visit agreed
- Observe taught sessions

It was also proposed that one or two of the teachers interviewed would keep a log over a short period of time to note down their thoughts and experiences.

Another surprising but welcome approach, again through another contact, was made by an HMI Ofsted inspector of prison education who agreed to be interviewed. One final welcome addition to the data collection was an offer by an undergraduate primary teacher training student, who secured a summer job teaching in a prison, to keep a written log of her experiences.

Although the process of the research design was hampered by a range of difficulties, the end result was strengthened by a continual development of the research, consistent scrutiny of the methods and a more in-depth exploration of issues in two prison education departments, both Category 'C' training prisons, one private and one managed by the Prison Service. This included the added potential of considering if educational issues differed in any way between private and public prisons, although this was not used as a key research question because it would have moved the research into a different direction.¹³ Although interviewing more teachers would have provided a broader picture, there was a danger of a less rigorous approach and under-analysis, as warned by Silverman (2005), due to too many participants. The case study approach would have provided in-depth data but would not have allowed for an understanding of the running of the education department and the structures which impact on training and the way in which it compares and contrasts with other educational contexts. The limitations of the final research design will be discussed in Section 3.4 but it is hoped that the research conducted begins to address the recommendation by RER (2007), referred to here again to highlight its significance:

¹³ This would have involved examining the differences between private and public prisons within a broader context necessitating a full review of the literature on private and public prisons. This would have shifted the focus of the research away from the intended aims. However, it should be noted that there may be differences between private and public prisons which could affect staff attitudes and would be a useful focus for further research.

Detailed qualitative research, including direct observations of practice, should be conducted on the extent to and ways which staff involved in offender assessment, learning and training incorporate into their planning, practice and reflection on practice, relevant aspects of the criminal justice context (12.4.4).

The final research design is outlined in Fig. 3.1, adapted from Mason (2002), which also illustrates how the design changed from the initial proposal.

Fig. 3.1 The Development of the Research Design

Research Questions	Data Sources and Methods	Practicalities
Version One of Research Design		
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is the role of the teacher in prisons? 2. What are the similarities and differences between teaching in prisons and other educational settings? 3. How are teachers prepared for teaching in prisons? 4. Are there any post-16 teacher training providers (Further Education colleges) which provide training in prison education and/or placements? 5. How is the quality of teaching in prisons maintained/improved? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National survey to all prisons in England and Wales. • Three geographical regions, representing a quarter of the 12 regions and incorporating seven to 10 adult prisons and YOIs, including two with Juvenile offenders and one private prison. • Interviews with five College providers. • Interviews with seven to 10 Heads of Learning and Skills (HOLS). • Interviews with Education Managers and teachers from seven to 10 prisons. • Observations of teaching. 	<p>Central permission from HMPS was required, sought and refused.</p> <p>Data collection needed to be totally revised.</p>
Version Two of Research Design		
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is the role of the teacher in prisons? 2. What are the similarities and differences between teaching in prisons and other educational settings, both compulsory and post-compulsory? 3. What are the training needs of teachers in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with five Heads of Offender Learning from College Providers. • An initial survey to all teachers employed by the five College providers to establish common themes. • Multiple Case Studies of six teachers – two from each of the three easily 	<p>College Providers did not provide the links to teachers as anticipated and therefore the case studies could not be arranged.</p> <p>The idea of Case Studies had to be abandoned and data collection</p>

<p>prisons?</p> <p>4. Who should deliver the training and how should training needs be identified?</p> <p>5. Does teaching in prisons differ from institution to institution?</p> <p>6. What are the generic issues?</p>	<p>accessible providers' prisons used for the survey, over a three month time period.</p> <p>Case Studies to include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews • Analysis of documentary evidence • Narratives and reflexivity (log books) • Observation 	<p>needed to be totally revised.</p>
<p>Final Version of Research Design</p>		
<p>1. What affects the role of the teacher in prisons?</p> <p>2. What are the experiences and perceptions of teachers working in prisons?</p> <p>3. What are the similarities and differences between teaching in prisons and other educational settings, both compulsory and post-compulsory?</p> <p>4. What are the training needs of teachers working in prisons?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-Structured interviews with Heads of Offender Learning from five College Providers. • Surveys, to be completed by teachers, sent to three prisons. • Semi-structured interviews with education managers and teachers in two category 'C' male prisons, one private and one state. • Observations of teaching sessions in both prisons. • Completion of a log by one or more teachers and one undergraduate student teaching in a prison. • Semi-structured interview with an HMI Ofsted Inspector of prisons. 	<p>Two prisons were used as two prisons offered to be part of the research as a result of networking contacts. These provided a good balance as they were the same in terms of their category but differed in that one was state and one was private.</p> <p>Networking also resulted in an Ofsted Inspector of prisons offering to be interviewed.</p>

Logging changes to a research design is recommended by Richards (2005) who suggested that the records add credibility to the research. The research questions were reduced and refined to ensure that they fitted the aims and purpose of the research and could be investigated, but essentially they were always focused on training, teachers and teaching. It is pertinent to note that it was always the intention to interview five Heads of Offender Learning from five different College Providers and this was the one data source that did not

change. This provides further evidence that educational institutions are more open to research than prisons. It also highlights the fact that it was access to prisons that created the barriers to the research.

3.3 THE RESEARCH PARADIGM

The term 'paradigm' is interpreted in a number of ways by different authors (Middlewood, Coleman and Lumby, 1999; Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Mackenzie and Knipe; 2006; Schostak, 2002:9). Perhaps the most generally accepted definition is that a paradigm is the underlying philosophical approach to the research (Gephart, 1999; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Krauss, 2005; Brannen, 2005) and this in turn provides a philosophical and ideological forum for researchers to share ideas. These are often polarised into two main philosophical approaches: normative and naturalist-interpretivist (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). This is the classification that is used throughout this thesis. It must also be noted that although these are the two main paradigms, others, such as critical theory, feminist theory and post-modernist theory, are also referred to as paradigms as they have strong philosophical roots.

These two prominent philosophical approaches are also defined in different ways and have different interpretations depending on the author (Heath, 1997; Gephart, 1999; Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Bartlett, *et al.*, 2001; Schostak, 2002; Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006). There are some commonalities in those interpretations which relate to the epistemology and the approaches to data collection and analysis or, to put it simply, what counts as knowledge and how it can be obtained. In terms of validity, reliability, structure and content, a normative paradigm seeks knowledge through direct observations or

measurements in which the researcher is independent from the object of the research (Krauss, 2005); the naturalist-interpretivist paradigm seeks knowledge through subjective meanings in the way individuals understand and interpret experiences and the researcher interacts with the participants (Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006). Normative methodologies tend to be associated with quantitative data (numbers) and interpretivist methodologies tend to be associated with qualitative data (words). They differ ontologically in terms of what it is possible 'to know'. This work is located within the interpretivist and critical theory paradigms and a qualitative approach adopted to data collection and analysis.

Ely with Anzul, Freidman, Garner and McCormack Steinmetz (1991:4) suggested that qualitative research can be better defined by the 'characteristics of its methods' than by any one definition. These characteristics include: immersion in the context of the research; wanting to hear the voices and perspectives of those studied; a unified approach to attend to the experience as a whole; endeavouring to understand the experience as closely as possible in the way it is felt by the participants. The uniqueness of each individual and the different interpretations of a phenomenon must be recognised (Warren and Hackney, 2000; Waring, 2002; Krauss, 2005), but it should also be recognised that where there are common themes emerging, these could be considered within the broader context, in this case education in prisons. This does not have to result in generalisation, but can raise issues for further exploration and analysis.

Most of the previous studies in prison education also used a qualitative rather than quantitative approach, as they were concerned with 'understanding nuances, motivations, attitudes and feelings' (Braggins and Talbot, 2003:11). In

the small scale studies (Reuss, 2000; Waller, 2000; Ingleby, 2006; Irwin, 2008), a qualitative approach was used with an ethnographic methodology, defined by Miles and Huberman (1994:8) as 'extended contact with a given community', as all of these researchers were working in the prison education department where the research took place. As they were both the teachers and the researchers, they were clearly not able to undertake observations of their own teaching. This thesis differs in that it is written from the perspective of an educator working outside the prison service, providing the opportunity for an in-depth comparison with teaching in mainstream contexts. There is also evidence from a range of sources to allow for an examination of similarities and differences, adopting a multi-perspective approach as used by Bayliss (2003), RER (2007), Simonot and McDonald (2010) and, to some extent, Flynn and Price (1995) and, uniquely, includes observations as a key research method.

Pawson (2000) and Duguid (2000) used an evaluative research methodology, which involves the systematic assessment of whether or not a programme is working. Their research study also used quantitative data in the outcome analysis. Adopting a purist view which sees the two main methods as directly opposing is termed 'false dualism' by Badley (2003:296) and taking such bipolar opposites is not helpful (Sharp, 2009). It does not take account of the complexities of the research process and many advocate a 'mixed-methods' approach if this will help to answer the research questions (Middlewood, *et al.*, 1997; Badley, 2003; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Brannen, 2005; Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006). This thesis does not mix qualitative and quantitative methods, but adopts two different paradigms from a purely qualitative approach which are discussed in the next section.

3.3.1 Approaches to Methodology

Within both the interpretivist and critical theory paradigms, there are key theories that inform different types of interpretivist and critical theory research (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Gephart, 1999; Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Silverman, 2001; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006). When considering the key research questions in this thesis it became apparent that this research did not fit neatly into any one methodological or theoretical qualitative approach. Mason (2002) warned against the researcher trying to find a 'philosophical label' (p32) to pin to the research, suggesting instead that the approaches used should be part of a strategic process to answer the research questions. It was clear that interpretivism was the main philosophical framework and there were aspects of phenomenology from the interpretivist paradigm, but there were also aspects of critical theory. Using more than one approach may not be deemed acceptable to advocates of particular methodological practices but it has also been noted that despite there being distinct paradigms, research often uses aspects from more than one paradigm (Walford, 1991; Gephart, 1999). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) referred to qualitative researchers who use a combination of methodological practices as '*bricoleurs*' or makers of quilts, who use whatever methodologies and strategies best suit the research questions.

They go on to say that:

The combination of multiple methodological practices, empirical materials, perspectives, and observers in a single study is best understood, then, as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:5).

Miller and Fox (2004) also argued that different approaches can complement each other. Their analogy 'building bridges' (2004:35) refers to each approach

retaining its identity and distinguishable features but linked to one or more other approaches to be made 'mutually informative' (2004:35). In agreement with Denzin and Lincoln (2005), Miller and Fox (2004) and Mason (2002), this thesis combined elements of different methodologies in an endeavour to address the questions, provide depth, and capture the complexities.

3.3.2 Critical Theory

The impetus for this research and the over-arching aim of raising the profile of prison educators and their work in prisons can be attributed to aspects of critical theory. Critical theory (Cohen *et al*, 2000), also termed postmodernism (Gephart, 1999), the transformative paradigm (Mackenzie and Knipe, 2006) and critical science (Kincheloe, 1991), is an umbrella term for a range of critical theories espoused by thinkers such as Marx, Kant, Hegel, Habermas and Foucault (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2005) which seek not only to understand society and behaviour but to change it for the better (Cohen *et al*, 2000). This research project has not been influenced by any one particular critical theory but does take a critical stance towards the status of teachers in prisons. As critical theory usually focuses on marginalised sections of society with an aim to empower the disadvantaged and redress inequality (Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Brookfield, 2005; Rubin and Rubin, 2005) it is not immediately apparent that prison educators fall into this bracket. However, this thesis argues that within *educational* society, including practitioners, academics, researchers and policy-makers, prison educators are marginalised and isolated from the wider educational community. Exploring the similarities and differences between prison education and other educational contexts, addressing the third question of this research project, sought to highlight these inequalities.

The elements of critical theory that are included in this thesis acknowledge and incorporate some key principles. Mackenzie and Knipe (2006) noted that critical theory needs to include a description of contextual and historical factors, which was addressed in Chapter Two, to view prison education within the broader context and investigate why it has been termed 'the Cinderella Service' (DfES/DWP, 2005:29). It is also important to consider the political context and provide a critique of the power and interests shaping the behaviour in context (Cohen *et al*, 2000), in this case, the impact on education departments within a prison regime. Another aspect of critical theory that this research relates to is the notion of giving a voice to those who are usually unheard (Gephart, 1999). One of the purposes of this research is to put prison educators' voices into the mainstream domain of the education research field and give them status within this field. It must be noted that although this research clearly has an aspect of critical theory underpinning its aims, it is recognising critical theory as part of a wider intellectual debate (Brookfield, 2005), rather than applying one singular theory to the research. Kincheloe and McLaren (2005:304) argued that in 'today's climate of blurred disciplinary genres' critical theory should not be a discrete and singular form of analysis but should be part of a hybrid approach. This thesis has not attempted to use critical theory as the sole guiding paradigm but rather to recognise the ways in which some key concepts of critical theory, as stated above, are relevant to the subject matter being explored.

Some of the methods used in this thesis, discussed in Section 3.4, were particularly influenced by critical theory. When interviewing the Heads of Offender Learning and interviewing the teachers, the questions and open

structure provided them with the opportunity to critique how the system restricts and influences their practice. As noted in Chapter Two, Freire (1993:90) believed in the importance of dialogue to encourage people 'to not only critically reflect upon their existence but critically act upon it'. The process of discussing their work and considering the challenges and areas for improvement had the potential to subtly provide the impetus for action to try to improve their situation. This thesis is not suggesting that this will happen but stresses the importance of the interviewees being partners, not just objects, of the research. The observations of teachers and teaching were not intended as a critical observation of practice but as an observation of the systems, impact on pedagogy and restrictions in comparison to other educational settings to highlight the differences and potential barriers to successful teaching and learning.

3.3.3 Phenomenology

Within the interpretivist paradigm, phenomenology is used by researchers to seek out meanings that particular individuals give to a specific phenomenon within their personal experiences of that phenomenon (Kincheloe, 1991). It focuses on the lived experience of the individual and aims to remind us that 'the meaning of the objective world is its mode of engaging human consciousness' (Kearney, 1994:15). The phenomenology adopted in this thesis was informed by the work of Giorgi (1986; 2005; 2007) who was influenced by Husserl and Merleau-Ponty (1964). There are differing interpretations of the meaning and practice of phenomenology, but the basic concept of phenomenology is that to gain knowledge of a phenomenon, individuals' perceptions of that phenomenon, as they experience it, must be at the centre of the investigation. The theoretical

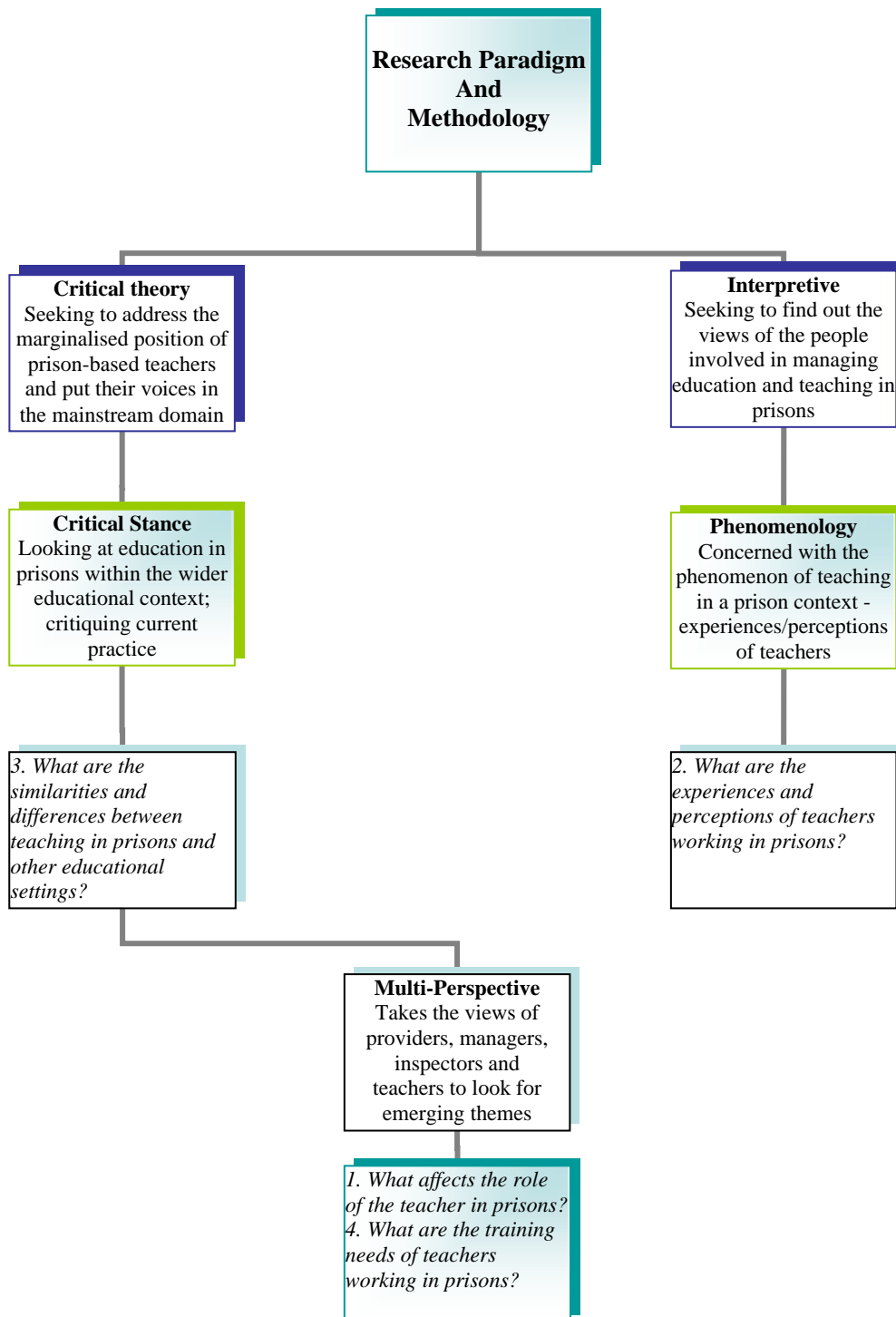
underpinnings of phenomenology are explained in many texts (Merleau-Ponty, 1964; Kincheloe, 1991; Kearney, 1994; Ehrich, 1996; Schostak, 2002; Wertz, 2005) and although there are differences, the key features, as outlined by Giorgi (2005), are:

- Description – the emphasis is on individuals verbally describing their experiences rather than trying to explain them. The focus is on their perceptions of the lived experience.
- Reduction or bracketing – the researcher puts aside all prior knowledge and assumptions and approaches the research with an open mind.
- Intentionality – consciousness is always directed at something in or about the world (the ‘object’). Being conscious of something (the ‘object’) has a personal meaning for that individual.
- Essence – what makes the phenomenon what it is and provides the researcher with themes, relationships and characteristics which provide meaning structures to a specific situation.

Phenomenology shaped the interviews in the empirical research to find out what it is to be in the ‘lived world’ (Wertz, 2005:169) of teaching in prison, not just what is written about it or perceived to be by others on the outside. It was anticipated that, from the descriptions given in interview, the ‘essences’, or key themes would emerge.

Fig. 3.2 is a model of the research paradigm and shows how it is directly related to the research questions. The multi-perspective approach is discussed in Section 3.4.

Fig. 3.2 Model of the Research Paradigm



3.3.4 Reliability and Validity

There have been many debates about the nature of reliability and validity in qualitative research in comparison with quantitative research (Merriam, 1995;

Seale and Silverman, 1997; Winter, 2000; Golafshani, 2003; Guba and Lincoln, 2005; Rolfe, 2006). Some authors question whether these terms are relevant in qualitative research (Mason, 2002; Guba and Lincoln, 2005; Rolfe, 2006) and suggest other terms should be used such as credibility, rigour, truthfulness, authenticity and trustworthiness. Others (Seale and Silverman, 1997; Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson and Spiers, 2002) believe that it is important to use the same terms as quantitative research to avoid 'methodological anarchy' (Seale and Silverman, 1997:380) and argue that sharing terminology ensures rigour. In qualitative research, reliability cannot be defined in the same way as in quantitative research because exact replication of findings, should the research be repeated, is highly unlikely and, many would argue (Mason 2002; Guba and Lincoln, 2005; Rolfe, 2006), not relevant in qualitative research. This thesis is adopting the terms suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994:278) 'consistency', Mason (2002:118) 'accuracy' and Cohen *et al.*, (2000:120) 'dependability' to demonstrate reliability. A consistent approach was maintained by asking the same questions to all Heads of Offender Learning and keeping the interviews of similar length to allow the same level of depth; conducting interviews and observations in both prisons; using the same prompts for observations; and using a consistent analytical framework¹⁴ for each method of data collection. Accuracy was sought through honest records of interviews and observations with notes of interviews checked by participants during and at the end of the interview process. Dependability included all the above plus the use of a fieldwork diary to record thought processes and the development of the data collection, triangulation through using a multi-perspective approach and peer

¹⁴ See Section 3.5 for an explanation of the analytical techniques used.

and supervisory debriefs throughout the process. Although all of these were used to demonstrate the trustworthiness of the research, Morse *et al.* (2002:5) argued that too much emphasis is placed on the strategies in terms of 'how to do' them rather than on the analytical process and interpretation, stating 'research is only as good as the investigator'. It was therefore essential that the analysis and interpretation were transparent and rigorous through clear explanation of coding, a methodical approach, plausible interpretations and conclusions and linked to prior theory, in this case phenomenology and critical theory (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Morse *et al.*, 2002).

Validity is often thought to be more important in qualitative research than reliability, particularly if reliability is associated with the degree of replicability (Merriam, 1995; Winter, 2000; Mason, 2002; Golafshani, 2003; Guba and Lincoln, 2005). This thesis is using the term validity to describe the appropriateness of the methodology, methods and analysis in addressing the research questions or as Mason (2002:188) put it, 'measuring or explaining what you claim to be measuring or explaining'. With this definition of validity it is crucial that the research project is examined as a whole from the starting point of the research questions and the philosophy underpinning the paradigm right through to the conclusions drawn from the interpretation of the data (Morse *et al.*, 2002; Rolfe, 2006). This emphasises the importance of having a rationale for the development of the research design (Section 3.2), a clearly articulated methodological stance which leads the research, as outlined in this section, and an appropriate choice of methods (Section 3.4). This thesis also adopts an approach to validity 'as a property of accounts' as described by Maxwell (2002:42) which includes: descriptive validity in ensuring the participants'

accounts are accurately described; interpretive validity in ensuring the interpretations are based on inferences from the actual words and actions of the participants as constructed by the researcher; theoretical validity as an explanation of the phenomena in relation to theory underpinning the research; and generalisability in the sense that the explanations may be useful in making sense of similar persons or situations.

One aspect that is attributed to both reliability and validity, depending on the author, is the emphasis some authors give to using respondent validation or member checks (Merriam, 1995; Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Richards, 2005) which involves sharing the initial or developed analyses/interpretations with the participants to check for authenticity or plausibility. Morse *et al.* (2002) believed that this approach may be a threat to validity as it could restrain the researcher from detailed analysis by keeping it descriptive and close to the data so that it can be recognised by the participants. Mason (2002) also questioned the usefulness of respondent validation as it takes the control of the research away from the researcher. She suggested that validity of interpretation should be demonstrated through 'a careful retracing and reconstruction of the route' (p194) on which the interpretations are based, giving the responsibility of validation back to the researcher. Although this thesis ensured the data collected was accurate by showing it to the respondents, in agreement with Morse *et al.* (2002) and Mason (2002), the analyses and interpretations were not shared with them for validation purposes, although they were all offered the opportunity to read the final thesis.

The issue of bias is cited as a potential weakness of qualitative research methods (Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Johnson and Onwuegbuzi, 2004) and although

this thesis takes Holstein and Gubrium's view (2004) that the researcher and participants are involved in a construction of meaning together, there is the need to acknowledge the 'biases, feeling and thoughts' (Krauss, 2005:764) that any researcher brings to a project. The whole premise of this thesis is based on why the term 'Cinderella Service' has been used to describe prison education which immediately suggests it is a service that has been neglected in comparison to other educational contexts. The influence of critical theory is evident as the apparent low status of education in prisons was the stimulus for this thesis, but the phenomenological influences have added the dimension of deliberately attempting to bracket prior knowledge to learn about the lived world of teaching in prisons and not just the reported world. In this way, although the biases are acknowledged in this thesis, these have not been imposed on those participating in the research. Another potential weakness of qualitative research is anecdotalism (Seale and Silverman, 1997; Silverman, 2005) as with qualitative methods the research is based on the words of a small number of participants. This research project has attempted to avoid this by using strategies suggested by Silverman (2005) which include the 'constant comparative method' (p213), which in this case involved comparing experiences in two different prisons and speaking to several Heads of Offender Learning from different lead providers and 'comprehensive data treatment' (p214) which involves the repeated inspection of data and analytical methods, as recommended by Mason (2002).

3.4 RESEARCH METHODS

This section outlines the research methods used to gather the data and the formulation of the research instruments. There is a consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of each method and the limitations in relation to this thesis. Richards (2005) argued that qualitative research is not about *collecting* data, which is significant to quantitative research, but is about *making* data. Mason (2002) used the term *generating* data, as the word *collecting* does not acknowledge the 'intellectual, analytical and interpretive' (p52) approach that the researcher needs to take to generate the data. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) did not make any distinctions about the choice of verb for the process but did emphasise the significance of the researcher's construction of qualitative interpretations of the data. Wolcott (2001) also referred to the importance of analysis in qualitative research rather than the validity of the fieldwork approach. This thesis argues that the validity of fieldwork approach is important but within an interpretive paradigm in which the data is primarily concerned with words and the interpretation of those words. The main methods used were interviews and observations although there were also two written logs from one teacher and one teacher training student working in a prison and an initial survey which was intended to provide some prior information to help inform the subsequent research.

Approaches which do not only use one sample group or one method are often termed multi-method (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Silverman, 2004) but this thesis employs the term 'multi-perspective' because it is the *perspectives* of the research subjects that are being explored. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggested the term 'multiple instances' (p267) but this does not really

emphasise the importance of the perceptions and viewpoints that create the differing perspectives in order to address the research questions. This multi-perspective approach included the views of Heads of Offender Learning from College providers, education managers, teachers and an HMI Ofsted Inspector. Using more than one type of sample group can highlight where there are commonalities and where there are differences in the way a phenomenon is viewed, in this case teaching in prisons. The research also used more than one method to gather the data because in addition to interviews there were the observations of teaching.

This use of multiple perspectives can provide a form of triangulation which has been advocated as a way of demonstrating validity in research (Bell, 1993; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Cohen *et al.*, 2000). It is seen as a way of comparing the data collected to allow findings to be corroborated (Scott and Morrison, 2007). Richards (2005), however, questioned whether triangulation is relevant to qualitative research as its derivation is from surveying and relates to checking accurate measurements, an approach more suited to quantitative methods. This thesis argues that triangulation helps to validate the findings to make them more reliable and can be a feature of both qualitative and quantitative methods. The multi-perspective approach was not an attempt to 'get an objective truth' (Miller and Fox, 2004:36), an assumption often attributed to triangulation, but to link the different perspectives and examine them in terms of emerging themes and from a critical theory standpoint. Silverman (2005) warned against using multiple methods with the mistaken aim of reaching a definitive truth as it can, if done without sufficient rigour, lead to 'scrappy research based on under-analysed data' (Silverman, 2005:122). In contrast,

Stake (2005) referred to triangulation as a way of identifying different realities, whereas Richardson and St. Pierre (2005:963) preferred the analogy of a crystal and use the term 'crystallize' to indicate multi-dimensions and angles of approach as prisms of light in a crystal. This thesis takes the analogy a little further by suggesting that to 'crystallize' not only provides multi-dimensions but also helps to clarify and make more comprehensible the phenomenon of teaching in prisons. This is through the consideration of multiple perspectives. This research project, like those of Bayliss (2003) and RER (2007), used multiple perspectives to gain a broader and more multifaceted picture than could have been gleaned from just one sample. This illuminated key themes and raised pertinent issues, but made no attempt to reach a definitive, all-encompassing truth.

3.4.1 Interviews: Heads of Offender Learning¹⁵ and HMI Ofsted Inspector

Initially it was anticipated that these interviews would have a dual purpose. First, to provide data from the perspective of those involved in managing and monitoring education departments in several prisons; and second, to provide potential themes and topics to be explored in the interviews with teachers. This would have involved a brief analysis immediately following the interviews to inform the next stage of fieldwork and then more detailed analysis to fully explore the data. However, as a phenomenological approach was taken with the teacher interviews, the decision was made to bracket this knowledge and approach the teacher interviews with a more open mind. The interviews with the Heads of Offender Learning were planned to include both

¹⁵ The interviewees from the lead providers all had slightly different job titles but essentially their role was the same in the sense that they were responsible or jointly responsible with one or more colleagues for offender learning in the prisons. For the purpose of this thesis they are all referred to as Heads of Offender Learning.

factual information to gain an understanding of their role and their personal opinions about teaching and training. The first consideration was how to select the sample.

When selecting a sample, there are a number of variables to consider including size, representativeness, access and sampling strategy (Cohen *et al.*, 2000). The size of the sample chosen for this research, nearly a quarter of the population of provider organisations, is fairly significant but it is not intended that this is necessarily representative of the population, rather that it represents some of the issues that could be investigated further later in the research process. Miles and Huberman (1994) noted that qualitative researchers work with smaller samples of people than quantitative researchers as they are not concerned with statistical significance but seek a more in-depth analysis. Although a quarter of the population appears sizeable, it was in fact just five interviews. Samples A and B were purposive samples (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Cohen *et al.*, 2000) in the sense that there was a specific reason for choosing them. Sample A provides education for the largest number of prisons so has the greatest impact in terms of number of teachers employed and sample B is known to be active in developing education modules for professional development for teachers in prisons. Marshall (1996) argued that the purposive sampling technique is the most useful in qualitative research as it allows the researcher to select the most productive sample to answer the question. Choosing respondents who are most likely to 'provide insight and understanding for the researcher' (Marshall, 1996:523) is vital in a qualitative study.

Sample C, D and E were convenience samples as they are fairly close to each other and were therefore more easily accessible in terms of arranging interviews (Cohen *et al*, 2000). Gay (1987) suggested that convenience sampling can be a source of sampling bias, although the examples given by Gay referred to using friends within a sample which was not the case with this research. Cates (1985) argued that samples should not be chosen by convenience to the researcher but by appropriateness to the research question. This suggests that convenience sampling cannot be both. The research sample has to be both appropriate *and* accessible and within this research both appropriateness and accessibility were provided by samples C, D and E. This section of the sample enabled a further dimension to the data analysis to show emerging themes or diverse variation in responses, although it should be acknowledged that as they were fairly close geographically there may be issues unique to that particular area of the UK.

The interview schedule used with Heads of Offender Learning was semi-structured as there were a few key questions asked to all the interviewees but with the flexibility for further questions, where it would be appropriate, to provide more insight into the areas being discussed (see Fig. 3.3 for the interview schedule). Three questions taken from the RER (2007)¹⁶ study were also included as they had direct relevance to this research project. The question about the challenges was to encourage the interviewees to reflect critically on the issues which was emphasised further with the question about recruitment of teachers. The purpose was not only to find out the interviewees' views but also

¹⁶ The questions in italics were taken from the RER Study (2007).

to encourage them to engage in a dialogue that might serve to clarify and extend their thinking (Vygotsky, 1962; Freire, 1993; Alexander, 2004b).

The questions were framed to ensure the main research questions were being addressed (Fig. 3.3).¹⁷

Fig. 3.3 Questions to Heads of Offender Learning

How many teachers? (Part-time? Full-time?)
Range of qualifications?
How many prisons?
What subjects are offered?
Who decides?
How does the lead provider contract work in practice?
What is your background?
What is your role?
<i>Summary of roles of staff who are involved in offender learning at your institution</i>
<i>The skills needed by staff to work successfully in offender learning</i>
<i>The extent to which (if at all) and the ways in which (if any) the skills needed by staff involved in offender learning differ from those required by staff working with other learners in other sectors of education</i>
What are the challenges faced by providers?
CPD opportunities (What? When? How often? Who leads it?)
Do staff have the opportunity to see examples of good practice?
Are there any issues around recruitment of teachers?

Semi-structured or unstructured interviews are most suited to qualitative research as they allow the respondent to discuss opinions, feeling and beliefs (Patton, 1987). Moser and Kalton (1971) and Britten (1994) both emphasised the importance of question order, with the questions at the start of the interview needing to be both interesting and easy to answer to relax the interviewee and help create a rapport. The opening questions were not necessarily the most interesting but could be easily answered as they were related to the professional background of the respondent and factual questions. In many respects these questions were of the type that could have been answered on a

¹⁷ These were the key questions but supplementary questions may have been asked in response to the answers provided.

questionnaire but the interview situation gave the interviewees the opportunity to extend their answers with added information about history or context, opinion and personal perspectives. The following is an example of this:

Q. *How many teachers?*

A. *About 340*

Q. *How many are full-time and how many part-time?*

A. *There are about 50% on varying part-time contracts and then about a quarter who are just casual or supply. There are only about a quarter full-time and that also includes instructors. We'd like more full-time but that's the way it is.*

Funding is always an issue.

The question asked for factual information but the answer included an opinion from a personal perspective, 'we'd like more full-time', and information about the context, 'that's the way it is', suggesting lack of control and of funding which again includes opinion. If this was a survey the response would probably have been restricted to quantity as in the first two sentences but reduced even further to be a purely numerical answer. The word 'only' in the second sentence also gives insight into the opinion of the respondent. Explicit opinion-based questions came later in the interview. These open-ended and probing questions related to opinions about teaching in prisons, the role of the teacher and the skills and training needed.

The more open-ended questions were typical of a qualitative approach where dialogue is created through a thematic or topic-centred approach and knowledge is either structured or re-structured through the interview process in which both the interviewee and researcher play a part (Mason, 2002; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). It is important to acknowledge that interviews enable people to

say what they do but this does not mean that it *is* what they do in reality (Scott and Morrison, 2007). This was an important consideration when interviewing the Heads of Offender Learning as they may have wanted to present an idealised picture of their institution and their role by highlighting the positives and minimising the negatives. Conversely, they may have wanted to use the interview as an opportunity to voice grievances and this would have the reverse effect. This emphasises the fact that what is said in interviews cannot be taken as a reliable observation of that phenomenon but represents an account of the phenomenon given by that person at that moment in time (Freebody, 2003).

The ethical considerations of interviewing include gaining informed consent, ensuring a right to privacy with anonymity, respecting the feelings of the individual both in terms of the questions asked and the way the interview is conducted, and the consequences of the interview in terms of interpretation, analysis and publication of results (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Mason, 2002; Fontana and Frey, 2005). Initial contact was made by telephone and the outline of the research and the purpose of the interviews explained. Potential interviewees were also informed that the approximate length of the interview would be 45minutes to an hour. This was deemed sufficient time to talk but without taking advantage of the interviewees' time. All five Heads of Offender Learning gave their consent to be interviewed. Practical arrangements to meet were made via email. At the interview the purpose of the interviews was explained again and anonymity was assured. The interviews were not taped but notes were taken with truncated phrases and sentences using the participants' own words. Periodically the notes were read back to the interviewee to check for accuracy. The interviewees were aware of the need to

pause as notes were being taken and were sensitive to providing time to do this when a lengthy response had been given. Occasionally interviewees said certain pieces of information given were 'off the record' and did not want them used as part of the research. This was agreed and these were not written down or were crossed out if they had already been recorded and subsequently destroyed. Four of the interviews were conducted in the College where the Heads of Offender Learning were based; one was a telephone interview.

Telephone interviews differ from face to face interviews as the dynamics are different and there is no non-verbal communication such as proximity, facial expressions, gaze or gestures (Graddol, Cheshire and Swann, 1994). Rubin and Rubin (2005) and Cohen *et al.* (2000) suggested that a problem with telephone interviews is the difficulty in being sensitive to interviewees' reactions to questions when they cannot be seen. This thesis suggests that this should not be a problem if more attention is placed on prosody, which includes taking notice of intonation, emphasis, pace, pitch and pauses which all contribute to the meaning of what someone says (Johnston and Nahmad-Williams, 2009). The telephone interview used the same format as the other interviews and lasted approximately the same length of time. Telephone interviewing is common practice in survey research (Cohen *et al.*, 2000) but was used in this research as a qualitative method to overcome the difficulties of arranging a mutually agreeable time to meet for a face to face interview.

As the data from each interview with Heads of Offender Learning were to be included in the main research, it was decided not to use one of them as a pilot as it would have reduced the number of respondents. As a feasible

alternative, the questions were piloted with teaching colleagues to check for clarity and to avoid ambiguity.

The telephone interview with the HMI Ofsted Inspector followed the same protocol, ethical considerations, procedure and timings as those with the Heads of Offender Learning. The main difference was the interview questions which, although similar, included additional questions to explore issues raised by the teachers. These included questions related to differences between lead providers and paperwork. A question was also included on the features of high quality education in prisons as inspecting this is her role.

3.4.2 Questionnaires to Teachers

In addition to the interviews with Heads of Offender Learning, they were asked if they would agree to disseminate a questionnaire to the teachers whom they employed in prisons. Although this would not be the national survey originally planned, it would provide potentially useful data from teachers in prisons from five different lead providers. It was also anticipated that some comparisons might be made between what the Heads of Offender Learning had said about training opportunities and what the teachers reported.

The questionnaires were designed to include both factual questions about experience and qualifications and questions related to personal opinion (see Appendix 1). They were designed as a postal survey to be completed anonymously. The advantages of this method of data collection are the fact that a large number of respondents can be included; it is relatively cheap and not time consuming for the researcher to collect the data; respondents are able to complete them in their own time and their responses may be more honest as they are anonymous. The disadvantages are generally low response rates; the

potential for bias in that those who choose to respond may have similar characteristics; misinterpretation of questions; minimal answers; no opportunity for the researcher to probe further (Gay, 1987; Gillham, 2000; Cohen *et al.*, 2000). The design of the questionnaire needed to result in a research instrument that would provide useful information to aid the research. Closed questions are often chosen when designing questionnaires because they are easier to measure (Scott and Morrison, 2007). This questionnaire was designed to include both closed and open questions so that issues could be raised and opinions given in addition to the factual information provided. Cohen *et al.* (2000) detailed some of the considerations when writing questions, such as avoiding leading questions, ensuring the meaning is clear by keeping questions short and simple, avoiding ambiguity and avoiding two questions within one. The questionnaire also included multiple choice answers in which it was important to ensure the range of possible responses was covered. In addition to this, where there were closed questions, options followed that would provide more detail.

The questionnaire was fine-tuned, following a pilot with colleagues, before the final version was adopted to ensure clarity and avoid ambiguity (Williams, 2003). The questionnaire was not formally piloted with a small sample of teachers in prisons as such a sample was not available. Gay (1987) stated that once the pre-test or pre-pilot is completed the final pilot should be done with a small sample of the intended population, but as this was not possible the questionnaire was shown to all five Heads of Offender Learning for their views. They all felt the questionnaire was appropriate and clear and did not contravene any security policy. The disadvantage of not piloting it with teachers

became apparent when the questionnaires were returned relating to Question 10 (see Appendix 1), a key question, which asked the teachers if they would be interested in a specialist qualification in prison education. The responses suggested that this had been interpreted by some to mean that this qualification would only allow them to teach in a prison when the question had meant that this would be an addition to a general teaching qualification. A formal pilot may have indicated the problem with this question.

As with interviews there are ethical considerations, although with questionnaires the respondents have more autonomy in terms of whether or not they choose to participate at all and whether they answer all the questions or omit some. Their participation is taken as informed consent (Cohen *et al.*, 2000) and anonymity is virtually assured if they do not include their names. If the wording of a question is intrusive or irritating, they also have the choice to opt out or make their feelings clear without comeback from the researcher. It is of course vital that the purpose of the research is explained with the assurance of confidentiality (McNiff, 2002; Gay, 1987) and this was included in a covering letter with each questionnaire.

The nature of administration severely affected the dissemination of the questionnaires and limited the response rate and usefulness of this method of data collection. The lead providers had to be the link, as only they held contact details for the teachers they employed, and therefore there was a chain of communication in the administrative process that could be broken at any point. All five Heads of Offender Learning asked for an electronic copy of the questionnaire and covering letter so that they could then send it to the education managers. The education managers could then print these out and

distribute to the teachers as access to the Internet for teachers is fairly limited within the prison. This meant that there was no control over the quality of print and therefore the presentation may not have been at the highest standard, despite this being an important consideration which could potentially increase the response rate (Miller, 1983; Gay, 1987; Bell, 1993; Cohen *et al.*, 2000). The chain began here and could have stalled at any point (Fig. 3.4).

Fig. 3.4 Potential Stalling Points in the Chain of Communication

1. Head of Offender Learning may not have sent the questionnaire to the education managers.
2. If received, the education managers may not have passed it on to the teachers.
3. The teachers may not have responded.
4. The education manager may not have posted any responses back to the Head of Offender Learning.
5. If the Head of Offender Learning received the completed questionnaires there is no guarantee that these would have been returned.

As the responses were effectively being passed back to line managers this may also have been an inhibiting factor. The fact that response rates to surveys are traditionally low when sent directly to the respondents made this process all the more limiting in terms of number of responses. For this reason, the original premise to analyse a broad range of responses was unsuccessful.

An email sending a polite reminder was forwarded to the lead providers twice more after the original date agreed for return of the questionnaires was exceeded. The result was the return of the questionnaires by two lead providers. Two did not respond; one responded by saying they would be 'chased up' but no further correspondence was received. Eventually, 26 responses were received from the two lead providers who returned the questionnaires from at least three prisons (two were identified by one lead provider, the others were not). It is not possible to estimate a response rate

because it could not be ascertained how many questionnaires were actually given to teachers. However, the 26 replies did provide some useful data, particularly in terms of qualifications, experience and training needs.

3.4.3 Interviews with Education Managers

These interviews were focused on information gathering in terms of the education department although scope was given for the interviewees to share their views. There was no interview schedule but questions focused on the curriculum and education courses available for prisoners. The main purpose was to explore the breadth and scope of education on offer to consider if and how the curriculum available differs from the educational opportunities in colleges. In this sense it was more about the 'what' of education than the 'why' and 'how' questions used in the other interviews and observations. The interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes. Both interviews were conducted at the beginning of the day prior to interviews with teachers and observations. In this sense they were also an introduction to the day's research and included information about the organisation of the day. As there were only two interviewees, each from a different prison, there is no attempt to make any generalisations about the curriculum and educational opportunities for prisoners in other prisons based on their responses.

The same ethical considerations of interviewing in terms of informed consent, privacy, respect and being offered the opportunity to read the findings were followed in line with the interviews with the Heads of Offender Learning (Section 3.4.1). This thesis acknowledges the limitations of the interviews as they were not in-depth, but the sensitivity of the access issue needed to be taken into account. Although much has been written about sensitivity in terms of

conducting research with vulnerable groups or about vulnerable subject areas (Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Fontana and Frey, 2005), this sensitivity was related to the specific nature of prisons and the issues around security. If the questions had been too probing, the interviewees may have felt threatened by the research agenda in terms of being responsible for potential breaches of security and been reluctant to allow the interviews with teachers and the observations to take place. It was important that they trusted the integrity of the research and did not feel they were being manipulated or exploited (Silverman, 2001). As access to the prisons had been so difficult, this had to be taken into consideration and the interviews therefore took the format of a relaxed narrative about educational opportunities in the department. Also, the interviews provided a context for the subsequent interviews with teachers and observations of practice.

3.4.4 Interviews with the Teachers and Teachers' Logs

A full day of approximately eight hours was spent in each prison, during which time both the interviews and observations took place. In the private prison (Prison P), interviews were conducted with six different teachers. In the prison managed directly by the Prison Service (Prison S) interviews were conducted with three different teachers. Each interview lasted approximately 45 minutes, although some were an hour and others slightly less than 45 minutes depending on the length of time the interviewee talked or restrictions due to teaching commitments. Each day was organised by the education manager according to who was teaching and who was available for interview. The day at Prison P had more of a focus on interviews and the day at Prison S had more of a focus on observation. The number of interviews and observations was decided on the day rather than prior to the visit, although a broad overview of the day was

provided in advance. The education staff in both prisons were very welcoming and showed interest in the research.

The interview schedule was based on the schedule used for the Heads of Offender Learning (see Fig. 3.3) with some adaptations to personalise it to their teaching. For example the question relating to the subjects the prison offered was changed to: What subjects do you teach? Two additional questions were:

- What would help you in your role as a teacher?
- Would you be interested in a qualification that recognised your specialism in teaching in prisons in addition to a general teaching qualification?

During the interviews, the questions were used as themes to guide the interviewee but the dialogue could take a different direction if the interviewee wanted to talk about an aspect not included in the main question. This resulted in some teachers showing their planning, prisoners' work and files of individual learning plans which added another dimension to research, not in terms of documentary analysis but by adding to the verbal descriptions and giving a visual dimension (Emmison, 2004; Silverman, 2005). Emmison (2004:260) also referred to the 'lived visual data' of the actual environment in which humans live their lives. Not only talking to the teachers, but actually being in their classrooms and seeing their resources and documentation was a rich source of 'lived visual data' to provide further insight into the phenomenon of teaching in prisons.

The questions were fairly broad to allow the teachers to respond fully, speaking from their own experiences. When asked to talk about the skills needed to teach in prisons, most tackled this by referring to their own skills

rather than speaking objectively. This is central to the phenomenological approach, which focuses on the individual perspective and consciousness of the given phenomenon (Merleau-Ponty, 1964; Kincheloe, 1991; Giorgi, 2005; Wertz, 2005). Questions were asked about specific skills needed for teaching in prisons in contrast to other settings, the challenges and what would help them in their role as a teacher. Here the questions were not only asking the teachers to *describe* their experiences, a key feature of phenomenology, but to *critique* their experiences within the current system, a key feature of critical theory (Kearney, 1994; Brookfield, 2005; Kincheloe and McLaren, 2005). In this way, the teachers themselves were involved as partners in the critical research process (Freire, 1993), to encourage examination, investigation and criticism by everyone involved in the research to encourage potential for change.

Ethical considerations were followed in line with the other interviews but, unlike the interviews with the Heads of Offender Learning and education managers, there had been no prior contact with the teachers to arrange the interviews. It was therefore necessary to ensure they were comfortable with the research and were willing to take part. It was important to establish that consent had been given freely and that the participants had not been coerced in any way or that there had not been an assumption that they would be willing without asking them (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Fontana and Frey, 2005). As with the other interviews, the responses were not recorded, as this is not permitted in a prison, but notes were taken. The same format was employed where notes were read back periodically, and if the interviewee asked for any comments not to be used in the research these were not written down or were crossed out and subsequently destroyed.

One potential limitation of this interview process was the possible perception of the power of the interviewer by the interviewee (Gay, 1987; Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Questions were being asked by an educationalist from higher education and this could have made the interviewee feel inhibited or undermined. It was therefore essential that a good rapport was developed and that trust was gained (Rubin and Rubin, 2005; Mason, 2002). This was done by showing a genuine interest in the interviewees' responses and their work. This thesis acknowledges that the teachers may have wanted to present a certain picture of their work to demonstrate a high level of competency but that would also provide useful information about the teacher's perceptions in line with a phenomenological approach (Giorgi, 2005).

The logs, kept by one teacher and one undergraduate primary teacher training student working in a prison during Summer vacation, did not have the issues associated with the roles of interviewer and interviewee. These logs were totally directed by the participants. There was no given format and no suggestions for content or number of entries and, as such, were unstructured (Moon, 1999). The result was free-flowing narrative written in the style of a diary. The fact that these were written for an external reader rather than for personal use could have affected the content and style (Boud, 2001) but the resulting logs were informal, in terms of vocabulary and use of punctuation, and included emotional reactions and personal viewpoints. These provided useful insights into the emotional labour (Hoschschild, 1979) involved in teaching in prisons and provided specific examples of incidents to illustrate key issues. The same ethical considerations were afforded to the logs as to previous methods used.

3.4.5 Observation of Teaching Sessions

Despite observation being a common method used in qualitative research, only Bayliss (2003) used observation as a method when examining education in prisons and even then the findings from his observations were not made explicit. Observation of teaching sessions was not used in the RER research but was stated as a recommendation for future research in the RER report (2007). Observation of teaching is a crucial aspect of this research project and was a point of departure from all the other research studies cited, including the recently published study by Simonot and McDonald (2010), which only used interviews and questionnaires. The rationale for using observation in this research is key to addressing the research questions: to get an insight into the role of the teacher; to see the similarities and differences between teaching in a prison and other educational contexts; and to begin to understand the training needs of teachers in prisons.

Observation provides detailed and specific information about practice (Scott and Morrison, 2007) and allows the researcher to have first hand experience of the phenomenon to process and interpret, rather than relying on the interpretation of accounts from others (Foster, 1996). Observation is often cited as being fundamental to qualitative research (Gay, 1987; Foster, 1996; Silverman, 2005; Angrosino, 2005) because it provides the context for the phenomenon under investigation. Angrosino (2005) suggested that even when observation is not used as a distinct method, observation of body language and gesture are also important in qualitative interviewing. In this research project, observation was used to add to the data collected from the interviews but was also used to provide an additional dimension to the research with a method that

was not used in most of the other research studies on education conducted in prisons. Teaching in prisons is very much hidden from the outside world, not only in terms of the prison walls and locked doors but also in terms of the limited research that has been conducted in prison education. Although *hearing* the perspectives of others is useful, *seeing* the phenomenon in practice allows the researcher to observe if what has been said is happening in practice and to notice aspects that may not have emerged during the interviews (Foster, 1996).

Four teaching sessions were observed. In Prison S, three sessions were observed: a maths lesson (Obs 1); one basic skills class in the education department (Obs 2); one basic skills class in the bricklaying workshop (Obs 3).¹⁸ In Prison P, one information technology (IT) session was observed (Obs 4). The teachers had all agreed to be observed and this had been arranged by the education manager. The time spent in each class varied from the shortest time of 30 minutes to the longest time of 75 minutes. It should be acknowledged that this choice of sample lessons was wholly at the discretion and willingness of the education departments. Mason (2002) and Silverman (2005) both highlighted the practical considerations of access that impact on the sampling strategy, including experiencing practical difficulties and constraints which had significant impact on this research project. The rationale for the choice of observations appeared to have been based on convenience and the consent of the teachers involved so could be considered a convenience sample (Cohen *et al.*, 2000). It would have been useful to have observed an equal number in each prison and to have been able to have chosen to observe specific lessons for

¹⁸ The workshop sessions are intended to link basic skills to a real context, in this case bricklaying.

specific purposes. However, four lessons did allow for a considered analysis in which key themes and issues could be explored.

The approach adopted mirrored in some ways the observation method used in the observations of student teachers early on in their placements. This method is holistic in approach to get a full overview of the teaching situation, rather than focusing on specifics. The approach was essentially unstructured or naturalistic (Cohen, *et al.*, 2000; Mulhall, 2003; Wilkinson and Birmingham, 2003) unlike the structured approaches which deal with systematic collection of data in numerical form. This is because the purpose of the research was to gain an understanding of the nature of teaching in prison in every sense, which is also characteristic of a phenomenological approach rather than looking at one specific feature.

Naturalistic observation does not tend to use a structured observation schedule but uses field notes to record the events. This less structured approach allows the researcher to 'enter "the field" with no predetermined notions as to the discrete behaviours that they might observe' (Mulhall, 2003:307). It is useful, however to have some form of brief checklist to guide the observations (Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Wilkinson and Birmingham, 2003). The observation checklist was devised to include the following key features:

- context and organisation;
- students;
- any prior information provided;
- resources;
- observed activities;
- summary of learning and teaching styles.

This was used initially as a prompt to ensure notes were taken on all of these features but the observations were initially written in a free flow format immediately after the session and then re-ordered under each heading when word processing the field notes (see Appendix 2 for an example of a completed observation). Ten years' experience of observing student teachers on teaching placements has highlighted the difficulty of attempting to order notes under specific headings at the time or immediately after the observation. The headings are a prompt to ensure all of these features are considered at some point in the observation. The prompts chosen were based on key features observed during classroom observations of students. Features not included were planning and assessments as it felt inappropriate to ask for documentation which could have made the teachers feel that their practice was under inspection. If they chose to show their documentation then this was an added bonus.

As an experienced observer of student teachers, it was considered important to avoid approaching the observations in a judgemental way in terms of assessing the performance of the teachers. Measor and Woods (1991) cited a similar situation in which the researcher had a background of training teachers but was engaging in observations as a research method to observe pupil attitudes to transitions. She initially found it difficult to stop judging the performance of teachers and 'had to wash her mind clean' (Measor and Woods, 1991:70) to enable her to approach the observations with an open mind and to remember the purpose of the research. In this research project this was achieved by recording factual observations rather than qualitative judgements based on the observations. If the observation in Appendix 2 had been of a student teacher, judgements would have been made about the appropriateness

of the approach based on the objectives of the session and the needs of the learners. As Measor and Woods (1991) highlighted, it is important to focus on the purpose of the research, so although the observations were approached with an open mind, knowledge of teaching and learning was not bracketed as in the phenomenological approach but retained from a critical theory standpoint. In this sense the observations also had an evaluative, rather than judgemental, element (Foster, 1996) to highlight any inadequacies in terms of the working conditions and needs of the teacher in comparison to other educational settings. The observation notes were factual but the evaluation was conducted during the analysis of these notes to focus on aspects unique to prisons.

Two main approaches to observation are participant and non-participant (Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Wolcott, 2001; Mason, 2002; Angrosino, 2005). In participant observation, the researcher participates and interacts as a member of the group being observed whereas in non-participant observation, the researcher is not involved in the action and does not interact with the participants. Gold (1958:217) refined this further by referring to four main types of observation:

- Complete participants
- Participants-as-observers
- Observers-as-participants
- Complete observers

The observations were intended to be complete observer to allow for a full overview as in student teacher observations, but in reality became 'observer-as-participant' (Gold, 1958:217) as both the teacher and the students wanted to engage in conversation. Therefore, in addition to observing, the role of student

was adopted towards the end of the maths session and the role of teaching assistant was adopted in both basic skills sessions and the ICT session. There were periods of time in each session when there was no involvement and there was the opportunity to observe solely rather than be part of the action, so in this sense the role of observer was dominant over the role of participant. It would have been possible to have refused to become involved but that would have appeared discourteous and could have had a negative impact on those being observed. It would also have taken away the valuable opportunity to interact with the students, which provided brief experience of teaching in the prison context to add to the understanding of the teachers' perspectives, albeit in a very limited way.

Fig. 3.5 provides a summary overview of the methods used and participants involved in the collection of data.

Fig. 3.5 Overview of Methods and Sample

Interviews	Questionnaires	Observations	Teacher logs
Five heads of offender learning	26 responses from three prisons	Three in the public/state prison	One interviewee from the public/state prison
One education manager from the private prison		One in the private prison	One undergraduate teaching student
One education manager from the public/state prison			
Six teachers from the private prison			
Three teachers from the public/state prison			
One HMI Ofsted Inspector			

In any observations, consideration needs to be given to researcher bias both in the interpretation of the observations and in terms of the potential impact the presence of the observer has on the behaviour of those being observed (Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Scott and Morrison, 2007). This thesis acknowledges that the behaviour of both the teachers and the prisoners may have been affected by the fact that they knew they were being observed but the observations were not confined to behaviour at that moment in time, but to the whole context, including environment and resources.

3.4.6 Acknowledgment of the Limitations

The limitations of the empirical research are mainly associated with the problems in gaining access and resultant lack of control over the choice of sample of, and in, prison education departments. Ideally, it would have been valuable to have been able to select the number of teachers interviewed and select the number and type of lessons observed. However, the actual sample was of a sufficient size to be feasible in terms of the practicalities of conducting the interviews and observations and provided substantial data for analysis. It may also have been useful to have been able to interview the teachers following the observations to hear their perspectives of the lessons observed and to have compared these with the observation notes. There may have been specific reasons for pedagogical decisions and it would only have been through a subsequent interview that the teachers' thought processes could have been shared. Although this would have been beneficial, all the teachers observed were also interviewed so this provided insight into their pedagogical approach. As the focus was on the issues impacting on teaching, subsequent interviews may have been interesting but not necessarily have added anything substantial

to the data. Longer periods spent in each prison may have provided greater insight into the issues being explored as the one day in each prison may not have been 'typical'. However, the mix of interviews and observations provided a very useful balance of data from which to draw out key themes and issues. Finally there was no choice over whether or not to record the interviews. This was simply not allowed. Silverman (2004) expressed a strong belief in the importance of having transcripts so that the actual words of the participants are being analysed. Miles and Huberman (1994) asserted that data reduction starts before the process of analysis when using field notes, as the researcher makes decisions about what to include in the notes and what to omit. The researcher may also miss parts of what is being said during the note making process. These points are recognised but it must also be acknowledged that recording interviews is not without its problems in terms of time spent transcribing, problems with the equipment not recording or lacking clarity, the recording instrument inhibiting the participants or making participants feel uncomfortable (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The notes taken were comprehensive, included the actual words and phrases used, used the vocabulary of the participants in the summaries and enabled a more natural conversational approach that may have been inhibited by the presence of an electronic recording instrument.

3.5 APPROACHES TO THE ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

The common approach to analysing qualitative data is through a coding system (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Cohen *et al.*, 2000; Richards, 2005). This can vary in complexity and much has been written about different ways of coding data, from extremely detailed calculations of the number of specific

words/phrases used to more general clustering of concepts and categorisation (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Although the phenomenological approach has been clearly articulated in many texts which offer an insight into data collection, there are few which focus on how to actually conduct the analysis. Giorgi (1986; 2005; 2007) has been credited (Ehrich, 1996; Wertz, 2005; Zayed, 2008) with providing a rigorous and systematic four step phenomenological method for analysis:

- 1) Read the entire description of one subject in order to gain a sense of the whole.
 - 2) Read through the data again and mark where a transition in meaning occurs. The meanings between transitions are called "meaning units".
 - 3) Go through all of the meaning units and analyse them for what they reveal about the phenomenon of interest, in this case, teaching in a prison.
 - 4) The insights from the meaning units are synthesised into a statement and a situated and general structure of the experience is presented as the final step. This recognises the commonalities of the experiences or 'essences.'
- (Adapted from Giorgi, 1986).

As the interviews were not taped it was not possible or suitable to conduct a detailed analysis of individual words and phrases used through discourse analysis, as suggested by Silverman (2001). This is where the analysis departed from a pure phenomenological approach. However, in keeping with phenomenology, the interviews were approached with an open mind. The analysis did not begin with a set of pre-conceived themes or categories drawn from the review of the literature as is often evident in coding systems (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The bracketing of prior knowledge and

assumptions was relatively straightforward as there is limited research and few publications on teaching in prisons.

Each interview was read in its entirety to get a sense of the whole. A brief summary was then made about each individual teacher's overall response and general attitude. The following are examples from two different interviewees:

She is confident in her ability to teach prisoners but does mention the gender difference. Keen to show what she has brought to the prison –topic work approach, links to football club, displays and enhancing the learning environment. Feels her knowledge of prisons has been strengthened by her partner who is a prison officer. She also feels her training as a primary school teacher has helped her. Clearly feels that education is not for everyone and those that don't want to do it should not be forced. Feels education won't stop reoffending.

It was very clear that she did not feel prepared to teach in prisons, despite having taught from nursery to HE with everything in between. She was very negative about the prison regime, teachers in prisons and prison officers. She feels more affinity with the prisoners. Feels as though she is still learning and was negative about the way she was selected – it was because she was willing to do it rather than the best for the job. She doesn't really understand or agree with the prison regime.

These summaries provided the first step of the analysis to get a sense of the whole in terms of attitude, feelings and dominant thoughts before dividing into meaning units, which was the next step. The units of meaning were listed for each interview. At this stage links were not made between the units of meaning across interviews so that each remained a coherent and separate whole.

Meaning units enable the researcher to document nuances of meaning. The following is an example:

*I've made resources (MU1 uses own **time** to make resources) about their favourite football teams (MU2 **meaningful context** for learning and **motivation**) because there are hardly any resources here (MU3 **lack of resources** available in the prison).*

Had the analysis involved coding under categories, this would probably have been in the general category of 'resources'. The use of meaning units provided a more detailed picture, highlighting the teacher's use of own time; motivation; learning contexts; and limited resources. On completion of this step, the meaning units were organised into themes and then compared for commonalities of interest, the third and fourth step of Giorgi's approach. Fig 3.6 shows the main themes that emerged from the meaning units and the number of teachers whose comments related to these themes (N=9).

Other themes were identified but as these were commented on by three or fewer teachers they are not included in the table. Additional significant information was collated and listed such as their background, their views about their training and the skills they felt a teacher in prisons should have.

Fig.3.6 Meaning Units and Themes from Teacher Interviews

Theme	Number of Teachers
Feelings about teaching in a prison	9
Pastoral	8
Nature of prisoners	7
Behaviour management	7
Individual learning approach	6
Communication skills	6
Flexibility	6
Prison regime	6
Motivation of prisoners	5
Limited resources	4
Time	4
Issues with management	4
Explicit links to primary	4
Prison officers	4

The teachers' logs were also divided into meaning units and compared with the emerging themes from other forms of data collection. It was important that the interviews and the logs did not become overly fragmented which would lose the emotional, reflexive and reactive elements of the participant. Cohen *et al.*,

(2000:282) warned against 'separat[ing] them into constituent elements, thereby losing the synergy of the whole, and in interviews often the whole is greater than the sum of the parts.' The use of Giorgi's phenomenological approach to find the 'essence' of the individual and combined responses aimed to maintain the 'synergy of the whole'. The interviews with Heads of Offender Learning were approached in a similar way, although the themes that had emerged from the teacher interviews were used to guide, but not lead, the coding. Other themes also emerged which were more related to management (discussed in Chapter Four) and included: quality assurance; re-tendering; the purpose of education in prisons to reduce reoffending through employability.

The questionnaire responses were collated under each question. Where relevant, specific links were made to the responses from the teacher interviews to establish where there were commonalities of experience and common themes across the two forms of data collection. Some of the responses to the questions could be collated numerically; others were themed using the written comments on the completed questionnaires. These were particularly useful in establishing the teachers' expressed training needs which were then grouped under four main headings (discussed in Chapters Four and Five): understanding prisoners; teaching approaches; knowledge about prisons; resources.

The four observations were initially summarised in terms of teaching and learning approaches. They were then analysed more closely by making links to theoretical influences on pedagogy, particularly constructivism, social constructivism and communities of practice (as discussed in Chapter Two), to compare with practice in mainstream education. Each observation was

analysed individually and then links were made across the four observations to establish similarities and differences in practice. Finally the key themes were compared with the interviews, logs and questionnaires. Other aspects also included: the learning environment; the organisation of learners; contextualised and personalised learning. These aspects were compared with common practice in mainstream provision and are discussed in Chapter Five.

Fig. 3.7 summarises the themes arising from all of the data and shows the chapters in which they are discussed.

Fig. 3.7 Summary of Themes

Chapter Four	Chapter Five
Olass contracts for lead providers	Induction
Dual management: prison and provider	Prisoners as learners – the issue of identity
Relationship between the lead provider and the education department in prison	The impact of incarceration
Quality assurance	Prisoners' motivation for engaging in education
Recruitment of teachers	Educational needs of prisoners
Background and qualifications of teachers	Skills of teachers in prisons
Motivation for teaching in prisons	The pastoral role
The prison walls	Behaviour management
The prison regime	The curriculum
Teaching spaces	Planning for learning
Resources	Individual versus collaborative learning
	Peer mentoring
	CPD training

Evidence from most of the different sources contributed to addressing all four research questions (Figure 3.8). It was only the second research question which specifically focused on analysis of evidence from the teachers and teaching observations. Finally, for the purpose of anonymity, the following names are used throughout the discussion of findings:

- Private Prison – Prison P

- Public/State Prison – Prison S

The teachers have been named with the same initial letter as the prison with which they are associated (Fig. 3.9).

Fig. 3.8 Analysis of Data Sources Linked to Research Questions

1. What affects the role of teachers in prisons?	Interviews with Heads of Offender Learning Interviews with education managers and teachers Questionnaire responses Teacher logs Observations
2. What are the experiences and perceptions of teachers working in prisons?	Teacher interviews Teacher logs Questionnaire responses Observations
3. What are the similarities and differences between teaching in prison and other educational settings, both compulsory and post-compulsory?	Interviews with Heads of Offender Learning Interviews with education managers and teachers Questionnaire responses Teacher logs Observations
4. What are the training needs of teachers in prisons?	Interviews with Heads of Offender Learning Interviews with education managers and teachers Questionnaire responses Teacher logs Observations

Fig. 3.9 Summary of Names Used in the Empirical Research

Prison P (Private)	Prison S (Public/State)	Heads of Offender Learning	Teacher Logs	HMI Ofsted Inspector
Pete	Sandra	LP A	Sandra	HMI
Penny	Steve	LP B	Diane (student)	
Pat	Simon	LP C		
Pamela		LP D		
Polly		LP E		
Paula				

The Heads of Offender Learning have the initials LP to denote 'lead provider'. This is because the acronym HOL would have been too similar to HOLS which refers to Heads of Learning and Skills employed by the prison service. The HMI Ofsted inspector is referred to simply as HMI.

CONCLUSION

The studies referred to at the beginning of this chapter demonstrate the limited current research on teachers and teaching in prisons. Although some (Bayliss, 2003; RER, 2007; Simonot and McDonald, 2010) focused on teachers, most of the research was from prisoners' viewpoints. This thesis differs from the previous documented research studies in three principal ways: the views of teachers in prisons are central to the research; direct comparisons and contrasts are made with mainstream education, not only in terms of practice but also philosophical and theoretical influences; and observations by an experienced observer of teaching in mainstream education were used as a main source of data collection.

The development of the research for this thesis was initially hampered by the refusal of the Home Office to support the research proposal. This situation is not unique, with other examples of attempts at research within prisons being blocked or hindered. The reasons for this are not clear, but it has been noted that there is a lack of independent research in prison with most research being conducted under the control of the Home Office (Raynor, 2008). Despite the obstructions, the research design evolved so that all four research questions could be explored. The constant re-evaluation also provided the opportunity for a critical analysis of the research process and the methods adopted.

The difficulty in defining any one influential philosophical approach demonstrates the complexity of the research design. Aspects of both critical theory and phenomenology within the interpretive paradigm informed the final framework to ensure all of the research questions could be fully addressed. The significance of critical theory relates to the central premise that education in prisons is a 'Cinderella Service'. The purpose of this thesis is to explore this claim by speaking to those directly involved in provision for education. The approach to the collection and analysis of data was qualitative so that the participants' viewpoints, perceptions and feelings could be documented.

This chapter concludes by recognising that the thesis is exploratory as opposed to attempting to find a generalisable truth. The examination of education in prisons with a focus on teachers has been conducted on a small scale with the aim of raising issues and questions which should be considered within the broader educational research field. Methods to address the research questions have been formulated to ascertain the uniqueness of teaching in prisons which this thesis asserts should be examined and explored by Further Education and training providers to ensure they are meeting the needs of the teachers they employ.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONTEXT: MANAGEMENT, TEACHERS AND THE PRISON ENVIRONMENT

INTRODUCTION

Both this chapter and Chapter Five analyse and discuss the findings from the empirical research. Several key themes were identified during the analysis of data generated by the research methods, as outlined in Chapter Three. As the themes emerged, it was apparent that there were two distinctions: those which were essentially beyond the control of the teacher and those which could, to some extent, be influenced by the teacher. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the themes and related issues arising from the data which are externally controlled and not within the autonomy of the teacher. These include, but go beyond, the actual prison environment.

The three main themes have been organised into sections. Section 4.1 focuses on the management of education in prisons, under the remit of OLASS. The issues are discussed with particular reference to the interviews with the LPs who are responsible for managing this provision and the impact of this management structure on teachers working in prisons. Section 4.2 explores the characteristics of the teaching workforce. One significant finding was the difficulty in recruiting teachers to work in prisons. This prompted an investigation into the backgrounds of teachers working in prisons and their motivation for making this career choice. The final section, 4.3, explores the impact of the physical environment of the prison on teachers. This includes the building, the regime, the security and the restrictions on resources for teaching.

4.1 MANAGEMENT OF EDUCATION IN PRISONS

In any institution, the structure of management will impact on the rest of the workforce. In prisons, teachers are working within two management structures: that of the prison and that of the lead provider. This presents a range of issues which are explored in this section, taking account of the views of the five LPs who are in a management role, the HMI who has a broad overview of policy and practice and the views of the three teachers in Prison S who are working within this management system. This section considers the impact of the OLASS contracts and the bidding process; the dual management of lead provider and prison; the relationship between the lead provider and the education department in prison; and procedures for quality assurance.

4.1.1 Olass Contracts for Lead Providers

There are currently 21 providers of education in prisons and all have gone through a competitive bidding process, as outlined in Chapter Two. The tendering process requires the lead providers to produce bids to show how they will deliver the OLASS provision to those in prison or under supervision in the community, with the intention that the strongest bid will be selected to ensure that the provision meets the OLASS requirements. At the time of the interviews with the LPs, in 2008, the initial three year contracts were coming to an end with a new bidding process due to start in 2009. The uncertainty about the future and effect on staff expressed by the UCU (2006), as highlighted in Chapter Two, was evident in the interviews with the LPs. Although they were not asked about the tendering process or contracts, three out of the five raised the issue:

The bidding is a competitive exercise. It is not good for staff morale. There is limited stability. (LP A)

We have a three year contract – we have up to 2008/9. We are just into re-tendering – it will probably still be for a three year contract if we get it. It takes a year just to understand the differences between providing education in prisons in comparison to other settings. (LP C)

There's a sense that there is no point in spending too much time on planning for the future because we might not win the contract next time around. (LP D)

The competitive nature of the exercise and potential failure to secure the contract could put jobs in jeopardy and naturally create feelings of insecurity leading to low staff morale, as stated by LP A. Lee (2010) reported on the hundreds of prison educators left not knowing who their employer would be when 'The Manchester College', the largest lead provider, gave notice that, due to concerns about financial viability, it would terminate its contracts in the North and South East. Although talks between the Manchester College and the LSC resumed, the fragility of the position of the management of education in prisons by the lead providers is markedly apparent.

LP D referred to the impact of short contracts on the College's commitment to long term investment. This suggests that the re-tendering process does not only affect the college during the bidding process but also has the potential to impact negatively on the development of learning and teaching in prisons during the full period of the contract as there are no guarantees it will be renewed. This comment implies that LP D did not feel confident in the College management's commitment to offender learning which in turn is likely to have a negative effect on her morale and feelings of job security. LP C also raised the issue of the time it takes to actually understand the differences between providing education in prisons in comparison with other settings. This clearly suggests that there are differences, unique to prisons, which will be

discussed in more detail in this chapter and in Chapter Five. It also highlights the importance of lead providers having a sustained period of time to ensure provision is appropriate, which is not supported by short term contracts. Although schools and colleges in the mainstream sector have to adapt to changes in funding, this cannot be compared to losing total responsibility for provision of education in prisons if the bid is not accepted. It would appear that the short-term contracting system not only affects education in prisons if the lead provider changes at the end of the contracted period, but also affects the level of funding, long term planning and commitment to development invested by the current provider during the term of the contract.

In addition to job instability and potential impact on long term investment by colleges, the competition also creates problems for collaborative working between lead providers. The HMI said that she would like to see 'coherence between institutions' to improve transition arrangements when prisoners are moved. The difficulty with this is the apparent reluctance of lead providers to share good practice, as evidenced by the comments from LP A:

Peer development is one problem. We can't do it because of the competitive nature. We can't have peer reviews from a competitor. We have to do it internally.

RER (2007) expressed concerns about opportunities for workforce development for staff involved in prisoner learning and argued for the scope to develop forums for a wider range of staff to share good practice at local, regional and national levels. Ofsted (2009:7) also identified this as an area for development: 'The prisons and providers with the Learning and Skills Improvement Service should develop a national framework for sharing good practice.' Workforce development is not covered in any detail in OLASS contracts (RER, 2007)

which raises questions about the level of priority given to staff development and training. None of the five LPs interviewed made any positive comments about the contracting process. From their perspective, it has resulted in an insecure workforce with managers who view other providers with suspicion; a reluctance to share good practice; and engenders feelings of instability and isolation.¹⁹

4.1.2 Dual Management: Prison and Provider

One particular challenge for teachers is working with two different managers: the prison and the lead provider. The effect of the prison regime on teaching and learning will be discussed more fully in Section 4.3 but the dual management and apparently conflicting philosophies appear to have a significant effect on the teaching staff. The provision of education and training in prisons falls into two areas: in-scope provision which is under the direction of education managers employed by the lead providers and out-of-scope provision which is under the direction of the Heads of Learning and Skills (HOLS) employed by the prison. LP C explained how it worked in her region:

The HOLs are employed by the prison. They have a wider remit than the education provision contractor provides. In our region they are responsible for joinery, etc. The prison offers other things like horticulture that are out-of-scope. ...The HOLs' role is to find funding sources from a variety of places. Most traditional education comes under the scope of the contract [in-scope] ...The HOLs and education manager should work in partnership guided by the LSC.

The use of the word 'should' in the final sentence is important because although this is supposed to happen there is potential for conflict as each role is

¹⁹ OLASS 3 was completed in March 2009. The following examples from this bidding round indicate the reasons for instability and insecurity. One unsuccessful bidder challenged the decision and it took several months before the dispute was solved. A4E, a lead provider, lost part of its previous contract but retained its work in the South East. Another successful bidder pulled out of the contract when the funding offered was not deemed acceptable (UCU, 2010b).

governed by a different type of institution: one educational and one custodial.

LP B talked about how his region initially operated without education managers because it was envisaged that the HOLS could do the role. The HOLS, employed by the prison, were managing staff employed by the lead provider which caused friction, as evidenced by LP B:

In practice this was a problem. You can't really line manage someone not employed by you – as they grow in stature and clout. Over the past 18 months it has changed so that each prison has an education manger.

He was very sceptical about the development of the role of the Head of Learning and Skills:

The HOLS are now involved in other things instead of driving Education. It's not the role that was envisaged. My personal view is that prisons have snaffled them up. Some HOLS have become prison service governors. Some are very professional and committed. Others have lost their focus.

These comments concur with a report on the impact of the implementation of OLASS one year on by Halsey, Martin and White (2006), which recommended that OLASS should be specific about roles, remits and expectations. The HMI interviewed highlighted that one of the difficulties with the leadership and management of education is that 'HOLS don't line manage education managers and that can cause problems'. However, she did not go on to give any examples of problems she had encountered and none of the LPs suggested any friction between education managers and HOLS. LP D talked about how her role included 'check[ing] education is running smoothly and check[ing] with the HOLS', suggesting a clear partnership role. A good partnership is likely to result in a coherent pathway of provision where both the education manager and the HOLS understand and support one another's work. If it is not a successful partnership it could result in isolation, fragmented provision and a

conflict of interests. Halsey *et al.* (2006) also recognized some of the positive aspects but noted some 'problems arising from bringing different working cultures together (e.g. mainstream providers working in prison environments)' (p3). Two of their final recommendations stated:

- To ensure that relations between partners remain harmonious and productive, it was recommended that contracts/OLASS documentation should be specific about the roles, remits and expectations of the key partners (p4).
- Partners in OLASS need to invest time in learning about the work, roles and cultures of each other's organisation (p4).

The notion of conflict of interests was highlighted by McNichol (2008:39) who referred to 'culture and conflict' because of the different agendas of the college and the prison, with the former agenda focusing on learning and gaining skills and qualifications and the latter on security, protecting the public and reducing re-offending. LP B put it succinctly: 'Custody is disempowering; education is empowering'. This insightful statement highlights the specific distinction between education in prisons and education in other contexts. He clearly felt strongly about this dichotomy for teachers, going on to say:

You have to be good at multi-disciplinary organisations because you have at least two bosses. One in the prison service – security; one in college – education values. Some teachers struggle with that compromise. There is often a struggle because these are in direct contradiction with teaching values. There is a tension in the prison mission statement. The first paragraph is about locking up but the second paragraph is about empowering.

One of the teachers, Simon, also spoke of the challenges of the system of dual management: 'having two bosses – the prison and the college – can be difficult'. This raises a very significant issue. The philosophy of education which espouses the importance of giving the individual autonomy to self-govern and become a responsible citizen (Plato, 1997; Lawton and Gordon, 2002; Locke,

1996; Freire, 1993), as discussed in Chapter Two, is situated within an environment that has taken away all the individual's responsibilities as a citizen and replaced autonomy with control. The tension goes beyond the role of the HOLS as it applies to the prison as an institution, with priorities and value systems which appear incompatible with the philosophy underpinning educational values. However, there is potential for these differences to be bridged if the Governor of the prison believes in the significance of education. This was highlighted by the HMI: 'how a prison runs is up to the Governor – some give prison education a high priority and others don't'. This comment echoes the findings of Simonot and McDonald (2010:28): 'the relationship between the Prison Service and Education is variable across prisons and is often dependent on the attitude of the Prison Governor.' The management of education in prisons is influenced by the values of four key personnel:

- The LP (college-based)
- The education manager (prison-based but employed by the education institution)
- The HOLS (prison-based)
- The Prison Governor (prison-based)

The potential for friction caused by conflicting priorities is evident and highlights the necessity, as expressed by Halsey *et al.* (2006), for all partners to know and understand each other's roles, work and cultures. However, for this to work, it is not only understanding each individual's role but developing a *shared* understanding of priorities within the two distinct cultures of prison and education.

4.1.3 Relationship between the Lead Provider and the Education

Department in Prison

During the interviews in Prison S, it became apparent that it was not only dual management of prison and provider that was challenging, but also the relationship between the lead provider and the education department in the prison, despite them both being educational settings. This issue was not applicable to Prison P as it is a private prison and the company managing it decided that the education team did not need a lead provider to oversee the provision or provide staff. The education department in this prison was solely managed by the education manager within the department. The public prison visited (Prison S) was managed by a lead provider who was part of the interview sample (LP C). One of the three teachers, Steve, noted the difficulties of working with a lead provider. At first these seemed to be related to the dual management of the prison and the college, but on further analysis were actually about the relationship between the LP and the department. Steve started by saying:

There are two main challenges impacting directly on one's ability to teach: the prison regime and the host college trying to run the prison education like a typical college department.

He went on to say:

The prison regime is a necessary challenge. The autocratic management by the college is by far the most annoying.

The education manager in the same prison also complained about the college management:

The college want to introduce schemes of work²⁰ but the staff don't want it. It is individual support. We don't teach to a group. It's more of a supportive role than teaching. They all have individual targets. Staff are

²⁰ These usually detail subjects to be covered, learning objectives and teaching methods over a set period of time. In schools these are usually half-termly or termly.

leaving because of college demands. College staff never visit – they don't understand (Education Manager, Prison S).

Steve blamed the pressures from the lead provider as the reason why he was leaving to take up a new post out of prison despite 'loving the job'. He also said: 'I have recently made contact with teachers from other prisons. Most prison teachers I have spoken to feel marginalised by their host colleges'. When asked what would help to make it less autocratic, he replied 'documentation that is specific to prison education'. LP C, the lead provider for Prison S, was very keen to align prison education with FE, saying: 'The eventual aim is that the drivers of what we do in prison education are the same as the FE sector'. The use of the same paperwork in the prison and the college seemed to be the main bone of contention, with LP C believing this would help to bring education in prison in line with FE, and the teachers feeling the LP did not understand the prison context and how this affected the planning process.

In this instance, there appeared to be a lack of trust between the LP and staff interviewed in the prison education department. LP C did not appear to trust the systems already in place in the prison and wanted these to be the same as college procedures; Steve and the education manager believed that LP C and the college had no understanding of the practicalities of working in the prison and no apparent desire to find out. The fact that LP C had never worked in a prison may be a contributing factor to this lack of trust because she was unable to draw on personal experience or practical knowledge to help inform management decisions. Management and leadership are inherently linked but there are differences between the two. Management involves organisational skills and focuses on systems and structures (Sadek and Sadek, 2004); leadership is dynamic (van Maurik, 2004) and focuses on motivating and

challenging people through vision and shared values (Hodgkinson, 1991). From this description, LP C appeared to have adopted a management rather than leadership role, although she may also have been trying to challenge existing systems to affect change, albeit apparently unsuccessfully. There may also have been reluctance from the staff in Prison S to embrace new ideas and accept change. Hunt, Tourish and Hargie (2000) conducted research with education managers from a range of settings, not including prisons, and their data suggested that improved communication facilitated more effective management of education organisations. Not only did it help to clarify the philosophies of those involved, it also helped to establish positive working relationships between all members of the learning community (Hunt *et al.*, 2000). This is potentially more difficult for prison education departments because they are managed by an educational institution which is geographically separate. The lack of involvement of LPs within the day to day running of education departments in prisons presents significant challenges in building successful systems for communication and developing a shared philosophical and operational understanding. Although education departments in prisons are not unique in being separate from the institution by which they are managed,²¹ the potential for a lack of shared understanding is more significant because the management institution may not understand the context in which educators in prisons work and the educators may not understand the rationale behind the proposed changes.

²¹ Other examples include work-based learning where the learning mentors in the workplace need to ensure the students' experiences meet the requirements of the college; FE colleges delivering higher education modules/degrees validated by a university; schools and colleges on split sites where they are one institution but with buildings in several geographical locations.

This situation raises questions about whether the tensions in prison education departments are created by frictions between educational philosophy to promote freedom and empowerment (Locke, 1996; Dewey, 1916; Friere, 1993) and the culture of prisons to control and disempower (Foucault, 1977; Goffman, 1961; Garland, 2001), or whether more tensions are caused by a lack of communication and understanding between lead providers and teachers working in a prison context.

It is understandable that lead providers may choose to adopt the same systems as FE colleges as the intention is for education in prisons to be comparable with mainstream education (RER, 2007). As the fieldwork in Prison S had highlighted this as a potential problem, the HMI was asked specifically²² if education departments in prison can work with the same paperwork (schemes of work, lesson planning, assessment procedures) as those used by college providers in an FE setting. She replied:

Yes and no. They need the structure but they are not going to have the same issues. Schemes of work are going to assume you know who you have got and for how long. Prisons need to plan education. College sometimes wants consistency which is not the same as appropriateness. Equally bad is for prisons to say we can't plan because we don't know who we are going to get. They need to respond to learners so they can't be too rigid but there is the need for some planning.

The key words here are 'consistency' and 'appropriateness' as it appears that LP C was focusing on consistency to align prison education with FE and the prison staff believed this resulted in a lack of appropriateness to their context. Both appeared to have clear rationales for their viewpoints, but the friction does suggest that in the process of attempting to raise the standards of education in prisons, attention needs to be given to an appropriate model for education in

²² This is an example of how the interview schedule for the HMI was adapted to include issues raised by the other empirical research.

prisons. This model may have many aspects closely linked to those common in mainstream, but may also have some aspects unique to prisons. These issues will be explored in Section 4.3 and in Chapter Five.

4.1.4 Quality Assurance

In all educational contexts, there are quality assurance procedures to monitor the quality of educational provision to ensure it meets appropriate standards to nationally recognised benchmarks and to make it accountable to all stakeholders. These include observations of teaching, staff appraisals, evaluation of outcome data, target setting, development plans, action plans, audits and external Ofsted inspections (Lomas, 2003; Hillier, 2002; Bartlett *et al.*, 2001). It was clear from the interviews with the LPs that quality assurance was a major aspect of their work. When asked to explain in broad terms what their role involved, three of the five talked specifically about quality assurance.

I was asked to be the link to look at the quality of teaching and provision. It is extremely important to look at the quality of provision. I adopted all the quality assurance provision in the college into the prisons...The education manager has some say on the focus and self-assessment indicates the focus. (LP C)

We have an education contract for a three year period which runs out in 2009. They look at all aspects – staffing, curriculum, quality controls. We have a quality calendar...We also have regular meetings between the college and the prison education department. (LP D)

I ensure the number of contracted hours are delivered. I also look at curriculum development, employer engagement, quality assurance and quality improvement. The provision is inspected as main provision by Ofsted. There will be four inspections this year and I will need to train the assistant managers and vocational trainers on the Common Inspection Framework Quality Practices. The LSC only funds what is delivered. (LP E)

Although all three talked about quality assurance, there were differences in the influences that drove their approaches. LP C clearly wanted the prison education department to have exactly the same procedures as the FE college.

She did not discuss any differences between the prison and the college although, as quoted earlier in this chapter, she did comment on the time it took to understand the differences between education in prisons and mainstream education. The way in which she phrased 'the education manager has some say in the focus' suggested a top down approach, with the lead provider setting the agenda but taking some account of expressed needs from the education manager. During the same interview she expanded on this point: 'One worry is that once you get into offender learning you get isolated from other developments in FE. I was quite shocked by how many years behind us they were in terms of current methods of delivery and current practice.' This provides further insights into why she appeared so keen to affect changes in Prison S, which were not readily accepted by the staff. The use of the word 'us' does suggest an 'us and them' mindset with FE being seen as the superior. The specific context in which learning takes place in prisons is not considered in LP C's responses. As LP C was the only lead provider interviewed who had not taught in a prison this perhaps explains her 'us and them' approach.

LP E differed in her views from those of LP C on the comparison of education in prisons with FE colleges:

Lots of people in influential positions think we are not up-to-date. We are – we have to reach national standards. Teaching and learning in prisons is not behind – prisons are on board with everything.

This may be because LP E had only just started her new post and three weeks previously had been an education manager in a prison so felt an affinity with and a loyalty to her colleagues in prison. If she had agreed with LP C it would also have suggested she had not been effective in her role as education manager. Alternatively, LP C only had responsibility for three prisons and it may be that in those prisons the provision was 'behind in terms of current methods'.

As with any educational context, quality of provision will vary both within the remit of each lead provider and nationally across all lead providers. LP B said: 'Trying to get good quality provision across a number of prisons is difficult because they have different management strategies and attitudes'. This links to the expressed need of sharing of good practice (Ofsted, 2009:7; RER, 2007) as discussed in Section 4.1.1, and the differences in cultures and attitudes towards education across prisons.

LP D's response to the question about her role focused on the terms of the contract. She listed the internal processes and referred to the quality calendar as she spoke. She was aware of what needed to be covered but did not talk about why or what impact this would have on the quality of learning. She did say that regular meetings were held between the college and education department suggesting a more equal partnership than LP C although she did not go into detail about how often these were held or what issues were discussed. When asked about challenges later on in the interview she said: 'volume of paperwork because there is prison paperwork and college paperwork' which suggests that the administration was an issue with paperwork required by both institutions: the lead provider and the prison. LP D also spoke about the pressures from Ofsted saying: 'Ofsted [is a challenge] – working towards criteria for the Common Inspection Framework – tracking recruitment and retention data when there is always movement of prisoners.'²³ This does appear to be a particular problem for prisons. When referring to the first key

²³ There are five key questions in the Ofsted prisons and probation handbook which is additional guidance to go alongside the Common Inspection Framework: 1. How well do learners achieve? 2. How effective are teaching, training and learning? 3. How well do programmes and activities meet the needs and interests of learners? 4. How well are learners guided and supported? 5. How effective are leadership and management in raising achievement and supporting all learners? (Ofsted, 2007).

question in the Common Inspection Framework related to achievement of standards, the HMI said:

Prisons tend to have poor data. Issues about achievement which rest with the churn²⁴. It is difficult to look at outcome data. We try to ensure we look at prisoners who leave education for other reasons (rather than just left because they didn't like it). It does vary between prisons. A lot depends on how the lead provider works.

Simonot and McDonald (2010) cited 'churn', or the movement of prisoners, as a significant challenge for teachers as it causes fragmentation and discontinuity of learning. For managers this is also a concern in terms of Ofsted criteria and is an added anxiety to what is already a challenging issue. Ofsted (2009:14), in a report on short custodial sentences²⁵ using a sample of 19 prisons, stated:

There is no single national system for recording offenders' progress and achievements in learning and skills. Contracting colleges and other providers did not systematically provide enough data to prison managers for analysis and target setting.

They then went on to report on one local prison that has an annual turnover of 3,000 prisoners with 90 attending learning and skills provision at any one time. Many of those had an average stay in the prison of just four weeks. This highlights the difficulties in trying to use outcome data to record the achievement of prisoners, particularly for prisons with a high level of churn and many prisoners on short custodial sentences. The impact of churn on teaching and learning will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.3 but highlights an issue that is very specific to prisons.

Ofsted seemed to be a particular concern for LP E which was understandable as she was expecting inspections of four prisons in the coming

²⁴ 'Churn is the term used to describe the frequent movement of prisoners between prisons, in and out of the same prison to take account of availability of space and as a result of their needing to attend court for trial or sentencing; this constant movement is one factor that renders the organisation of education and training so complex' (Simonot and McDonald, 2010:3).

²⁵ In this survey Ofsted define short-term sentences as less than 12 months. The generally accepted terms are: less than 12 months; 12 to 48 months; over four years; life and indeterminate.

year. In 2010, the first ever prison was judged outstanding by Ofsted, with the article on the official Ofsted website (Ofsted, 2010a) entitled 'Outstanding Verdict makes Penal History'. Although this is an excellent achievement it also raises questions about why this is the only provision ever to be judged outstanding when in the same year 63% of colleges were judged at least good or outstanding. It is certainly a challenge for managers and could be due to the Ofsted criteria not being appropriate for the context despite the additional guidance for prisons (Ofsted, 2007) and/or that the quality is not of a sufficiently high standard. It also raises questions about how skilled the inspectors are at understanding the uniqueness of the prison environment as a learning context. Whatever the reasons, despite there being considerable improvements, this is a concern that warrants further investigation. It also emphasises the pressure on LP E to oversee and accomplish four successful Ofsted inspections in one year. Her comment that 'the LSC only funds what is delivered' suggests she had concerns about achieving this result with staff who do not have extra paid time, over and above paid teaching time, to be involved in Ofsted preparation. This factor exacerbates the problem of being able to prepare and provide sufficient evidence to achieve an outstanding inspection outcome so rare in prison provision.

The issues discussed in this section highlight some of the challenges in the management of prison education. Aligning education in prisons to the same standards as FE colleges is generally seen as a positive move (RER, 2007) as it puts prison education into the mainstream. However, it is apparent that education in prisons has specific needs that may not be addressed by trying to fit prison education in to an FE model. Although some aspects are the same,

such as the provision being for adults with a focus on employment and catering for a wide range of learners, the context and the nature of prisoners must be taken in to account so that the model of provision is tailored to this unique environment.

4.2 THE TEACHING WORKFORCE

Teachers in schools have, at some point in their lives, made the decision to train as a teacher. They are required to train and obtain qualified teacher status either during undergraduate or post-graduate study to be qualified to teach in school.²⁶ Teachers in FE can begin teaching before obtaining teaching qualifications as long as they also study for the appropriate LLUK award depending on their role, as outlined in Chapter Two. The revised qualifications for teachers in FE and the stated priority by LLUK (2009:7) to retain and develop a 'modern, professionalised workforce' aimed to bring post-compulsory education more in line with compulsory education in terms of qualifications and training. It has been suggested that most teachers in prison education fall into teaching in prisons by accident rather than making a conscious decision to choose to teach in prisons (Gehring and Wright, 2006; Wright, 2005). RER (2007) expressed concern about the lack of any systematic collection of data on the qualifications and experience of staff working in offender learning, assessment and training and believed that this would provide important evidence on which to base planning for workforce development. This section explores the issues raised by Gehring and Wright (2006) and RER (2007),

²⁶ The graduate teacher programme is an on-the-job training programme that allows graduates to train to teach as they work. They must have a Bachelor's Degree and be employed as an unqualified teacher by a school that has responsibility for mentoring and supervision. Additional training is provided by employment based initial teacher training providers. Schools are funded by the TDA for employment and training (TDA, 2010a).

related to recruitment, background, qualifications and experience of the teachers and their motivation for wanting to teach in prisons.

4.2.1 Recruitment of Teachers in Prisons

In any educational institution the aim of recruitment is to encourage interest and applications from the highest calibre candidates to secure a strong and effective workforce. RER (2007) noted the problems with recruitment and retention of staff in offender learning and cited contributing factors such as unfavourable employment terms and conditions and shortages of specialist staff. The RER report recommended the development of marketing strategies to attract potential employees; improving employment terms and conditions; and better workforce development and training.

Problems with recruitment were highlighted as a challenge by the LPs. There appeared to be three main areas. The first was related to the perception that working in prisons is dangerous: 'We need to raise the profile that it is exciting and safe' (LP A); 'It is difficult to recruit teachers. People think it is scary and don't want to try it' (LP D). This is understandable based on the media portrayal of prisons, as Simon said: 'More people should come in and see what we do. People think it is like an American drama – it is nothing like that.' Behan (2005) discussed the negative stereotypes of the prison population so often reported in the media and Simonot, Jeanes, McDonald, McNichol and Wilkinson, (2008:13) reported on the impact of the 'high media profile' of issues relating to prisons. A review by the RSA concluded that:

the staff and prisoners [are left] without a powerful voice on the effective work that is taking place [due to] a dysfunctional public conversation too often mediated by a media that combines righteous indignation with lack of interest in the detail (RSA, 2010:41).

There are two issues to consider that are raised by the media: one is a prisoner's right to receive education and the other is the perceived violent and intimidating environment of prisons. It could be assumed that an educationalist would believe that everybody has a right to education. This assumption was challenged at an anecdotal level when, during the process of the fieldwork for this thesis, 180 undergraduate students undertaking a degree in Education Studies were asked if they thought that prisoners should receive educational programmes while in prison. Approximately a third believed that they should not because prison should be a punishment and education is a privilege. This view may also be felt by some practising teachers and anyone who held this view would not be interested in teaching in prisons. The second issue, the perception of all prisoners as violent and dangerous, could be diffused by more positive publicity about the work of education departments in prisons. LP C said that 'education managers are going into FE teacher training to do a slot' to raise the profile of prison education to enhance recruitment. This may alleviate some fears, but a more systematic approach, including talks by ex-prisoners and film footage of education departments in prisons, could provide a more realistic and reassuring picture. The HMI interviewed highlighted this problem when she said: 'When you advertise for someone to teach in a prison – What is it like? - It could be difficult to recruit'. Unlike other educational contexts, it is very unlikely that many of the prospective teachers would have ever been inside a prison and therefore this unknown environment, with perhaps only the knowledge gained from negative portrayals in the media, could be represented to them more realistically.

The second issue related to problems with recruitment was shortages in specific subject areas:

It depends on the subject areas. Skills for Life and ICT are relatively easy. The vocational areas are very difficult particularly because of pay. This is usually in areas like construction. In some geographical areas recruitment is very difficult. (LP B)

Recruitment is an issue. It isn't so much a national problem as some curriculum areas are more difficult. This is to do with curriculum shortage areas like maths. (LP E)

The two areas highlighted here are vocational subjects and shortage subjects reflected in all educational settings. Dual professionalism is likely to cause recruitment problems if the teaching post pays less than the first career and this would apply to FE as well as education in prisons. Shortages in some subjects such as maths are a national problem in terms of teacher recruitment in both compulsory and post-compulsory education, hence the term 'shortage subjects'. This second problem area of shortages in specific subjects is not confined to prison education although it does have an impact on the staff in prisons. The teachers interviewed indicated a need to be able to teach across a range of subjects. Polly used the term 'multi-talented'; Paula said 'you need to be an all rounder to work here – you can't just be good at one thing' and Pamela spoke about 'producing a lesson from the top of your head' when covering teaching. It appears that there is an expectation that if specialist staff are not recruited then other staff already employed will be required to teach those subjects. This is something that seemed to be taken for granted by the teachers interviewed and perceived by them as a necessary skill for anyone teaching in prisons. In this respect, the notion of the generalist rather than the specialist is more akin to primary education than FE.

The third challenge to recruitment related to problems with clearance. All teachers need an Enhanced Criminal Record Bureau (CRB) check and this can be a lengthy process (Home Office, 2010). Additional security clearance for working in prisons is clearly necessary and according to the HM Prison Service (2010) can take as long as eight to twelve weeks. When asked about recruitment problems both LP A and LP D cited clearance as a significant issue:

Criminal checks – you need the highest possible clearance. It takes between two and eight months. If it takes that long they have often found a job elsewhere. Sometimes we lose really good staff. (LP A)

The most effective solution to this problem would be a faster CRB service but as this is not the case at present, prospective teachers need to be made aware of the lengthy clearance process.

The problems with recruitment raises questions about the selection process. If there are very few people applying for the jobs, it could affect the rigour applied to the selection criteria to ensure that the few who do apply are able to meet the set criteria. Two of the teachers interviewed questioned the quality of some of the teachers recruited and suggested the standards of both selection and teaching may not be as high as in other teaching contexts:

If all teachers had the same enthusiasm. We take the waifs and strays as in teaching staff. Standards might not be as high as in other teaching professions...Prisons are trying to catch up with other educational institutions – particularly in terms of paperwork'. (Paula)

I was chosen because I was willing to do it rather than being the best for the job. I was asked "Would you be willing to work in a prison?" I said yes and was offered the job. I'd never been in a prison in my life. I visited once before starting. After security clearance it was "When can you start? Next week?" I started teaching straight away. No-one told me what to do. I could be doing it all wrong and no-one would know...The teachers are more like wardens checking to see you've [prisoner] done the tasks. I feel the teachers de-humanise the prisoners. (Sandra)

In the log that Sandra kept, she said:

There is definitely a clear division in the prison between the staff who clearly enjoy the power of being in charge of prisoners lives and the staff who are there trying to help and make a difference...Don't get me wrong there are some unbelievably dedicated teachers in the prison, however, there are some real loafers who seem to think that because they teach prisoners anything goes.

In the context of the obvious enthusiasm for the job by those interviewed, it was somewhat surprising that Paula referred to 'waifs and strays' and Sandra to 'loafers'. It may be that those who offered to be interviewed as part of the research for this thesis represent teachers particularly motivated and interested in prison education (which is why they were prepared to give up their time to speak to someone researching the area). There is no doubt that although there may be teachers lacking in enthusiasm and quality, as in any educational context, there are also those with a strong commitment to the profession. The HMI showed an awareness of the differences in quality between teachers, saying 'Where prison education is good – those people are devoted to it. But for some people it is the only work they can get.' She went on to say, 'the best people should be in it as the impact is crucial' which emphasises the need to enhance the professionalism of educators in prisons (Bayliss, 2006), to attract teachers who have a commitment to prison education as a profession.

4.2.2 Background and Qualifications of Teachers in Prisons

The questionnaire asked prison-based teachers to state their qualifications. Fig 4.1 collates the responses and includes multiple responses from some teachers who had more than one qualification. The range of qualifications indicates a diverse workforce. In terms of training for teaching, both compulsory and post-compulsory sector training is evident. In terms of level of qualifications, 12 have a degree with two also having studied to Master's degree level. Taken together, the results in tables 4.1 and 4.2 show

that the whole range of educational provision is represented in this small sample from primary to higher education and includes work-based learning contexts.

Fig. 4.1 Qualifications from the Questionnaire Sample

Qualification	Responses
Degree	12
Post 16 Teaching (730)	9
PGCE ²⁷ Post 16	8
Certificate in Education ²⁸	8
PGCE school	3
MA ²⁹	2
ESOL ³⁰	2
GTP (secondary)	1
Certificate in FE teaching and diploma in learning and development (teaching)	1
Currently studying for DTLLS	1
L3 Key Skills	1
Total number of responses	48
Total number of respondents	26

Fig. 4.2 Previous Teaching Experience from Questionnaire Sample

Form of previous teaching experience	Respondents
FE College	11
Secondary school	9
Primary school	4
Adult Education ³¹	4
Higher Education	3
Military	3
Excluded teenagers/EBD ³²	2
Training provider	2
Industry	1
NHS teacher – ante-natal	1
Total number of responses	39
Total number of respondents	26

²⁷ Post-Graduate Certificate of Education.

²⁸ This was the qualification for school teachers prior to it becoming a graduate profession.

²⁹ Master of Arts.

³⁰ English for Speakers of Other Languages. The acronym TESOL is Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages.

³¹ This is taken to mean adults learning a new hobby or interest with classes often held in the evenings in schools or local authority institutions (Hillier, 2002).

³² Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties.

The single highest proportion of experience is in FE, but 15 out of 26 have taught in the compulsory school sector so this suggests that there is no specific educational context that leads teachers into becoming interested in prison education. Only one respondent had not taught in any other context than a prison. It would appear that prior teaching experience in a non-prison setting is the preferred route, although the range of settings is varied. The range and level of qualifications show a well-qualified workforce but the lack of uniformity in their training routes and the varying teaching experiences, although potentially valuable, highlight the different training needs of teachers when they begin teaching in prisons. However, there are commonalities applicable to all which relate to the unique prison environment. One way of bringing some consistency to the training is to offer additional training and education specifically on teaching in prisons for those who choose to work in this context (Bayliss, 2006; RER, 2007; Simonot and McDonald, 2010). This theme will be developed in Chapters Five and Six in an exploration of the issues that could inform the content of specific context-based training.

To get a sense of the age of the workforce, the questionnaires asked teachers if they would indicate their age range (Fig. 4.3). This was to see if there was a spread of age ranges or a significant number within one age range.

Fig. 4.3 Age Range of Respondents

Age range	Responses
55+	15
41-55	8
25-40	3
Under 25	0
Total number of respondents	26

Although the sample was small, the majority of teachers were over 55 years of age and only three were at or below the age of 40. If this information is

combined with the number of years spent teaching in the prison environment, as shown in Fig. 4.4, it is clear that a number of teachers began teaching in prisons fairly late in their career. Although they had been asked about other teaching they had experienced before teaching in prisons, they were not asked about any former career which would have provided more information about the diversity of the workforce.

Fig. 4.4 Length of Time Teaching in Prisons

Length of time teaching in prisons	Responses
Less than a year	5
1-3 years	5
4-6 years	6
6+ years	10
Total number of respondents	26

This omission was rectified in the teacher interviews and they were asked about their background prior to teaching in prison:

- primary school teacher;
- teaching assistant in primary school and then moved to working with excluded secondary school children;
- preparatory school teacher in Kenya and ESOL teacher;
- dock worker;
- food scientist;
- worker in the hotel trade;
- aircraft engineer;
- market researcher in social research.

These findings exemplify the wide range of experience that teachers in prison have and that there does not appear to be any one particular career path that leads directly to teaching in prisons. This raises questions about why people

choose to go in to education in prisons as an alternative career. This issue was not apparent before receiving the completed questionnaires as it was only then that questions were raised about why most of the workforce in the sample is over the age of 40 and over half over the age of 55. There were no responses from teachers under the age of 25 in the questionnaires and all teachers interviewed were over 40 although none gave their precise age. According to the IfL (2009) the average age of those undertaking initial teacher training for FE is 37. This is mainly due to what is termed dual professionalism, reflecting the fact that teachers in FE spend a number of years in earlier professions building up their vocational skills and subject expertise (Jarvis and Chadwick, 1991; Huddelston and Unwin, 2002; Robson, 2006). It is not known what the average age of prison educators is but the evidence from this sample suggests that it may be older than the average age for FE generally. A mature workforce has a lot to offer in terms of life experience, particularly in a potentially intimidating environment, but it is important that this is not seen as the only requirement and that training needs are also taken into account and addressed. Older teachers may bring many skills to the workforce due to their prior experiences but these are not necessarily related to knowledge of prisoner learning.

The questionnaire asked about the respondent's sex. There were 17 female respondents compared with just nine male respondents. They did not indicate if they taught in a male or female prison but of the nine teachers interviewed in the two male prisons, three were male and six female. This balance towards a more female dominated workforce was mirrored in FE in a research study done on recruitment to FE initial teacher training (York

Consulting Ltd/DfES, 2004). Generalisations cannot be made from the small sample represented in this thesis but as 94%³³ of prisoners are male, research into the percentage of female teachers across the prison population would provide data on which to base further research.

Section 4.2.3 Motivation for starting to teach in prisons

As there are virtually no references to teaching in prisons in educational literature, somebody thinking about teaching may not be alerted to prison as a potential context. Teaching in prisons has traditionally been seen as the poor relation to other teaching positions due to poor pay, poor working conditions and limited career progression (NRDC, 2006; Sellgren, 2006; RER, 2007; Rathbone, 2009). Although it is now deemed to be aligned with mainstream FE in terms of pay and conditions for staff, cuts at the Manchester College prompted education staff from 70 prisons to go on strike on 4 August 2010 to protest about pay cuts, increased working hours and holiday and sickness entitlement cuts (BBC, 2010a) which suggests there are still differences between employment terms and conditions for staff teaching in prisons and those in mainstream colleges. Certainly one key difference is that staff in prisons do not have school and college holidays due to prison education being available 50 weeks a year. This was described as a challenge by LP A, LP B and LP E, although LP A did suggest it was a positive aspect because ‘they can take holidays when they want within their leave entitlement [and] leave time is more flexible.’ However, she also recognised the staffing problems this could cause because there should be ‘the equivalent of one and a third members of staff to cover a teacher year’.

³³ Statistics from http://www.hmprisonerservice.gov.uk/adviceandsupport/prison_life/femaleprisoners/ (accessed 2/4/2011).

RER (2007) noted that many education staff in prisons are part-time, hourly paid and on fixed term contracts. The questionnaire did not ask about employment status. Of the teachers interviewed, six were full-time, two worked for four days a week and one was on a sessional contract³⁴ of six hours a week. The interviews with the LPs indicated that there were more part-time staff in prisons than full-time (Fig 4.5) which concurs with the findings from RER (2007). Although LP E's staff are said to be 'mainly full-time', the others that were able to provide either specific numbers or general percentages indicated a higher proportion of sessional and part-time teachers than full-time with LP D's staff being mostly sessional. The Office for National Statistics (2008) showed the employment rates for 2008 which cited that almost half of women's jobs were part-time compared with one in six of men's jobs.

Fig. 4.5 Interviews with LPs on Staffing

Lead Provider	Number of teachers	Full-time	Part-time	Sessional
LP A	'Hundreds'	Unspecified	Unspecified	Unspecified
LP B	340	About a quarter	About half	About a quarter
LP C	74	32 on permanent contracts but some are part-time		42
LP D	54	Unspecified	Unspecified	'Most are sessional'
LP E	57	Mainly full-time	Unspecified	Unspecified

It could be that the high proportion of women teachers in prisons and the high proportion of available part-time and sessional work in prisons reflect the national trend. A report by the Higher Education Academy (2009) on supporting part-time staff in higher education found that among other considerations, such as teaching staff working at more than one institution or teaching staff engaged

³⁴ Only paid for the hours worked

in research, many of the part-time staff were semi-retired or late-career down-shifters.³⁵ The high proportion of part-time and sessional posts could be a reason why older, perhaps semi-retired teachers and female teachers, choose to teach in prisons.

Being more mature when entering a teaching profession in prisons is something that two of the teachers interviewed felt was important. When asked if their training had prepared them for teaching in prisons, Pat replied: 'Age and life experience prepared me more' and Polly said: 'Life experience would prepare you better'. Other phrases used during discussions such as needing to be 'more savvy' (Simon) and needing 'to be a strong character not to feel intimidated' (Polly) also suggested that maturity and life experience are held in high regard in terms of effectiveness in dealing with prisoners.

The passion and enthusiasm for teaching in prisons was very evident in the teacher interviews with various comments made about job satisfaction and the need to be a certain type of person to succeed in teaching in this environment:

Not everyone who comes here can do it'. 'You need to be really interested. You have to want to do it.' (Paula)

'New staff might have problems. Sometimes staff don't realise how different it is working in a prison.' 'Usually it's a laugh.' 'I love it'. (Penny)

'The teaching staff can't cruise. You can't do this job while you are waiting to retire' 'You need to be a certain type of person to do this. I love it.' (Pat)

'You can either do it or you can't. The men say "She won't last" and they usually don't. It is the most fantastic job – I absolutely adore it'. (Pamela)

'I enjoy teaching in a prison immensely. The challenges are many but

³⁵ This is the term used by the report to describe people late in their careers deciding to reduce their workload for personal reasons.

the job satisfaction and rewards when you see a learner grow more confident and capable before your eyes are priceless. I will be very sad to leave.'

(Steve)

'I knew it would suit me'. (Pete)

The comment from Pat: 'You can't do this job while waiting to retire', is particularly interesting when it does appear to be a job that older, perhaps semi-retired people, choose to do. When looked at in the context of other comments, however, this statement appears more to do with the fact that it is not an easy job that anyone could perform rather than to do with age. The phrase 'can't cruise' suggests it is not a job that is a relaxing lead into retirement.

The obvious enthusiasm expressed by the teachers would suggest that they had made a conscious decision to move in to prison education with comments such as 'you have to want to do it', yet evidence from reading, as expressed in the introduction to this section, suggests that most prison educators fall in to it by accident. A question asked of both the LPs and teachers was related to why they had decided to teach in prisons. LP A wanted part-time work because she had young children and the prison governor she lived next door to asked her if she would like to teach English in his prison. Later in the interview she said: 'Lots of people get in to it by default. They know somebody who does it and get in to it.' LP B used exactly the same term saying he 'got in to prison education by default' because he was made redundant when the special school he was working at closed and he 'needed to pay the mortgage' so went in to part-time employment in prison education. LP C had never worked in a prison and LP D asked for her background not to be used as part of the research. LP E is the only one who appeared to choose to work in prisons after tutoring on the Post-16 PGCE which included teachers from

prisons. She became interested in working with prisoners while working with teachers in prisons. The teachers gave their reasons for moving in to prison education which have been classified under three headings: 'Someone suggested', 'Saw it and applied', 'My philosophy' in Fig. 4.6.

Fig. 4.6 Reasons for Taking a Teaching Post in a Prison

'Someone Suggested'

Worked in FE and then the contract finished. I tried another College and they suggested prison so I tried it.

I knew someone who worked here who suggested coming one day a week. They kept asking me to work more and have been full-time for a year and a half.

Came back to England in 1987 and taught ESOL in adult education. They recommended I went to [names a prison] so I went on a voluntary basis. I then got a part-time contract there and been here since 1992.

Someone suggested trying prisons so I went to [names prison] 2 days a week.

Partner is a prison officer who suggested trying the education department at the prison.

'Saw it and applied'

Saw the advert and thought 'I could do that'. Nobody really starts full-time – started part time and was full-time within four months.

Was doing supply work in secondary and then got a part-time job in [name] prison in 1996. I knew it would suit me.

'My philosophy'

Came into prison education because I wanted a new challenge and to make a difference.

The reason for using the three different classifications is to show the different levels of motivation. The first, where someone recommended it as an option, is going back to LP A's and LP B's definition of getting into teaching in prisons by default. The person needed or wanted a job and someone they knew, often

connected to prisons, suggested it to them. The second, seeing it advertised and applying, suggests a more autonomous approach where a conscious decision was made about personal suitability for the post and the application process completed. Comments such as: 'I knew it would suit me' and 'I could do that' suggest a more proactive approach than trying it based on someone's suggestion. This does not mean that those in the first classification did not feel the same way once the idea was suggested to them, but the difference is that somebody else recognised their potential suitability before they did themselves which may have been a motivating factor.

The final classification is based on a more holistic approach related to personal philosophy rather than skills and the perceived ability to do the job. Only one teacher (Steve) who said 'to make a difference' suggested the potential benefits of prison education to prisoners' lives. Here the motivation appeared to be more value driven and to do with potential impact on others and less about getting a job or being able to do the job. Steve was also the member of staff who was leaving because of differences between his priorities and those of the LP, which suggested he did not think she shared his philosophy or 'mission'. The fact that the other teachers did not mention their own philosophy does not mean that they did not have one but it does suggest that this was not a conscious motivating factor in getting their first job in prisons. These findings concur with those of Gehring and Wright, (2006) in terms of many teachers falling in to prison education by accident. It is evident that most of the teachers started on a part-time basis which may be a de-motivating factor for anyone seeking full-time employment.

From the small sample interviewed, none of the teachers or LPs said that they had an interest in teaching in prisons before trying it. Bayliss (2006) reported on a programme that was developed to enhance the professionalism of educators in prisons with a PGCE or Cert Ed and the option to complete a specialist Master's module in Offender Education. Men and women of 'all ages' (2006:99) and a wide range of backgrounds were attracted to the programme and they completed their teaching practices in prisons. This was a three-way partnership with a University, education contractor (FE college) and participating prisons. Among the key aims was to foster 'the skills of potential employees' (2006:98) and also 'attract[ing] those who might not have otherwise considered teaching in prisons' (2006:99). Comparable with many of the teacher trainees in FE education, the cohort attracted people from other careers³⁶ rather than school leavers. This was seen as an advantage in terms of knowledge, skills and range of experiences. This initiative was intended to raise national awareness of prisoner education and provide appropriate qualifications for those involved. If more FE colleges and validating³⁷ Universities across the country were to offer this type of programme then more prospective trainee teachers from other careers and teachers currently working in other educational contexts would be aware of, and might choose, education in prisons as a career. Unfortunately, full training programmes for educators in prisons are rare and this was a unique venture.

As stated at the beginning of this section, the lack of knowledge of the prison environment could be off-putting to potential teachers. The next section

³⁶ Examples provided include lawyer, accountant, public house landlord, musician, policeman, radio journalist, seaman, etc.

³⁷ Degree level courses undertaken in FE colleges need to be validated by a University, who award the degree or diploma, before they can commence.

explores some of the unique features of prisons, including the physical environment and culture.

4.3 THE PRISON ENVIRONMENT

This section presents issues that are related to the policies and systems within the remit of the prison service. These issues have a direct impact on teachers and teaching. One of the key aspects of this research is to investigate the similarities and differences between teaching in prison and other educational settings. The first immediate difference is the environment. The idea that context is important to learning is espoused by many educationalists, particularly social constructivists (Vygotsky, 1962; Bruner, 1974; Mercer, 1992) who believe that learning is ‘a largely situation-specific and context-bound activity’ (Hua Liu and Matthews, 2005:388). Ellinger (2004) and Mercer (1992) both stressed the importance of culture and context to cognitive development. Costelloe and Warner (2003) recognized the uniqueness of the prison environment within the remit of FE education and although they acknowledged the value of prison education ‘mirror[ing] the best practice available in the community’ (2003:3) they went on to say:

It is no longer good enough to suggest that prison education is just adult education in a different setting. While the principles must mirror best practice on the outside, its rationale must be appraised within the prison context (Costelloe and Warner, 2003:4).

Section 4.1 highlighted some of the tensions caused by attempts to run the prison education department in exactly the same way as an FE college department. This final section examines the prison context and the implications for learning and teaching that require a different approach to mainstream FE

colleges. It considers how both the physical environment and prison regime affect the role of the teacher in prison.

4.3.1 The Prison Walls

Any secure institution is, by its very nature, an unwelcoming, alien and potentially hostile environment. The imposing building, high fences, locked gates and presence of guards are all barriers that give the message 'keep out' as well as keeping those incarcerated locked inside. Wright (2005:20) describes this experience for novice prison teachers in rather emotive language, but it does highlight the impact of the prison environment:

They feel the heavy weight of the prison walls and towers on their bodies and minds, as the silent language of the architecture communicates to them they are in a different place.

This is in sharp contrast to many schools and colleges that pride themselves on their welcoming environment. Security in schools has become much more of an issue in recent times in terms of safeguarding children (DfES, 2003c) and most schools now have locked doors and closed circuit television cameras but naturally this does not compare with the level of security in prisons. Its purpose also contrasts with prisons as the official aim is to protect those inside from intruders whereas prisons keep people inside to protect those on the outside.

LP C and LP E commented on the impact the environment can have on teachers new to teaching in prisons:

The constraints of the environment. It can have a huge impact. Some people find they can't come to terms with the physical environment. The locked doors. (LP C)

It is an oppressive environment. Where it isn't attitudinal it is the physical environment that is oppressive – gates, fences, wire, locked doors, gates and doors together. Every establishment tries to make the environment pleasant – nice gardens and hanging baskets. Some people by week two don't see the wire, etc. Some people can't see anything but the environment. (LP E)

Both commented on the 'locked doors' which is a very noticeable feature when first entering prison and impacts on teachers who either have to have 'key training' before being issued with keys or have to rely on prison officers to lock and unlock doors for them. The words 'oppressive' (LP E) and 'constraints' (LP C) were used, creating a picture of a restricted and austere environment. Both LPs refer very specifically to the physical environment but LP E also used oppressive in terms of an 'attitudinal' approach. This suggests that the features of the physical environment may also be reflected in the attitudes of staff and the ethos of the prison. An initial reaction to the controlled and controlling environment of a prison could be overcome with familiarity and experience, but an oppressive attitudinal approach would be more difficult to come to terms with. The two prisons visited as part of this research did not radiate any attitudinal oppression during the period of the fieldwork, which is also reflected in the fact that a researcher was welcomed in to observe and talk to staff (although this welcome approach was not reflected centrally when requesting to conduct the research), but LP E's comments suggest she may have had experience of this. Foucault's description of prisons (1977:236) provides an unsettling picture of how the oppressive building can be reflected in the regime: 'It gives almost total power over the prisoners; it has its internal mechanisms of repression and punishment: a despotic discipline'.

Goffman (1961) referred to the common characteristics of a total institution and although his collection of essays is primarily about mental institutions, he included prisons as one type of total institution:

First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others... Third, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled...being

imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials...The various enforced activities...are purportedly designed to fulfil the official aims of the institution (Goffman, 1961:17)

He referred to the 'inmate world' and the 'staff world' where staff have the power to control the lives of the inmates. He also referred to professionals (in this case psychiatrists) who 'become dissatisfied, feeling that they cannot here properly practise their calling and are being used as "captives" to add professional sanction to the privilege system' (Goffman, 1961:87). This may be why some teachers are unable to continue to teach in prisons as the ethos of the total institution, particularly apparent in prisons, runs counter to their philosophy of education. This relates directly to LP B's powerful statement: 'Custody is disempowering – education is empowering'. The comments by the teachers about the need to be a certain type of person to teach in prisons may partly be related to the fact that some teachers cannot cope with the physical environment. All the teachers interviewed, apart from Sandra, did not feel inhibited by the physical environment, but did discuss issues relating to security.

Sandra, who had only been teaching in prison for four months, resented the security rules and indicated she had breached them by taking away a Christmas card made by her students.³⁸ Other teaching staff who had worked at the prison for longer were far more accepting of the rules: 'security takes precedence over everything' (Penny);³⁹ 'you have to be aware of security for your own safety and the safety of other staff' (Pat).⁴⁰ The LPs were also very conscious of the need for education staff to abide by the security rules, with LP D saying: 'You need to know all the rules. They are prisoners first and students second. That is very important – for everyone's safety'. This must be a culture

³⁸ Teachers must not give anything to prisoners or accept anything offered by a prisoner

³⁹ Taught at the prison for five years.

⁴⁰ Taught at this prison for 18 months but had taught at another prison part-time before taking this post.

shock for many teachers who may have considered some aspects of security but not known about others, such as not speaking about their families or private lives:

You mustn't let the place overtake judgement... You need to be more savvy... You can't let them know about your personal life. They'll try it. (Simon)

You have to be careful with boundaries... You mustn't let them know anything [about private life]. (Sandra)

This is very different from most other teaching contexts where teachers often share anecdotes about their lives to help to build positive relationships with their students. In prisons this could pose a security risk and is therefore not acceptable. This must be quite difficult at first as it goes against many teachers' natural approach. This is evidenced by Diane, who wrote:

I hadn't realised how difficult it would be to not talk about personal things. On Thursday morning, because the class seems nice, and they sit and chat and get on with their work, I think I relaxed a bit too much with them. They were talking about cars, all very innocently, when they asked what car I drive. I immediately told them without thinking and still didn't realise until one asked about my registration. That was when the alarm went off in my head!! I said I wouldn't answer the question and they know they shouldn't be asking personal questions. The student got a bit defensive and said "*I didn't mean anything by it – just wondered what year it was because they are different depending on the year sometimes, I didn't want your WHOLE registration*". I didn't want to upset them completely considering how well the lesson was going so I said "*well, it's a xx year (and completely lied about the year – can't even remember what I said) but the questions that relate to anything personal need to stop now*". They were fine after that. It just made me realise how, even when things appear to be going so well, you need to stay on your guard constantly.

From this it is apparent that the prisoners were aware of the fact they should not be asking personal questions. They may have been genuinely trying to build a relationship with their new teacher but they may also have been aware that they had a new teacher who could be manipulated. There is a need for teaching staff to be 'more savvy' as Simon expressed. The word 'savvy' was used by four

different teachers and highlights the fact that teachers must be constantly aware of potential manipulation by prisoners. Ignoring some of the security rules, as evidenced by Sandra, indicates a lack of understanding about their significance and although it is understandable that a teacher would want to accept something as apparently innocent as a Christmas card, it is against the rules of the institution. As LP B said: 'You have at least 2 bosses. One in the prison service – security; one in college – education values. Some teachers struggle with that compromise'. Sandra was clearly finding this compromise difficult and as such was potentially putting her own teaching position in jeopardy (as have other teachers, see Hunt, 2009).

The culture shock experienced by novice prison teachers is discussed by Wright (2005:19) who believed it is because 'teaching and prison cultures collide'. He outlined the theory of acculturation and applied the five stages to teachers in prisons, as illustrated in Fig 4.7.

Fig 4.7 Theory of Acculturation (Wright, 2005)

Stage 1: The Teacher as "Tourist" – Everything is new, different and exciting.

Stage 2: The Teacher as Exile or Marginal – Feelings of alienation and hostility towards the new culture.

Stage 3: The Teacher as Stranger – Understanding the differences and learning about them.

Stage 4: The Teacher as Settler – Accepting the differences, living with them and making a commitment to stay.

Stage 5: The Teacher as Translator – Having the confidence to infuse the two cultures by accepting the new culture but introducing elements of the other culture and achieving bi-culturism.

Although Wright (2005) acknowledged that these stages may not be linear, they are rather simplistic and do not take individual personalities and experiences into account or differences in individual prisons. They do, however, highlight the different emotions that might be felt and the different reactions that could occur. Sandra appeared to be struggling to accept the prison culture and in this sense illustrated the features of Stage 2 in Fig 4.7 with feelings of hostility and alienation. If teachers are unable to move on from this stage, it is unlikely that they would stay in prison education.

Ensuring teachers' safety is also a priority and teachers are issued with panic alarms to be used if they feel threatened or feel unable to cope with a situation. This could be viewed in two ways. First, it could make new teachers feel anxious that they are in a vulnerable situation if panic buttons are needed, as indicated in the excerpt from Diane's log:

There are alarm buttons in each room, and I was assured that as soon as it's pressed there will be 'a lot' of guards. I did note however, that the alarm buttons are right next to the door in each room!!!! This means that if you can get to the button you can also get out - but what if the door is blocked?? Luckily for me, like I said, I will be right next to the guard station, but what about the other classrooms and teachers??

Alternatively, it could be reassuring to know that help is there if needed, as indicated by two of the teachers interviewed: 'It's safer in a prison' (Polly); 'you have help with offenders kicking off' (Pat). Sandra felt that having panic buttons⁴¹ would be detrimental to the way she viewed the prisoners: 'I didn't want a panic button. I want to trust them.' It also suggests that wearing a panic button would indicate an inability to cope, something that Penny highlighted as a problem: 'men are quick to pick up on anyone who shows weakness'. Pete's comment: 'We trust them unless they show they can't be trusted' suggests a

⁴¹ In this prison these were attached to a belt to be worn around the waist.

balanced approach that acknowledges a need for prisoners to feel trusted and to feel that the teacher is confident but also is realistic about the potential challenging and volatile behaviour of some prisoners. This type of behaviour is not only found among some members of the prison population but also in some children and adolescents in schools (DfES, 2003a). The difference in prisons is that it is expected, planned for and there are prison officers available at all times to deal with the problem. This makes the potential for violence much more visible and disconcerting for new teachers, even though in reality there is far more immediate support than would be available in schools.

4.3.2 The Prison Regime

In addition to adjusting to the different physical environment in a prison, teachers also have to adjust to the prison regime which is beyond the control of the education department. Two areas are considered: the regime within the prison and the wider remit of the prison service with particular reference to the movement of prisoners, also known as 'churn'. The disruption that the movement of prisoners from one prison to another causes in terms of their education and training has been highlighted by a number of different studies (Braggins and Talbot, 2003; All-Parliamentary Report, 2004; DfES/DWP, 2005; Schuller, 2009; Simonot and McDonald, 2010). As discussed in Chapter Two, Braggins and Talbot (2003) and the All-Parliamentary Report (2004) criticised the way that initial assessments are conducted each time a prisoner is transferred to a new prison with the lack of transfer of educational records from one institution to another. Schuller (2009) cited concerns about the way a prisoner's course can be interrupted and come to an end if the new prison does not offer the same education course as the previous prison. He recommended

that prisoners should not be moved until they have finished an education course already started. Simonot and McDonald (2010) also discussed the fragmentation and discontinuity of learning that churn causes and the serious effect it can have on the planning and delivery of education courses. The movement of prisoners and transfer of records were also highlighted by the interviewees.

LP C said that at the local prison where the average length of time a prisoner spends there is three weeks, education tends to be induction, assessment, and advice and guidance. She was then asked what happens to these assessments and replied:

It is hoped the assessment follows through quickly enough to the next prison. If they are more detailed it takes longer. The aim is about 5 days but it doesn't always happen. It is a general problem.

There seems little point in assessing prisoners staying just three weeks if those assessments are not transferred to the next prison with the prisoner. The general problems of continuity and transfer of records were raised by the All-Parliamentary Report in 2004 and also referred to again, five years later, by Ofsted (2009:8) in their research report, stating: 'Arrangements for transferring offenders' records within and between prisons were generally poor'. Despite efforts to improve the transfer of assessment with the Offender's Learning Journey (HM Prison Service, *et al.*, 2004), this does not appear to have been successful. The lack of a coherent transition system was highlighted as a key area for development by the HMI inspector:

Coherence between institutions – there should be systems that allow people to progress throughout the system. Some of the transition arrangements are not good. Movement of prisoners – one prison doesn't carry on a course which a prisoner has started at another prison.

The movement of prisoners to other prisons can be quite random from a prisoner's and a member of staff's point of view. It can happen at any time mainly due to either over-crowding or under-staffing (McNichol, 2008). Collins (2010) emphasised that as well as over-crowding causing continual movement of prisoners around the prison estate, it also puts prison resources, such as education and training, under strain because it is so disruptive. When discussing the challenges of teaching in prisons, this was identified by Paula who said: 'a prisoner stops coming because he's segregated or moved'. Although learners leave for a variety of different reasons in other educational contexts, the frequency, random nature and short notice is a specific feature in prisons.

It is not only movement from one prison to another that disrupts a prisoner's education but also missing classes within the same prison. There are a number of different reasons for this and teachers are only aware of it when a prisoner is not present in the session. The HMI inspector thought that this was a significant challenge faced by teaching staff in prisons: 'Dealing with the prison regime more than dealing with the prisoners. People being removed without notice, court visits, legal visits, offender behaviour programmes'. Sandra found this aspect difficult to manage:

It is unlike normal teaching. They say "I'm having a random search so I have to go" or "I'm seeing the doctor or chaplain". It is beyond their control...A typical session begins with registration and hunting down students.

In her journal she wrote:

I realise that there are other things that have to happen in prisons, but I despair at how often prisoners are taken out of my course to go and see a guard, attend a food rep meeting or for some other random reason... It causes such disjuncture for the class and the rest of the prisoners on the course.

Before the observation of a session in Prison S, the teacher told me he should have eight students but he never knew how many would be brought to him. In the session observed six of the eight were present. The following excerpt from Diane's log demonstrated that administrative issues can also create problems:

The class was small as there was some mix up as to who should be there and who shouldn't and some of the guys were apparently left in their cells as the paperwork on the wings didn't match the paperwork in our section!!!

This level of disruption is highly unlikely in a mainstream context and is clearly very frustrating for both teachers and prisoners. It also has implications for planning. If a teacher is unsure of numbers then planning for group activities could be compromised and future sessions would need to take account of the prisoners who missed the input and tasks.

All educational contexts have time restrictions with timetabled sessions and specified starting and finishing times. The difference with the prison context is that there is no flexibility. In other educational contexts, a student may stay on at the end of a class to clarify certain teaching points or to ask advice about assessed work. The increased use of technology also means that students can email their tutors from home and can access college/course discussion forums. Prisoners are unable to stay on after sessions, arrange individual tutorials or contact their tutor by email. The only contact they have with the tutor is during the timetabled session. This also means that if the tutor is not there the prisoners are taken back to their cell, whereas in FE or higher education students may be given some directed learning to go and complete independently. This was expressed by LP E:

You have to be there. You can't put a sign on the door saying 'go to the library' or 'look on the VLE' – prisoners go back to the cell. If a teacher is off and it can't be delivered then it is not funded.

Sandra also wrote about the issue of time in her log:

Unlike other classes I teach at University these prisoners cannot contact me at any other time so I have to answer all questions, queries within my time there. I also cannot come in later to do catch up sessions for prisoners who have missed something due to being taken out of class – therefore we often land up repeating the same work – which is very frustrating for us all.

Simonot *et al.* (2008:14) discussed the culture of prisons and used the term 'time-bound environment' to describe how education in prisons differs from other educational contexts. This also emphasises the importance of prison staff ensuring prisoners get to sessions on time because that is the only time there is and any time missed cannot be made up elsewhere.

The staff employed by the prison service, particularly the prison officers, also have an impact on prison education. The prison officers referred to in this chapter are those who chaperone the prisoners to and from education rather than those directly involved in education as instructors. As highlighted in Chapter Two when referring to barriers to learning, the attitude of prison officers to education can have a significant impact on the education of prisoners and the teaching staff in the education department. In their research study into the prisoners' views of education, Braggins and Talbot (2003) cited several quotes from different prisoners saying how the prison officers' attitudes to education had a direct influence on prisoner learning, especially on the wings. Some officers encouraged learning and helped facilitate it; other prisoners mentioned the de-motivating effect of officers displaying negative attitudes towards education with sarcasm and contempt. Ofsted (2009:7) included a key recommendation: 'Prisons should improve punctuality and attendance at learning and skills sessions to maximise learning opportunities'. As prisoners

are escorted to the education department by prison officers, it is their responsibility to ensure prisoners arrive at their sessions on time. Diane's log showed how a prison officers' meeting was held at the time when prisoners needed to be escorted to education and as a result the session was cut short by an hour and twenty minutes:

The afternoon class SHOULD start at 1:40pm. However, the guards had a meeting today and were therefore not available to let the prisoners out of their cells and bring them over (or obviously be about for any problems) until about half 2. The prisoners actually arrived at about 3pm.

This situation may have been atypical but an hour and twenty minutes is a significant amount of time lost, particularly when working within an environment that is already 'time bound'. Other problems with escorting prisoners to education sessions on time may be due to prison issues such as under-staffing or poor management of the movement of prisoners. It could also be due to prison officers' attitudes to education or limited understanding of education and the importance of sessions starting promptly.

Braggins and Talbot's study on the perceptions of prison officers on education in prisons (Braggins and Talbot, 2005) suggested that officers' views varied but there were some key messages. Prison officers had clear perceptions about the type of education they considered to be most useful in contributing to the rehabilitation of prisoners which were mainly related to vocational education to give them skills to get a job and basic skills to help them read and write. They were less interested in the potential value of academic or creative courses. There was also resentment expressed by some officers towards the 'floating academia' (Braggins and Talbot, 2005:47) who came in to teach and who ignored or were ignorant about the safety and security protocols

which subsequently made the prison officers' lives more difficult. Some felt resentment about prisoners getting education for free when their children would have to pay. They also had perceptions that the quality of resources, such as computers, were better than those their children had in school, although this would appear to be a misconception judging by the teachers' comments and observations.

The attitude of prison officers was referred to by some of the teachers and one of the education managers interviewed.

The guards aren't very civil. There's a feeling of menace.
(Sandra)

The staff here work as a team. In (names other prison) it was them and us between the education staff and the officers. The attitude here is "can do and have a go". In a large prison it's "keep them quiet". (Pat)

Education is seen as a dumping ground. Officers don't fully understand our role - the young officers particularly. It's not as bad as in state prisons. (Pamela)

The attitudes towards the officers varied slightly between the different teachers. Sandra was particularly critical, suggesting that she felt frightened or intimidated by the prison officers. The word 'guards' suggests their role is a physical presence to maintain order rather than viewing them as a work colleague. Pat's comments showed that the ethos of the prison can make a big difference to the way the education staff and prison officers perceive one another. This may be related to differences in culture between private and state prisons (Mehigan and Rowe, 2007) although this one comment is insufficient evidence from which to draw such a conclusion. There was a difference between Pamela's and Pat's attitude towards prison officers although they worked in the same prison and presumably with the same prison officers. This indicates that the perceptions of the relationship between teachers and prison officers vary and are not only

dependent on the attitude of the prison officer to education but also on the attitude of the teacher towards the prison officers.

Education Manager P felt strongly about the role of education officers within the education department and saw clear benefits in education staff and prison officers working as a team:

Consistent, on-board officers make such a difference. We have one officer who takes such an interest in the classes and it makes such a difference. She is a presence. She is doing a course on Braille and she has done an IT course. She wants to be involved in the education. We want to create an exciting, proactive environment. We need to work together as a team.

This is in stark contrast to the perceptions of Sandra who felt the 'presence' of the prisoner officer had a negative rather than positive impact. Braggins and Talbot (2005) suggested that some prison officers may feel undermined by educated prisoners and may not like the fact that prisoners may be better educated than them. Bayliss (2006) described how one class in a prison was attended by both prisoners and education staff as learners. Although this was deemed successful by the teachers, the governor of the prison stopped it because of potentially inappropriate relationships between staff and prisoners which could compromise security. This example demonstrates that the prison staff involved were willing to be seen as having equal status with the prisoners in a learning context. Prison officers' attitudes to learning may be influenced by their own experiences of education, either negative or positive. Braggins and Talbot (2005) recommended that prison officers should have more support, training and staff development to prevent them from feeling under-trained and under-valued. Simonot and McDonald (2010:3) referred more broadly to the ethos of the prison, claiming: 'the extent to which learning is actively encouraged can be crucially affected by the ethos and attitude towards learning

created by a prison's Governor'. This has clear implications for recruitment of staff in the prison. If the whole philosophy of the prison is to value learning then there is a necessity to ensure like-minded staff are recruited and appropriate training is provided so that prison staff and education staff work together as a team.

4.3.3 Teaching Spaces

The teaching spaces observed in the education departments were perhaps smaller but essentially similar to any classroom in any educational setting. This could be viewed as positive because the rooms reflect those in mainstream FE, but could also be seen as off-putting to prisoners who associate classrooms with school which could have negative connotations due to previous experiences of suspension, exclusion or truancy (DfES, 2003a; All-Parliamentary Report, 2004; Howard League, 2005; DfES/DWP, 2005; Owers, 2007).

The main similarities between the two prisons were:

- Classrooms were small and arranged so that the prisoners all sat together at one large table
- Some classrooms had displays to create an attractive environment and others did not which created a more austere atmosphere
- There were computers in some of the classrooms
- IT was not seen to be used by teachers or students apart from in the IT session

The main differences were:

- In Prison S, basic skills sessions were taught within the vocational workshops

- In Prison P, education took place on the wings⁴², where the prisoners have their cells, as well as in the education departments

Given that the classroom environment might be off-putting for some prisoners, education on the wings or within a practical, vocational workshop might encourage those more reluctant to enter a classroom environment. Simonot *et al.* (2008) noted that education is usually geographically separate from the wings and McNicholl (2008) argued that this can cause problems with the movement of prisoners from their cells with reliance on the compliance of prison officers to bring prisoners to education on time. Education on the wings, as observed in Prison P, not only solves this problem but also embeds education within the daily life of the prisoner and perhaps makes it less of an ordeal than walking into the different environment of the classroom. Jewkes and Johnston (2007:174) discussed Hilary Cottam's twenty-first century 'Learning Prison' design in which prisoners live, work and learn within one space, minimising movement and the 'attendant security measures that accompany such movement' (p176). The environment of Cottam's prison would emphasise learning, recreation and autonomy to create a more positive social and psychological role than the more traditional prison design which takes away the autonomy of prisoners. Hostile public opinion, the government wanting to be perceived as being tough on crime and financial implications for the private sector (Jewkes and Johnston, 2007) are likely to prevent the learning prison from ever becoming more than a just a design, but it does indicate that the current environment and associated regime are being recognised as having a negative impact on learning in prisons.

⁴² Wings contain the accommodation for prisoners and are usually geographically separate from where education and training take place (Simonot and McDonald, 2010).

Embedding basic skills into vocational workshops, as observed in Prison S, is perceived as good practice by Ofsted (2009) as it contextualises the learning to make it more meaningful and relevant. However, the HMI interviewed suggested that this is not put into practice effectively:

I have not seen many examples of good integration of key skills into other areas. They tend to be taught as an identified and isolated activity. Work-based learning should integrate key skills. The marriage of key skills - college remit - and vocational skills - prison remit – hasn't happened. It should have.

Observation 3 in Prison S also suggested that there was not an integration of basic skills into the vocational skills being taught despite them taking place in the same setting. This issue will be explored more fully in Chapter Five.

Penny spoke about trying to improve the classroom environment to make it more stimulating:

The classroom is like a primary classroom. When I came it was covered in graffiti. I put up displays with resources from the museum. Being a primary school teacher is very good preparation.

Displays are a feature of primary schools as a celebration of work and to promote a stimulating, interactive learning environment. Pollard (1997) discussed how the quality of the environment can influence behaviour which is another reason why displays are seen to be important in primary schools. The art displays in Prison P were clearly a celebration of the prisoners' work, as was a display of writing in Prison S. Displaying work in this way shows that it is valued and this could impact positively on the self-esteem of those whose work is on show. Consideration needs to be given to how much displays create an unwanted school-like environment which then needs to be delicately balanced

with the development of an aesthetically pleasing environment which has the potential to stimulate learning and promote self-esteem and confidence.

4.3.4 Resources

One major difference between education in prisons and education in other settings is the severe restrictions on the use of resources. Issues around security mean that even the most ordinary and apparently harmless resource can be a potential risk. For example, Blue Tac, used for fixing paper and posters to walls, can be used by prisoners to make moulds of key holes. Some of the teachers interviewed spoke about the restrictions:

Restrictions – computers – they use the leads for mobile phones. No magnets, batteries, scissors. No perfume because of the alcohol. No aerosols. (Pat)

I can't take in electronic equipment. You have to send Powerpoint presentations three weeks in advance for checking. They have different IT equipment... I wasn't allowed blue tack to stick up posters or flip folders. (Sandra)

Working with severe restrictions – IT, use of sharp instruments. It's a minefield'. (Simon)

The IT resources go so slowly. We have a support team but they haven't helped. The computers are so basic. (Pete)

Five of the 26 questionnaire respondents also mentioned restrictions on resources as an issue, with three of those five highlighting IT. All four quotes from the teachers above also mention IT and they raise a number of issues. First, there is the potential misuse of IT equipment by prisoners which would pose a potential security risk. Pat mentioned use of the leads for mobile phones and the following excerpt from Diane's log adds a further example of misuse of IT equipment: 'One student (the one whose name I had heard previously) did keep getting up. I caught him trying to take a computer mouse apart'. This suggests teachers have to be very vigilant when using IT to support teaching

and learning. The second issue is the teacher's use of IT, including being unable to take any IT equipment into the prison. There is also the inconvenience of having to send presentations in advance for them to be checked and uploaded onto the prison system. This means that last minute changes cannot be made and that IT cannot be used unless planned well in advance of the session, which is a minimum of three weeks in Prison S. The third issue raised is the quality of IT resources available which, in the case of Prison P, resulted in slow processing times with dated equipment. It is perhaps not surprising that the teachers chose not to use the available computers to support their literacy and numeracy teaching in the observed sessions. The most significant issue is the use of the Internet. This is where prison education cannot be equal to mainstream FE provision, despite the OLASS commitment to prisoners having access to the same standards of education as the wider community.

The use of technology as a way of communicating with students and the creation of a virtual learning environment is constantly developing in educational contexts. The lack of the Internet and limited resources has meant that prisons have been unable to adapt to these developments. The use of e-learning in prisons is particularly relevant for those doing Open University (OU) courses and research into the development of e-learning in prisons (Englebright, 2007; Pike, 2007) has led to pilot projects in selected prisons being funded by NIACE and the LSC. In research to investigate and improve the learning experience for OU students, Pike (2010:3), found:

Access to technology varied widely across prisons and the lack of internet access was seriously affecting course choice – safe platforms exist but the barriers to technological advancement were more related to public perception and control than technical or security issues.

The Office for National Statistics (2010) reported that 30.1 million adults (60%) in the UK access the Internet every day or nearly every day in 2010. The report also stated that 19.2 million households (73%) have Internet connection. These figures are nearly double those of 2006. As use of the Internet is clearly becoming more commonplace, there will be an expectation that adults seeking employment will know how to access and use the Internet. The lack of Internet access in prisons not only restricts a prisoner's access to educational opportunities within prison but also restricts the prisoner from learning Internet skills which would enhance employment opportunities on release from prison. The Prisoners' Education Trust (2009) reported on a few innovative projects being piloted in some prisons to enhance the use of ICT, including limited access to a number of security checked websites with all web links removed for selected, risk-assessed prisoners to use. An online virtual campus, piloted by OLASS in two regions, has access to a number of information sources and some security checked websites with hyper-links removed to help prisoners to develop a CV, apply for jobs, etc. If this is successful it may be extended to all prisons if it has ministerial approval. Although security is clearly a key consideration and needs to be a priority, education in prisons needs to develop a clear policy for the development of IT, including some website use, if it is to meet the same standards as FE and prepare prisoners for future employment.

The available resources in the prisons visited were fairly limited in both quantity and variety. One teacher talked about how she had made resources for literacy to supplement college resources:

I make my own literacy resources. I do them in comic sans script size 14 font because it is easier to read. (Asked what would improve it) Access to more adult resources... (another prison)

have done all their own resources... I brought my own resources to build up college resources. There's a growing proportion of ESOL with no resources. (Pat)

Two issues are highlighted here: one is the need for adult resources to support students with poor literacy skills and the other is the rise in the number of prisoners who do not have English as their first language. Although college resources were available, these were not sufficient to meet the diverse needs of the prisoners. Pat highlighted the problem of finding appropriate resources for basic literacy skills and Sandra also highlighted the limited resources for prisoners studying at a higher level:

They have limited access to books. I do copy chapters for them. They did have a book box system but that's been cancelled. It is a very limited library. I'm not allowed to take in any books from the university library.

Providing suitable resources for the wide range of needs is compounded by the difficulty in bringing resources in to the prison to use to support teaching and learning. LP B also highlighted this issue:

They [teachers] want to bring in resources but they can't. They need to be more inventive – look for new and innovative ways because you are limited in terms of resources. Limitations such as the use of the Internet.

There are a few websites⁴³ that have resources designed for use with prisoners which can be downloaded. These tend to be work sheet based and although they are useful to support teachers, they lack the 'new and innovative ways' to teach as advocated by LP B. As many of the teachers in prisons are part-time or sessional, they are unlikely to have the time to create their own innovative resources. This highlights a potential training need for teachers. CPD which focuses on ideas for resources and creative ways to teach without resources in

⁴³ Two of these are: www.excellencegateway.org.uk which has links to other websites such as BBC Skillswise and www.offenderlearning.net

prisons would support teachers in developing their ideas and trying new teaching methods. The limits on resources, both in terms of the restrictions and access to a range of appropriate resources to meet the needs of prisoners, impact significantly upon teaching and learning.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored a number of key issues that impact on teaching and learning in prisons which cannot be controlled by the teacher. Many of these are unique to the prison context and emphasise the unique position of prison-based teachers in comparison to other educational contexts. The management of education in prisons is affected by the instability of the tendering process, the short-term nature of the contracts and the apparent consequent reluctance by some host colleges to invest in its long term development. The dual management of prison and education provider, bringing two diverse cultures together - control and empowerment - has implications for the development of a clear philosophy and presents teachers with the challenge of meeting the requirements of both management systems. The relationship between the LPs and prison-based education staff can have a significant impact on how the education department in prisons is run. If this relationship is not effective, as demonstrated by the situation in Prison S and LP C, it can result in a lack of shared values and priorities which creates tensions and low staff morale. The impetus to align education in prisons with FE (RER, 2007), although laudable in terms of a commitment to standards and quality comparable with mainstream, can result in unrealistic expectations that do not

take account of significant issues unique to prisons such as churn, the prison regime and the culture of control.

The recruitment of teachers in prisons is clearly an issue and with the high proportion of part-time and sessional staff this is likely to have an impact on consistency of provision. The higher majority of female teachers in the sample is mirrored in FE but the proportion of mature staff does seem to be higher in prisons. This is also reflected in the fact that none of those interviewed had considered teaching in prisons earlier in their working life. The backgrounds and qualifications of teachers in prisons suggest a workforce with a range of experience in different careers, some in education and others not, who came to teaching in prisons later in life. Those interviewed were committed and enthusiastic but some, including the HMI, made comments which suggested that difficulties with recruitment resulted in variable levels of quality. Despite one initiative by Bayliss (2006) to encourage people to undertake initial teacher training in prisons and work towards a specialist module in offender learning, this has not been extended to other HE institutions and therefore the possibility of pursuing a teaching career in prisons is not an option explicitly offered by teacher training institutions. This has a negative impact on both the perceived professionalism and profile of teachers in prisons.

Perhaps the most obvious difference between teaching in prisons and other contexts is the prison environment. The physical features of the high prison fences, locked gates and doors and austere interior are clearly observable but issues related to the prison regime and teaching resources are only apparent once working in the environment. The security issues were difficult for some teachers to accept as were the relationships between the

education staff and prison officers which seemed to vary depending on both the person and the prison. However, the attitude of prison officers towards education is significant in terms of the priority given to ensuring prisoners are escorted to and from education classes in what is already a time-bound environment. The whole ethos of the prison, led by the governor, affects the way in which the potential value of education in prisons is perceived and prioritised. The common practice of moving prisoners without notice creates a learning culture that is fragmented and disruptive for both teachers and learners. Resources that teachers in other contexts take for granted, such as the use of ICT to both communicate with students and to support teaching, are severely restricted and this has clear implications for teaching methods and strategies to promote learning. All of these issues, from the fundamental philosophical differences between the cultures of education and prisons to the more mundane, practical inconveniences such as having to submit IT presentations in advance, are challenges faced by teachers in prisons. Their ability to meet these challenges could be supported more fully by appropriate, context-based preparation and training, which, at present, is virtually non-existent.

This chapter has outlined a range of complexities caused by external factors that teachers in prisons have to deal with on a daily basis, most of which do not affect teachers in other contexts. The next chapter considers issues related to teaching and learning over which the teacher can exert some control. These include developing an understanding of the learners; recognising the skills required by teachers to support prisoners as learners; and exploring and being able to utilise the most effective teaching methods which can be used

within a prison context. Teachers' training needs are also explored, from initial teacher training and induction to continuing professional development for more experienced teachers.

CHAPTER FIVE

LEARNING AND TEACHING IN THE PRISON ENVIRONMENT

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter considered issues which impact on teaching and learning in prisons but which are essentially beyond the control of the teacher. This chapter investigates teaching and learning issues, arising from the data, which are affected by the prison context but are not controlled by it. The first section, 5.1, examines the induction process for staff new to teaching in prisons. The uniqueness of teaching in a prison environment suggests induction procedures would be carefully structured and rigorous, but the experiences of the interviewees illustrated a varied but limited picture. Section 5.2 considers the nature of prisoners as learners. All teachers should have an understanding of their learners to ensure students' needs are being met in the most appropriate way. Prisoners, incarcerated and removed from their families and society, present a particular challenge for teachers and this section highlights some of the key issues. This leads onto Section 5.3 which considers the skills that are particularly pertinent for those teaching in prisons, as identified by the empirical research. Section 5.4 considers the curriculum in prison education. This is explored further in Section 5.5 by examining some of the teaching methods observed during the research and highlighting other strategies which could be utilised to promote effective learning within the constraints of the current curriculum. The final section draws on all the evidence to consider the training needs of prison-based teachers, both those expressed by the teachers in the sample and those implied by the HMI and the observations.

5.1 INDUCTION

Teachers in most contexts usually have some sort of induction and this is generally informed by procedures already established within organisations. A newly qualified teacher has a tightly structured, compulsory period of induction over three school terms (TDA, 2010b). A teacher new to FE or HE is usually initially appointed for a probationary period and goes through an induction process which varies depending on the institution. For example, the London School of Economics (2011) has a compulsory induction programme for all staff with less than three years' teaching experience in HE which includes five full days of briefings and workshops. UCL (2010) have a lengthy three year probationary period for academic lecturers with an induction procedure that includes a gradual build up of teaching, an appointed mentor and regular meetings and observations.

When researching the induction process for teachers in prisons, there did not appear to be any systematic or consistent approach, but it became apparent that the most significant area covered was awareness of security procedures. This was usually the first response when a question was asked about induction or training. Four of the five LPs stated its importance as did six of the nine teachers and the one HMI interviewed. The length of time spent on this aspect of induction varied. Although this was not asked as a direct question, of those who did indicate how long this training lasted, the least length of time was two hours and the longest was a day. Understanding the importance of security is crucial if teachers are to remain employed in the prison. Hunt (2009), the UCU general secretary, claimed that prison educators are being permanently excluded from institutions due to breaching security rules without right of any

hearing or appeal. This highlights the strict and unyielding way in which breaches of security are dealt with and therefore it is vital that teachers not only know the security procedures but *understand* them so they can appreciate their complexity and how rigorous they have to be.

Other induction processes seemed less clear. Apart from security issues, no other induction procedures were discussed apart from by Simon who said ‘I just had basic training – key training and security procedures. I shadowed someone for two sessions – I sat and watched and was then invited to take the class and was observed.’ Other teachers did not mention shadowing although the education manager at Prison S did say that all new teachers shadow a teacher before they start. This was contradicted by Sandra who said she started teaching straight away and that no-one told her what to do. Pamela said ‘You had to feel your way along. At first I was baby-minding’.⁴⁴ LP E said ‘shadowing good practice is part of induction but some of that has to be about security’ which again highlights the issue of security being the main aspect of induction. There were no references to new teachers being supported by a named mentor, which is the usual practice in mainstream settings. Given the difference of the teaching environment from all other learning contexts and the fact that the students are also prisoners, systematic induction procedures would seem to be a necessity to ensure teachers not only understand the security systems but also the differences in teaching and learning in the prison environment. An excerpt from the weekly log of Diane, who started teaching in a YOI during the Summer holidays, provides a snapshot of one prison education employee’s induction experiences.

⁴⁴ This is a term used by teachers to mean looking after students to ensure they behave appropriately but without any meaningful provision for learning.

It's only an induction today - which is nice, gives me a chance to meet staff before actually starting teaching!! ...

I only stayed for the morning but I had my induction and then spent an hour in with one of the classes I will have for maths...

There was an older man starting today too. When S was running through rules and precautions I noticed that she said many of them applied more to me than to him. This is due to me being female and the different reaction that this will get from the boys. Some of the precautions that surprised me are: wear minimal perfume - as some of the boys will comment or try to 'sniff me'. Don't give any of them my surname (I knew about the no personal details rule - but this one still surprised me). This is because she said some of the boys are extremely resourceful and may be able to find out personal details by searching online, or might look for me on facebook, etc... And wear flat shoes, which I personally would do anyway for comfort, but she said it was so I could get out quickly and easily if I needed and also so that if anything did 'kick off' and I got stuck in it, I didn't have good heels on me that the prisoners could use as a weapon!!! She explained all the procedures for incidents occurring and also the system they use for rewards and sanctions as well as dress code, conduct etc... I'm actually really looking forward to starting properly on Monday.

Diane spent approximately two hours being told about security procedures, general conduct in the prison and dress code. She then spent an hour with one of the groups she would be teaching. The following week she started teaching straight away and during her time there was not observed by another member of staff. Diane is a student teacher, not qualified, and therefore she has very limited experience in teaching in other contexts and has only done so under supervision on placements in primary schools. In the school context, Diane, as a student teacher, would spend at least two weeks observing the classroom teacher before taking the class on her own and even then would have help with planning and a staged build up to a maximum 80% teaching time. Even as a newly qualified teacher, in her first year she would only be required to teach for 90% of the time, would have a trained mentor, frequent teaching observations and regular progress meetings with her mentor. Diane's induction experience in prison may be atypical and may not represent usual practice in this institution

but it is a concern that an inexperienced student teacher is left in charge of classes of students in a YOI with a limited half day induction and no supervision. She was clearly enthusiastic about starting teaching but was also shocked by some of the information she was given, demonstrating a lack of understanding and knowledge of the environment in which she would be teaching and the nature of students who are also prisoners. This has implications for any teacher new to prison education but particularly for an inexperienced or unqualified teacher. One of the questionnaire responses was from a male who was between the ages of 25-40, had taught at the prison for less than a year and had not had any other teaching experience. This suggests that the induction procedures need to take account of the varying levels of experience and provide appropriate support. There is the issue that once teachers are employed they are funded to teach but without time given to induction, teachers may not feel supported and this could affect retention of staff and adversely affect the quality of teaching and learning. Perhaps this is why the importance of life experience was emphasised by some of the teachers interviewed, because of the inadequate induction procedures. If training for teaching in prisons is to be developed, then it is crucial that time is also spent on the development of an appropriate programme of induction which takes account of differing needs based on prior experience.

5.2 THE NATURE OF PRISONERS AS LEARNERS

5.2.1 The Issue of Identity

When undertaking the preliminary work for this thesis, it was apparent that a range of vocabulary was used by different texts to describe prisoners in

education, including 'inmates', 'offenders', 'students' and 'learners'. When analysing the findings from the interviews, it was clear that the language used to describe prisoners varied not only between teachers but also within a single teacher's interview. As stated in Chapter One, this thesis uses the word 'prisoners' to define the position all men and women are in if they are in prison. It is the one feature they all have in common. It is used in the same way as 'pupils' would be used to describe school children when in a school context or the way 'patients' would be used to describe people who are being treated in a hospital context. As an educationalist, it has been quite difficult to use the word 'prisoners' when describing the learning context, when the word 'students' or 'learners' feels far more appropriate. People in prison are both prisoners and learners when engaged in formal education. As noted in Chapter Two, philosophically, from an educational perspective, we are all learners all the time, whether learning informally through daily life or engaged in formal education (Plato, 1997; Locke, 1996; Dewey, 1916). What this thesis argues is that being in prison has a direct impact on learning, both formally and informally, and therefore using the term 'prisoners' recognises and acknowledges their unique position of being removed from society and confined in a secure and controlled institution. The learning environment is within, and affected by, this secure and controlled institution which means that learners can never fully forget that they are also prisoners; and teachers are always aware of the restrictions imposed on them because their students are prisoners.

The language used by teachers provides an insight into the way prisoners are viewed by teachers (Fig.5.1 and Fig. 5.2).

Fig. 5.1 Language used by teachers

Language used	Context
Learners/students	When talking about prisoners in the classroom
Men	Usually when referring to gender issues but also used as a general description
Prisoner/offender	When talking about inappropriate/volatile behaviour or issues specific to prisons
People	When discussing prisoners as members of the community

Pat used all four terms depending on the context in which she was talking about prisoners:

There's a real range of *learners* in one room.
Some *men* give off the wrong messages.
You have help with *offenders* kicking off.
Dealing almost exclusively with *people* who have failed and been told they've failed.

This use of language highlights the complexity of teaching in prisons and raises the following issues:

- **Learner/student:** In the classroom situation the prisoners are the same as any other learners, and teachers aim to meet their learning needs.
- **Men:** Prisons segregate by gender. There are single sex schools in compulsory education but adult education in the community is not segregated by gender. Some female teachers in a male prison may feel intimidated or uncomfortable which could affect their approach to teaching.
- **Offender/prisoner:** The prison regime affects education as discussed in Chapter Four. Some prisoners have a predisposition to violence and a higher proportion than the general population have psychological problems that affect their behaviour (Prison Reform Trust, 2010).

- **People:** Prisoners have life experiences before prison that impact on their behaviour and self-esteem as learners (Chitty, 2008).

Fig. 5.2 Examples of language use in context

Learners/students	'I have a dyslexic learner' 'I have a visual learner' (Simon) 'My baseline is the students' (Polly) 'The job satisfaction... when you see a learner grow more confident and capable before your eyes is priceless' (Steve) 'I do a three hour course and usually have six or seven students who come regularly...I am teaching a Level 4 course with students who are such a bag of abilities' (Sandra) 'There's a real range of learners in one room' (Pat)
Men	'The men say "she won't last"' (Pamela) 'Mixing with mature, adult men' (Polly) 'From a female perspective they are all men who can be aggressive' (Penny) 'Some men give off the wrong message' (Pat)
Prisoner/offender	'A challenge is the type of prisoner...More prisoners coming into prison...movement of prisoners' (Polly) 'Most prisoners are obliged to attend through sentence planning' (Steve). 'I feel the teachers de-humanise the prisoners' (Sandra). 'You have help with offenders kicking off' (Pat) 'Prisoners could be taken onto an offender programme and not be able to continue education' (Education manager – S)
People	'Dealing almost exclusively with people who have failed and been told they've failed' (Pat)

Simonot and McDonald (2010:3) raised the issue of identity as a particular concern:

'A central issue which significantly affects the culture of teaching and learning in prisons is the conflict between the offender's identity as a prisoner and as a learner'.

A person's identity as a prisoner is time bound for the period spent in prison but identity as a learner is lifelong: before, during and after time spent in prison. A person in prison is a prisoner *and* a learner, both formally when in the education department and informally in day to day life.

Everyone has different roles that they fulfil in society: father, son, brother, husband, friend, teacher, student, and as such have several 'identities'. People in the community tend to have a polarised view of people in prison, perceiving their identity to be that only of an offender or prisoner unless they know them individually. They are generally only viewed as students or learners by educators in prisons. The RSA (2010) published a report called 'The Learning Prison', with an aim to raise the profile and purpose of prison education with the general public so that 'the prison's role as educator could be placed centre stage to issues of public safety' (p7). In the current political climate and from representations of prison in the media (Jewkes, 2007), this is not the public perception and unless that changes, the view of prisoners as learners will still remain behind the closed doors of the prison. This, in turn, means that the work of prisoner educators is also hidden away, not only from the public but also from the broader educational community. This is why this thesis is informed by the principles of critical theory: to place educators in prisons 'centre stage' alongside educators in more mainstream contexts.

5.2.2 The Impact of Incarceration

The impact of incarceration will differ with each individual but it is acknowledged that imprisonment has a negative effect on psychological wellbeing (Haney, 2003). The effect of the total institution (Goffman, 1961:66) can result in the feeling that time spent in the establishment is 'time wasted or destroyed or taken from one's life'. Both Goffman (1961) and Haney (2003) discussed the institutionalisation or 'prisonisation' (Haney, 2003:39) that can affect prisoners who lose all autonomy and become totally dependent on the systems and routines in the institution to such a degree that they are unable to cope in the outside world once released. Haney (2003) also highlighted

other psychological factors such as prisoners becoming over-vigilant and unable to trust anyone; fear of being perceived as weak so masking all emotions or promoting a reputation for toughness; socially withdrawing; being drawn to the illicit culture formed among prisoners; diminished self-worth and value. Crewe (2007) discussed the sociology of imprisonment and asserted that there is no single pattern of adjustment to life in prison. He suggested different categories of prisoner behaviour: withdrawal and isolation; rebellion, including attempts to escape; resistance and subversion, including petty rule breaking; conformity and compliance. He also discussed prisoners' assertion of power as a way of resisting the power of the institution. This type of behaviour was evident in the interviews with the teachers and LPs:

People are constantly blagging you. They kick out to authority.
(Paula)

Ingenious ways they find to get up to. (Polly)

' You need common sense – they can try to manipulate you. You need to be laid back – you can't let them offend you. (Pat)

Professional boundaries need to be particularly tight. Offenders are good at conditioning staff. (LP C)

You can't be intimidated. They can be bullying and aggressive to test the teacher. (LP D)

You have to be very self-aware – there is a vulnerability because of offenders conditioning and manipulating. (LP E)

Being in prison is a loss of all control. Manipulating teachers is one way they feel they can get some sort of control back. (LP B)

The words 'manipulate', 'condition' and 'control' suggest a more considered and gradual process than the more immediate, volatile actions of 'aggression' and 'kick[ing] out'. When Sandra admitted to accepting a homemade Christmas card from prisoners, (who were likely to have known that this was against the rules),

she was opening herself up to manipulation which was much more subtle than an aggressive, bullying approach. This may not have been the intention of the prisoners' gesture, who may simply have wanted to give her a card at Christmas, but the implications cannot be ignored. LP B's opinion that manipulating teachers gives prisoners a sense of control is in line with Crewe's (2007) assertion that this is a way in which prisoners can resist the power of the prison in what is, essentially, a 'culture of control' (Foucault, 1977; Goffman, 1961).

Another effect of incarceration is the inability to control what is happening outside the prison which is perhaps another reason why prisoners may crave control inside the prison. The prisoners are controlled by the regime which has power over them and they may then attempt to exert power over others. This illustrates the multi-dimensional nature of power relationships. Polly spoke about the effect loss of control over family life can have on a prisoner's behaviour;

All can be going on at home that they can't do anything about. If you have an argument you know you can sort it out the next day or if your mum is ill you can go and see her. They can't do that – they have to wait. Things get blown up into a mountain. Majority have been let down by education and society. A high number have been in care or been abused. The government would be far better teaching parenting classes rather than ASBOs. They then go on to have kids themselves.

This quote covers a number of different issues about the nature of prisoners.

First, the effect of not being able to have access to home and family and the amplification of any unresolved issues; second, personal histories often involving a troubled home life and schooling; third, the cyclical nature of offending through the generations of a family. Pat spoke about the same types of issues and also raised other areas of concern:

You need to be aware of drug dependency and how it can affect behaviour. You're dealing almost exclusively with people who have failed or have been told that they have failed with poor social and academic skills. Getting over failure. Attitude of people who are failures. Bullying can be quite dangerous. Some will be deliberately segregated to get away from the bullies. There are drug problems in prison because of [Subutex]⁴⁵.

In addition to the background of prisoners, Pat spoke of problems within the prison which could affect behaviour such as drug taking and bullying. Pamela summed it up in a few words: 'We do basic education for men who have been rejected. You need to know why someone is reacting in a certain way – drugs, a bad letter, mental problem, medical problems'. The reaction of a prisoner to an upsetting situation was described in Sandra's log:

The session went quite well – but I was completely thrown when Bill (one of my most stable and consistent students) threw what can only be described as a complete strop at the beginning of class... Bill just started ranting and raging that he didn't know what was going on in this course and that we hadn't gone through half the stuff in his notes as nothing was filled in. He said the course had no structure and that he was lost. I was completely taken aback as I felt that although a little tedious our psych course had followed a very linear development. I asked Bill if he had a problem a) with the course content b) the way the course was being taught or c) me personally.

At this point Clarkie piped in and said something to the effect of "look mate, I am the thickest in the classroom – this is the one course where even I know what's going on, we have notes on everything and we've all filled them in".

Then the others began chiming in reminding him that he had missed the better part of two sessions as he had been re-wiring the portakabins (they keep taking my students out during lessons and it is absolutely infuriating that they can't do it at another time). Bill started calming down and he said that he was just so frustrated cos he couldn't find any of his notes and he didn't know where anything was. Then Shacks suggested that Bill was just really upset about his parole hearing which had been the week before. Bill had worked very hard to make sure he met all the requirements, prepared his case and got himself mentally ready for the process – but the judge got sick so someone sent him a note telling him it wasn't happening. Now it has been postponed

⁴⁵ An opioid substitute

indefinitely. Anyway for at least about 25 minutes the class was a counselling session for Bill...

After tea Bill came in and said he was feeling much better – he had smashed his mug and redecorated his cell during tea – I am so unused to dealing with people whose first reaction is to be violent – it is surreal.

The teacher's role in knowing how to respond to this type of reaction is dealt with more fully in the next section, but this illustrates how situations out of the control of prisoners can have a huge impact on their behaviour in prison.

Liebling (2007) discussed the high rate of suicides in prison, with the Prison Reform Trust (2010:42) reporting that 'the suicide rate for men in prison is five times greater than that for men in the community'. Liebling (2007) asserted that the interaction between an individual with psychological problems and the testing and difficult environment of the prison is likely to be the cause of this relatively high rate of suicide among prisoners. The questionnaire responses indicated that some teachers had attended a suicide awareness training course and Diane spoke about the fact that she had been informed that one of her learners was on suicide watch. Although students in any learning context can present challenging behaviour, it would appear that being incarcerated in prison exacerbates any predisposition to psychological problems and can create categories of behaviour directly related to coping with living in the controlled environment of the prison. Teachers in prisons need to know how to deal with the associated presenting behaviour and to understand the causes. This highlights another key difference between teaching in prisons and teaching in other contexts and also has clear implications for training which goes beyond basic suicide awareness by examining, in depth, the potential psychological consequences of imprisonment which affect the behaviour and life of the prisoner.

5.2.3 Prisoners' Motivation for Engaging in Education

Prisoners' motivation for attending education appears to vary with Braggins and Talbot (2003) and Prisoners' Education Trust *et al.* (2009) citing several different responses from prisoners: a way of passing the time, improvement of prospects for employment, gaining qualifications and/or skills, to do something interesting. Although prisoners do get paid for attending education classes, this does not compare with the pay received for doing work in prison despite the intentions that the pay should be equal. LP B gave his opinion on why the pay is not comparable:

Prisons have needs – they need to bring in money. They prefer the workshops because they bring in money and so they pay more because they are income generated. The needs of the institution come before the needs of the individual.

The issue of pay and the low value prisons appear to give to education was an impetus for this thesis and was raised as an issue by several of the studies cited in Chapter Three (Flynn and Price 1995; Braggins and Talbot, 2003; Ingleby, 2006). LP B's comments provide one reason why prisons give more value to work: the generation of income. He went on to say that one prison which published figures that showed education pay was the same as pay for work was actually paying prisoners twice as much for working because the prison received an income from the work produced (although he did not go onto explain how this income was used). This is a concern that goes beyond the remit of this thesis but from the teachers' perspective, it has a direct impact on prisoners' motivation to take part in education.

Local variation is exemplified by the different approaches of prisons to education: some prisons pay less for education; some prisons expect all prisoners to take part in education; and others force prisoners to 'do' education if

they do not apply for jobs, which can result in prisoners perceiving education as a 'dumping ground' (Braggins and Talbot, 2003:21). The general feeling from those interviewed was that the prisoners who chose to partake in education, for whatever reason, were motivated, but those that were forced to do education because of their sentence plan or because the prison expected prisoners to do education were particularly difficult to motivate. Prison P expected all prisoners to do education and this appeared to cause some concern among the teachers.

It's about getting them interested. (Pat)

A higher level of motivation is needed. Their level of interest can be very low. I introduced topic work for men beyond Level 2: wildlife, media, human rights. I set up links with the Football club with literacy themed work packs... We do all sorts. World religions, creative writing packs, history of their football club. Anything that will motivate them. (Penny)

I realised that if you get the majority working, for some of the time, you have really achieved. (Paula)

For them, getting certificates is a wonderful thing. I try and pull them in and use a lot of humour to make it fun. It's hard getting them to want to come and settle down. (Pamela)

Prisoners have to do education here and a lot don't want to because most have been let down by the education system. Those that want to learn do so successfully. (Polly)

This highlights the issue of the classroom environment, which could be particularly off-putting for prisoners who have a negative view of education. If all prisoners are to be involved with education and feel motivated, there is a need for the learning environment to be adaptable so that it is not always representative of a classroom. Situated learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991) could be a way of combining a real context with learning but only if the learning is properly and fully integrated with a meaningful purpose. Findings from Irwin's study (2008), as outlined in Chapter Three, indicated successful techniques for

engagement included embedding basic skills into workshops outside the classroom, a social learning space and wing based learning. It is evident that the teachers were trying to find ways of motivating learning through making it fun (Pamela) and trying to follow prisoners' interests (Penny). The latter approach has implications for time and resources and, as this thesis has highlighted, both present challenges for teachers in prisons. Engaging reluctant learners is a challenge in all educational contexts but is compounded in prisons by the restricted environment and its impact on prisoners, which means that teachers are 'working with a group of vulnerable learners with a variety of problems' (HMI interview), with very limited education and training on how to handle these problems and cater for all needs.

5.2.4 The Educational Needs of Prisoners

The range of needs which could be present within one class was highlighted by a number of teachers:

Here they do their own course at their own speed. We want to challenge them but we tailor everything to individuals. (Pete)

Most work they do in other classes is individual with the tutor wandering round helping people. I am teaching a Level 4 course with students who are such a bag of abilities. They are hand picked as capable but their basic skills are very variable. One has such poor language skills but he stops me and asks me to go over it again... How am I going to pitch it?... They are such a varied group of needs. (Sandra)

Because of the different levels it is challenging. You don't teach to a group. You can't have a class objective because you have to fully differentiate. I have a dyslexic learner so I am working on his needs. I have a visual learner – he understands shapes so I am working on number lines so he can see the calculations. (Simon)

Some can't read and then there are others who might be studying IT courses. We play the paper trail but it doesn't work because of the variety of needs in one class. (Paula)

You tailor the curriculum to needs. There's a real range of learners in one room – you can't teach a lesson. It's good to make use of peer tutors. (Pat)

Two non-readers, two ESO, two Level 1, two Level 2, etc. all in the same room at the same time!!! (Written comment on questionnaire)

Managing a completely mixed ability class from non-English speakers and non-readers to Level 2. (Written comment on questionnaire)

It could be argued that all classes have learners of different levels of ability, even if the classes are ability streamed, because all individuals are different. The evidence from the teachers, however, suggests a far more acute problem than is likely to be found in any other adult educational context. The following extract is from notes made about a display during Observation 2 and highlights breadth of needs within one class:

The walls were bare apart from a display board that displayed two pieces of students' writing. The writing was about something the student liked. They were both handwritten. One piece was two sides of A4 written in mature, joined up script. It discussed the student's liking for old black and white comedy films and had the tone and structure of a piece of writing written by an adult. The other piece of writing was half a side of A4 with immature handwriting. It was not joined and letters were unevenly formed and lacked flow. It contained four sentences about a trip that the student had been on. The tone and structure was similar to that found in a primary school written by a child of about six years old.

Teachers in schools, particularly primary schools where streaming is less prevalent than secondary schools, need to differentiate to meet the different abilities within the class. Teachers in FE are more likely to teach classes where learners are at a similar level because they will be working towards a specific level of qualification with pre-entry requirements (Hillier, 2002). The teaching methods employed by the teachers interviewed to meet the diverse needs of

their classes will be discussed in section 5.5, but being in a class with such a range of abilities may well have an impact on the prisoner. It might be frustrating for higher achieving prisoners who do not feel challenged, and potentially humiliating for prisoners with limited knowledge, skills and understanding. Both of these negative emotions, frustration and humiliation, are likely to decrease their motivation for learning which may, in turn, have an adverse effect on their behaviour during sessions.

The nature of prisoners, with their backgrounds, dual identity of prisoner and learner, psychological effects of being in a secure institution and the diverse range of needs make very specific demands on the teacher. The next section, 5.3, focuses on the perceived skills needed by teachers in prisons to meet the needs of this unique set of learners.

5.3 SKILLS OF TEACHERS IN PRISONS

In an endeavour to explore the differences between teaching in prisons and teaching in other settings, LPs and teachers were asked their opinion on what skills were needed by teachers in prisons that differed from teaching in other contexts (Fig. 5.3). These have been classified into three columns: those that are specific to the prison context; those that apply to all learning contexts but have significant features in the prison context; and those that are more general skills that could apply to a teacher in any educational context.

All of the teachers interviewed felt that there were specific skills that applied to teaching in prisons, although LP B and LP C both started by saying that the skills needed were the same as any good teacher in any context.

Fig. 5.3 Skills needed by teachers in prisons

Skills	Number of teachers and LPs		
	1. Essential in prison	2. Prison relevant	3. Any context
More savvy/prisoners blagging/can try to manipulate you	7		
Security conscious	7		
Can't be easily shocked/offended/intimidated/ strong character	5		
Working with severe restrictions	5		
Working for two bosses	4		
Can't let them know about personal life	2		
Rapport/compassionate/pastoral		8	
Behaviour management		7	
Flexibility			6
Patient/non-confrontational/calm			5
All rounder/multi-talented			3
Good communication skills			3
Sense of humour			3
Mustn't patronise			2
Need to want to do it			2

However, they then both went on to add aspects such as awareness of security, awareness of potential manipulation by prisoners and understanding the needs of vulnerable learners. The HMI also referred to prisoners as particularly needy and vulnerable and said: 'they are not difficult learners but they may not have an understanding of how to learn'. Although not stated when listing skills, other features that emerged during the interviews with the teachers were motivating prisoners who had failed at school and perceived themselves as failures and trying to meet the needs of such a diverse range of learners.

The skills in column 1 have been discussed in this and the previous chapter. The skills in column 2 have been highlighted because although all teachers need these skills, there are issues that are specific to prisons.

5.3.1 The Pastoral Role

The pastoral side of teaching in prisons was emphasised by most teachers and was an area that seemed particularly significant to the role of a teacher in prisons.

You're dealing almost exclusively with people who have failed or have been told that they have failed and they have the attitude of people who are failures. You need a humanist approach. (Pat)

You might need to talk things through if there has been trouble. As an older person, men feel comfortable to talk. You have to have more counselling skills, empathy, to see why a person is reacting in a certain way. (Pamela)

There's lots of pastoral care. Punishment is loss of freedom and that is heavier than the general public realise. All can be going on at home that they can't do anything about... Things get blown up into a mountain. (Polly)

The scope for pastoral care is limitless. (Steve)

You need to be kindly. I've learned a lot about the pastoral side from them [other staff members]. (Pete)

You feel like a mum. You are trying to teach and listen. (Paula)

I have to stop them talking about other things. It feels like their mum or dad. They show me their letters. I'm not a screw who they all hate – they see me as on their side. (Sandra)

Although teachers in all contexts need to be aware of the effect personal and emotional difficulties can have on learning, it is clear that prisoners' problems are compounded by the separation from family and friends, loss of control, and the psychological effects of being in prison. Two teachers referred to feeling like a surrogate parent and one mentioned needing counselling skills. The word 'pastoral' was used by three of the teachers. Simonot *et al.* (2008:15) expressed the belief that the 'emotional state of the learner' in prisons makes teaching in prison settings distinct from other educational settings. They

referred to the 'emotional labour' which is involved with managing prisoners and their learning in an environment which is emotionally charged. The work of Hochschild (1979) on the management of emotions during social interactions and the display of socially desired emotions at work has been extended by Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) and James (1998) and Smith (1998) in relation to nursing and caring for the dying. In these contexts, staff are trained in how to respond sensitively to people who are upset or in a state of heightened anxiety. Teachers in prisons may feel compassion towards prisoners who are upset, but may feel unsure about how to respond due to the requirements to adhere to the rules and regulations of the prison regime and the warnings given during induction about potential manipulation by prisoners. This is exemplified by an entry in Sandra's log about her uncertainty in how to react to Bill's outburst, as described in Section 5.2:

I am a little stumped what to do in situations like this as this was a man clearly in some serious distress – do you sweep it under the mat and just teach over it like a steam-roller, or are you a human being first and give students in exceptional circumstances a chance to explode in a relatively safe manner?

Wright (2004) discussed the dilemma that teachers in prison feel about the intuitive need to get close to the people they teach by building relationships with them so they can communicate effectively and sensitively with them, and the need to keep their distance because they have been warned about how manipulative prisoners can be. This delicate balance is a challenge for teachers and some deliberately distance themselves from the pastoral role to avoid having to respond to prisoners' emotions (Simonot *et al.* 2008). The teachers interviewed for this thesis recognised the 'scope for pastoral care is limitless' (Steve) and seemed keen to accept this as part of their role. This has

clear implications for the training needs of teachers. They need to be supported in understanding the vulnerability of prisoners' emotions, the main causes of distress and how they can respond to prisoners' emotional behaviour in order to provide appropriate pastoral care without compromising the staff/prisoner relationship in terms of security.

5.3.2 Behaviour Management

The management of behaviour in prisons is clearly affected by the nature of prisoners and the restricted environment and in this way it is different from other educational settings. However, general rules about appropriate and inappropriate behaviour appear similar to other educational institutions and are underpinned by a behaviour policy. The warning system, also used in schools, was referred to by two of the teachers:

It's best not to be too rigid and regimented – once is accidental, twice is coincidence, third is deliberate and you get a warning.
(Polly)

I didn't have a romantic view but have always been good at behaviour management. There are behaviour problems at times – new staff might have problems...If someone is being particularly difficult – I am giving a warning – three warnings and you are out. That means loss of privileges. There are very few problems. (Penny)

As can also be apparent in schools, inconsistency in the expectations of behaviour between teachers was noted as an issue during Observation A, in prison S, as this excerpt shows:

The teacher said it was the end of the session and one student got up to leave. Another one said 'Miss hasn't said we can go yet'. The teacher responded by saying it was fine and to give her their ILPs. One student commented to the one who got up to leave that '[another female teacher's name] would not have allowed that'. The comment was ignored by the teacher and student.

Although behaviour policies are in place, the way staff interpret them does differ. The two quotes from Polly and Penny indicate that Polly allows some leniency before issuing the first warning. Lack of consistency between teachers could be an issue in the management of behaviour despite working to the same policy. Although this is an issue in any educational setting, it could be exploited more by prisoners through manipulation and result in more devastating consequences for a teacher's career.

Two other teachers commented on the need to treat the prisoners as adults, even though the level of some prisoners' work may be similar to that seen in a primary school:

Mutual respect – show respect to them and expect respect back...try to be fair. They have the skills of a six or seven year old but you can't treat them as a six or seven year old. (Paula)

My knowledge of behaviour difficulties has made a big difference. We're teaching adults – we mustn't patronise. We trust them unless they show they can't be trusted. I used to teach assertiveness and do things like role play. That really helped. The SEN⁴⁶/behaviour management helped too. (Pete)

Confidence in general behaviour management skills was acknowledged by the teachers as an asset when teaching in prisons. RER (2007) highlighted the challenging behaviour of many prisoners and questioned whether a generic training module on behaviour management would be sufficiently specific for work with prisoners. This thesis asserts that the basic principles of behaviour management as espoused by Canter (1998) and Rogers (2006) related to assertive discipline with clear and consistent expectations in which both teachers and learners have rights; a positive ethos created by focusing on positive behaviour; a calm, decisive approach; and clearly established behaviour

⁴⁶ Special Educational Needs

consequences, are appropriate in the prison context and therefore a generic module would be useful. The key difference is the extreme challenging behaviour created by personal and emotional issues which go beyond day to day behaviour management strategies and move into a more pastoral, counselling role for teachers. The teachers interviewed who were experienced in teaching in prisons, all felt comfortable with their approaches to behaviour management and only felt it necessary for teachers new to teaching in prisons to have advice on how to manage behaviour. The *causes* of extreme behaviour were raised as more of an issue than the behaviour itself, which reiterates the need for teachers to have training on how to manage their pastoral role rather than solely concentrating on strategies for managing behaviour.

5.4 THE CURRICULUM

The overall direction of offender learning is outlined by OLASS (2007:2):

Ensuring offenders have the underpinning skills for life (literacy, language, numeracy and basic IT skills), and have developed work skills, will enable them to meet the real needs of employers in the area where they live or will settle after their sentence is complete.

The same document goes on to say:

The introduction of OLASS was not accompanied by the introduction of a suite of new targets. Rather, the existing Public Service Agreement targets for education around basic skills (*'Skills for Life'*) and work related learning (First full Level 2 qualifications) to which offender learning had always contributed became the main measures by which learner achievement is assessed (p10).

If lead providers are meeting the requirements of the OLASS contract, their curriculum must focus on literacy, language, numeracy and basic IT skills.

Vocational training may be under the remit of the lead provider or may be the responsibility of the Head of Learning and Skills employed by the Prison

Service. There is also the focus on Level 2 qualifications. Beyond this remit, the prison may offer other curriculum areas and qualifications beyond Level 2 but this will vary from prison to prison. This focus on basic skills, Level 2 qualifications and training for employment was highlighted by the LPs.

The aim is to reduce re-offending. LP A

The common thread is skills for life. Literacy and numeracy Entry Level 1, 2 and 3 and then Level 1 and 2. There is IT in every establishment and social and life skills. Most also have vocational training but that varies enormously. LP B

The aim is to get everyone to Level 2. To focus on employability and employability skills; skills for life – exactly mirroring the FE sector. Plus the drive for reducing offending which all ties in... The focus is on employability – skills for life...

The self employment course operates at Level 1 and 2 – to equip the intelligent. The focus is on employability, the same principles as the other [mainstream FE], but also the element of reducing reoffending. If we give them another skill they might not re-offend. There is the education manager who is prison-based and who is responsible for the three strands of employability; literacy, numeracy and language; and personal and social development.

LP C

It has to be a curriculum that satisfies the needs for employability. There are skills for life and IT across all three prisons. It is a partnership between the prison, the LSC and the college. The prison and the provider drive the curriculum. We are paid to deliver accredited qualifications. Everything has a qualification attached. It's paid by the hour. LP D

The LSC prospectus for Offender Learning and National Reducing Reoffending Act in the plan both steer the curriculum. It's about skills and qualifications for employment. Employer engagement. We engage directly with employers to find out what they will accept as skills and qualifications. We are trying to send out ex-offenders to enable them to get a job. The job centre gives us information about skills shortages. LP E

There is certainly no ambiguity about the focus of the curriculum: employability.

LP C reiterated the point several times throughout the interview. The focus on vocational skills has been criticised in FE, as discussed in Chapter Two (Lea,

2003; Rogers, 2002), but the curriculum in FE is very wide and also offers academic subjects at GCSE, A levels and some degree level study to cater for a wide range of abilities and interests. LP C's assertion that the prison education curriculum mirrors FE has some resonance with the neo-liberalist approach to FE to ensure it supplies skills that are useful to the economy (Foster, 2005) but this also means including both provision and preparation for further study in higher education for graduate level employment, which is supplied by FE. There are also the wider issues of motivation and engagement. The approach to education in prisons has to take account of prisoners who are disaffected due to poor school experiences which have led to truancy and exclusion (DfES/DWP, 2005; Howard League, 2005; Home Office/Respect Task Force, 2006) which would suggest 'exactly mirroring the FE sector' is not fully considering how to meet these additional needs.

This focus on basic skills and accredited qualifications has been criticised as narrowing the curriculum in prisons and not catering for prisoners beyond Level 2 (All Parliamentary Report, 2004; Select Committee Report, 2005; Wilson, 2000). Whilst figures vary across studies, there is a consensus of opinion that the average educational achievement is lower in prisoners than in the general population in the community (RER, 2007), as stated in Chapter Two. Although the percentages of prisoners needing education in basic skills is high, figures from the Bromley Briefings (Prison Reform Trust, 2010) suggest there are 52% who do not need basic skills in reading and 35% who do not need basic skills in numeracy. This indicates that the curriculum in prison clearly needs to be wider than the OLASS agenda to cater for the differing level of learning needs of *all* prisoners. Noddings' (2005) two distinct definitions of the

needs of the learner: inferred needs, which are decided by policy makers, and the expressed needs, which are decided by the learner, are relevant to the way the curriculum is decided in prisons. It is apparent that the needs identified by OLASS are being given priority which is potentially excluding prisoners working beyond Level 2 or with an interest in the creative arts and humanities.

Other issues were also raised by the LPs, with LP B commenting on the variation in vocational training across prisons and LP E on the importance of employer engagement and having knowledge of local skills shortages. This suggests that apart from basic skills, there is a lack of consistency and breadth of opportunity in the courses different prisons offer. This could have a negative impact if a prisoner engaging in education beyond Level 2 or in a subject other than basic skills was moved to a prison not offering the same curriculum. It also has implications for staffing if local skills shortages change which would then require vocational training in a different profession to that already offered. LP D's point about only being funded to deliver accredited qualifications highlights the emphasis on prisoners passing exams or practical assessments which again limits the curriculum.

When the LPs were asked who decides on the curriculum in each prison, three only cited the OLASS contract but LP B also suggested 'it is historical, and proactive managers would have a wider range of subjects than others'. This highlights the role of the education manager in the development of the curriculum in individual prisons which could go beyond the OLASS contract. LP C also talked about an 'inherited' curriculum with stand alone subjects. She went onto say that 'we are trying to maintain cookery and art but putting key skills into them' suggesting, by using the phrase 'trying to maintain', that any

subject not related to key skills would be deemed unacceptable within the OLASS contract.

Fig 5.4 shows the subjects offered by Prison P and Prison S as described by the education manager in each prison.

Fig. 5.4 Subjects Offered

Prison P	Prison S
Pottery	Basic skills for life: English, numeracy
IT	IT
Art and Design	Business Studies for self-employed
English	Practical art
Maths	Art history
French	Creative writing
Spanish	Independent living including budgeting and cooking
Geography	Open University Courses (have to be Level 2/3 to enrol)
History	Psychology and sociology foundation degree (have to be Level 2/3 to enrol)
A levels	
*Victim awareness	*These courses (as indicated in Prison P) were not part of learning and skills in prison S but had been 'handed over' to the psychology department.
*Family relationships	
*Drug and alcohol awareness	
Open University Courses	
Vocational Training included: catering; track work; double glazing; food prep; horticulture; industrial cleaning; health and safety; electrical training; forklift handling.	Vocational Training included: painting and decorating; brickwork; catering; cleaning; gardening.

The curriculum in both prisons went beyond Level 2 and offered more than basic skills, with Prison P offering A levels (although the subjects were not stated), Prison S offering a foundation degree and both offering Open University courses. The curriculum also included creative subjects such as creative writing and art and humanities such as geography and history. Although the curriculum is clearly wider than the OLASS remit in both prisons, only some subjects are the same across prisons, which again highlights the problem with moving

prisoners when they are undertaking a course of study, as outlined in Chapter Four. For example, if a prisoner were part of the way through a geography course in Prison P and was then moved to Prison S, he would not be able to continue his studies. This is a difficult issue. A wide, central curriculum across all prisons would be difficult to resource and may prevent prisons from developing vocational courses in line with local employers and local employment needs. This presents a clear dichotomy in the development of a curriculum for prisons: meeting the needs of prisoners which may vary across prisons in different geographical locations, and consistency across prisons so that movement of prisoners does not interrupt their education. Although one aim of OLASS and NOMS was to create a coherent and seamless system, transferable across prisons, in reality prisons appear to be a series of private and public institutions which are governed to a locally established ethos depending on the views of the governor and education manager. There are a number of potential partial solutions to this problem, which could include:

1. A broader core curriculum that is statutory in all prisons which includes a wider range of subjects and courses beyond Level 2 (All Parliamentary Report, 2004; Select Committee Report, 2005; Wilson, 2000).
2. More distance learning which could be continued in any prison (Hughes, 2006; Englebright, 2007; Pike, 2007).
3. Prisons ensuring any prisoner can complete a course of study started but not completed at a previous prison.
4. Not moving prisoners until they have completed any course of study already started (Schuller, 2009).

The first three suggestions have implications for funding, resources and staffing. The final suggestion has implications for a change of policy and practice in the Home Office and Prison Service. The evidence presented in this thesis would suggest that the current system is not effective in ensuring continuity and progress. Proactive governors and education managers can have an impact on the curriculum offered within their individual prisons but unless there are changes across the whole prison system, the curriculum in prisons and the impact on prisoners' learning will remain limited and fragmented.

The integration of basic skills in vocational training was highlighted by both LP C and the HMI. The education manager in Prison S also spoke about how the curriculum was designed to incorporate literacy and numeracy into vocational training as well as teaching them as discrete subjects. Providing meaningful contexts for learning is recognised as a successful way to teach skills, such as literacy and numeracy, and has been espoused by many constructivist and social constructivist theorists (Piaget, 1959; Vygotsky, 1962; Bruner, 1974). Lave and Wenger (1991) discussed the importance of situated learning whereby learning is developed in a real context by observing and interacting with other workers. The impact of these theories on pedagogy was deliberated in Chapter Two. Observation 3, conducted in Prison S, was intended to examine how literacy and numeracy were integrated into the bricklaying workshop. Fig 5.5 provides excerpts from the observation. Within the context of brickwork, literacy and numeracy could be integrated by performing tasks that might be completed as part of the day to day work as a bricklayer where literacy and numeracy skills are needed. Examples of these could be calculating the number of bricks required to build a wall of a specified height;

calculating area; measurements for mixing mortar; timesheets for workers; calculating and writing invoices; writing orders; writing letters to suppliers; writing an application for a job as a brick layer, etc. These, or other related tasks, were the types of activities expected to be observed within this context.

Fig. 5.5 Observation of basic skills teaching in a bricklaying workshop

There were three students in the class. All three looked in their 20s or early 30s. One worked at a computer during the whole observation. The other two were completing practise exam papers at the table.

Resources

Computers. Exam papers.

Observed session

The students were left to complete their practise papers. The teacher did not interrupt them and he did not speak to the student working on the computer.

Eventually one student said he had finished and the teacher called him over to sit next to him. The teacher then went through each question one by one. They were multiple choice and were on English and maths. The student was told he couldn't be entered for the exam unless he got 30 out of 40. He got 26.

Summary of teaching and learning approaches

I only observed the teacher interacting with one of the three students although the purpose of the session was preparation for exams. The students were completing practise papers and therefore the teacher's role was to respond to these once completed. Only one student completed a paper and received feedback during the observation period. The purpose of this session did not appear to reflect the overall purpose of providing a real context in which to learn basic skills. The exam papers did not relate to bricklaying.

Fig. 5.5 highlights the fact that working towards accredited exams and providing sessions that prepare for exams is a priority within the OLASS remit. Teaching to the test may result in eventual exam success but is a very limited way of approaching the teaching of basic skills which need to be transferable across a range of contexts, including employment. The only tenuous link this session had to brickwork was the fact that it was in a classroom at the end of the bricklaying workshop that the students had to walk through to access the classroom. This one session may not have been representative and therefore it would have been useful to have observed more integrated sessions. However, the discussions with the teacher before the observation did not indicate that this session would be any different to a usual session which indicates that exam preparation was a regular occurrence within these sessions. Although preparation for exams is necessary it is questionable why this should be included within a session which is aimed at embedding basic skills within a real context. In addition to this observation, evidence from the HMI suggested that effective integration of key skills into vocational workshops is in need of further development.

These findings indicate that education and training should aim to support teachers in the development of meaningful literacy, numeracy and IT activities that fully relate to the vocational context. It also raises the issue of the importance of identifying individual prisons which successfully integrate basic skills in vocational training to share their practice with others.

TEACHING METHODS

5.5.1 Planning for Learning

One of the requirements of the OLASS contract (DIUS, 2007) is to ensure that all learners in prison have an individual learning plan (ILP). Ofsted (2009) stated that in half of the 19 prisons visited, learning plans were ineffective mainly due to them not being shared with learners and not indicating progress or development in personal or social skills. More effective ILPs involved the learner and were standardised and used across all areas of learning and skills in the prison. Research into prisoners' views on education by the Prisoners' Education Trust *et al.* (2009) indicated that 58% (236/406) of prisoners interviewed either did not have, or were unsure about whether or not they had, an ILP.

ILPs are used in schools although these are usually for specific students who have particular needs, such as problems with reading or maths. In post-16 education, ILPs for all students are identified as a feature of good practice (Learning and Skills Improvement Service, 2010) and are intended to use initial assessment to ensure learning is personalised and in the control of the student. In terms of management they are intended to be used to evaluate learner responses, record progress and achievement, support standards, sustain improvement, monitor provision and provide data for impact measures (QIA, 2008). In terms of teaching and learning, they are used to set specific targets so that the planning of sessions can be personalised to the needs of learners.

ILPs were referred to by four of the teachers interviewed but mainly as a description of what they were and where they were kept (in a filing cabinet). They did not refer to their use with the prisoners or how they informed planning.

During observations 1 and 2, the prisoners had their ILPs with them as they worked. During observation 1, the prisoners were asked to put their ILPs on the teacher's desk before leaving but the teacher did not discuss them with individual prisoners. During observation 2, the prisoners collected their files on entrance to the class which included their ILPs and work sheets for the session. Again, there was no discussion between the teacher and prisoners about their ILPs. The teachers were aware of the requirement to maintain ILPs and were complying with this although the students' involvement was not witnessed during the observations. The inclusion of 'learning style' with the initials 'A', 'V' and 'K' on the ILP suggested that initial assessments included some type of assessment of the prisoners' preferred styles of learning although there was no suggestion by any of the teachers that this took place. It also implied that the teaching methods took account of preferred learning styles which was not evident in the observations. This rather crude approach towards trying to ascertain the ways different people learn was discussed in Chapter Two, with Gardner (1995) expressing concern about how his theory of multiple intelligences had been misinterpreted. It is encouraging, however, that there is recognition by the lead provider of different ways of learning which will impact on pedagogy. If, however, this is merely a paper exercise with no application to practice, it becomes an onerous administrative task without any purpose.

The education manager at Prison S showed an example of a lesson planning sheet (Fig. 5.6) to be completed before each session. This planning format suggests that it was expected that a whole group activity would form part of the lesson; that individual work would be set to meet individual targets and that the session would be evaluated. It was not clear if this evaluation would

understanding between the lead provider and the education department, as discussed in Chapter Four.

5.5.2 Individual versus Collaborative Learning

Simon explained that sessions tended to start and end with a whole class activity with individual work completed in between. Steve explained: 'It is very similar to primary. I went to primary school to observe my daughter's class and I felt it was very similar.' The three part lesson of whole class teaching, group/individual activities and plenary is a common structure in many primary and secondary classrooms and Prison S adopted a similar approach. Appendix 2 is a record of the observation notes for Observation 1 in Prison S. The first part of the lesson was not observed but the whole class activity at the end of the lesson formed part of the observation. What was particularly noticeable was that although the aim was a whole class activity where everyone contributed to complete the number grid, there was no collaboration between the prisoners. Each prisoner presented his calculation, which allowed for differentiation, but there was no peer support or dialogue. In Observation 2 in Prison S there was no class activity to start the session but the teacher did say he was doing a class story at the end where each prisoner would contribute a sentence. Although this part of the session was not observed, the description suggested a similar approach to Observation 1, where there was an outcome that acknowledged contributions from all members in the class, but these were individual with limited collaboration. In all four observations, none of the prisoners spoke to one another at all for the duration of the observed session apart from in Observation 1 when there was an exchange about whether or not they should ask before getting up to leave the session. The teachers only spoke

to individuals, mainly on a one to one basis; there was no class discussion, group discussion or paired discussion.

The observations were of basic skills classes and it must be acknowledged that some classes, such as performing arts, lend themselves to discussion and collaborative working more than others. However, the lack of peer discussion or group discussions guided by the teacher was unexpected based on the planning sheet which had the heading 'Group Activity'. The difference between individualised learning and personalised learning was discussed in Chapter Two (Gardner, 1995; Pollard, 1997; DfES 2004a) and the observations clearly indicated that the emphasis was on individualised learning where prisoners shared the same work space but were working totally alone on individual tasks. Personalised learning, rather than individualised learning, enables learners to share the same experiences but to access them at their own level (DfES, 2004b). In personalised learning there is an emphasis on group context and working with others which have clear implications for pedagogy. The benefits of social interaction between learners to move learning forward (Vygotsky, 1962; Bruner, 1974; Mercer, 1992; Wenger, 1998; Wells, 1999; Alexander, 2004b) were not being utilised in the observations. In Observation 2 each of the six in the class was engaged in a different task. Three were doing maths and three English, so the curriculum areas were different. Within each curriculum area the subject focus was also different for each. It would have been difficult to collaborate because the learning focus was distinct for each person and therefore the experience was not shared. Sandra commented on the uniqueness of her course in comparison to others: 'Most work they do in other classes is individual with the tutor wandering around

helping people. They like my course because of the discussion'. This suggests that individual learning was the norm in this particular prison.

Although the concept of ILPs could be viewed as positive in the sense that they focus on the needs of each prisoner in terms of learning and provide a format on which to track progress, a potential disadvantage is that learning is seen as so individualised that it becomes fragmented and restricts the teaching methods used. Ofsted (2009) criticised the use of ILPs in half of the prisons in their sample with a particular comment about them not indicating development in personal or social skills. If the ILPs are inhibiting the use of interaction as part of the learning process, then development in personal and social skills will be hindered as a result and self- and teacher- assessment would be very difficult to complete. If collaborative skills during sessions were part of the learning plan for everyone it might encourage more whole class, group and paired work so that these skills could be both developed and assessed.

Brookfield and Preskill (1999) promote the use of guided discussion by teachers with university students. Although they did not use the term 'dialogic teaching', the basic principles are very similar to those of Alexander (2004a). They asserted that there are connections between the way students talk to each other in sessions and the promotion of democracy in wider society, which also links to the philosophy of Freire (1993). This aspect is particularly significant to teachers working with prisoners who have been socially excluded (Chitty, 2008). The teachers' responses to the prisoners in the observed sessions were sensitive and supportive although they did not demonstrate a dialogic approach. During teaching, mainly conducted on a one to one basis, any dialogue between teacher and prisoner was based on a question and answer approach

with the teacher asking the questions. In Observation 1, the teacher actively avoided dialogue with the prisoners, answering questions about the class task but not entering into any discussion. This short extract from the summary emphasizes the lack of talk:

During the task the teacher responded in the affirmative to the students' calculations or paused if the calculation was incorrect... Interactions between the teacher and students were respectful and mainly confined to giving, and responding to, calculations.

It could be that concerns over the management of behaviour inhibit some teachers' use of discussion, and concerns about the range of needs make teachers feel that individual work is the only effective way of working. However, a dialogic, social constructivist approach to teaching would enable prisoners to work and talk together and collaborate on shared learning experiences (Lave and Wenger, 1991) which would be facilitated and extended by the teacher. This approach would support prisoners with the development of personal and social skills, promote teamwork associated with employment skills and aid their learning. The ILPs are designed to give prisoners a sense of ownership over their learning with agreed targets, but this could just turn into a paper exercise. Real ownership and development of learning occurs *during* the learning process with active involvement through discussion and working with others (Vygotsky, 1962; Bruner, 1974; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Mercer, 1992; Brookfield and Preskill, 1999; Wells, 1999; Alexander, 2004b). This is not to say that there is no place for individual work. On the contrary, individual work can promote self-discipline, initiative and independence. What this thesis argues is that teachers in prisons need to know how, and have the confidence, to use a range of teaching approaches which include a collaborative approach to learning.

5.5.3 Peer Mentoring

One approach particularly designed to encourage prisoners to work together is peer mentoring. Toe by Toe, a reading scheme published by the Shannon Trust, described in Chapter Two, is designed for prisoners who are unable to read to be mentored by prisoners who can read. This particular scheme has been received very positively (RSA, 2010) by mentors, mentees and prisons that have adopted the scheme. Prison P uses Toe by Toe and Pat commented on its impact:

We do the Toe by Toe scheme. You need good mentors. We are now using good mentors. We've had two big successes. Two old men have learnt to read. It's good to make use of peer tutors.

Her remark about how the prison is 'now' using good mentors highlights the value of peer tutoring but also suggests the importance of careful selection of appropriate mentors. York-Barr, Sommers, Ghore and Montie (2006) believed there are certain characteristics that are essential for a successful mentoring partnership. They suggested specific consideration should be given to clarity of purpose; good listening skills by both partners; and the expansion of thinking and enquiry. Moon (1999) also stressed the need for mutual respect in any peer mentoring partnership. Training is available for peer mentors in some prisons, provided by OLASS or charities and voluntary projects⁴⁷ (Prisoners' Education Trust, 2010). Peer mentoring in prisons can be either volunteer or paid roles depending on the type of work and the policy set out by individual prison

⁴⁷ These include: Toe by Toe mentor training session; Rehabilitation for Addicted Prisoners Trust; Peer mentoring Open College Network (OCN) accredited Level 2 course; Certificate in Peer Support & Mentoring, Levels 1 and 2 NCFE accredited.

governors⁴⁸ (Prisoners' Education Trust *et al.* 2009). The findings from the Brain Cells Report (Prisoners' Education Trust *et al.* 2009) indicated that pay did not appear to be a factor in prisoners' willingness to be peer mentors, with most saying that as they had gained from learning in prison they wanted to help others. During the data collection for this thesis, when asked what would help the teachers' role in prison, Polly replied 'the use of peer tutors – and it helps the prison because it increases the employment figures for the government'. The Prisoners' Education Trust (2010:7) also highlighted the advantages to the prison, stating '[peer mentoring programmes] fit within OLASS priorities, and can help education providers reach their targets'. Although the strengths of peer mentoring should be focused on the mentor and mentee, advantages to the prison would provide a persuasive argument to encourage governors and education managers to give peer mentoring and peer mentor training a greater priority.

RSA (2010) also recognised the benefits not only to the prisons but also to a range of stakeholders:

These kinds of interventions are popular with the public, policymakers and practitioners, for done well they can be a cost-effective way of providing support and speak to our intuitive sense of reciprocity and altruism. (RSA, 2010:98)

Braggins and Talbot (2003) recommended that peer education and peer supported cell work should be promoted and encouraged to maximise learning opportunities in prison. Whilst schemes such as Toe by Toe are reliant on peer mentoring, more informal peer mentoring was not observed in the sessions or mentioned by more than two teachers. Neither of the teachers expanded on how

⁴⁸ Prisoners can take on a number of different types of peer mentoring roles including classroom assistants, learning/peer mentors, wing learning and skills representatives, reading champions and listeners.

peer mentoring was used in their sessions. The advantages of peer mentoring are evident, although Pat's comment alluding to the variation in quality of mentors suggests that the initiative must be carefully managed and monitored. There appear to be limited studies on peer mentoring in prisons and those that do refer to it (Braggins and Talbot, 2003; Prisoners' Education Trust *et al.* 2009; Prisoners' Education Trust, 2010; RSA, 2010) do not provide any in-depth analysis of policy or practice. Peer mentoring in prisons is an area that would benefit from further research to highlight advantages and potential drawbacks and provide recommendations for the development of practice.

5.6 PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR TEACHERS IN PRISONS

All full-time FE teachers, including those working in prisons, are required to complete 30 hours of CPD a year. As many teachers in prisons are part-time or sessional, this would be completed on a pro rata basis. As the induction process appears to be somewhat limited, this research sought to ascertain the content of training that the teachers had already experienced, their attitudes towards training and what further training would be the most useful. It is accepted that all individuals will have different needs based on their background and experience and therefore the data was collated and analysed to discover if there were any common themes.

On the questionnaires, in answer to the question: *Have you had any CPD training since starting your employment on any aspect of prison education/teaching in prisons?* 10 of the 20 teachers who responded in the affirmative mentioned security training. Their main points were 'key' training (before keys

can be issued to staff), knowing what could and could not be brought in to the prison, procedures if any prisoner became aggressive or volatile, general conduct and issues related to resources. To a teacher in any other context, this would not be considered CPD as it does not develop skills in teaching and learning. In a prison context, however, security is paramount and this is seen as a vital area in training. The questionnaire responses indicated that out of the 26 teachers who replied, 20 of them had completed a range of continuing professional development courses and six had not done any. Of these six, two had been teaching in the prison for over six years, two had been teaching for four to six years and two had been teaching at the prison for under a year. The two who had been teaching for under a year may not yet have been given the opportunity, but considering the requirements it is somewhat surprising that the other four had not completed any CPD. LP B explained that 'the limiting factor on CPD is the demand to deliver the OLASS contract – not all teachers can do it – education is 52 weeks a year'. He went on to say that 'it is easier in a prison for people who don't like CPD to duck under the radar'. One questionnaire response said 'the problem is I am sessional and few opportunities arise for CPD as I am only contracted for the hours I teach'. The LPs were not asked about CPD provision for sessional teachers but as there are so many who are sessional this is an issue. The two problem factors appear to be funding and time.

The types of training that the teachers in the questionnaire sample had completed varied but Fig. 5.7 shows the most common responses. These are not all the responses but indicate the course content cited by more than one respondent. These highlight three key areas:

- focus on qualifications;
- significant issues such as high levels of dyslexia, emotional problems and growing numbers of prisoners without any English or for whom English is not their first language;
- teachers needing basic teacher training.

Fig. 5.7 CPD Training Completed by Questionnaire Respondents

Course Content	Number of responses
Subject related (particularly exams)	8
Generic teaching (classroom management, 'Better Teaching Practice' training)	4
Dyslexia	3
ESOL/Diversity	2
Drug awareness/suicide awareness	2
Planning and ILPs	2
Total number of respondents	20

The teachers in the interviews were not asked specifically about the type of training they received but were asked if they had opportunities to attend training. Their attitudes towards training varied:

I don't want to go on courses. (Pete)

I meet other staff on courses. They can be held in the prison or all over. We tend to follow our interests. (Penny)

I've been trying to get funding to do a university dyslexia course. There is no dyslexia assessment and it is needed. My own research suggests a high level of dyslexia – about 60%. I got the funding this year. (Pat)

When it was [names previous lead provider] you had to go to [town]. It was a long way to travel for nothing. I'm not worried about going. I'm very experienced. (Pamela)

[Named two other prisons] have staff development courses. I go on some.
We have to do 30 hours. (Polly)

I don't know. I've put in for teaching Level 4 literacy and numeracy. I studied for a long time. (Paula)

Yes there are lots. (Simon)

Time is always against me attending seminars. I have been learning British Sign Language in my own time after work for two years. CPD has mostly been completed in the evening or at weekends. (Steve)

It appears that there are opportunities for staff development, although the comments by the teachers suggest there are similar challenges for full time teachers as for sessional teachers in terms of funding and time. It is also clear that some teachers are not interested in training and would not choose to go if attendance was voluntary. This relates to the issue discussed in Chapter Two about some adults welcoming CPD opportunities whereas others may feel resentful and have a negative attitude if forced to attend. The emphasis on the importance of CPD is welcome in terms of ensuring teachers have the opportunity to develop their skills, but the nature of CPD offered needs to ensure teachers can develop their interests and feel that the courses on offer will be of benefit to them. This evidence suggests that this is not the case for all teachers.

The questionnaire asked teachers to comment on any areas of training that they would find useful (Fig. 5.8)

Fig 5.8 Interest in Training from the Questionnaire Responses

Area of Interest	Numbers of respondents
1. Issues to do with prisoners and their specific needs	9
2. Issues to do with prison	8
3. Teaching styles and methods	8
4. Resources and IT	5
5. Language and culture	4
Total number of responses	34
Total number of respondents	25

As with Fig 5.7, Fig 5.8 indicates the most common responses with some teachers indicating more than one area. Issues to do with prisoners and their specific needs included:

‘talking to, understanding and handling prisoners’;

‘counselling and guidance techniques’;

‘emotional effect on learning’;

‘dealing with the pressures on prisoners’;

‘need to understand the sort of approaches to use when dealing with prisoners’.

Issues to do with prisons included:

‘it would be good to have more knowledge about actual prison systems’;

‘it’s a unique environment in which to deal with specific needs/issues to consider’;

‘just more prison background info, e.g. what happens from prison induction – the support available for inmates – signposting, etc’;

‘knowing more about the difficulties/realities of finding work with a criminal record and ways to overcome/address this’.

These two areas are unique to teaching in prisons and demonstrate that some teachers have a desire to develop their knowledge of prisons from induction to release and beyond, what it is to be a prisoner and how best to manage and support the needs of prisoners. Two of the other areas cited, resources and teaching methods, are also linked to the unique prison environment. The extreme restrictions on resources inhibit the range of teaching strategies that can be used, as demonstrated by questionnaire response: ‘matching the curriculum to the circumstances in prison, i.e. no access to the internet, no exercises involving visits out’. The final area, language and culture, again shows the diversity of the prison population.

The teachers were asked if they would be interested in a recognised qualification that would show they had a specialism in education in prisons. This was misinterpreted by some teachers in the questionnaires who thought that the suggestion was a qualification that would restrict them and only qualify them for teaching in prisons rather than broader contexts. This was rephrased for the teacher interviews and all interviewees responded positively and said they would like a specialist qualification as it would 'be an acknowledgement of specialist skills' (Paula), although Pete emphasised that it should represent a specialism and not 'emphasise the difference'. There are, however, noteworthy differences between teaching in prisons and other contexts and these differences need to inform education and training for teachers.

The findings suggest that teachers in prisons want and need contextualised education and training that goes beyond basic security training so that they understand the environment in which they are teaching and the effect this environment has on the prisoners and their learning. At present they are given security training on a need to know basis in terms of how it will impact on their work in the prison but do not have a broader understanding of the prison regime. RER (2007) noted a few highly contextualised courses and training materials, with the University of Plymouth and Strode College⁴⁹ and the University of Lancaster⁵⁰, appearing to be the most proactive in developing contextualised education and training for teachers in prisons. The LPs indicated that the education and training provided for teachers in prisons tended to be generic rather than context specific:

⁴⁹ Certificate in Education; PGCE and Master's module in teaching in custodial contexts.

⁵⁰ Module on perspectives on literacy and learning in the criminal justice sector as part of the post-graduate programme in literacy, numeracy and ESOL. This is limited in comparison to Strode College as it only focuses on literacy rather than broader issues related to teaching in prisons.

The actual training teachers get has a 90% bias towards generic but there should be more prison based. OLASS moved it along the same lines and process as FE. (LP B)

We've started to look at specialists who work in prisons... It's in its infancy. We've hesitated to make training specific to prisons because it is generic. For example active learning is the same wherever e.g. active learning in catering. We haven't used people specific to prisons. (LP C)

It is usually run by teachers who have come from mainstream. (LP D)
The college support staff development, e.g. behaviour management courses. We do it in house where possible but do bring in external agencies for things like dyslexia. (Asked if any was specific to teaching in prisons) No. It is generic rather than specific to offenders.
(LP E)

LP B did indicate a need for more context related education and training and felt that the focus on aligning everything with FE could be responsible for the '90% bias towards generic'. LP C seemed undecided about whether or not it should be generic by first suggesting that the college was looking at bringing in prison specialists and then deciding that training is generic because types of learning are the same whatever the context. LP E said that all training from her college was generic. LP C's comments highlight a challenge to context related education and training and that is ensuring that these courses are developed and run by specialists who understand prisons and the needs of prisoners. Teachers who have only taught in mainstream would not be able to fulfil this role. There are a number of different types of professionals who could contribute, including criminologists with an interest in penology; prison psychologists; prison governors; prison officers sympathetic to the education of prisoners; prison instructors and prison chaplains. Experienced prison teachers whose practice is judged as particularly good by the institution, based on their

own quality assurance systems, and advanced practitioners,⁵¹ could also contribute to education and training in strategies for teaching and learning to motivate and engage learners in a restricted environment.

The research study published just before completion of this thesis (Simonot and McDonald, 2010) concentrated on the differences in training needs of teachers employed in the education department and trainers and instructors employed by the prison. Although the remit for their study was to evaluate the PTLLS award in terms of meeting their training needs, there are parallels with the exploration of issues in this thesis. Simonot and McDonald's main final recommendations for teachers in the education department were:

- knowing prison security procedures and procedures regarding self-harm;
- behaviour management;
- coping with emotional load;
- working with vulnerable learners;
- support with producing teaching and learning resources;
- learner-centred teaching techniques and flexible planning;
- teaching in a workshop setting.

This thesis acknowledges and concurs with these but argues for a much broader approach to be taken in terms of the prison context and the nature of prisoners, so that teachers have a full theoretical understanding in addition to practical knowledge. This will help teachers not only to know *what* to do but to understand *why* they are doing it. The teaching and learning recommendations need to provide teachers with approaches and strategies that are rooted in

⁵¹ LP B described advanced practitioners as prison teachers who are 'evidenced as good' and are paid more to take a variety of roles including supporting other teachers. It is not known how many advanced practitioners there are or if all lead providers use this system.

appropriate educational philosophy and theory. These will be discussed in Chapter Six and form the basis of the final recommendations.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored issues that are particularly related to teaching and learning. The institutional environment creates a number of barriers to learning that have been well-documented, such as movement of prisoners, a limited curriculum and restrictions due to security protocols. The differences of the prison context from other educational contexts indicate that a well-structured, carefully monitored induction period for teachers is essential. However, evidence from the empirical research suggests variable experiences of induction, which all appear very limited in terms of time and opportunity, to understand the environment and the nature of prisoners as learners; shadow other more experienced teachers; and be observed teaching. The nature of prisoners as learners places unique demands on teachers and a range of skills are needed to meet the needs of the prisoners in their classes. A far greater proportion of prisoners have 'poor school experience, unemployment, social exclusion and various psychological or cognitive factors linked to self-concept and attitudes to offending' (Chitty, 2008:4) than the general public. These various factors indicate that prisoners are a unique group of learners which may impact on their attitudes and approaches to learning. If these issues are then added to the fact that this learning is taking place in a secure institution with the psychological problems that can occur as a result of being incarcerated and isolated from family and friends, it impacts even more on their uniqueness as learners. The detrimental psychological effects of incarceration result in prisoner

behaviours that involve teachers in a pastoral as well as teaching role. This particular aspect was the most commented on by the teachers but it was also the area in which some felt the least confident. The 'emotional labour' involved in teaching in prisons would appear more significant than in most other educational contexts.

The constraints of the curriculum are a feature of all educational settings and the focus on basic skills is particularly evident in prisons. The strategy to embed basic skills in practical, meaningful and vocational workshops was recognised in theory but not fully applied in practice. The basic skills sessions observed were delivered as discrete subjects, both classroom-based and workshop-based. The diverse range of learning needs within one class was deemed a particular challenge, leading to individual learning programmes rather than a personalised but essentially collaborative approach. The pedagogy observed suggests that more emphasis could be given to an approach that values dialogic enquiry and sociocultural practice with the development of peer mentoring as a key learning strategy.

Although the needs of prison teachers varied depending on background, qualifications and experience, most showed an interest in learning more about the environment in which they are teaching and the impact this has on the prisoners and their learning. CPD opportunities are available but these tend to focus on generic rather than contextualized education and training for teachers. Some of the teachers interviewed were not convinced by the need for more training, particularly those with years of experience teaching in prisons. Teachers' attitudes to training will vary in all educational contexts, but if training is deemed useful, relevant, differentiated according to level of experience and

delivered by specialists then it is more likely to appeal to a wider range of teachers.

The concluding chapter, Chapter Six, draws together the key issues to highlight both the needs and the aspirations of teachers in prisons. The four key research questions will be returned to and the conclusion will suggest recommendations, particularly in relation to training needs, so that teacher education takes account of this unique group of professionals.

CHAPTER SIX

TEACHERS IN PRISONS: THEIR NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

When work for this thesis began in 2005, there were significant changes occurring in education in prisons following the transfer of responsibility to the LSC in 2004 and the formation of OLASS in 2005. Despite this, it was very difficult to find information about prison-based education. There are, as this thesis demonstrates, some key documents and a small number of research studies, but in comparison to research in other educational contexts, education in prisons remains a largely unknown area to the majority of those working in the field of education. This was demonstrated in the difficulty encountered in finding an educationalist to supervise this thesis with the response, on submission of the proposal, that despite it being an interesting area it could not be supervised because 'nobody in the education department knows anything about education in prisons'. Although this response was initially disheartening, it did highlight the distinct need for research to be conducted in education in prisons by an educationalist. Finally, a criminologist, with an interest in the subject, saw the potential for this study and agreed to support and supervise it. This is why this thesis, which is primarily an educational study, is situated within the Department of Criminology. The overriding aim of this project is to make an original contribution to understanding the role, status and obstacles facing teachers in prisons and to political and policy debates about particular training requirements.

Convicted criminals are sent to prison to be removed from society and therefore prisons, by their very nature, do not constitute part of the community.

For the majority in society, nothing is really known about prisons apart from when they appear in the media, usually related to sensationalist issues such as riots or killings within prisons. Politicians will take many photo opportunities in schools and colleges, for the national media, to promote new initiatives or share good practice. It is rare that work in education departments in prisons gets national coverage, and media reporting is usually related to occasional articles in local papers about local initiatives or educational, usually union-based, publications. Although the general public does not really know what happens in prison, most will have a view on what should happen and this can range from the 'flog 'em and hang 'em' viewpoint to a more liberal approach of rehabilitation and the opinion that people can change if given the appropriate support. The former opinion is one of the reasons why championing the cause of education in prisons is difficult. Politicians do not want to give the impression that they support giving prisoners privileges or opportunities that many of their voters may not have. As a result, education in prisons is almost hidden away, not only from the general public, but also from the wider educational world.

Work on this thesis was severely hampered by problems of access and at one point these seemed insurmountable. Chapter Three detailed the difficulties of finding access to conduct the empirical research. A dogged approach to the refusal by the Home Office to support the research ensured that eventually other ways were found to carry out the fieldwork, but this did have an effect on the sample choice and number of prisons used. Research on a larger scale would provide more illumination on the significant issues affecting teachers' work in prisons. However, unless the Home Office adopts a more inclusive approach to research by allowing more independent researchers 'in' to talk to

teachers and prisoners and observe teaching sessions, then these issues will remain within the confines of the prison walls.

This final chapter seeks to draw together the main themes that have been explored throughout the thesis. It returns to the four key research questions to highlight the central issues resulting from the empirical research. The chapter then focuses on the training needs of teachers in prisons, with a list of recommendations to inform the development of a programme of education and training that aims to provide teachers with the necessary skills, knowledge and understanding to equip them to teach successfully in the unique context of prisons.

Although each question sought to address a different aspect of the main theme of the thesis, there is inevitably some over-lap in the issues discussed. Where this is the case, the issues are acknowledged but the discussion is not repeated. Some of the challenges are beyond the control of the teacher and the education department in the prison but these are still raised as they have a direct effect on teaching and learning. Others are within the teacher's or education department's control and these form the basis of the final recommendations.

6.1 QUESTION 1: WHAT AFFECTS THE ROLE OF TEACHERS IN PRISONS?

This question was asked to try to ascertain how the role of the teacher was affected by issues specific to the prison context. All teaching is affected by the context in which it is situated and external influences and these provide different challenges for each phase of education. The challenges faced by

teachers in prisons which affect their working role are not well-documented and the purpose of this question was to highlight what these are and how teachers adapt their role to enable them to work successfully in the prison environment.

Being able to work in a secure institution and adhering to all the security procedures were considered to have the most direct effect on the role of teachers in prisons. This was mentioned by all the participants in the sample, teachers (in both their questionnaire responses and interviewees), education managers, LPs and the HMI. The majority of those who responded saw this as a fundamental part of their role in the prison environment and fully accepted it, but one teacher found the constraints very difficult to handle and questioned the reasoning behind them. Working within a system of dual management, by being employed by the lead provider but working within the remit of the prison service, also results in a dual role for teachers in prisons to some extent. They have educational values as a teacher, but must accept and adopt aspects of the *disempowering* culture of control in prisons in terms of security which are at odds with their *empowering* educational values. For some teachers, these diametrically opposed principles may have an effect on their ability to work as a teacher in a prison environment.

The teacher's role has to be flexible to accommodate the priorities of the prison regime. Churn affects the continuity of prisoners' learning and teachers were never sure who or how many would be in their class at any one time. Other prison-based issues also had priority over education which resulted in prisoners being removed from classes without notice. Working in collaboration with prison staff, particularly prison officers, was sometimes cited as a positive, supportive experience. However, where this was not the case the result was

prisoners being late for classes, prison officer staff meetings being held when prisoners should have been escorted to the education department, and lack of trust between the prison staff and prison-based education staff. The teacher's role, therefore, is affected by the attitudes of other staff employed in the prison. The HMI interviewed echoed the findings of Simonot and McDonald (2010) in stressing the crucial role of the Prison Governor in promoting an ethos where education is valued and promoted.

The ability to respond to both prisoners' learning needs and emotional issues was seen as central to the role of the teacher by most respondents. The difficulties of meeting prisoners' learning needs was compounded by the range of abilities in one class and the limited support available in terms of resources. The teachers saw their pastoral role as an essential part of their job but generally felt ill-equipped to deal with prisoners' problems. One of the main difficulties was how to balance a caring, pastoral role with a group of highly vulnerable learners within the tightly controlled prison environment without putting security at risk. This aspect of the teacher's role in prisons was only briefly referred to in the research project by RER (2007) but was identified as significant by Simonot and McDonald (2010). The empirical research for this thesis suggests that this is a vital area for staff development, with teaching staff expressing concern about how to fulfil this role effectively within the prison context.

The accountability to external agencies, particularly OLASS and Ofsted, affects the teacher's role and is of primary importance to the lead providers. Education in prisons has to meet the requirements of OLASS which in turn affects the curriculum in prisons which focuses on basic skills and vocational

training. Vocational trainers have specific skills in the areas they are working. Teachers felt that it was essential that they were generalists, both in terms of basic skills and to cover staff shortages. Ofsted was more of a concern to LPs who were directly responsible for preparing education departments in prisons for inspections. The high number of sessional and part-time staff made this all the more difficult, particularly in terms of collation of paperwork. Issues around paperwork were cited as problematic by some teachers and this raised the subject of the relationship between lead providers and prison-based teachers.

The geographical distance between the lead provider and prison naturally makes face to face communication difficult. Emailing and telephoning to and from prisons is also restricted. This can be further compounded by an apparent lack of shared understanding about the way the prison department should be run. If there is friction between the LP and prison-based staff this can have a negative effect on both parties which will, in turn, affect the role of the teacher who is working in an environment where there are mixed messages and absence of a single over-arching and coherent philosophy. This has implications for the clear identification of roles and responsibilities for staff based in the lead provider setting and those based in the prison; and clearly established systems for communication to help to build and maintain positive working relationships. The empirical research indicated that changes to promote improvement need a well-articulated rationale to demonstrate an understanding of the prison context and associated issues.

The job insecurity of teachers in prisons, mainly due to the short-term contracts of lead providers, could affect teachers' long term commitment to their role. It might also be off-putting to those considering a career in education in

prisons. This insecurity, compounded by limitations in context-specific education and training for teaching in prisons, affects recruitment and retention with resulting staff shortages and additional pressure on the remaining teachers. Potentially, recruitment and retention could be improved by raising the profile and professionalism of teachers in prisons, particularly through recognition of their work by the wider educational community.

6.2 QUESTION 2: WHAT ARE THE EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHERS WORKING IN PRISONS?

To gain a broader understanding of the reality of teaching in prisons, it was necessary to find out about the teachers' experiences and gain an insight into their perceptions of this phenomenon. The teacher's voice is notably absent in most of the other research conducted, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three, and this question sought to address this issue. Although some specific questions were asked, the teachers were encouraged to speak freely about their feelings and viewpoints in relation to their work in prisons. There were some commonalities between them but the differences were most stark between experienced and less experienced teachers.

There was a strong sense of belief that a successful teacher in prison needed to be a certain type of person and that it was not for everybody. The teachers and LPs listed similar characteristics which they felt were needed to be an effective teacher in a prison context. These included being strong; not easily shocked or intimidated; calm; and having a sense of humour. Life experience was cited as being useful, particularly in terms of being aware of potential manipulation by prisoners. Teachers felt that the intimidating environment and potential intimidation by prisoners required teaching staff who were 'savvy' and

confident. They clearly felt that the prison environment was unique and, in turn, required people with a unique set of skills to 'survive' the initially alien and potentially hostile environment and the nature of prisoners as learners.

There was a strong sense of job satisfaction. The teachers who were interviewed used powerful verbs such as 'love' and 'adore' and adjectives such as 'fantastic' and 'priceless' to describe their feelings about teaching prisoners. They found it 'rewarding', 'enjoyable' and 'interesting'. Despite these positive assertions, there were some comments that suggested that these feelings were not necessarily shared by all who teach in prisons, with some teachers lacking both interest and ability. There was the suggestion that some of the least capable teachers were appointed to work in prisons, mainly because of problems with recruitment and job instability. This is directly at odds with the notion that teachers in prisons need specific skills and characteristics, including a strong desire to do the job. The HMI's assertion that the 'best people should be in it' suggests recruitment procedures should be more rigorous and that more needs to be done to target potential, suitable employees.

The teachers highlighted several challenges as discussed in the previous section, including working within the prison regime, severe restrictions, the wide range of prisoners' abilities affecting teaching and learning, their pastoral role and the relationship between the lead provider and the education department in prisons. Despite recognising the challenges and wanting support to deal with these, there were mixed attitudes to training. Some teachers were open to the suggestion of training opportunities but others felt training was unnecessary. Generally, the idea of professional development was not evident as part of the culture of prison-based teachers. There could be a number of reasons for this,

including job instability, the high number of sessional staff, lack of funding and lack of relevant, context-specific training opportunities. The current enforcement of 30 hours of CPD has caused some resentment in staff who felt pressured into attending courses which they felt were superfluous. In order to change this culture and promote a greater willingness in staff to participate in professional development they need to feel that it meets their needs, is relevant to their work and recognises the specific challenges of working in prisons.

The two least experienced teachers in the sample found many aspects of teaching in prisons a challenge, particularly the security procedures. There was a feeling that the prison regime and prison staff were deliberately sabotaging teaching sessions and one teacher in particular felt very isolated and intimidated, not by prisoners but by prison staff. The induction procedures for these two inexperienced staff appeared to be woefully inadequate and on further investigation, despite assertions to the contrary by LPs, the experiences of the other teachers indicated that inadequate induction was the norm within this sample. If the aim is to encourage high quality teachers to apply for jobs and remain in education in prisons, then the induction process needs to provide sustained support for teachers new to this unique environment.

6.3 QUESTION 3a: WHAT ARE THE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN TEACHING IN PRISON AND TEACHING IN MAINSTREAM?

Question Three has been divided into two parts, 3a and 3b, to highlight the similarities and differences. These could have been separated into two questions, but as they are inextricably linked, with one aspect having a clear

impact on the other (the differences cannot be identified until the similarities are identified), they work better as one question with two parts.

Many of the participants began by saying teaching in prisons was the same as teaching anywhere else. Despite them later identifying a range of differences, there are a number of clear similarities. The overall purposes and aims of education are the same across all educational contexts, despite differences in the age of the learner, the subject and the outcome. These relate to development of the individual in terms of knowledge, understanding, skills and attitude. The emphasis on employment skills and basic skills in education in prisons has perhaps more emphasis than in other adult education contexts, but these are generally the focus in FE too, particularly under neo-liberalist ideals.

Like all educational contexts, prison education is affected by the policies and priorities of central government. After decades of limited change and development, the last decade has seen education in prisons being subject to similar levels of change and modification to those which have been a part of mainstream education for the last thirty years. Much of this is as a result of education in prisons being placed under the remit of the government's Education Department, which is the same as all other educational contexts. This was warmly welcomed by those keen to see developments in prison education (Bayliss, 2003, All-Parliamentary Report, 2004; Select Committee Report, 2005) and indicates clear progress and a mindset that education in prisons should have parity with education in other contexts. The changes, however, have been mainly at a policy level and the impact on practice will not take effect unless there is more focus on teachers and teaching in prisons.

As with mainstream education, external targets drive the curriculum and this is linked with quality assurance and inspection. The same inspecting body, Ofsted, is involved in inspecting standards in prisons. More recent inspections suggest that the quality of education in prisons is improving, although the standards are not yet comparable with FE in terms of the number of institutions receiving the grade of 'good' or 'outstanding'. As FE is also behind other mainstream institutions in terms of the number achieving 'outstanding', education in prisons has some way to go before the inspection standards are on a par with other mainstream providers (Ofsted, 2010b).

The principles of teaching, in terms of meeting the needs of learners; good organisation of learning; effective planning and assessment; approaches to teaching to engage and motivate; and issues such as successful behaviour management were all cited during the empirical research. As stated in earlier sections, the prison regime and context affects the way teachers can approach these, but they are essentially at the centre of all teaching in any context. The research also indicated that teachers felt they needed more support with how to maintain these principles and apply them to practice within the prison environment with all the security constraints, and with prisoners who may be difficult to engage in learning. This leads on to the second part of the question which focuses on the differences between teaching in prison and teaching in other contexts.

QUESTION 3b: WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TEACHING IN PRISON AND TEACHING IN MAINSTREAM?

Clearly, working in a prison environment with all the associated issues is the most distinct difference between prison-based teaching and mainstream

educational establishments and these issues have been highlighted in previous sections. These include the difficulties that can occur when working for two different managers, one prison and one education, and with an education manager who is not co-located. A particular, related difficulty for teachers in prisons is teaching in an institution which does not have education as its main aim. This results in other prison-based matters being given priority over education. It also has implications for the way teachers are viewed in prisons by prison employees and the resulting relationships. As stated in the introduction of this chapter, the public perception of being 'soft' on criminals, which includes providing prisoners with educational opportunities (seen as a privilege), results in a disinclination to champion prison education by both the government and the media. This means that teachers' work in prisons is rarely discussed in open forums, such as within the media or wider educational debates.

Teachers' work in prisons is not fully recognised or understood in the educational world. There is a lack of a research culture in education in prisons, which is hardly surprising based on the unwillingness to support independent research in prisons as demonstrated by the Home Office in relation to this and other research cited in this thesis. The majority of educationalists do not understand the context of prisons and are therefore unable to appreciate the effect this has on the teacher's role and the impact on teaching and learning. The result is teachers working in isolation from the wider educational community, despite nominally working under the responsibility of the government Department of Education. This means that teachers in prisons are not fully supported in their role by educationalists and there is limited research to identify areas of strength and areas for development. The lack of

understanding of the prison environment by the educational world means that educational training for teachers in prisons is often not context-specific. Given that the prison context has such a profound effect on teachers and teaching, this is an area that needs significant improvement. Education and training for mainstream is context-specific and is underpinned by relevant research and educational literature. The limited research and lack of academic and professional literature related to teaching in prisons has implications for those delivering the education and training as well as those receiving it.

The education of citizens directly relates to the society in which those citizens live. Education has to be dynamic to respond to the changing nature of the society in which it is situated. The twenty-first century is an age of technology and schools and colleges are responding to this by preparing students to work with a range of different ICT equipment, utilising newly learnt technological skills to prepare them for work and communication on a global level. Prisons have severe restrictions on ICT equipment. Despite government rhetoric about preparing prisoners for employment, teachers are limited in what they can do to support prisoners in learning about and using ICT, particularly the Internet. There have been recent initiatives to support this (Prisoners' Education Trust, 2009) but these are still far behind the technologies used in mainstream. The issues related to security are important, but the implications for teaching and learning are very different to education outside the confines of a secure institution and highlight a key difference between teaching in prisons and other contexts.

The secure institution also has an effect on all other teaching resources which are severely restricted if there is even a remote possibility that they might

pose a threat to security. This means that teachers cannot rely on a range of different types of resources to engage learners, which would be the norm in other settings. The practice of taking students out to visit other places to enrich the learning experience is simply not possible in prisons. This means that teachers in prisons need even more support than teachers in mainstream education, who have a range of strategies available to them, to engage learners in meaningful activities.

The nature of prisoners as learners is very distinct from other contexts. Many prisoners will have a negative attitude to learning based on experiences in school, including issues such as exclusions and truancy; and many have poor educational and social skills. This is compounded by the fact that they are incarcerated and the related psychological problems this state of being brings with it (Haney, 2003; Crewe, 2007). The teachers in the sample were very keen to have a better understanding of prisoners and how to support them, particularly when the prisoners were exhibiting specific emotional difficulties. Although teachers in mainstream education may also want to support their students during difficult times, they do not have to deal with the effects of incarceration. They can also adopt a professional, pastoral role without fear of contravening security rules and compromising their position.

6.4 QUESTION 4: WHAT ARE THE TRAINING NEEDS OF TEACHERS IN PRISONS?

Based on the findings from the other three research questions, the training needs of teachers in prisons are presented in Fig 6.1. This final question is a culmination of all the issues raised by the empirical research and is central to the thesis because it informs the final recommendations.

Fig 6.1 The Training Needs of Teachers in Prisons

Expressed Needs	Inferred Needs
1.. Knowledge about prison systems – from induction to release and beyond.	1. Full knowledge of the context in which they are teaching beyond a ‘need to know’ basis.
2. Understanding prisoners; counselling guidance; knowing how to handle them	2. Understanding the nature of prisoners and the impact of incarceration at a psychological level.
3. Teaching approaches in an environment with limited resources.	3. Understanding the pastoral role in a secure setting.
4. Access to resources suitable for use with prisoners.	4. Creative teaching approaches, moving away from classroom-based sessions to embedding skills in meaningful, practical contexts. This would mean close collaboration between HOLS and education manager.
5. Not having to teach such a wide range of learners in one class.	5. Teaching groups with a wide range of learning needs through more collaborative working and peer teaching, taking a personalised rather than individualised approach.
	<i>Could lead to a specialist (validated) qualification in education in prisons.</i>

The way the training needs have been organised reflects Noddings’ (2005) distinction between the ‘expressed needs’ of the individual and ‘inferred needs’ from outside sources, as discussed in Chapter Two. The ‘expressed needs’ were *explicitly* referred to by the teachers in the questionnaires and by those in the interviews. These have been summarised to include the most frequently cited. The ‘inferred needs’, *not* explicitly expressed by teachers, are based on the analysis of findings from the interviews with the teachers, LPs, education managers and HMI, the teachers’ logs and the observations.

The ‘expressed needs’ and ‘inferred needs’ are similar in that they both relate to:

- understanding the nature of prisoners and how to respond to them in a supportive way within security protocols;
- understanding the context in which they are working;
- developing strategies for effective teaching within the constraints of the environment.

With reference to this final point, the ‘inferred needs’ suggest specific approaches that were not observed during the empirical research and might support the development of a wider range of teaching approaches to motivate the prisoners and support their learning in a personalised, inclusive and relevant way.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE CONTENT OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR PRISON-BASED TEACHERS

It is clear that teaching in prisons brings with it a complex set of issues that are challenging and, at times, extremely frustrating. Some of these issues are beyond the control of the education department because they are as a result of the prison regime. The most contentious of these is churn, where movement of prisoners from one prison to another interrupts or halts their education course (Braggins and Talbot, 2003; All-Parliamentary Report, 2004; DfES/DWP, 2005; Schuller, 2009; McNichol, 2008; Collins, 2010; Simonot and McDonald, 2010). The other major issue is the culture in prisons which can be obstructive to the education department, either deliberately, through negative attitudes from prison staff (Braggins and Talbot, 2005; Simonot and McDonald, 2010) or inadvertently, through other aspects of prison life taking priority (Ofsted, 2009).

While this thesis fully acknowledges that all of these issues are significant in the working life of a teacher in prisons, the focus for the final recommendations is based on what *can* be changed within the remit of education, rather than concerns within the central control of the Ministry of Justice and the Prison Service. These recommendations focus on strategies for supporting teachers and developing teaching expertise in prisons. The wider aim is to promote the quality of education to enhance its potential impact on prisoners during their prison sentence and on their lives after release.

It is acknowledged that the issues identified for the development of education and training are based on the empirical research which was drawn from a relatively small sample and might not be representative of the wider teaching community in prisons. However, evidence from studies cited in this thesis (Braggins and Talbot; Irwin, 2008; RER, 2007, Simonot and McDonald, 2010) would suggest that one or more of these issues have been raised as concerns by other associated research. The following five recommendations are based on the current findings but also build on the recommendations from the other studies cited and as such contribute to an area of knowledge that warrants far wider recognition in order to raise the standards and status of education in prisons.

Recommendations for the Development of a Programme of Study for Prison-Based Teachers

The programme of study should:

- 1. provide teachers with a comprehensive knowledge of the purpose of prisons and the prison system;*

2. *provide teachers with an understanding of the nature of prisoners and the effects of incarceration;*
3. *support teachers in dealing with 'emotional load' when working with prisoners and help them with the management of their pastoral role;*
4. *support teachers in developing a range of creative teaching approaches, including embedding knowledge and skills in meaningful, practical contexts;*
5. *support teachers in developing a personalised rather than individualised approach to teaching, including collaborative working and peer teaching.*

1. Purpose of Prisons and the Prison System

It is vital that teachers understand the context in which they are working and the regimes that their learners are experiencing as these affect the learner and associated teaching approaches. At present, teachers new to prisons have short inductions on a 'need to know' basis which cover security protocols and professional issues. Without a broader knowledge of the purpose of prisons, it is difficult to place these issues within the wider context. This could lead to a lack of understanding and hostility towards the prison officers and the prison regime, as evidenced by the empirical research. Teachers need a good knowledge of prisons and penal policy so that theoretical knowledge and practical perspectives (Jewkes, 2007) can enhance teachers' understanding of prisons and imprisonment. The key difference in this recommendation to that of other studies (RER, 2007; Simonot and McDonald, 2010) is the comprehensive and holistic approach to this subject. The other two studies cite the need for

teachers to be aware of *their* responsibilities in the judicial system but this recommendation goes much further. It is crucial for teachers to have a broad, over-arching knowledge of the context, not only in terms of their role but also in terms of the full remit of the prison system, to promote an understanding of prison from the perspectives of prison-based staff and, most importantly, the prisoners.

2. *The Nature of Prisoners and the Effects of Incarceration*

Chapter Five provided some insight into the effects of incarceration (Goffman, 1961; Haney, 2003; Crewe, 2007) and this is an area that teachers highlighted as a specific concern. Simonot and McDonald (2010) referred to knowledge about working with vulnerable learners, but this thesis argues that prisoners are a *unique* group of vulnerable learners with distinctive features created by being incarcerated and separated from the outside community. Standards for qualified teacher status in compulsory settings (TDA, 2008) highlight that learners are affected by a range of issues and that teachers must understand ‘that the progress and well-being of learners are affected by a range of developmental, social, religious, ethnic, cultural and linguistic influences’ and ‘progress, development or well-being is affected by changes or difficulties in their personal circumstances’ (TDA, 2008:8). For prisoners, the added effect of incarceration may have a huge impact on their behaviour and learning disposition. Theoretical and practical knowledge in this very specialised area is essential for teachers to understand the complex range of issues affecting prisoners.

3. Emotional Load and the Pastoral Role

The effect on the teacher when a prisoner exhibits aggressive, volatile or unexpected unstable behaviour was clearly evident in the excerpt from Sandra's log in Chapter Five. Handling this type of behaviour and other emotional behaviours goes beyond the concept of behaviour management. Behaviour management relates to ensuring expected norms of behaviour are maintained and managed but the teachers expressed a need to know more about how to support prisoners exhibiting emotional distress, not just 'managing' their behaviour. Pastoral care was seen to be an important part of their role. This thesis is not advocating training in counselling as this is a different professional occupation, but it is clear that teachers would value support on how to manage the pastoral side of their work. A particular difficulty is how to balance pastoral care with security awareness. This is significantly different to pastoral care in mainstream education and requires specialist knowledge to ensure that security and safety are not compromised while responding to a distressed prisoner with compassion and understanding.

4. Embedding Knowledge and Skills in Meaningful, Practical Contexts

Many teachers in FE teach a specific academic or vocational subject based on their subject expertise or first profession (Hillier, 2002). Combining subjects in a cross-curricular way is more common in primary schools (DfES, 2004a) where one teacher is usually responsible for teaching the whole curriculum to his/her class. Embedding skills in meaningful, practical contexts requires a similar cross-curricular approach. The evidence from the observations and the HMI in this thesis suggests that teachers in prisons would benefit from more support in this area and this could be achieved by adopting a

cross-curricular approach to planning and teaching. More knowledge about situated learning in the context of teaching adults (Lave and Wenger, 1991) could also provide a theoretical understanding, in addition to practical application, of such an approach. If the vocational provision is under the management of HOLS, there would need to be a shared understanding, between the HOLS and the education manager, of the learning aims.

The limited available, appropriate resources and limitations in the use of these resources appears to either restrict the approaches used by teachers or results in them spending time making their own, as evidenced by Pat in Chapter Five. There is scope for the development of prison context-specific resources which promote a creative approach to teaching and an active approach to learning (Locke, 1996; Dewey, 1916; Piaget, 1959) which do not rely on a worksheet-based approach. The most qualified people to develop these are teachers in prisons, with support from innovative practitioners in other educational contexts.

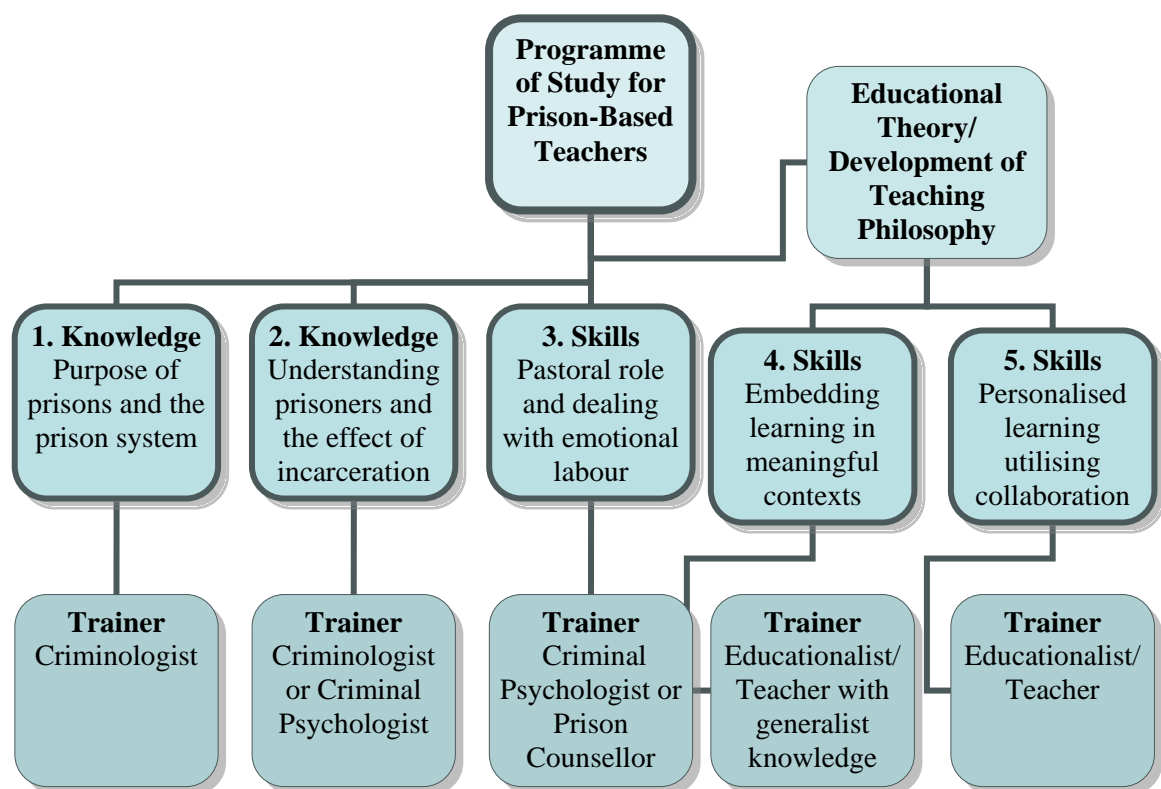
5. *A Personalised and Collaborative Approach to Learning*

The wide range of learning needs in one class was cited as a challenge by teachers and was noted in observations of practice and evidence of work on displays. This would be a challenge in any educational setting but is exacerbated in prisons by the restricted environment, limited resources and fragmented prisoner attendance. This thesis asserts that the development of a collaborative approach to learning could be a partial solution to this challenge (Vygotsky, 1962; Bruner, 1974; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Mercer, 1996; Brookfield and Preskill, 1999; Wells, 1999; Alexander, 2004b). The observed sessions and interviews with teachers suggested a very individualised and

isolating approach. This may not be representative of other prisons, but the advantages of the social approach to learning in prisons, including peer mentoring, have been expressed by Wenger (1998), Braggins and Talbot (2003), Irwin (2008) and RSA (2010). Supporting teachers in developing this approach could enhance personalised learning and promote prisoners' skills in working effectively with others.

These five recommendations have informed the conception and design of a model of the suggested content of an education and training programme of study for prison-based teachers (Fig. 6.2).

Fig. 6.2 Suggested Programme of Study for Prison-Based Teachers



This model (Fig. 6.2) demonstrates that teachers in prisons are in the unique position of needing education and training in knowledge and skills from within both the field of criminology and education. The first three recommendations are within the expertise of criminologists and psychologists to provide teachers with

in-depth knowledge and understanding of the prison context and of prisoners. The fourth and fifth are within the expertise of educationalists to support teachers in the development of a personal educational philosophy to underpin approaches to teaching and learning within the prison environment. To raise the academic profile, there could also be an associated optional qualification (with additional submission of written work) which would constitute credits at Master's level and could be put towards a Master's degree, as initiated by Bayliss (2006). This would also increase the professionalism of teachers in prisons by recognising their role as a specialism and may encourage more teachers to consider teaching in prisons as a worthwhile and valued career move.

This thesis recommends that prison-based teachers should have a teacher training programme that is wholly specific to the prison context. Adapting a generic FE model is insufficient and would not demonstrate an understanding of the unique role of prison-based teachers. A new, distinct programme needs to be developed. The model (Fig. 6.2) is the starting point for the development of such a training programme for prison-based teachers and contributes to a largely unrecognised area of study, particularly within the field of teacher education and training. It is unique in that it is partly education-based and partly within the area of criminology. This model (Fig. 6.2) promotes the assertion that education in prisons should be recognised, supported and researched in both disciplines because both are fully relevant to the needs of teacher development. This, in turn, would give education in prisons an academic identity in both disciplines, rather than its current neglected or, at best, marginal position.

Final Thoughts

This thesis ends, as it began, with Darren's story. Darren typified the contributory factors to offending behaviour. The broken relationship between his mother and stepfather affected him badly; his early involvement in anti-social behaviour led to exclusion from school at lunchtimes and subsequent truancy; finally, drug abuse led him into crime and the continued cycle of reoffending and re-imprisonment (DfES/DWP, 2005; Howard League, 2005; Home Office/Respect Task Force, 2006). Darren did not choose to undertake education while in prison because it was not financially beneficial in comparison to other work (Braggins and Talbot, 2003, Ingleby, 2006). There is no way of knowing if an education course in prison would have helped Darren to desist from crime and adopt a new way of life because, as Reuss (2000) asserted, education can only ever be discussed in terms of the *potential* on influencing behaviour post-release. However, with the potential impact of education on the development of an individual's motivation, interests and self-esteem; preparation for the world of work; and successful contribution to society, as discussed in Chapter Two, Darren's chances of desisting from crime may have been increased.

To improve the potential impact of education, in any context, it must be of the highest quality. A 'Cinderella Service' is not acceptable. The IFL (2010) claimed that teaching in prisons is the most complex and challenging. If this is the case, and this thesis certainly recognises those complexities and challenges, then the development of excellent, context-based education and training for teachers in prisons is vital. The aim of this thesis is to argue, in the strongest possible terms, that if education in prisons is to contribute to

prisoners' rehabilitation and desistance from crime then it must be staffed with the highest skilled, most innovative teachers. It is hoped that the questions and issues raised in this thesis, and final recommendations, may, in some small way, contribute to this ambitious aim.

Appendix 1

1. Please state your current qualifications by ticking all the boxes below which apply:

GCSE or equiv. A levels or equiv. Post 16 teaching (730)

Degree PGCE post 16 PGCE school

Other (if using initials, please state the nature of the qualification)

2. Did any of the above courses of study include modules or individual sessions on teaching in prisons specifically?

Modules (more than 6 sessions) or **Individual sessions**

No 1 2 or more No 1 2 – 6

3. If you had specific training on teaching in prisons, what sort of content did this cover?

4. If you have taught in other settings, please state the number of years' experience you have in all the appropriate boxes that apply

Primary Secondary FE College HE

Other (please state type)

5. How long have you been teaching in prisons?

Less than a year 1 – 3 years 4 – 6 years 6+ years

6. Have you had any CPD (Career and Professional Development) training since starting your employment on any aspect of **prison education/teaching in prisons**?

No Yes

If no, is this because it has not been offered during your employment?

If yes, please give an estimate of the number of hours of tuition and the sorts of issues covered

7. Have you had opportunities for CPD in **prison education/teaching in prisons** which you have not taken?

No Yes

If yes, why did you decline?

8. Would you like the opportunity to have further training in **prison education/teaching in prisons**?

No Yes

Please give reasons for your answer:

9. If you could choose the content of CPD courses in **prison education/teaching in prisons**, what would be the most useful/interesting for you?

10. Would you be interested in a course that provided a specific qualification in prison education as a specialism?

No Yes

Please give your reasons:

11. Do you feel your qualifications/training prior to your employment prepared you sufficiently for teaching in prisons?

No Partly Yes

Please give your reasons:

Your answers are helpful regardless of whether you answer the following two questions, but it would help to know:

Sex: Male Female

Age: Under 25, 25-40, 41-55, 55+

Observation 1

Date: 17/12/2008

Duration of observation: 30 minutes

My role: Participant observer

Context for Learning and Teaching

Numeracy lesson in a small room within the teaching and learning building.

Students all sitting at one table against a window to the left of the whiteboard.

Four at one side of the table and three at the other.

Three computers were in the room against one wall but were not being used.

Teacher sitting at a teacher's desk in front of the whiteboard to the right of the students' table.

The walls were bare apart from 2 posters showing mathematical vocabulary and signs.

Prior information provided about the session

The students would all be doing numeracy tasks but working at individual activities as set out in their individual learning plan (ILP). I was told that about 15 minutes before the end of the session there would be a whole class activity to draw the session to a close. I was told that this was the usual pattern for a lesson. The students would then complete their learning plan and hand it in to the teacher. The teacher in this session had been teaching at the prison for

eight months on a part-time basis. Prior to that she had taught at the University of Hull but had left as she didn't like it (no reason given). She hadn't any other experience of teaching in prisons.

Students

7 students all working at different levels from Level 1 to Level 3. Aged from mid 20s to mid 50s.

Resources

Work sheets, pens, whiteboard (not interactive), ILPs. three computers not being used.

Observed session

I was introduced to the students and they were told I was just going to watch the session. I was given a chair in front of the teacher's desk and sat with the deputy education manager who was accompanying me. The teacher showed me an example of an ILP as the students were working on their tasks. The students did not speak to each other or the teacher. I did not go over to see what the students were doing as I had been asked to sit on the chair and did not feel it was appropriate to move unless invited to do so. After approximately five minutes, the teacher began drawing a grid on the whiteboard. The students looked up and a couple of comments were made asking what she was doing. She replied it was the grid game. Some students commented they hadn't played a grid game before and she responded that they had. The grid took about five

minutes to draw. One student commented that she should have drawn it earlier because they wouldn't have time to play the game – this was said good-naturedly. The teacher did not comment but began to work a little more quickly, apologising for the fact that the lines weren't straight. Numbers to 10 were put randomly on the number square, with four stars in the place of four numbers. The numbers 1-50 were written down the side. See example below:

+ - x ÷

1	9	1	4	6	8	1	9	10	9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
10	2	3	2	5	1	10	5	8	2	11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
2	1	*	3	1	2	3	*	9	10	20
6	3	2	1	4	3	8	4	2	1	21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29
10	3	4	5	6	7	5	5	4	9	30
1	10	*	7	5	4	4	*	8	3	31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39
2	9	4	2	5	7	3	6	3	6	40
8	6	5	6	3	7	6	2	7	4	41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49
8	10	6	8	5	9	7	6	5	8	50
7	7	10	7	9	8	1	9	7	10	

The teacher then explained the game, which was to use any of the numbers in the number square using any of the four operations: add, subtract, divide or multiply to total one of the numbers down the side. A couple of students commented they had played it before. She then said that as each number was used it would be rubbed off the board. The aim was to use all of the numbers and clear the board. The stars could represent any number. The students all looked up and became involved. I was asked if I would like to play and said I would. The deputy manager said he had not seen this game before even though maths was his subject.

The teacher asked each student, one at a time, to do their sum. The first three students confidently answered. Two students used two numbers and multiplication, one student used three numbers and the operations add and divide. The fourth student said he couldn't do it. The teacher said he could and to choose two easy numbers. He again said he couldn't. She suggested he added two numbers but he still said he couldn't. The teacher did one for him. The other three students used two or three numbers confidently. When it came to my turn I said I wasn't very confident in maths so I would just do an addition and added six and four to make 10. The turns continued and when it came to the fourth student's second attempt he did a simple addition to 10 without prompting. The teacher stayed at the front for the whole session, wiping off the numbers as the students did their sums. It was clear that some students were confident mixing different operations (three students did this) whereas others only used two numbers (all operations) apart from the one who only used addition. Occasionally a student got the wrong answer but quickly corrected himself. Time ran out before the end. The teacher said it was the end of the session and one student got up to leave. Another one said 'Miss hasn't said we can go yet'. The teacher responded by saying it was fine and to give her their ILPs. One student commented to the one who got up to leave that '(another female teacher's name) would not have allowed that'. The comment was ignored by the teacher and student. The students then left the room without any escort. Throughout the session the teacher was referred to as 'Miss' by any student who spoke to her.

Summary of teaching and learning approaches

Students worked individually both on their individualised tasks (not seen) and during the whole class activity. There was no peer support evident during the observation either during work on the individual tasks or during the whole class activity. The teacher maintained a lead role. During the individualised activities she did not approach the students during the observation period, although this was only about ten minutes. Time was spent preparing the resource for the whole class task on the whiteboard. During the task the teacher responded in the affirmative to the students' calculations or paused if the calculation was incorrect. The students were not involved in using the whiteboard to do their calculations or lead the session. The students only communicated with each other occasionally and this was related to one off comments either questioning what the game was to be or about leaving the session. The whole class activity could be self-differentiated according to students' levels of ability. The calculations were done mentally. No time was given for working out calculations on paper; although it was not expressed that this was not allowed it appeared that a mental calculation was the expectation. Interactions between the teacher and students were respectful and mainly confined to the giving and responding to calculations.

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